

Medhótá śrávaḥ

*Felicitation Volume in Honour of Mislav Ježić
on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*



Medhótá śrávaḥ

Misao i slovo

Λόγος και σοφία

Ratio et oratio

Edited by

Ivan Andrijačić

Petteri Koskikallio

Krešimir Krnic

Sven Sellmer

Przemysław Szczurek

General Editor

Ranko Matasović



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povodom sedamdesetoga rođendana

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CROATIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS

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povodom sedamdesetoga rođendana

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Mislav Ješić

Mislav Ježić: The art of careful reading

This volume is dedicated to Professor Mislav Ježić, who celebrated his 70th birthday on September 20, 2022. A large number of papers by his colleagues and friends, students and teachers arrived for the Festschrift; these were divided into two major sections. The first volume, entitled *Medhótá śrávaḥ*, contains Indological papers, mostly in the field of Vedic philology and Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas. The second volume is mostly in the Croatian language and its papers reflect professional interests of prof. Ježić that extend to other fields: Croatian and Slavic linguistics, comparative philology and mythology.

Biography

Mislav Ježić was born in 1952 in Zagreb. His father was Slavko Ježić, a literary historian, literary translator, and editor of critical editions. Slavko Ježić became famous as the author of the first comprehensive history of Croatian literature (*Croatian Literature from the Beginning to the Present (1100–1941)*, Zagreb: Naklada A. Velzek, 1943).

Mislav Ježić graduated from the Zagreb Classical Gymnasium in 1970; in 1977 he graduated from the University of Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences with degrees in Philosophy and Indology, and in 1978 in Linguistics and Ancient Greek philology. In 1978, he joined the Department of Linguistics and Oriental Studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb as a university assistant after professor Radoslav Katičić, who had founded the Indology study programme in 1959 and left the department to become a professor at the University of Vienna.

From 1978 to 1979, Ježić undertook additional Indological specialization at the University of Bonn. In 1983, he received his PhD with a thesis entitled "Problems of the Exegesis of Ṛgvedic Hymns". In 1984, he became an assistant professor in the Department of Linguistics and Oriental Studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb.

From 1989 to 1990, he worked as a visiting assistant professor at the University of Delhi in the Department of Slavic Studies; he also lectured in the Department of

Sanskrit. In 1992, he became an associate professor at the Department of Linguistics and Oriental Studies in Zagreb. This same year, he became the president of the Croatian Philosophical Society; he reorganized the society, organized seven scholarly conferences, and helped promote Eastern philosophical traditions. Also in 1992, he became an associate member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. From 1993 to 1998, he served as vice-president of the Croatian National Commission for UNESCO. From 1994 to 2000, he was a member of the National Commission for Higher Education; he was a member of the National Commission for Science from 2004 to 2008; he was also a member of the National Commission for Science, Higher Education, and Technological Development from 2017 to 2021.

In 1996 and 1997, Ježić was a guest associate professor at Harvard University in the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, where he spent his sabbatical as a Fulbright scholar. At Harvard, he taught a comparative philological course on the Upaniṣads and Pre-Socratic philosophers for graduate students in Indology, Philosophy, Greek Philology, Religious Studies, and Linguistics. Upon returning to Croatia, he became a full professor on 5 May 1998.

As a scholar with an established reputation in numerous disciplines, such as Indian philology, linguistics, philosophy, and Greek philology, he became a fellow of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Philology class) on 18 May 2000 – which happened to be the same day as Vaiśākha (Vesak). At the Academy, he was granted the distinguished task of acting as editor-in-chief of the fourth and fifth volumes of the encyclopaedic edition “Croatia and Europe”, dedicated to the reliable scholarly presentation of the history of Croatian culture, art, and science. The fourth volume “Modern Croatian Culture: From the National Revival to the Modernist Period” (19th Century, until 1918) was published in 2009. The English translation of the fourth volume has been prepared for print; the French version has also been edited and is being prepared for print. The fifth volume, “Contemporary Croatian Culture: From Leaving the Imperial and Royal Monarchy to Joining the European Union” is in pre-press.

Ježić also chairs the Cultural Subcommittee of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts’ National Heritage Committee, which is responsible for preparing a comprehensive publication on Croatian cultural heritage. He is also president of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts’ Committee for Oriental Studies.

Scholarly work in Indology

In his Indological scholarly work, Mislav Ježić focuses on Vedic literature, Sanskrit epics, Indian religions and philosophy, and comparative linguistics and philology. He has authored five scholarly monographs: *Rgvedski himni / Rgvedic Hymns* (1978), *Mišljenje i riječ o bitku u svijetu / Thought and Word on the Being in the World*

(1989), *Ṛgvedske upaniṣadi / Ṛgvedic Upaniṣads* (1999), *Amaruśataka* (2011) and *Hellada i Indija / Hellas and India* (2016). He has co-authored four books, edited seven scholarly volumes, and published almost 150 research papers dedicated to these fields.

He carefully researched the composition and structure of Vedic hymns in the *Ṛksamhitā*, in which he discovered and deciphered numerous hidden messages (riddles, metaphors, “anagrams” [cryptophones], compositional messages). His research on the Vedas has resulted in insight into the history and transformation of the Vedic pantheon in terms of the transfer of formulas and characteristics from older Vedic deities or divine figures and names to younger ones. His first book *Ṛgvedski himni: izvori indijske culture i indoeuropsko nasljeđe* [The Ṛgvedic hymns: sources of Indian culture and the Indo-European heritage] (Zagreb: Globus, 1987) deals with the comparative and interpretative aspects of Vedic studies. Ježić’s comparisons of the *Ṛksamhitā* with Hellenic and Hebrew heritage reveals profound genetic reasons for typological parallels. Ancient patterns of mythic thought in the *Ṛksamhitā* often serve to help interpret later mythological motifs in post-Vedic Indian literature, Greek epic poetry, Slavic oral poetry, and other Indo-European traditions. Later, Ježić continued his research outlined in this book and presented his results at specialized conferences (Vedic section of the World Sanskrit Conferences, International Vedic Workshops and others) and published numerous articles on the subject. On the structuralist side, he found inspiration for his work in the approach of Ferdinand de Saussure, Abel Bergaigne, Sylvain Lévi, and Louis Renou. Philologically, he found inspiration in the works and methodology of Heinrich Lüders, and especially of Paul Thieme through Radoslav Katičić, Thieme’s student, who was Ježić’s professor. In this sense, Mislav Ježić also belongs to the international circle of pupils of prominent German scholar Paul Thieme. Contemporary Harvard Indologist Michael Witzel, with his erudition and extensive knowledge of the corpus of Vedic literature and early Indian history, also exerted a fruitful influence on Ježić, whom he involved in the new German translation of the *Ṛksamhitā*. Ježić also studied the composition and history of the text of classical Upaniṣads such as the *Aitareya*, *Kauṣītaki*, *Īśā*, *Brhadāraṇyaka*, etc.; by comparing these Upaniṣadic texts both among each other and with other works, he reconstructed the history of their composition and oral transmission.¹ Ježić studied the mutual influences of the Upaniṣads (and the *Bhagavadgītā*) in varying historical, social, and cultural environments. This allowed him to establish a relative chronology of the different textual layers of the older Upaniṣads and to trace the course of their dynamically interwoven tradition.

One of Ježić’s most important contributions to Indology is his reconstruction of the text history of the *Bhagavadgītā*, one of Hinduism’s holiest texts. In

¹ Cf. Neal Delmonico and Lloyd Pfluger, whose book *Īsopaniṣad: The Secret Teaching on the Lord* points out that they use an earlier Mādhyamīna version of the text with Ježić’s emendations and notes because it represents the best reconstruction of the original text to date.

the *Bhagavadgītā*, he identified the short epic layer, the Upaniṣadic layers, and the final redaction in the spirit of *bhakti*. His identification and reconstruction of the religious hymn in *triṣṭubh* meter (the Proto-*Bhagavadgītā*) – which was based on the epic layer and only subsequently inserted into the epic, transforming it into the *Bhagavadgītā* – is of special importance.

In his two landmark 1979 and 1986 papers,² he introduced a typology of epic repetitions of expression, wherein he distinguishes two types of repetition: (a) syntagmatic repetitions (“continuity repetitions”) building the tissue of the oral text, and (b) paradigmatic repetitions (“duplication repetitions”) that reinterpret the text and reveal the “seams” between interpolated text passages. “Continuity repetitions” thus resume a topic and belong to the same text sequence, while “duplication repetitions” repeat something while giving the repeated expressions a new connotation

Today, his analysis is internationally recognized by many prominent scholars (Brockington, von Simson, Schlingloff, Witzel, Zydenbos, Flood, etc.) as the most elaborate and accurate to date;³ a number of scholars (Andrijanić, Szczurek, Brinkhaus) have successfully applied the method in the analysis of other didactic and narrative *Mahābhārata* or *Purāṇa* passages.

It is important to note that, based on the established history of the text, it is possible to refine and complete our understanding of the history of Indian thought, religion, and philosophy and its terms and concepts, as well as the history of its culture. In his 2021 article,⁴ to explain his results, Ježić compares the composition of the *Bhagavadgītā* to the construction of the Split Cathedral of St. Domnius, which was built over many centuries and bears the cultural and architectural characteristics of various historical periods, messages, and stylistic characteristics. As a whole, the Cathedral of St. Domnius and the *Bhagavadgītā* are unique, complete monuments that convey complex, rich, impressive, and occasionally even polemical messages.

Ježić has also made important contributions to the field of comparative philology; his book *Hellada i India* [Hellas and India] (Zagreb, 2016) stands out. In it, he compares the ideas and terminology of the oldest Indian and Greek philosophy (ontology, cosmology, and psychology), reducing a key set of their terms and formulae to their common Indo-European forms, thereby proving that the beginnings of philosophy must date back millennia earlier than scholars previously dared to

² The first Yoga layer in the *Bhagavadgītā*. In: *Felicitation Volume in Honour of Prof. Ludwik Sternbach*. I, pp. 545–557. Lucknow: Akhila Bhāratiya Sanskrit Parishad, 1979; Textual layers of the *Bhagavadgītā* as traces of Indian cultural history. In: *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 18. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 628–638.

³ In his book *The Sanskrit Epics*, the most important handbook for Sanskrit epics, John Brockington states that Ježić’s analysis of *Bhagavadgītā*’s text layers is “more sophisticated than others to date” (p. 269, cf. 275).

⁴ Povijesni slojevi teksta *Bhagavadgīte* – predaja teksta, proširenja i preoblike pouke. Što je zajedničko *Bhagavadgīti* i katedrali sv. Duje? [Historical layers of the *Bhagavadgītā* – the transmission of the text, its expansion and reinterpretations. What do the *Bhagavadgītā* and the Cathedral of Saint Domnius have in common?] *Filozofska istraživanja* 162 (2): 247–272.

assume. This reconstruction again contributes essentially to the better understanding of philosophy and philosophical texts. For this discovery, Ježić was awarded the Croatian State Award for the humanities.

In this book, Ježić also deepens and elaborates insights from his earlier book *Mišljenje i riječ o bitku u svijetu* [Thought and word on being in the world] (Zagreb, 1989). The book contains reflections on myths, epics, and philosophy, which Ježić approaches as a philologist, Indo-European linguist, and philosopher. Ježić shows how the epic poetic technique transformed myths into mythology, and that philosophy does not oppose myth but mythology, and that philosophy – even according to Aristotle – builds on mythical thinking.

In this group of comparative mythological themes, Ježić's work on the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵ also stands out, which prominent Harvard Indologist Michael Witzel mentions many times in his book *The Origins of the World's Mythologies*; on p. 26, Witzel concludes that Ježić applied V. Propp's (complete) structure of the function of fairy tales / mythemes to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (III–VI). While John L. Brockington, the greatest modern *Rāmāyaṇa* scholar, distinguishes two main stages in the text history (Vālmīki's and post-Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*; five stages altogether), Ježić builds upon it, distinguishing among three main stages in the history of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (dividing Brockington's first stage in two); these are simultaneously reflected in the retellings of its contents, first in the Buddhist Jātakas, second in the *Mahābhārata*, and third in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*.

Ježić is also a prolific translator from Sanskrit to Croatian. His first book included a selection of R̥gvedic hymns translated into Croatian. In his translation work, Ježić chooses words, expressions and phrases with great thoughtfulness and care in order to remain as close to the original as possible in expression and meter. While this allows him to convey the original to readers, it often makes his Croatian translation work quite demanding. His translation of the *Amaruśataka* (*Amarukina stotina*, Zagreb: ArTrezor naklada, 2011), despite its poetic complexity, was appreciated by profession and audiences alike, winning him the two most important awards for translators in Croatia: the Matica hrvatska "Mihovil Kombol" award for exceptional contribution to the translation of international cultural and scientific literature into Croatian in 2011; and the Society of Croatian Literary Translators' "Josip Tabak" award for the best translation of poetry in 2011. He also translated the R̥gvedic Upaniṣads (*Aitareya-*, *Kauṣṭaki-* and *Bāṣkalamantra-Upaniṣad*) into Croatian, and the second *maṇḍala* of the *R̥ksamhitā* into German in an edition prepared by Michael Witzel and Toshifumi Gotō with the cooperation of Ejiro Doyama (*Rig-Veda: Das heilige Wissen. Erster und zweiter Liederkreis*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 2007). His Croatian translations of the Sāṃhkyakārikas and Yogasūtras, with extensive philological commentaries, are upcoming.

⁵ Can a monkey play a bitch? Hanumant and Saramā. In: Patteri Koskikallio (ed.), *Epics, Khilas and Purāṇas: Proceedings of the Third Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas*. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, pp. 255–293.

Ježić founded the Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas (DICSEP) in 1994 with a group of the most prominent international experts on the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas; it has been held nine times at regular three-year intervals, the last of which was in 2020. Beginning with the third volume, Ježić became the editor-in-chief of the conference proceedings (3–6), the seventh of which is expected to be published in 2023 by the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and a well-known Delhi scholarly publisher Dev Publishers. This conference has become the leading international conference on the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas, and has encouraged new trends in contemporary research and international cooperation in this field.

Teaching and developing university study programmes

Since 1979, Mislav Ježić has taught a variety of undergraduate and graduate courses at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences related to various aspects of Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian philology. He taught an introductory Sanskrit course and numerous Sanskrit seminars in which he read a wide range of Sanskrit texts with students, including pivotal philosophical texts such as the *Yogasūtras*, *Sāṃkhyakārikās*, works by Vasubandhu, Śāṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, as well as the classical kāvyā literature (Amaruka, Daṇḍin, Aśvaghoṣa), the *Manusmṛti*, the Sanskrit Epics, Purāṇas, the *Bhagavadgītā*, and the *Harivaṃśa*. His Vedic seminars, in which he reveals the deepest structure and meanings of Vedic poetry and its Indo-European correspondences and roots to students, are of particular educational importance. Professor Ježić also teaches Middle Indo-Aryan and reads Buddhist texts, the inscriptions of Aśoka, or Prakrit kāvyā such as the *Sattasaī* with students. In addition, he teaches Old Iranian (Avestan and Old Persian) and, occasionally, Hindī seminars.

At the postgraduate linguistics study programme in Zagreb, he teaches a course entitled “Linguistics and Philology”, where he presents doctoral students with the historical interrelationships between linguistics, philology, and philosophy, introduces them to ancient Indian and Greek grammatical traditions and the later development of philology and linguistics through history, and teaches them about the difference between language change and language development, as well as its significance to the language identity of natural idioms and of literary or standard languages.

After 40 years of teaching at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, he was awarded the Charter of the Faculty for Excellence; however, due to circumstances beyond his control, he had to transfer to the Faculty of Philosophy and Religious Sciences, where he teaches subjects such as Interreligious Dialogue and Religious and Philosophical Terminology (in classical and modern languages), etc.

Fortunately, he still teaches at the Indology programme at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences as a part-time lecturer, with courses including Vedic and Prakrit seminars, Indo-Iranian and Sanskrit, and courses on Indian religions and Indian philosophy.

It is worth noting the incredible level of attention Prof. Ježić pays to the precise translation and interpretation of texts at his seminars. All his students remember and admire his astonishing erudition and his rich knowledge of the Indian literary tradition. In his teaching and scientific work, he stands out with his precise philological approach to the text, always capable of identifying all manner of connection. This approach always transcends the boundaries of “ordinary” university lectures, opening the way for students to the highest levels of philology as a science. Calvert Watkins jokingly defined philology as the “art of slow reading”, which Prof. Ježić once reformulated as “the art of *careful* reading”. It is this careful, focused reading that allowed Prof. Ježić to discover a wealth of previously unknown features, structures, content, and messages in many important texts.

As a dedicated university professor, he was involved in a wide range of study programs in humanities during his career. In the 1990s, he invested great efforts in the foundation of the Faculty of Croatian Studies, where he was in charge of the Croatian Language and Religious Studies programmes, where he taught on Indian religions. At the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, he and a circle of colleagues actively supported the launching of the Turkish Studies and Hungarian Studies programmes, as the first layer of a series of study programmes concentric to the Croatian Language programme. As head of the department of Linguistics and Oriental Studies, he struggled to ensure a future for Professor Katičić’s Chair of comparative linguistics and the foundation of the new Chair of Algebraic and Computer Linguistics as an important asset for the future of linguistics at the Faculty. In the mid-1990s, he and a group of colleagues provided the impetus for the founding of a postgraduate linguistics study programme, in which all the philological departments were to play an active role, and where the best professors would teach students in their special fields. Under the auspices of this programme, he still teaches Linguistics and Philology, a compulsory subject of encyclopaedic and systematic character. After the Department of Turkology and Hungarology and the Department of Indology and Far Eastern Studies split from the Department of Linguistics – which was a sign of the remarkable development of the original department – Prof. Ježić ran the Indology programme as Department Head. As of 2004, he was also responsible for organizing the Sinology study programme, and the Japanology programme shortly thereafter; he led both to certification as undergraduate study programmes. The numerous young teachers with PhDs in these fields mean these programmes have promise to grow into full-fledged graduate study programmes; an agreement has also been signed with the University of Ljubljana allowing Croatian students to complete their studies there without additional entry exams.

These programmes can be seen as the outermost layer of the concentric circle of study programmes in the humanities, which, along with Indology, Prof. Ježić helped organize at the University of Zagreb. It must be added that Prof. Ježić, as the head of the Department of Indology and Far Eastern Studies, introduced an independent graduate programme in Romani studies in 2012–2015; he also supervised the PhD thesis of excellent young Indologist Katarina Katavić on the historical grammar of Romani in 2022. However, Prof. Ježić's contribution to the development of Croatian Indology has always been his most important, most fruitful field of work; he notes that he is very happy to have brought and left behind a group of young Indologists (Andrijanić, Grabovac, Katavić) at the department, who obtained their PhDs or MAs (Krnec, Kardaš) under his supervision, and who have already achieved international recognition or are on the best path to it.

Public functions

Mislav Ježić has held a number of public functions, which he usually accepted out of a sense of duty. He has never exercised a function without leaving some constructive trace behind. As a member of the National Commission for Higher Education or National Commission for Science, he designed the system of criteria for the conferment of professorial titles in the humanities; this system is demanding, but incentivizing and mathematically flexible, although intolerant of scholarly unproductivity. It also encourages international cooperation, at the same time allowing the development of a national scientific strategy. The robustness of this system has helped it to remain in use in Croatia for the last quarter of a century – albeit not without some bureaucratic opposition. As a member of the University Committee for Quality Assurance and president of the Committee for Postgraduate Programmes, Prof. Ježić first insisted on the reform of regulations to redress issues arising from bureaucratic, academically non-viable rules and procedures, thereby ensuring the smoother function of accreditation and evaluation procedures in the future.

Mislav Ježić also worked with dedication to organize the Croatian Pan-European Union; he served as its first president from 1991 to 2003, and accepted the position again in 2016 as its third president. In 1995, he was nominated the first vice-president of the International Pan-European Union by its president, H. H. Otto von Habsburg. He remains vice-president to this date. In January 1996, alongside a group of experts and collaborators, he organized an exhibition on the history of Croatian art and culture at the European Parliament in Strasbourg. The exhibition later travelled to Paris to the UNESCO Palace, then to Vienna, Cairo, Dresden, Berlin, Munich, Prague, Bratislava, Budapest, etc. Taking the leadership of the Croatian Pan-European union at the very beginning of the war against Croatia, he made particularly great efforts to convey the truth about the war to the international public and to help win Croatia's international recognition. He wrote numerous

analytical reports on the events transpiring in Croatia, which were distributed through numerous channels (Croatia's representative bureaus in Europe, USA and Asia; the Croatian Bar Association; Croatian companies like the national oil company INA, organizations of the International Pan-European Union, etc.). During the war, the Pan-European Union brought a great deal of humanitarian aid to Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina. During the EU accession process, the Pan-European Union lobbied for Croatia before various European Union bodies. On the date of Croatia's accession to the European Union, Prof. Ježić was invited to the European Parliament to attend the ceremony. His merits in this field are exemplary.

Recognitions and awards

In 1995, Croatian President Franjo Tuđman awarded Prof. Ježić with the Order of Danica Hrvatska with the figure of Roger Joseph Boscovich for merits in scholarship. In 2003, he received the National Award for Science (in the humanities) first time. For his book on Amaruka (*Amarukina stotina*, Zagreb: ArTrezor naklada, 2011), he received the Matica hrvatska "Mihovil Kombol" award for exceptional contribution to the translation of world literature into Croatian in 2011; this same year, he received the Society of Croatian Literary Translators' "Josip Tabak" award for the best translation of poetry in 2011. In 2012, at the 15th World Sanskrit Conference in New Delhi, he received the Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan Award for his contribution to Sanskrit literature through his work on the Vedas and Sanskrit epics. In 2017, as guest of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, he was awarded the title of "Eminent Indologist" at the University of Delhi. Later this same year, Croatian Parliament gave him the National Award for Science (in the humanities) for the second time. In the same year, he was awarded the Charter of the Faculty for Humanities and Social Sciences for Excellence, the most prestigious award given by the Faculty.

Conclusion

Mislav Ježić has had a significant impact on the field of Indology as a scholar who opened new avenues to the interpretation of Vedic texts, the analysis of myths as poetic riddles and not as mythic stories, and the knowledge that the unity of Vedic hymns does not lie in any overt relationships among their expressions, but in the covert unity of their meaning, which is revealed when enigmatic expressions are coherently resolved and understood. He has thus shown that Vedic poetry is one of the highest poetic achievements of mankind.

He is also a scholar who precisely analysed the history of Upaniṣadic texts and contributed to our understanding of the Upaniṣadic tradition of thought as a stream

of continuous dialogue between thinkers, teachers, and remembered and transmitted texts – a tradition that can be properly understood only if we follow each line of thought and each transmitted passage in itself, as well as in relation to all other corresponding passages in other lines of tradition, Vedic schools, and texts. Thus, his analyses of the e.g. *Īśā* or *Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad* reveal much more about their content and messages than was previously known, as well as about their impact on later texts.

Ježić also performed an intertextual interpretation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, unexpectedly discovering within it a Proto-*Bhagavadgītā*. He analysed the relationship of this proto-text with the epic episode in the first *adhyāya* and the Upaniṣadic passages in the following *adhyāyas*, as well as the stimulating effect of this relationship on the creation of the final *bhakti* redaction of the *Gītā*. Prof. Ježić's analysis can be seen as the answer to the philological questions raised by Wilhelm von Humboldt a century and a half earlier and discussed by numerous scholars since. One could say that Ježić proved that the *Gītā* is not merely a simple, yet profound religious poem; instead, it has a text history comparable to that of a great cathedral (or temple) with a long, fascinating history of construction, finally becoming a great monument to an entire culture.

Finally, thanks to his comparative approach, after reviewing the ideas and terminology of the oldest Indian and Greek philosophy (ontology, cosmology, and psychology) and reducing a crucial set of their terms and formulae to their common Indo-European forms, Prof. Ježić showed that the beginnings of philosophy seem to date back some millennia further than scholars had previously dared to assume. This constitutes an exceptional contribution to our understanding of both the intellectual history of mankind and the deepest sense of philosophy.

* * *

We are very happy to dedicate this volume to Professor Mislav Ježić, to pay our respects and gratitude on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

Zagreb, July 2022

IVAN ANDRIJANIĆ

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E. Forthcoming

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Mladen Mikulin – Spomenička i portretna plastika / Mladen Mikulin – Monumental and portrait sculpture. In: Valušek, Berislav, Darko Bavoljak & Ante Rašić (eds.), *Mladen Mikulin*. Zagreb: Skaner Studio, pp. 84–89.

Proslov glavnoga urednika [Prologue of the general editor]. In: Josip Bratulić, Žarko Dadić & Mislav Ježić (eds.); Mislav Ježić (general ed.), *Hrvatska i Europa. Kultura, znanost i umjetnost. Sv. V. Suvremena hrvatska kultura: Od izlaska iz Carstva i Kraljevstva do ulaska u Europsku uniju*. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti i Školska knjiga, pp. IX–LV.

In the same publication:

Tamara Čapeta, Ivan Obadić & Mislav Ježić, Put Hrvatske u Europsku Uniju [Croatia's path to the European Union], pp. 137–163.

Ivan Lozica, Ljiljana Marks & Mislav Ježić: Hrvatska usmena književnost [Croatian oral literature], pp. 429–446.

Tomo Vinšćak, voditelj projekta Sakralna interpretacija krajobraza, i suradnici na projektu Radoslav Katičić i Vitomir Belaj, za zbornik skupa o Tomi Vinšćaku (skup Zagreb FFZG 1.–2. travnja 2022.) [Tomo Vinšćak, leader of the project “Sacral Interpretation of the Landscape, and project collaborators Radoslav Katičić and Vitomir Belaj”, for the proceedings of the conference on Tomo Vinšćak (Zagreb, 1–2 April 2022)].

Može li vjera u jednoga Boga razdvajati? za zbornik skupa Vjera u Boga spaja ili razdvaja? (skup Banja Luka 25.–26. ožujka 2022.) [Can the faith in one God divide people? For the proceedings “Faith in God unites or divides”? (Banja Luka conference, March 25–26, 2022)].

Abbreviations

Frequently cited works

To avoid undue repetition, works frequently cited are listed here together with the abbreviations used of them.

DICSEP 1 = Mary Brockington & Peter Schreiner (eds.), *Composing a Tradition: Concepts, Techniques and Relationships*. Proceedings of the first Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, August 1997. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1999. Reprint: Delhi: Dev publishers, 2019.

DICSEP 2 = Mary Brockington (ed.), *Stages and Transitions: Temporal and Historical Frameworks in Epic and Purāṇic Literature*. Proceedings of the Second Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, August 1999. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2002. Reprint: Delhi: Dev publishers, 2019.

DICSEP 3 = Petteri Koskikallio (ed.), *Epics, Khilas and Purāṇas: Continuities and Ruptures*. Proceedings of the Third Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, September 2002. Zagreb, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2005. Reprint: Delhi: Dev publishers, 2019.

DICSEP 4 = Petteri Koskikallio (ed.), *Parallels and Comparisons*. Proceedings of the Fourth Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, September 2005. Zagreb, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2009. Reprint: Delhi: Dev publishers, 2019.

DICSEP 5 = Ivan Andrijanić, Mislav Ježić & Sven Sellmer (eds.), *On the Growth and Composition of the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas: Relationship to Kāvya. Social and Economic Context*. Proceedings of the Fifth Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas. Zagreb: HAZU/Ibis grafika, 2016. Reprint, Delhi: Dev publishers 2019.

DICSEP 6 = Ivan Andrijanić, Mislav Ježić & Sven Sellmer (eds.), *Mythic Landscapes and Argumentative Trails in Sanskrit Epic Literature*. DICSEP publications, vol. 6. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts – Ibis Grafika / Delhi: Dev Publishers, 2021.

- HV[-CE] = *The Harivaṃśa, Being the Khila or Supplement to the Mahābhārata, For the First Time Critically Edited*, I–II. Ed. by Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969–71.
- MBh[-CE] = *The Mahābhārata. For the First Time Critically Edited*, I–XIX. Ed. by V. S. Sukthankar and others. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933–66.
- Rm[-CE] = *The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa (the National Epic of India). Critically Edited for the First Time*, I–VII. Ed. by G. H. Bhatt and others. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1960–75.

Texts

AiB = *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa*

AiB = *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa*

ĀnRm = *Ānandarāmāyaṇa*

ĀpŚS = *Āpastambaśrautasūtra*

ĀpDhS = *Āpastambadharmasūtra*

ĀpGS = *Āpastambagrhyasūtra*

ĀśvGS = *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra*

ĀśvŚS = *Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra*

AS = *Atharvavedasaṃhitā*

AS(P) = *Atharvavedasaṃhitā* (Paippalāda)

AS(Ś) = *Atharvavedasaṃhitā* (Śaunakīya)

AS(P)-K = *Atharvavedasaṃhitā* (Paippalāda), Kashmir manuscript

AS(P)-O = *Atharvavedasaṃhitā* (Paippalāda) Orissa manuscripts

BaudhŚS = *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra*

BĀU (K) = *Brhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad* (Kāṇva)

BĀU (M) = *Brhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad* (Madhyamādinā)

BḍP = *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*

BhārŚS = *Bhāradvājaśrautasūtra*

BhG = *Bhagavadgītā*

BhāgP = *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*

BKM = *Brhatkathāmañjarī*

BŚS = *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra*

BrP = *Brahmapurāṇa*

ChU = *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*

CV = *Caraṇavyūha*

GaP = *Garuḍapurāṇa*

GDhS = *Gautamadharmasūtra*

GobhilaGS = *Gobhilagrhyasūtra*

HirGS = *Hiranyakeśigrhyasūtra*

HirŚS = *Hiranyakeśiśrautasūtra*

- HV = *Harivaṃśa*
 JA = *Jaiminiyāśvamedha*
 JB = *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa*
 Kād. = *Kādambarī*
 KĀd = *Kāvyaḍarśa*
 KapS = *Kapiṣṭhalakāṭhasaṃhitā*
 KaU = *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad*
 KauśS = *Kauśikasūtra*
 KauṣU = *Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad*
 KB = *Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa*
 *KBK = **Kashmirian Bṛhatkathā*
 KhGS = *Khādiragrhyasūtra*
 KpS = *Kapiṣṭhalakāṭhasaṃhitā*
 KS = *Kāṭhakasaṃhitā*
 KS = *Kāṭhakasaṃhitā*
 KSS = *Kathāsaritsāgara*
 KŚS = *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra*
 LiP = *Liṅgapurāṇa*
 LV = *Lalitavistara*
 MahāBh = *Mahābhāṣya*
 ManuSm = *Manusmṛti*
 MBh = *Mahābhārata*
 MghS = *Meghasaṃdeśa*
 MhV = *Mahāvastu*
 MMK = *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*
 MS = *Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā*
 MŚS = *Mānavaśrautasūtra*
 NaiC = *Naiṣadhīyacarita*
 Nir = *Nirukta*
 NyāBh = *Nyāyabhāṣya*
 NyāS = *Nyāyasūtra*
 NyāV = *Nyāyavārttika*
 P = *Pāṇini's Aśṭādhyāyī*
 PdP = *Padmapurāṇa*
 PārGS = *Pāraskaragrhyasūtra*
 PB = *Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa*
 PR = *Pratāparudrīya*
 RaghuV = *Raghuvamśa*
 Rm = *Rāmāyaṇa*
 RPŚ = *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya*
 RS = *Ṛg(veda)saṃhitā*
 RVKh = *Ṛgvedakhilāni*
 RU = *Rāmopākhyāna*
 ŚaḍvB = *Ṣaḍviṃśabrāhmaṇa*

SD = *Sāhityadarpaṇa*
 ŚB = *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*
 ŚB (M) = *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (Mādhyandina)
 ŚB (K) = *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (Kāṇva)
 ŚGS = *Śāṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra*
 SkP = *Skandapurāṇa*
 ŚrPr = *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*
 ŚSS = *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra*
 TĀ = *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*
 TB = *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa*
 TS = *Taittirīyasamhitā*
 VādhŚS = *Vādhūlaśrautasūtra*
 VaikhŚS = *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra*
 VāP = *Vāyupurāṇa*
 VārŚS = *Vārāhaśrautasūtra*
 VDhS = *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra*
 ViP = *Viṣṇupurāṇa*
 VPC = *Varadāmbikapariṇayacampū*
 VRm = *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa*
 VS = *Vājasaneyisamhitā*
 YV = *Yajurveda(samhitā)*

Journals, publishers and series, etc.

AiG = Wackernagel & Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*
 BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient
 BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
 CSL = Clay Sanskrit Library
 EI = *Epigraphia Indica*
 EWAia = Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*
 IA = Indian Antiquary
 IJ = Indo-Iranian Journal
 JA = Journal Asiatique
 JAOS = Journal of American Oriental Society
 JIP = Journal of Indian Philosophy
 KEWA = Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*
 MLBD = Motilal Banarsidass
 ORA = Oxford Research Archive
 OUP = Oxford University Press
 PTS = Pāli Text Society
 SBE = Sacred Books of the East
 VTB = Vedic Treebank
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

General

Ap. = Apabhramśa

ad loc. = to, or at, the place (*ad locum*)

aka = also known as

CE = Critical Edition

comm. = commentary

e.g. = for example (*exempli gratia*)

esp. = especially

Ex. = excursus

f = folio (plural: ff)

f. = *femininum*

fn. = footnote

Gr. = Greek

Guj. = Gujarati

Hin. = Hindi

I. = instrumental

i.e. = in other words (*id est*)

L. = locative

lit. = literally

^m = mantra-portion

Mar. = Marathi

MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan

MS = manuscript (plural: MSS)

NIA = New Indo-Aryan

OIA = Old Indo-Aryan

^p = prose-portion (= “*brāhmaṇa-*”)

p. = page (plural: pp.)

Pp = *padapāṭha*

Punj. = Punjabi

Rom. = Romani

Rum. = Romanian

sg. = singular

Sindh. = Sindhi

Slav. = Slavic

Sp = *saṃhitāpāṭha*

st. = stanza(s)

s.v. = under the word, entry in a dictionary (*sub verbo / sub voce*)

trans. = translated by

var. = variant

vs. = verse (plural: vss.)

1. Vedic Studies

“Weltinnenraum”: A short glance at a short Ṛgvedic hymn (ṚS 10,177)

Abstract

The short hymn ṚS 10,177 has received comparatively little attention in research, but unjustly so. In a small space, central themes of Vedic poetry are addressed and at the same time enigmatically formulated. Occasionally, some interpretations have been put forward which essentially agree, but differ in the interpretation of important details. In the following, it will be argued that these divergences represent only a part of the problems that arise in the interpretation of this poem; beyond that, other difficulties of understanding will be highlighted that have been neglected so far. In a further step, it will be argued that these problems are not a foreseeable side effect of the composition of enigmatic poetry, but rather a central moment of it. The poet of ṚS 10,177 understands poetic inspiration as a phenomenon that includes essential cosmological and theological aspects.

Introduction

The Ṛgveda (ṚS) still continues to fascinate. Responsible for this is certainly the fact that this text is one of the oldest poetic documents of mankind and the oldest poetry from South Asia. Furthermore, its content appeals to a contemporary audience, due to its enigmatic content and its bewildering combination of a variety of grammatical forms and a bold use of images. Some of these *sūktas*, most of them from the 10th *maṇḍala*, have received the attention of researchers from the beginnings of Indian studies, due to their speculative content and their imaginative language, as well as their impact on later religious developments in India. The most prominent among them are certainly ṚS 10,129, 10,90 and 10,125, all of them dealing with questions of cosmogony and theology. In these hymns, the inclination of the Ṛgvedic poets to speculative imagination has certainly found its clearest expression. But there are other Ṛgvedic hymns as well, especially in the tenth *maṇḍala*, that show comparable

features, although these are not so easily perceived at first glance. The short hymn of three stanzas, RS 10,177 is such a hymn. It contains none of the problems of grammar and lexicon that so often hamper our understanding of R̥gvedic poetry, and it has furthermore been analysed by e.g. Geldner, Lüders, Maggi and Haas,¹ and the conclusion they have reached seem by and large correct. But this is not unproblematic, since they are not coherent to each other, and it therefore seems appropriate to have a fresh look into this state of affairs. Given the lack of serious grammatical problems in this hymn, the reasons for the divergent interpretations have to be looked for somewhere else, and apart from the disputed meanings of some terms, problems of semantics or lexicon do not seem to be responsible for them, as will be shown below. It seems therefore appropriate to have a closer look at the reasons for the divergent views on this hymn. In what follows an attempt will be made in this direction; first, the three stanzas of RS 10.177 will be translated and possible interpretations will be discussed with a view to potential ambiguities. It will then be argued that the reason for these ambiguities lies in a peculiar feature of the R̥gvedic poetic language; a contextual and semantical underdeterminacy of identities that allows for the possibility of a loose and individually determined allocation of several meanings to one word simultaneously. The prominent use of this feature will be explained by the enigmatic nature of R̥gvedic poetry and the way the poets used it for expressing their encounter with the numinous.

RS 10,177

The hymn RS 10,177 is recited by the *hotṛ* during the fanning of the fire in the *pravargya*,² according to the Śrautasūtras an optional rite within the basic Soma ritual, the *agniṣṭoma*, which has been known in a much less sophisticated form already in the RS.³ Its 3rd stanza appears again in RS 1,164.31, but in this article the question of its original place of composition will not be dealt with; rather it will be assumed that no matter why was responsible for its inclusion in this hymn – either the poet himself or a compiler – the result is a well-ordered whole, the components of which display a variety of relations of different kinds to each other, in other words: a poem.

pataṃgām aktām āsurasya māyāyā hṛdā paśyanti mānasā vipaścītaḥ |
samudré antāḥ kavāyo ví cakṣate mārīcīnām padām ichanti vedhāsaḥ || 1 ||

¹ Geldner 1951, Vol 3: 398–399; Lüders 1951: 300 and 1959: 612–614; Maggi 1992: 107–121, Haas 2004: 97–106. Köhler 2011: 348–351 contains some additional remarks, mostly with regard to grammar.

² AiB 4,2; KB 8,4. For the use of the R̥gvedic mantras in the *pravargya* as prescribed in these Brāhmaṇas, cf. Gonda 1979 [= Gonda 1991: 437–473].

³ For the ritual cf. van Buitenen 1968, for its R̥gvedic predecessor Houben 2000b and Oberlies 2012: 283–289.

The bird, anointed with the creative power of the lord, do those knowing the poetic inspirations⁴ see with heart and mind. Within the sea the sage poets⁵ look out; the distributors⁶ seek the trace/place of the light particles. (RS 10,177.1)

It is quite obvious that the focus of this stanza is on the topic of visionary perception of poets. This activity is referred to two times, once by means of the root *paś-* in *pāda* b and by *vi√cakṣ-* in *pāda* c. The qualification by the two instrumentals *hṛdā* and *mānasā* makes clear that a peculiar perception is spoken about here,⁷ and the three terms *vipaścīt-*, *kavi-* and *vedhās-* should refer to the same group of people: poets gifted with extraordinary visionary faculties.⁸ However, a number of problems do occur, which seriously affect our understanding of it. One is the number and identity of the beings occurring in this stanza. Who are the *patamṅgā* and the *āsura*? Are they identical? The first term is usually translated as ‘bird’, and it is often used for the sun,⁹ so a similar interpretation suggests itself for this stanza. Geldner ventures another interpretation;¹⁰ according to him, the *patamṅgā* is the internal light of poetic insight in the heart, and this insight rises as speech; the *samudrā* is identical with the heart, so Geldner, referring to RS 4,58.5; 11 and 10,5.1,¹¹ but as will be shown below, this is not without difficulties. The term *āsura* can often be understood as a title in the RS, something like ‘Lord’, but this title is used for several gods in the RS.¹² The information given in this hymn is too scanty to identify the being to which this title belongs, and it is therefore advisable to leave the question open, at least for the moment.¹³

⁴ For the meaning of *vipaścīt-* cf. Scarlata 1999: 122.

⁵ So according to Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1654.

⁶ So according to Thieme 1949: 46, as well as already Mādhava (aka Sāyana; for the identity of the famous commentator known under this name cf. Slaje 2010) ad loc. (*vidhātāra[h]*). This meaning seems to fit best to the Rgvedic attestations of *vedhās* (cf. Köhler 2011: 191–197), the difficulties with establishing an etymological connection with *√vidh-* or *vi√dhā-* notwithstanding (cf. Pinault 2013).

⁷ *Mānas* and *hṛd/hṛdaya* are throughout the RS considered as the organs for visionary experiences, e.g. RS 10,114.4; 10,130.6 or RS 10,123.6. The heart is moreover thought to be the inner world of the Rgvedic poet where his visionary experiences and poetical compositions arise (Gonda 1963: 276–288; Sellmer 2000).

⁸ The semantics of these three terms overlap to a large extent, although they are unevenly attested in the RS (*vipaścīt-* 25x, *kavi-* 239x, *vedhās-* 66x). They are used for men and gods alike (especially for Agni) and denote persons who are among other things especially concerned with the composition of poetry, but also with its proper ritual arrangement, cf. Köhler 2011.

⁹ Cf. Kirfel 1959: 116–118.

¹⁰ Geldner 1951, III: 398.

¹¹ Followed by Gonda 1963: 281.

¹² So according to Hale 1986.

¹³ Hale considers to see in this stanza an allusion to the Svarbhānu myth in which the darkening of the sun by the Asura Svarbhānu and its subsequent salvation by the Atris is described (Hale 1986: 78). Perhaps this myth contributed to the way this stanza has been formulated, but it is unlikely that its content was supposed to have primarily a mythical character. If that

Lüders has criticized Geldner's interpretation and has analysed it within the frame of his cosmological model, according to which a heavenly sea exists above the earth, which is the abode of the sun at night, whereas it dwells in the heavenly rivers during day time and adduces RS 10,114.4 to support his hypothesis that the *patamgá* of stanza RS 10,177.1 refers to the sun.¹⁴

Another problem concerns the significance of the content of *pādas* a and d. What does it mean that the bird is anointed with magic power, *māyā*? According to Gonda, this term denotes something like 'creative power', involving an extraordinary degree of cognitive and intellectual powers and should therefore not be considered as something like 'magical power'.¹⁵ Is it some kind of transformation? And if so, how should it be evaluated? And what is the meaning of *mārīcīnām padām*? The word *mārīci* (f., RS 2x) is usually translated as something like 'light beam', but another translation given by the Petersburger Wörterbuch, 'light dust' or 'light particles' seems more to the point,¹⁶ at least for Vedic texts, as Weber has shown.¹⁷ These meanings are obviously not synonymous with that of 'light beams', so there may be a reason why the author has chosen this word instead of the equally available *bhānū* or *raśmi*. Furthermore, *padā* allows for at least two different translations, 'footprint' and 'site', and quite often in the RS it also has the additional meaning 'word', especially 'enigmatic word'.¹⁸ These meanings vary considerably, and so do their translations, if one of them is selected. Apart from that, it is also difficult to relate the meaning of this *pāda* to the context of this stanza. Even if there is no general consensus about the exact nature of the bird mentioned in *pāda* a, it is agreed upon that it has some sort of solar aspect and is therefore perceived by the poets. But if *mārīcīnām padām* is taken to denote the 'place/trace of the light particles', one fails to see why the poets (presumably the same group, even if they are designated with another term) seek it, unless one shares Lüders' hypothesis about the true nature of

were the case, there would be no connection to the following stanzas, and for that reason, an interpretation with the focus on enigmatic descriptions of visionary experiences which allows to see these stanzas as a poetic unity seems preferable, as will be shown below. In an earlier publication (Köhler 2011: 348) I argued for Varuṇa as the holder of this title, since he is often called *āsura* in the RS (e.g. RS 1,24.14; 2,27.10; 2,28.7; 8,41.1; 10,132.4) and has a close connection to Sūrya (RS 150,6; 7,87.5; 7,88.3), at one stanza via the use of *māyā* (RS 5,85.5). While these arguments still hold, nevertheless it seems to me now that the way *māyā* is used in stanza 10,177.1 suggests a mysterious, perhaps transformative effect its application has on the bird, one that is apt to exclude an unanimous determination of the identity of the being that applies it.

¹⁴ Lüders 1951: 300–301.

¹⁵ Cf. Gonda 1959: "incomprehensible insight, wisdom, judgement and power enabling its possessor to create something or to do something, ascribed to mighty beings". Hager emphasizes these aspects of *māyā* as well, but regards it as the wondrous power connected with an Asura, i.e. magic (Hager 1983: 11–25).

¹⁶ 'Lichtatom', Böhlingk & Roth 1868, s.v. *mārīci*.

¹⁷ Weber 1865: 9, fn. 1 with numerous references from Vedic texts.

¹⁸ Cf. especially Thompson 1995.

the sun’s heavenly abode, especially during night. And of course, the poets may additionally look for the right poetic denotation for these particles, their *padā*.

There is also a problem with the character of *vī\cakṣ-*: is it transitive or intransitive? Jamison & Brereton have added “it” to their translation of *pāda c* and thereby obtained a direct object for *vī cakṣate*.¹⁹ But there are several R̥gvedic attestations of *vī\cakṣ-* without it (e.g. RS 10,5.1ab *ékaḥ samudró dharūṇo rayīṇām asmád dhrdó bhūrijanmā vī caṣṭe* ‘The sea is (just) one, the foundation of riches, but he, having many births, gazes out from us, from our heart’, trans. Jamison & Brereton), and furthermore, as Casaretto has noted, even in cases where an accusative occurs in connection with an inflected form of *vī\cakṣ-*, it may indicate a direct object or express the extension.²⁰ For these reasons it seems advisable to stick to the wording of this stanza.

The second stanza introduces another being, the Gandharva:

patamgó vācam mānasā bibharti tām gandharvò 'vadaḥ gārbhe antāḥ |
tām dyótamānām svaryām manīṣām ṛtāsya padé kavāyo ní pānti || 2 ||

The bird carries speech by mind. The Gandharva spoke it within the womb.
The sage poets protect the flashing, sun-like/resounding inspired thought at the trace/
place of truth. (RS 10,177.2)

A bird has been mentioned already in the first stanza, as have the *kavīs*, who here appear in *pāda d*. According to Geldner, this stanza continues the topic of stanza one, and Lüders agrees that at this place the poet explicitly deals with inspiration. Furthermore, according to him *ṛtāsya padā* in stanza 2 (as well as in RS 10,5.2) denotes the heavenly abode of sun and truth, and the sun as a form of Agni is identical with Agni in the form of speech; speech in turn dwells in the hearts of the poets.²¹ In addition to the bird, another being appears, the Gandharva. So far, no consensus has been reached concerning its nature,²² but whatever else it may be, it is intimately connected with vision and inspiration. Apart from this stanza, this also happens to be the case in e.g. RS 10,123.4d *vidād gandharvó amṛtāni nāma*; 10,139.6c *prāsām gandharvó amṛtāni vocad*, and also at *Atharvasaṃhitā* (Śaunakīya) 2,1.2 *prā tād voced amṛtasya vidvān gandharvó dhāma paramām gūhā yāt*. Haas has focused on the role of the Gandharva within this hymn, and according to her, the *patamgá*, the sun creates speech by means of thought; the Gandharva in turn links phenomena and designations by pronouncing speech.²³ At the first two parallel *pādas* the action

¹⁹ Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1654, similarly Geldner 1951, III: 398, Ambrosini 1981: 155, Maggi 1992: 108; Elizarenkova 1999: 317. By contrast, Ludwig, Hager and Thompson have not added an object in their translations.

²⁰ Casaretto 2011 [2021]: 154, fn. 65.

²¹ Lüders 1959: 612–614.

²² For discussions of the nature of the Vedic Gandharva, cf. Haas 2004, Oberlies 2012 as well as Dore 2016 and the literature quoted there.

²³ Haas 2004: 102.

ascribed to the Gandharva is expressed by means of the injunctive forms *vidād* and *prā vocad*, which render the temporal stage of the action dependent on those given in the other *pādas*. Perhaps it is advisable to understand *pāda* b of this stanza similarly;²⁴ phonetically, there would not be any change, but the act of speaking would then not be situated in the past but happen at the same time as the acts of carrying and keeping. Unfortunately, Haas does not tell us where the act of connecting is supposed to take place, since she only glosses ‘womb’ (‘Mutterleib’, i.e. *garbhā*) with ‘fertile space’. If the ideas of Geldner and Lüders are acceptable, one could assume that this connecting by speaking out takes place somewhere “within” the poet. But is the Gandharva also identical with the bird mentioned in *pāda* a? As Lindenau assumes, hymns with similar content, especially RS 10,123 (dedicated to Vena considered as a bird with solar attributes) and AS(Ś) 2.1 strongly suggest their identity. Furthermore, one may also identify the Gandharva with the Asura of stanza one, as Maggi has done.²⁵ It is in any way difficult to evaluate the significance of *pāda* a; one can only say that speech needs thought, and – with a view to the content of *pāda* b – it seems to depend on being spoken by the Gandharva. Concerning the parallels to *pāda* b quoted above the generalization of the Gandharva’s exclamation is noticeable; whereas it is said there that he knows and proclaims names (*nāman-*), by definition a subset of speech, in this stanza he is attributed with the proclamation of speech per se.

In the last two *pādas* the perspective shifts to the poets (the *kavīs* who here appear as the keepers of poetic thought (*mañiṣā*). This thought is situated within the same imaginative world as the bird, as it is characterized by attributes usually attributed to the sun (*dyótamāna* and *svarī*²⁶). It is no surprise that the poets are said to protect this thought (it is after all the essential part of their identity), however, this activity is associated here with a special locality, the trace or place of truth (*ṛtāsya padā*). An obvious localization would be the site of the *pravargya* ritual, and perhaps the heavenly abode of truth, the origin of poetic inspiration, according to Lüders.²⁷ However, Vedic topology may have been able to do without fixed boundaries, as one stanza from 1,164 suggests:

iyāṃ vēdih páro ántaḥ prthivyā́ ayāṃ yajñó bhúvanasya nābhiḥ |
ayāṃ sómo vṛṣṇo áśvasya réto brahmāyāṃ vācāḥ paramāṃ vyòma || 35 ||

²⁴ As Mādhava has also done: “*vadati*” (Mādhava ad loc.).

²⁵ Maggi 1992: 108.

²⁶ The etymology and meaning of *svaryā* are not undisputed, as a comparison between the entries in Grassmann’s dictionary and the PW on the one hand (Grassmann 1996; Böhtlingk & Roth 1875, s.v. *svaryā*, respectively, and Mādhava’s commentary (*svargamayitrīm svargāya hitām vā*, Mādhava ad loc.) and the translation of Geldner and Maggi (Geldner 1951, III: 398, with a question mark; Maggi 1992: 118) on the other hand show. But even if etymologically this adjective is unrelated to *svār*, the feminine accusative singular *svaryām* almost certainly evokes associations with it, due to its phonetic similarity.

²⁷ Lüders 1959: 610–614.

This altar here is the farthest end of the earth. This sacrifice is the navel of the living world. This Soma here is the seed of the bull(-like) horse. This formulator here is the highest heaven of speech. (RS 1,164.35)²⁸

If the highest heaven of speech is, wherever the formulator is, then the same may hold for *ṛtāsya padā* as well.

The last stanza of this hymn occurs in another Rgvedic hymn as stanza RS 1,164.31, and like its two predecessors, it has its share in interpretational problems:

āpaśyaṃ gopāṃ ānīpadyamānam ā ca pārā ca pathibhiś cārantam |
sā sadhrīcīḥ sā viśūcīr vāsāna ā varīvarti bhūvaneṣv antāḥ || 3 ||

I saw the cowherd who never settles down, roaming back and forth along the paths.
He, clothing himself in the converging ones, he (clothing himself) in the diverging ones keeps moving along within the places of becoming. (RS 10,177.3)

Geldner has assumed that the *gopā* is *prāṇa*, ‘breath’, which is supposed to act as a keeper of internal light, whereas Lüders opines that Agni as the sun is meant in the first two *pādas*, who in turn is identical with Agni as speech (Vāc) in the final two. The verb in *pāda* a, *āpaśyam*, being the first person singular of the imperfect of *drś-*, seems to point towards a historical past, according to the rules of Vedic grammar. However, Houben has correctly pointed out that this form deviates in many of its Rgvedic attestations from these rules and very probably shows a reference to a recent visionary experience.²⁹ For this hymn this interpretation would fit quite well; whereas in the first stanza the *vipascit* are described as perceiving an extraordinary bird, in the final stanza the lyrical ego, possessing similar abilities speaks of himself having undergone a similar experience. A reference to an event of the remote past is not excluded, but with regard to the other activities depicted in this hymn, a relation of *āpaśyam* to the present (however extended this present may be thought of) recommends itself.³⁰ For the object of reference of ‘cowherd’ (*gopā*) two proposals have been brought forward: breath and the sun (as already said), but both proposals are not unproblematic. But with regard to the content of the other two stanzas, at least for RS 10,177 the first alternative seems unlikely; the topic of seeing and the motive of the bird are so prominent throughout this hymn that it is difficult to imagine something as evasive as breath (or its macrocosmic counterpart, the wind) as holding a prominent position within this context. But to consider *gopā* as standing for the sun is not without difficulties either;³¹ for *pāda* c, a fitting feminine substantive has to be supplied to the two feminine adjectives in the accusative plural *sadhrīcīḥ* and *viśūcīr*. Jamison & Brereton have tentatively proposed to add ‘light beams’ to

²⁸ Trans. Jamison & Brereton 2014: 358.

²⁹ Cf. Houben 2000a: 518; I hope to return to this point in another publication.

³⁰ Furthermore, the established application of this hymn in the *pravargya* ritual suggests an interpretation of *āpaśyam* that is related to its ongoing ritual activities.

³¹ Cf. especially Houben 2000a: 508–510 on this point.

their translation, but the terms usually translated as such, e.g. *bhānū* or *raśmī* are of masculine gender. Instead, one could imagine *áp* ‘water’ and would thereby obtain a somewhat naturalistic description of the sun within the rain clouds, or alternatively one could supplement *mārīci* (f.) ‘light particle’ from the first stanza.³² In doing so, one would obtain an internal coherence of these stanzas, but admittedly, the significance of *pāda c* has yet to be established.

Apart from the difficulties just mentioned, further problems with regard to the content of this stanza come up. The action described in *pāda d* seems difficult to be reconciled with the movement of the sun at the sky. Another problem which has apparently not been dealt with appropriately is the double occurrence of *sá* in *pāda c*, since the second *sá* is tacitly dropped in almost all translations.³³ This is not justifiable; apparently, the poet wants to stress that it is one and the same being that is donning the converging and the diverging ones.³⁴ And finally, the syntactic function of *ā* remains unexplained. It usually figures as a preposition or preverb indicating the direction towards the speaker or an object in the accusative,³⁵ but this is *prima facie* at odds with the iterative function the intensives of *√vrt-* mainly express.³⁶ Most translations that I am aware of have not considered a possible modification of the meaning of the verb.³⁷ Although this is not the place to pursue this examination further, the fact that four out of seven (if the doubly attested stanza RS 1,164.31=10,177.3 is counted once) Rgvedic attestations of the intensive of *√vrt-* appear together with *ā* and additionally one more with *ānu ā*, although no directionality of the action described is discernible in the stanzas, suggests indeed that it is a case of lexicalization at least without any overt semantic modification of the verb. Finally, there remains the question of the best translation for *bhūvana*; it is usually translated either as ‘world’ or ‘being’ and unfortunately, the context of the places of attestations are often not sufficiently enough to allow for a definite decision between these two options. Gonda has proposed a rather literal translation ‘place of becoming’ for it,³⁸ and although this sounds very inelegant, it has the advantage to be close to the meaning of the original and to transfer a presumably existing semantic ambiguity.

³² As have Witzel [et al.] 2007: 300, 742.

³³ The only exception is Whitney in his translation of the parallel to RS 10,177.3/1,164.31, AS(Ś) 9,10.11 (Whitney 1905, II: 558).

³⁴ Perhaps a hint of gentle irony on the part of the poet: the being in question cannot be identified, but retains its identity!

³⁵ Cf. Casaretto 2017.

³⁶ So according to Schaefer 1994: 192.

³⁷ With the exception of Witzel [et al.] 2007: 300.

³⁸ Gonda 1967: 42.

An alternative view

The earlier interpretations have brought forward important points for enhancing our understanding of this hymn, although in each of them the focus is directed at different aspects.³⁹ Nevertheless, serious obstacles still stand in the way of an adequate understanding, especially concerning stanzas 1 and 2. The relation between *patamṅá* and *ásura* is as unclear as that between *patamṅá* and *gandharvá*, and the significance of *māyá* in stanza 1 as mysterious as the translation of *padá* in stanzas 1 and 2. At this point, it may not be out of place to call to mind some of the conditions that frame our approach to the RS in general and 10,177 in particular. First of all, the RS is an enigmatic text and is meant to be so, as the text says itself at several places. This, of course, does not mean that any attempt to understand the content of R̥gvedic hymns is doomed to fail, as there are many instances where we can be pretty sure that we have come to a quite appropriate understanding. However, the R̥gvedic poets have often found an opportunity to conceal the real nature of the things they have been talking about, especially so, when they talked about themselves. But this state of affairs does not imply that no other insights are obtainable. First of all, it is worthwhile to have a closer look at some of the parallels brought forward. As we have seen, Geldner drew the attention to RS 10,5.1 to support his idea of the ocean in the heart, and the first two *pādas* there do indeed show a great similarity to RS 10,177.1 b–d; 10,5.1a–b:

ékaḥ samudró dharúṇo rayīṇām asmád dhṛdó bhūrijanmā ví caṣṭe

The one sea, the bearer of riches with many births looks out from us, from the heart.

But perhaps the differences are more important; whereas according to RS 10,177.1 the poets see with the heart within the sea, in 10,5.1 it is the sea itself that looks out from the heart. From RS 10,5 Lüders has adduced also a *pāda* from another stanza to support his conclusions:

ṛtásya padām kaváyo ní pānti

the poets protect the trace/place of truth. (RS 10,5.2c)

Here again it is important to note the difference; here *ṛtásya padá* is the object protected by the poets, but in 10,177 it is the place where the poets do so. But what if these variations are not supposed to denote different states of affairs at all? That this hymn is about poetic inspiration is more or less unanimously accepted among researchers, as is the enigmatic nature of these stanzas. And it is especially the double meaning of ‘trace’ or ‘place’ for *padá* that points towards a more comprehensive

³⁹ Somewhat surprisingly, in none of the interpretations has Soma been proposed as the subject, although he is compared to a bird e.g. in RS 9,98.13 and appears next to the Gandharva in RS 9,83.4, 9,85.12 and 9,86.36. This additional option of assuming Soma instead of Agni as the subject only enhances the interpretative difficulties.

approach for understanding this hymn, especially in combination with *ṛtá*. If *padá* is taken to mean something like ‘place’, then the syntagm *ṛtásya padá* should denote the locality where *ṛtá* is present; if, however it is understood as ‘trace’, then *ṛtá* is not directly observable. And there are other ambiguities as well, as already noted; the indeterminacy whether the activities these stanzas describe are situated at the macro- or at the microcosmos; all three stanzas can be understood accordingly. And finally the problems of function of *māyā* and of the number and nature of the beings involved can be further elucidated by considering them as the way they appear in this hymn as a variation of a state of affairs that does not allow an unambiguous description. The following two stanzas from RS 3,38 are likely to contain another variation of it:⁴⁰

ātiṣṭhantam pári víśve abhūṣaṇ chriyo vásānaś carati svárociḥ |
mahát tát vṛṣṇo ásurasya námā víśvárūpo amṛtāni tasthau || 4 ||

As he was mounting they all tended to him. Donning beauties, he roams about with his own light. Great is that name of the bull, the lord. Possessing all forms, he mounted the immortal (things/worlds). (RS 3,38.4)

anyád-anyad asuryāṃ vásānā ní māyīno mamire rūpām asmin || 7 ||

Donning one lordly power after another, the masters of artifice parceled out (individual) form in it. (RS 3.38.7c–d)

Whatever the meaning of these stanzas may be, some of the motives of RS 10,177 can be seen here as well; the occurrence of an *ásura* and something related to him (*asuryāṃ*), dressing (*vásāna*), and the occurrence of *māyā* (via *māyīn*). But the Asura’s identity is not revealed, and *māyā* is not ascribed to him but to a group of beings, presumably the original poets. But the fact that the same motives are distributed differently in these stanzas may suggest that a common experience is behind these different expressions. But which kind of experience could that be? An answer to this question may be found by recalling the specific situation the Rgvedic poets found themselves in: With their knowledge of poetic language, they were situated right at the centre of their world and able to connect its separate domains. In doing so they must have been experienced the all-pervading power of speech, if it is only adequately used. This experience is probably shared by very few people nowadays, but luckily the Austrian poet Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926) has coined a term that adequately denotes the condition for transcending the boundaries between the different domains in which reality is usually divided: *Weltinnenraum*.⁴¹ This ‘internal cosmos’ figures as the common ground for everything that is made the topic of (Rgvedic) poetry, and this means literally everything. This circumstance also has implications for the understanding of poetic language, according to the Rgvedic

⁴⁰ Translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 523.

⁴¹ From the poem “Es winkt zu Föhlung” by Rilke: “Durch alle Wesen reicht der eine Raum: Weltinnenraum. Die Vögel fliegen still durch uns hindurch. O, der ich wachsen will, ich seh hinaus, und in mir wächst der Baum.”

poets; it concerns the nature of metaphorical speech: It is misleading to say that one domain of objects may be applied to describe another domain. Rather, as ṚS 10,177 has shown, several domains describe each other simultaneously.

Conclusion

An attempt has been presented here to come to terms with a feature a number of Ṛgvedic hymns share: the absence of fixed criteria for determining the identity of the beings figuring in them. At least when these hymns are dealing with the nature of enigmatic speech it seems worthwhile not only to search for individuals fitting into the frame of the given stanzas, but to analyse the respective stanzas under a more holistic perspective and include the interpretative acts themselves.⁴²

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⁴² It is a great pleasure for me to contribute to the volume in honour of Mislav Ježić. Since our first meeting at the 13th World Sanskrit Conference in Edinburgh in 2006, he has always impressed me with both his erudition and his kindness. Furthermore, I would like to thank my wife Mareike, without whose support I could not have written this article.

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Sažetak

Kratak himan RS 10,177 nepravedno je dobio relativno malo pažnje u istraživanjima. Na malo prostora obrađene su i ujedno zagonetno formulirane središnje teme vedske poezije. Povremeno su se iznosila i neka tumačenja himna koja se u suštini slažu, ali se u tumačenju bitnih detalja razlikuju. U radu će se tvrditi da ta razilaženja predstavljaju samo dio problema koji se javljaju u tumačenju ovoga himna; onkraj toga, bit će istaknute i druge poteškoće u shvaćanju ovoga himna koje su do sada bile zanemarene. U daljnjem koraku tvrdi se da ovi problemi nisu predvidiva popratna pojava kompozicije u poeziji zagonetke, već njezin glavni simbio. Pjesnik RS 10,177 shvaća pjesničko nadahnuće kao fenomen koji uključuje bitne kozmološke i teološke aspekte.

The Vedic hapax *vīcyā* (ṚS 10,10.6) and *vī-* obscenum: Linguistic and philological notes on Vedic sexual slang*

Abstract

The first part of this paper offers a new analysis of an obscure passage from the dialogue hymn *Ṛgveda* 10,10 (*pāda* ṚS 10,10.6d), paying special attention to the meaning of the unclear hapax *vīcyā*, which I tentatively translate as ‘taking an obscene posture’. The second part of the paper discusses a number of other formations (foremost, verbal compounds) containing the preverb *vī-* that are employed in obscene contexts as well as some other lexemes belonging to the sexual register (slang).

1. *Ṛgveda* 10,10.6 and Yamī’s indecent behaviour

The hymn ṚS 10,10, one of the most dramatic texts in the *Ṛgveda*, is the dialogue of the first two humans, the twins Yama and his twin sister Yamī. Yamī tries to persuade Yama to an incestuous relationship, but Yama rejects Yamī’s proposal, pointing out the inadmissibility of incest. One of the most difficult parts of the hymn is the final *pāda* (d) of stanza 6. After pointing to the supreme character of Mitra and Varuṇa’s laws (10,10.6c *brhān mitrāsya varuṇasya dhāma*), Yama blames his sister for her indecent behaviour:

kād u brava āhano vīcyā nīn (RV 10,10.6d)

how PTCL talk:PR:SUBJ:2SG.ACT lustful:VOC.SG.F ? man:ACC.PL

How can you talk, [*vīcyā*], o lustful (one) (?), to men!?

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The two problematic forms here (shown with the boldface) are the rare word *āhanás-* (in the vocative form) and the hapax *vīcyā*. Although it is clear that Yama accuses Yamī of her sexually explicit behaviour, the exact meaning of these two forms, which make the main content of this accusation, is unclear.

2. *āhanás-* ‘obscene, lascivious’

The vocative *āhanas* is usually translated as ‘unchaste, wanton, obscene, lascivious, profligate’ (Monier-Williams 1899: 162), ‘geil, üppig’ (Böhtlingk & Roth 1855 [PW I]: 746), ‘lussuriosa’ (Papesso 1929), ‘lubrique’ (Renou 1956), ‘lubricious’ (Jamison & Brereton 2014), ‘сладострастная’ (Elizarenkova 1999: 125); etc. Elsewhere (Kulikov 2018) I argue that the analysis of this form as an *-as*-derivative of the root *han* ‘hit, beat, strike’ (with the preverb *ā*), proposed as early as in Böhtlingk & Roth (1855 [PW I]: 746), is essentially correct (contra Mayrhofer 1956–80 [KEWA I]: 84; 1986–96 [EWAia I]: 184), though with a semantic development different from that envisaged by Böhtlingk. In fact, the connection between the primary meaning of the root *han*, ‘beat, strike’, and the meaning ‘make love, have sex, copulate, fuck’ is obvious and hardly requires special argumentation. This semantic development, in accordance with the diachronic scenario ‘beat, strike’ → ‘perform sexual strikes’ → ‘perform sexual movements’, is universal and occurs in many languages, cf. Eng. *fuck* ~ PIE **peu(ǵ)-* ‘prick, stab’; Latin *-futo* ‘strike’ ~ *futuo* ‘fuck, copulate’; Rus. (vulg.) *трахнуть* ‘screw, fuck’ (← ‘beat’) etc; see, for instance, Ogier 1996 and Okeregbe 2017. Under this analysis, *āhanás-* obviously represents an *-as*- derivative based on the compounded verb *ā-han*. This compound, rare in Vedic, is attested in the *-ta*-adjective *āhata-* in the wedding hymn RS 10,85:

śúcī te cakré yātyā 'vyānó ákṣa **āhataḥ** (RS 10,85.12ab)

The two gleaming ones [= Heaven and Earth?] were your two wheels as you drove.
Breath **was hammered in** as the axle. (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 3, 1522.)

The compound *ā-han*, meaning ‘strike at, hit, beat’ (of an axle inserted into the hub of a wheel), could develop, for the resultative verbal adjective in *-ta-*, the meaning ‘inserted, hammered in’ (of penis)¹, thus becoming part of the sexual dictionary. This, incidentally, must account for its rare attestations in the corpus. The sexual metaphors of the type “insert the axle into the hub of a wheel” ~ “insert the penis into the vagina” or “two rolling wheels (connected with an axle)”² ~ “two lovers

¹ “Erst als Resultat des wiederholten Anschlagens ist ein Zustand erreicht (Perfekt!), von dem ‘struck in’ gesagt werden kann (‘ein-geschlagen’ [*ā-hata-*])” (Werner Knobl, p.c.).

² Cf. the same sexual metaphor in Yamī’s speech at RS 10,10.7cd *jāyēva pātye tan vām riricyām* ‘vi cid vṛheva ráthyeva cakrá’ ‘As a wife to her husband I would like to grant [my] body [to you]. Let’s [roll], [screwing in and] screw[ing] out [lit. tearing out] (mutually), like two wheels of a chariot!’ (discussed at length by Knobl (2007: 120–122), who, however, renders the preverb *vī* as ‘to and fro, back and forth’; see also Kulikov 2018: 155). As Knobl

having sex” (particularly appropriate in the context of the wedding hymn RS 10,85, predictably full of sexual metaphors; see also section 3 below on the use of *vy-āñj* in RS 10,85.28) is obvious and does not require special comments. The meaning ‘lascivious, lustful, obscene’ readily emerges for the *-as-* derivative of this compound, *āhanās*-³, as developing from ‘the one who strikes at’. Notice that, next to the hymn RS 10,10, where this noun refers to Yamī, it also occurs at RS 5.42.13cd, probably referring to the god Tvaṣṭar, in the context of an obscure myth about the incestual relations with his daughter (see, for instance, already Bergaigne 1883: 109): *yá āhanā duhitúr vakṣāñāsu ' rūpā minānó ákṣṇod idām naḥ* ‘[...to Tvaṣṭar], who, lustful, (/ bulging (?)) in the entrails of his daughter, changing his forms, made this [world] for us’. Several scholars translate this occurrence of *āhanās-* as ‘swelling, bulging’ (e.g. Thieme (1941: 108): “schwellend”; Jamison & Brereton (2014: 2, 711): “bulging” (with a question mark)). Yet, given the character of the described myth, the interpretation advocated, in particular, by Renou (1959 [EVP V]: 23) (“à lui, (dieu) salace, qui, altérant ses formes dans les entrailles de sa fille, a fait pour nous (le monde que) voici”; see also Renou 1958 [EVP IV]: 65–66) does not seem unlikely. Moreover, the parallelism of the two attestations where *āhanās-* occurs as an epithet of an initiator of incest, Yamī and Tvaṣṭar, respectively, rather pleads for the latter interpretation (‘lustful’). The former translation, based on a somewhat dubious similarity between Yamī’s curvaceous shape and Tvaṣṭar’s bulging (?) penis appears less probable. Furthermore, Tvaṣṭar is the father of Saranyū, the mother of Yamī and Yama (according to their canonical genealogy) and thus, technically, the grand-father of Yamī. This makes Yamī’s appeal to Tvaṣṭar in order to license her own incest particularly meaningful.

3. The Vedic hapax *vīcyā*

While the lexeme *āhanās-* is at least etymologically clear and can be unambiguously identified as an *-as-* derivative of the compound *ā-han*, *vīcyā* is even morphologically obscure. Furthermore, this form is a hapax legomenon, being unattested elsewhere in the Vedic corpus.

Several morphological analyses were proposed for this form. Böhtlingk & Roth (1871 [PW VI]: 1290) regarded *vīcyā* as the instrumental form of the hypothetical noun *vīcī-* ‘Trug, Verführung’, which, however, is not attested elsewhere. This

(2007: 120–121, fn. 47) explains, “[o]nly when the chariot runs *at top speed* would the rhythmic rocking-and-rolling, the gently powerful swing-and-sway – in sharp contrast to the rough rumble-tumble of an ox-cart – naturally offer itself [...] to being compared with the involved movements of love-making”, adding further that “the pair of reeling chariot-wheels suggests the connecting **rod**: axle-tree and rotation axis about which the two bodies ‘revolve’.”

³ A bahuvrīhi noun based on a neuter *-as-* derivative (see Wackernagel & Debrunner (1954 [AiG II/2]: 224–225); see also Lundquist 2021: 204–205. — I am thankful to Werner Knobl for valuable comments on the meaning and morphological analysis of this formation.

interpretation is followed by a number of Vedicists and Indo-Europeanists, including (translations of *vīcyā* are in the boldface) Grassmann (in his dictionary [1873: 1314] and in his metrical translation of the *Rgveda* [1877: II, 297]: “Was sprichst du, üpp’ge, **fälschlich** von den Männern?”); Uhlenbeck in his etymological dictionary (1898/1899: 290); as well as Whitney in his translation of the parallel verse of the Atharvaveda [18,1.7; see Whitney & Lanman 1905: II, 817]: “why, O lustful one, wilt thou speak to men **with deceit** (? *vīci*)?”; Wood (1907/1908: 169) (proposing a number of unlikely cognates in several Indo-European languages). Similar translations are offered by Hillebrandt (1913: 139): “Was wirst du, geile, **voll Trug**, zu den Männern sagen?”; Papesso (1929: 186): “che dirai, o lussuriosa, **con la menzogna** ai bravi?”; Renou (1956: 56): “Fille lubrique, parleras-tu aux hommes **avec cette malice**?”; Varenne (1967: 1, 194): “Lascive, **en ta rouerie** qu’oseras-tu dire aux hommes?”; Schneider (1967: 4): “Willst du, Geile [?], **etwa in der Absicht zu verführen** (? *vīcyā*) zu Männern reden?”; Doniger (1981: 248): “Yet what will you say to men, wanton woman, **to seduce them**?”; Sani (2000: 241): “Che scusa **per i tuoi raggiri** potresti addurre ai loro eroici ministri, o donna lasciva?”

Some scholars took *vīcyā* as the *-ya* absolutive (converb) of a compounded verb with the preverb *vī-* (e.g. *vī-yāc* ‘ask’ in Schnaus 2008: 174ff.⁴). This analysis is impossible for several reasons: first, as Schnaus notices herself, this compound does not occur in Vedic; second, and most importantly, the zero grade *īc-* is never attested for this non-alternating root, which always appears in the full grade *yāc-*. Moreover, there is no root which could yield the zero grade *-ic-* in the absolutive.⁵

More plausible is the analysis proposed by Weber (1895: 826)⁶ in his translation of the parallel Atharvavedic verse AS 18,1.7: *vīcyā* is taken as the instrumental singular feminine form (*vīcī-*) of the hypothetical adjective *vy-āñc-* with the suffix *-añc-* of the type *āvāñc-* ‘directed downwards’, *ūd-āñc-* ‘directed upwards’, *ny-āñc-* (f. *nīcī-* [RS 7x]!) ‘directed down into’, *prāñc-* ‘directed forwards’, etc.⁷ Most of these adjectives are derived from spatial preverbs (*áva-* ‘down’, *úd-* ‘up’, *ní-* ‘down into’, *prá-* ‘forth’, respectively). This analysis was also mentioned by Oldenberg (1912 [Noten, ad loc.]: II, 206), yet with uncertainty (“Meinerseits weiß ich nicht, was *vīcyā* ist”) and adopted by many Vedicists (Thieme, Geldner, Renou, Pinault;

⁴ In her translation: “Wirst du sprechen, Geile, die Männer bitten?”

⁵ Unlikely is also the analysis of *vīcyā* as a (completely irregular!) absolutive (converb) of the verb *vyac* ‘encompass, embrace’ (Ludwig 1883: 512). Yet another, and totally impossible, interpretation of *vīcyā* as a passive (!) of the same verb, *vyac* ‘encompass, embrace’ was proposed by Ludwig a few years later (1888: 127): “*vīcyā* alte passivform in neutr. Bedeutung wie *ricya-*; = *vīcyāva* oder *vīcyāvahāi* oder allgemeiner *vīcyāmahāi* ‘[um]faszen wir uns’ 989, (X. 10.), 6. von *vyac*; directe rede; archaismus!”

⁶ “*vīcyā* fasse ich als Instrum. fem. von *vyañc*, eig. auseinandergehend, [...] dann: irrig, fälschlich”. See also Oldenberg’s (1912 [Noten, ad loc.]: 206), who notices, however, that the form is obscure; see also Thieme 1984: 373, fn. 18.

⁷ On this morphological formation, see, in particular, Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954 [AiG II/2]: 152–157; Cantera 2005.

see below). Yet the exact meaning of the form is, in my view, misunderstood. The syntactically “hanging” adjective suggests the ellipsis of a feminine head noun. The lacking substantive is restored by most scholars as *vāc-* ‘speech’ (obviously, because of the verb of speech *bravī/brū*, which occurs in this sentence), and the form in question is rendered as ‘with diverted, deviant [speech]’ or the like. Cf.:

- Oldenberg (1912: 206): “**mit sich entfernender** (von Wahrheit, Sittlichkeit abweichender) (Rede)” (hesitantly)
- Geldner (1951: 135): “Was willst du Zudringliche **gegenteilig** den Männern sagen?”
- Renou (1967: 122): “peut-être « **trompeusement** »...”
- Thieme (1984: 373, fn. 18): “Willst du etwa ... mit den Herren (den genannten Mitra und Varuna nebst den anderen die Wahrheit schützenden Ādityas) **abgewandter** (d.h. ihnen unvernünftiger, unverständlicher) **Rede** sprechen?”
- Pinault (2012: 153–155): “Lascive, parleras-tu aux hommes **d’une façon qui la contraire**”
- Jamison & Brereton (2014, 3: 1382): “Will you speak about superior men [= gods] **with deviant (speech)**, lubricious one?”

The form *vīcyā* and its context are discussed in detail by Bodewitz (2009), who adopts this interpretation, too: “**with [speech] deviating** from the rules, moral standards”, etc. The same analysis is ultimately accepted in Mayrhofer’s etymological dictionary (EWAia, II: 568): “wohl ‘mit abgewandter (Rede)’”.

This analysis raises some doubts. First of all, *vāc-* ‘speech’ is only once attested in the *R̥gveda* with an *añc*-adjective, *pratyāñc-* ‘turned towards, facing’,⁸ with a somewhat obscure meaning (‘future’ (?)):

pratiñcīm jagrabhā vācam ' āśvaṃ raśanāyā yathā (RS 10,18.14cd)

The speech **facing** me I have grasped, like a horse by its halter. (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 3, 1401)⁹

The basic meaning of *vī-* (etymologically going back to **dvis-* ‘in two’; see Lubotsky 1994) is ‘in two, apart, asunder’. The meaning of deviation (‘aside’), even though

⁸ We also find two bahuvrīhi compounds with *-vāc-* as second member at RS 10,23.5 *yó vācā vivāco mrdhrāvācaḥ* [...] *jaghāna* ‘He who killed with his speech those of opposing speech, those of insulting speech ...’. In the plural form *vivācas* (translated by Jamison & Brereton [2014: 3, 1408] as “those of disputatious speech”), the preverb *vī-* is likely to have a reciprocal meaning (see Kulikov 2002), which could have emerged according to the following scenario: ‘talk to each other’ → ‘discuss, dispute’ → ‘oppose, contradict one another’. Cf. also the compound *vī-vad-* ‘discuss, quarrel’ (discussed, in particular, in Kulikov 2002: 284–285).

⁹ By contrast, Elizarenkova (1999: 137) translates: «Я сдерживаю **грядущую** [future] речь, / Как (сдерживают) уздой коня»; cf. also Ježić (1987: 240): “**nadošli** ja sam zgrabio / govor [I grabbed the speech **that just arrived**] kô konja vodicom”.

possible for *vī-* (emerging in accordance with the scenario ‘split (in two)’ → ‘branch from (the main trunk / stem)’ → ‘deviate from’ or the like), is rather secondary for this preverb. Such a meaning would be possible in the context of *vāc-* ‘speech’, which does not occur in the text of RV 10,10, however. Instead, the meaning of *vy-āñc-* should be determined, at least in accordance with the etymological meaning of *vī-*, as ‘directed in two diverging directions, spread apart’. This meaning makes little sense in the context of *vāc-* ‘speech’, but is perfectly possible in construction with another feminine substantive, which, unlike *vāc-*, occurs as many as six times in RS 10,10: *tanū-* ‘body’, obviously being one of the key words of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī. Cf. a few examples (all from the stanzas pronounced by Yamī):

jānyuh pātis tanuvām ā viviśyāḥ (RS 10,10.3d)

As husband [enters] the body of (his) wife, may you enter [my] body.

jāyēva pātye tanuvām riricyām (RS 10,10.7c)

Like a wife to (her) husband I would yield [my] body.

tanuvā me tanuvām sām piprgdhi (RS 10,10.11d)

Mingle [your] body with my body!

Supplying the instrumental *tanvā*, we obtain the (literal) meaning ‘[with the body] directed to several/two directions’, that is, most probably, ‘[with legs] spread out’. This description is likely to refer to an obscene posture, which can, incidentally, be illustrated with classical Indian sculpture (see Figures 1–2), even in spite of the chronological gap of more than two thousand years between the time of the *Rgveda* and the date of emergence of these sculptures.¹⁰ Comparing Yamī with dancers is particularly appropriate in the context of RS 10.10, since it is exactly in this hymn that we find the only mention of the origin of Yamī from a mother *apsaras* – a celestial dancer.

The entire *pāda* d can now be tentatively translated as:

How can you talk to men, taking an obscene posture (= with legs spread out), o eager one to have sex!?

3. *vī-* obscenum in Vedic

The specific semantics instantiated by compounds with the prefix/preverb *vī-* of the type *vy-āñc-* (*vīcyā*), which can be labelled “*vī-* obscenum”, is attested for several compounds with this preverb. Thus, in the stanza *Rgvedakhilāni* 5,22.3 we read (I add interlinear glossing for this difficult passage, probably corrupt at several places):

¹⁰ It is interesting to note that the images of dancers are found on the south side of the temple, thus facing the cardinal point the guardian (*dikpāla*) of which, according to Hindu tradition, is the god Yama.



Fig. 1.–2. Reliefs in Virupaksha Temple, Hampi, Karnataka, South India (15th century AD).

<i>yád</i>	<i>álpikā</i>	<i>suv-álpikā</i>
when	little:NOM.SG.F	very-little:NOM.SG.F
<i>*karkandhukéva</i>	<i>*pác-ya-te</i>	
jujube.berry:NOM.SG_like	ripen-PRES-3SG.MID	
<i>*vāsantikam</i>	<i>iva téjanam</i>	
spring:ADJ:NOM.SG.N	like reed:NOM.SG	
<i>*yabh-yá-mānā</i>	<i>vi nam-ya-te</i>	
fuck-PRES.PASS-PART.MID:NOM.SG.F	apart bend-PRES.PASS-3SG.MID	

(RV Kh 5,22.3)

When the baby, little baby, becomes ripe, like a jujube berry, she, being fucked¹¹, **bends/is bent apart** (i.e. spreading [her legs])¹², like a reed in springtime.

¹¹ Hoffmann (1976: 570f.) and Knobl (2007: 121, fn. 48) translate *yábhyamānā* in accordance with its non-passive root accentuation, as ‘when making love’. The main problem with this analysis is the lack of a productive model in which this hapax formation might fit: the hypothetical class IV present **yábhya-te* does not fit in any of the three main semantic classes of the middle *-ya-* presents with root accentuation (Kulikov 2012: 707–709): (i) verbs of change of state (mostly of spontaneous character); (ii) verbs of motion and body posture; and (iii) verbs of mental activities construed with the accusative. Furthermore, given the fact that accentuation is often corrupt in the manuscripts of the RVKh. (cf. the lack of accent on the preverb *vi* (for **vī*)), it does not seem justified to elucidate the meaning of the form *yábhyamānā* on the basis of its accentuation in the manuscripts.

¹² Or ‘bending to and fro’, in accordance with the translation of *vi* proposed for this passage by Hoffmann (1976: 570f.) (“...biegt sie sich wie ein Frühlingssschilfrohr beim Begatten hin und her”) and adopted by Knobl (2007: 121, fn. 48) (“like a reed in springtime, she bends back and forth when making love”).

For a detailed discussion of this stanza, see Kulikov 2012: 489–493. This entire hymn, found also (with variants and in a more corrupt state) at the end of the Kuntāpa section of *kāṇḍa* 20 of the Śaunakīya recension of the *Atharvaveda*, AS(Ś) 20,136, can probably be considered one of the obscenest and sexually most explicit texts in the early Vedic corpus. It contains several lexemes which are likely to belong to the vulgar stylistic register and form the vocabulary of what one might tentatively call Vedic sexual slang. Thus, the general sense of two coordinated forms *ālpika*- and *svālpika*- raises no questions (both are derived from *ālpā*- ‘small, little’), but, most remarkably, they are virtually unattested elsewhere,¹³ which may point to the fact that they belong to the same, normally tabooed, sexual vocabulary.¹⁴ Their approximate English stylistic equivalents could be, accordingly, *baby*, *babe*¹⁵ or the like. **karkandhukā*- ‘jujube berry’ (derived from *karkāndhu*- ‘ziziphus jujube’, also called ‘red date’, or ‘Chinese date’ – a small fruit tree with sweet juicy berries), also unattested elsewhere, might belong to the same domain (see Edgerton 1911: 127); cf. such slang expressions as Rus. *ягодка* ‘(little) berry’ or *tomato* (American slang of the 1930s)¹⁶ used to refer to a sexually attractive woman.

The same compound *vi-nam*, attested at RVKh 5,22.3 and discussed above, is likely to underlie the root noun **vi-nām*-, which, according to a very probable assumption by PINAULT (2010: 142), should be translated as ‘penis of/in the vagina’. In my view, the context of RVKh 5,22.3 provides an additional piece of evidence for Pinault’s analysis, and *vi-nām*- can then be regarded as based either on the transitive uses of *nam* (‘spreading apart smth. [female genitalia]’ = ‘penis’) or on its intransitive uses (‘spreading apart’ = ‘female genitalia’).

¹³ *alpika*- occurs elsewhere only in AB 6,35.11, in a commentary on another Kuntāpa hymn, AS(Ś) 20,135.

¹⁴ This fact was noticed by Edgerton (1911: 147), who called such derivatives with the suffix *-(i)ka* “Diminutives of Obscenity”. Cf. also Edgerton (1911: 102, 148) and Katsikadeli & Sampanis (2012: 126) on *sulābhike* ‘easily to be won’, ‘leicht zu kriegendes Weibchen’, attested in the Vṛṣākapi hymn (on which see below), at RS 10,86.7, which may instantiate another case of such an obscene diminutive. Yet another example of a sexual slang word with the suffix *-ika*- (f. *-ikā*-) may be *āmbikā*- (VS 23,18), translated as ‘Mutter, Mütterchen’ (Böhtlingk & Roth 1855 [PW I]: 386), ‘mother, good woman’ (Monier-Williams 1899: 83) or ‘dear little mother’ (Edgerton 1911: 97, 131), but perhaps to be rendered rather as ‘milf’ (‘a sexually appealing mother’; see Dalzell & Victor 2007: 116) or the like. The same morphological (and semantic) type may be instantiated by the equally rare noun, *avikā*- ‘ewe; little sheep’ (see Edgerton 1911: 127), attested in an erotic stanza, at RS 1,126.7cd *sārvāhām asmi romaśā* ‘*gandhārīnām ivāvikā*’ ‘I am entirely hairy, like a little ewe of the Gandharis’ (Jamison/Brereton 2014: 1, 292): perhaps a stylistically appropriate translation equivalent for *avikā*- might be Eng. *pussy(cat)* or Fr. *chatte*. Finally, the rare word (hapax?) *ślakṣṇikā*- (see Edgerton 1911: 148), attested at AS(Ś) 20,133.5 and referring, presumably, to wet and slippery female genitals (cf. such slang expressions as *juicy*, used of a sexually aroused woman, see Dalzell and Victor 2007: 98; Eng. *juicy Lucy* ‘vagina’ etc.; see Partridge [et. al.] 2008: 374; or French *lubrique* ‘lecherous, lustful’ < Lat. *lubricus* ‘slippery, smooth, smeary’), is likely to belong to the same semantic domain.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Partridge [et. al.] 2008: 22; Grossman & Tucker 1997: 108 et passim.

¹⁶ See, e.g., Kowalczyk 2019.

vī- obscenum also occurs with the verbal root *as* ‘throw’, meaning ‘open, push apart (of womb, vagina)’, as, for example, in the following mantra:

vy āsya yoniṃ prāti réto grhāṇa (ĀpM 1,12.8a)¹⁷

Open the womb, take the seed!

The corresponding passive construction is attested in the *Vādhūlasūtra*:

yathā vaḍavā vṛṣāṇāṃ dr̥ṣtvā vy-asyata, evaṃ ha vā eṣā devataitad eva taṃ vṛṣāṇāṃ dr̥ṣtvā vy-asyate (VādhŚS [ed. Caland] 4,27:14–15)

Like a mare (in sexual heat?), having seen a male (stallion), **is opened** [i.e. its womb is opened for impregnation], so this deity now, having seen a male, **is opened**.¹⁸

Caland (1928: 132 [= Caland 1990: 432]) hesitantly translates this form (with a question mark) as ‘sich auseinander tun, die Beine auseinander tun, διαβαίνειν’. Note, incidentally, the prefix δια- in the Greek translation equivalent, which is the (inexact) etymological cognate of *vī-* (< **d(w)is-* ‘in two’, with the secondary -α-; see Section 2 above as well as Kulikov 2002: 295–296 and Beekes 2010: 327).

The form *vy ājyate* (root *añj* ‘anoint’) attested in an obscure stanza in the wedding hymn RS 10,85.28¹⁹ appears in a similar context and, most likely, instantiates the same type, *vī- obscenum*:

nīlalohitām bhavati 'kr̥tyāsaktīr vy ājyate (RS 10,85.28ab)

This much debated passage is usually understood as describing bride’s garment stained with blood after defloration, cf. Jamison & Brereton’s (2014: III, 1524) translation:

It [= bride’s garment] becomes dark red. [She=bride] becomes witchcraft, a noose. She is smeared (with blood).

This interpretation leaves unexplained *pāda* b, which then appears quite loosely connected with the beginning *pāda* and the first half-stanza makes little sense altogether. In my view, this stanza does indeed refer to the (first) sexual encounter of the bride with her husband, yet focusing on other aspects of this event. *Pāda* a (meaning indeed ‘[it] becomes dark red’), describes, I assume, the color transformation of an erect penis becoming darker (purple) due to the influx of the darker venous blood.

¹⁷ The same mantra occurs in a corrupt form in two Gr̥hyasūtras (ŚGS 1,19.12a *yasya yoniṃ patireto gr̥bhāya*, HirGS 1,25.1a *yasya yoniṃ prati reto grhāṇa*). This is undoubtedly an erroneous reading as against the correct version attested in the Āpastamba-Mantrapāṭha; see ŚGS, ed. Oldenberg, p. 36, note ad loc.; Oldenberg 1892: 199–200, note ad loc.; Narayana Pillai 1958: 317–318 (though Narayana Pillai considers the reading attested in ŚGS 1,19.12a for the final part of the mantra, *yoniṃ patireto gr̥bhāya*, “more appropriate to the context”: ‘receive the sperm of the husband’).

¹⁸ See KULIKOV 2012: 522 and 600, fn. 1920.

¹⁹ I am going to discuss this stanza at length elsewhere.

Subsequently (*pāda* b), the penis tears apart (*vi-*) the bride's hymen (presumably denoted by the rare word *āsakti-*, lit. 'connection, joining'²⁰), as if by magic (*kṛtyā*),²¹ and smears (*ajyate*) the vagina with semen. The half-stanza under discussion thus clearly describes the events in their natural order: (1) erection; (2) penetrative intercourse; and (3) smearing with semen, as the goal of the sexual act.

The first half-stanza of RS 10,85.28 can thus be tentatively translated as

It [=erect penis] becomes dark red; [subsequently] the [bride's] hymen is miraculously [torn] apart [and] besmeared [=impregnated].

This analysis is corroborated by the fact that the verb *añj* 'anoint' not infrequently attests the meaning 'impregnate' (← 'anoint with seed') also when used with other preverbs or as simplex, as in the following Brāhmaṇa passage, with remarkably telling use of directional preverbs, accompanied by the alliteration *prājyante* ~ *prajāyante*:

grāmyebhyo vā etat paśubhyaḥ stuvanti yad ājyaiḥ. punar amyāvarttaṁ stuvanti; tasmāt parāṇcaḥ prājyante, pratyañcaḥ prajāyante (PB 7,2.6)

In view of the domestic animals they now chant the *ājya*[-laud]s. They chant [them] constantly returning; therefore [the animals] are **anointed [with semen]** (= impregnated) thitherwards [that is, into the vagina] and are born in the opposite direction [hitherwards, i.e. out of the vagina].

In yet another Brāhmaṇa passage the same meaning, 'anoint (with semen)', is attested for the simplex *ajyate*:

ajyata iti paśuṁ pravīyamāṇam āhuḥ (JB 3,24:5 [ed. Caland §171])

"It is **anointed**" – thus they say of cattle that is impregnated (lit. covered).²²

Notice also that a nominal derivative of the same root, *añji-* (lit.) 'the anointing one, anointer', can be used to denote the penis, in particular, in the mantras of the *Yajurveda*:

*út sakthyā āva gudāṁ dhehi ' sám añjīm cārayā vṛṣan
yā strīṇāṁ jīvabhōjanaḥ* (VS 23,21)

[Move] up [her] thighs, put down [her] ass/womb, insert [your] **penis**, o bull, which is vital joy of women.²³

²⁰ On this word, see, in particular, Gotō 1980: 22.

²¹ On the meaning of *kṛtyā*, see Goudriaan 1986.

²² This translation is supported (contra Caland's interpretation «Es wird herbeigetrieben» – sagt man vom Tier, wenn es belegt wird) by the use of yet another verb referring to impregnation, *prá-vyā* (lit.) 'cover'; see Kulikov 2012: 252–255.

²³ This stanza has several variants attested in a number of Yajurvedic texts as well as in some non-Yajurvedic Śrautasūtras, cf. TS 7,4.19.1 *út sakthyòr grdām dhehy ' añjīm údañjim ánv aja* '[lift] up [her] thighs, place [your penis (?)] between [her] thighs, drive in [your] **penis**, erect and unctuous'; ŚSS 16,3.36 *utsakthyor (ut sakthyor? haplology for utsakthyāḥ sakthyor?*

vī- obscenum obviously adds explicitness to this meaning of *añj*: ‘anoint while spreading / pushing apart the object of anointing’ (genitalia, groin, thighs). Cf. also the verbal adjective *vyākta-* (derived from the same compound *vy-añj*) attested in the Vṛṣākapi dialogue, RS 10,86. This hymn, notoriously rich in obscene vocabulary and quite obscure (which is typical for obscene texts), is qualified by Renou (1956: 246) as “le poème le plus étrange du RV”. In the half-stanza 10,86.5ab we find, next to *vyākta-*, yet another instance of *vī-* obscenum, the reduplicated (causative) aorist of the compound *vī-duṣ* (lit.) ‘spoil (apart)’ (= ‘sexually abuse, penetrate?’):

priyā taṣṭāni me kapir' vyāktā vy ādūduṣat (RS 10,86.5ab)

The monkey has spoiled my dear (well-)fashioned anointed (genitalia) [lit. **spoiled apart** by **anointing apart** = [spread] **apart** (with penis) and **anointed** [with seed (?)]²⁴.

Cf. also the verbal adjective *vipraduṣṭa-*, attested in the Smṛtis, which may denote either a girl who is not a virgin (cf. ManuSmṛ 9,72 *tyajet kanyām* [...] *vipraduṣṭām* ‘[a man] may reject a girl [given as a bride] [if she is] defiled / not virgin’; see Olivelle 2005: 193, 326),²⁵ or an adulterous woman (e.g. ManuSmṛ 11,177 *vipraduṣṭām striyaṃ bhartā nirundhyād ekaveśmani*... ‘the husband should keep an adulterous wife confined in a single room...’; see Olivelle 2005: 224). Obviously, in both cases *vipraduṣṭa-* refers to a female “spoiled” by sex with another man, but in the case of a bride this feature amounts to the lack of virginity.

Finally, yet another instance of *vī-* obscenum is the compound *vī-hṛ* ‘put asunder, push apart, separate, open’ attested in a spell which is used to preserve the foetus:

yás ta ūrū vihāratī' antarā dāmpatī śāye

(Werner Knobl, p.c.) *ava gudaṃ dhehy' arvāñcam añjim ā bhara* ‘[lift] up [her thighs], place [your penis (?)] between [her] thighs; bring hither [your] **penis**’. Böhrtlingk & Roth (1855 [PW I]: 746), and, subsequently, Monier-Williams (1899: 181) understood *útsakthyā* as a case form (dative or ablative-genitive) of *útsaktha-* (f. *útsakthī-*): “die Schenkel öffnend”, “lifting up the thighs (as a female at coition)”. Dumont (1928: 178–179) ascribes to this analysis (“Mets dans le guda (vulva) de celle qui écarte les cuisses, et fais entrer, ô male, celui qui oint, la grande joie des femmes”). By contrast, Bloomfield & Edgerton (1934: 271) saw here two words (*út sakthyā*), quoting this mantra as an instance of the accusative-locative variation (*sakthyā / sakthyor*). This difficult stanza requires a special study; I hope to discuss it elsewhere.

I am thankful to Werner Knobl for valuable comments on the meaning and analysis of the initial part of this mantra.

²⁴ For a detailed discussion of this hymn, see Jamison 1996: 74–88; Elizarenkova 1999: 225–228, 485–488. Jamison (1996: 78) renders this passage as “The monkey has spoiled my dear (well-)shaped and decorated things”; Elizarenkova (1999: 225) translates: “Мои милые, хорошо сложенные, украшенные (эти самые) / Попортила обезьяна”.

²⁵ Notice that the manuscripts offer, as a variant reading, the form *viprakṛṣṭām* (see Olivelle 2005: 759) (lit.) ‘ploughed apart’ (cf. pres. (*vī-*) *kṛṣá-*^{ti} ‘plough’, with the subject of ploughshare and the object of earth; see Gotō 1987: 112), which also perfectly fits into the same sexual context.

yóniṃ yó antár āréḥi ' tām itó nāśayāmasi (RS 10,162.4)

Who **pushes apart** your thighs, lies between the married couple, who licks inside your womb, that one we expel from here.

4. Concluding remarks

The rare and/or isolated character of the form *vīcyā* (hapax!) and other forms with *vī-* obscenum (*vī-nam* and the hapax *vinam-grśās-*, *vī-duṣ*) as well as some other lexemes occurring in similar contexts (such as, presumably, *ālpika-*) in the Vedic corpus must be due to their specific stylistic register. There is no need to argue that the obscene vocabulary is commonly tabooed, the exceptions being made for a few peculiar genres of texts such as spells or charms against demons, or, exceptionally, texts with heavy emotional loads, such as the dialogue hymn RS 10,10.

This may, incidentally, shed some light on the intricate textual history of the notoriously obscure Kuntāpa hymns, at least as far as the final (and obscenest) hymn AS 20,136 is concerned. As is well-known, the entire *kāṇḍa* 20 is borrowed from the *Ṛgveda* (see already Roth 1856: 21; 1875: 23), except for the final group of hymns, most of which form the Kuntāpa section. Yet, the existence of the parallel version of these texts in the *Ṛgvedakhilāni* (also known in European scholarship as “Apocrypha of the *Ṛgveda*”) points to the fact that the Kuntāpa portion has eventually the same origin as other parts of *kāṇḍa* 20, stemming ultimately from the *Ṛgvedic* tradition. The redactors of the *Ṛgvedic* corpus obviously belonged to the dominating school of this tradition, which eventually decided not to include the Kuntāpa hymns into the canonical final text of the *Samhitā*, in particular, I suppose, due to their utterly obscene character, considered inappropriate for the canonical text by this particular school of the *Ṛgveda*. Yet the same text was obviously regarded acceptable for the *Atharvaveda*, as a collection of charms and spells. Fortunately for us, the *Ṛgvedic* version of this group of texts was preserved (and, not infrequently, in a better condition than the parallel Atharvavedic version) in the *Khilāni* (Apocrypha).

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Sažetak

Prvi dio ovog rada nudi novu raščlambu nejasnoga odlomka iz dijaloškoga himna RS 10,10 (*pāda* RS 10,10.6d), obračavajući posebnu pozornost na značenje nejasnog hapaxa *vīcyā*, koji uvjetno prevedim kao 'zauzimanje sablažnjivoga položaja'. U drugom dijelu rada govori se o nizu drugih tvorbi (prije svega o glagolskim složenicama) koje sadrže preverb *vī-* koje se koriste u opscenim kontekstima kao i nekim drugim leksemima koji pripadaju spolnom registru (slengu).

The mythological data in the *nivids* of the *Ṛgveda khilas*

Abstract

This paper deals with the mythological information on several gods contained in the *nivid* section 5,5 of the *Ṛgveda khilas*. It is shown that a large part of it has been taken from the RS, either completely or partially, the remainder stems from unknown sources. These passages should be considered the work of a collector-cum-composer who was active during the time the *Ṛgvedasamhitā* of 1017 hymns was compiled, or slightly later.

Khila ist ein Stück unbebautes Land.
H. Oldenberg

The early post-Ṛgvedic *khilas* contain, in the general frame of Vedic sacrifice, a *nivid* section (5,5)¹ that provides the first indigenous collection of mythological data² on a number of important deities. The *nivids* are prose mantras recited by the *hotar* during the three Soma pressings. They call on the deities to drink of the Soma offering.

The *nivids* include those addressed to Agni, Indra, Savitar, Dyāvāpṛthivī, the Ṛbhus, the Viśve Devāḥ, Agni Vaiśvānara, the Maruts, Agni Jātavedas, and again Indra. Especially the last section on Indra is a virtual catalogue of his great deeds.

¹ Here presented following I. Scheftelowitz' edition (1906); cf. Bhise's edition (Bhise 1995: 64 sq. and transl. 1995: 185 sqq.). – For a discussion of the *nivids*, see Scheftelowitz 1919; Niyogi 1961; Bhise 1995; Minkowski 1996; 1997; Proferes 2014; Hoffmann 1976: 381, fn. 9. The *nivids* (and *praiṣas*) were created for the reform of the Śrauta rituals (cf. Proferes 2014: 207). Minkowski (1997) presents a detailed comparison of the Śāṅkhāyana and Āśvalāyana versions of the *nivids*, next to the Kashmir one of Scheftelowitz 1906; he gives the full text of the *nivids* in the footnotes.

² See already Proferes 2014: 202 and Minkowski 1997: 168: the body of the *nivids* contains a list of the epithets of the deities. However, in the context of their papers, they did not explore the epithets further, as will be done in the present paper. For a comprehensive collection of epithets of deities see Macdonell 1897.

These fairly neglected³ sections will be investigated as for their importance in early Vedic mythology.

Indra

The last section on Indra (5,5.11)⁴ begins with the invocation of Indra to drink of the exhilarating Soma (*matsat*) and immediately proceeds to his great deeds: ‘at his intoxication (of Soma), Indra, you who welcomes, slew the dragon’ (*asya made jaritar indro ’him ahan*).⁵ In the same way: ‘Indra slew the Obstacle (Vṛtra)’ (*asya made jaritar indro vṛtram ahan*);⁶ and another important primordial deed: ‘... instigated the gush of the waters’ (*asya made jaritar indro ’pām vegam airayat*),⁷ thus making fertility and life on earth possible. ‘Indra, you welcomer, will instigate the slow ones, abound the unsubdued’⁸ (*asya made jaritar indro jinvaḍ ajuvo pinvaḍ ajitaḥ*).

Then moving to the semi-mythological realm, ‘Indra furthered the Āryan people (‘color’); he subdued the Dāsa⁹ settlements’ (... *indra ud āryaṃ varṇaṃ atiraḍ*).¹⁰ *ava dāsīḍ viśo astabhnāt*).¹¹

Moving back to the cosmos: ‘Indra fixed heaven, he spread out the earth. He instigated the sun in heaven, crossed the interspace’ (... *indra ud dyām astabhnād*,¹² *aprayayat pṛthivīm ... indro divi sūryām airayat, vy antarikṣam atiraḍ*).¹³ ‘Indra

³ However, see Scheffelowitz 1919; Niyogi 1961; Minkowski 1996; 1997; Proferes 2014; Bhise 1995: 16 sqq.; cf. Macdonell 1897.

⁴ The relevant quotes of these individual sentences in the RS will be given in the footnotes (without changing the end of quotes to a *pausa* form). Where a close quote is not found in the RS it will be indicated by “cf.” – For Indra’s characteristics see Macdonell 1897: 54 sqq. – For this section, cf. Scheffelowitz (1919: 35) who points to RS 2,12.2.

⁵ 1.32.1c *ahann ahim*, 1,32.2a *ahann ahim parvate*; 1,103.2c *ahann ahim*; cf. *ahim indro jaghāna*, 1,80.13c *ahim indra jighāmsato ...*, etc.

⁶ Cf. 6,37.5c *indro vṛtram haniṣṭho ...*; 8,89.3c *vṛtram hanati vṛtrahā*.

⁷ Bhise 1995: 191: “the speed of the rivers”; 2,19.3 *sa mādina indro arṇo apām prairayat*. Cf. 7,82.3a *anv apām khāny atrntam ojasā sūryam airayataṃ divi prabhum*; cf. 2,19.3; 3,26.6.

⁸ Bhise 1995: 191: “impelled the speedless and fattened the unconquering ones.”

⁹ *dasīḍ* for **dāsīr*, with the occasional mistake *r* > *d*, see Hoffmann 1986: 56: *apādyaud/apadyaur* in AS(P); cf. Minkowski 1997: 179.

¹⁰ Cf. 3,34.5 *premaṃ varṇam atiraḍ ...*; 3,34.9 *hiranyayam uta bhogaṃ sasāna hatvī dasyūn prāryaṃ varṇam āvat*, cf. 3,24.2–3.

¹¹ Cf. 10,148.2a *ṛṣvas tvam indra śūra jāto dāsīr viśaḥ sūryeṇa sahyāḥ*.

¹² 2,12.2 *yo antarikṣam vimame varīyo yo dyām astabhnāt*; 8,30.9 *astabhnād dyām vṛṣabho antarikṣam*; 6,47.5 *ayam mahān mahatā skambhanenod dyām astabhnād*; cf. 8,42.1 *astabhnād dyām asuro ...*; 8,89.5 *tat pṛthivīm aprathayas tad astabhnā uta dyām*; 10,55.1 *ud astabhnāḥ pṛthivīm dyām*; 10,153.3 *ud dyām astabhnā ojasā*. Cf. also 1,154.4c.

¹³ 8,14.7a *vy antarikṣam atiraṇ made somasya rocanā*; cf. 7,82.3a *anv apām khāny atrntam ojasā sūryam airayataṃ divi prabhum*.

calmed the agitated “oceans”¹⁴, i.e. those on earth, below the earth, and beyond heaven (... *indras samudrān prakupitāṃ aramṇāt*).¹⁵ ‘Indra set at rest the agitated mountains, (that were) exited like bounding antilopes’ (... *indra ṛśyāṃ iva pamphaṇataḥ parvatān prakupitāṃ aramṇāt*).¹⁶ This refers to the old myth that the mountains originally had wings and moved about until Indra cut off their wings and they then settled down on earth (MS 1,10.13: 152.18; KS 36,7: 74.3–11).

Reverting to the current occasion, the Soma sacrifice: ‘Indra must listen here, must here enjoy the Soma’ (... *indra iha śravat, iha somasya matsat*). ‘He, the god, must help the invocation of the gods, by divine concentration (*dhiyā*)’ (*premān devo devahūtim avatu devyā dhiyā*).

‘He must help this Brahmin (class), this Kṣatriya (class), this (Soma) pressing offerer, he the bright one with bright help’ (*predam brahma, predam kṣatram; premāṃ sunvantam yajamānam avatu*).¹⁷ *citraś citrābhīr ūtibhiḥ*). ‘He must listen to the (poetic) formulations (*brahman*), he must come with help’ (*śravat brahmāṇy āvasā gamat*).

In sum, Indra is invited to the Soma rite, praised for his primordial and current great deeds and asked to assist his followers; they are here listed in the “mythological order” of developments:

- he established heaven and the earth
- he moved the sun and crossed the interspace
- he calmed the agitated “oceans”
- he calmed the exited mountains (settled them down on earth)
- he slew the dragon (*ahi*), Vṛtra, and thus,
- he liberated the swell of the waters,
- he established the Āryan *varṇa* and subdued the Dāsa settlements

The invocations end with the plea to help the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and the current Soma sacrificer.

All of this refers both to the morning and midday pressings (cf. Schmidt 1967; Proferes 2014). The central myth of the morning pressing is the release of the cows, the dawns, while that of the midday pressing is that of killing the dragon/Vṛtra.

In sum, this is a catalog, often taken out from identical or very similar ṚS lines – as indicated at length in the preceding footnotes.

It is clear that the author or compiler of ṚVKh 5,5 has collected many direct quotes from the ṚS.¹⁸ However, if that was not possible for some of Indra’s charac-

¹⁴ On this term see Klaus 1989, literally “confluence of waters”, thus not the Indian Ocean.

¹⁵ 2.12.2a *yaḥ prthivīm vyathamānām adṛmhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitāṃ aramṇāt*.

¹⁶ 2.12.2a *yaḥ prthivīm vyathamānām adṛmhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitāṃ aramṇāt*; Minkowski 1996: 229; cf. ṚS 10,44.8; Geldner ad ṚS 2,11.7.

¹⁷ 2.12.14a *yaḥ sunvantam avati yaḥ pacantaṃ*.

¹⁸ See the conclusion by Proferes 2014: 218 on this point, as opposed to Scheftelowitz 1919: 33 sq. (and others, like Niyogi 1961: 21 sq., cf. in detail, Bhise 1995: 32 f.) who thought that

teristics or actions, he has also “excerpted” suitable data, like one for the Satvan, that he shaped as to let them appear descriptive (usually in the nominative).

At the same time the collection also indicates the mindset of the contemporary Brahmins: if one wants to describe Indra, what does one choose? – Or, to put in another way: which noems¹⁹ are important to arrive at the noem aggregate that signifies ‘Indra’. By noem (νόημα) we understand the smallest individual item of meaning that denotes/describes a certain entity or concept: Indra would be described by numerous such items, like his strength, thirst for Soma, his pushing up the sky, being the leader of the gods, etc. – as seen in the quotes listed above. Normally, only some of these noems will be actively present or relevant in the mind of a contemporary Brahmin – just like in our mind when we try to bring up the concepts of, say, Zeus, Hercules, C. Columbus, G. Washington, or Napoleon. It must have taken an extra-ordinary effort to collect or to compose all such data for Indra, and the other deities (see below). However, given the oral nature of ṚS transmission, a Brahmin of Kuru times (Witzel 1995) could evoke, computer-like, all relevant materials by mentally running through the ṚS – a feat that is still observable even today.²⁰

This is crucial: it indicates that ṚS 5,5 is an independent work by an early post-Ṛgvedic author who was interested to list as many great deeds or characteristics of Indra etc. as possible, in the context of Soma ritual.

For our current purpose, the present and the following sections provide a unique glimpse of the mind of the Brahmins at the time of the formulation of the great Śrauta rituals. It should also be investigated in how far these early Brahmins used many (but certainly not all)²¹ *mantras* available to them in the Kuru-time ṚS when they established the “*saṃhitās*” for ritual use, as seen in the first few Black YV sections on Soma ritual (*adhvara*, see Witzel 2020, § 9), as well as in other complicated Śrauta rituals.

The other two ṚVKh sections (5,5.2–3) dealing with Indra proceed in similar ways.

5,5.2: Indra at the midday pressing.²² ‘Indra, accompanied by the Maruts, must drink of the Soma, he who has the praise of the Maruts, has the troop of the Maruts, is

the *nivids* and *praiṣas* (mentioned as such in the ṚS) are the oldest strata of Vedic texts. He erroneously thought that certain ṚS verses were built on *nivids* and *praiṣas*. Even then, some grammatical forms are as old as the ṚS and perhaps still older, see Hoffmann 1976: 381, fn. 9, for which see *kanīnā* below, in 5,5.6.

¹⁹ See Hoffmann 1967: 37 sqq. (also discussing Koschmieder 1965); cf. Hoffmann 1986: 525.

²⁰ This is still done, e.g. at Pune: certain ṚS specialists can recite, in order, all words containing, say, the vowel *r*, etc.

²¹ As even a brief look at the *Vedic Concordance* will show.

²² Cf. Proferes 2014: 206, 210 for two versions of the midday pressing, originating from two different priestly families; Scheftelowitz 1919: 35 points to ṚS 5,57.2.4; 5,87.1.

the comrade of the Maruts, is strengthened by the Maruts' (*indro marutvān somasya pibatu*²³ | *marutstotro*²⁴ | *marudgaṇaḥ*²⁵ | *marutsakhā marudvṛdhaḥ*).²⁶

But, the text then reverts more specifically to his great deed: '(as is known), slaying the Obstacles (Vṛtra), he let loose the waters, with the strength of the Maruts' (*ghnan vṛtrā*²⁷ *srjad apah*.²⁸ *marutām ojasā saha*). As the exact quote is not found in the RS, the author of this *khila* sentence must have composed it himself, based on some other *ghnan* quotes, listed above, which indicates the contemporary or very early post-RS age of the *khila* sentence.²⁹

Interesting too is the mentioning of killing the great foe Śāmbara (in his mountain fortress, "after 40 years"), during the fight for cattle (*śambarahatye gaviṣṭau*).³⁰

Some repeats of the above sentences are found in the sections 5,5.2, 5,5.3 and 5,5.11. (*premān devo devahūtim avatu*) etc., while the collection of Indra quotes is continued in section 3: 'Indra must drink the Soma, as the most heroic one of having (just) one birth, the most courageous of those having a strong birth' (*ekajānām vīratamaḥ; bhūrijānām tavastamaḥ*).³¹ Then follow his standard epithets: Indra as 'standing on (the chariot with) two bay (horses), the lover of the variegated (cows)³² (*prśneḥ pretā*); the carrier of the Vajra-weapon, the breaker of fortresses, the

²³ Cf. RS 4,47; 8,37.1 (Scheftelowitz 1919: 34); 3,4. *yathā no mitro varuṇo jujoṣad indro marutvām uta vā mahobhiḥ*.

²⁴ Cf. 1,101.11a *marutstotrasya vṛjanasya gopā*.

²⁵ 2,41.15a *indrajyeṣṭhā marudgaṇā devāsaḥ pūṣarātayaḥ*; 6,26.52.11a *stotram indro marudgaṇas tvaṣṭṛmān mitro aryamā*; cf. 5,52.5; 9,65.10.

²⁶ See discussion of this section by Proferes 2014: 201. Cf. 3,13.6c *śaṃ naḥ śocā marudvṛdho 'gne sahasrasātamaḥ*.

²⁷ 5,31.7a ... *yad ghnann ojo atrāmimithāḥ*; 4,12.2c *sa ... rayim sacate ghnann amitrān*; 6,73.2c *ghnan vṛtrāṇi vi puro dardarīti*; cf. also 6,19.13c *ghnanto vṛtrāṇy ubhayāni*; 7,92.4c *ghnanto vṛtrāṇi sūribhiḥ śyāma*; 9,17.1a *pra nimneneva sindhavo ghnanto vṛtrāṇi*; 10,104.11c *śṛṇvantam ugram ūtaye samatsu ghnantaṃ vṛtrāṇi saṃjitaṃ dhanānām*. Cf. Minkowski 1996: 172.

²⁸ Cf. 1,174.4c *srjad arṇāṃsy ava*; 5,29.2c *ādatta vajram abhi yad ahim hann apo yāvīr asṛjat sartavā u*; 6,17.12a *ā kṣodo mahi vṛtaṃ nadīnām pariṣṭhitam asṛja ūrmim apām*; 6,30.4c *ahann ahim pariśayānam arṇo 'vāsṛjo apo*; 8,3.10a *yenā samudram asṛjo mahīr apas*; 8,76.3c *srjan samudriyā apah*; 10,124.7a *kaviḥ kavivā divi rūpam āsajad aprabhūti varuṇo nir apah srjat*.

²⁹ Cf. Proferes 2014: 206 for "an effort on the part of the *nivid*'s composer/editor to exploit appropriate material from as many maṇḍalas of the R̥gveda as possible".

³⁰ Cf. 1,112.14a *yābhir mahām atithigvaṃ kaśojuvaṃ divodāsaṃ śambarahatya āvatam*; 3,47.4a *ye tvāhihatye maghavann avaradhan ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣṭau*. Scheftelowitz 1906, wrongly, has *gaviṣṭhau*. Cf. Minkowski 1997: 179; 4,30.14: *dāsam...avahann indra śambaram*.

³¹ Bhise 1995: 186 "the bravest among the solitary ones; the strongest among those who are born in large numbers"; cf. Minkowski 1997: 173; cf. 10,5.1a *ekaḥ samudro dharuṇo rayīṇām asmad dhṛdo bhūrijanmā vi caṣṭe*. 3,52.8a *prati dhānā bharata tūyam asmai puroḷāṣam*; 1,109.5a *yuvām indrāgnī vasuno vibhāge tavastamā śuśrava vṛtrahatye*; 2,33.3a *śreṣṭho jātasya rudra śrīyāsi tavastamas tavasam vajrabāho*.

³² Bhise 1995: 186 "moving ahead of *prśni*".

dispenser of the waters, the “leader” of the waters, the leader of the Satvants³³ etc.; this is again followed by repeat lines (as above and in section 11), (*haryos sthātā*³⁴ | *prśneḥ pretā* | *vajrasya bhartā*³⁵ | *purāṃ bhetā*³⁶ | *purān darmā*³⁷ | *apāṃ sṛṣṭā*³⁸ | *apāṃ netā*³⁹ | *satvānām netā*⁴⁰ | *nijaghnir dūreśravāḥ*⁴¹ | *upamājikṛd damśanāvān*⁴² | *ihośan devo babhūvān*⁴³ | *indro deva iha śravāḥ*⁴⁴ | *iha somaṃ pibatu*).⁴⁵

In sum, the *nivids* in RVKh 5,5 contain many if not most aspects of R̥gvedic Indra mythology, and as such need to be studied further. They fill a gap between the RS and the early Yajurveda Śrauta *mantras* (Witzel 2020, chapters 8–9), whose mythology and religion, too, still are in need of a detailed investigation.

Agni

The other major RS deity besides Indra is Agni, with whose hymns the RS collection starts. As is well known, there are only relatively few myths connected with this deity. RVKh 5,5.1 lists:

agnir deveddhaḥ | *agnir manviddhaḥ* | *agnis suṣamit*⁴⁶ | *hotā devavṛtaḥ* | *hotā manuvṛtaḥ* | *prañir yajñānām* | *rather adhvarāṇām*⁴⁷ | *atūrto hotā*⁴⁸ | *tūrñir havyavāt*⁴⁹

³³ See Mayrhofer 1996: 691 (“Krieger”).

³⁴ 3.45.2c *sthātā rathasya haryor abhisvara indro dṛḥhā cid ārujaḥ*.

³⁵ 10.22.3c *bhartā vajrasya dhṛṣṇoḥ pitā putram iva priyam*; 10,74.5c *ṛbhukṣaṇam maghavānam suvr̥ktim bhartā yo vajraṃ naryam purukṣuḥ*.

³⁶ 8.17.14c *drapso bhetā purāṃ śasvatīnām indro munīnām sakhā*.

³⁷ Cf. 10,46.5a *pra bhūr jayantam mahām vipodhām mūrā amūram purām darmānam*.

³⁸ Cf. 7,18.15a *indreṇaite tṛtsavo vevīṣāṇā āpo na sṛṣṭā adhavanta nīcīḥ*.

³⁹ 2.12.7c *yo apāṃ netā sa janāsa indraḥ*.

⁴⁰ Cf. 8,40.11a *taṃ śiṣītā svadhvaraṃ satyaṃ satvānam ṛtviyam*.

⁴¹ Bhise 1995: 186: “the forceful striker whose fame has reached far and wide”. Cf. 9,53.2a *ayā nijaghnir ojasā rathasaṃge dhane hite*.

⁴² Bhise 1995: 186: “the closest fighter for prize (and) having miraculous powers”. Cf. 3,39.4c *indra eṣām dṛmhitā māhināvān ud gotrāṇi sasṛje damśanāvān*.

⁴³ Bhise 1995: 196 “the loving god has been here”. Cf. 2,37.6c *viśvebhir viśvām ṛtunā vaso maha uśan devām uśataḥ pāyayā haviḥ*.

⁴⁴ Cf. 4,36.9a *iha prajāṃ iha rayiṃ rarāṇā iha śravo vīravat takṣatā naḥ*.

⁴⁵ 1.44.14c *pibatu somaṃ varuṇo dhṛtavrato ...*

⁴⁶ 1.13.1a *susamiddho na ā vaha devām agne haviṣmate*. Cf. Minkowski 1997: 171.

⁴⁷ Cf. 1,44.9a *patir hy adhvarāṇām*. 8,11.2c *agne rathīr adhvarāṇām*.

⁴⁸ See Sharma 1960: 12; Bhise 1995: 185: “who does not haste”; cf. 1,126.1c *yo me sahasram amimīta savān atūrto rājā śrava ichamānaḥ*.

⁴⁹ See Sharma 1960: 12; Bhise 1995: 165: “who is quick”; cf. 1,67.2 *kṣemo na sādhuḥ kratur na bhadro bhuvāt svādhir hotā havyavāt*; 3,2.2c *havyavāt agnir ajaraś canohito dūlabho viśām atithir vibhāvasuḥ*; 3,2.2c *havyavāt agnir ajaraś canohito dūlabho viśām atithir vibhāvasuḥ*;

| ā devo devān vakṣat⁵⁰ | yakṣad agnir devo devān⁵¹ | so adhvarā karati jātavedāḥ.

Agni, the god, has been kindled, kindled by Manu, has good kindling sticks, is chosen as the offering priest (*hotar*) of the gods and of Manu, the leader of the sacrifice, the charioteers of the rituals, the unconquered *hotar* priest, the unsurpassable one having oblations. As a god, he will transport (the offerings) to the deities; as a god, he will offer to the deities; he, Jātavedas, will prepare the *adhvarā*⁵² (Soma) rituals.

Agni, in his form as Vaiśvānara⁵³ ('belonging to all men') is again called upon in section 8.

*agnir vaiśvānāras somasya matsat | viśveṣāṃ devānām samit | ajasram daivyaṃ jyotiḥ*⁵⁴ | *yo viḍbhyo mānuṣibhyo dīdet | dyuṣu pūrvāsu didyutānaḥ*⁵⁵ | *ajara uṣasām anīke*⁵⁶ | *ā yo dyām bhāty ā prthivīm | urv antarikṣam | jyotiṣā yajnāya śarma yaṃsat*⁵⁷ | *agnir vaiśvānara iha śravad*⁵⁸ | *iha somasya matsat | premāṃ devo dehahūtim avatu devyā dhiyā | predaṃ brahma | predaṃ kṣatram | premaṃ sunvantaṃ yajamānam avatu | citraṣa citrābhir ūtibhiḥ | śravad brahmāṇy āvasā gamat*.⁵⁹

He must exhilarate at the Soma, is the kindling stick for all deities,⁶⁰ is the perpetual divine light. He who ought to shine for the settlements and for the humans; he (was) shining in earlier days (*dyuṣu*); at the ageless face of the Dawns; he shines towards heaven, earth, and the wide interspace. He must provide protection for the sacrifice with his light. (The rest is formulaic).

Still another form of Agni, Jātavedas ('who has knowledge of beings'),⁶¹ is invoked in section 10:

3,11.2a *sa havyavāl amartya uśig dūtaś canohitaḥ*; 3,27.5c *agnir yajñasya havyavāt*; 5,4.2a *havyavāl agnir ajaraḥ pitā no vibhur vibhāvā sudrśīko asme*; 5,6.5c *suścandra dasma viśpate havyavāt*; 8,56.5a *acety agniś cikitur havyavāt sa sumadrathaḥ*.

⁵⁰ Cf. 1,12a *sa devāṃ eha vakṣati*; 4,8.2c *sa devāṃ eha vakṣati*.

⁵¹ Cf. 1,139.10a *hotā yakṣad vanino vanta vāryam*; 3,4.3c *achā namobhir vṛṣabhaṃ vandadhyaḥ sa devān yakṣad iṣito yajñyān*; 3,19.1c *sa no yakṣad devatātā yajñyān*.

⁵² See Scheftelowitz 1919: 34.

⁵³ Cf. Scheftelowitz 1919: 35, on ṚS 5,76.1.

⁵⁴ Cf. 10,139.1a *sūryaraśmir harikeśaḥ purastāt savitā jyotir ud ayāṃ ajasram*; 10,185.3c *jyotir yachanty ajasram*.

⁵⁵ See Scheftelowitz 1919:35, with ṚS 5,76.1 *ā bhāty uṣasām anīke ā dyām bhāti*. Cf. 3,7.4c *vy aṅgebhir didyutānaḥ sadhasiḥ ekām iva rodasī ā viveśa*.

⁵⁶ 5,76.1a *ā bhāty agnir uṣasām anīkam ud viprāṇām devayā vāco asthuḥ*; 6,47.5a *ayaṃ vidac citradrśīkam arṇaḥ śukrasadmanām uṣasām anīke*.

⁵⁷ Cf. 1,58.8a *achidrā sūno sahaso no adya stotṛbhyo mitramahaḥ śarma yacha*; 1,114.10c *mṛlā ca no adhi ca brūhi devādhā ca naḥ śarma yacha dvibarhāḥ*.

⁵⁸ Cf. 8,62.4c *yebhiḥ śaviṣṭha cākano bhadram iha śravyasyate*.

⁵⁹ Cf. 10,35.13c *viśve no devā avasā gamantu*.

⁶⁰ Note the use of Ṛgvedic *viśva* 'all', which is replaced, after the ṚS, by *sarva*; cf. Minkowski 1996 and Proferes 2014 on the age of the *nivids*.

⁶¹ Scheftelowitz 1919: 35 points to ṚS 1,11.1–3.

*agnir jātavedās somasya matsat | svanīkaś ca citrabhānu⁶² | aproṣivān⁶³ grhapatī
tiras tamāṁsi darśataḥ⁶⁴ | ghṛtāhavana īḍyaḥ⁶⁵ | bahulavartmāstrtayajvā | pratītyā
śatrūn jetāparājitaḥ⁶⁶ | agne jātavedobhi dyumnam abhi saha āyacchasva | tuśo
aptuśaḥ⁶⁷ | samiddhāraṁ stotāraṁ amhasas pāhi | agnir jātavedā iha śravad iha
somasya matsat. [premāṁ devo devahūtim avatu | devyā dhiyā | predaṁ brahma |
predaṁ kṣatram | premaṁ sunvantaṁ yajamānam avatu | citraś citrābhir ūtibhiḥ |
śravad brahmāṇy āvasā gamat.]*

He should exhilarate (in the ritual) of Soma, has a fair face and shines with light, the lord of the house who does not travel (from it), conspicuous across the darkness, carrying melted butter, the one worthy of invocation, the worshipper invincible on many paths. Having surpassed the enemies, he is the unconquerable victor. O Agni Jātavedas, fetch yourself heavenly glory (*dyumna*). Forceful and very light.⁶⁸ Protect the praiser, carrying kindling sticks, from the “narrownesses” (difficult situations). Agni Jātavedas must listen here.” (The rest is again formulaic.)

Other deities

The mentioning of the remaining deities found in RVKh 5,5 will be discussed less extensively as they merely confirm what has been said about Indra and Agni.

Savitar

*savitā devas somasya pibatu hiraṇyapāṇis⁶⁹ sujihvaḥ | subāhus svaṅguriḥ⁷⁰ | trir
ahan satyasavanaḥ⁷¹ | yat prāsuvaḥ vasudhitī ubhe joṣṭrī savīmāni⁷² | śreṣṭhaṁ*

⁶² Cf. 4,6.6a *bhadrā te agne svanīka saṁdrg ghorasya sato viṣṇasya cāruḥ*.

⁶³ 8.60.19c *aproṣivān grhapatir mahām asi divas pāyur duroṇayuh*.

⁶⁴ 8.60.19c *aproṣivān grhapatir mahām asi divas pāyur duroṇayuh*.

⁶⁵ 8.74.5c *ghṛtāhavanam īḍyam*. Bhise 1995: 191: “his offering consists of ghee; he is to beglorified”(!).

⁶⁶ 1.11.2c *tvām abhi pra ṇonumo jetāram aparājitam*.

⁶⁷ For variants, see Minkowski 1996: 228; 1997: 179.

⁶⁸ Scheftelowitz 1919: 34: “kräftig, federleicht”; cf. Sharma 1960: 138 sq.; Bhise 1995: 191 “satisfied, appeased by means of work”.

⁶⁹ 3.54.11a *hiraṇyapāṇiḥ savitā sujihvas*; cf. 7, 34.4.

⁷⁰ Scheftelowitz 1919: 34: RS 2,33.7 *subāhus svaṅguriḥ*; cf. 4,54.4c *yat prṥthivyā varimann ā svaṅgurir varṣman divaḥ suvati satyam asya tat*.

⁷¹ Bhise 1995: 187: “trice a day he is receiving (*sic*) libations which are effective”. Cf. 10,36.13a *ye savituḥ satyasavya viśve mitrasya vrata varuṇasya devāḥ*.

⁷² Bhise 1995: 187: “in that he has inspired the two wealth-bestowing goddesses Joṣṭrī during the pressings”. 10,36.12c *śreṣṭhe syāma savituḥ savīmāni tad devānām avo adyā vr̥ṇīmahe*; 10,64.7c *te hi devasya savituḥ savīmāni kratum sacante sacitaḥ sacetasah*; 4,53.3c *pra bāhū asrāk savitā savīmāni niveśayan prasuvann aktubhir jagat*; cf. 8,18.1c *ādityānām apūrvyaṁ savīmāni*.

*sāvītram āsuvaṇ*⁷³ | *dogdhrīn dhenum* | *vodhāram anaḍvāham* | *āśum̐ saptim*⁷⁴ | *jīṣṇum̐ ratheṣṭhām*⁷⁵ | *purandhim yoṣām* | *sabheyam yuvānām*⁷⁶ | *parāmīvāṃ sāvīṣat parāghaśamsam*.⁷⁷

The god Savitar must drink of the Soma (offering), the one with a golden hand⁷⁸ and a good tongue, with good arms and good fingers. Three times daily he is pressing out the truth. As he pressed out both bestowing wealth, both cherishing ones in order to instruct, they pressed out the best cause of production, the milk giving milch cow, the drawing ox, the quick horse, the victorious chariot driver, the one bountiful for the maidens, the one for the *sabhā* of young men; he has worked, the one moving far away, praised for thoroughly killing (enemies). (The rest is formulaic again: *savitā deva iha śravat* ... etc.)

Heaven and Earth

These two deities that hardly have a hymn to themselves, nevertheless are invoked in this ṚVKh section.⁷⁹

dyāvāprthivī somasya matsatām | *pitā ca mātā ca* | *putrāś ca prajananam* ca⁸⁰ | *dhenuś ca*⁸¹ *rṣabhaś ca* | *dhanyā ca dhiṣaṇā ca*⁸² | *suretās ca*⁸³ *sudughā ca*⁸⁴ | *śambhūś ca mayobhūś ca*⁸⁵ | *ūrjasvatī ca payasvatī ca*⁸⁶ | *retodhāś ca retobhṛc ca*.

Heaven and Earth, exhilarate at the (drink) of Soma; (as) Father and Mother, son and progeny, milch cow and bull, opulence and (Soma) cup,⁸⁷ having good semen and good-milched, happiness and well-being, having strength and having fluid (milk), giving semen and maintaining semen. (The rest is formulaic again: *dyāvāprthivī iha śrutām iha somasya matsatām* ...)

⁷³ Cf. 4,54.6a *ye te trir ahan savitaḥ savāso dive-dive saubhagam āsuvanti*; 5,82.1a *tat savitur vṛṇīmahe vāyaṃ devasya bhojanam*; 5,82.1c *śreṣṭhaṃ sarvadhātamaṃ turam bhagasya dhīmahi*; 10,35.7a *śreṣṭhaṃ no adya savitar vareṇyam bhāgam ā suva sa hi ratnadhā asi*.

⁷⁴ 10.156.1a *agnim̐ hinvantu no dhiyaḥ saptim̐ āśum̐ ivājiṣu*.

⁷⁵ Cf. 6,21.1c *dhiyo ratheṣṭhām ajaram̐ navīyo rayir vibhūtir īyate vacasyā*.

⁷⁶ Cf. (Soma) 1,91.20c *sādanyam̐ vidathyam̐ sabheyam̐ pitṛśravaṇam̐ yo dadāśad asmai*.

⁷⁷ Bhise 1995: 187: “May he drive away disease, (drive) away the slanderer.” Cf. Minkowski 1996: 227.

⁷⁸ See Scheftelowitz 1919: 34 on ṚS 3,54.11; 2,33.7.

⁷⁹ Cf. Scheftelowitz 1919: 35 with ṚS 4,33.2,4,8.

⁸⁰ Cf. 3,29.1a *astīdam̐ adhimanthanam̐ asti prajananam̐ kṛtam̐*.

⁸¹ Cf. 10,5.7c *agnir ha naḥ prathamajā ṛtasya pūrva āyuni vṛṣabhaś ca dhenuḥ*.

⁸² Cf. 5,41.8c *dhanyā sajoṣā dhiṣaṇā namobhir vanaspatīm̐ oṣadhī rāya eṣe*.

⁸³ Cf. 10,45.8c *agnir amṛto abhavad vāyobhir yad enam̐ dyaaur janayat suretāḥ*.

⁸⁴ Cf. 7,2.6a *uta yoṣaṇe divye mahī na uṣāsānaktā sudugheva dhenuḥ*.

⁸⁵ Cf. 4,41.7c *vṛṇīmahe sakhyāya priyāya śūrā maṃhiṣṭhā pitareva śambhū*.

⁸⁶ 10.169.1a *mayobhūr vāto abhi vātūsrā ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā riśantām*.

⁸⁷ Bhise 1995: 187: “the bestowers of wealth, the two hemispheres”.

R̥bhush

The enigmatic group of deities, the R̥bhush⁸⁸, too, appear.

ṛbhavo devās somasya matsan | viṣtvī svapasah⁸⁹ | karmaṇā suhastāh⁹⁰ | dhanyā dhaniṣṭhāh | śamyā śamiṣṭhāh | śacyā śaciṣṭhāh⁹¹ | ye dhenum viśvajuvam viśvarūpām arakṣan⁹² | arakṣan dhenur abhavad viśvarūpi⁹³ | ayuñjata harī⁹⁴ | ayur devām upa⁹⁵ | abudhran sañ kanīnā madantaḥ | saṃvatsare svapaso yajñīyam bhāgam āyan.

Divine R̥bhush, exhilarate at the (drink of) Soma; having performed as skillful ones,⁹⁶ good-handed in work, very rich ones bestowing wealth, the most forceful ones with force,⁹⁷ they who protected the all-impelling variegated milch cow, they protected what became the variegated milch cow; you have yoked the two bay (horses), life span with the gods; they woke up with youthful, exhilarating ones;⁹⁸ at the (new) year, the skillful ones went toward to (receive) the share worthy of sacrifice. (The rest is again formulaic.)

The All-Gods

Likewise, the general, undefined group of deities, the All-Gods, appears.

viśve devās somasya matsan | viśve vaiśvānarā⁹⁹ viśve viśvamahasah¹⁰⁰ | mahi mahāntaḥ | takvānnā nemadhiṭvānaḥ¹⁰¹ | āskrāḥ pacatavāhasaḥ | vāta ātmāno agnijūtāḥ | ye dyām ca pṛthivīm cātasthuḥ | apaś ca¹⁰² svaś ca | brahma ca kṣatram ca |

⁸⁸ Thus Gotō: “Künstler, Handwerker” (Witzel & Gotō 2007: 842).

⁸⁹ 4.33.8c *tā ā takṣantv ṛbhavo rayim naḥ svavasah svapasah suhastāḥ*.

⁹⁰ 4.35.3c *athaita vājā amṛtasya panthām gaṇam devānām ṛbhavaḥ suhastāḥ*; 4,35.3c *athaita vājā amṛtasya panthām gaṇam devānām ṛbhavaḥ*; 7,35.12c *śaṃ na ṛbhavaḥ sukṛtaḥ suhastāḥ śaṃ no bhavantu pitaro haveṣu*.

⁹¹ 4.20.9a *kayā tac chr̥ṇve śacyā śaciṣṭho yayā kṛṇoti muhu kā cid ṛṣvaḥ*; cf. 10,24.2.

⁹² 4,33.8a *ratham ye cakruḥ suvṛtaṃ nareṣṭhām ye dhenum viśvajuvam viśvarūpām ...* Cf. Minkowski 1997: 174f. for the variant *arakṣan* for *atakṣan*, which is preferable regarding the R̥bhush.

⁹³ 4.33.8a *ratham ye cakruḥ suvṛtaṃ nareṣṭhām ye dhenum viśvajuvam viśvarūpām*. For the variant *atakṣan* again, see Minkowski 1996: 227.

⁹⁴ Cf. 1,6.2a *yuñjanty asya kāmā harī vipakṣasā rathe*.

⁹⁵ Cf. *ayur* 8,18.13, which Geldner takes as ‘life’.

⁹⁶ Bhise 1995: 188: “Having worked, they became hard-working.”

⁹⁷ Bhise 1995: 188: “By their performance they are the best toilers.”

⁹⁸ Bhise 1995: 188: “Enjoying the maidens, they got enlightened.” (!)

⁹⁹ 8,30.4a *ye devāsa iha sthana viśve vaiśvānarā uta*.

¹⁰⁰ 10.93.3c *viśve hi viśvamahasā viśve yajñeṣu yajñiyāḥ*.

¹⁰¹ For *nemadhiṭi* ‘fight, strife’, see Scheftelowitz 1905: 140; 1919: 34. Cf. Sharma 1960: 177; Minkowski (1997: 176; 1996: 227) records the Śāṅkhāyana variant *nematithivānaḥ*. For *takvānnā ...*, see Minkowski.

¹⁰² 5,47.2a *ajirāsas tadapa īyamānā ātasthivāṃso amṛtasya nābhim*.

*barhiś ca vedīm ca*¹⁰³ | *yajñam coru cāntariḥsam* | *ye stha traya ekādaśāḥ*¹⁰⁴ | *trayaś ca trimśac ca* | *trayaś ca trī ca śatā* | *trayaś ca trī ca sahasrā* | *tāvantobhiṣācaḥ*¹⁰⁵ | *tāvanto rātiṣācāḥ*¹⁰⁶ | *tāvatīḥ patnīḥ* | *tāvatīr gnāḥ* | *tāvanta udaraṇe* | *tāvanto niveśane* | *ato vā devā bhūyāṁsas stha* | *mā vo devā atiśaśā mā pariśaśā vikṣi*¹⁰⁷ | *viśve devā iha śrāvann iha somasya matsan* ... (etc. etc.)

All-Gods, exhilarate at the (drink of) Soma. All¹⁰⁸ Vaiśvānara (gods) all the all-powerful ones, the exceedingly great ones; the ones striving for food;¹⁰⁹ the united ones conveying food; the ones having wind as breath, impelled by Agni; those who established heaven and earth, the waters and the tomorrow,¹¹⁰ the Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, the sacrificial grass and the Veda, the sacrifice and the wide interspace; you who are three times eleven; three and thirty, three and three hundred; three and three thousand;¹¹¹ that many favorable ones,¹¹² that many granting favors, that many wives (*patnī*), that many ladies (*gnā*),¹¹³ that many at the rising, that many at the resting; henceforth you are abundant gods; gods, do not harm the excellent ones, the widely excellent... All Gods, listen here; exhilarate at (the drink) of Soma". (The rest is again formulaic).

* * *

In sum, the deities selected in the *nivids* of ṚS 5,5 are listed with their major characteristics and deeds. Many of these have directly been taken from the ṚS, others are formulated based on partial mentions in the ṚS, still others are otherwise unknown.

The hand of a conscientious collector and conscious composer is clearly seen. His language (such as the use of the injunctive or the pronoun *viśve*) points to a period contemporaneous with, or slightly later than the Kuru-time ṚS collection of 1017 hymns.¹¹⁴ This neglected evidence for early mythological thought will have to be investigated further, which cannot be done within the limited space of this article.

¹⁰³ Cf. 8,19.18a *ta id vedīm subhaga ta āhutiḥ te sotum cakrire divi*.

¹⁰⁴ On the numbers used in this section, see Minkowski 1996: 234.

¹⁰⁵ 10.65.14c *rātiṣāco abhiṣācaḥ svarvidaḥ svar giro brahma sūktam juṣerat*.

¹⁰⁶ 10.65.14c *rātiṣāco abhiṣācaḥ svarvidaḥ svar giro brahma sūktam juṣerat*.

¹⁰⁷ For this difficult sentence, see Minkowski 1996: 228; and his detailed discussion in 1997: 176 (with Narten 1959: 39–41). Bhise 1995: 189: "O gods, may I not approach you with over-praise or praise that goes round."

¹⁰⁸ Note the archaic (ṚS) use of *viśva*.

¹⁰⁹ Bhise 1995: 189 differs widely: "They are quick at food, having separate placement. Being united, they are carriers of food."

¹¹⁰ Bhise 1995: 189: "the sun".

¹¹¹ For numbers in the ṚS, see Miyakawa 2003.

¹¹² Bhise 1995: 189 "devotees".

¹¹³ Bhise 1995: 189 "heavenly women".

¹¹⁴ Thus, minus the later inserted Vāṅkilyas, in the Śākalya recension.

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Sažetak

Ovaj rad obrađuje mitološke obavijesti o nekoliko bogova koje se nalaze u odjeljku 5.5 *Nivida* RS *Khile*. Pokazuje se da je velik dio materijala preuzet iz *Rksamhite*, bilo u cijelosti ili djelomično, dok ostatak potječe iz nepoznatih izvora. Ove odlomke treba smatrati djelom redaktora-pjesnika koji je bio aktivan u vrijeme kada je sastavljena *Rksamhitā* od 1017 himana, ili nešto kasnije.

The placement of objects in Vedic Sanskrit

Abstract

In this paper we address the question if there are any diachronic changes concerning the placement of direct objects in Vedic literature. For our investigation, we use the latest version of the Vedic Treebank and apply standard statistical methods to disentangle the influence of time from other factors, most importantly animacy and register. We can confirm the significance of the animacy class of an object for its placement, discern chronological trends and find a strong tendency towards using fewer verbal arguments, which is a hitherto underestimated factor in studies of Vedic word order.

Introduction

Word and major constituent order in Vedic and classical Sanskrit have been an important area of research since at least Bergaigne (1878) and Delbrück (1878). To name just a few important studies, one may cite the foundational overview by Delbrück (1888), Bloomfield's investigation of the mantra variants under this angle (Bloomfield 1913), Lahiri's very useful wide-ranging study, which also deals with material from the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* (Lahiri 1933), Gonda's general observations (Gonda 1952), and Klein's two rich articles devoted to the *R̥gveda* (Klein 1991; 1994). The temporal dimension, which is of special interest for the present paper, has recently been addressed by Reinöhl (2016), who adduces evidence for a diachronically increasing degree of configurationality in Indo-Aryan languages that comes along with a more regulated word order. A more in-depth survey of related studies can be found in Holland 1980: 1–32. Deshpande and Hock (1991) as well as Hock (2015a; 2015b) provide a detailed bibliography with further pointers into the relevant literature.

This contribution in honour of Prof. Mislav Ježić, one of the great *Vedavids* of our time, addresses one peculiar subproblem from the area just sketched: Is there any relevant diachronic development to be observed in the placement of direct objects? Any study dealing with the question of language change in Vedic is confronted with serious methodological problems caused by the structure of its textual corpus. The

oldest parts of the Vedic corpus consist almost exclusively of poetry, whereas most texts of the younger strata are in prose. As a consequence, temporal and register boundaries coincide with each other, which makes it difficult to disentangle the mutual influence of these factors. A radical solution to overcome this obstacle has been chosen by those researchers who – like already Delbrück (1888) – assumed that poetry should be neglected in general studies concerning word order, as it is incomparable to prose texts due to the freedom offered by “poetic licence”. Hock (2000), however, has pointed out that this line of thought is neither convincing nor fruitful as it factually excludes large parts of the Vedic corpus from our investigations. On the other hand, the difference in register should not be ignored either, as is in fact done by those who take the strongly differing word order in Vedic poetry and prose on their face value and directly construct a development from a free word order in R̥gvedic times to a rigid subject-object-verb (SOV) schema in later Brāhmaṇa prose.¹ By preparing statistics that compare R̥gvedic word order with that in prose passages of Kālidāsa’s *Śakuntalā* as well as with Aśoka’s *Rock Edicts*, Hock was able to furnish evidence for a much greater similarity of these later texts with the *R̥gveda* than with the Brāhmaṇa style. Hock (1984; also see Hock 1997) has therefore all but proved that simple linear theories are untenable and that the factor of register has to be thoroughly taken into account.

The research literature produced so far, as exemplified by the studies mentioned above, provides the theoretical foundation for studying word order change in Vedic and offers valuable and detailed discussions of numerous text passages. Very often, however, these works focus almost exclusively on the oldest testimonies in the R̥S, and even if they discuss later passages (as already Delbrück did), most of them do not adduce quantitative evidence (e.g. corpus-based studies, statistical tests of significance) that supports their claims. The few papers that stand out by quantifying their results and providing basic statistics, still work with manually collected data; see for instance Viti 2010, to which we will return shortly, and Klein’s articles just cited. Our paper addresses these two problematic aspects by extending the range of the study to the whole Vedic corpus and by using quantitative methods, esp. statistical tests of significance. Building on the latest release of the Vedic Treebank (Hellwig, Scarlata, Ackermann et al. 2020; Biagetti et al. 2021), we aim at studying changes in the word order on the basis of a large sample of syntactically annotated sentences from all registers and diachronic levels of Vedic literature. We will use a coarse, but widely accepted layer model of Vedic literature for grouping occurrences of verb-object constructions and will then perform statistical tests of significance in order to assess if observed differences can be said to point to real diachronic differ-

¹ As Hock (1997: 103) notes, this position is taken by three researchers working on Indo-European syntax with otherwise quite diverse views (Friedrich 1975; Lehmann 1974; D. G. Miller 1975), who all see a Dravidian influence here.

ences. Our analysis will additionally control the register type of the texts, and it will study if the animacy type of the objects influences the position where they are found in a sentence. The data and evaluation scripts are available at <https://github.com/OliverHellwig/sanskrit/tree/master/papers/2022festschrift-jezic>.

Creating the data

The Vedic Treebank (=VTB) forms part of an ongoing project in which the Vedic corpus is annotated using the Universal Dependency (UD) standard (Nivre et al. 2016). Its main motivation is a palpable lack of resources: A large-scale database of syntactic annotations that could lend a broader empirical basis to linguistic research was missing until 2020. The VTB has seen three major versions so far. The first version (Hellwig, Scarlata, Ackermann et al. 2020) contained about 4,000 sentences from five Vedic texts with approximately 27,000 word tokens. In the second version (Biagetti et al. 2021) the VTB was extended to a total of 6,600 sentences with 47,000 word tokens. In parallel to the annotation, a systematic evaluation of the inter-annotator agreement on a set of 96 unsegmented text lines with 1,885 word tokens was performed, which showed a rather modest result of 69,6% unlabeled attachment agreement (76% with pre-segmented text lines; see Biagetti et al. 2021). This may be taken as a signal that the syntactic data of the VTB should be treated with a certain amount of caution and requires counter-checking. At the moment, the third version of the VTB is being prepared in the context of the research project ChronBMM,² which aims at clarifying the diachronic and geographical distribution of the Vedic corpus by inspecting changes in linguistic structures. At the time of writing this paper the VTB contains approximately 17,300 sentences with 130,000 word tokens and covers all major text groups of the Vedic corpus. The annotations made so far can be inspected online via the Digital Corpus of Sanskrit (DCS; Hellwig 2021), and the annotations of the second version are available for download in CoNLL-U format (see Hellwig, Scarlata, Ackermann et al. 2020). We were also able to enhance the inter-annotator agreement to about 93% in the latest additions, and revisions of old annotations are being constantly undertaken, so that the quality of the resource is now considerably better than at the previous stages. In addition, the annotation process has been massively improved thanks to the implementation of a graph-based machine-learning dependency parser that achieves an accuracy of 87% UAS in the syntactic annotation of Vedic texts (Hellwig, Nehrdich & Sellmer, under review). We use this parser for pre-annotating new texts, and manually correct its output, a procedure that considerably speeds up the expansion of the VTB.

The dependency data contained in the VTB are exemplified in Figure 1:

² See <https://chronbmm.phil.hhu.de/>

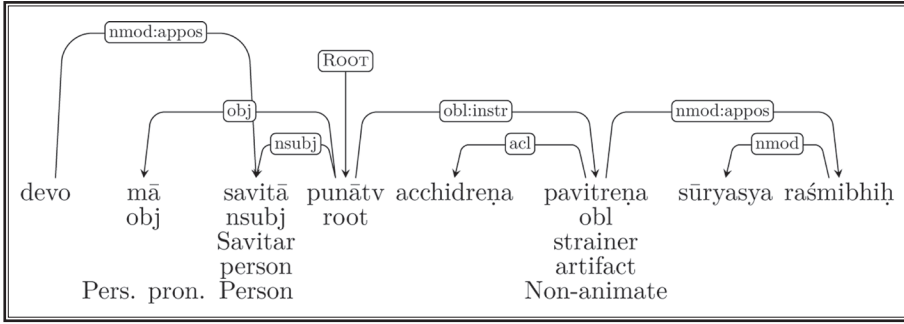


Fig. 1. Syntactic annotation of *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā* (Mādhyandina version) 4.4.3: “Let god Savitar purify me with his unbroken purifier, with the rays of the sun.”

The first additional row below the Sanskrit text shows the UD label of the core arguments, the second one the word semantic annotation, the third one the WordNet supersense, and the last row the animacy class used in this paper (see Table 1).

As far as our investigation of major constituent order is concerned, it is easy to identify the main verb, which always has the syntactic label *root*, and its core arguments, i.e. the subject (*subj*), the direct object (*obj*), the indirect object (*iobj*) and various oblique arguments describing time, place and other circumstances of the main action (*obl*). This implies that we restrict the evaluation to those sentences that have a finite verbal form as their root node and that we do not consider argument structures of subordinate and coordinated main clauses. In addition, we discard all sentences in which this root verb is modified by at least one discourse particle, since particles may shift the focus of a sentence and thus lead to displacement of arguments. For the purpose of this paper, we do not consider the absolute distance of an argument from the root. Instead, we erase all elements of the sentence that are neither the root nor one of its core arguments, and record the syntactic labels of the remaining elements. By applying this method, the sentence in Figure 1 is reduced to the following sequence of labels, which are also given in the first additional row of the dependency graph:

obj nsubj root obl

Let us focus on the object in this sequence for a moment. In the present example, the object *mā* “me” is placed two positions prior to the verb and thus obtains the label -2. The whole example sentence therefore translates into the following numeric representation (note that the verb is left out here, because its position can be inferred from the remaining information):

obj	nsubj	obl
-2	-1	+1

This condensed representation of a sentence that solely records the positions of the heads of the main arguments relative to the verb constitutes the data on which this study is built. Now, the main purpose of our contribution is to assess whether these relative positions undergo relevant changes when we correlate them with a fivefold diachronic stratification of the Vedic corpus (see the end of this section). Merely using these data would, however, introduce a substantial amount of noise in the evaluation as the word order is of course influenced by multiple non-temporal factors. When we consider, for instance, the subject argument, word orders such as OVS or OSV that diverge from the Indo-European SOV standard have been shown to be due to the topicality of the arguments (Viti 2010). Discussing multiple passages from books 1–5 of the *R̥gveda*, Viti claims that divergences from the SOV standard can partly be explained by the animacy type of the arguments, because arguments that are higher in the animacy hierarchy tend to get fronted. The animacy hierarchy employed by Viti (2010: 38) is schematically shown in the first column of Table 1. While Viti manually determines the animacy for each text passage, the linguistic information recorded in the VTB opens another, more generic way for obtaining animacy information. The first two entries in Viti’s animacy hierarchy (first and second person pronouns; third person pronouns) can be retrieved by inspecting the lexical and part-of-speech information of the arguments, as pronouns constitute

Animacy class (Viti)	Correlate	Animacy class (this paper)
First and second person pronouns	<i>aham, tvam</i> etc.	Personal pronoun
Third person pronouns denoting human beings	Other pronouns	Pronoun
Proper names	Person	Person
Common nouns denoting humans	Person	Person
Common nouns denoting non-human animate beings	Animal	Animate
Common nouns denoting inanimate entities	Other w.s. classes	Non-animate
Mass nouns		Non-animate

Table 1. Animacy classes used in Viti 2010 (leftmost column) and in this paper (rightmost column). The central column lists the lexical and word semantic information from which we deduce the animacy classes used here (see Table 2).

a small and closed word class. The remaining animacy classes are determined using word semantic annotations. The DCS, on which the VTB is built, contains manual word semantic annotations of more than 665,000 words, parts of which have already been used for studying textual layers in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Hellwig 2016). The word semantic concepts with which the words are annotated are organized in a hierarchical structure, and the top nodes of this hierarchy are further mapped onto the names of WordNet lexicographer files, the so called supersenses (see G. A. Miller 1990: 260–262; also see Hellwig 2017 on how these data have been created for the Sanskrit sense inventory). Consider, as an example, the word semantic annotation of *ṣavitā* in row 2 of Figure 1. This word is annotated with the word semantic concept “Savitar”, the name of the god addressed in this passage. In the semantic hierarchy used here, the concept Savitar is a subconcept of “deity” which is again, after several intermediate steps, a subconcept of the word semantic concept “agent”. This overarching concept is finally mapped onto the supersense “person”, which comprises human as well as divine beings (see the annotation in row 3 of Table 1). In a similar way, the supersense “artifact” can be retrieved for the word *pavitra-* ‘strainer, purifier’ in Figure 1. We use this top-level supersense information for approximating the animacy classes used by Viti: The supersense “person” covers proper nouns and common nouns for humans (and deities; note that we cannot distinguish between proper and common nouns using our data), “animal” covers common nouns for animate non-human beings, and all other nouns are assigned to one large class of non-animate terms without any further differentiation into common and mass nouns. The second column of Table 1 summarizes these assignments, and the subsection “Animacy classes” of Table 2 gives their frequencies in our data set.

One issue with this approach is data coverage because we do not have manual word semantic annotations for all words in the VTB. In order to obtain supersenses for unannotated words used as arguments, we apply a two-level approach. At the first level, we assign to every noun without word semantic annotation the most frequent sense found in the Vedic subcorpus of the DCS (see e.g. Navigli 2009 on this heuristics). If the word is not contained in the Vedic subcorpus of the DCS, we use the most frequent sense from the Classical subcorpus of the DCS. The remaining words which still do not have a word semantic annotation are rare or hapax legomena in most cases. They are collected in a leftover class and not considered when we control for the animacy class (labeled “unassigned” in Table 2).

The diachronic division of the textual material used in this paper has been adopted from Kümmel’s study of the perfect tense (Kümmel 2000: 5f., following Witzel 1989: 121–130):

1. Early Vedic [= 1-RS]: RS 2–7, 9
2. Old Vedic [= 2-MA]: RS 1, 8, 10; metrical portions of the *Atharvaveda*- and *Yajurvedasamhitās* (“Mantra language”)

3. Middle Vedic [= 3-PO]: prose portions of the Saṃhitās, the older parts of Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads
4. Young Vedic [= 4-PL]: younger parts of Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas (both prose), and Upaniṣads (partly prose, partly verse)
5. Late Vedic [= 5-SU]: the Sūtra texts of the Vedāṅgas

Table 2 summarizes the composition of our data according to the three influence factors considered in this paper:

Register					
metrical	prose				
2122	3132				
Diachronic layers					
1-RS	2-MA	3-PO	4-PL	5-SU	
388	1680	874	1127	1185	
Animacy classes					
Pers. pron.	Pronoun	Person	Animate	Non-animate	Unassigned
375	689	514	173	2945	558

Table 2. Composition of the corpus: number of direct objects, split by various influence factors.

The placement of direct objects

In this section, we assess if diachronic trends in the placement of direct objects (“objects” in the following) can be deduced from the syntactic annotation of the VTB. We start with the most basic setting: For each word labelled the object of a main verb, we determine its relative position in comparison to the verb and its diachronic layer, and compile a $5 \times k$ table from these count data. Each row in this table describes the distribution over placements for one diachronic layer. In order to visualize this table, we normalize each row so that it sums to 100%. The resulting plot (Figure 2) shows a seemingly clear diachronic pattern. While the object can choose among a wide range of placements before and after the verb in the two early layers (RS, Mantra language), the range of choices decreases substantially in the following three layers. Most notably, placing the object after the verb becomes increasingly dispreferred, so that an OV pattern seems to emerge for the later parts of Vedic literature.

The visual impression can be corroborated by a statistical test of significance. Such a test assesses whether the differences in the layer-wise distributions that can be observed in Figure 1 could be explained by random effects or if they indicate systematic differences between the rows of the table, i.e. the diachronic layers. While a more exhaustive treatment of significance testing for Vedic data can be found in Hellwig, Scarlata & Widmer 2022, it may be enough to say that a significance test compares two hypotheses: (1) the null hypothesis states that the observed differences are caused by chance, while (2) the alternative hypothesis claims that there exist systematic differences in the underlying distributions. A statistical test returns a so-called *p*-value, a percentage value that quantifies the probability of erroneously accepting the alternative hypothesis as true. If a test “gets significant”, this *p*-value falls below a predefined threshold (0.001 in this paper) and the alternative hypothesis can be accepted. Obtaining a significant alternative hypothesis is what is typically wanted in research, and this paper makes no exception. When a significance test gets significant for the data underlying Figure 2, it indicates that there are systematic differences between the five diachronic layers with regard to the placement of objects. We therefore perform a *G*-test (Agresti 2007: 36ff.) which yields a *p*-value of less than 0.001% ($G = 909.37$, $DF: 28$). This result means that there is a chance of less than 0.001% to err when we accept the alternative hypothesis, i.e. claim that there exist diachronic differences. As the value of the test statistic can be influenced by the sample size, we additionally calculate Cramér’s *V* in order to specify the effect size (also refer to Hellwig, Scarlata & Widmer 2022 for further details). The value of 0.2038 obtained here points to moderate, but noticeable differences in the distributions. As the bars in Figure 2 show clearly, these differences are mainly caused by the fact that objects can be placed after their governing verbs in the two oldest layers while this type of placement is virtually non-existent in subsequent layers of Vedic Sanskrit.

While this initial evaluation suggests that the placement of objects changes diachronically, we now need to take the influence factors mentioned in Sec.1 into account. Let us first turn to animacy, as discussed by Viti. One may, for instance, consider that certain text genres tend to deal with abstract concepts (e.g. philosophical texts), while others, such as the earliest Vedic hymns, preferably address animated entities. Animacy and genre may therefore have a strong correlation. As the extant Vedic corpus has only a limited coverage of topics and text genres, such genre splits may accidentally coincide with the diachronic structure and thus bias the observed distributions of object positions. In order to test against such effects, we use the Cochran–Mantel–Haenszel (CMH) test (Agresti 2007: 194–195), which again tests for significant differences between the diachronic distributions, but uses, at the same time, the animacy class of each object as a control variable. Practically speaking, we now do not compile a single $5 \times k$ table for the complete data set but construct one such table for each of the five animacy classes defined in Table 1, leaving aside those

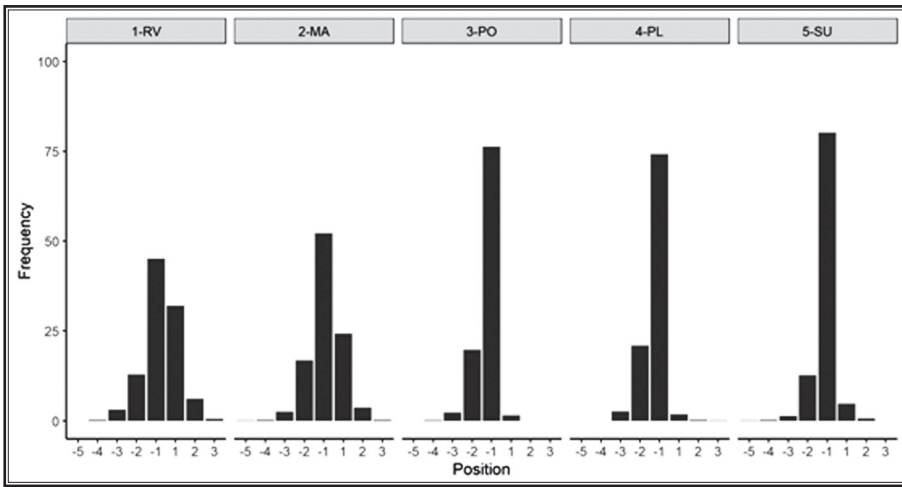


Fig. 2. Placement of direct objects with regard to the main verb in the five diachronic layers defined by Kümmel.

cases for which we could not determine the animacy type automatically. The test yields a highly significant p-value of less than 0.001%. It thus allows the conclusion that objects continue to occupy significantly different positions in sentences from different diachronic layers, even if we consider the influence of animacy. Note that this result does not imply that animacy exerts no effect on object placement. When we compile a $5 \times k$ table that tabulates the five animacy classes against the possible positions, a G -test of this table yields a highly significant result ($G = 360.58$, $DF: 28$, $p < 0.001$) and thus points to significant differences between the animacy classes (Cramér's $V: 0.1453$). When we process this $5 \times k$ table using Correspondence Analysis (see e.g. Greenacre 2017), the visualization of the results in Figure 3 confirms Viti's conclusion that arguments higher in the animacy hierarchy tend to get fronted, because the two highest animacy classes (personal pronouns, pron.) are consistently associated with positions to the (far) left of the verb (see the negative numbers in the plotting area of Figure 3). Concepts lower in this hierarchy show closer association with post-verbal placement.

Let us now have a look at the register type. Figure 4 displays the same data as Figure 2, now however split by the register of the texts from which the data are extracted.

The plot shows that the placement of objects and especially the preference for post-verbal placement differ clearly between metrical and prose texts. While the former allows objects to be placed after the verb (left half of Figure 4), objects are preferably found in direct pre-verbal position (-1) in prose (right half of Figure 4).

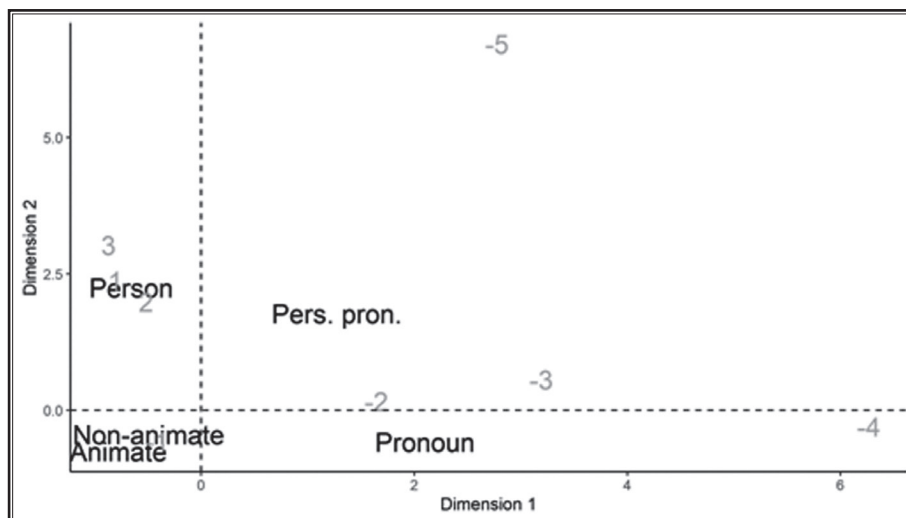


Fig. 3. Visualization of a Correspondence Analysis for object placement and animacy type. The grey numbers give the relative positions of objects.

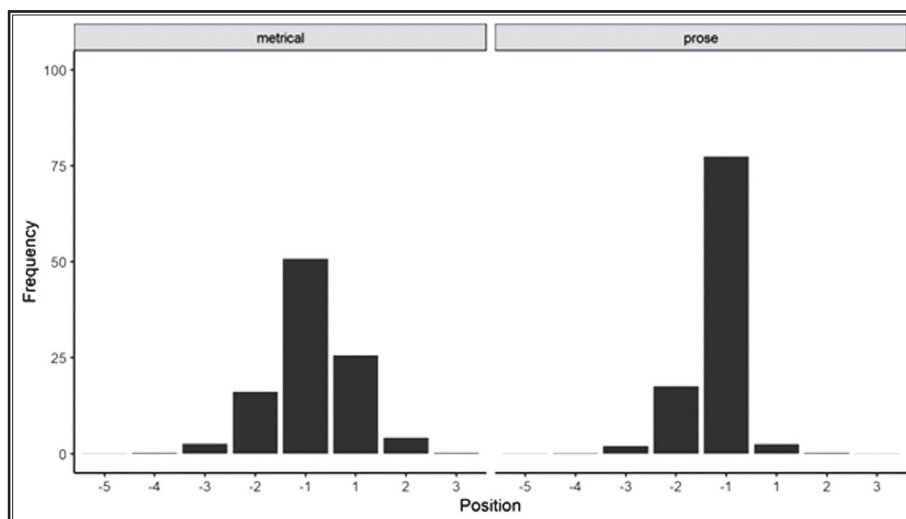


Fig. 4. Influence of the register type on object placement.

A *G*-test of the corresponding count data yields a highly significant statistics ($G = 32.338$, $DF: 7$, $p < 0.001$), and Cramér's *V* indicates a noticeable effect size (0.377). To conclude, while animacy is correlated with placement, but does not influence its diachronic distribution, the situation is different for the register.

Is the register therefore solely responsible for the observed placements, overruling any diachronic effect? In order to answer this question, we perform another CMH test, this time grouping the $5 \times k$ table (diachronic levels $\times$ positions) by the two levels of the control variable “register”. The result of this test needs to be interpreted with caution because many of the cells in $5 \times k \times 2$ tensor have low cell values or are empty; we have, for example, no metrical texts from the old prose layer (3-PO), and only few metrical Upaniṣads from the last two layers. Taking these precautions into consideration, the test still yields a highly significant result ($M^2 = 83.15$, $DF=28$, $p < 0.001$). This indicates that the placement of objects differs between the five diachronic layers even if we take the register split into account. In order to assess which text type is responsible for this result, we test the two strides of the tensor individually; this means that we perform separate tests for the two $5 \times k$ tables for metrical and prose texts. While the G -test for the metrical texts no longer shows significant differences between the layers ($G = 27.848$, $DF: 14$, $p = 0.155$; Cramér: 0.067), the test for the prose texts does ($G = 64.707$, $DF: 14$, $p < 0.001$; Cramér: 0.0984). Prose texts can thus be assumed to be responsible for the significant outcome of the CHM test reported above. A closer look at the corresponding count tables reveals that the significant outcome for prose is mainly due to the last diachronic layer which sees – contrary to the general trend for prose – an increasing number of objects placed after the verb (also see the rightmost subplot in Figure 2).

While we are not able to uncover a clear diachronic trend towards the OV configuration in the tests performed so far, Figures 2 and 4 do show that the preferred place for objects is before the verb, regardless of the diachronic layer or register type. To conclude our evaluation, we therefore test if we can discern diachronic changes in where the object is placed, given that it is found in preverbal position. We distinguish three possible placements: 1 means directly before the verb,³ 2 with one other argument interfering, and ≥ 3 designates all other preverbal placements. The bar plot in Figure 5 suggests that there exists a certain diachronic trend for placing the object directly before the verb, i.e. at position 1, and a G -test of the underlying data supports the impression that the diachronic layers differ in preverbal object placement ($G = 61.671$, $DF: 8$, $p < 0.001$), although this effect is not very pronounced (Cramér’s $V: 0.082$). As in the case of OV vs. VO, this effect remains statistically significant when we control for the register type using a CMH test ($M^2 = 32.69$, $DF: 8$, $p < 0.001$). While these test results point to significant diachronic differences, they do not allow to conclude that there exists a monotonic diachronic trend in the data like the visual inspection of Figure 5 may suggest. The presence of such a trend for variables with two levels can be assessed using a Cochran-Armitage test (see Agresti 2007: 45).⁴ We therefore refactor the data underlying Figure 5 in

³ Note that we omit the minus sign for better readability.

⁴ Such a test could in principle also be performed for the opposition between OV and VO placement in Vedic prose, as described above, but the low counts make such an approach unreliable.

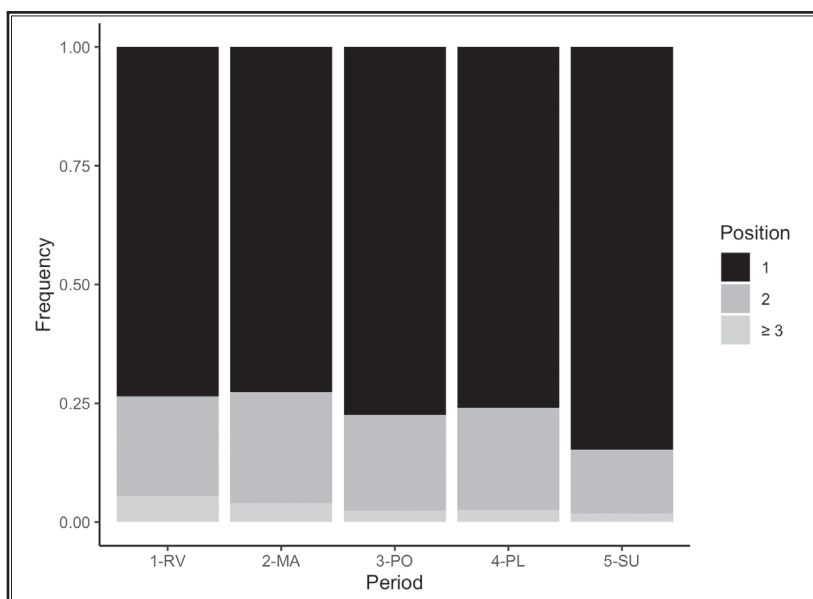


Fig. 5. Diachronic distribution of objects in preverbal placement:
 1 = directly before the verb, 2 = with one interfering argument,
 ≥ 3 = all other preverbal positions.

two classes: objects placed directly before their governing verbs and those found in any other preverbal position. When we apply the Cochran-Armitage test to the 2×5 table that contains the counts of these two placements for the five diachronic layers, we obtain a highly significant test statistic ($Z = 6.3556$, $p < 0.001$) which points to a clear monotonic trend.

Do these results allow us to claim that we have finally reached firmer ground as objects in preverbal placement tend to draw closer to their governing verbs over the course of the Vedic period? Another look at the data reveals a factor that we have not considered so far. As Figure 6 shows, the number of core arguments (i.e. *nsubj*, *obj*, *obl*, *iobj*) governed by verbs that also govern a direct object exhibits an even stronger diachronic trend than the preverbal placement of objects in Figure 5.

Obviously, this new factor influences the placement of objects (as of any other argument) because fewer arguments lead to fewer options for where they can occur relative to the verb. Another CHM test, which now uses the number of arguments as the control variable, shows that the diachronic variation in Figure 5 is largely explained away when the number of arguments is taken into consideration ($M^2 = 15.91$, $DF: 8$, $p < 0.044$). Notably, preverbal object placement interacts differently with different numbers of arguments. In Figure 7 we split the dichotomized placement variable (“adjacent” vs. “other (preverbal positions)”) by the number of core

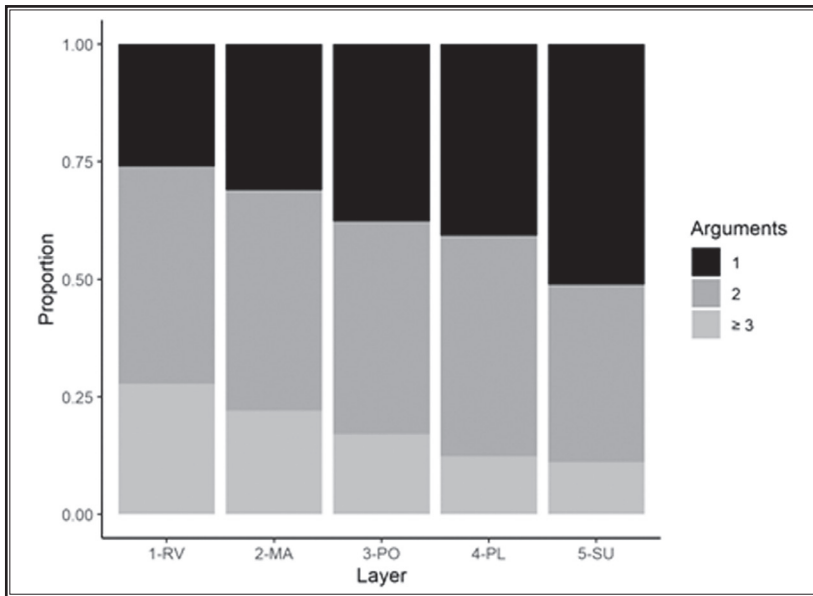


Fig. 6. Diachronic distribution of the number of core arguments of the verbs.

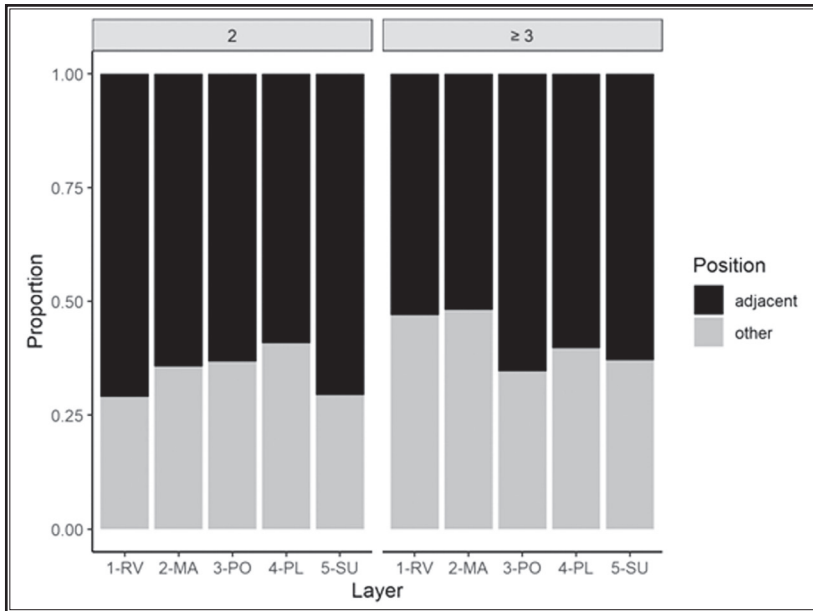


Fig. 7. Preverbal placement of objects for verbs with two (left subplot) and more than two arguments (right subplot).

arguments of the governing verb. While in the case of two arguments (left subplot of Figure 7) preverbal placement gets increasingly dispreferred, but again gains in popularity in the Sūtra period, verbs with three and more arguments seem to follow an opposite trend (right subplot of Figure 7). Cochran-Armitage tests for the two subtables yield no significant linear trend for two arguments ($Z = -0.43$, dim: 5, $p = 0.67$), but a mildly significant one for more than two arguments ($Z = -2.27$, dim: 5, $p = 0.023$). The actual reasons for these effects can no longer be explored with the data we consider in this paper. We hypothesize, however, that lexicographic effects in the highly standardized language of the Sūtra texts as well as argument sharing play a role in shaping the diachronic trajectories observed in Figures 6 and 7.

Summary

In this contribution, we examined the interplay between object placement, diachrony, animacy classes and register types in a sample of the Vedic corpus. Using statistical tests of significance, we were able to uncover a dense network of mutual influences, but also of independence statements that jointly determine where objects are placed in a sentence. All influence factors considered in this contribution, i.e. diachrony, animacy and register, interact with object placement although they do not necessarily do so with each other. Animacy classes influence the placement of objects, as has been observed in previous research, but they do not interact with diachrony according to our analysis. Register is more problematic because we could observe very pronounced differences between object placement in metrical and prose texts. As, however, the Vedic metrical/prose split largely coincides with a diachronic dichotomy of the Vedic corpus, the true effect that this split exerts on object placement is difficult to quantify. The situation is slightly different when we restrict the analysis to objects found in preverbal positions because examples of such placements are provided in large numbers by metrical and prose sources. While objects tend to draw closer to their governing verbs over the Vedic period, this development is closely intertwined with a trend towards using fewer verbal arguments, which restricts the number of positions an object can occupy.

To be sure, this analysis only forms the starting point for more detailed quantitative, corpus-based studies of word order in Vedic texts and Sanskrit literature in general. As has already been suggested by Hock, studies of the word order of Sanskrit require a multidimensional approach that considers global (e.g. register, temporal and geo-spatial determiners) as well as local factors (e.g. argument frames, textual content). Hopefully, we were able to demonstrate the advantages of quantitative approaches in such a multidimensional setting.

Acknowledgments

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Sažetak

U ovom se radu se bavimo pitanjem postoje li kakve dijakronijske promjene u pogledu položaja izravnoga objekta u rečenici u vedskoj književnosti. Za naše istraživanje koristimo se najnovijom inačicom Vedic Treebanka primjenjujući standardne statističke metode za razlikovanje jezičnih promjena od drugih čimbenika, kao što su živost i registar. Možemo potvrditi da je svojstvo živosti objekta značajno za njegov položaj u rečenici; također možemo razlučiti kronološke trendove i prepoznati snažnu tendenciju prema smanjivanju broja glagolskih argumenata, što je dosad podcijenjeni čimbenik u istraživanjima reda riječi u vedskome.

Chronological relationship between the *Ṛgvedasamhitā*, the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*, and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* revisited

Abstract

This paper discusses the chronological relationship between the *Ṛgvedasamhitā*, the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*, and Pāṇini's grammar, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, based on the language and style of coordinative constructions expressing dual deities in the *Ṛgveda*. Although it is quite certain that Pāṇini was familiar with both the *Ṛgvedasamhitā* and Śākalya's *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*, there are notable differences between Śākalya's and Pāṇini's treatment of nominal compounds: the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* separates the members of a compound with an *avagraha*, thus indicating their internal *pada* status, whereas the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* treats compounds as nominal bases derived by combining *padas* in which the endings of the internal constituents are deleted. The *Ṛgvedic* coordinative constructions examined in this paper give some indication that Pāṇini may have predated the orthoepic diaskeuasis of the *Samhitā* text or was otherwise familiar with an earlier recension of the *Ṛgveda*; for example, the derivation of *indravāyū́*, though an important *devatādvandva* in the *Ṛgvedic* vocabulary, was not accounted for by Pāṇini but rather by Kātyāyana a few centuries later. This paper provides a few more examples to indicate that Pāṇini may have known an earlier recension of the *Ṛgveda*. By focussing particularly on Śākalya's and Pāṇini's derivation and analysis of compounds with final *-as*, it also provides evidence for the hypothesis that Pāṇini predated or was familiar with an earlier recension of the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*.

Introduction

The absolute and relative chronology of the *Ṛgvedasamhitā*, the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*, and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in their present forms does not allow us to draw any certain or final conclusions about their genesis, and the question of their dating therefore re-

mains, to a large extent, open.¹ Most modern scholars date the *Ṛgveda* to the middle of the second millennium BCE, estimating the length of the *Ṛgvedic* period to range anywhere from two hundred to seven hundred years (Witzel 1997: 263). The *Ṛgveda* was composed by many authors, probably living at different times and in different places. Its redactors seemingly arranged the text according to the length of its subsections, with many interpolations taking place during the final redaction. It is evident that several recensions of the *Ṛgveda* existed: for example, five are mentioned in the *Caraṇavyūha*,² and the extant *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* seems to refer to the Śaiśīrīya version of the *Ṛgveda* (Bronkhorst 1982a). However, only one recension has survived, usually ascribed to Śākalya, who was supposedly also the compiler of the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* (Oldenberg 1888: 383; Pischel & Geldner 1901: 144–146). Oldenberg (1888: 380–387) and several other scholars (e.g., Witzel 1997: 265) place the final standard redaction of the *Ṛgveda* in the late Brāhmaṇa period (between the seventh and fifth centuries BCE approximately). The generally accepted redaction history of the *Ṛgveda* (Witzel 1997: 256–345) is usually presented as comprising several stages, starting with the so-called family books, followed by books 8, 1, 9, and 10 as well as individual additions, then the final redaction by Śākalya, and at the very final stage, the addition of *Ṛgvedakhila*.

The *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* is also ascribed to Śākalya, the redactor of the *Ṛgveda-saṃhitā*. There seems to be enough evidence to establish that Śākalya antedated Pāṇini and Yāska; Yāska refers to Śākalya in his *Nirukta*,³ while Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* cites him as one of his ten predecessors.⁴ Although Pāṇini does not explicitly refer to Śākalya as the compiler of the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*, it seems likely that Śākalya, being directly and indirectly mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, is connected with the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* (Jha 1973: 223–226) and is identical to the Śākalya mentioned in the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya*.⁵ The date of the composition of the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* is directly related to the issue of its authorship. Several authors by the name of Śākalya are referred to in ancient Indian literature. Some scholars (e.g.,

¹ I would like to thank Johannes Bronkhorst for reading this paper and providing pertinent feedback, especially with regard to information on the dating of these texts.

² CV, *Prathamah Ṛgvedakhaṇḍaḥ* 7–8: *eteṣāṃ śākhāḥ pañcavidhā bhavanti; āśvalāyaṇī śāṅkhāyaṇī śākalā bāṣkalā māṇḍūkāyaṇāś ceti* (p. 1).

³ Nir 6.28: ... *veti ca ya iti ca cakāra śākalyaḥ* ... (p. 127).

⁴ P 1.1.16: *sambuddhau śākalyasyetāvanārṣe*; 6.1.127: *iko 'savarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaś ca*; 8.3.19: *lopaḥ śākalyasya*; 8.4.51: *sarvatra śākalyasya*.

⁵ RPŚ 3.13: *ikārayoś ca praśleṣe kṣaiprābhinihiteṣu ca, udāttapūrvarūpeṣu śākalyasyaivaśācāret*; 3.22: *niyamaṃ kāraṇādeke pracayasvaradharmavat, pracayasvara ācāraḥ śākalyānyatareyayoḥ*; 4.13: *na śākalyasya*; 13.31: *samāpāḍyaṃ nāma vadanti śatvaṃ tathā ṇatvaṃ sāmavaśāṃś ca saṃdhūn, upācāraṃ lakṣaṇataś ca siddham ācārāyā vyālī-śākalyagārgyāḥ*. Once it refers to Śākalya Sthavira (2.81: *prācyapañcāla upadhānibhodayāḥ śākalyasya sthavirasya*) and once to Śākalya-pituḥ (4.4: *sarvaiḥ prathamair upadhīyamāṇaḥ śākaraḥ śākalyapitūś cchakāram*) (pp. 110, 116, 120, 127, 130, 390). Cf. Bronkhorst 1981a: 83–95; Cardona 1991: 123–134.

Pischel & Geldner 1901: 144–146) believe it was Vidagdha Śākalya, mentioned in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*; if so, then it was probably composed before the seventh century BCE. However, if it was Sthavira Śākalya mentioned in the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*, the time of its composition could be later (Keith 1920: 44). Oldenberg (1888: 370–379) places the composition at the end of the Brāhmaṇa period, whereas Geldner suggests a much earlier date in the period of the *Vājasaneyisamhitā* (Pischel & Geldner 1901: 144–146).

The usual dating given by most scholars to the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* is around the late Brāhmaṇa period, with the proposed relative chronology starting with the *Ṛgvedasamhitā*, followed by the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*, *kramapāṭha*, and the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya*. Bronkhorst (1981: 87) suggests that Śākalya was not the final redactor of the *Ṛgveda*, as Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* seems to say,⁶ and that the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* could be older than the final redaction of the *Ṛgvedasamhitāpāṭha* that we know today. Consequently, Śākalya's *padapāṭha* would have been based on a more archaic form of the *samhitāpāṭha*.⁷ Although several features in the *padapāṭha* seem to be more recent than Śākalya (Cardona 1991: 123–134), the research presented in this paper, drawing from Ṛgvedic *dvandva* compounds, provides further evidence for the chronology proposed by Bronkhorst (1981: 87).

The dating of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is variously estimated by scholars to have been anywhere between the sixth and third centuries BCE. For example, Joshi and Roodbergen (1983: 94) situate the grammar in the middle of the sixth century BCE, Agrawala (1963: 478) in the middle of the fifth century BCE, Renou (1969: 483) in the fourth or fifth century BCE, and Thieme (1935: 80) before the fourth century BCE. More recent research indicates, quite convincingly, a later date; von Hinüber (1990: 34), Falk (1993: 304), and Bronkhorst (2013: 177) date Pāṇini to around 350 BCE. Pāṇini's grammar describes the Sanskrit of the late Vedic or early post-Vedic period, probably being closest to the language of the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* (Bronkhorst 2013: 189), although it also provides numerous rules for the specific features of Vedic.

Although many formations taught by Pāṇini as Vedic do not occur in any of the texts known to us, Thieme (1935: 64–65) demonstrates that Pāṇini was well acquainted with the *Ṛgvedasamhitā*. He believes that the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* in its present form is post-Pāṇinian, whereas other scholars (e.g., Keith 1936: 735–748) situate the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* before Pāṇini. Bronkhorst (1982a: 278) developed a hypothesis that Pāṇini antedated a large part of Vedic literature and that Vedic texts were probably still being composed in Pāṇini's day. He argues that Pāṇini preceded the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* and made use of an earlier version of the *Ṛgveda*,

⁶ *Mahābhāṣya* on P 1.4.84: *śākalyena sukr̥tām samhitām anuṇiśamya devaḥ prāvarṣat*.

⁷ Bronkhorst (1982c) suggests that the reason for preserving some of the archaic features of the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* could be that the *padapāṭha* was written down from the very beginning. As further support for this hypothesis, see Witzel 2011: 506 and Houben & Rath 2012: 31.

highlighting three instances in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*⁸ as well as several other indications as evidence (Bronkhorst 1981: 83, 90–91; 2013: 175–206). Bronkhorst assumes that Pāṇini knew the collected *Ṛgveda*, not just individual hymns. However, he shows that Pāṇini never mentions the *mantras* in collections and that the term *saṃhitā* did not yet have the meaning of ‘collection’ but was instead used as a synonym for *sandhi* (Bronkhorst 1991: 96; 2013: 192–193). Cardona (1991: 123–134) believes that Pāṇini took the *padapāṭha* forms as the Vedic forms that were to be accepted and explained, whereas the archaic forms of the *saṃhitāpāṭha* were to be accounted for by other rules, specific to *prātiśākhya* treatises. Apart from many archaic features in the *padapāṭha*, there are also several features that seem younger than Śākalya. Nevertheless, Bronkhorst’s argument is based on convincing evidence and is further supported by the research of *dvandva* compounds in the *Ṛgveda* below.

In the *Ṛgveda*, *dvandva* compounds, which consist of two coordinate constituents, can be divided into the following types:

1. Both constituents are in the dual and declinable, each with its own accent (e.g., ṚS 7,66.1a *mitrāyurvāruṇayoḥ*);
2. Both constituents are in the dual, with the first constituent being indeclinable and each constituent having its own accent (e.g., ṚS 10,130.5a *mitrāvāruṇayoḥ*);
3. Both constituents are in the dual, with the first constituent being indeclinable and the whole compound having only one accent placed on the last syllable of the final constituent (e.g., ṚS 1,162.2d *indrāpūṣṇóḥ*);
4. The first constituent is in stem form, and the whole compound has only one accent (e.g., ṚS 1,14.3a *indravāyú*);
5. The first constituent is in stem form, and the whole compound has one accent and a plural ending (e.g., ṚS 10,190.2c *ahorātrāṇi*);
6. The compound has only one accent and appears in the collective neuter singular (e.g., ṚS 10,14.8b *iṣṭāpūrtám*).

Most *dvandva* compounds in the *Ṛgveda* consist of two theonyms. An earlier examination of all attestations of the six most prominent pairs of *Ṛgvedic* dual deities (i.e., Indra and Vāyu, Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni, Dyaus and Pṛthivī, Uṣas and Nakta) showed that their names occur most frequently in *dvandva* compounds (with the components in juxtaposition or in *tnesi*), and less commonly in elliptic duals, *asyndeta*, and syntagms constructed with coordinative conjunctions (Ditrich 2016; 2018). All *dvandva* compounds comprised of two theonyms belong

⁸ The following *sūtras* seem to refer to an older reading of the *Ṛgveda*: P 6.1.134: *so 'ci lope cet pādapūraṇam [sulopaḥ (132)]*; P 6.1.115: *nāntaḥpādām avyapare [saṃhitāyām (72), ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ (84), pūrvah (107), eṇaḥ padāntād ati (109), nāntaḥpādām (115)]*; P 6.1.116: *av yādavadyādavakramuravratāyamavantvavyasu ca*.

to the first four types (listed above): four pairs occur in *dvandvas* of types 1 and 2 (*mitrāvāruṇā*; *uṣāsānāktā*; *indrāvāruṇā*; *dyāvāpṛthivī*), while two (*indravāyū*; *indrāgnī*) are usually considered to be *dvandvas* of type 4 (Wackernagel 1957: 154), although the typology of *dvandvas* formed by Indra and Agni is more uncertain. The distribution of *dvandva* compounds and other coordinative constructions in the ten books of the *Ṛgveda* does not indicate that *dvandvas* of types 1 and 2 occur more frequently in the older layers of the *Ṛgveda* and the other types in the younger layers (Ditrich 2006: 128–129; 133–134).

Analysis of *dvandva* compounds in the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*

Generally, in the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*, the constituents of nominal compounds are separated by an *avagraha*. The main criteria for a word to be considered a compound in the *padapāṭha* seem to be a single accent on the compound and the uninflected stem of the first member. A single accent nevertheless appears to be a more significant criterion: for example, the constituents of iterative compounds, which have a single accent, are always separated by an *avagraha* (e.g., RS 1,12.2: Sp *agnimagnim*, Pp *agnīm-agnim*), although the first member is in an inflected form.

Among the *dvandvas* involving the six aforementioned pairs of deities, the prevailing types are 1 and 2 (with both members accented and in the dual), although these are usually not analysed in the *padapāṭha* as compounds. For example, the pairs Mitra and Varuṇa (e.g., RS 1,2.9a: Sp *mitrāvāruṇā*, Pp *mitrāvāruṇā*), and Indra and Varuṇa (e.g., RS 1,17.1a: Sp *indrāvāruṇayor*, Pp *indrāvāruṇayoh*) are never separated into their constituents by *avagraha* in the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*.

Similarly, *dvandvas* formed from Uṣas and Nakta, which belong to the oldest type, are not analysed as compounds. The pair occurs in the *Ṛgveda* in the compound *náktoṣāsā* (five times) and, more frequently, in the compound *uṣāsānāktā* (ten times). In the *padapāṭha*, only the later form for Uṣas is given with the suffix *-as* (e.g., RS 1.13.7a: Sp *náktoṣāsā*, Pp *náktoṣāsā*). The stems ending in *-ās* are less common in the *Ṛgveda*: there are only 28 attestations of forms ending in *-ās*, 15 of which are represented by *náktoṣāsā* and *uṣāsānāktā*. More common are the stems ending in *-as*, which remain in later language (Wackernagel 1975: 281). Uṣas is the only feminine stem ending in *-as* in Vedic. In all *dvandvas* formed by Uṣas and Nakta, only the *uṣās* stem occurs in the *saṃhitāpāṭha*, although it is consistently interpreted as a stem ending in *-as* by the *padapāṭha*, which suggests that another version of the *saṃhitāpāṭha* might have been available to the *padakāra*.⁹

Although *dvandvas* formed from Dyaus and Pṛthivī (*dyāvāpṛthivī*) are of the oldest type, their analysis in the *padapāṭha*, unlike other *dvandvas* of type 1 and

⁹ On the other hand, some scholars (Macdonell 1910: 224; Arnold 1905: 130) interpret (not very convincingly) that the lengthened vowel in suffix *-ās* may be due to metrical reasons.

2, varies. When the pair occurs in *dvandva* in the vocative dual (*dyāvāpr̥thivī*) or nominative or accusative dual (*dyāvāpr̥thivī*), the constituents are never separated by an *avagraha* (e.g., RS 1.31.8d: Sp *dyāvāpr̥thivī*, Pp *dyāvāpr̥thivī iti*; here *iti* is used to mark the final *pragr̥hya* vowel). However, the analysis of this *dvandva* in the genitive/locative dual (*divāspr̥thivyóḥ*) varies in different editions of the *Rgveda*: the constituents may be separated by an *avagraha* (e.g., RS 2,2.3b: Sp *divāspr̥thivyóḥ*, Pp *divāḥ-pr̥thivyóḥ*),¹⁰ separated by a *daṇḍa* (e.g., RS 2,2.3b: Sp *divāspr̥thivyóḥ*, Pp *divāḥ/pr̥thivyóḥ*),¹¹ or not separated by an *avagraha* but with *divás* replaced by *divāḥ* (e.g., RS 5,49.5d: Sp *divāspr̥thivyóḥ*, Pp *divāḥpr̥thivyóḥ*).¹² The various readings may depend on the *Rgvedapadapāṭha* manuscripts used as the basis for the editions.¹³ The compound *divāspr̥thivyóḥ* may have developed from asyndeton *divás pr̥thivyáḥ*, which has several attestations in the *Rgveda* (Wackernagel 1957: 154); this may explain why the compound is occasionally analysed (i.e., the components are separated by *avagraha*) in the *Rgvedapadapāṭha*.

Dvandvas formed by theonyms for the pairs Indra and Agni (e.g., RS 1,21.1a: Sp *indrāgnī*, Pp *indrāgnī iti*), and Indra and Vāyu (e.g., Sp: 1.14.3ab *indravāyū*, Pp: *indravāyū iti*) belong to the more recent type 4: this is the case with Indra and Vāyu but less certainly for Indra and Agni. Their constituents are never separated by *avagraha*, although these compounds have a single accent with the first constituent in stem form – the two criteria seemingly required for the compound to be analysed in the *padapāṭha*. As observed by scholars (Jha 1992: 24–25; 169–176), *devatādvandvas* are generally not analysed in the *padapāṭha*, although this is not always the case: for example, the compound *divāḥpr̥thivyóḥ* is occasionally analysed, although it has two accents with the first member in an inflected form. It appears that the analysis of *devatādvandva* compounds in the *Rgvedapadapāṭha* follows different criteria for nominal composition; to my knowledge, no satisfactory explanation of these special criteria has been given so far. The unique status of *devatādvandvas* in the *padapāṭha* provides further evidence to my argument (Ditrich 2010; 2016) that when examining *Rgvedic* language, a distinction should be made between theonyms and non-theonyms: theonyms consistently display specific grammatical and linguistic features – morphological, syntactic, and semantic –, which are also evidenced in

¹⁰ E.g., RS 2,2.3 in Aufrecht 1877; RS 10,3.7 in Vishva Bandhu 1963–66; RS 10,3.7 in Müller 1877.

¹¹ E.g., RS 2,2.3 in Vishva Bandhu 1963–66; since this is the only edition that uses *daṇḍa* to separate the components of this compound, it is possibly a printing error.

¹² E.g., RS 5,49.5; 10,3.7 and 10,35.2 in Aufrecht 1877; RS 5,49.5 and 10,35.2 in Vishva Bandhu 1963–66; RS 2,2.3; 5,49.5 and 10,35.2 in Müller 1877; RS 2,2.5; 5,49.5; 10,3.7 and 10,35.2 in Sontakke 1976.

¹³ Most editions of the *Rgveda* do not give information about the manuscripts used; in the manuscript of the *Rgvedapadapāṭha* that I have examined (available in the Cambridge University Library), the components of the compound *divāspr̥thivyóḥ* are always separated by *avagraha* (*divāḥ-pr̥thivyóḥ*).

their special analysis in the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*, thus reflecting Vedic ideas about the extreme importance and magical power of divine names.

There are numerous cases of tmesis of *dvandva* compounds in the *Ṛgveda*. Generally, they are not restored in the *padapāṭha*: for example, *saptā me saptā* (ṚS 5,52.17) is not restored, although there are occurrences of *saptāsapta* (ṚS 10,55.3) in the *Ṛgvedasamhitā*. Only in proper names are the constituents mostly joined together (e.g., ṚS 5,2.7: Sp *śunaścicchēpam*, Pp *śunaḥ-śēpam cit*). However, *devatādvandvas* in tmesis, though being proper names, are never restored in the *padapāṭha* (e.g., ṚS 1,143.2: Sp *dyāvā śociḥ prthivī*, Pp *dyāvā śociḥ prthivī iti*). Among the *dvandva* compounds examined here, five pairs of dual deities occur in tmesis:

1. Mitra and Varuṇa (e.g., ṚS 8,25.2: Sp *mitrā ... vāruṇo*, Pp *mitrā ... vāruṇaḥ*);
2. Uṣas and Nakta (e.g., ṚS 1,73.7: Sp *nāktā ... uṣāsā*, Pp *nāktā ... uṣāsā*);
3. Indra and Varuṇa (e.g., ṚS 4,41.1, 4, 5: Sp *indrā ... varuṇā*, Pp *indrā ... varuṇā*; ṚS 6,68.5: Sp *indrā ... varuṇa*, Pp *indrā ... varuṇā*);
4. Indra and Agni (e.g., ṚS 5,45.4; 6,59.3, 6,60.1: Sp *indrā ... agnī*, Pp *indrā ... agnī iti*); and
5. Dyaus and Prthivī (e.g., ṚS 1,63.1: Sp *dyāvā ... prthivī*, Pp *dyāvā ... prthivī iti*).

None of these *dvandva* compounds in tmesis are restored in the *padapāṭha*.

Jha (1992: 168–169) argues that the constituents of compounds in tmesis “expressing proper names lose their meaning and semantic focus unless they occur together”, whereas in the case of *dvandva* compounds with constituents in the dual, “both constituents have a direct semantic relationship in the sentence”, and it is therefore not necessary to restore them in the *padapāṭha*. His explanation reflects the views of traditional Sanskrit grammarians, particularly Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Kātyāyana explains that each member of a *dvandva* compound denotes the sense of both members,¹⁴ so in the above example, each word, *dyāvā* or *prthivī*, would denote, on their own, “Heaven and Earth”. The *padapāṭha*, by not restoring the compounds comprising theonyms in tmesis, thus indicates that they were perceived as two independent words that occur in several alternative constructions, which seem to be expressions of the specific poetic style of the *Ṛgveda* (Ditrich 2008). *Devatādvandvas* in tmesis can be viewed as one of the stylistic devices of Ṛgvedic poetic language, alternating between *dvandvas* with their components in juxtaposition on the one hand and the elliptic duals, asyndeta, and constructions with coordinative particles on the other; no semantic difference between these coordinative constructions is indicated (Ditrich 2016).

¹⁴ P 2.2.29, *Vārttika* 6: *vigrahe ca yugapadvacanāṃ jñāpakam yugapadvacanasya*.

Analysis of Ṛgvedic *dvandva* compounds in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

Nominal compounds are treated differently in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*: in the *padapāṭha*, they are viewed as internal *padas* (with their components separated by an *avagraha*) and in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as external *padas* (the components of a compound are regarded as external *padas*, with their case endings first supplied and then deleted). There are further differences: in the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*, the enclitic particle *iva* is treated as the final member of a compound formed with the preceding word and is therefore separated by an *avagraha*, whereas Pāṇini does not prescribe compounds with *iva*.¹⁵ Yet another difference lies in the analysis of *āmreḍita* word groups. Pāṇini does not treat them as compounds; however, he does provide rules for doubling whole syntactic items under various conditions, whereas the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* analyses *āmreḍita* groups as compounds. Since it is quite certain that Pāṇini knew the *padapāṭha* (or at least an earlier recension of it), it is unclear why he did not adopt Śākalya's procedure.

In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, nominal compounds (*samāsa*) are treated as single words, derived by combining syntactically and semantically connected case-inflected words (*padas*),¹⁶ whose internal case endings have been deleted in the derivational process.¹⁷ However, not all compounds drop the endings of the initial constituents, and Pāṇini provides special rules for such cases (P 6.3.1–24).¹⁸

Most *dvandva* compounds in the *Ṛgveda* are theonyms. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* provides most – but not all – of the rules required for their derivation. Among the six pairs examined here, *indravāyū* is the only *devatādvandva* in the *Ṛgveda* that belongs, without any ambiguity, to the youngest type, which may be called a true compound. The pair Indra and Vāyu occurs in *dvandva* in the vocative dual (*indravāyū*) and nominative dual (*indravāyū*). The order of the constituents in this compound reflects Pāṇini's rule P 2.2.33: *ajādyadantam* [*dvandve* 32, *upasarjanam pūrvam*

¹⁵ However, Kātyāyana (P 2.1.4, Vārttika 2: *ivena vibhaktyalopaḥ pūrvapadaprakṛti-svaratvam ca*) seems to agree with Śākalya in prescribing *iva* compounds as obligatory. Patañjali and later commentators (e.g., Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita) consider compounding with *iva* to be optional. The *padapāṭha* of the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* treats *iva* as an independent particle, whereas the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* consistently analyses *iva* as a member of a compound formed with the preceding word.

¹⁶ A *pada* is defined in P 1.4.14: *suptiñantaṃ padam* 'a *pada* is [that which] ends in *sup* [case ending] or *tiñ* [verb ending]'; in nominal compositions, only *padas* with case endings are involved (P 4.1.1; 1.2.45; 1.2.46; 1.4.14). P 1.2.46: *kṛttaddhitasamāsaś ca* [*prātipadikam* 45] 'also [a stem ending in] *kṛt* affix and *taddhita* affix and a compound [are called *prātipadika*]'. Translations of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in this article mostly follow, with a few modifications, Joshi & Roodbergen (1991).

¹⁷ P 2.4.71: *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* [*luk* 58] '[there is *luk*-deletion] of a case ending to a verbal base or a nominal stem'.

¹⁸ The compounds that retain the endings of their internal members are called *aluksamās*; they are introduced into rule P 6.3.1 (*aluguttarapade*), which prescribes the non-deletion of nominal endings of the first constituent under various conditions.

30] ‘[The constituent that is called *upasarjana* and] begins with a vowel and ends in short *a* [is placed first in a *dvandva* compound]’. However, the compound does not reflect Pāṇini’s rule that prescribes the substitution of the final vowel of the first constituent: P 6.3.26: *devatādvandve ca [ānaṁ 25, uttarapade 1]* ‘[The final sound of the first component of] a *dvandva* compound, signifying the names of deities, [is replaced by *ā*]’. Only later did Kātyāyana amend this rule by *Vārttika* on P 6.3.26 (*ubhayatra vāyoh pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*), which prohibits the application of this rule for the word *vāyu* as an initial or final component of a *dvandva*. It is thus evident that Pāṇini did not account for the exception *indravāyū* to the rule P 6.3.26, and the amendment was only provided a few centuries later by Kātyāyana. Since theonyms play an extremely important role in the *Ṛgvedic* vocabulary, it seems unlikely that Pāṇini would have overlooked this aspect of the derivation of the compound *indravāyū*. This may suggest that Pāṇini was familiar with an earlier or different recension of the *Ṛgveda*; in this case, it was after Pāṇini that a later recension of the *Ṛgvedasamhitā* was made available to Kātyāyana when he amended P 6.3.26.

Similarly, Pāṇini’s rules do not entirely provide for the derivation of compounds comprised of Indra and Agni: the pair occurs in *dvandva* in the vocative dual (*indrāgnī/indrāgnī*), nominative/accusative dual (*indrāgnī*), instrumental/dative/ablative dual (*indrāgnibhyām*), and genitive/locative dual (*indrāgnyōḥ*). The order of the constituents is described by P 2.2.32: *dvandve ghi [upasarjanam pūrvam 30]* ‘[The constituent that is called *upasarjana* and is also] *ghi* [is placed first] in a *dvandva* compound.’¹⁹ However, this contradicts rule P 2.2.33: *ajādyadantam [dvandve 32, upasarjanam pūrvam 30]* ‘[The constituent that is called *upasarjana* and] begins with a vowel and ends in short *a* is placed first in a *dvandva* compound’. The conflict between the rules occurs in the derivation of the compound *indrāgnī*; this is acknowledged only later by Kātyāyana who comments that if two rules conflict, the later rule P 2.2.33 should prevail, as stated in his *Vārttika* 5 on P 2.2.33 (*dvandveghyajādyadantam vipriṣedhena*), which provides for the derivation of *indrāgnī*. This is another indication that Pāṇini might have been familiar with an earlier or different recension of the *Ṛgveda*, while a later recension of the *Ṛgvedasamhitā* was available to Kātyāyana.

In the *devatādvandva* compound formed by Uṣas and Nakta, the order of the constituents varies: the pair occurs more frequently in *uṣāsānāktā* (ten attestations, evenly distributed throughout the ten *maṇḍalas*) than in *nāktoṣāsā* (five attestations, mostly in later *maṇḍalas*). Pāṇini does not directly comment on this variation in the order of the constituents. However, he is apparently familiar with *uṣāsānāktā*, as he states in the following rule for stem substitution: P 6.3.31 *uṣāsoṣaṣaḥ*

¹⁹ *Upasarjana* is a technical term defined in P 1.2.43: *prathamānirdiṣṭam samāsa upasarjanam* ‘[A word] represented with a nominative case ending in [a rule dealing with] a compound is called *upasarjana*.’ *Ghi* is also a technical term referring to noun stems ending in short *i* or *u*, defined in P 1.4.7: *śeṣo ghyasakhi [hrasva 6]* ‘The rest [of the words that end in short *i* and *u*] are called *ghi*, except the word *sakhi*.’

[*devatādvandve* 26, *uttarapade* 1] ‘*Uṣāsā-* replaces *uṣas-* “dawn” [in *dvandva* compounds signifying deities]’. There is no mention of or reference to the probably more recent compound *náktoṣāsā* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Pāṇini’s reference to *uṣāsānāktā* but not to *náktoṣāsā*, which occurs in the later parts of the *Rgveda*, provides further support to the argument presented above that although Pāṇini was undoubtedly familiar with the *Rgveda*, he may have known a different or earlier recension. Further evidence that Pāṇini may have predated or was familiar with an earlier recension of the *Rgvedapadapāṭha* is provided by the *padapāṭha*, which gives a later form for *Uṣas* with suffix *-as* (RS 1,13.7a: Sp *náktoṣāsā*, Pp *náktoṣāsā*), whereas Pāṇini prescribes the more archaic form with suffix *-ās* (P 6.3.31).

In the *dvandva* compound formed by *Dyaus* and *Ṛṭhivī*, the order of the constituents varies: the theonyms mostly occur in *dyāvāṛṭhivī* (83 attestations) and once in *ṛṭhivīdyāvā* (RS 3,46.5). Pāṇini does not comment on this variation; the order of constituents in *dyāvāṛṭhivī* reflects P 2.2.34: *alpāctaram* [*dvandve* 32, *upasarjanam pūrvam* 30] ‘[The constituent that is called *upasarjana* and] has fewer vowels [is placed first in a *dvandva* compound]’. However, in the compound *ṛṭhivīdyāvā*, the constituent with fewer vowels comes second; there is no mention of or reference to this order of components in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Pāṇini prescribes the optional substitution with *divas-* in the compound *dyāvāṛṭhivī*: P 6.3.30 *divasāś ca ṛṭhivyām* [*divo dyāvā* 29, *devatādvandve* 26, *uttarapade* 1] ‘[*Dyāvā-* replaces *div-* “heaven” in *dvandva* compounds signifying deities] and the substitute can also be *divas-* if *ṛṭhivī* follows’ (i.e., *divasṛṭhivī* or *dyāvāṛṭhivī* ‘Heaven and Earth’), which reflects one of the types of analysis found in the *padapāṭha* (e.g., 5,49.5d: Sp: *divásṛṭhivyóh*, Pp: *diváhṛṭhivyóh*).

It seems that Pāṇini does not consider *dvandvas* in *tmesī* to be compounds. Although he does not explicitly state that the constituents of a compound should be directly connected, this could be implied by his treatment of compounds as *prātipadikas* with a fixed order of constituents. Kātyāyana, when rephrasing Pāṇini’s definition of *dvandva* compounds, states that each constituent of a *dvandva* denotes the sense of both members (*Vārttika* 6 on P 2.2.29). He therefore points out that this applies also to non-compounded expressions: for example, in the case of *dyāvā śociḥ ṛṭhivī* (RS 1,143.2), each dual, *dyāvā* or *ṛṭhivī*, would denote, on its own, ‘Heaven and Earth’. This view is adopted by Patañjali, who interprets each component of a *dvandva* compound in *tmesī* to be an independent word and comments that if simultaneous references may occur in a non-compounded construction (giving as an example two duals in *tmesī*, *dyāvā ha kṣāmā*), then this is even more the case in a compound (*Bhāṣya* 18 on *Vārttika* 6 on P 2.2.29).

Among *dvandvas* comprised of non-theonyms, the rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* most evidently do not account for the derivation of the compound *mātārāpitārā* (RS 4,6.7), signifying Heaven and Earth. Pāṇini does not discuss or comment on *mātārāpitārā* in the group of *sūtras* that prescribe or describe the order of the constituents. Only

later does Kātyāyana comment on and provide restrictions on P 2.2.34 (just quoted): he states in *Vārttika* 4 that the constituent of a *dvandva* compound that is of higher value comes first (*abhyarhitam pūrvam nipatatīti vaktavyam*). One of the examples given by the traditional commentators for this *vārttika* is *mātāpitarau* (*Mahābhāṣya* 14 on *vārttika* 4, P 2.2.34). Furthermore, among the rules prescribing substitutions for *dvandva* compounds, Pāṇini mentions the following: P 6.3.32 *mātarapitarāv udīcām* ‘The *dvandva* compound *mātarapitarau* [is allowed] according to northern grammarians’; P 6.3.33 *pitarāmātarā ca chandasi* ‘In the Vedas also the compound *pitarāmātarā* [is valid]’. Neither *mātarapitarā* nor *pitarāmātarā* is attested in the *Ṛgveda* that we know at present. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* also does not account for substitution in the *Ṛgvedic* compound *mātārāpitārā*. The compound *mātārāpitārā* has both constituents in the dual and both accented, yet among the rules prescribing accents for both components of *dvandvas*, Pāṇini does not account for *mātārāpitārā*. Two accents are only prescribed for dual deities, as stated in the rule P 6.2.141: *devatādvandve ca [ubhe yugapat 140, prakṛtyā 137]* ‘In a *dvandva* compound consisting of the names of deities [both components retain their original accent]’.

The two nouns occur in the elliptic duals *pitarā* and *mātārā*, with both elliptic duals usually signifying ‘Heaven and Earth’. Pāṇini explicitly accounts for the elliptic dual *pitarau* in P 1.2.70: *pitā mātrā [anyatarasyām 69, ekaśeṣaḥ 64]* ‘[The word] *pitṛ* “father” is optionally [a single remainder when used together] with *mātr* “mother”’. In this case, the elliptic dual *pitarau* is prescribed optionally, thus allowing the formation of a *dvandva* compound *mātāpitarau* as well. Nevertheless, Pāṇini does not specifically account for or mention the Vedic elliptic dual *mātārā*.

Conclusion

The *Ṛgvedic* *dvandva* compounds examined here give indications that Pāṇini may have been familiar with a different or earlier recension of the *Ṛgveda*. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* does not fully account for the derivation of several important *Ṛgvedic* *devatādvandvas*: *indravāyū* and *indrāgnī* are an exception to rule P 6.3.26, which was not explained by Pāṇini but instead amended a few centuries later by Kātyāyana. Pāṇini’s rules do not always account for the variation of the order of constituents such as *uśāśānāktā/nāktōśāśā* and *dyāvāprthivī/prthivīdyāvā*, as the substitution prescribed for the final vowel of the first constituent has some unexplained exceptions as in the cases of *nāktōśāśā* and *prthivīdyāvā*. The derivation of the compound *mātārāpitārā* is also not accounted for by Pāṇini. Furthermore, it would appear that Pāṇini may have either predated the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* or was familiar with an earlier recension: for example, in the *padapāṭha* that we currently know, a later form is given for Uśas with the suffix *-as*, whereas Pāṇini only prescribes the more archaic form with suffix *-ās*.

The relative chronology of the three texts in relation to their presentation of *dvandvas* indicates the following:

1. Pāṇini was familiar with a different version of the *Ṛgvedasamhitā* and predated the final redaction that we know today;
2. Pāṇini predated the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* or was familiar with another version;
3. Kātyāyana knew the version of the *Ṛgvedasamhitāpāṭha* that is currently known.

The evidence for these propositions is based on the derivation of *devatādvandvas*, which are extremely significant words in the *Ṛgveda* and could therefore not have been easily overlooked by Pāṇini.

The chronological relationship between the *Ṛgvedasamhitā*, the *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha*, and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is problematic, because each text demonstrates several stages of development with possible later interpolations. It may be concluded that any investigation of the relative chronology of these three texts should acknowledge that they are multi-layered and possibly interpolated; consequently, it may not be possible to create a clear linear timeline of the entire texts, but their chronology should rather be conceived as a matrix comprised of smaller interrelated units (such as compounds and stem derivations) that should be analysed across all the texts in question. This approach would lead to a better appreciation of the complexities of the texts in regard to their creation, evolution, and use over time.

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| Nir | [<i>Nirukta</i>] <i>The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta: The Oldest Indian Treatise on Etymology, Philology, and Semantics</i> . Ed. and trans. by L. Sarup. Delhi: MLBD, 1967. |
| P | [<i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i>] <i>The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini</i> . With translation and explanatory notes by S. Joshi and J. A. F. Roodbergen. 13 vols. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1991–2007. |
| RS | [<i>Rksamhitā</i>] see Aufrecht 1877; Vishva Bandhu et al. 1963–66; Müller 1877. |
| RPŚ | [<i>Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya</i>] <i>The Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya with the Commentary of Uvaṭa: Edited from Original Manuscripts, with Introduction, Critical and Additional Notes, English Translation of the Text, and Several Appendices</i> by M. D. Shastri. Vol. 2. Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1937. |

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Sažetak

Ovaj rad raspravlja o kronološkom odnosu između *Ṛksamhitē*, *Ṛgvedapadapāṭhe*, i Pāṇinijeve gramatike, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, na temelju jezika i stila koordinativnih složenica kojima se imenuju dvojna božanstva u *Ṛgvedi*. Iako je sasvim sigurno da je Pāṇini bio upoznat i s *Ṛksamhitom* i Šākalyinim *Ṛgvedapadapāṭhom*, postoje značajne razlike između Šākalyine i Pāṇinijeve obrade nazivnih spojeva. *Ṛgvedapadapāṭha* odvaja članove spoja avagrahom, ukazujući na to da su imale status pade, dok *Aṣṭādhyāyī* tretira spojeve kao nominalne osnove dobivene kombiniranjem pada u kojima su nastavci unutarnjih sastavnica izbrisani. *Ṛgvedske* koordinativne složenice koje se u ovom radu obrađuju daju neke naznake da je Pāṇini možda prethodio ortoepskoj dijaskeuazi teksta samhitā ili je na neki drugi način bio upoznat s ranijim recenzijom *Ṛgvede*. Primjerice, tvorbu složenice *indravāyū*, iako se radi o važnoj devatādvandvi u *Ṛgvedskom* vokabularu, nije objasnio Pāṇini, već Kātyāyana nekoliko stoljeća kasnije. Ovaj rad pruža još nekoliko primjera koji ukazuju na to da je Pāṇini možda poznao raniju recenziju *Ṛgvede*. Osobito se usredotočujući na Šākalyino i Pāṇinijevo izvođenje i raščlambu spojeva sa završnim *-as*, također pruža dokaze za hipotezu da je Pāṇini prethodio ili je bio upoznat s ranijom inačicom *Ṛgvedapadapāṭhe*.

On the prototype of the new moon sacrifice mainly based on Ṛgveda 10,85, and its development in the RV, AV and YV

Abstract

The new and full moon sacrifices are the basis of the Vedic rituals of Iṣṭi type, in which grain and dairy oblations are offered. Major importance is placed on the new moon sacrifice, which death and rebirth of the moon and mankind controls. Ṛgveda 10,85 describes the offering of Soma sap in the monthly new moon sacrifice and the yearly new moon sacrifice as the marriage of the sun goddess and the moon god in midsummer. The latter could go back to the new moon ceremony immediately after the summer solstice in the late 3rd millennium BCE. In the YV, the new moon sacrifice suffered a radical change from the worship of the moon conjunct with the sun to the worship of Indra as smiter of Vṛtra, parallel with transformation of the Indra's myth. The principal oblation was Sāmnāyā (a mixture of sour milk and cooked fresh milk) for Indra, but replaced by Puroḍāśa (a cake) for Indra-Agni in the Śrautasūtras. It is supposed that the Indo-Aryans' expansion east into and inside India made it difficult to obtain the plant Soma which grows in semi-arid zones in high terrains and caused the replacement of the oblation.

0. The starting point of this paper
1. A survey of the development of the new and full moon sacrifices
 - 1.1. Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā
 - 1.2. Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā
 - 1.3. Yajurveda-Saṁhitās, -Brāhmaṇas, Śrauta- and Gṛhya-Sūtras
2. Astronomical background of the new and full moon sacrifices
 - 2.1. The conjunction of the sun and the moon: the Amāvāsyā night
 - 2.2. The sun and the moon as two playing children (RV 10,85.18–19)
 - 2.3. The sun swallows the moon (RV 10,55.5; ŚB 1,6.4.18–20)
 - 2.4. The moon's marriage with Nakṣatras including the sun
 - 2.5. Two phases of Venus, the morning and evening stars, and their relation to the sun

3. Ṛgveda 10,85 (≈ AV[Ś] 14,1–2, AV[P] 18,1)
 - 3.1. Part 1: stanzas 1–5 (AV[Ś] 14,1.1–5 ≈ [P] 18,1.1–4)
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 - 3.2.1. Text and translation
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〈Excursus〉

 1. AV[Ś] 7,79 (≈ [P] 1,103): Hymn for Amāvāsyā 'goddess of the lunar conjunction night'
 2. AV[Ś] 7,80 (≈ [P] 1,102): Hymn for Purnamāsī 'goddess of the full moon night'
 3. AV[Ś] 7,81: Hymn for Darśa 'the newly appeared moon'
 4. AV[Ś] 8,10,18–21: Hymn for Virāj
 5. The mantras for curdling milk for Indra in the YV
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 - 6.1. The mantras and brāhmaṇas for making the Puroḍāśa (MS, KS, TS, VS)
 - 6.2. *amuṣmai* and *yasyai devātūyai* in the MS and KS
 - 6.3. Number of kapālas used for baking the Puroḍāśa in the MS, KS and TS
 - 6.4. Yajamāna's Anumantraṇas in the KS and TS
 - 6.5. Yājyās and Anuvākyās (Puronuvākyās) for Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni and Mahendra in the Darśapūrṇamāsau (TB) and other sacrifices (MS, KS, TS)
 - 6.6. Offering to Agni-Soma in other rituals
 - A) Iṣṭis ancillary to Ādhāna in the MS and KS
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 - A) Kāmyeṣṭis (MS, KS, TS)
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 - 6.8. Agni-Soma and Indra-Agni in the Agnyupasthāna in the MS and KS
 - 6.9. Remarks on *agnīśōma*- and *indrāgnī*-
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〈Abbreviations〉 〈References〉

0. The starting point of this paper

Rites at the new and full moon, performed periodically according to the moon's waxing and waning cycle, are found worldwide and belong to one of the oldest religious activities of the human beings. In ancient India, the new and full moon sacrifices (*darśa-pūrṇamāsau*) were the basic form of the Vedic rituals and considered, besides the Agnihotra (daily offering to Agni), to be obligatory for the *āhitāgni*- 'one who has set up his sacrificial fires'.¹ Between the two moon sacrifices, major importance was placed on the new moon sacrifice (*darśa*-) by which the moon is reborn and a new month begins.² Both the sacrifices belong to the Iṣṭi (Haviryajña → fn. 5), for which the oblations are made of cereals and dairy products, and from which Soma sap³ pressed from the Soma plant (*amśú*-)⁴ is excluded (→ 1.3.).

To our surprise, however, Ṛgveda 10,85 (≈ AV[Ś] 14,1–2; AV[P] 18,1) describes the offering of Soma sap in the monthly new moon sacrifice and suggests a yearly new moon sacrifice accompanied by an animal sacrifice in midsummer, which could go back to the ritual at the new moon immediately after the summer solstice in the time around 2300 BCE (→ 3.2.4.).

This paper aims to trace the prototype of the new moon sacrifice mainly in the RV and to elucidate the process of its development from the pre-Vedic age to the early Yajurveda period.

¹ The new and full moon sacrifices should be uninterruptedly performed for thirty years (360 times respectively) according to ŚB 11,1.2.10–13, whereas the Agnihotra should be performed until the death of the *Āhitāgni*, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000b: 207 fn. 48.

² In the early Vedic calendar, the lunar month begins at the new moon (the lunar conjunction with the sun), but is shifted to the full moon in the course of time just as the start of a solar day is shifted from the sunset to the sunrise. For the solar day, s. 2.1., fn. 40. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1119f.

³ Soma sap is the most valuable oblation for the gods, esp. for Indra, and offered unmixed or usually mixed with (sweet or sour) milk, also with water or grain, cf. Hillebrandt 1927: 453–468 (1990: 300–310), Geldner IV: 245–247, Gotō 2007: 846 ≈ 2013a: 664. Soma sap seems to have a stimulating and awakening effect and bestows mankind with the superhuman ability of always being awake, even at night. Soma sap is considered as the gods' drink which brings immortality, i.e., *amṛta*- in the meaning of 'ambrosia', cf. RV 9,91.2 (*sóma*- = *amṛta*-); 8,48.12 and 9,84.2 (*sóma*- = *amṛtya*-). For the equation of Soma sap with the moon, s. 3.1., fn. 68.

⁴ The Soma plant is supposed to be Ephedra, from which the stimulant drug ephedrine is abstracted. Ephedra grows in the Steppes or semiarid zones in high terrains (→ fn. 70). Its leaves are degenerated to small scales attached to the slim stem. *amśú*- means the Soma plant, as a stem with leaves.

1. A survey of the development of the new and full moon sacrifices

1.1. Rgveda-Saṁhitā

A periodic rite of offering oblations for Agni is mentioned in RV 1,94.4 [Agni]:

bhārāmedhmām kṛṇānvāmā havīm̐si te | citāyantaḥ pārvatā-parvatā vayām |

jīvātave pratarām sādhayā dhīyó- | gne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayām táva ||

We will bring firewood, we will make oblations (*havīm̐si* → fn. 5) for you (Agni), paying attention, at every knot-time (*pārvatā-parvatā*). Realize [our] thoughts so that [we] live further! O Agni, let us not incur damage (*riṣāmā*) in your colleagueship!

It is not clear which oblations (pl. *havīm̐si*)⁵ are prepared for Agni, nor which time is meant by the term *pārvatā*- ‘knot-time’ (s. just below and fn. 6, fn. 7, fn. 8), though commonly used in the sense of ‘half-monthly knot-time’, i.e., the new and full moon. The frequency of offering to Agni leads us to assume a half-monthly offering, at the new and full moon, of butter, Agni’s special favorite, and other foods such as a cake, porridge, etc. Comparable are the oblations of butter (*Ājyabhāga*) and a cake (*Puroḍāśa* → fn. 20) for Agni in the *Darśapūrṇamāsau* as well as that of porridge (*odanā-*) for Agni in the *Pārvatāsthālīpāka*, i.e., in the *Śrauta*- and *Gṛhya*-type of the new and full moon sacrifices, s. 1.3.

On the other hand, RV 1,9.1 refers to a periodical offering of Soma sap to Indra:

indrēhi mātasi āndhaso | viśvebhiḥ somapārvabhiḥ | mahām abhiṣṭīr ójasā ||

Come, Indra, get drunk on (sap of Soma) sprout at all knot-times for Soma offering⁶, (you) great helper with vigour!

pārvatā- signifies originally ‘joint’ of a body or ‘knot’ of a plant, but also ‘knot-time’, i.e., ‘juncture’ of time as a whole body, commonly the new and full moon as half monthly knot-time (→ above RV 1,94.4), sometimes the beginning of seasons as four-monthly knot-time⁷ and the sunset and sunrise as half daily knot-time;

⁵ *haviṣ-* means originally ‘what is poured into the sacrificial fire’, hence ‘any kind of libation, sacrificial oblation’; in the RV, melted butter (*ghṛtā-*), a mixture of Soma sap with milk (→ fn. 3), etc., cf. Graßmann: s.v. *haviṣ-* (*havīm̐si* ad.loc. under ‘ausgelassene Butter’). In the later ritual system, however, *haviṣ-* designates ‘oblation made from grain or milk’, represented by the *Puroḍāśa* (→ fn. 20), as opposed to Soma; all the sacrifices are divided into two classes, Soma-sacrifice (*sóma-*) and Havis-sacrifice (*haviryajñā-* a. k. a. *iṣṭi-*; → fn. 5).

⁶ Cf. Geldner: “an allen Somafesttagen” with a note “nach Uv[āṭa] zu VS 33,25 ‘aus Anlaß der Opferzeiten’, nach Mah[īdhara] ‘und an den Somastangeln’. Vermutlich Wortspiel mit beiden Bedeutungen. Vgl. 1,94.4”; Graßmann: s.v. *soma-pārvatā* “Zeit, wo Soma dargebracht wird [pārvatā Opferzeit]” and s.v. *pārvatā* “Knotenpunkt eines Zeitraumes, hervorstehender Zeitpunkt, wie Festzeit, Opferzeit od. Ä. (später erst Mondwechsel)”; Witzel 2007: 21 “Soma-Wendepunkt(tagen)” with a note p. 497 “... aber eigentlich: Soma-Gelenkknoten, d.h. ‘Gelenke’ zwischen den Tages-, Mondmonats-, und Jahreszeiten. Also etwa ‘Einschnitte, Wendepunkte’, die durch Rituale markiert werden”.

⁷ The four-monthly rites composing the *Cāturmāsya*ni (*Vaiśvadeva*, etc.) are designated

these knot-times are respectively combined with periodical sacrifices such as the new and full moon sacrifices, the Cāturmāsyaṇi and the Agnihotra, cf. ŚB 1,6.3.35f. [Pūrṇamāsa].⁸ *pārvan-* could conceivably mean also the winter and summer solstice or the spring and autumn equinox as half annual knot-time (→ fn. 15), further, one of these points as annual knot-time.

In RV 1,9.1, *somapārvabhiḥ* is considered as a wordplay of ‘with (all) knots of a Soma plant (→ fn. 4)’ and ‘at (all) knot-times for the Soma offering’ (→ fn. 6). It is, however, not clear which knot-time is meant by *soma-pārvan-* (attested only here): annually at the beginning of a year,⁹ half annually at the beginning and the middle point of a year,¹⁰ four-monthly accompanying the Cāturmāsyaṇi as a Haviryajña (→ fn. 5, fn. 7),¹¹ or monthly at the new moon as is described in RV 10,85.1–5 (→ 3.1). Annual Soma offering at the new moon in midsummer, originally just after the summer solstice, is suggested by RV 10,85.13 (→ 3.2.1, 3.2.4). For the duty of periodical and uninterrupted performance of the Soma sacrifice, see Exkursus 5. (MS^p 4,1.3.2.10–12; KS^p 21,2.3.12–14 ≈ KpS^p 47,2.2335.19; TB 3,2.3.10f.).

with parvan (Vaiśvadeva-parvan, etc.) in the TB and the Śrautasūtras. Noteworthy is GobhilaGS 2,8.19 *sāhvatsarikeṣu parvasu* (on the commemoration rite of the son’s birth) translated in SBE vol.30, p. 59 “on the Parvan days of the year [i.e., on the last Tithi of each of the three seasons]”.

⁸ The joints (*pārvan-*) of Prājāpati as a whole year (*saṃvatsarā-*) and the corresponding sacrifices are enumerated: 35. *prajāpater ha vai prajāḥ sasṛjānāsya | pārvāni viśasraṃsuḥ. sa vai saṃvatsarā eva prajāpatis. tāsyaitāni pārvāny ahorātrāyoḥ saṃdhī paurṇamāsī cāmāvāsya ca rtumukhāni.* || “The joints of Prajāpati, who had emitted from himself (i.e., created) the living beings, got dislocated. Two junctions of day and night (i.e., sunset and sunrise), the full moon night and the conjunction night, seasonal beginnings, these are his joints”. 36. *sa visrastaiḥ pārvabhiḥ | nā śaśāka sāmhatum. tam etair haviryajñair devā abhiśajyann. agnihotréṇaivāhorātrāyoḥ saṃdhī tat pārvābhiśajyaṃs. tat sāmādadhuḥ. paurṇamāsēna caivāmāvāsyaēna ca paurṇamāsīṃ cāmāvāsyaṃ ca tat pārvābhiśajyaṃs. tat sāmādadhuḥ. cāturmāsyaīr eva rtumukhāni tat pārvābhiśajyaṃs. tat sāmādadhuḥ.* || “He (Prajāpati) could not arise with the dislocated joints. The gods treated him by means of these Havis-sacrifices (→ fn. 5). By the very Agnihotra, they treated the joint being two junctions of day and night. They set that (dislocated joint) together. By the very sacrifices belonging to the full moon night and the conjunction night, they treated the joint being the full moon night and the conjunction night. They set that together. By the very four-monthly sacrifices (Cāturmāsyaṇi), they treated the joint being the beginnings of each season. They set that together.”

⁹ According to the Śrautasūtras, the Agniṣṭoma (basic type of Soma sacrifice) is performed annually at the new or full moon of the month Phālguna or Caitra (→ 3.2.4., fn. 113), cf. Caland & Henry 1906–1907: 1 (1.), Hillebrandt 1897: 124f. (§68).

¹⁰ Cf. the Viśuvat and the Mahāvratā incorporated into the Gavāmayana, a one-year Soma session, which could go back to festivals around the summer and the winter solstice respectively (→ 3.2.4., fn. 113, fn. 122, fn. 125).

¹¹ The Agniṣṭoma takes place at each of 4 Parvans of the Cāturmāsyaṇi (→ fn. 7) according to BaudhŚS 17,55–58, while the Prṣṭhya of 6 days are distributed among 3 Parvans (1 day to the Vaiśvadeva, 2 days to Varuṇapraghāsa, 3 days to Sākamedha) according to KātyŚS, ŚāṅkhŚS, ĀśvŚS, cf. Hillebrandt 1897: 119 (§64).

1.2. Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā

In the AV (→ Ex. 1: AV[Ś] 7,79 ≈ [P] 1,103; Ex. 2: AV[Ś] 7,80 ≈ [P] 1,102), female deities representing the night of lunar conjunction with the sun (*amāvāsyā-* → 2.1.) and the full moon night (*paurṇamāsī-*, once m. *paurṇamāsā-* AV[Ś]) respectively are worshipped with an oblation (*haviṣ-*) in the sacrifices (*yajñā-*) held the next morning (→ 2.1., fn. 40). Though the worship of Amāvāsyā and Paurṇamāsī became obsolete in the Śrauta-rituals, its traces are left in the Anvārambhaṇīyeṣṭi (TS^m) and the Pārvaṇahoma of the Darśapūrṇamāsau (TB^m), 1.3., Ex.1, fn.134, fn.135, fn.31.

In both the nights, all the gods headed by Indra assemble, most probably by Agni as the Āhavanīya; in the Amāvāsyā night, not only the gods but also the deceased fathers stay together at home (*amā*) by the Yajamāna (→ 2.1., fn. 42). This notion underlies the Upavasatha from the YV onward, s. 1.3., 2.1., fn. 46, fn. 47.

AV(Ś) 7,81 (lacking in the AV[P]; → Ex. 3) is a hymn for the newly appeared moon (*dārśa-*; not yet treated as a ritual name → 1.3.). St. 1–2 (AV[P] 18,3.2–3) are parallel to RV 10,85.18–19 (→ 2.2., 3.4.). St. 3 and 6 compare the thin new moon to *aṁśū-* ‘Soma plant (stem)’ (→ fn. 3, fn. 4) which the gods swell and consume, cf. the moon equated with *sóma-* ‘Soma sap’ in RV 10,85.1–5 (→ 3.1.). St. 5 (≈ [P] 20,41.6) presents an important view that the moon swells by the breath of the Yajamāna’s enemy.

Common to the three hymns, the moon’s function performed in reproduction of mankind and cattle is emphasized. Moreover, its close relationship with the dead is remarkable (Ex. 1 AV[Ś] 7,79.2 ≈ [P] 1,103.4; Ex. 2 AV[Ś] 7,80.1.4 ≈ [P] 1,102.2.1; Ex. 3 AV[Ś] 7,81.5 ≈ [P] 20,41.6). Due to its waxing and waning cycle, the moon seems to be considered as the transit place of the dead in their circulation between heaven and earth,¹² especially in the case of the well-doer (*sukṛt-*).

In the AV ([Ś] 7; [P] 20), there are also hymns for four minor goddesses (later *dēvikā-*) of fertility in offspring and cattle, namely Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū,¹³ who are later related to the moon’s phases¹⁴ and worshipped in the new or

¹² This concept was developed in the brāhmaṇas and integrated into the “Two-way doctrine” in the Upaniṣads, cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2015: 24–27, 56–60, 62–70, 100.

¹³ Anumati: AV(Ś) 7,20.1–6 ≈ (P) 20,4.9–10 and 5,1.5.3.4; Rākā: AV(Ś) 7,48.1–2 ≈ (P) 20,11.8–9 (≈ RV 2,32.4–5); Sinīvālī: AV(Ś) 7,46.1–3 (the former 2 stanzas ≈ RV 2,32.6–7); Kuhū: AV(Ś) 7,47.1–2 ≈ (P) 20,6.3–4. Except for Kuhū (cf. EWAia s.v. *kūha*), they are traced back to the RV: *ānumati-* ‘assent (personified)’ (10,59.6; 167.3), *sinīvālī-* ‘goddess of conception and childbirth’ (2,32.6–8; 10,184.2), *rākā-* ‘goddess bestowing wealth and brave sons’ (2,32.4–5; 5,42.12).

¹⁴ They belong to the male deity Dhātṛ identified with the moon: 1) Sinīvālī ‘prior conjunction night’, Kuhū ‘posterior conjunction night’, Anumati ‘prior full moon night’, Rākā ‘posterior full moon night’ MS^p 4,3.5:44.10f. [Devikā-havīmsi (→ fn. 16); Rājasūya] = KS^p 12,8:170.9f. [do.; Payassthānaka] ≈ ŚaṅvB 4(5),6.4–6 [on the moon] (the moon is uncomplete in Anumati, complete in Rākā, visible in Sinīvālī, invisible in Kuhū) ≈ AitB 7,11.3 (no reference to Dhātṛ) [Darśapūrṇamāsau] ≈ KauśS 1,29f. [Darśapūrṇamāsau] ≈ Nir 11,29.31; 2) Rākā ‘former (waxing) half-month’, Kuhū ‘latter (waning) half-month’, Sinīvālī ‘conjunction night’, Anumati ‘full moon night’ TS^p 3,4.9.6 [Devikā-havīmsi; Kāmyeṣṭi]. Cf. Weber 1862: 229–233 (to

full moon sacrifice¹⁵ as well as in the oblation rite to them (*devikā-havīmṣi*)¹⁶ independent or integrated into the Soma-sacrifice.

The hymn for Virāj (AV[Ś] 8,10 [AV[P] lacking] → Ex. 4.) mentions a series of periodical rituals: yearly animal sacrifice, monthly ancestor worship, half-monthly sacrifice for the gods (new and full moon sacrifices) and half-daily human meal-times which imply the Agnihotra performed just before. The origins of the rituals are explained by the wandering of Virāj (female principle representing nourishment), which changes herself into one oblation after another.¹⁷

1.3. Yajurveda-Saṁhitās, -Brāhmaṇas, Śrauta- and Gṛhya-Sūtras

The rituals named *darśā-* ‘sacrifice for the newly appeared moon’ (→ 1.2., Ex. 3), *pūrṇamāsā-* ‘sacrifice for the full moon’ (→ 1.2., Ex. 2) and *darśā-pūrṇamāsāu* (du.) first appear in the YV. In spite of their designations, the worship of the moon (*candrāmā-* or *sōma-*) itself, in a specified position in relation to the sun (*sūrya-* or *sūryā-*), retreats from both the sacrifices and survives in the rite of Upavasatha, s. below. In exchange, the principal role is played by Indra¹⁸ as smiter of Vṛtra (*vṛtrahān-*), not only in the Darśa but also in the Pūrṇamāsa, based on the equivalence of Indra with the sun (→ 2.3., fn. 56) and Soma with the moon (→ 3.1., fn. 68; fn. 72) which implies Vṛtra (→ 2.3., fn. 66, fn. 67, Ex. 7.1., 7.2.).

Both the sacrifices belong to the Iṣṭi, for which the oblations are grain and dairy foods. From the description of the YV (→ Ex. 6, Ex. 7), it is obvious that the Darśa was first systematized on the model of the Soma sacrifice for Indra and that the Pūrṇamāsa was secondarily adjusted to the Darśa. It is remarkable, especially after the TS onward, that both the rituals are reconstructed on the basis of Indra’s

AV[Ś] 5,23[25]), 76, 0.176; Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 24–26. — For the two successive Amāvāsyā or Pūrṇamāsī nights, s. fn. 39, fn. 107; cf. also ŚāṅkhŚS 1,3.3–6 [Darśapūrṇamāsau]. — Dhātṛ and the four goddesses are equated with the sun (*ādityā-*) and the quarters of the sky (*dīs-*) respectively in ŚB 9,5.1.37f. [Devikā-havīmṣi; Agnicayana], cf. Eggeling vol. 4: 264, n 3.

¹⁵ VaitS 1,14–16 prescribes that, early in the morning of the new or full moon sacrifice, the hymn for Sinīvālī or that for Anumatī respectively is recited each after four stanzas of the Vihavya-Sūkta (RV 10,128 ≈ AV[Ś] 5,3; [P] 5,4; cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2020: 198–202), then after the Agnihotra, the hymns for Kuhū and Amāvāsyā or those for Rākā and Paurṇamāsī, s. Ex. 1, fn. 133, Ex. 2.

¹⁶ Oblations to the four goddesses together with Dhātṛ (*devikāhavīmṣi*) are found on various occasions (→ fn. 14 MS^p 4,3.5:44.10f., KS^p 12,8:170.9f., TS^p 3,4.9.6; ŚB 9,5.1.37f.): as an independent Kāmyeṣṭi or in the concluding offerings (*udayanīeṣṭi-*) of the Soma-sacrifice, e.g., Agniṣṭoma (cf. Caland & Henry 1906–1907, vol. 2: 408f.; BaudhŚS 8,22; ĀpŚS 13,24.1–5, etc.), Agnicayana (cf. Staal 2001, vol.1: 689) and Rājasūya (MS loc.cit); according to the ŚS, in the preparatory offerings of the Rājasūya (cf. Heesterman 1957: 41–45).

¹⁷ The theory and the rites of Virāj’s wandering are supposed to underly the Five-fire doctrine, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2001: 161–165.

¹⁸ Indra as smiter of Vṛtra is well-known as early as in the RV (→ Ex. 7). In the brāhmaṇas, he appears more often as unrivaled warrior for the gods (*deva-*) in the war against the Asuras.

myth of smiting Vṛtra, inherited from the RV, but fundamentally transformed and extended in the brāhmaṇas (→ Ex. 7). It is a general conception, not only in the Darśapūrṇamāsau, but also in the Kāmyeṣṭis (→ fn. 25) and Cāturmāsyaṇi, that the oblation at the full moon leads to the success of smiting Vṛtra, whereas the oblation at the new moon restores Indra's vigor lost by having smitten Vṛtra (→ Ex. 7.2, 7.3., 7.4.).

Common to the Black and White YV, the framework of the Darśa consists of the combination of two offerings,¹⁹ first *puroḍāśa*-²⁰ 'a previous oblation of a sacrificial cake' to Agni baked on eight pieces of *kapāla*-²¹ 'potsherd', then as the very core of the Darśa, *sāmnāyā*-²² a mixture of *dadhi*- 'sour milk' and *śrta*- 'boiled fresh milk',

¹⁹ A tendency to separate Sāmnāyā (for Indra) and Puroḍāśa (for Agni, etc.) and to distribute the former to the Darśa and the latter to the Pūrṇamāsa is shown in the view presented by Nishimura 2016: 241 (2.5.; 3.1.), 2010: 40, 43: "a certain possibility" that "the offering made in the original (or primitive) NMS [new moon sacrifice] could be sāmnāyā (only), and that that made in the original FMS [full moon sacrifice] could be puroḍāśa (only)."

²⁰ *puroḍāś*- (RV+) and *puroḍāśa*- (AV+) are commonly used as a sacrificial designation of *apūpa*- 'cake of threshed and grounded grain (barley or rice) baked on potsherds (*kapāla*;- → fn. 21)'. However, both of *puroḍāś*- and *puroḍāśa*-, formed of *purās* 'prior' and *dās* 'offer', originally mean 'previous oblation, offering preceding the principal offering' and are not limited to 'cake'. Among 24 cases attested in the RV (cf. Scarlata 1999: 220, s.v. °*dās*-), *puroḍāś*-(Geldner "Voropfer", Gotō 2007: 289, 726 "Vorspende") is used two times for living beings: **a he-goat** (3. *chāga*-, 4. *ajā*-) for Pūṣan before the horse offering in the Aśvamedha (1,162.3); metaphorically **two kings Yakṣu and Turvaśa** killed first in the battle between king Sudās and the union of ten kings (7,18.6) as if in the Puruṣamedha. In most cases in the RV, the *puroḍāś*- means 'oblation of a cake to Indra preceding the Soma offering' (3,41.3; 52.2; 4,24.5; 32,16; 6,23.7; 8,2.11; 31.2; 78.1) or 'oblation of a cake to Agni in each of three Savanas (pressing and offering of the Soma) for Indra' (3,28.1–6). — The above-mentioned original meaning is alive in the YV, e.g., **MS^p 3,10.5:136.19–137.5** [Agniṣṭoma]: **five, four and four previous offerings (*puroḍāśa*-)** are made in the morning, midday and afternoon Savanas respectively; 1) *puroḍāśa*- 'baked cake of threshed and grounded grain', 2) *parivāpā*- 'roast unthreshed grain', 3) *dhānā*- 'roast threshed grain', 4) *karambhā*- 'paste of roast threshed grain', 5) *payasyā*- 'mixture of sour and cooked fresh milk' (cf. *āmikṣā*- and *sāmnāyā*-). For the grain foods, cf. Einoo 1985: 17–21. — **ŚB 1,6.2.5f.** [Darśapūrṇamāsau] gives an etymological explanation of *puroḍāśa*- from *purās* 'prior' and *dās* 'offer' and distinguishes the Puroḍāśa for Agni from the principal oblations, i.e., the Puroḍāśa for Agni-Soma at the full moon and the Sāmnāyā for Indra at the Amāvāsyā. — **TS^p 2,6.3.3** emphasizes that offering an eight-kapāla-cake (*puroḍāśa*-) to Agni is indispensable both at the new and full moon: *yād āgneyò 'ṣṭākāpālo 'māvāsyāyāṃ ca paurnamāsyāṃ cācyuto bhāvat, suvargāsyā lokāsyābhijityai*. "That an eight-kapāla [Puroḍāśa] for Agni is (applied as) immoved both in the lunar conjunction night (and the following daytime) and the full moon night (and the following daytime), [it serves] to conquer the heavenly world". The pattern to offer an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni before the main offering is popular in the Kāmyeṣṭis.

²¹ *kapāla*- 'piece of broken clay pot, potsherd' is later replaced by 'small round clay piece' for baking the Puroḍāśa, s. Dharmadhikari 1989: 20; *kapāla*- means 'piece constituent of a scull' in the MS, KS, TS, TB (→ Ex. 6.3.).

²² *sāmnāyā*- is attested first in the prose of the Black YV and used always as an oblation to Indra, mostly in the Darśa, but also in the Cāturmāsyaṇi (MS^p 1,10.5:146.2–5 ≈ KS^p 36,1:68.5f. [→ Ex. 7.3.]; offering in Śunāsīrya KS^p 15,2:210.15 *aindraṃ sāmnāyāṃ* ~ MS^p 2,6.3.3:64.18

to Indra (or alternatively Mahendra KS+). The Puroḍāśa for Agni and Dadhi for Indra are closely united in the Darśa.²³ This ritual structure is parallel to that of the Soma sacrifice composed of Soma oblation preceded by Puroḍāśa at each Savana ‘pressing (and drinking) Soma’ in the morning, midday and evening.²⁴ Dadhi, often expressed *aindrá- dádhi-* (→ fn. 23), is equated to Soma sap, whereas Sāṃnāyya substitutes for Soma oblation, i.e., a mixture of Soma sap with milk (→ fn. 3, fn. 23), as is discussed in Ex. 5.

Similar to the Darśa, the Pūrṇamāsa is composed of the previous offering of an eight-kapāla-cake for Agni (→ fn. 20 TS^p 2,6.3.3) and the principal offering of a cake to an unspecified deity (in the MS^{mp} and KS^p) or to Agni-Soma (du. *agnīśóma-*) from the TS onward (→ Ex. 6.1). The pattern of the previous oblation of an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni before the main oblation is popular also in the Kāmyeṣṭis.

A curious peculiarity to the Darśapūrṇamāsa is that deities and oblations for the principal offerings are ambiguous in the MS and KS (as *amuṣmai* and *yásyai devátāyai*), with exception of Dadhi (or Sāṃnāyya in the prose) for Indra and Puroḍāśa for Agni (→ Ex. 6., 6.1., 6.2.). Moreover, the mantras, esp. Yājyās and Anuvākyās recited by the Hotṛ, fail in the MS, KS and TS; they are treated first in the TB (→ Ex. 6.5). On the other hand, the Anumantraṇa recited by the Yajamāna in the KS shows striking variety and flexibility of deities, which corresponds with the unspecified expression of deities *amuṣmai* and *yásyai devátāyai* in the MS and KS and suggests a close relation to the Kāmyeṣṭis.²⁵

aindrām dadhī ≈ TS 1,8.7.1 *aindrām dádhi* [→ Ex. 6.7.], Gavāmayana (TS^p 7,5.6.4; cf. 5,7.2f. *aidrá- dádhi-*), Kāmyeṣṭi (MS^p 2,2.13 ≈ TS^p 2,5.5.1f. [Caland 1908: Nr.155] expiation in the case that the moon arises towards the Sāṃnāyya, i.e., the Darśa takes place earlier than the lunar conjunction with the sun).

²³ TS^p 2,5.3.1f. (→ Ex. 7.2.) *indro vṛtrām hatvā devātābhiś cendriyēṇa ca vyārdhyata. śa etām āgneyām aṣṭakapālam amāvāsyāyām apaśyad aindrām dádhi.* ‘Indra, having smitten Vṛtra, was deprived of divinities (vital functions) and virility characteristic of Indra (*indriyā-*). He saw (discovered) the eight-kapāla [Puroḍāśa] for Agni in the Amāvāsyā night, [and] **Dadhi for Indra.**’ This paragraph is followed by an explanation of the Sāṃnāyya (2,5.3.5f → fn. 47) and that of the curdler for making Dadhi for Indra (→ Ex. 5). For the eight-kapāla-cake to Agni both in the Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa, s. TS^p 2,6.3.3 (→ fn. 20 at the end).

²⁴ Cf. MS^p 3,10.5:136.19–137.5 [Agniśoma], RV 3,28.1–6; 41.3; 52.2–6; 4,24.5; 32.16; 6,23.7; 8,2.11; 31.2; 78.1 (→ fn. 20). As to the food offered with the Soma drink, e.g., cake (*puroḍāśa-*), porridge (*carū-*), s. Hillebrandt 1927: 468–470 (1990: 310–312).

²⁵ The Kāmyeṣṭis are Iṣṭis ‘rituals with oblations made from grain or milk’ (→ fn. 5) performed for the Yajamāna’s special desire after the model of the Darśapūrṇamāsau, usually on the day of the full moon, but also of the new moon, or of a special Nakṣatra. Deities, oblations, mantras, dakṣiṇā, etc., are variable according to the Yajamāna’s wish: e.g., oblations of an eleven-kapāla-cake to Indra-Agni, Agni-Soma, Agni-Viṣṇu, various aspects of Indra, e.g., Vaimīdha (Vimīdha KS), Vṛtrahan, Indryāvant, a twelve-kapāla-cake to Indra-Viṣṇu (du.), Agni Vaśvānara, *carū-* ‘porridge’ to Pūṣan, Soma, Soma-Pūṣan, Soma-Indra, Soma-Rudra, Agni-Varuṇa, etc. They are synthetically treated only in the Black YV (MS, KS, TS); the MS provides the most abundant variety of them. The Kāmyeṣṭis are comprehensively studied by Caland 1908.

Here is a provisory summary of information concerning the early state of the Darśapūrṇamāsau.

- 1) The brāhmaṇa on baking the Puroḍāśa informs us its size: maximum three kinds of cakes, baked on eight, eleven or twelve kapālas, are used in the MS and KS. An eight-kapāla-cake, compared to Prajāpati's head, is of special importance and seems indispensable (→ Ex. 6.3.).
- 2) The Anumantraṇa of the KS^{mp} gives names of the deities for main offerings (→ Ex. 6.4.): *agnīṣoma-* (du.), *agni-*, *dabdhī-*, ***agnīṣoma- vṛtrahaṇa-*** (du.), ***indrāgni-*** (du.), ***indra-***, ***mahendra-***, *indra- vimṛdha-*, *indra- indriyāvant-*, *sarasvatī-*, *pūṣan-*, *aditi-*, *viśva- deva-* (pl.), *dyāvāpṛthivī-* (du.), *agni-sviṣṭakṛt-*. The three at the beginning (for Ājyabhāga [→ fn. 174], Puroḍāśa and Upāṁśuyāja [→ fn. 176]) and the last *agni- sviṣṭakṛt-* are common to the Darśa and the Pūrṇamāsa. *agnīṣoma- vṛtrahaṇa-* (du.) is parallel to *agnīṣoma-* in the TS and considered as the principal deity of the Pūrṇamāsa offered an eleven-kapāla-cake. ***indrāgni-***, ***indra-*** and ***mahendra-*** are alternatives to be chosen as the principal deity of the Darśa: Puroḍāśa (an eleven- or twelve-kapāla-cake) for Indra-Agni, Sāṁnāyā for Indra or Mahendra. The deities from *indra- vimṛdha-* to *dyāvāpṛthivī-* are considered to belong to optional subsidiary offerings and eliminated in the Anumantraṇa of the TS. However, an ancillary offering to *indra- vimṛdha-* in the Pūrṇamāsa is provided in TS^p 2,5.3.1 (→ Ex. 7.2.2.). It is remarkable that all deities in the Anumantraṇa of the KS, except Dabdhī and Mahendra, are shared by the Kāmyeṣṭis of the MS, KS and TS.
- 3) The Yājyās and Anuvākyās recited by the Hotṛ at the main offerings are not indicated in the MS, KS and TS (→ Ex. 6.5.). Those for Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, Indra and Mahendra in the Darśapūrṇamāsau are mentioned first in TB^m 3,5.7.2–4. Their parallels are found as mantras for other Iṣṭis (Kāmyeṣṭis, etc.) in the MS, KS and TS (→ Ex. 6.5.), except the mantras for Mahendra appear all in the Agniṣoma (basic type of the Soma sacrifice). This suggests that the worship of Mahendra was taken from the Soma-sacrifice.
- 4) The offering of an eleven-kapāla cake to Agni-Soma is made subsidiarily in the Iṣṭi ancillary to Ādhāna ‘setting up the sacrificial fires’ in the MS and KS²⁶; the Yājyā and Anuvākyā for Agni-Soma in this Iṣṭi and the Kāmyeṣṭis (RV 1,93.5.9; MS^m 4,10.1:144.12–15; KS^m 4,16:42.20–43.2) are parallel to those in the Pūrṇamāsa (TB^m 3,5.7.2; → Ex. 6.6.A).
- 5) The oblation of an **eleven**-kapāla-cake to Indra-Agni is popular in the Kāmyeṣṭis, whereas a **twelve**-kapāla-cake is offered to Indra-Agni in

²⁶ MS^p 1,6.8:99.12–16 and KS^p 8,10:94.4f. (at the full moon).

Varuṇapraghāsa (MS/KS; eleven° TS) and Sākamedha (MS; **eleven**° KS/TS) of the Cāturmāsyaṇi (→ Ex. 6.7.B, fn. 181). Cp. a **twelve**-kapāla-cake for **Indra Śunāsīrya** and **Dadhi for Indra** in Śunāsīrya in TS^p 1,8.7.1 [Cāturmāsyaṇi in Rājasūya] (→ fn. 23, fn. 181).

- 6) Remarkable similarities are found between the Darśapūrṇamāsa and the Kāmyeṣṭis.
 - A) In a pair of Iṣṭis (CALAND 1908: Nr. 32, Nr. 33) found only in MS^p 2,1.3:4.14–5.5 (→ Ex. 6.6.B, Ex. 6.7.A), the first Iṣṭi is performed for victory with an eight-kapāla-cake for Agni, an **eleven**-kapāla-cake for **Agni-Soma** and a two-kapāla-cake for Heaven-Earth; the second Iṣṭi after the victory changes the 2nd oblation alone to an **eleven**-kapāla-cake for **Indra-Agni**. The first Iṣṭi is combined with Indra's smiting Vṛtra with Vajra, just as the Pūrṇamāsa, whereas the second is performed for Indra's recovery of vigour and manliness after having smitten Vṛtra, just as the Darśa (→ Ex. 7.2.).
 - B) MS^p 2,2.11:24.5–7 (Nr.144): offerings of an eleven-kapāla-cake each to Indra Vajrin, Indra Vṛtrahan (→ Ex. 7.2., Ex. 7.4. TS^p 2,5.2.4f., ŚB 1,6.4.12f.) and Indra Vṛtratūr, when one's rival preforms a Soma sacrifice.
 - C) With regard to the myth of Indra and Vṛtra, a Kāmyeṣṭi named Traidhātavyā (MS/KS) or Traidhātavīya (TS) with offering of three layers of twelve-kapāla-cake for Indra-Viṣṇu (Caland Nr.178) presents a striking parallelism to Darśapūrṇamāsau (→ Ex. 7.2.).
- 7) Agni-Soma as well as Indra-Agni play important roles in the Agnyupasthāna 'worship of the sacrificial fires' combined to the Darśapūrṇamāsau in the MS and KS (→ Ex. 6.8., fn. 188, 189). The Āhitāgni pays homage to the sacrificial fire daily with the Ṛc for Agni-Soma in the waxing half-month and the Ṛc for Indra-Agni in the waning half-month. The waxing and waning half-month in the MS, or the full and new moon in the KS, belong to Agni-Soma and Indra-Agni respectively.

From the above-mentioned data, we could presume the following process of systematization of the Darśapūrṇamāsau:

- 1) The ambiguity and flexibility of deities, oblations and mantras at the early stage of the YV, which is much more noticeable in the Pūrṇamāsa than the Darśa, shows their close affinity with the Kāmyeṣṭis (→ fn. 25) in origin. It is remarkable that both share deities, oblations, Yājyā and Anuvākyās, except Dadhi and Sāṃnāyya for Indra. In other words, Dadhi and Sāṃnāyya for Indra characterize the Darśapūrṇamāsau and distinguish them from the

Kāmyeṣṭis. Both are rarely used in other Iṣṭis but the Cāturmāsyāni (→ fn. 23, Ex. 6.7.B, Ex. 7.3.).

- 2) The worship of Agni-Indra and Agni-Soma were common and at times associated with the full and the new moon respectively in the Kāmyeṣṭis and the Agnyupasthāna in the MS and KS.
- 3) At the stage of the MS, the principal deity of the Pūrṇamāsa was variable and selected by the Yajamāna (and priests) from suitable candidates, among which we could count first the full moon itself (*pūrṇāmās-/pūrṇāmāsa-*) or Soma (offered usually porridge) symbolizing the moon, then Agni-Soma from which Vṛtra (equated to the moon) was generated, further Indra as a brave warrior, Viṣṇu who assists Indra in raising his Vajra, Prajāpati as supervisor of the whole ritual, etc. Among them, Agni-Soma, known also as “protector of the priests” in the Kāmyeṣṭis, became prevailing and was fixed as the principal deity of the Pūrṇamāsa in the TS (mantras → Ex. 6.1.; prose → Ex. 7.2.). The KS was intermediate between the MS and the TS.
- 4) The oblation of Puroḍāśa for Indra-Agni is presumed to have been introduced into the Darśa from the Kāmyeṣṭis, probably first as a subsidiary offering to Sāṃnāyya, and then substituted for Sāṃnāyya which tended to be restricted, as the prohibition against offering Sāṃnāyya to *ásomayājini* ‘one who does not habitually perform the Soma sacrifice’ in the TS, shows (→ 4., fn. 127, fn. 128, Ex. 6.7). The size of Puroḍāśa to Indra-Agni was changed from an eleven-kapāla in the Kāmyeṣṭis to a twelve-kapāla in the Darśa; this size *dvādaśa-kapālā-* is mentioned first in ŚB 1.6.4.3.²⁷ In the Cāturmāsyāni, the size was wavering between twelve-kapāla and eleven-kapāla (→ Ex. 6.7.B, fn. 195).
- 5) In the TS, other deities such as Indra Vaimṛdha (Vimṛdha KS), Indra Vṛtrahan, Viṣṇu, Heaven-Earth (*dyāvāpṛthivī-*), Prajāpati²⁸ are integrated into the Pūrṇamāsa with subsidiary offerings to Indra Vaimṛdha (TS^p

²⁷ S. Nishimura 2016: 235.

²⁸ Prajāpati is explained as the supreme deity of the Pūrṇamāsa in TS^p 2.5.2.7 (→ Ex. 7.2.) *brahmavādīno vadanti kiṃdevatyām paurṇāmāsam iti. prajāpatiyām iti brūyāt. ténéndram jyeṣṭhām putrām nirāvāsāyayad iti. tasmā jyeṣṭhām putrām dhānena nirāvāsāyayanti.* “Those who discuss the Brahman say: ‘To which deity does the oblation (*havyā-*) at the full moon belong?’ One should say: ‘[It belongs to] Prajāpati.’ [Prajāpati] sent away from the dwelling place the eldest son Indra with that (oblation) (to conquer Vṛtra). Therefore, [people] send away from the dwelling place the eldest son with wealth (for an expedition).” — Prajāpati is given an important role in the Darśapūrṇamāsa-brāhmaṇa of the TS, e.g., Prajāpati made cattle to collect Indra’s lost virility from plants (the origin of the Sāṃnāyya) in 2.5.3.5f. (→ fn. 47, Ex. 7.2.); Prajāpati takes leadership in searching for Indra in 2.5.4.6 (→ fn. 47, Ex. 7.3.); Prajāpati forged (*asiṅcat*: pour hot metal on an anvil and shape it with a hammer into) Vajra for Indra in 2.5.2.5, whereas Tvaṣṭṛ did in TS^p 2.4.12.2 [Traidhātaviya] ≈ MS^p 2.4.3:40.14 [Traidhātaviya]. For Indra’s Vajra made by Tvaṣṭṛ in the RV, see Gotô 2007: 850f., 2013a: 670f.

2,5.3.1) and to Indra Vṛtrahan (*vārtraghnam havis* ‘oblation belonging to Vṛtrahan [Indra’s epithet]’ TS^p 2,5.2.4f.) (→ Ex. 7.2.).

- 6) Ritual systematization of the Darśapūrṇamāsau was achieved in the TB. The ŚB (vol. 1 and vol. 11) made further steps for popularization, as is shown by approval for Sāmnāyā of *ásomayājini-* (→ above, 4., fn. 139), and theological development of this ritual (→ Ex. 7.2.).

The importance of the Amāvāsyā and Paurṇamāsī nights (→ 1.2.) survives in the rite of the Upavasatha (*upavasathā-* → 2.1., fn. 46, fn. 49): the Yajamāna, observing his religious duties (*vratā-*),²⁹ above all fasting, passes both the nights by the sacrificial fires to which the deities come together for the offering rites performed the next morning.³⁰ It is noteworthy that the stanza for the Paurṇamāsī (AV[Ś] 7,80.1 ≈ [P] 1,102.2; → Ex. 2) and that for Amāvāsyā (AV[Ś] 7,79.1 ≈ [P] 20,32.1 → Ex. 1) are recited at the Sārasvata offering of the Anvārambhañīyeṣṭi (introductory rite of the first full moon sacrifice after setting up the sacrificial fires) in TS^m 3,5.1.1(b) (→ 1.2., Ex.1, fn. 134, fn. 135). Moreover, the oblation to the full moon (*pūrṇamāsa-*) and the night of conjunction (*amāvāsyā-*) with mantras of TB^m 3,7.5.13 (y) (≈ AV[Ś] 7,80.2; → Ex. 2) and (z) respectively is performed as the Pārvaṇa Homa incorporated into the Darśapūrṇamāsau.³¹

In the ritual system of the Śrautasūtras, the oblation is unified into the *puroḍāśa-*: a twelve-kapāla-cake for Indra-Agni in the Darśa (→ above 4), fn. 36), an eleven-kapāla-cake for Agni-Soma in the Pūrṇamāsa, and an eight-kapāla-cake for Agni common to both. As the principal deity for Darśa, Indra-Agni replaced Indra (or

²⁹ For the rite of undertaking the Yajamāna’s duty (*vratopāyana-*), see Sakamoto-Gotō 2020: 216, 221f., esp. fn. 77; 2018 (in Japanese): 972–969.

³⁰ The Yajamāna-brāhmaṇas of the Black YV state that Āhavanīya and Gāryapatya should be spread around or over with Barhis (Darbha-grass) in the preceding day, first in order that the deities will come next morning to the sacrifice (MS^p 1,4.10: 58,1–5 ≈ KS^p 32,7:25.17–21), then that they will stay this night by the Yajamāna: TS^p 1,6.7.2f. ... *upastīryaḥ pūrvaś cāgnir āparaś céty āhur: manuṣyāḥ* || 2 || in nvā upastīrṇam ichānti kīm u devā yéśāṃ návāvasānam. *úpāsmiñ chvó yakṣyámāṇe devātā vasantī yá evāṃ vidvān agnīm upastrñāti*. ‘[Scholars] say that the east fire (Āhavanīya) and the west (fire: Gārhapatya) should be spread over [with Barhis]. Human beings, verily, seek [a place] spread over [with grass] – how then the gods? – in case of their new settlement. The deities stay overnight by the [Yajamāna] who is going to perform the sacrifice tomorrow morning, if he, knowing thus, spreads over the fire [with Barhis]’. This concept is developed in ŚB 1,1.1.7 (Āṣāḍha Sāyavasa’s view) and 11 (Yājñavalkya’s view): 7. ... *tā enam etād vratām upayāntaṃ viduḥ prātār no yakṣyata iti. tē ’sya víśve devā grhān āgachanti. tē ’sya grhēṣṭupavasanti. sá upavasathāḥ*. ‘They (the gods) know that he, undertaking Vrata in this way (by fasting), is going to perform a sacrifice. All the gods come to his residence (houses: pl. *grhā-*). They stay overnight close to him in the residence. That is the Upavasatha.’; 11. *sá āhavanīyāgārē vaiṭāṃ rātrīm śáyīta | gārhapatyāgārē vā. devān vā eṣā upāvartate yó vratām upāti. sá yān evòpārvartate tēṣāṃ evāitan mādhye śete*. ‘He should lie this night either in the Āhavanīya-hut or in the Gārhapatya-hut. This one, verily, turn towards the gods, when he undertakes Vrata. He lies thus in the middle of those very (gods) that he turns towards.’

³¹ Cf. BaudhŚS 1,17; ĀpŚS 2,20.5; MānvŚS 1,3.2.21, Hillebrandt 1879: 115f. (II. Teil. C. III)..

Mahendra) so that the Sāṃnāyya offering to Indra (or Mahendra)³² is reduced to an optional alternative oblation.

In the Gṛhyasūtras, the new and full moon sacrifices are designated *pārvanasthālīpāka-* (m.) ‘(offering) cooked food in a pot at the knot-time, i.e., the new and full moon’. As this name shows, oblations are consistently *odanā-* ‘porridge of rice or barley’, called *carū-* in the Śrautasūtras, with exception of optional butter-oblations to Agni and to Soma (GobhilaGS 1,8.3f., ĀśvGS 1,10.13f.). The deities are in principle the same as the Darśapūrṇamāsau, but much more flexible.³³ Curiously enough, the GobhilaGS prescribes that offering is made to Agni alone by that who is not Āhitāgni, both at the new and full moon, optionally by the Āhitāgni also.³⁴ This half-monthly offering to Agni reminds us of RV 1,94.4 (→ 1.1.). It is to be noticed that porridge is used also as the oblation to Soma, Aditi, etc., in the Iṣṭis and as the priest’s fee named Anvāhārya ‘what is to be brought supplementarily’ in the Darśapūrṇamāsau.

2. Astronomical background of the new and full moon sacrifices

Before examining the text, let us look briefly at the knowledge regarding the correlative movements of celestial bodies in the Vedic period, which underlay the religious thoughts and activities.³⁵

³² Mahendra as the deity to which Sāṃnāyya is offered is discussed in TS^p 2,5.4.4f and ŚB 1,6.4.21, cf. Nishimura 2016: 238f.

³³ Cf. ŚāṅkhGS 1,3.1–17 (4. *devatāś copāmśuyājendramahendravadajram*; 5. *kāmyā itarāḥ*); 1,4.1f.; ĀśvGS 1,10.4–11 (6. ... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam nirvapāmīti*; 7. ... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam prokṣāmīti*; 10. ... *idam amuṣmā idam amuṣmā iti*); PārGS 1,12.1 (in addition to the deities stated in the ŚS, **Brahman, Prajāpati, Viśve Devāḥ** and **Heaven-Earth**); KhGS 2,1.9 (... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam nirvapāmīti* ...), 23. (... *amuṣmai svāheti juhuyād yaddevatyam*). For the mantras beginning with *amuṣmai*, cf. Ex. 6 MS^m 1,1.5:3.5 and 1,6:3.10.

³⁴ Cf. GobhilaGS 1,7.3 *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam nirvapāmīti devatānām ādeśam sakṛd dviṣ tūṣṇīm*. “Once designation of the deities [is done]: ‘for so-and-so, I take (throw) you (grain) out (from the cart into the bowl of mortar)’ which is agreeable (≈ MS^m 1,1.5:3.5 → Ex. 6), twice silently.” 1,8.21 *āgneya evānāhitāgner ubhayor darśapaurṇamāsayoh sthālīpākaḥ syāt*. “The porridge cooked in a pot of the Yajamāna who is not Āhitāgni should be belonging to **Agni alone** in both the new and full moon sacrifices”. 22. *āgneyo vā gñīṣomīyo vāhitagneḥ paurṇamāsyām*. “[The porridge] of the Āhitāgni [should be] belonging to **Agni or Agni-Soma** in the day following the full moon night”. 23. *aindro vaindrāgnī mātendro vā amāvāsyāyām*. “[The porridge] of the Āhitāgni [should be] belonging to **Indra, Indra-Agni or Mahendra** in the day following the Amāvāsyā night.” 24. *api vāhitāgner apy ubhayor darśapūrṇamāsayor āgneya eva syāt*. “Or also [the porridge] of the Āhitāgni should belong to **Agni alone** in both the new and full moon sacrifices”.

³⁵ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2011; 2012; 2015: 56f.

2.1. The conjunction of the sun and the moon: the Amāvāsyā night

Ancient Indian thought is based on the conception that all the phenomena in the universe repeat periodic changes according to their proper cycle, such as day and night, month, season, year, death and rebirth.

The regularity of those phenomena is expressed by nouns derived from the verbal root *ar* (**h₂er*) ‘sich (zusammen) fügen’³⁶: masculine *ṛtú-* ‘the right time in exact accordance with the temporal cycle’, above all ‘monthly period fit for conception of children by women’ and more generally ‘season’; neuter *ṛtá-* ‘the cosmic order which regulates all the phenomena in the universe, the highest law of all beings’, originally the verbal adjective ‘gefügt, fit’.

Seen by the naked eye from earth, the moon and sun move from east to west on their own paths, which are very close to each other.³⁷ However, the moon moves more slowly than the sun, so that the moon’s position relative to the sun shifts from west to east on average by about 12° a solar day; in other words, the moon rises and sets every day later, on average by about 50 minutes.³⁸

When the moon is seen from earth in the same direction as the sun, the moon is in conjunction with the sun and not seen in the nocturnal sky.³⁹ This night is called, from the AV onward, *amāvāsyā- rātrī-* (later *rātrī-*) ‘the night’⁴⁰ of staying (*vas*) at home (*amā*)⁴¹ of the moon joined with the sun, his wedded wife (→ 2.4., 3.1., 3.2.), while the moon travels the sky visiting one Nakṣatra after another in the other nights

³⁶ Cf. Gotō 2020a: 105 (8.3.) with Anm. 42.

³⁷ The moon’s orbit around the earth is declined by about 5.15° with regard to the ecliptic.

³⁸ The retardation time of the moon’s rising and setting varies according to the season and the latitude of the observation point.

³⁹ On the contrary, the full moon is seen from the earth in the opposite direction as the sun. The conjunction as well as the full moon occur anytime of a solar day. Now, the time of sunrise and sunset changes according to the season and to the observation point. As result, it occurs often that the moon is practically invisible or almost full in two successive nights (→ 3.2.4., fn. 107), which led to the concept of the two (prior and posterior) conjunction nights and the two full moon nights (→ fn. 14).

⁴⁰ *amāvāsyā-* (*rātrī-/rātrī-*) designates a full solar day including this night and the following daytime (→ fn. 2, Ex. 1, Fn. 133 KauśS 5,5). In the early Vedic stage, a calendar day begins at sunset and the date is expressed by the night as counted from the conjunction or the full moon. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1119f. It is also noteworthy that *amāvāsyā-* implies the moon disappeared from the nocturnal sky (the moon in conjunction with the sun) as the opposite to *pūrṇamāsa-* ‘the full moon’.

⁴¹ *amā* ‘at home’ is an opposite of *āraṇe* (RV 10,63.16)/*āraṇye* (6,24.10) ‘by foreign people, in a foreign land’ and *ādhan* (6,51.15), *ādhan* (10,185.2) ‘on the way/ways, on journey’, cf. Graßmann s.v. Its derivation from *āma-* ‘dieser (hier)’ (Graßmann s.v. *amā*, EWAia s.v. *āma-*) is uncertain, cf. Gotō 2013b: 73 “An alleged *āma-* ‘this’ is supposed in AV 14,2.71 and its parallels. But the form owes its existence to an artificial dividing of *sāman-* into *sā* and *āma-* imitating pron. *amū-*”.

(→ 2.4.).⁴² A question arises here: Where is the moon's 'home' for cohabitation with the sun? At the stage of the RV, the sun itself was considered as the moon's home as "the Nakṣatra par excellence" (→ 2.4.). From the astronomical view that the sun transfers around the earth (→ 2.5.), the moon and the sun must move together underground all this night,⁴³ which, however, disaccords with the sense of *amā* (→ fn. 41) and *vas*. As early as the RV,⁴⁴ we find the theological concept that the sun (i.e., Indra) daily enters the sacrificial fire at sunset and rises from that next morning. This concept developed especially in the speculations of the Agnihotra and the Agnyupasthāna, both daily obligations of the Āhitāgni.⁴⁵ The dual deity *indrāgni*- in the RV is reinterpreted into "Indra staying together with Agni in the Āhavanīya" and constitutes an essential part of the Agnyupasthāna (→ E.x. 6.8, fn. 183). It is also recognized from the TS^p onward that the gods stay together at the sacrificial fire in the new and full moon night (→ 1.3., fn. 30). We can gather from them that, at the stage of the AV (→ 1.2., Ex. 1) and the Black YV, the moon Soma was considered to stay together with the sun Indra in the Amāvāsyā night in the sacrificial fire by the Āhitāgni (mostly a learned brahmin).⁴⁶ By contrast, the ŚB presents a new interpretation that the moon Soma and the sun Indra pass separately the Amāvāsyā night: Indra stays together with Agni by the Yajamāna, and the moon Soma enters alone the plants on earth and is transformed into milk to be used for the Sāmnāyā.⁴⁷

⁴² As to the question who or what stays at home (*amā* + *vas*), there occur various interpretations, e.g., the fathers come home back to the Yajamāna's house (AV[Ś] 7,79.2 ≈ [P] 1,103.4; → 1.2., 2.1, Ex. 1, Ex. 2); Indra, discovered by the fathers under the direction of Prajāpati (TS) or by Agni (ŚB), stays home together with the gods (TS^p 2,5.4.6 → fn. 28, Ex.5, Ex.7.3; ŚB 1,6.4.2f); the moon Soma alone stays in the waters and plants on earth (ŚB 1,6.4.5 ≈ 11,1.1.4f; → fn. 47, Ex. 5).

⁴³ The moon and the sun are together high in the sky in the following morning, cf. RV 10,85.4 (→ 3.1.).

⁴⁴ RV 10,88.6 [Agni] *mūrdhā bhuvó bhavati náktam agnis | tātaḥ sūryó jāyate prātár udyán* "The fire becomes the top of the existence at night. Therefrom, the sun is born rising in the early morning".

⁴⁵ **KS^p 7,4:66.1 (= KpSp 5,3:62.7f.)** [Agnyupasthāna] *sūryo vā indras. so 'gnim naktam praviṣati* "Indra is verily the sun. He enters **the fire** by night"; **MS^p 1,5.5:73.11–13** [Agnyupasthāna] *ubhāu hy ètāu sahā-. amūm vā ayām divā bhūtē praviṣati. tasmād asāu divā rocata. imām asāu naktam. tasmād ayām naktam.* "Both (Indra and Agni) are namely together. This (Agni), verily, enters the yonder one (Indra) when the day breaks. Therefore that (Indra) shines by day. That (Indra) enters **this (earth: f. imām)** by night. Therefore this (Agni) [shines] by night." Parallels in the TS^p and ŚB are given in fn. 183. For the interpretation of the Agnihotra and the Agnyupasthāna, see Sakamoto-Gotô 2020: 189–191 (1.2., 1.3.), 196–198 (2.1.), fn. 32.

⁴⁶ In the MS^m and TB^p, the Brahmin is counted as the last Nakṣatra, i.e., the place where the moon stays in Amāvāsyā night (→ 2.4., fn. 64). It is supposed that, in origin, the learned Brahmin, probably a spiritual leader of his community, set up his sacrificial fires, offered by himself the Agnihotra and performed regularly the Darśapūrnamāsau as Yajamāna. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2020: 204–208 (3. The social classes of the Āhitāgni and Agnihotrin), esp. p. 205, and p. 228 (8. Summary).

⁴⁷ **MS^p 1,10.5:146.2–5** [Cāturnāyāni, on Āmikṣā] ≈ **KS^p 36,1:68.5f.** [Cāturnāyāni, on

On the other hand, Amāvāsyā is considered as a sacred night of the moon's death preceding rebirth and is associated with human death and rebirth. As mentioned above, it seems generally recognized that, this night, the Yajamāna's deceased fathers come back to his house (→ 1.2 Ex. 1 AV[Ś] 7,79.2 ≈ [P] 1,103.4) and that one of them enters the womb of his wife to become her embryo. This is supposed to be the reason why the monthly ancestor worship⁴⁸ takes place in the afternoon preceding the conjunction night (→ fn. 47 TS^p 2,5.3.5; Ex.1; 5; 7.2.; 7.3.). On this night, the Yajamāna stays by the sacred fire restraining himself from human desires, i.e., *upavasathā*- in the original meaning.⁴⁹ Next morning, the new moon sacrifice is performed with assistance of the fathers.

After the conjunction, a thin crescent appears in the west after the sunset. Changing its phase by waxing and waning, the moon comes again into the conjunction. From the conjunction to the full moon, the distance between moon and sun increases, as if the moon is fleeing from the sun. From the full moon to the next conjunction, on the contrary, the distance decreases as if the sun is pursuing the moon. Before the conjunction, a thin horned moon rises in the east before daybreak. Then the rising sun catches up with the moon. The correlative movement of the sun and the moon as well as the moon's periodical death and rebirth are described as early as the RV in various ways.

Āmikṣā] ≈ TS^p 2,5.3.5f. [Darśapūrnamāsau] (→ Ex. 5.) explain the origin of the Sāmnāyya from collecting Indra's virility: after having smitten Vṛtra, Indra's virility (MS/KS *vīryā*-, TS *indriyā*- *vīryā*-; implying the sense 'semen/sperm') dispersed from him on earth, then entered water, grass and trees (MS/KS) or became plants (TS); this virility, collected (*sam-nī*) by the gods (MS/KS) or by cattle under Prajāpati's order (TS), changed into milk for Sāmnāyya offering. This episode common to the Black YV is to a large extent transformed in ŚB 1,6.4.1–15: independently from Indra, the moon Soma enters waters and plants on earth, changes himself into milk inside the cows, is milked, cooked and curdled for the Sāmnāyya offering. For the ŚB loc.cit., cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1124 (3.4.); Nishimura 2016: 245–249; see Ex. 5, 7.2., 7.3, 7.4 — **Kāṭhaka-Saṃkalana 2** [Amā-brāhmaṇa] and **ṢaḍvB 4(5),6.1–3** present a speculation resulting from a mixture of the Black YV and the ŚB: in the Amāvāsyā night, the last 16th part of the moon enters successively herbs, trees, cows, cattle, the sun (*āditya*-), the sacred formula (*brahman*- nt.sg.) and the brahmins (*brāhmaṇa*- m.pl.), by which all the gods stay overnight; the brahmins collect (*samnyante*) the moon as Sāmnāyya from herbs, trees, cows, cattle, the sun and the sacred formula.

⁴⁸ Piṇḍapitṛyajña as a Śrauta-ritual (but not yet treated in the MS nor KS), Śrāddha as a Grhya-ritual. Noteworthy is MŚS 1,1.2.42 *apy anāhitāgninā kāryaḥ* "[The Piṇḍapitṛyajña] is to be done also by that who has not set the sacrificial fire".

⁴⁹ The meaning of *upavasathā*- was extended to the whole preparatory ritual procedures from the daybreak on the day preceding the day of offerings of the Darśapūrnamāsau, so that the Darśapūrnamāsau became considered composed of two days respectively in the system of the Śrauta rituals, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2018.

2.2. The sun and the moon as two playing children

RV 10,85.18–19 ($\approx$ AV[Ś] 14,1.23–24; [P] 18,3.2–3; AV[Ś] 7,81.1–2 [$\rightarrow$ 3., Ex. 3, fn. 145] $\approx$ [P] 19,40.8 and 20,31.7; MS^m 4,12.2:181.3–6)⁵⁰ present astronomical knowledge as to the sun and the moon and their significance for the rituals. The stanzas are not directly related to Sūryā's wedding procession and are supposed to have been secondarily inserted into the Sūkta, because Sūryā's wedding to Soma signifies nothing but the conjunction of the sun and the moon ($\rightarrow$ 3.1., 3.4.).

18. *pūrvāpāraṃ carato māyāyaitāu | śiśū krīḍantau pāri yāto adhvaram |*
viśvāny anyo bhūvanābhicāṣṭa | ṛtūṃ anyo vidádhat jāyate pūnaḥ ||

Ahead and behind in turn,⁵¹ these two [children] wander with wonderful measuring faculty (*māyā-*). The two children move playing around the ritual course (of the new and full moon sacrifices). The one (the sun) observes all the beings;⁵² the other (the moon), disposing (*vidádhat*) the periods (months, seasons, etc.: *ṛtū-* pl. $\rightarrow$ 2.1.), is born again.

The sun and the moon are compared to two playing children who chase each other. While the sun is the unchangeable observer of the universe, the moon changes periodically itself in shape and position concerning the sun as well as the stars. Thus, the moon disposes the calendar period by dividing days into months, sets months in order according to seasons of a year, and disposes fixed stars as Nakṣatras.⁵³ The moon distributes also oblations to the gods at each knot-time (*pārvaṇ-*), as the following stanza states. This is the reason why the moon is called *vidhāna-* 'the means of disposing' (of months: RV 10,138.6) and *vidhú-* 'disposer' (RV 10,55.5), both derived from *vi* + *dhā* 'dispose, divide, distribute, arrange, etc.', see below 2.3. and fn. 57.

19. *návo-navo bhavati jáyamāno- | āhnām ketúr uśásām ety ágram |*
bhāgām devébhyo vi dadhāt yāyān | prá candrámas tirate dīrghām āyuh ||

[The moon]⁵⁴ becomes each time new, when he is born. As a bright sign (*ketú-*) of the days,⁵⁴ he (the moon just before the conjunction) goes at the front of dawns. He, coming (to the earth), distributes shares to the gods. The shining moon (*candrámas*) carries [us] across [our] long lifetime.

This stanza praises the moon's periodical rebirth and rejuvenation. Just before the conjunction, the moon rises before the daybreak, preceding dawns. In the conjunction night, the moon comes to earth ($\rightarrow$ 2.1, fn. 42, fn. 46, fn. 47, Ex. 5) and next morning brings oblations for the gods and long life for mankind in the new moon sacrifice ($\rightarrow$ Ex. 1. AV[Ś] 7,79 $\approx$ [P] 1,103).

⁵⁰ Further parallels: st.18 $\approx$ AV(Ś) 13,2.11; TB^m 2,7.12.2; 2,8.9.3; st.19 $\approx$ TS^m 2,4.14.1 (HirGS 1,5.16.1), TS^p 2,3.5.3, KS^m 10,12:141.11f.

⁵¹ The waning moon rises before the sunrise and the waxing moon sets after the sunset.

⁵² Cf. RV 1,164.20 [riddle hymn] in which a pair of birds signify the sun and the moon as well as Puruṣa and Virāj ($\rightarrow$ Ex. 4.).

⁵³ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1119.

⁵⁴ The expression *āhnām ketú-* is found also as to Agni Vaiśvānara, e.g., RV 7,5.5, 10,88.12.

2.3. The sun (Indra) swallows the moon (Vṛtra)

RV 10,55.5 (hymn for Indra; ≈ AV[Ś] 9,10.9; [P] 16,68.8)⁵⁵ interprets the conjunction as the sun's swallowing the moon. The sun is expressed as an aged god, namely immortal Indra, in contrast to the moon who dies as a youth having lived only a month.⁵⁶

*vidhūm dadrāṇām sāmāne bahūnām | yūvānaṃ sāntam palitō jagāra |
devāsya paśya kāvyam mahitvā- | dyā mamāra sā hyāḥ sām āna ||*

The grey-haired (Indra as the sun) has swallowed (*jagāra*) the disposer (*vidhū-*: the moon, s. below and fn. 57, 2.2), being yet young, running (*dadrāṇā-*, s. below and fn. 59) in the meeting place (*sāmāna-* → fn. 58, fn. 87) of many [stars → fn. 58]. Behold the wisdom (seer's ability: *kāvyam*), powers (pl. *mahitvā*) of the god (Indra)! Today he (the moon) has died (*mamāra*); yesterday, he (the moon) breathed (*āna*) together [with the sun = Indra].

Just like *vidhāna-* in RV 10,138.6 (s. just below), *vidhū-*⁵⁷ is considered as an epithet of the moon, derived from *vi-dhā* 'dispose, divide, distribute, arrange, etc.' like (-) *sthū-* from *sthā*, see above 2.2. The moon disposes not only the days and the months (→ 2.2., fn. 53), but also the Nakṣatras (→ 2.4.), running in the meeting place of many stars (*sāmāne bahūnām*)⁵⁸, i.e., the nocturnal sky.

Perfect forms draw attention in this stanza: *dadrāṇām*⁵⁹ 'he has already begun running and is now running'; *jagāra* 'he (the sun) has him (the moon) now in the abdomen'; *mamāra* 'he is already dead'; *āna* probably for Konstatierung (fact-establishing statement) {as constative} of a state in the past caused by the action *an* 'breathe'.

In ŚB 1,6.4.18–20 (→ 1.3, Ex. 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, fn. 192), the sun is equated with Indra and the moon with Vṛtra; the astronomical phenomenon of the sun's swallowing the moon is combined with Indra's myth of smiting Vṛtra (→ 1.3, fn. 61, Ex. 7.1, 7.2,

⁵⁵ ≈ MS^m 4,9.12:133.10f.; TA 4,20.1.

⁵⁶ Indra is closely related with the sun in the RV and equated with the sun, sun's light (*svār-*), sun's ray (*raśmī-*), light (*jyōtis-*) etc., from the RV onwards, especially in the brāhmaṇas, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2020: 186f. (SV 2,1181 [9,2.8.1]), fn. 9; 192 (ŚB 2,3.1.7); 196f. (MS^p 1,5.7:75.1–5), fn. 32 (KS^p 7,4:66.1 = KpS^p 5,3:62.7f.; MS^p 1,5.5:73.11–13).

⁵⁷ *vidhū-* is used in the sense of the moon in the classical Sanskrit, but ved. *vidhū-* is attested only here. For other etymological interpretations, cf. EWAia II 556 with bibliography. According to Tichy (1993: 15f = Kl. Schr. 365f), *vidhū-* is derivative to *vyadh* and signifies 'tötlich getroffen' in reference to *sāmāna-* 'Kampf' (→ fn. 58): "Ihn, der tötlich getroffen im Kampf der vielen einherlief, hat, als er jung war, der Graukopf verschlungen."

⁵⁸ Tichy (1993: 15f.) 'im Kampf der vielen' (*sāmāne*), see fn. 57. Cf. Graßmann s.v. *sāmāna-* 'das Zusammensein, Zusammentreffen; Ort des Zusammenseins; Ort der liebenden Ummarmung; Kampfplatz; Markt, Kreuz.'

⁵⁹ Cf. Narten 1969: 134 = Kl. Schr.: 96 "die Tatsache, daß **dreṇ*, eine 'Aoristwurzel' ist, die lexikalische Bedeutung ... etwa 'zum Laufen starten'"; Kümmel: 254 s.v. *drā* "Darüber hinaus erscheint einmal ein Ptz. Med., das präsentisches 'dahin-, einherlaufen' (= naktostatisches 'los-gelaufen sein') vorauszusetzen scheint" citing Tichy (1993: 16) (→ fn. 57, fn. 58).

7.3). The moon (Vṛtra) approaches the sun (Indra) from afar and is devoured by him in the Amāvāsyā night. Sucked out and thrown out, the moon (Vṛtra) appears again and waxes to become his food.⁶⁰

18. *tād vā eṣā evēndrah | yā eṣā tāpaty. āthaiśā evā vṛtrō yāc candrāmāḥ. śo 'syaiśā bhrātṛvyajanmeva. tāsmād yādya āpi purā vidūram ivoditō 'thainam etām rātrim ūpaivā nyāplavate. śo 'sya vyāttam āpadyate. 19. tām grasitvōdeti. | sā nā purāstān nā paścād dadṛṣe. ... 20. tām nirdhīya nīrasyati. | sā eṣā dhītāḥ paścād dadṛṣe. sā pūnar āpyāyate. sā etāsyaivānnādyāya pūnar āpyāyate. ...*

18. Then, verily, this very one is Indra, who heats here (i.e., the sun). On the other hand, this very one is Vṛtra, if [it concerns] (*yād*) the moon. As such (the moon), this (Vṛtra) is his (Indra's) rival just by nature. Therefore, even though [Vṛtra = the moon] rose formerly just far away [from Indra = the sun], [Vṛtra] floats then indeed near to him (Indra) this night. Thus, he (Vṛtra) falls into his (Indra's) opened mouth. 19. [Indra] rises after having devoured him (Vṛtra). He (Vṛtra) is seen neither in the east nor in the west. ... 20. After having sucked him out, [Indra] throws him out. Thus, sucked out, this (Vṛtra) is seen in the west. He swells again. He swells again for the food of this very one (Indra). ...

In other versions of the myth, Vṛtra is divided by Indra into parts and transformed into the moon, stars, Soma (sap or plant), belly, variegated creatures, etc.⁶¹ For example, in RV 10,138.6 [Indra] addressed to Indra as *vṛtrahān-* (138.5b):

*etā t yā te śrut yāni kēvalā | yād ēka ēkam ākṛnor ayajñam |
māsām vidhānam adadhā ādhi dyāvi | tvāyā vibhinnam bharati pradhīm pitā ||*

These (the above-mentioned) fames belong only to you (Indra), when you alone made the other one (Vṛtra) devoid of worship. You had put (*adadhās*) the disposer of the months (i.e., the moon; *vidhāna-*, see just above and fn. 57) upon the heaven. The father (the heaven) carries that which was divided asunder by you as a segment of a chariot's rim (*pradhī-*)⁶².

In **ŚB 1,6.3.17** [Darśapūrṇamāsau], Indra divided Vṛtra into halves and changed to the moon and the belly of the creatures respectively; as his food, the moon waxes

⁶⁰ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1124f.

⁶¹ On the RV: 10,49.6 (celestial bodies) and 138,6 (the moon), see Geldner ad. loc. In the YV: MS^p IV 16f.:58.16f. [Rājasūya] ~ TS^p 2,5.2.5 [Darśapūrṇamāsau] [Nakṣatras in heaven and variegated creatures on earth; → Ex. 7.2.]; MS^p 3,7.8:87.17 and 10,5:136.19–137.1 [Agniṣṭoma] (Soma plant); KS^p 12,3:165.1 [Traidhātavyā] (Soma sap); MS^p 2,4.4:41.18 [Traidhātavyā] ~ TS^p 2,4.12.6 [Traidhātavīya] (Indra's belly); ŚB 1,6.3.17 [Darśapūrṇamāsau] (the moon and the belly of creatures on earth, s. above). For the myth of Indra and Vṛtra, s. 1.3. and Ex. 7.1, 7.2, 7.4.

⁶² Pādas cd suggest the following story: Indra had put Vṛtra as the moon above heaven, then cut him asunder into twelve parts, namely *pradhī-*, which is a metaphor for the moon belonging to each month. The rim of a wheel is considered to have been composed of 12 *pradhī-*; hence, the wheel (*cakrā-*) was compared to the whole year composed of 12 months in RV 1,164.48. Cf. Gotō 2013a ad 4,30.15: *Felgen, pradhī-*, Krummhölzer, Teilstücke des Felgenkranzes “dessen einzelne Segmente durch je eine Speiche mit der Radnabe verbunden waren” (Klingenschmitt 1980: 216f. = 2005: 210f.).

by transfer of food from the belly of creatures on earth (→ 1.3, fn. 61, 3.1., fn. 72, Ex.7.1, 7.2):

... *sá vái mé 'nnam edhūti. tathēti. tāṃ dvedhānvabhinat. tāsya yāt saumyāṃ nyāktam āsa tāṃ candrāmasaṃ cakārā-* *ḥtha yād asyāsuryām āsa tēnemāḥ prajā udārenāvidhyat. tāsmād āhur vṛtrā evā tārhy annādā āśīd vṛtrā etarhīti-* *ḥdām hi yād asāv āpūryāte 'smād evaitāl lokād āpyāyate. ...*

... [Indra said to Vṛtra:] “You [saying] so, be verily my food!”. [Vṛtra said:] “All right”. [Indra] divided [Vṛtra] in two parts. Of him existed [a part] smeared [with Soma sap], belonging to Soma; [Indra] made it the moon. Of him existed, on the other hand, [the other part] belonging to Asura; [Indra] penetrated the creatures on earth by it as the belly. Therefore, people say: “Indra alone was at that time the eater of food. Vṛtra [is even] now [the eater of food]”. In this case, namely, when the yonder (moon) waxes, it waxes [by food brought] from this very [belly of creatures on earth], from this world. ...

2.4. The moon's marriage with Nakṣatras including the sun

During the period between two successive conjunctions with the sun, the moon advances on its orbit over 28 (or 27; → fn. 46, fn. 63) nights, approaching every night a different fixed star (or star-group), and staying with the sun at home (*amā*; → 2.1., fn. 41) in the Amāvāsyā night (sometimes two Amāvāsyā nights; → 1.2., fn. 14, 2.1., fn. 39, fn. 107). The stars including the sun visited by the moon are named *nākṣatra-* (nt.) ‘the place to which the moon attains (*nākṣa-*)’ [and in which he stays overnight], hence ‘lunar mansion’.

In the RV, *nākṣatra-* in the singular signifies always the sun as ‘the Nakṣatra par excellence’, namely ‘the sun's home’. After the RV onward, the sun was excluded from the Nakṣatras and the star(group)s on the moon's path were classified into the 28 Nakṣatras (AV[Ś], MS^m, TB^m) or the 27 Naksatras (KS^m, TS^m, TB^{mp}).⁶³ In addition to them, *brāhmaṇa-* ‘Brahmin’ is counted as the last Nakṣatra in the MS^m and the TB^p,⁶⁴ which suggests the concept that the sun stays in the sacrificial fire by the Brahmin on earth in the Amāvāsyā night (→ 2.1., fn. 46, fn. 47).

⁶³ The former model of 28 Nakṣatras is based on the synodic month, i.e., the period between two successive lunar conjunctions with the sun (on average ca. 29.53 solar days) and, being accessible to the common people, was favored in popular ceremonies. On the other hand, the latter of 27 Naksatras is based on the sidereal month, i.e., a cycle of the moon's movement related to the fixed stars (on average ca. 27.32 solar days) and, as a more scientific model, prevailed among the priest-scholars. This model was inherited by Jyotiṣā, the post-Vedic astronomy, in which the Nakṣatras were transformed into the equally spaced 27 zones (each 13.3...°) on the moon's path. For details of the Naksatras, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2011: esp. 1083; also 2010: 1075f., 1118f.

⁶⁴ MS^m 2,13.20:166.9f. [Agniciti, Nakṣatreṣṭakā] *brāhmaṇo nākṣatram. sómo devātā*. “The [29th] Nakṣatra is the Brahmin. [Its] divinity is Soma”; TB^p 1,5.3.4 [rite for the Nakṣatras] *brāhmaṇo vā aṣṭāviṃśo nākṣatrāṇām*. “The 28th of the Nakṣatras is verily the Brahmin”. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2011: 1078f., 1080.

The month is named after the Nakṣatra around which the full moon stays, e.g., the month Māgha from Maghās (RV Aghās) at the full moon (→ 3.2.4., fn. 106), probably because the Nakṣatra at the new moon, conjunct with the sun, is invisible.

The Nakṣatras composed of stars are often treated as female deities who are the moon's wives. The moon's marriage with Nakṣatras (except for the sun) who are Prajāpati's daughters is referred to in the prose of the Black YV: MS^p 2,2.7:21.4–14; KS^p 11,3:147.1–12; TS^p 2,3.5.1–3.⁶⁵ The moon's wedding with the sun is treated in RV 10,85 and its parallels in the AV (→ 3.2.), AitB 4,7 ≈ KauṣB 18,1,7–9 (→ 3.2.2., fn.94).

2.5. Two phases of Venus, the morning and evening stars, and their relation to the sun

As an interior planet, Venus turns around the sun on a 584-day cycle changing its appearance: invisible (in a superior conjunction) → the evening star → invisible (in an inferior conjunction) → the morning star. The morning or evening star appears for several months in return in the eastern or western sky respectively, changing its position and brightness. During this period, the moon repeats its waxing and waning cycle independently from Venus. Venus' greatest elongation from the sun is 47°. In consequence, the morning or evening star moves around the sun in the distance of max. 47°, i.e., the distance of less than 4 Nakṣatras.

Following the morning star, the sun rises in the east and moves on its celestial way to the west, while the evening star pursues the sun which has set down in the west and appears next morning in the east. This phenomenon seems to have led to the concept that the morning and evening stars assist the rising sun and the setting sun respectively in its daily transfer around the earth.

In the RV, the binary gods Aśvin and Nāsatya are supposed to represent the morning and evening stars: Aśvin, as the morning star, carries the sun in his chariot from the east to the west in the sky by day, and Nāsatya, as the evening star, salvages the sun set down in the ocean surrounding and underlying the earth and brings it back in a ship from the west to the east by night.⁶⁶

3. R̥gveda 10,85 (≈ AV[Ś] 14,1–2; AV[P] 18,1)

This Sūkta, called “Sāvitrī Sūryā” (Sūryā belonging to Savitṛ) or “the wedding hymn”, is common to the RV and the AV ([Ś] as well as [P]) and well known for Sūryā's wedding procession as the prototype of a human bride's wedding. It is based on the latest astronomy of the time, regarding the correlative movements of sun,

⁶⁵ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2010: 1123f.

⁶⁶ Cf. Gotô 2009: 199–226, 2020b: 27–30.

moon, planet and fixed stars. Its leitmotif is the lunar conjunction with the sun, metaphorically expressed as Sūryā's marriage with the moon god Soma, arranged by Aśvin and Nāsatya, i.e., two phases of Venus.

The Sūkta is composed of five parts:

- Part 1: stanzas 1–5 (Anuṣṭubh); the double-meaning of Soma and the monthly new moon sacrifice with Soma offering.
- Part 2: stanzas 6–13 (Anuṣṭubh); the myth of Sūryā's wedding procession.
- Part 3: stanzas 14–17 (1 Triṣṭubh + 3 Anuṣṭubh; $\approx$ AV[P] 18,1.1–4); the riddle of the third wheel of the chariot (*rātha-*) of both Aśvins who went to Sūryā's wedding procession. This part is omitted in this paper.
- Part 4: stanzas 18–19 (2 Triṣṭubh); astronomical knowledge on the correlative movement of sun and moon and on the moon's periodical rebirth, discussed above 2.2., cf. also fn. 50, Ex. 3, fn. 145. The moon is expressed by *candrāmas-*; Soma as the moon is not mentioned.
- Part 5: stanzas 20–47 (8 Triṣṭubh + 1 Jagatī + 1 Triṣṭubh/Jagatī + 1 Nyāṅkusāriṇī [alias Urobhātī, also Skandhogrīvī; 8+12+8+8 syllables; st.34]⁶⁷ + 17 Anuṣṭubh $\approx$ AV[P] 18,1.1–4); blessing for the human bride in wedding ceremonies. The character of the Gṛhya ritual is remarkable. This part is omitted in this paper.

Parts 1 and 4 are not related to Sūryā and her wedding (procession).

3.1. Part 1: stanzas 1–5 (AV[Ś] 14,1.1–5 $\approx$ AV[P] 18,1.1–4)

This part introduces the Sūkta by imparting the secret knowledge regarding Soma monopolized by the learned Brahmins: *sóma-* means not only sap pressed out from a plant on earth, but also the moon in heaven, which is consumed by the gods and accordingly waxes and wanes ($\rightarrow$ 1.2., Ex. 3. AV 7,81.6).⁶⁸ The sun is expressed by masc. *sūrya-*. It is to be remarked that the order of st. 4 and st. 5 is reversed in the AV[Ś] and st. 5 is wanting in the AV[P].

⁶⁷ According to Piṅgala's Chandaḥsūtra 3,28–30, cf. Weber 1863: 243f., 147f., 91/94/96 (Nidānasūtra), 154 (table of main metres).

⁶⁸ It is supposed that the peculiarities common to the moon and Soma sap ($\rightarrow$ 1., fn. 3, fn. 4) led to their equation: 1) [wakefulness in the night] Shining in the heaven, the moon is awake through the night, while Soma sap has a stimulating and awakening effect, which bestows men with the ability of being always awake, even in the night. 2) [the gods' food or drink for immortality] Being always awake without sleeping signifies transcending the elapse of time marked by daily sleep. Soma sap is therefore considered to bring immortality, namely *amṛta-* as 'ambrosia', cf. RV 9,91.2 (*sóma-* = *amṛta-*); 8,38.12 and 9,84.2 (*sóma-* = *ámṛtya-*); 1,84.4 and 8,48.8 (*sóma-* = *ámartya-*). As most valuable oblation to the gods, Soma sap is the gods' drink which makes them immortal. On the other hand, it was generally recognized that the moon's periodical waning and waxing are caused by the gods' consuming it. As the gods' food, the moon and Soma sap are linked together. This concept developed further into the "Pitṛyāna" of the "Two-Way Doctrine" in the Upaniṣads. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 23–27, 62–70.

1. *satyénottabhitā bhūmih* | *sūryeñottabhitā dyáuḥ* |
ṛtēnādityās tiṣṭhanti | *divi sómo ádhi śritāḥ* ||

The earth is upheld by the truth. The heaven is upheld by the sun (*sūrya-*). By the cosmic law (*ṛtā-* → 2.1.), the Āditya-gods stand. Soma is resting upon the heaven.

2. *sómenādityā balinaḥ* | *sómena prthiví mahí* |
átho náksatrāṇām eṣām | *upásthe soma áhitaḥ* ||

By Soma, the Āditya-gods are possessed of power. By Soma, the earth is great. And then, Soma is placed in the lap of these Nakṣatras (→ 2.4.).

3. *sómam manyate papivān* | *yát sampiṃśánty ōśadhim* |
sómaṃ yám brahmāṇo vidúr | *ná tásyāśnāti kás caná*⁶⁹ ||

[The Yajamāna] considers himself to have drunk Soma, when [the priests] press out the (Soma) plant. Any one [on earth] does not eat that which the priest-scholars know as Soma (i.e., the moon).

4. *āchádvidhānair gupitó* | *bārhatāiḥ soma rakṣitāḥ* |
grāvam íc chṛṇvān tiṣṭhasi | *ná te áśnāti pārthivaḥ* ||

Protected by the arrangements for covering, guarded by those belonging to the *bṛhat-*/*bṛhatī-* (*bārhata-* pl.), O Soma (the moon), you stand hearing the very pressing stone (of the Soma plant). One who belongs to the earth does not eat (of) you (*te*: partitive gen.).

5. *yát tvā deva prapibanti* | *táta á pyāyase púnah* |
vāyúḥ sómasya rakṣitá | *sámānām māsā ákṛtiḥ* ||

When [the gods] begin to drink you (Soma as plant sap offered in the new moon sacrifice), O God, then you (the moon) wax again. The wind is Soma's protector.⁷⁰ The month (*māsa-*) is the basic form of the years.

St. 1–3 present Soma as the moon in heaven as well as plant sap for oblation. St. 4 and 5 are addressed to Soma as a god (*devá-*), in the second person, in a double meaning of celestial Soma, the moon, and earthly Soma, plant sap. St. 3–4 suggest that the moon, celestial Soma, is consumed by divine beings, i.e., the gods.

St. 4 describes the new moon sacrifice in the morning following the Amāvāsyā night (→ 2.1., fn. 42, fn. 43). The celestial Soma, the moon, joined with the sun stays high in the sky and hears the pressing of the earthly Soma. The celestial Soma is protected by the covering arrangements, i.e., sunrays concealing the moon, and by those belonging to the *bṛhat-* (adj. 'high' and nt. "Bṛhat-sāman, Bṛhat-uktha, etc."), supposedly either the winds blowing in high space (cf. *vāyú-* in the following

⁶⁹ For *kás caná*, AV(Ś) *pārthivaḥ*, (P) *pārthivaḥ*.

⁷⁰ The wind is often described as Soma's protector, most probably because Soma is a wild plant growing in high terrain (→ fn. 4), which is the territory ruled by the wind.

stanza), or priests' voices chanting the Bṛhat-sāman⁷¹.

St. 5 states in a puzzling way the relationship between the moon's waxing and offering Soma sap at the new moon. We could suppose the following process: From the full moon to the conjunction, the moon is consumed by the gods and wanes. The moon, thus exhausted, disappears in the Amāvāsyā night. Next morning, Soma sap is pressed and offered to the gods. Consequently, they begin to drink (*prapibanti*) this oblation and stop drinking the moon. As a result, the moon begins to wax. Assumedly at full moon, Soma oblation is exhausted and the gods begin to drink the celestial Soma, the moon, which newly causes the moon's waning. It is noteworthy that the oblation of Soma sap is not turned directly into the moon for its swelling. The moon's waxing and waning is given various interpretations in later literature.⁷² In the Daruśapūrṇamāsau (YV+), this astronomical phenomenon is connected to Indra's myth of smiting Vṛtra (→ 1.3., 2.3., Ex. 7).

3.2. Part 2: stanzas 6–13 (AV[Ś] 14,1.6–13 ≈ AV[P] 18,1.5–10; 2.1–2)

3.2.1. Text and translation

From part 2 onward, the masculine noun *sūrya*- 'the sun, sun god' disappears and the feminine *sūryā*- comes to the fore. Sūryā's wedding procession to Soma, the moon, is told as a myth in the remote past, as is shown by the frequent use of the imperfect.

The marriage of Sūryā and Soma symbolizes the conjunction of the moon and the sun. Their wedding ceremony is expected to be the new moon sacrifice. Here is, however, not the monthly sacrifice as in part 1, but the annual one combined with slaughtering cattle and performed under specified Nakṣatras.

The order of st. 6 and st. 7 is reversed in the AV(Ś) and (P).

6. *rāibhṃ āśīd anudēyī | nārāṣaṃśī n'yocanī |*
*sūryāyā bhadram īd vāso | gāthayaiti pāriṣkṛtam*⁷³ ||

⁷¹ For the relation of the Bṛhat-sāman and the sun which is high in the heavens, cf. Hilbrandt 1889: 326 (= Kl. Schr. p. 101).

⁷² Cf. AV(Ś) 7,81.6 ≈ (P) 1,102.4 (→ Ex. 3): the gods swell and consume the moon. — ŚB 1,6.3.17 [Daruśapūrṇamāsau]: the moon (a half of Vṛtra) waxes by transfer of food from the belly (the other half) of creatures on earth (→ 2.3., fn. 61, Ex. 7.1., 7.2). — ŚaḍvB 4(5) 6.2 explains that the moon's waxing and waning is caused by the Soma sacrifice monthly performed by the gods for themselves in heaven: *pūrvapakṣe vai devā dīkṣante. te 'parapakṣe somaṃ bhakṣayanti* "In the former half-month, verily, the gods are consecrated (i.e., fast except for special food made of cooked milk). They consume Soma (the moon) in the latter half-month" (→ 2.1., fn. 47). — AV(Ś) 7,81.5 ≈ (P) 20,41.6 (→ Ex. 3): the moon swells with the breath of the dead enemies. The concept that the dead enter the moon and are sent back to the earth, which causes the moon to swell and to wane, became prevalent, as found in JB 1,18 ≈ 49 and KauṣU 1,2, and was incorporated into the "Two-way doctrines" (→ Ex. 3).

⁷³ AV(Ś) *pāriṣkṛtā*, (P) *pāriṣkṛtā*: "Sūryā's garment [was] auspicious; she goes adorned with Gāthā".

Raibhī (a kind of Gāthā)⁷⁴ was [her] wet nurse (*anudēyī*)⁷⁵, Nārāsaṃsī (a kind of Gāthā)⁷⁶ [was her] intimate (*nyócanī*)⁷⁷ [female attendant].⁷⁸ Sūryā's auspicious garment goes adorned with Gāthā (→ fn. 73).

7. *cittir ā*⁷⁹ *upabārhaṇam* | *cākṣur ā* (→ fn. 79) *abhyañjanam* |
dyaúr bhūmih kósa āsīd | *yád áyāt sūryā pátim* ||

Consciousness was (ipf. *ās*) [her] cushion. Sight was (ipf. *ās*) [her] cosmetic unguent. The heaven [as well as] the earth was [her] chest, when Sūryā went to [her] husband.

8. *stómā āsan pratidhāyaḥ* | *kurīraṃ chānda opaśāḥ* |
sūryā āśvínā varā | *gnír āsīt purogavāḥ* ||

The praise songs (*stóma*-) were veils (? : *pratidhi*-)⁸⁰. The metre was the hair ornament (*kurīra*-), [i.e.] hair-band (? : *opaśa*-). Both Áśvins [were] go-betweeners (*varā*-, s. below and 3.2.2.; cf. 9b) for Sūryā. Agni was the forerunner.

9. *sómo vadhūyúr abhavad* | *āśvínāstām ubhā varā* |
sūryā yát pátye śámsantīm | *mánasā savitādadāt* ||

Soma became the one who desires a bride (*vadhūyú*-), both Áśvins were go-betweeners (*varā*-, s. below and 3.2.2.; cf. 8c), when Savitṛ gave with the (approving) mind (*mánasā*)⁸¹ Sūryā, who was expressing [her assent], to the husband.

⁷⁴ Cf. Horsch 1966: 10 “1. Raibhī: das Wort stammt von *rebha* ‘Sänger’, ‘Barde’ und bezeichnet deshalb ein Bardenlied”.

⁷⁵ Cf. Geldner 1957, “Amme” ad RV 10,85.6; 135.5, 6.; Graßmann 1873, s.v. f. “die zu überlassende, die Braut (Brautjungfer)”; Whitney “the parting [song] (?)”. Cf. T. Gotō 2017: 240.

⁷⁶ Cf. Horsch 1966: 11: “2. Nārāsaṃsī: ... ‘Männerpreisgesänge’ ...”

⁷⁷ For the verbal and derivative forms of the root *ok/oc/uc/* ‘sich gewöhnen; gewohnt, heimisch werden (get accustomed, become familiar)’, cf. T. Gotō 1993: 133–134. For *ny-ócanī*-, cf. T. Gotō 2017: 240 “*nyócanī* which occurs only here seems literally to mean ‘woman living at home’ or ‘making someone live at home, familiar; accustoming someone to the new family’, thus ‘playmate, Gespielin (Geldner)’ (cf. Geldner 1957: 268 ad 10,85.6 and 367 ad 10,135)”; EWAia s.v. “etwa ‘liebliche’ (RV, AiG II-2,183)”; Whitney “the welcoming one [song] (?)”; Graßmann 1873, s.v. (*nyócanī*), *niocanī* (von *uc* mit *nī*) “wohl als adj. fem. zu fassen: gefällig, lieblich”.

⁷⁸ This stanza is based on the traditional custom that the bride who enters the husband's house is accompanied by her wet nurse and intimate female attendant.

⁷⁹ In ab, RV and AV(Ś) *ā* < *ās* by Sandhi, (P) a *āvat*, b *āvad* (3.sg.ipf. of *av/ū* ‘help’?). For *ās* 3.sg. ipf. of *as/s* ‘exist, be’, cf. T. Gotō 1990: 1005 Anm. 109.

⁸⁰ Graßmann 1873, s.v. “Querhölzer an der Wagendeichsel”; Geldner (1957) “die Deichselstangen” with a note “nach Sāy. die Querhölzer der Deichsel”; Whitney (1905) ad AV 14,1.8 “cross-piece” with a note “... the commentators’ explanation of *pratidhi* ‘cross-pieces on the chariot-pole’ is extremely unlikely; it must rather be some article of a woman’s dress.”

⁸¹ *mánasā* may modify c *sūryā* ... *śámsantīm* as well as d. *savitādadāt*. On the former interpretation stands Geldner (1957) “die Sūryā ..., die von Herzen ihr Jawort gab”; on the latter, Graßmann 1873, s.v. *mánas* 17) “(Instr.) mit bereitwilligem oder liebendem Geist.” The latter seems better from the context: in 10 and 12, a cart (*ānas*-) made of mind (*mánas*) brought Sūryā to her husband; in 13, Savitṛ sent forth her wedding procession. It is assumed that the wedding

10. *māno asyā āna āsīd* | *dýāur āsīd utá chadīh* |
śukráv anaḍvāhāv āstām | *yád áyāt sūryā gr̥hám*⁸² ||

The mind was her cart (ānas-)⁸³ (cf. 12c *āno manasmāyaṃ*). And the heaven was [the cart's] hood. Two white shining [lights]⁸⁴ were two draught animals, when Sūryā traveled to the house [of the husband] (→ fn. 82).

11. *ṛksāmābhyām abhīhitau* | *gāvau te sāmānāv itaḥ*⁸⁵ |
śrót_(a)raṃ⁸⁶ te cak_(a)rē āstām | *diví pánthās carācarāḥ* ||

Bound by Ṛc and Sāman, your two attendant (*sāmānā*-)⁸⁷ oxen go (pres.; AV ipf. → fn. 85). Auditory organ (sg.; AV du. two auditory organs → fn. 86) were (du.; → fn. 86) your two wheels. There [was] a way for going repeatedly (*carācarā*-)⁸⁸ in heaven.

12. *śúcī te cakrē yāt_{yā}* | *v_{yā}nó ākṣa āhataḥ* |
āno manasmāyaṃ sūryā- | *rohat prayatī pátim* ||

Two purely shining wheels⁸⁹ belonged to you traveling (by cart). Widely spreading breath [was] placed as an axle [on the cart]. Sūryā rode a cart made of mind (cf. 10a; → fn. 83), starting off to [her] husband.

cart is made of the mind of Savitṛ, the god who urges the sun's movement (→ fn. 54) and who, as Sūryā's father, approved her marriage and sent forth her procession.

⁸² AV(Ś) *pátim*, (P) *patim* 'to the husband'.

⁸³ The cart made of mind in 10a and 12c is to be compared with the chariot made of mind in RV 10,135.3b, cf. T. Gotō 2017: 238–240 with fn. 5 and fn. 6, 242.

⁸⁴ They are supposed to be the morning and evening stars, i.e., Ásvin and Nāsatya. Cf. 11b.

⁸⁵ AV(Ś) = (P) *aitām* (ipf.). 'went'.

⁸⁶ AV(Ś) *śrót_{re}*, (P) *śrotre* du. 'two auditory organs'. In the RV, the verb is du. *āstām* according to the predicate, though the subject is in sg.

⁸⁷ Adj. *sāmānā*-, attested only here and RV 3,30.9 (to *bhūmi*-), is considered as a *vṛddhi*-formation from nt. *sāmāna*- 'being together' (→ 2.3. RV 10,55.5, fn. 58) derived from *sám* 'together', to mean 'always being together, accompanying, attendant', maybe hence 'obedient, mild, friendly, kind, etc.', from the relationship between Sūryā and the two oxen (supposedly Ásvin and Nāsatya) acting as go-betweens and, at the same time, the morning and evening stars moving around the sun (→ 10c, fn. 79) in this stanza as well as that between Indra and the earth in 3,30.9. Cf. Graßmann 1873, s.v. *sāmānā*- a. 'gemeinschaftlich, verreint [von *sāmāna*]', Geldner (1957) 3,30.9 'gütige (?) [Erde]', 10,85.11 'freundlichen (?) Rinder', Whitney AV 14,1.11 'peaceful (?)'. For semantic development of derivatives from *sám* 'together', cf. Hoffmann 1975: 494–501, esp. 497–500: Proto-Indo-European **sóm-tjio*- 'zusammen seiend, dabei seiend' > Ved. *santīya*- (voc. to Agni) 'in Gemeinschaft befindlich, Genosse, Mitbewohner', OHG *samfii/semfii* 'angenehm, bequem, leicht' (> *sanfi*), OE *sēfte* 'angenehm, bequem, mild' (> *soft*). The meaning and etymology of *sāmānā*- together with *sāman*- 'mildness, kindness' and *sāntva*- 'placation' are long in discussion, cf. Witzel 2013: 393, EWAia s.v. *sāman*-, Darms 1978: 170–171, Wennerberg 1981: 220, 306–307 (on *sāman*-).

⁸⁸ *carācarā*- with iterative meaning indicates the sun's daily regular moving in one direction from east to west on his fixed path in heaven in daytime. Cf. Hoffmann "Der vedische Typus *menāmenam*" 1975: 119 "immer weiter (bzw. hin und her) laufend"; AiG II-2, p.85 *carācarā*- 'beweglich' RV 10,85,11d beside *calācalā*- 'wackelnd' 1,164,48d (≈ AiG II-1, 147); Graßmann 1873, s.v. "eine Intensivbildung aus *car* ... 'laufend, sich weithin erstreckend', von dem Pfad der Sonne".

⁸⁹ They imply the morning and evening stars, i.e., Ásvin and Nāsatya.

13. *sūryāyā vahatūḥ prāḡāt* ¹ *ṣavitā yām avāṣṛjat* |
*aghāsu*⁹⁰ *hanyante gāvó-* ¹ *rjunyoh*⁹¹ *pári*⁹² *uhyate* ||

The wedding procession of Sūryā, whom Savitṛ sent forth, has just begun to go (aor. indic.). [When the moon stays] at **Aghās** ‘disastrous stars’ (fem.pl.; AV at **Maghās** ‘mighty stars’ → 3.2.4), cattle are slaughtered. At **Arjunīs** ‘two silver-white stars’ (fem. du.; AV at **Phalgunīs** [pl.] ‘at pale stars’ → 3.2.4), [Sūryā] is carried around (from the father’s house to the husband’s house).

3.2.2. Relation among the gods in Sūryā’s marriage

The gods concerned in Sūryā’s wedding procession are Agni, Soma, both Aśvins and Savitṛ. Their relation is not stated plainly but understood as follows.

The binary gods Aśvin and Nāsatya are two phases of the planet Venus, the morning and evening stars (→ 2.5.). Both played an important role of *vará-* for the marriage. *vará-*, derived from *var* (*vṛṇīte*) ‘choose’, is considered to mean originally ‘one who chooses a marriage-partner for an unmarried, either for oneself or for others’, hence ‘one who asks a father for his daughter, either as one’s own bride or a bride of one’s acquaintance’. Though the former meaning is common, *vará-* is used here in the latter meaning⁹³. Soma (the moon) is described as *vadhūyú-* ‘the one who desires a bride’ in contrast to Aśvins as *vará-* in stanza 9. In this Sūkta, the Aśvins were not Soma’s rival in courting Sūryā but arranged the marriage of Soma and Sūryā.

Sūryā’s father as well as her husband (*pāti-*) are not specified by name. From the context, it is natural to consider Savitṛ as her father and Soma as her husband. Savitṛ ‘stimulator’ is the personification of the driving force belonging to the sun and impels all beings to action; above all, he urges the sun to rise at daybreak. He gave Sūryā to her husband and sent her forth to the husband’s house, and thus played the role of the bride’s father. Soma who desired Sūryā as his bride (st. 5 *vadhūyú-*) is understood to have become her husband (*pāti-*). In stanzas 40–41 (part 5), Soma is mentioned as the first one who obtains the bride in the human wedding ceremony. From the Brāhmaṇas onwards, the marriage between Soma and Sūryā seems to become common knowledge. As to Sūryā’s father, however, there are various views: Savitṛ, Prajāpati, and Sūrya (see just below). According to the AitB and KauṣB, Savitṛ or Prajāpati gave Sūryā to King Soma.⁹⁴ Cf. also the episode that Prajāpati

⁹⁰ AV(Ś) *maghāsu*, (P) *maghāsu*.

⁹¹ AV(Ś) pl. *phālgunīṣu*, (P) *phalgunīṣu*.

⁹² AV(Ś) *vyūhyate*, (P) *vyuhyate*: ‘is carried apart’.

⁹³ Cf. Graßmann 1873, s.v. *vará* ‘Freier, Bräutigam als der wählende’ ad 911(10,85), 8.9.; Geldner 1957: 10,85.8–9 ‘die Werber der Sūryā’ and Anm. ad 8c: “*vará* ist bald der Freier, der für sich wirbt (ĀpGS 3.19), bald der Freiwerber (ĀpGS 4.1) = *varaka-* (ŚāṅkhGS 1,6.1)”. The latter meaning is attested: ĀpGS 1,2.16 *varāḥ*, 2,4.1 *varān*, maybe 1,3.7 *varam*, ŚāṅkhGS 1,6.1 *varakān*; later commonly *dūta-* ‘messenger’.

⁹⁴ AitB 4,7 ≈ KauṣB 18,1.7–9. Both texts explain “*Āśvina Śāstra*” composed for Sūryā’s

gave his daughters, i.e., the Nakṣatras, to King Soma in the prose of Black YV (→ 2.4.).

Masculine *sūrya-* and feminine *sūryā-* are to be considered as male and female aspects of the same deity which represents the sun. *sūrya-* is thought to have been transformed into *sūryā-* for marriage with a male god Soma.

However, in other hymns, mostly for Aśvin and Nāsatya, Sūryā is described differently. There are two patterns of episodes as to Sūryā in the RV: 1) her father is Sūrya; she gets on the Aśvins' chariot (*rātha-*) with three wheels drawn by horses, either for the sun's daily movement or for marriage to Aśvin and Nāsatya (the morning and evening stars, i.e., Venus)⁹⁵; 2) her father is Savitṛ; she gets on a cart (*ānas-*) made of mind (*manasmāya-*) with two bright wheels drawn by two bright oxen⁹⁶ for marriage to Soma (the moon). The relation between both the patterns requires further investigation.⁹⁷

3.2.3. Astronomical meaning of Sūryā's wedding procession

In the night preceding Amāvāsyā, the moon rises a little earlier than daybreak. The rising sun chases the moon in the eastern sky until the sun catches the moon. This sun's moving is expressed as Sūryā's wedding procession toward the moon Soma, after which their conjunction, as a wedding ceremony, takes place.

As mentioned above (→ 2.5.), Aśvin and Nāsatya represent two phases of the planet Venus, the morning and evening stars. Observed from the earth, Venus moves around the sun in the distance less than four Nakṣatras. Though its synodic period is independent from the lunation and the solar year, it is not rare that the morning star is seen near the moon precedent to the conjunction in the eastern sky before daybreak. At first, Venus is situated between the moon and the sun. The distance of the moon and the sun decreases every night by one Nakṣatra, while Venus scarcely changes its position related to the sun. As a result, the moon passes Venus and joins with the sun. This positional change is understood to have awakened the thought that Aśvins act as go-betweens for joining the sun and moon.

The procedures of the wedding ceremony underlying the hymn are supposed as follows: The go-betweens choose a man as bridegroom for an unmarried girl and request her father to marry her to this man. If she agrees, the father proclaims that he gives him his daughter. For bride price, the go-betweens bring cattle to the father, a part of which is slaughtered for the feast to welcome them. The bride is

wedding ceremony and refer to Savitṛ as well as Prajāpati as Sūryā's father, which seems to reflect the process of replacement of Savitṛ by Prajāpati.

⁹⁵ Aśvin and Nāsatya became Sūryā's husbands (*pātī*) in RV 4.43.6.

⁹⁶ Two wheels as well as two oxen imply the morning and evening stars, i.e., Aśvin and Nāsatya. In stanza 26 of the fifth part, however, the bride is carried by the Aśvins' chariot.

⁹⁷ It is possible to assume that both come back to a common source at the proto-Indo-European stage, such as the myth that Venus and the moon compete for the sun's daughter, but this problem is beyond this paper. For this myth pointed out by W. Mannhardt and others, cf. Gotō 2009: 38 (:2).

carried by the go-between to the bridegroom's house, where the wedding ceremony is held. This style of marriage seems to be found all over the world and suitable for the one who wants to bring his bride from a remote distance and cannot leave his dwelling.⁹⁸ According to the *Gṛhyasūtras*, however, it is the prevailing custom that, after the engagement, the bridegroom goes to the bride's father's house for the wedding ceremony and then comes back with the bride to his house. This pattern is difficult to apply to Soma (the moon), who can move only in one direction on his path.

3.2.4. Time of Sūryā's wedding procession

St. 13 refers to two Nakṣatra names⁹⁹, which reveal the specific time for/to(?) Sūryā's wedding procession and slaughtering cattle. *aghā-* (f. pl.) 'disastrous [stars]' (renamed *maghā-* 'competent [stars]' AV) are identified with the former part of Leo, i.e., Regulus (Leo α)¹⁰⁰, η¹⁰¹ and γ¹⁰² (Algieba), and so on. *árjunī-* (f. du.) 'two silver-white [stars]' are identified with a pair of white stars on the back of Leo, i.e., δ (Zosma)¹⁰³ and θ (Chertan)¹⁰⁴. In the AV, *árjunī-* (f. du.) is replaced by *phálgunī-* (pl.), which consists of more than three white stars Leo δ (Zosma), θ (Chertan) and β (Denebola)¹⁰⁵ and so on. *phálgunī-* is usually divided into two Nakṣatras: *pūrva-phalugunī-* (du./pl.) 'the former parts of Phalgunī', i.e., Leo δ (Zosma) and θ (Chertan) (, etc.) and *úttara-phalugunī-* (du./pl.) 'the latter part of Phalgunī', i.e., Leo β (Denebola) and neighbouring star(s).

Here arises a question as to the moon age at Aghās and Arjunīs. Both the Nakṣatras immediately succeed one another. Now, Sūryā's procession represents the sun's approaching the moon for the conjunction. Hence, the locatives *aghāsu* and *árjunyoḥ* are considered to express the moon's position just before the conjunction: cattle are slaughtered when a moon around 27~28 days old stays at Aghās (Leo α Regulus, etc.); Sūryā's wedding procession starts one night later, when a moon around 28~29 days old stays at Arjunī (Leo δ Zosma and θ Chertan); the conjunction occurs near the next Nakṣatra, later called Uttara-Phalgunī, of which the main

⁹⁸ Cf. the legends of Tristan and Isolde, Siegfried and Brünhilde, etc. in which the bride fell in love not with her husband, but with the young and beautiful go-between.

⁹⁹ Here is the first indisputable occurrence of Nakṣatra names in Indian literature, cf. Sakamoto-gotô 2011: 1076. The relation of the Nakṣatras to the rites in human life is treated in TB^m 1.5.1, cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2011: 1080. For the suitable time (including Nakṣatras) for the wedding, cf. Kauś 75.1-4; PārGS 1.4.5-7; ĀsvGS 1.4.1-2; ĀpGS 1.1.2; 2.12-16; 3.1-4 (for slaughtering cattle 1.3.1 and 5-9 → fn. 117).

¹⁰⁰ Celestial longitude 149°49'41", latitude +00°27'52" (J2000.0).

¹⁰¹ Celestial longitude 147°54'18", latitude +04°51'57" (J2000.0).

¹⁰² Celestial longitude 149°37'00", latitude +08°48'53" (J2000.0).

¹⁰³ Celestial longitude 161°19'03", latitude +14°20'00" (J2000.0).

¹⁰⁴ Celestial longitude 163°25'23", latitude +09°40'26" (J2000.0).

¹⁰⁵ Celestial longitude 171°36'56", latitude +12°15'56" (J2000.0).

star is Leo β Denebola.

Another question we confront concerns when this conjunction takes place. In our times (centering on J2000.0),¹⁰⁶ the sun's closest approach to Regulus ($\rightarrow$ fn. 100) occurs around 23 August; that to Denebola ($\rightarrow$ fn. 105) occurs around 14 September, i.e., ca. 85 days later than the summer solstice (around 21 June). The lunar conjunction with the sun nearest Denebola occurs within a synodic month centering on 14 September. Every solar year (ca. 365.24 solar days), the time of the lunar conjunction shifts by ca. 11 days and accordingly the date of the new moon sacrifice changes.

As an example, let us take the conjunction which occurred on 20 September in 2017 at Kabul ($34^{\circ}30'00''$ N; $69^{\circ}12'00''$ E). At 03:19 on 18 September, a moon 27.3 days old rose at the apparent place $148^{\circ}39'01''$ close to Venus ($147^{\circ}32'59''$) and Regulus ($150^{\circ}04'03''$) of Maghās; on this day, oxen should have been slaughtered. At 04:23 on 19 September, a moon 28.3 days old rose at the apparent place $162^{\circ}24'01''$ near Chertan ($163^{\circ}39'43''$) of Arjunīs and the sun rose at 05:32; the wedding procession should have started. The night between 19 and 20 September falls on the Amāvāsyā night in which the moon is practically invisible.¹⁰⁷ At 10:00 on 20 September, the conjunction occurred at the apparent place $177^{\circ}27'10''$, near Denebola ($171^{\circ}37'56''$); the new moon sacrifice should have been performed in the morning of the 20th ($\rightarrow$ fn. 107).

Around 1200 BCE when the RV is considered to have been compiled and fixed in the final form, celestial longitudes of the fixed stars were by ca. 45° less than that in 2000 CE due to the precession of the equinoxes.¹⁰⁸ As a result, the lunar conjunction near Denebola occurred ca. 44.35 days earlier, i.e., approximately 24~54 days (ca. one month) after the summer solstice (in a synodic month centering on 30 July of our calendar), namely in midsummer.

Around 2300 BCE, Regulus is believed to have been very close to the summer solstitial point (celestial longitude 90°).¹⁰⁹ The lunar conjunction after the sum-

¹⁰⁶ The following data are based on Chronological Scientific Tables 2019 and Stella Navigator 11 (2019).

¹⁰⁷ On 19th Sep., the moon set at 17:42 by 19 minutes before the sunset at 18:01. On 20., the moon of 29.3 day rose at 5:25, only by 8 minutes earlier than the sunrise at 5:33, so that the moon must have been invisible by the naked eye. On the same day, the moon of 0.3 day set at 18:18 by 18 minutes later than the sunset at 18:00. The two successive nights from 19th to 21th could be considered as prior and posterior Amāvāsyās ($\rightarrow$ fn. 39), Sinīvālī 'prior conjunction night' and Kuhū 'posterior conjunction night' ($\rightarrow$ fn. 14).

¹⁰⁸ The annual rate of precession of the equinoxes is $50.2911''$ (J2000.5), which is however not quite constant because of the eccentricity of the Earth's orbit.

¹⁰⁹ If we calculate simply by the above-mentioned rate ($\rightarrow$ fn. 108) without taking other astronomical factors into consideration, about 4283 years are necessary for Regulus (celestial longitude $149^{\circ}49'41''$ in J2000.0) to shift to the summer solstitial point (90°): $59^{\circ}49'41''$ ($215381''$) $\div 50.2911'' = 4282.6862...$ years. Hence Regulus is supposed to have been at 90° in 2283 BCE ($2000 - 4283 = -2283$). According to Stella Navigator 11, Regulus's apparent celestial longitude is 90° and latitude $+00^{\circ}20'48''$ from 08. to 10. Nov. 2332 BCE.

mer solstice is considered to occur on the ecliptic between the Nakṣatras Aghās (Maghās) and Uttara-Phalugunī(s).¹¹⁰

There is a high possibility that the Vedic Nakṣatra system was built up on the basis of the astronomical situation around 2300 BCE, cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2011. In this period, the first Nakṣatra Kṛttikās (f. pl.)¹¹¹ ‘weaving women’, identified with Pleiades¹¹², was approximately at the vernal equinox; the new moon at Kṛttikās occurs around the vernal equinox, the full moon around the autumnal equinox.¹¹³ Regulus (→ fn. 100) of Maghās (RV Aghās) was at the summer solstice; the new moon at Maghās occurs around the summer solstice, the full moon around the winter solstice. The winter solstice coincides with the 23rd Nakṣatra Śatābhīṣaj (sg.) ‘that which has a hundred healers’ identified with Aquarius α¹¹⁴ and the autumn equinox coincides with the 15th Nakṣatra Anurādhās (pl. f.) ‘those which follow the success’ identified with Scorpio β (Acrab), δ (Dschubba)¹¹⁵, π and ρ.¹¹⁶

Slaughtering cattle suggests, on the one hand, a feast held by the bride’s father

¹¹⁰ The full moon is considered to stay the closest to Regulus around the winter solstice. Because the theme of this Sūkta is Sūryā’s marriage to Soma, i.e., the lunar conjunction, only the summer solstice comes into question.

¹¹¹ The word *kṛttikā-* (f. pl.) is attested from the AV onward. As Thieme (1987: 965–966) assumes, the enigma stanza RV 1,164.16 seems to imply a group of stars (*stār-* m.pl.) with a female name, most probably *kṛttikā-* (f. pl.) as a Nakṣatra of seven stars; in this regard, Sakamoto-Gotô (2011: 1077) is to be corrected. The preceding stanza (RV 1,164.15) allures a group of seven stars being divine Ṛṣis, of which one stays still (*sthātār/ṛ-*) and others are to be sought (*iṣṭā-*). They are supposed to be Urusa Minor (Small Bear) composed of Poralis and three pairs of inconspicuous stars changing their position around Polaris, notwithstanding Thieme p.334–336 which identifies them with Urusa Major (Great Bear).

¹¹² A cluster in Taurus, known as M 45 and popularly termed “the Seven Sisters”. The brightest star of the cluster is Taurus η Alcyone: celestial longitude 59°58’59”, latitude +04°06’21” (J2000.0); in 2300 BCE, celestial longitude 0°20’, latitude +03°46’ according to Stella Navigator 11.

¹¹³ This implies a calendar system which puts a new year at the autumnal or spring equinox such as the Mesopotamian, the Iranian and the Jewish calendars. In the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras, however, the new year was commonly considered to begin with the month Phālguna or Caitra. Noteworthy is also the Ekāṣṭakā (→ fn. 122, fn. 124), 8th night (and following day) after the full moon of the month Māgha; this full moon falls around the winter solstice in ca. 2300 BCE, see above. For the new year of the Proto-Indo-Iranian and the Iranian calendar, cf. Boyce 1996 (3rd.): I 174, 1982: II 108, Rose 2015: 379–383; for that of the Vedic calendar, cf. Macdonell–Keith 1912: I 421–427 (s.v. Nakṣatra) and II 157–158 (s.v. Māsa).

¹¹⁴ Celestial longitude 333°20’11”, latitude +10°40’49” (J2000.0). In 2300 BCE, supposedly celestial longitude 273°45’, latitude +10°53’ according to Stella Navigator 11.

¹¹⁵ Celestial longitude 242°56’57”, latitude –05°26’34” (J2000.0). In 2300 BCE, supposedly celestial longitude 183°, latitude –01°35’ according to Stella Navigator 11.

¹¹⁶ The Nakṣatra Anurādhās is found between the 14th Nakṣatra Viśākhā (du. nt.) ‘forked’ identified with Libra α and β (Zubeneschamā: celestial longitude 229°28’33”, latitude +08°32’59” (J2000.0)) and the 16th Nakṣatra Jyēṣṭhā/Jyēṣṭhā (sg. f.) identified with Scorpio α (Antares: celestial longitude 249°46’08”, latitude –04°32’27” (J2000.0)). About 900 BCE, Jyēṣṭhā was situated approximately at the autumn equinox (celestial longitude 270°) and the month Jaiṣṭha, of which the full moon occurred around Jyēṣṭhā, fell on the spring equinox.

for the go-betweens who arranged the marriage and brought cattle as bride-price,¹¹⁷ on the other hand, the animal sacrifice performed originally around the summer solstice.¹¹⁸ The Gāthās, Stomas, Chandas, Ṛc and Sāman accompanying Sūryā (st. 7, 8, 11) allure a Soma Sacrifice, cf. the Viṣuvant (s. below).

Summing up these points, it is assumed that in the late 3rd millennium BCE, i.e., at a Proto-Indo-Iranian stage, the conjunction immediately after the summer solstice¹¹⁹ was celebrated as the divine marriage of the sun goddess and the moon god, which is a splendid annual new moon sacrifice accompanied by animal and Soma sacrifices.

The summer solstice is the moment in which the sun's energy reaches its climax and begins to decline. Sūryā's wedding procession to Soma after the summer solstice seems to symbolize an explosion of the sun's procreative power and its transfer to the moon. Even today, there are various kinds of summer solstice celebrations joined with customs of courting or marriage, e.g., St. John's Eve.

As a Vedic rite dedicated to the sun in midsummer, composed of Soma and animal sacrifices with Sāmans, we could recall the Viṣuvat performed on the mid-point day of the Gavāmayana, a one-year Sattra.¹²⁰ According to its timetable in the Śrautasūtras,¹²¹ the Viṣuvat takes place 204 days (21~22 days and a solar half year) after the beginning of its Dīkṣā.¹²² If the Dīkṣā starts originally on the Ekāṣṭakā (the

¹¹⁷ According to the Gṛhyasūtras, cattle (cow, ox, bull) may be slaughtered only in three cases: 1) ancestor-worship, 2) feast of the wedding ceremony, 3) welcoming the guest, cf. e.g. ĀpGS 1.3.1-9 (→ fn. 99).

¹¹⁸ The time for the animal sacrifice independent from the Soma sacrifice differs according to the Śrautasūtras. It is generally repeated yearly or half-yearly, and, in the latter case, originally around the summer and winter solstices. Cf. Schwab 1886: XIII-XV.

¹¹⁹ Consequently, the following remarks in Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 20 and 22 are to be corrected: p.20 "Sūryā's wedding ceremony takes place at the new moon between the months Māgha and Phālguna", p.22 "Cattle are slaughtered (sacrificed) in the month Māgha, which stands at the end of a year, and the wedding is celebrated in the month Phālguna, at the beginning of a year" (translated from Japanese).

¹²⁰ The Sattra 'session for Soma offering' is a special type of the Soma sacrifice in which Soma pressing continues longer than 12 days; all the participants are Brahmins and serve as priests as well as Yajamānas. The Gavāmayana consists of Dīkṣā 'consecration' of 12 days, Upasad 'attendance (on Soma plant)' of 12 days and Prasuta 'continued pressing of Soma' of a whole year (*saṃvatsara*:- 360 days), cf. BaudhŚS 16,14, etc.

¹²¹ For the procedures of the Gavāmayana, cf. Hillebrandt 1897: 157f.

¹²² As to the time for starting the Dīkṣā of the Gavāmayana, various views are presented in the brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras, e.g., the Ekāṣṭakā "the eighth night (and the following day) in the waning half of the month Māgha" (→ fn. 113, fn. 124), the full moon day of the month Phālguna, Caitra, or four days before the full moon of the month Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, etc. Cf. TS^p 7.4.8.1-3 [*saṃvatsara-sattra*] *saṃvatsarāya dīkṣyamāṇā ekāṣṭakāyām dīkṣeran. eṣā vai saṃvatsarāya pātnī yād ekāṣṭakā. ... phalgunī-pūrṇamāsē dīkṣeran. mūkham vā etāt || 1 || saṃvatsarāya yāt phalgunīpūrṇamāsō. ... citrāpūrṇamāsē dīkṣeran. mūkham vā etāt saṃvatsarāya yāt citrāpūrṇamāsō. ... caturahē purāstāt paurṇamāsyāi dīkṣeran. tēṣām ekāṣṭakāyām krayāḥ sāmpadyate. ...* "Those who are going to consecrate themselves for the whole year (Sattra) should consecrate themselves on (the day of) the Ekāṣṭakā. This is verily

8th after the full moon at Maghā¹²³), as TS^p 3,3.8.4–5. suggests,¹²⁴ the Viṣuvat falls on the day approximately one month later than the summer solstice around 2300 BCE, just like the above mentioned Sūryā's wedding ceremony. It is hence conceivable that the Viṣuvat was in origin related to the festival around the summer solstice at the Proto-Indo-Iranian period (→ 1.3., fn. 10, 3.2.4., fn. 113, fn. 118, fn. 125).¹²⁵ Its counterpart, the Mahāvratā, performed six months later than the Viṣuvat and on the last day but one of the Gavāmayana, could supposedly go back to the festival around the winter solstice at the same period.

On the other hand, an annual bull-sacrifice related with celestial bodies, such as sun, moon, Venus, constellation Leo, etc., reminds us of the ritual for the sun god Miθra (cf. ved. *mitrá-* orig. 'treaty'), characterized by slaughtering a bull, of which worship spread from Iran to ancient Rome.¹²⁶

the wife of the whole year, if (it is) Ekāṣṭakā. ... They should consecrate themselves on (the day of) the full moon at Phalugunīs. This is verily the front of the whole year, if (it is) the full moon at Phalugunīs. ... They should consecrate themselves on (the day of) the full moon at Citrā. This is verily the front of the whole year, if (it is) the full moon at Citrā. ... Four days before the full moon, they should consecrate themselves. Their purchase (of Soma plant) falls on (the day of) Ekāṣṭakā.”; BaudhŚS 16,13 ... *te caturahe purastān māghyai paurṇmāsyai dīkṣante. teṣām ekāṣṭakāyām krayaḥ sampadyate. ... caturaha eva purastāt phālgunyai vā caitryai vā paurṇamāsyai dīkṣante*... “Four days before the full moon of the month Māgha, they consecrate themselves. Their purchase (of Soma plant) falls on the Ekāṣṭakā. ... They consecrate themselves just four days before the full moon of the month either Phālguna or Caitra. ...”.

¹²³ The full moon at Maghās occurs around the winter solstice about 2300 BCE, see above.

¹²⁴ TS^p 3,3.8.4–5 [burning up of Barhis] (cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2000a: 483, fn. 42): *āhnām vidhānyām ekāṣṭakāyāyām apūpām cātuḥśarāvām paktvā prātar etēna kakṣām ūpaused. yādi || 4 || dhāti punyasāmam bhavati. yādi nā dhāti pāpasāmam. etēna ha sma vā ṛṣayah purā vijñānena dīrghasattrām ūpa yanti*. “After having baked a cake of four dishes on Ekāṣṭakā which rules the division of days (between the old and new years), next morning, one should ignite a bush with this (cake). If [the bush] burns, [the harvest of this year] becomes the same as [that of] a good [year]. If [the bush] does not burn, [the harvest of this year becomes] the same as [that of] a bad [year]. With this cognition (*vijñāna-*), verily, the acient seers used to start the long Sattra.” For the Ekāṣṭakā which marks the end or the beginning of a solar year, s. above with fn. 113, fn. 122.

¹²⁵ For the relationship of the Viṣuvat and the Mahāvratā to the solstices, cf. Hillebrandt 1889: he admits that the Viṣuvat and the Mahāvratā correspond to the summer and the winter solstice respectively according to most of the Vedic literature (306 [Kl.Schr. 81]), but assumes that the beginning of the Gavāmayana was originally in the month Taiṣa in midsummer, consequently the Viṣuvat at the winter solstice and the Mahāvratā at the summer solstice (313–316 [87–91]).

¹²⁶ Cf. Merkelbach 1984: 9–22, 35, 100–109, 272 (Abb.13: Leo, Regulus, planets, crescent), 302 (Abb.47: around the bull slaughtered, constellations, the sun god, the moon goddess, Hesperus, Lucifer), 324 (Abb.74), etc. In the young Avestan calendar, the 7th month and the 16th day of each month are dedicated to Miθra, cf. Bartholomae 1904 s.v. *miθra-* (*miθrahe* [mā], [ayara]), Boyce 1982: II 245–249, Rose 2015: 380–381. From Achaemenian times onward, the annual festival for Miθra (**miθrakāna-*, middle pers. *mihragān-*) is performed on the 16th day of the 7th month (the month of the autumnal equinox), cf. Cumont 1923: 9; Boyce 1996 (3rd.): I 172, 1982: II 33–36, 107–110, Rose 2015: 380–381, 383–385, 387–388.

4. Conclusion

The above examined texts reveal, though partly, how the new moon was celebrated at the stage of the RV and AV:

- 1) Oblations are offered to Agni at every knot-time, probably at the new and full moon (→ 1.1.).
- 2) Soma sap (pure or mixture) is offered to Indra at every knot-time for Soma sacrifice (→ 1.1.).
- 3) The moon's periodical disappearance caused by the conjunction with the sun is given various interpretations, e.g., the moon's cohabitation or marriage with the sun (→ 2.4., 3.2.), the moon's staying overnight at home (*amāvāsyā*- AV+ → 2.1.), Indra's swallowing the moon (→ 2.3.), the gods' consuming the moon as Soma (→ 3.1.).
- 4) Soma sap is offered the gods in the monthly new moon sacrifice based on the equivalence between the moon and Soma as the gods' drink (→ 3.1.).
- 5) The annual new moon sacrifice accompanied by slaughtering oxen or cows takes place in midsummer as the wedding ceremony of the sun goddess Sūryā with the moon god Soma, which is presumed to go back to the celebration of the lunar conjunction with the sun immediately after the summer solstice in the Proto-Indo-Iranian time (→ 3.2.).
- 6) Goddesses such as Sūryā (→ 3.2.), Amāvāsyā (AV+ → 1.3., Ex. 1), Sinīvālī, etc. (→ 1.2.) play important roles. They concern themselves in marriage, conception and birth.
- 7) The periodical change of the moon is considered to correspond with the human cycle of conception, birth, death and rebirth. As result, the new moon sacrifice is combined with the ancestor worship.
- 8) *darśá*- 'the newly appeared moon after the conjunction' (AV+) is not yet used as a ritual name (→ 1.3., Ex. 3).

In the process of compiling the YV, the new moon sacrifice (together with the full moon sacrifice; → 3.2.) traced in the RV and AV underwent a radical change from the worship of the moon (conjunct with the sun) to the worship of Indra (as the sun) parallel with transformation of the Indra's myth of smiting Vṛtra (equated with the moon). The new moon sacrifice named *darśá*- was systematized as the basic form of the Iṣṭi 'sacrifice of dairy and grain oblations' opposed to Soma sacrifice, whereas its ritual framework was made after the model of Soma sacrifice: the principal offering of Sāṃnāyā (a mixture of sour milk *dadhi*- and cooked fresh milk *śṛtá*-) for Indra and the prior offering of Puroḍāśa (a cake) for Agni (→ 1.3., fn. 20, fn. 22, Ex. 6, Ex. 7). On the other hand, Puroḍāśa (a cake) for Indra-Agni was introduced into the Darśa, as the Yajamāna's Anumantaraṇa of the KS suggests, probably first as a sub-

sidary offering, then substituted Sāṃnāyya in case of necessity. For example, TS^p 2,5.5.1–2 prohibits *ásomayājīn*-¹²⁷ ‘one who does not habitually perform the Soma sacrifice’ to offer the Sāṃnāyya,¹²⁸ which implies that *ásomayājīn*- offers another oblation in the Darśa, namely Puroḍāśa to Indra-Agni (→ 1.3., fn. 36, fn. 37, Ex. 6). This prohibition is plainly rejected in ŚB 1,6.4.10–11¹²⁹ and Sāṃnāyya is given superiority to Puroḍāśa in ibid. 3–9. In course of the time, however, Puroḍāśa for Indra-Agni prevailed over Sāṃnāyya for Indra, so that the latter was reduced to a mere variation of the Darśa in the Śrautasūtras.

Now, we will come back to the starting point of this paper, the problem of Soma offering (→ 1.). It is undeniable that Soma sap was offered in the new moon sacrifice at a certain stage of the RV, at least by some tribes. This Soma offering exhibits a striking contrast to the Darśa as representative Iṣṭi, in which Sāṃnāyya is offered as substitute for Soma oblation based on the equation of Dadhi with Soma sap.

It is supposed that, due to the Indo-Aryans’ expansion east into and inside India, the plant Soma which grows in semi-arid zones in high terrains (→ fn. 4) became difficult to obtain, so that Soma oblation was replaced first by Sāṃnāyya, a mixture of sour milk *dadhi*- and cooked fresh milk *śṛtā*-, drink which resembles Soma mixture, then by Puroḍāśa probably on behalf of the uniformity of the new and full moon sacrifices: an twelve-kapāla-cake for Indra-Agni :: an eleven kapāla-cake for Agni-Soma. The pair of Indra-Agni and Agni-Soma was worshipped in the Kāmyeṣṭis and Agnyupasthāna from the beginning of the YV (→ 1.3., Ex. 6.6.B, 6.7.A, 6.8.).

The replacement of Soma mixture by Sāṃnāyya must have been accomplished before the formation of the YV, all of which place the mantras for preparing Dadhi for Indra¹³⁰ at the very beginning of the Saṃhitās. All the mantras and brāhmaṇas unanimously equate Dadhi with Soma sap as well as Sāṃnāyya with Soma mixture (→ Ex. 5) and indicate making Puroḍāśa for Agni.

A similar change of oblations is found in the ancestor worship: Soma sap in the

¹²⁷ Opposed to *somayājīn*- ‘one who habitually performs the Soma sacrifice’. The suffix *-in* expresses a habitual act, cf. AiG III-2 356–357 (: 217c). Nishimura 2016: 237 *somayājīn*- ‘the one who has held the Soma sacrifice’ and *ásomayājīn*- ‘the one who has never held the Soma sacrifice’ are to be corrected. Cp. HirŚS III 7,19 *ījānaḥ somena* (perf. part. → fn.129).

¹²⁸ This prohibition reveals the Taittirīyaka priests’ intention to induce the Āhitāgni to perform the Soma sacrifice. Comparable is the restriction on offering the Agnihotra of the Rājanya: the Agnihotra is allowed only for the Rājanya who habitually performs the Soma sacrifice (*soma-yājīn*-) or habitually speaks the truth (*satya-vādin*-) ĀpŚS 4,15.13 ≈ HirŚS 3,7.19 *ījānaḥ somena* ‘having already performed a Soma sacrifice’, cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2020: 224–226, 228–229.

¹²⁹ Nishimura 2016: 237f.

¹³⁰ Namely, the mantras for grazing cows separated from the calves (the first mantra-collection) and the mantras for milking the cows returned from grazing and curdling milk (the 3rd mantra-collection in the Black YV, the 2nd in the VS). All these procedures are indispensable to obtain sufficient quantity of milk for making Dadhi for Indra to be used for Sāṃnāyya offering.

RV and AV¹³¹ in contrast to grain foods such as *piṇḍa*- ‘lump of cooked cereals’ in the Piṇḍapitṛyajña, *puroḍāśa* ‘cake’ (fn.20), *dhānā*- ‘roasted cereals’ and *manthā*- ‘mixture of cereals’ in the Mahāpitṛyajña (a part of the Sākamedha belonging to the Cāturmāsyañi), etc., as well as meat foods in the Ekāṣṭakā.

Soma (→ fn. 3, fn. 4) is assumed to have been introduced into the Proto-Indo-Iranian culture from other civilizations, such as BMAC, and to have been adopted into their rituals inherited from the preceding stage.¹³²

As to the new moon sacrifice at the Proto-Indo-Iranian stage, we have no certain evidence. Considering that the new moon symbolizes the periodical cycle of death and rebirth of living beings and is closely related to sexual reproduction, it is supposed that the oblation was originally some liquid food similar to semen, such as sour milk, cooked fresh milk, their mixture, porridge in milk as is used in the Gṛhya-type of the new moon sacrifice (→ 1.3., fn. 46, fn. 47).

Excursus

Ex. 1. AV(Ś) 7,79 (≈ AV[P]-K 1,103): Hymn for *amāvāsyā*- ‘the goddess of the lunar conjunction night’

1. ≈ AV(P)-K 20,32.1; ≈ TS^m 3,5.1.1(b) [Anvārambhañīyeṣṭi] (→ 1.2., 1.3., fn. 134, fn. 135, Ex.2.), Prātika TS^m 4,4.10.3 [Agnicayana], TB^m 1,5.1 [Nakṣatras], VaitS 1,16 ≈ KauśS 5,5 (s. unten), Kauś 59,19; 2. ≈ AV(P) 1,103.4; 3. ≈ AV(P) 1,103.1; TS^m 3,5.1.1(c); 4. AV(P) lacking ≈ AV(Ś) 7,80.3 = AV(P) 20,31.10.

As mentioned above (→ 2.1.), *amāvāsyā*- with or without *rātrī*- (later *rātrī*-) means ‘the night (and the following daytime → fn. 2, fn. 40) for staying at home (*amā* → fn. 41) of the moon conjunct with the sun’, i.e., the conjunction night including the following daytime, in which all the gods headed by Indra and the Yajamāna’s ancestors dwell together nearby his fire Agni for the Upavasatha and the new moon sacrifice. In this hymn, *amāvāsyā*- is worshipped as a goddess with oblation *haviṣ*- (→ 1.2., fn. 5).

According to the VaitS and the KauśS,¹³³ this hymn is recited together with the

¹³¹ E.g. RV 10,14.13–15 (≈ AV 18,2.1–3); 15.3 (≈ AV 18,1.45); 154.1 (≈ AV 18,2.14), cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 43–49; 2016: 286 (in Japanese), 259 (English summary). Cf. *somyā*- and *saumyā*- ‘the fathers who partake of Soma drink (offered to their king Yama)’ in RV 10,14.6, etc. (→ fn. 153).

¹³² In this reference, we confront the question about the origin of the God-name Indra.

¹³³ VaitS 1,16 *prātar hutvāgnihotram “kuhū devīm”* (AV[Ś] 7,47), “*yat te devāḥ*” (7,79) *ity amā-vāsyāyām*. | “*rākām aham*” (7,48), “*pūrṇā paścāt*” (7,80) *iti paurṇamāsyām*. “After having offered the Agnihotra, [the Yajamāna recites] “*kuhū devīm*” and “*yat te devāḥ*” in the day following the conjunction night (*amāvāsyāyām*), “*rākām aham*” and “*pūrṇā paścāt*” in the day following the full moon night (*paurṇamāsyām*)”. KauśS 5,5 states simply that the hymn for Paurṇamāsti and that for Amāvāsti are recited in the day following the full moon night and the

hymn for Kuhū (AV[Ś] 7,47.1–2 ≈ [P] 20,6.3–4) after the morning Agnihotra in the new moon sacrifice, and the hymn for Paurṇamāsī (→ Ex. 2) with the hymn for Rākā (AV[Ś] 7,48.1–2 ≈ [P] 20,11.8–9 ≈ RV 2,32.4–5) after the Agnihotra in the full moon sacrifice (→ 1.2., fn. 13, fn. 14, fn. 15).

A pair of a Paurṇamāsī stanzas (AV[Ś] 7,80.1 ≈ [P] 1,102.2; → Ex. 2) and an Amāvāsyā stanza (AV[Ś] 79.1 ≈ [P] 20,32.1) are taken into the Taittirīya school: 1) TS^{mp} 3,5.1.1(ab) for oblations to Sarasvant and Sarasvatī (*sārasvatāu hōmau*)¹³⁴ in the Anvārambhaṇīyeṣṭi (introductory rite of the first full moon sacrifice after setting up the sacrificial fires)¹³⁵; 2) in Pratīka TS^m 4,4.10.3 [Agnicayana]¹³⁶; 3) in Pratīka TB^m 1,5.1 [Nakṣatras]¹³⁷. It is noteworthy that the Paurṇamāsī stanza precedes the Amāvāsyā stanza in this pair, corresponding with the performance order after having set up the sacrificial fires: first the full moon sacrifice, then the new moon sacrifice. Cf. further the Pārvaṇa Homa incorporated into the Darśapūrṇamāsau, i.e., the worship of the full moon (*pūrṇamāsa-*) and the night of conjunction (*amāvāsyā-*) with mantras TB^m 3,7.5.13 (y) (≈ AV[Ś] 7,80.2; → Ex. 2) and (z) respectively (→ 1.3., fn. 31).

1. *yāt te devā ākṛṇvan bhāgadheyam* | *āmāvāsyē saṁvāsanto* (P *saṁvadanto*)
mahitvā |
tēnā no yajñām pipṛhi viśvavāre | *rayīm no dhehi subhage suvīram* ||

Your portion that the gods made, O Amāvāsyā, dwelling (P talking) together by the greatness, by that (portion) accomplish our sacrifice, O [goddess] possessed of every boon (*viśvavārā-*)! Distribute wealth with good heroes to us, O [goddess] endowed with good share!

2. *ahām evā-asm y amāvāsyā*¹³⁸ | *mām ā* (P *amā*) *vasanti*¹³⁹ *sukṛto māvīmē* |
māyī devā ubhāyē sādhyās cé- | *ndrajyeṣṭhāḥ sāmagaচ্chanta sārve* ||

I myself am Amāvāsyā. [Coming] toward me, these well-doers dwell in me (P: these well-doers dwell at home in me). In me, both the gods and Sādhyas, all those who have Indra as the chief, assembled (imperf.).

conjunction night respectively: “*pūrṇā paścāt*” (AV 7,80) *iti paurṇamāsyām*. 6. “*yāt te deva ākṛṇvan bhāgadheyam*” (7,79) *ity amāvāsyāyām*.

¹³⁴ Cf. TS^p 3,5.1.4 *sārasvatyai carūr bhavati sārasvate dvādaśakapālo. māvāsyā vai sārasvatī pūrṇamāsaḥ sārasvān*. “For Sarasvatī, porridge is applied [as oblation]; for Sarasvant, cake (Puroḍāśa) baked on twelve kapālas. Sarasvatī is verily Amāvāsyā; Sarasvant is Pūrṇamāsa.”; BaudhŚS 2,21, ĀpŚS 5,23,4.

¹³⁵ Cf. Krick 1982: 490–501.

¹³⁶ Cf. BaudhŚS 10,46 ≈ ĀpŚS 17,6.5–10; MānŚS 4,2.3.8. For piling bricks (*iṣṭakā-*) of the new and full moon beside the Nakṣatra-bricks, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2011: 1079–1080.

¹³⁷ This mantra-collection seems to have served for a popular ritual for the Nakṣatras worship (different from the Nakṣatra-iṣṭis TB^{mp} 3,1.1–6), cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2011: 1080.

¹³⁸ Pāda a has an unusual cadence as a Triṣṭubh: – – – –.

¹³⁹ AV(Ś) Ed. Viśvabandhu v.l. and AV(P)-K 1,103.4 *vasantu*.

sukṛtaḥ ‘well-doers’ signifies those who had done good deeds, namely sacrifices for the gods and donations for the Brahmins, in the life on earth and have ascended to heaven after death. In this context, his deceased fathers return to the Yajamāna’s home and stay with all the gods headed by Indra in the Amāvāsyā night. The fathers are worshiped by the Yajamāna’s couple in the afternoon (monthly ancestor worship → 2.1., fn. 48, Ex. 4 AV(Ś) 7,10.19), stay overnight with them by the sacrificial fire (Upavasatha → 2.1., fn. 49), and assist next morning with the new moon sacrifice. By these rites, they are expected to bring brave sons to the Yajamāna’s couple.

3. *āgan rātrī saṃgāmanī vāsūnām¹ ūrjām (P viśvam) puṣṭām vāsū^y āveśāyantī¹⁴⁰
amāvāsyāyai¹⁴¹ haviṣā vidhemó-¹ arjam dūhānā (P vasānā) pāyasā na āgan ||*

The night assembling the good (persons/things or the gods: pl. *vāsu-*) has come [just now] (ā-agan; aor. for actual past), making nourishment, flourishing [and] good enter [into our house]. We want to allocate (*vidhema*¹⁴²) [her share] to Amāvāsyā by oblation (*haviṣā*; → fn. 5). Yielding (milking) nourishment, with milk, [she] has come [just now] to us.

A wordplay of *vāsu-* is found in ab. Amāvāsyā is described as a cow which milks everything desired, nourishment *par excellence*. Cf. Virāj as a cow (→ 1.2., Ex. 4.).

4. *āmāvāsyē nā tvād etān^y anyó¹ viśvā rūpāṇi paribhūr jajāna |
yātkāmās te juhmās tān no astu¹ vayām syāma pātayo rayīnām ||*

O Amāvāsyā, no one other than you has given birth (perf. *jajāna*) to all these forms, embracing [them]. That which desiring we offer to you, let that (desired) exist as ours. We want to be owners of wealth.

The 4th stanza is lacking in the AV(P) and seems to have been transformed from the stanza beginning with *prājāpate* RV 10,121.10 (hymn for Hiranyagarbha and the god called *ká-* ‘who’) ≈ AV(Ś) 7,80.3 = AV(P) 20,31.10 (→ Ex. 2, fn. 143).

Ex. 2. AV(Ś) 7,80 (≈ AV[P] 1,102): Hymn for *paurṇamāśī* ‘goddess of the full moon (night)’

1. ≈ AV(P) 1,102.2 ≈ TS^m 3,5.1.1(a) [Avnārambhaṇīyeṣṭi] (→ 1.2., 1.3., Ex.1, fn. 134, fn. 135); Pratīka TB^m 3,1.1(12) [Nakṣatras], MānŚS 6,2.3 [Agnicayana], KauśS 59,19; 2. AV(P) lacking; ≈ TB^m 3,7.5.13 (y) = ĀpŚS 2,20.5; MānŚS 1,3.2.21; 3. ≈ AV(P) 20,31.10; RV 10,121.10 [a god called *ká-*]; MS^m 2,6.12; 4,14.1; TS^m 1,8.14.2 (M); VS 10,20; Pratīka TB^m 2,8.1; KauśS 59,19; etc.; 4. ≈ AV(P) 1,102.1.

paurṇamāśī, derived from *pūrṇamās-* ‘the full moon’, means usually as an abbrevia-

¹⁴⁰ TS 3,5.1.3b *viśvā rūpāṇi vāsūny āveśāyantī*.

¹⁴¹ AV(P)-K *-vāsyāyām*

¹⁴² For *vidhema* (opt. them. root-aor. *vidh-á-*, originated from *vi-dhā*) and the type of opt. *-éma*, etc. belonging to athem. root-aor., cf. Gotō 2013: 95–100.

tion of *paurṇamāśī rātrī-* (*rātri-*) ‘the full moon night’ (and the following daytime; → fn. 2, fn. 40). In this hymn, however, *paurṇamāśī* is treated rather as the goddess of the full moon itself than that of the full moon night (and daytime). A corresponding masculine deity *paurṇamāśa-* appears in st. 2 (only in the Śaunaka-recension).

This hymn is recited with the hymn for Rākā (AV[Ś] 7,48.1–2 ≈ [P] 20,11.8–9; → 1.2., fn. 13, fn. 14, fn. 15) after the morning Agnihotra in the full moon sacrifice (→ Ex. 1, fn. 133).

For the pair of Paurṇamāśī stanzas (AV[Ś] 7,80.1 ≈ AV[P] 1,102.2) and Amāvāsyā stanza (AV[Ś] 79.1 ≈ AV[P] 20,32.1; → Ex. 1), s. Ex. 1, fn. 134–137.

1. *pūrṇā paścād utā pūrṇā purāstād* | *ūn madhyatāḥ paurṇamāśī jigāya* |
tāsyāṃ devāiḥ saṁvāsanto mahitvā | *nākasya prṣṭhé sām iṣā madema* ||

Full in west and full in east, the full moon night (the goddess of the full moon) has won a victory (perf. *ūd ... jigāya*) in the middle (of the sky). Staying together with the gods in her, with the greatness, we want to become intoxicated with nourishment on the upper side of the vault of heaven!

The Yajamānas express their wish for dwelling and becoming intoxicated, assumedly with Soma sap which is at the same time the moon itself, together with gods high above heaven in the full moon. Drinking Soma in the full moon presents a contrast to offering Soma in the new moon sacrifice described in the RV 10,85.4–5; the former causes the moon’s waning and the latter its waxing (→ 3.1.). This wish is supposed to be applied to the next life of the Yajamānas, for, at latest from the YV onward, he has to observe his duty of fasting during the full moon night (→ 1.3., fn. 29, 2.1., fn. 49) and that any intoxicating drink is offered in the full moon sacrifice. For the concept that the dead enter the moon, cf. st. 4 and AV[Ś] 7,81.5 (→ Ex. 3); for their becoming intoxicated in the middle of heaven, cf. RV 10,14.7–8; 15.14 [Yama-Sūkta].

2. *vṛṣabhām vājīnaṃ vayāṃ* | *paurṇamāśam yajāmahe* |
sā no dadāt y ākṣitām | *rayīm ānupadasvatīm* ||

We worship the full moon god (*paurṇamāśa- m.*) as a victorious bull. Let him give us unexhausted, imperishable wealth!

In this stanza wanting in the AV(P), *paurṇamāśa- m.* appears instead of *paurṇamāśī-* as a masculine deity of the full moon. This stanza is used for the Pārvaṇa-homa included in the Darśa.

3. *prajāpate na tvad etān y anyo* | *viśvā rūpāṇi paribhūr jajāna* |
yātkāmās te juhumās tān no astu | *vayāṃ syāma pátayo rayīṇām* ||

O Prajāpati, no one other than you has given birth (perf. *jajāna*) to all these forms, embracing [them]. That which desiring we offer to you, let that exists as ours. We want to be owners of wealth.

It is strange that a stanza calling to Prajāpati, which is the same as RV 10,121.10,¹⁴³ is concluded in the hymn for Paurṇamāsī. A parallel with *āmāvāsye* for *prājāpate* appears in AV[Ś] 7,79.4 (→ Ex. 1).

4. *paurṇamāsī prathamā yajñīyāsīd* |
āhnām rātrīṇām atīśarvarēṣu (P [K] *uta śavarēṣu*) |
yé tvām yajñāir yajñīye ardhāyanti y (P *bodhayanti*) |
amī te nāke sukṛtaḥ praviṣṭāḥ (P *paretāḥ*) ||

The goddess of the full moon was (ipf.) the first one to be worshipped at the times after having crossed over the covers (*atīśarvarēṣu*)¹⁴⁴ of days and nights. Those who make you prosperous, O worthy of sacrifice, by sacrifices, those well-doers (*sukṛt-*) have entered into your celestial vault (*nāka-*).

¹⁴³ This is the additional last stanza answering the question “to which god can we serve (*vid-hema*)” in stanza 1–9 of the hymn for Hiranyagarbha.

¹⁴⁴ The original meaning of *śarvarā-*, attested only in the compound with *āpi-* (RV+) or *āti-* (AV, s. below), is not clear as well as that of *śarvarī-* (RV 5,52.3, AitB 4,5 [s. below]) which is used in the sense ‘night’ in the epic and classical Skt. *ati-śarvarā-* is attested twice, here with *āhnām rātrīṇām* and AV(Ś) 4,5.4 (AV[P] 4,6.4) with *rātrīṇām*, s. below. If *śarvarā-* and *śarvarī-* go back to *śar* ‘cover’ (cf. *śarman-*) with *-vara-* (cf. AiG II-2, p. 906–907) from *-van/-var-* (cf. AiG II-2, p. 903), they are understood to signify something which covers each daytime and night-time for protecting and distinguishing them, such as the bright or dark celestial vault, atmosphere, brightness or darkness itself. In this stanza, *atīśarvarēṣu* is considered to mean the times after passing over a number of bright day skies and dark night skies, assumedly daybreaks, in that the goddess Paurṇamāsī is worshipped in the beginning of the full moon sacrifice held in the morning; according to VaitS 1,16 (→ fn. 133), after the morning Agnihotra at sunrise. — AV(Ś) 4,5.4 [(P) 4,6.4] *ējadejad ajagrabham* | *cakṣuḥ prāṇām ajagrabham* | *āṅgāny ajagrabham sārva* | *rātrīṇām atīśarvarē* (P) *uta śarvare* “That which repeatedly moves, I grasped (*ajagrabham*), the sight, the breath, I grasped (*ajagrabham*); all limbs, I grasped (*ajagrabham*), at time of passing through the cover (darkness) of nights (i.e., at every time I got through the darkness of nights)”. *rātrīṇām* in plural suggests that *ajagrabham* (imperfect from pref.) expresses an act repeated in the past, not directly related to the actual state, in opposition to pres. *svāpayāmasi* ‘I make (them) sleep’ in the neighbouring stanzas (1. and 3.). For the “naktostatisch-attigent” meaning “ergriffen halten, haben, besitzen” of the perf. *jagrābh-/jagrbbh-*, cf. Kümmel 2000: 163–165 (however, p. 165 “...alle Glieder habe ich ergriffen in der Tiefe der Nacht”). Hardly Whitney “in the depth (*ati-śarvarā-*) of the night” based on the comm. as well as AiG II-1, p. 90 = EWAia (s.v. *śarvarī-* f. Nacht) *atīśarvarē[su]* ‘tief in der Nacht’ is difficult. — For *api-śarvarē* loc. sg. RV 3,9.7 (Geldner 1957, Witzel 2013 ‘zu Beginn der Nacht’), 8,1.29 (Geldner 1957 ‘bei Einbruch der Nacht’), cf. Graßmann 1873, s.v. *api-śarvarā-* ‘adj. an die Nacht grenzend; nt. Frühhmorgen’ following PW s.v. “an die Nacht angrenzend, am Ende der Nacht befindlich; Frühhmorgen”. For prep. *api*, cf. Delbrück 1888: 447–448 ‘in, auf, über, ab’ only with loc. Exceptionally, *api* with abl. appears AitB 4,5 (16,5) *api śarvaryā anusmasīty abruvann. apiśarvarāṇi khalu vā etāni chandāmsīti ha smāhai-*. *tāni hīndram rātres tamaso mṛtyor bibhyatam atyapārayams. tad apiśarvarāṇām apiśarvaratvam.* [The metres] said: “We arrive (*anu-as*, cf. Delbrück 1888: 444 ‘gelangen zu, erreichen’) across over the (nocturnal) celestial vault (*śarvarī-*)”. Namely, [the metres] made Indra, who was fearing for night, darkness, death, cross [them] over night. That is the essential nature of those (metres) named *apiśarvara-* “over the nocturnal cover (darkness)” (Keith “boarding on night”). — Zehnder 1993: 176 translates *atīśarvarēṣu* “an den Übergängen (?) der Tage (und) der Nächte” with a note referring to RV 8,1.29 *apiśarvarē* ‘am Abend (?)’.

Worshipping the full moon goddess first of all reminds us that, after setting up the sacrificial fires, the cycle of the Darśapūrṇamāsau begins with the full moon sacrifice preceded by the Anvārambhaṇīyeṣṭi (→ 1.2., 1.3., Ex.1, fn. 134, fn. 135). For the Yajamāna's entering into the moon's heaven after death, cf. st. 1 and AV[Ś] 7,81.5 (→ Ex. 3).

Ex. 3. AV(Ś) 7,81: Hymn for *dārśa*- 'the newly appeared moon'

1–2. AV(Ś) 14,1.23–24; AV(P) 18,3.2–3; RV 10,85.18–19 (→ 2.2., fn. 50, 3.4.); ≈ AV(P) 19,40.8 and 20,31.7; ≈ MS^m 4,12.2:181.3–6; 1. AV(Ś) 13,2.11; TB^m 2,7.12.2; 2,8.9.3; 2. KS^m 10,12:141.11–12; TS^m 2,4.14.1(a) [Kāmyeṣṭi] (HirGS 1,5.16.1); TS^p 2,3.5.3; TB^m 2,7.12 (2), etc.; 3. AV(P) lacking; 4. a = AV(P) 20,43.4a; 5. ab = AV(P) 20,43.6ab; 6. ≈ AV(P) 1,102.4 [Paurṇamāsī]; ≈ MS^m 4,9.27:140.3; 4,12.2:181.7; KS^m 10,12: 141.9–10; TS^m 2,4.14.1(b) [Kāmyeṣṭi]; MānvŚS 5,1.10.18; ab ≈ AV(P) 20,43.5ac.

St. 1–2, in which the correlative movement of the sun and the moon (*candramas-*) is described, are the same as RV 10,85.18–19 (→ 2.2., fn. 50, 3.4.) with a few variants.¹⁴⁵ Their parallels are found further in AV(Ś/P), MS^m, KS^m, TS^m, TB^m, etc.

In st. 3–4, we find the first occurrence of the word *dārśa*.¹⁴⁶ which means 'the newly appeared moon after the conjunction', but not yet 'the new moon sacrifice'.

3. *sómasyāṁśo yudhām paté¹ nūno nāma vā asi |*
ānūnam dārśa mā kṛdhi¹ prajāyā ca dhānena ca ||

O plant (stem) of Soma, Lord of battles, you are verily "not wanting" by name. O Darśa (the newly appeared moon after the conjunction), make me "not wanting" both in offspring and in wealth.

The newly appeared thin moon is compared to the plant (stem) of Soma in thin shape (→ fn. 4); both are expected to swell, s. below the stanza 6.

4. *darśó 'si darśató 'si sámagro 'si sámantaḥ |*
sámagraḥ sámanto bhūyāsam góbhīr āsvaiḥ prajāyā paśúbhir grhāir dhānena ||

You are Darśa (→ fn. 110), you are good-looking (*darśatá-*), you are complete with front, complete with end. Being complete with top, complete with end, I wish to become provided with cows, horses, offspring, cattle, houses, wealth.

5. *yò 'smān dvēṣṭi yám vayám dviṣmās¹ tāsya tvám prānénā pyāyasva |*
ā vayám pyāsiṣmahī góbhīr āsvaiḥ prajāyā paśúbhir grhāir dhānena ||

The one who hates us, [the one] whom we hate, swell with the breath of this one! We wish to swell with cows, horses, offspring, cattle, houses, wealth.

¹⁴⁵ 1d. AV *jāyase návaḥ* :: RV *jāyate pūnaḥ*; 2d. AV *candramas tirase* :: RV *candrāmās tirate*.

¹⁴⁶ The noun *dārśa*- might have been converted from an unreduplicated perf. (1.3. sg. act.): "I have (one has) just seen and am (is) seeing [the moon newly after the conjunction]".

This stanza is based on the concept that the moon swells with breath of the dead, in other words, the vital function of the dead goes into the moon,¹⁴⁷ which seems to underlie the first Śloka in JB 1,18 ≈ 49 and KauṣU 1,2.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, AV(Ś) 7,80.4 and most probably 1 state that the dead enter the moon's world (→ Ex. 2). This notion, developed in the Brāhmaṇas, was combined with "Pitṛyāna" and integrated into the "Two-way-Doctrine" in the Upaniṣads.¹⁴⁹

6. *yám devā aṁśúm āpyāyānti | yám ākṣitam ākṣitā bhakṣāyanti |*
ténāsmān indro vāruṇo bṛhaspátir | ā pyāyayantu bhūvanasya gopāh ||

The Soma plant (*aṁśú-*) that the gods swell, the inexhaustible (Soma plant) that the inexhaustible [gods] consume, by that (Soma plant, i.e., the moon) let Indra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Protectors of the world (*bhūvana-*) swell us!

The Soma plant (*aṁśú-*; → fn. 4) of a thin and long shape is a metaphor of the newly appeared thin moon which the gods swell and consume. This stanza implies offering Soma sap in the new moon sacrifice, cf. RV 10,85.5 (→ 3.1.).

Ex. 4. AV(Ś) 8,10.18–21: Hymn for Virāj

The origins of the rites of yearly, monthly, half-monthly and daily offering (corresponding to Animal sacrifice, Piṇḍapitṛyajña, new and full moon sacrifices and Agnihotra respectively) are explained from the viewpoint of wandering of Virāj that is the female principle representing vitality based on nourishment which turns into food and oblation.

18. *sód akrāmat. sá vānaspátīn āgachat. tāṁ vānaspátayo 'ghnata. sá saṁvatsaré*
sám abhavat. | tásmād vānaspátīnām saṁvatsaré vṛkṇám āpi rohati. vṛścāte
*(*vṛścāte) śyāpriyo bhrātṛvyo yá evāṁ veda ||*

She (Virāj) stepped out. She came to the trees ("lords of the forest": *vānaspati-*). The trees slaughtered her. She came into existence in a year. Therefore, even that which was cut down (nt. *vṛkṇám*) of the trees grows in a year. If one thus knows, the rival of this one is cut down.

A tree (*vānaspāti-* 'lord of the forest') is once a year cut down, supposedly for the post (*yūpa-*) to which the victim is fastened in the Animal sacrifice. Virāj represents the animal (e.g., a cow) which is slaughtered and regenerates itself as an offspring (e.g., a calf) in a year. By contrast, the latter half of the stanza describes the yearly growth of shoots of the trees that were cut down. As a whole, the stanza explains the yearly cycle of death and rebirth in the animal and plant kingdoms.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Different from RV 10,16.3: breath (*ātmán-*) of the dead enters the wind.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 26–27, 56–60, 100.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 62–70. (7.5.; 7.5.2. BĀU[M] 6,1.19 [K 6,2.16]; 7.5.3. ChU 5,10.4; 7.6. KauṣU 1,2).

¹⁵⁰ The explanation in Sakamoto-Gotō 2001: 163 Anm. 15 'Gemeint sind jeweils: das Feldverbrennen zum Jahreswechsel...' is to be corrected.

19. *sód akrāmat. sá pitṛñ āgachat. tāṃ pitáro 'ghnata. sá māsī sám abhavat. |
tāsmāt pitṛbhyo māsy ūpamāsyam dadati. prā pitṛyāṇam pānthām jānāti yā
evām véda. ||*

She stepped out. She came to the fathers. The fathers slaughtered her. She came into existence in a month. Therefore, [people] give to the fathers monthly (oblation: *ūpamāsyam*) in a month. If one thus knows, [this one] understands in advance (i.e., before one's death: *prā ... jānāti*) the way through which the fathers travel (*pitṛyāṇam pānthām*).

Virāj becomes the oblation for the monthly ancestor worship, i.e., Piṇḍapitṛyajña or Śrāddha, which is related to *pitṛyāṇam pānthām* 'the way through which the fathers travel' between their world in heaven and the place of sacrifice on earth.

20. *sód akrāmat. sá devān āgachat. tāṃ devā aghnata. sārđhamāsé sám abhavat. |
tāsmād devébhyo 'rdhamāsé vāṣaṭ kurvanti. prā devayāṇam pānthām jānāti yā
evām véda. ||*

She stepped out. She came to the gods. The gods slaughtered her. She came into existence in a half-month. Therefore, [people] make the utterance "vāṣaṭ" (for offering to gods) in a half-month. If one thus knows, [this one] understands in advance (i.e., before one's death) the way through which the gods travel (*devayāṇam pānthām*).

Virāj becomes the oblation for the half-monthly worship of the gods, i.e., the new and full moon sacrifice, which is related to *devayāṇa- pānthā-* 'the way through which the gods travel' between their world in heaven and the place of sacrifice on earth.

21. *sód akrāmat. sá manuṣyān āgachat. tāṃ manuṣyā aghnata. sá sadyāḥ sám abhavat. |
tāsmān manuṣyèbhyo ubhayadyúr ūpa haranti. ūpāsyā gr̥hé haranti yā
evām véda. ||*

She stepped out. She came to Manu's descendants. Manu's descendants slaughtered her. She came into existence in the same day. Therefore [people] bring [meals] to Manu's descendants at both ends of a day (evening and morning: *ubhayadyúr*). If one thus knows, [people] bring [meals] in the house of this one.

This stanza explains the origin of human mealtime, twice a day, in the evening and morning, and suggests the custom of bringing a meal to those who are honorable, assumedly brahmins. This is associated with the Agnihotra, offering meal to the sacrificial fire Agni, twice a day just before the human mealtime.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Bringing a meal to the Brahmin is considered a substitute for the Agnihotra for the Rājanya who is forbidden from offering the Agnihotra in the earliest brāhmaṇas (MS^p 1,8.7:126.17–127.4 [Agnihotra], KS^p 6,6:56.1–4, KpS^p 4,5.7), cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2001: 166f., Anm. 22; 2020: 210f, 220–227.

Ex. 5. The mantras for curdling milk for Indra in the YV

In the conjunction night (Amāvāsyā), boiled fresh milk is curdled to *dādhi*- ‘sour milk’; next morning, this is mixed with boiled fresh milk (*śṛtā*-) and offered to Indra as the Sāmnāyā. The mantra for curdling milk to Dadhi for Indra is common to all the YV-Saṃhitās with slight variations of wording:

MS^m 1,3:2.10f *indrāya tvā bhāgām sōmenātanacmi*.

For Indra, I curdle you (milk) as [his] share **with/by Soma**.

KS^m 1,3:2.7 = KpS^m = VS 1,4 *indrasya tvā bhāgām sōmenātanacmi*.

As Indra’s share, I curdle you (milk) **with/by Soma**.

TS^m 1,1.3.1 *sōmena tvā tanacmīndrāya dādhi*.

With/by Soma, I curdle you (milk), for Indra, to Dadhi.

The acc. *tvā* designates the milk which is milked and boiled immediately before the curdling. The TS^m alone adds *dādhi* as a resultative acc.

sōmena is a puzzling expression.¹⁵² The instr. with the verb *ā-tañc* usually expresses the means of curdling, i.e., a certain substance which causes or accelerates curdling milk to Dadhi, see below and fn. 154). Considering the difficulty of obtaining the Soma plant, it is not conceivable that real Soma (sap or plant) was actually used for making Dadhi at the time of the YV (→ 4.). The expression *sōmena* could be a trace of having used Soma sap or plant as a curdler in the preceding period, or more probably a metaphor of something else such as the moon or Dadhi: ‘together with the moon called Soma’ or ‘by means of Dadhi equivalent with Soma sap’.

The moon was equated with Soma as early as in the RV (→ 4.). It was a general conception in the Black YV that the moon Soma stays with the sun on earth in the Amāvāsyā night, presumably in the Āhavanīya fire of the Yajamāna (→ 2.1., fn. 42, fn. 46, fn. 64) and a close relationship between the priests and Soma was emphasized (→ 2.1., fn. 64). Hence, *sōmena* could express the assistance of the moon Soma in making Dadhi in the Yajamāna’s residence.

On the other hand, the most common curdler is Dadhi itself. In fact, TS^p 2,5.3.1–7 [Darśapūrṇamāsau] (→ fn. 23, fn. 47, Ex. 7.2, 7.3) states that Dadhi for Indra, discovered by himself for recovery of virility characteristic of Indra (*indriyā*-), is curdled by the Dadhi made of the rest of the preceding Agnihotra:

... *indro vṛtrām hatvā devātābhiś cendriyēṇa ca vy ārdhyata. sā etām āgneyām aṣṭakapālam amāvāsyāyām apaśyad aindrām dādhi. || 1 || ... || 4 || ... yāt pūṭikair vā parṇavalkāir vātancyāt saumyām tād. yāt kvālai rākṣasām tād. yāt taṇḍulāir*

¹⁵² This word is not explained in the related brāhmaṇas (see below), nor in the translation “with Soma” by Keith 1914: I 192, Nishimura 2016: 231.

vaiśvadevām tād. yād ātāñcanaṇa mānuṣām tād. yād dadhnā tāt sēndram. dadhnātanakti. || 5 || sendratvāyā-. gñihotroccheṣaṇām abhyātanakti. yajnāsya sāmtatyā. ...

1. ... Indra, having smitten Vṛtra, was deprived of divinities (i.e., vital functions) and the characteristic of Indra (i.e., vigour, manliness, virility: *indriyā-*). He saw (discovered) **the eight-kapāla [Puroḍāśa] for Agni in the Amāvāsyā night, [and] Dadhi for Indra.** 2. ... 5. ... If one would curdle (opt.) [milk to Dadhi] by Pūṭikas (stinking herbs) or bark of the Paṇṇa tree, then [that Dadhi would] belong to the Fathers (*saumyā-*)¹⁵³. If by jujubes, then [that would] belong to Rakṣas (harmful being). If by threshed grain (barley or rice), then [that would] belong to Viśve Devāḥ (All Gods or a certain group of gods). If by *ātāñcana-* (a special kind of curdler)¹⁵⁴, then [that would] belong to Manu's descendants (mankind). If by Dadhi, then [that would be] accompanied by Indra. **One curdles (indic.) [milk to Dadhi] by Dadhi.** 6. For being accompanied by Indra. **One curdles making use of (*abhi*)**¹⁵⁵ **the rest of the Agni-hotra (oblation, i.e., milk).** For the continuity of the sacrifice. ...

The equivalence of Dadhi with Soma sap is revealed also in the relevant brāhmaṇas.

MS^p 4,1.3:2.10–12 *indrāya tvā bhāgām sōmenātanacmīti. sōmam evāinat karoti. tāsyā ha tvāi somapīthāḥ sāmtato yā evām vidvānt sānnāyyām pībati.*

[The priest utters:] “For Indra, I curdle you (milk) as [his] share with/by Soma.” **[He] makes this (milk) into the very Soma (sap) as a result.** On the other hand, his **drinking Soma** (i.e., his performing the Soma sacrifice) is verily uninterrupted, when [a Yajamāna] who thus knows **drinks Sāmnāyya (Dadhi mixed with cooked fresh milk).**

KS^p 31,2:3.12–14 ≈ KpS^p 47,2:2335.19 *indrasya tvā bhāgām sōmenātanacmīti. +sōmam* (Ms. *sōmām*, according to Schroeder so in the KpS) *evainam* (KpS *evainam*, Ms. *evaitat*) *karoti. somo vai devānām parokṣam sannāyyam. tāsyā ha tvāi somapīthās sāmtato yā evām vidvānt sannāyyena yajate.*

[The priest utters:] “As Indra's share, I curdle you (milk) with/by Soma.” **[He] makes this (KS share m., KpS milk n.) into the very Soma (sap) as a result. Sānnāyya is verily Soma (oblation) in secret expression of the gods.** On the other hand, his drinking Soma (i.e., his performing the Soma sacrifice) is verily uninterrupted, when [a Yajamāna] who thus knows performs his sacrifice with the Sāmnāyya.

TB^p 3,2.3.10f. *sōmena tvā tanacmīndrāya dādhitī āha. | 10 | sōmam evāinat karoti. | yō vai sōmam bhakṣayitvā | samvatsarām sōmam nā pībati | punarbhākṣyo 'sya somapītho bhavati. | sōmaḥ khālu vai sāmānyām. | yā evām vidvānt sāmānyām pībati | apunarbhākṣyo 'sya somapītho bhavati. ||*

¹⁵³ *saumyā-* adj. ‘belonging to Soma’ and subst. ‘fathers who partake of Soma drink’ (RV+). In the RV, Soma juice is offered to the fathers in the ancestor worship (→ 4., fn. 131).

¹⁵⁴ *ātāñcana-* is originally a general term for ‘curdler’ including Dadhi and various plants, but in this text, designates a special kind of curdler, maybe more effective and artificial.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Delbrück 1888: 448f. Häufig tritt *abhi* zu dem Nomen, welches zu dem Verbum gehört, derart in innerliche Beziehung, dass wir es “mit Beziehung auf, zum Nutzen oder Schaden übersetzen... Ganz besonders häufig ist dieser Gebrauch, wenn *abhi* die erste von zwei Präpositionen ist, ...”.

[The priest] utters: “With Soma, I curdle you (milk), for Indra, to Dadhi.” **[He] makes this (milk) into the very Soma (sap) as a result.** When [a Yajamāna] verily does not drink Soma for a whole year after having tasted Soma (i.e., performed the Soma sacrifice), drinking Soma becomes to be tasted (i.e., the Soma sacrifice becomes to be performed) by him again. **Sāmnāyya is, as is well-known, Soma (oblation).** When [a Yajamāna] drinks Sāmnāyya knowing thus, drinking Soma becomes not to be drunk again by him.

All these brāhmaṇas declare unanimously that milk changes into *sóma-*, which is actually Dadhi, based on the premise that Dadhi for Indra is the same as Soma sap. On the other hand, drinking Sāmnāyya is considered to substitute for drinking Soma in the Soma sacrifice. This leads us to conclude that Sāmnāyya, a mixture of Dadhi and milk, corresponds, not to pure Soma sap, but to a mixture of Soma sap and milk, usually used in Soma sacrifice (→ fn. 3). It is remarkable that this substitution is premised on the necessity to perform periodically (at least yearly) the Soma sacrifice, once an Āhitāgni has begun it. For periodical performance of the Soma sacrifice, see 1.1. RV 1,9.1; fn. 6, fn. 9–11.

Ex. 6. Deities, oblations and mantras for the Darśapūrṇamāsau in the early stage of the YV

Strangely enough, the concrete procedures of the main offerings of the Darśapūrṇamāsau are missing in the MS, KS and TS.¹⁵⁶ As a result, deities, oblations, mantras recited by the priests, esp. Yājyās and Anuvākyās recited by the Hotṛ, are not clear. On the other hand, the Anumantraṇas recited by the Yajamāna are recorded in the mantra- and prose-portion of the KS and TS and inform us of the name of deities. A systematic treatment of the whole ritual procedures appears first in the TB 3,2.1–10; 3,3.1–11; 3,5.7; 3,7.1–6.11; the Yājyās and Anuvākyās for principal deities, i.e., Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, Indra or Mahendra are found in TB^m 3,5.7.2–4 (→ Ex. 6.5.).

Ex. 6.1. The mantras and brāhmaṇas for making the Puroḍāśa

The mantras which give names of the deities offered the Puroḍāśā ‘sacrificial cake’ (→ fn. 20) in the Darśapūrṇamāsau are limited, namely the mantras for Nirvapana ‘taking (strewing) out (grains from the cart into a bowl)’¹⁵⁷ and Prokṣa ‘sprinkling water (on the grains taken out)’ common to all the YV-Saṁhitās (MS, KS, TS, VS) and those for dividing dough found only in the TS and the VS. The phrase *yācchantu*

¹⁵⁶ In the MS, Yājyās and Anuvākyās for various Iṣṭis are collected in the chapter of Hautra in the last volume (MS^m 4,10.1–12.3), but their application to offerings of the Darśapūrṇamāsau is not mentioned.

¹⁵⁷ Grains are taken from a bag on the cart into a bowl of mortar (*ulūkhalā-*), s. Dharmadhikari 1989: 22 and 26. According to the Śrautasūtras, they are taken into a bowl of Agniotrahavaṇī (ladle for the Agniotra). S. below with fn. 158.

*pāñca*¹⁵⁸ ... in the MS and KS fails in the TS and VS; in the VS, the succeeding mantra begins with *bhūtāya tvā nārātaye*.

A. Mantras for Nirvapana

MS^m 1,1.5:3.5 *devāsya vaḥ savitūḥ prasavè 'śvinor bāhūbhyāṃ pūṣṇo hāstābhyāṃ. yācchantu pāñca gopīthāya vo nārātaye. agnāye vo jūṣṭān nīrvapāmi. amúṣmai vo jūṣṭān.*

At the god Savitṛ's urging, with Aśvins' two arms, with Pūṣan's two hands, I take you (grains: pl.) out [from the cart]. Let the five (fingers) hold you up for protection, not for hostility (→ fn. 158). **For Agni**, I take out you which are agreeable. **For So-and-So** (s. below), [I take out] you which are agreeable.

KS^m 1,4:2.14f. *devasya tvā savitūḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyāṃ pūṣṇo hāstābhyāṃ agnaye juṣṭaṃ nīrvapāmi. yacchantu tvā pañca rakṣāyai tvā nārātaye.*

At the god Savitṛ's urging, with Aśvins' two arms, with Pūṣan's two hands, **for Agni**, I take out you (sg.) which is agreeable. Let the five [fingers] hold you (grains) up for protection, not for hostility.

TS^m 1,1.4 (m) *devāsya tvā savitūḥ ... agnāye jūṣṭān nīrvapāmi agnīśómābhyāṃ.*

At the god Savitṛ's urging ... **for Agni**, I take out you (sg.) agreeable, **for Agni-Soma**.

VS (M) 1,10 (VS [K] 1,3.6–7) *devāsya tvā savitūḥ ... | agnāye jūṣṭān grhṇāmy. agnīśómābhyāṃ jūṣṭān grhṇāmi.*

At the god Savitṛ's urging ... **for Agni**, I grasp you (pl.) agreeable. **For Agni-Soma**, I grasp you (pl.) agreeable.

B. Mantras for Prokṣa

MS^m 1,1.6:3.10 *agnāye vo jūṣṭān prókṣāmy. amúṣmai vo jūṣṭān.*

For Agni, I sprinkle water on you (pl.) agreeable. **For So-and-So**, [I sprinkle water] on you (pl.) agreeable.

KS^m 1,5:2.20 *devasya tvā savitūḥ ... agnaye juṣṭān prókṣāmi.*

At the god Savitṛ's urging ... **for Agni**, I sprinkle water on you (sg.) agreeable.

TS^m 1,1.5.1 (e) *agnāye vo jūṣṭān prókṣāmy agnīśómābhyāṃ.*

¹⁵⁸ Although *pāñca* in the MS^m and KS^m is interpreted as five seasons in MS^p 4,1.5:6.18–7 and KS^p 31,3:4.12–14 (→ Ex. 6.2.), the term could originally mean the five fingers of the priest who takes out grains. According to the Śrautasūtras, grains are taken out by means of the Agnihotrahaṇī (ladle for offering the Agnihotra) with a purifying strainer.

For Agni, I sprinkle water on you (pl.) agreeable. **For Agni-Soma** [I sprinkle water on you (pl.) agreeable].

VS (M) 1,13= (K) 1,4.3 *agnáye tvā jústam prókṣāmy. agníśómābhyām tvā jústam prókṣāmy.*

For Agni, I sprinkle on you (sg.) agreeable. **For Agni-Soma**, I sprinkle on you (sg.) agreeable.

C. Mantras for dividing dough (wanting in the MS^m and KS^m)

TS^m 1,1.8 (f) *agnáye tvā- gñíśómābhyām.*

For Agni, [I take] you (sg.). **For Agni-Soma** [I take] you (sg.).

VS (M) 1,22 = VS(K) 1,8.2 *idám agnér. idám agníśomayor.*

This belongs to **Agni**. This belongs to **Agni-Soma**.

Common to all the YV mantras, the Puroḍāśa is dedicated to Agni as a single deity (→ 1.1. RV 1,94.4; 1.3., fn. 20, fn. 23, fn. 4.). As to other deities, there is diversity among the schools: *amúṣmai* MS^m (1,1.5:3.5; 1,1.6:3.10); **no reference** KS^m (1,4:2.14; 1,5:2.20); *agníśomābhyām* TS^m (1,1.4.2 m; 1,1.5.1e; 1,1.8.1f) and VS ([M] 1,10 = [K] 1,3.6–7; [M] 1,13 = [K] 1,4.3; [M] 1,22 = [K] 1,8.2).

A striking contrast is shown between the group of MS^m and KS^m and the group of TS^m and VS: only the latter group names *agníśoma-* (du.) as the principal deity to be offered Puroḍāśa beside *agni-* (sg.) and instructs to divide dough between Agni and Agni-Soma, whereas deities except for Agni are not clear in the former group.

Ex. 6.2. *amúṣmai* and *yásyai devātāyai* in the MS and KS

amúṣmai in the MS^m is considered to express an unspecified deity as is replaced by *yásyai devātāyai* in the corresponding brāhmaṇa MS^p 4,1.5:6.18–7 [Nirvāpāna], whereas “*amúṣmai vo juṣṭān*” is eliminated from the citation of the mantra:

“devāsya vah savitūḥ prasavē ... *agnáye vo juṣṭān nirvāpāmi-*” *ṭi. savitṛprasūta evāinān devātābhir nirvāpaty. “yācchantu pāñce-” ṭi. pāñca vā ṛtāva. ṛtūn vā etāt prīṇāti. tē śmai prūṭhā kalpante. “gopūthāya vo nārātayā-” ṭi. rākṣasām āpahatyāi. “agnáye vo juṣṭān” ṭi. agnāya evāinān juṣṭān karoti. ātho yásyai devātāyai nirvāpati tāsyā enān juṣṭān karoti.*

[One says] “At the god Savitṛ’s urging, ... **For Agni**, I take out you which are agreeable.” Urged by Savitṛ, indeed, one takes out them (the grains) **together with the deities (pl.)**. “Let the five [fingers] hold.” The five is, verily, the seasons. One pleases, verily, the seasons in this way. They (seasons), pleased, arrange [grains] for this one. “For protection, you (grains), not for hostility”. For warding off the evils. “**For Agni**, I take out you which are agreeable.” For Agni, indeed, one makes them agreeable. And then (in addition to Agni), **for the deity (sg.)** for which one takes out [grains], for that (deity) one makes them (grains) agreeable.

≈ MS^p 4,1.6:7.16–18 [Prokṣa] “*agnāye vo jūṣṭān*” *ity. agnāya evāinān jūṣṭān karo-*
ty. átho yásyai devatāyāi prokṣāti tāsya enān jūṣṭān karoti.

[One says] “**For Agni**, [I sprinkle water on] you (pl.) agreeable”. For Agni, indeed, one makes them (the grains) agreeable. And then (in addition to Agni), **for the deity** to which one sprinkles water [on grains], for that (deity) one makes them agreeable.

In the KS, the mantras (KS^m 1,4.2.14; 5:2.20) refer only to Agni, most probably with the intention to treat the new moon sacrifice alone as the solid basis of the Iṣṭi. In the prose-portion, however, *agnaye* is replaced by *amuṣmai* in the cited mantras and *amuṣmai* is explained in the same way as in the MS^p.

KS^p 31,3:4.12–14 “*devasya tvā savituh prasava*” *iti. savitṛprasūta evainad devatābhyo nirvapaty. “amuṣmai juṣṭam” iti. yasyā eva devatāyāi nirvapati tasyā enaj juṣṭam karoti.*

[One says] “At the god Savitṛ’s urging ... you (sg.) ...”. Urged by Savitṛ, indeed, one takes that out **for deities (pl.)**. “**For So-and-So** agreeable”. **For the deity** to which one takes out, indeed, for that (deity) one makes that agreeable”.

KS^p 31,4:5.2–4 “*devasya tvā savituh prasava*” *iti. savitṛprasūta evainad devatābhyo prokṣaty. “amuṣmai juṣṭam” iti. yasyā eva devatāyāi prokṣāti tasyā enaj juṣṭam karoti.*

[One says] “At the god Savitṛ’s urging ... you (sg.) ...”. Urged by Savitṛ, indeed, he sprinkles water on that **for dieites (pl.)**. [The priest says] “**for So-and-So** agreeable”. **For the deity** to which he sprinkles water, for that (deity) he makes that agreeable.

It is inferred that *amuṣmai* and its explanation with a relative sentence was taken from the MS^{mp} into the KS^p in order that the latter could be applied for both the new and full moon sacrifices.

Remarkable is *devatābhyo* (dat. pl.) ‘for more than three deities’ in the KS^p instead of *devatābhir* (instr. pl.) ‘together with more than three deities’, i.e., Savitṛ, Aśvin (du.) and Pūṣan, in the MS^p. The former indicates that the Proḍāśa is prepared not only for Agni, but also at least two other deities. This is in accord with the number of kapālas (eight, eleven and twelve) in the MS^p and KS^p (→ Ex. 6.2.) and the deities in the Yajamāna’s Anumantraṇa of the KS^{mp} (→ Ex. 6.4.). It is concluded hence that the Puroḍāśa was offered, indispensably to Agni in the Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa, most probably to *agnīśóma-* in the Pūrṇamāsa, and to more than one from *indrāgni-*, *indra- vimṛdhra-*, *indra- indriyāvant-* at the stage of the prose-portion of the KS.

Mantras with the expression *amúṣmai* are not rarely found in the YV, also for other rituals. In the new and full moon sacrifices of the Gr̥hya type (→ 1.3., fn. 33, fn. 34), we meet similar mantras with *amúṣmai* for preparing *odaná-* ‘porridge of rice or barley’ for variable deities such as Agni, Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, and others the Yajamāna wishes, e.g., ĀśvGS 1,10.6. ... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam nirvapāmīti*; 7 ... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam prokṣāmīti*; 10 ... *idam amuṣmā idam amuṣmā iti*; Gobhila-GS 1,7.3 *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam nirvapāmīti*; KhGS 2,1.9 ... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam*

nirvapāmīti, 23 ... *amuṣmai svāheti juhuyād yaddevatyam*. ŚāṅkhGS 1,3.4f. (4. *devatāś copāṁśuyājendramahendravajraṁ*; 5. *kāmyā itarāḥ*) states clearly that the deities are freely chosen by the Yajamāna except those for Upāṁśuyāja, Indra and Mahendrā.

The above-mentioned state of the mantra- and prose-portion of the MS and KS leads us to conjecture that, except Agni and Indra, the deities for the Darśapūrṇamāsau are flexible and selectable according to the Yajamāna's wish. In other word, the Darśapūrṇamāsau, especially the Pūrṇamāsa, present a character akin to the Kāmeṣṭi. This character accords well with a long list of deities in the Yajamāna's Anumantraṇa of the KS (→ Ex.6.4.), but fades out from the TS and TB onward in parallel with systematization of the whole ritual on the basis of the Indra's myth.

Ex. 6.3. The number of kapālas used for baking the Puroḍāśa

The size of a cake is expressed by the number of *kapāla*- (→ fn. 21) on which a cake is baked. In the brāhmaṇas of the Darśapūrṇamāsau, the number of kapālas is mentioned: eight, eleven or twelve in MS^p 4,1.8:10.4–9 ≈ KS^p 31,6:7.10–15= KapS^p 47,6; every number from eight to twelve in TS^p 3,2.7. Among these numbers, the importance of eight is emphasized: Prajāpati made his skull out of eight kapālas; therefore, a cake baked on eight kapālas offered in the Darśapūrṇamāsau becomes Yajamāna's self (*ātman-*) in yonder world. Deities and numbers of kapālas are not combined in these texts, but the eight-kapāla-cake is a well-known typical oblation for Agni in the YV. This passage shows that maximum three sizes of cakes are used in the Darśapūrṇamāsau at the prose stage of the MS and KS.

Ex. 6.4. Yajamāna's Anumantraṇa in the KS and TS

In the KS^{mp} and TS^{mp}, the Anumantraṇa recited by the Yajamāna at the main offerings (from the Ājyabhāga to the Agnisviṣṭakṛt) of the Darśapūrṇamāsau¹⁵⁹ enumerate the deities in order of offerings: in the KS, *agnīṣoma*- (du.)¹⁶⁰, *agni*-¹⁶¹, *dabdhī*-¹⁶²,

¹⁵⁹ KS^m 5,1:44.5–45.2 [Yajamāna] and KS^p 32,1:18.13–20.3 [do.], cf. MānvŚS 1,4.2; TS^m 1,6.2.3f. [Aiṣṭikam Yajamāna, Havirhoma] ~ 1,6.4.1f. and TS^p 1,6.11.5ff. [do.], cf. ĀpŚS 4,9.

¹⁶⁰ For the Ājyabhāga (du.) 'two oblations of butter', the first oblation to Agni, the second to Soma.

¹⁶¹ For a cake baked on eight kapālas common to the Darśa and the Pūrṇamāsa.

¹⁶² For the Upāṁśuyāja 'oblation of butter with mantras uttered in a low voice'. The deity is *dabdhī*- or *dābdhī*- 'deception (?)' in the Anumantraṇas of the KS and TS as well as BaudhŚS 3,18 against Prajāpati in the Puroṇuvākya and Yājyā of TB^m 3,5.7.1f. In later Śrautasūtras, e.g., ĀpŚS 2,19.12–20.1, this oblation is offered only in the Pūrṇamāsa to Prajāpati, Viṣṇu or Agni-Soma.

agnīṣoma- *vṛtrahaṇa-* (du.)¹⁶³, *indrāgni-* (du.)¹⁶⁴, *indra-*¹⁶⁵, *mahendra-*¹⁶⁶, *indra-vimṛdha-*¹⁶⁷, *indra-* *indriyāvant-*,¹⁶⁸ *sarasvatī-*¹⁶⁹, *pūṣan-*, *aditi-*, *viśva-* *deva-* (pl.), *dyāvāpṛthivī-* (du.)¹⁷⁰, *agni-* *sviṣṭakṛt-*¹⁷¹; in the TS, the deities are reduced to *agnīṣoma-*, *agnī-*, *dābdhi-*, *agnīṣoma*, *indrāgni-*, *indra-*, *mahendrā-*, *agni-* *sviṣṭakṛt-*. On the other hand, Prajāpati is explained as the chief deity of the Pūrṇamāsa in TS^p 2,5.2.7 (→ fn. 39, Ex. 7.2.) and Indra Vaimṛdha is offered subsidiarily Puroḍāśa in the Pūrṇamāsa in TS^p 2,5.3.1 (→ Ex. 7.2.). For *sarasvatī-*, *pūṣan-*, *aditi-*, *viśva-* *deva-* (pl.), a pot of porridge (*carú-*) is usually offered in the Kāmeṣṭis.

It is interesting that the chief deity of the Pūrṇamāsa is *agnīṣoma-* *vṛtrahaṇa-* (du.) in the KS, against *agnīṣoma-* in the TS. As to the chief deity of the Darśa, there are three options, namely *indrāgni-* (du.), *indra-*, *mahendra-* in the KS as well as TS just like TB 3,5.7.3f. [Puronuvākyā and Yājyā]. It is striking that worship of Indra-Agni (with a Puroḍāśā,) has already begun to appear in the KS. From the essential importance of the Dadhi and Sāmnāyā for Indra throughout the YV-Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas, it is presumed that the Puroḍāśa to Indra-Agni was first an ancillary offering to the Sāmnāyā to Indra (or Mahendra), then became predominant in the course of time, and finally replaced the latter in the Śrautasūtras (→ 1.3.).

Ex. 6.5. Yājyās and Anuvākyās (Puronuvākyās) for Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, Indra and Mahendra

It is peculiar to the Darśapūrṇamāsau in the Black YV-Samhitās (MS, KS, TS) that the concrete procedures of the main offerings, including the Yājyās and Anuvākyās (Puronuvākyās) recited by the Hotṛ, are not treated, although the Anumantraṇas recited by the Yajamāna are compiled both in the mantra- and prose-portion of the KS and TS.

The Yājyās and Puronuvākyās for Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, Indra and Mahendra, considered as the principal deities, are mentioned first in TB^m 3,5.7.2–4 in the frame of the whole ritual procedures of the Darśapūrṇamāsau. However, their parallels appear in the MS, KS and TS for offerings in other sacrifices, which are in most

¹⁶³ For a cake baked on eleven kapālas in the Pūrṇamāsa.

¹⁶⁴ For a cake baked on eleven (in the Kāmyeṣṭis) or twelve kapālas (in the Varuṇapraghāsa and Sākamedha of the Cāturmāsyaṇi in the MS and KS; → Ex. 6.7.B) in the Darśa.

¹⁶⁵ For the Sāmnāyā in the Darśa.

¹⁶⁶ Optionally instead of Indra for the Sāmnāyā in the Darśa.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. oblations of a cake baked on eleven kapālas in the Kāmyeṣṭis (Caland Nr.137, 138, 141).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. oblations of a cake baked on eleven kapālas in the Kāmyeṣṭis (Caland Nr.123, 130, 131, 141).

¹⁶⁹ Porridge (*carú-*) is usually offered for *sarasvatī-*, *pūṣan-*, *aditi-*, *viśva-* *deva-* (pl.) in the Kāmeṣṭis.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. oblations of a cake baked on two kapālas in the the Kāmeṣṭi and other rituals.

¹⁷¹ For a butter-oblation which concludes the main offerings.

cases Iṣṭis such as an Iṣṭi ancillary to Ādhāna, various Kāmyeṣṭis, Varuṇapraghāsa and Sākamedha of Cāturmāsyaṇi, Sautrāmaṇī. As to Mahendra, the parallels are found all in the Agniṣṭoma, basic type of the Soma sacrifice, which suggests that the worship of Mahendra was taken from the Soma-sacrifice to the Darśa.

Pronuvākya + Yājyā for **Agni-Soma** TB^m 3,5.7.2: RV 1,93.9+5; MS^m 4,10.1:144.12–15 [Iṣṭi ancillary to Ādhāna, Kāmyeṣṭis] ≈ KS^m 4,16:42.20–43.2 [ibid.]; TS^m 2,3.14.1f. (g.h.) [Kāmeṣṭi].

Puronuvākya for **Indra-Agni** TS^m 3,5.7.3: RV 3,12.9; SV 2,10.4.3; MS^m 4,10.4:152.13 [Varuṇapraghāsa]; 4,11.1:159.1 [Kāmeṣṭi]; KS^m 4,15:39.15f. [Kāmeṣṭi]; TS^m 4,2.11.1a [Varuṇapraghāsa] = 3.13.8cc [(Pratīka) Sākamedha].

Yājyā for **Indra-Agni** TS^m 3,5.7.3: RV 6,60.1; MS^m 4,10.5:155.11 [Sākamedha]; 4,11.1:159.3 [Kāmeṣṭi]; KS^m 4,15:39.17f.; TS^m 4,2.11.1 b [Varuṇapraghāsa] = 3.13.8cc [(Pratīka) Sākamedha].

Puronuvākya for **Indra** TB^m 3,5.7.3f.: RV 1,8.1; AV 20,70.17; SV 1,129; MS^m 4,12.3:184.13 [Kāmeṣṭi]; KS^m 8,17:103,19; TS^m 3,4.11.3f. [Kāmeṣṭi].

Yājyā for **Indra** TB^m 3,5.7.4: RV 10,180.1; MS^m 4,12.3:184.14 [Kāmeṣṭi]; 4,14.18:248.17 [only the 1st pāda]; KS^m 38,7:109.1f. [Sautrāmaṇī]; KS^m 10,12:140.16; TS^m 3,4.11.4m [Kāmeṣṭi]; TB^m 2,6.9.1e [Sautrāmaṇī].

Puronuvākya for **Mahendra**: RV 8,6.1; AV 20,138.1; SV 2,657; MS^m 1,3.24:38.9 [Agniṣṭoma, Graha for Mahendera]; KS^m 4,8:xxx [do.]; KapS^m 3,6 [do.]; TS^m 1,4.20.1 [do.]; VS 7,40; 23,27; ŚB 4,3.3.18 [do.]; TS^m 3,5.7.4 [Darśa].

Yājyā for **Mahendra** TS^m 3,5.7.4: RV 6,19.1; MS^m 1,3.25:38.12 [Agniṣṭoma, Graha for Mahendera]; KS^m 4,8:34.11 [do.]; KapS^m 3,6:36.15 [do.]; TS^m 1,4.21.1 [do.]; VS 7,39; ŚB 4,3.3.18 [Agniṣṭoma, Soma-Graha for Mahendera].

Ex. 6.6. Offering to Agni-Soma in other rituals

The Yājyā and Anuvākya/Puronuvākya at the offering to Agni-Soma seem consistently RV 1,93.9 and 5 (→ Ex. 6.5.) in the Pūrṇamāsa as well as other rituals. The oblation for Agni-Soma in the Śrauta-rituals is usually an eleven-kapāla-cake (*ékādaśakapāla-puroḍāśa*), sometimes an eight-kapāla-cake (*aṣṭākāpāla*;; s. below B).

A) Iṣṭis ancillary to Ādhāna in the MS and KS

According to MS^p 1,6.8:98.12–100.2, immediately after the Agnyādhāna (at the new or full moon), various Iṣṭis are performed: each an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni Pavamāna, to Agni Pāvaka and to Agni Śuci; then subsidiarily, an **eleven-kapāla-cake** to Agni-Viṣṇu, porridge to Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa, porridge in butter for Aditi; lastly an eleven-kapāla-cake (*ékādaśakapāla-puroḍāśa*) to **Agni-Soma** (ibid.:99.12–16). Though Yājyās and Anuvākya are not mentioned here, MS^m 4,10.1:144.12–15 (RV 1,93.9 and 5; → Ex. 6.5) are considered to be applied to this offering to Agni-Soma.¹⁷²

¹⁷² S. Dharmadhikari 1989: 474 (to MS^m 4,10.1); Krick 1982: 462f. Anm. 1692 (cf. also p. 487f.).

By contrast, KSp 8,10:94.1–5 ($\approx$ KpS 7,6.6:90.15–96.4) provides offering porridges to Aditi at the new moon and an **eleven-kapāla-cake** to **Agni-Soma** at the full moon.

ādityai ghṛte carum amāvāsyāyāṃ paśukāmo 'nunirvaped. ... 'gnīṣomīyam ekādaśa-kapālaṃ pūrṇamāse 'nunirvaped. āgneyo vai brāhmaṇo devatayā somarājā. ...

If one desires cattle, one should subsidiarily offer (orig. take grain out of a cart) porridge cooked in butter to Aditi at the new moon (in the daytime following the night of lunar conjunction). ... He should subsidiarily offer an eleven-kapāla-cake to Agni-Soma. Verily, the brahmin belongs to Agni, with regard to the deity, [he] has Soma as king.¹⁷³ ... (An explanation of the origin of the Ājyabhāgau for Agni and Soma follows.)

It is remarkable that the oblation of an eleven-kapāla-cake to Agni-Soma takes place at the full moon in the KSp, just like a forerunner of the Pūrṇamāsa after the TS onward. Agni-Soma is considered as a dual deity for the Brahmin here and in the Kāmyeṣṭis, s. just below B). Cp. *agnīṣoma- vṛtrahaṇa-* (du.) in the Yajamāna's Anumantraṇa in the KSp^{mp} ($\rightarrow$ Ex. 6.4).

B) Kāmyeṣṭis ($\rightarrow$ Ex. 6.5.): Caland Nr.32, Nr.34, Nr.35, Nr.36

The offering to Agni-Soma is made in four Kāmyeṣṭis according to Caland (Nr. 32, 34, 35, 36). The Yājyā and Anuvākya are the same as those in the Pūrṇamāsa (RV 1,93.9 and 5; $\rightarrow$ Ex. 6.5).

Three Iṣṭis (Caland Nr.34¹⁷⁴, Nr.35¹⁷⁵ and Nr.36¹⁷⁶), all common to MS, KS and TS, consist of an offering to Agni-Soma alone and performed by the Brahmin for his priestly profit. The close relationship between Agni-Soma and the brahmin is remarkable. The Oblation is as usual an eleven-kapāla-cake of rice or barley in Nr.34 and Nr. 35. In Nr. 36, however, a cake is made of millet (*śyāmākā-*) and offered in spring. Noteworthy is the size of the cake: **eleven kapālas** (*ekādaśakapāla-*) in MS^p 2,1.4:5.17–6.5¹⁷⁷ against **eight kapālas** (*aṣṭākapāla-*) in KSp^p 10,2:126.13–21 and TS^p 3,3.3–4.

The “Saṃgrāmaṃ Jigīṣata Iṣṭi” (Iṣṭi of that who want to win in a battle: Nr.32) for Agni-Soma and the “Saṃgrāmaṃ Jitveṣṭi” (Iṣṭi after having won in a battle: Nr.33) for Indra-Agni ($\rightarrow$ Ex. 6.7.A), combined with Indra's myth of smiting Vṛtra with a Vajra, form a pair like the Pūrṇamāsa and the Darśa. The former (Nr.32) is performed with three offerings: an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni, an **eleven-kapāla-cake** to **Agni-Soma** (for invigorating Indra) and a two-kapāla-cake to Heaven-Earth

¹⁷³ Cf. Krick 1989: 487 “Die Brahmanen (pl.) Gehören ihrer Gottheit nach Agni zu und haben Soma als ihren König”. In KpSp 7,6.6:914, separation of sentences is different: *āgneyo vai brāhmaṇo | devatayā somarājā* |. For the bahuvrīhi compound *sóma-rājan-/sóma-rājajñi-* in the RV, AV, MS, TS, s. Graßmann s.v. and VWC s.v.

¹⁷⁴ MS^p 2,1.4:5.6–8 $\sim$ KSp^p 10,2:126.11–13; TS^p 2,3.3.3.

¹⁷⁵ MS^p 2,1.4:5.8–17 $\sim$ KSp^p 10,2:126.3–11; TS^p 2,3.3.1–3.

¹⁷⁶ MS^p 2,1.4:5.17–6.5 $\sim$ KSp^p 10,2:126.13–21; TS^p 3,3.3–4.

¹⁷⁷ To be corrected is Amano p. 442 “einen Achtschalen[-Opferkuchen] aus Hirse”.

(*dyāvāprthivī-*) who consented to use the Vajra. After the Victory, the latter (Nr.33) is performed: an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni, an **eleven-kapāla-cake** to **Indra-Agni** (for recovering Indra) and a two-kapāla-cake to Heaven-Earth. It attracts our attention that both are transmitted only in the Maitrāyaṇīya school,¹⁷⁸ as if both have been absorbed into the Pūrṇamāsa and the Darśa after the TS onward.

Ex. 6.7. Offering to Indra-Agni (and Indra alone) in other rituals

A) Kāmyeṣṭis

Indra-Agni is a popular binary deity of the Kāmyeṣṭis and offered usually an eleven-kapāla-cake for various purposes, mostly related with battles, with various Yājyās and Anuvākyās, alone or together with other deities.¹⁷⁹ As cited above Ex. 6.6.B., a remarkable resemblance is observed between the “Saṃgrāmaṃ Jitveṣṭi” (Iṣṭi after having won in a battle: Nr.33) for Indra-Agni and the Darśa.

B) Cāturmāsyāni

In the YV, the Cāturmāsyāni are treated as an independent Iṣṭi as well as an Iṣṭi incorporated into the Rājasūya. The former presents its older form. In the MS and KS, the Śunāsīrya which becomes the last Parvan from the TS onward, is treated as an ancillary offering to the Cāturmāsyāni performed in the Rājasūya.

In addition to the five fundamental oblations¹⁸⁰ common to all the Parvans of the Cāturmāsyāni (→ 1.1., fn. 7), a cake is offered to Indra-Agni in Varuṇapraghāsa-parvan, Sākamedha-parvan and Śunāsīrya-parvan. Curiously, the size of the cakes differs among the schools: [Varuṇapraghāsa] a **twelve-kapāla-cake** in the MS and KS against an **eleven-kapāla-cake** in the TS; [Sākamedha] a **twelve-kapāla-cake** in the MS against an **eleven-kapāla-cake** in the KS and TS; [Śunāsīrya] a **twelve-kapāla-cake** to Indra-Agni together with a **twelve-kapāla-cake** to **Indra Śunāsīra** in the TS.¹⁸¹ The variation of cake sizes between eleven and twelve could assumably reflect the process of introducing the Puroḍāśa to Indra-Agni into the Cāturmāsyāni, most probably from the Kāmyeṣṭis.

With regard to the oblation to Indra, a striking contrast is exhibited between a **pot of porridge (carú-)** to **Indra** in the Sākamedha-parvan of the Cāturmāsyāni, independent as well as belonging to Rājasūya, and **Dadhi or Sāmnāyya** to **Indra**

¹⁷⁸ MS^p 2,1.3:4.14–21; MānvŚS 5,1.5.65–68, 25, 26.

¹⁷⁹ For the Iṣṭis composed of a single offering to Indra-Agni, s. Caland Nr.1–8.

¹⁸⁰ An eight-kapāla-cake to Agni; porridge for Soma; a twelve-kapāla-cake to Savitr; porridge for Sarasvatī; porridge for Pūṣan.

¹⁸¹ For Varuṇapraghāsa, *dvādaśakapāla aindrāgnó* in MS^p 1,10.1:140.11f. [list of oblations of the whole Cāturmāsyāni]; MS^p 1,10.10:150.14 [Cāturmāsyāni] ≈ KS^p 9,4:107.5 [Rājasūya] against *aindrāgnám ekādaśakapālam* (acc.) TS^p 1,8.3 [Rājasūya]. For Sākamedha, *aindrāgnó dvādaśakapālo* MS^p 1,10.1:141.2 (the size is not mentioned MS^p 1,10.16:156.2ff. [Cāturmāsyāni]) against *aindrāgná ekādaśakapālaḥ* KS^p 9,5:108.7f. [Cāturmāsyāni] ≈ TS^p 1,8.4.2 [Rājasūya]. *indrāya śunāsīrya puroḍāśaṃ dvādaśakapālam ... nīr vapati... aindrām dādhi...* TS^p 1,8.7.1 [Rājasūya].

Śunāsīrya in the Cāturmāsyāni inside the Rājasūya: MS^p 2,6.3.3:64.18 *aindrām dadhī* ~ KS^p 15,2:210.15 *aindraṁ sānnāyyaṁ*; TS^p 1,8.7.1 *aindra dadhī*. The relation among the Cāturmāsyāni, Darśapūrṇamāsau and Kāmyeṣṭis need further elucidation; cf. the explanation of Sāṃnāyya in the Cāturmāsyā-brāhmaṇa of the MS and KS (→ Ex.7.3.).

Ex. 6.8. Indra-Agni and Agni-Soma in the Agnyupasthāna

Agni-Soma and Indra-Agni, as a pair or separately, play important roles in the Agnyupasthāna performed daily (evening and morning in the MS, only evening in other texts) by the Āhitāgni.

Common to all the YV mantras and brāhmaṇas, the fire-worship with a Ṛc for Indra-Agni *aindrāgnī-* [ṛc-]¹⁸² consists in the core of the daily Agnyupasthāna after the evening Agnihotra. It is a common conception that *indrāgnī-* ‘Indra and Agni in fusion’ signifies the sun (Indra) having entered into the Āhavanīya (Agni) and staying together overnight; next morning, the sun (Indra) rises from Āhavanīya (Agni) (→ 2.1, fn. 45).¹⁸³

The fire-worship with a Ṛc for Agni-Soma *agnīṣomīyā* [ṛc-] (RV 1,93.1 = MS^m 1,5.1:67.3f.) is much less popular in the Agnyupasthāna. The MS alone records this Ṛc, which belongs to the same sūkta as the Yājyā and Puroṇuvākya for Agni-Soma (RV 1,93.5 and 9; → Ex. 6.5).

At the first Agnyupasthāna of each year, which revitalizes the sacrificial fires, both Indra-Agni and Agni-Soma are worshipped according to the MS^p. Indra-Agni is explained as expiration and inspiration, i.e., vital functions in MS^p 1,5.6:74.6f.

¹⁸² RV 6,60.13; MS^m 1,5.1:65.10f.; KS^m 6,9:59.1f.; KapS 4,8; TS^m 1,5.5.1f.(e); VS 3,13; [brāhmaṇa] MS^p 1,5.5:73.11–13 ≈ KS^p 7,4:65.20–66.2 ≈ KpS^p 5,3:62.7 ≈ ŚB 2,3.4.12 ≠ TS^p 1,5.7.2.

¹⁸³ MS^p 1,5.5:73.11–13 *ubhā vām indrāgnī āhuvādhyā ity. ubhāu hy ètāu sahā-. mūm vā ayām divā bhūtē prā viṣati. tasmād asāu divā rocata. imām asāu naktam. tasmād ayām naktam.* “[The Āhitāgni recites] ‘In order to call you both hither, Indra and Agni, ...’ (MS^p 1,5.1:65.10f. = RV 6,60.13; → fn. 184). Both (Indra and Agni) are namely together. This (fire: Agni) enters that (the sun: Indra) when the day breaks. Therefore that (the sun: Indra) shines by day. That (the sun: Indra) enters this (earth: f. *imām*) by night. Therefore this (fire: Agni) [shines] by night” (→ fn.45); KS^p 7,4:66.1 (= KpS^p 5,3:62.7f.) *sūryo vā indras. so ’gnim naktam praviṣaty.* “Indra is verily the sun. He enters the fire by night” (→ fn.45); ŚB 2,3.4.12 *āhaindrāgnī* (Weber’s correction: -indrāgnī). | *ubhā vām indrāgnī āhuvādhyā ... || ity. eṣā vā indro yā eṣa tāpati. sā yād astām èti tād āhavanīyam praviṣati. tād ubhāv evàitāt sahā sántā upatiṣhata. ubhāu me sahā sántau dattām iti. tasmād aindrāgnī.* || “Then the ṛc belonging to Indra-Agni [is recited]: ‘In order to call you both hither, Indra and Agni, ...’. Verily, this one who heats, this is Indra. When he goes home (sets), then [he] enters Āhavanīya. Thus, [the Āhitāgni] pays homage to both (Indra and Agni) being together, thinking that let both, being together, give me. Therefore, the ṛc belonging to Indra-Agni [is recited].” On the other hand, TS^p 1,5.7.2 *ubhā vām indrāgnī āhuvādhyā ity āhāu-. jo bālam evāva runddhe.* | “[The Āhitāgni recites] “In order to call you both hither, Indra and Agni, ...”. He encloses for himself indeed vigor (*ójas-*) and power (*bāla-*) as result”. Cf. just below MS^p 1,5.6:74.6f.: Indra-Agni represent expiration and inspiration, i.e., vital functions.

(→ fn. 183 TS^p 1,5.7.2), whereas Agni-Soma plays an ancillary role as the the 13th month, which completes a solar year in MS^p 1,5.6:74.17.

On the other hand, Agni-Soma is daily worshipped in the waxing half-moon and Indra-Agni in the waning half-moon in the MS (most probably in the morning) and KS (in the evening). Agni-Soma and Indra-Agni represent the waxing and waning half-month (MS^p 1,5.7:75.10–12) or the full and new moon (KS^p 7,5:66.13–18) respectively.¹⁸⁴ It is noteworthy that the Agnyupasthāna is combined with the new and full moon sacrifices.¹⁸⁵

Ex. 6.9. Remarks on *agnīśóma*- and *indrāgni*-

In the RV, Indra and Agni, expressed as two single nouns or a dual compound (*indrā-agnī-/indrāgni-*), have close relations and both are offered Soma oblation.¹⁸⁶ It seems a natural development that the two benevolent gods, *indrāgni*- in the YV, were favoured by people and worshipped in the Kāmyeṣṭis and the Agnyupasthāna.

On the other hand, the compound *agnīśóma*- (du. with two accents) is attested much less often in the RV.¹⁸⁷ In the RV 10, a pair of independent deities “Agni and Soma (sap or plant)” which bring mankind prosperity are worshipped with oblations in the sacrifice. In the YV, *agnīśóma*- is changed to the fusion of Soma sap and the Āhavanīya fire, from which Vṛtra is generated in the Indra’s myth in the

¹⁸⁴ MS^p 1,5.7:75.10–12 *agnīśomīyayā pūrvapakṣā upasthēyas. agnīśomīyo vai pūrvapakṣās. aparapakṣāyaivainam páridadāti. aindrāgnyāparapakṣā upasthēyas. aindrāgnó vā aparapakṣāh. pūrvapakṣāyaivainam páridadāti.* “In the former half-month, [the sacrificial fire] is to be paid homage [by the Āhitāgni] with [the ṛc] for Agni-Soma (*agnīśomīyā*- MS^m 1,5.1:67.3f. = RV 1,93.1). **The former half-month, verily, belongs to Agni-Soma.** [The Āhitāgni] delivers this [fire] indeed to the latter half-month. In the latter half-month, [the sacrificial fire] is to be paid homage with [the ṛc] for Indra-Agni (*aindrāgnī-* MS^m 1,5.1:65.10f. = RV 6,60.13). **The latter half-month, verily, belongs to Indra-Agni.** [The Āhitāgni] delivers this [fire] indeed to the former half-month.” KS^p 7,5:66.13–18 *agnīśomīyayā pūrvapakṣa upatiṣṭhetā-. gñīśomayor vā etad bhāgadheyam yat paurṇamāsaṃ. tābhyām evainam paridadāti. tā enam anapakrāmantau gopāyata. aindrāgnyāparapakṣa. indrāgnyor vā etad bhāgadheyam yad amāvāsyā. tābhyām evainam paridadāti. ...* “[The Āhitāgni] should pay homage to the sacrificial fire with [the ṛc] belonging to Agni-Soma. **What concerns the day of the full moon (*paurṇamāsa*- nt.sg.; *ahar-/ahan-*), this is the share of Agni-Soma** (du.). To these two, indeed, he delivers this (sacrificial fire). The two guard this (fire), not stepping away from it. [The Āhitāgni should pay homage to Agni (the sacrificial fire)] with [the ṛc] belonging to Indra-Agni. **What concerns Amāvāsyā night, this is the share of Indra-Agni** (du.).”

¹⁸⁵ For the relation among the Agnyupasthāna, Agnihotra and Darśapūrṇamāsa, s. Sakamoto-Gotō 2020: 189 (1.2.) with fn. 15a, 194–204 (2., 2.1., 2.2., 2.3), 216–220 (4.), 222–226 (6., 6.1., 6.2.).

¹⁸⁶ E.g., hymns for Indra-Agni 1,108; 109; 6,59–60, etc. Indra and Agni are not only friends and partners in activities, but also kins according to 6,59.1f., cf. Geldener, Gotō 2013a.

¹⁸⁷ 1,93.1–12 [hymn for Agnīśoma]; 10,19.1; 10,66.7. *agnīśóma*- (du.) are identified with *punarvasu*- (du.), later one of the Nakṣatras, in 10,19.1 c (voc.) *agnīśomā punarvasū*. Cf. further 1,93.6 ab *ānyām divo mātariśva jabhāra¹ amathnād anyām pári śyenó ádreḥ* | “Mātariśvan has brought the one (Agni) from heaven. A hawk stole the other (Soma) from a rocky mountain”.

Traidhātav[i]ya and the Darśapūrṇamāsa (→ 1.3., fn. 19, Ex.7.1., 7.2.). The conception that a new being is generated by pouring the oblation (represented by Soma) into the sacrificial fire (Āhavanīya) is the leitmotif of the Five-Fire-Doctrine (ŚB, JB, BĀU, ChU).¹⁸⁸

The elucidation of the origin and development of the dual deities *agnīśōma*- as well as their counterpart *indrāgni*- is a task for the future.

Ex. 7. Transformation of the myth of Indra and Vṛtra in the YV

Ex. 7.1. A number of heroic deeds belonging to Indra are transmitted in the RV, most of which are considered to be of different origin, e.g., liberating cows from the Paṇis, freeing waters from Vṛtra, slaughtering Viśvarūpa having three heads, etc.

In the YV, some of them underwent special development: **(A)** slaughtering Viśvarūpa (Tvaṣṭṛ's son), **(B)** drinking Tvaṣṭṛ's Soma without invitation, **(C)** smiting Vṛtra with a Vajra and fleeing far into the distance. They are combined into one continuous story and extended with other episodes such as, **(D)** metamorphosis of Vṛtra, smitten asunder, into the moon, stars, belly, etc., which seems to be partly referred to in the RV 10,138.6 (→ 2.3., fn.62; 10,49.6 → fn.61), **(E)** the gods' searching for Indra who fled after having smitten Vṛtra, **(F)** Indra's loss of vigour/virility (*vīryā*-) (caused by drinking Soma without invitation or by smiting Vṛtra) and his recovery (by various kinds of oblations). This type of Indra's myth was further developed in later literature, e.g., Mahābhārata 5,9.1–18.9.

The most radical change is found in **(C)**: Vṛtra, a wild serpent (probably a cobra) enclosing waters in the RV, turned into an artificial monster which Tvaṣṭṛ, whose son was slaughtered by Indra, created as *indraśatru*- 'that which has Indra as his enemy' out of Soma sap poured into the Āhavanīya fire (→ fn.188). Soma and Agni in fusion (*agnīśōma*- du.) became the dual deity worshipped in the Agnyupasthāna and offered a cake (*puroḍāśā*-) in the Pūrṇamāsa as well as in the Kāmyeṣṭis (→ Ex. 6.1, 6.4., 6.5., 6.6., 6.8., 6.9.).

It is also noteworthy that **(F)** Indra's loss of virility (*vīryā*-) and his recovery play an essential role in most of the Iṣṭi-sacrifices.

Ex. 7.2. The above-mentioned episodes are used, partially or wholly, to give grounds for sacrificial acts:

[A Viśvarūpa + B Tvaṣṭṛ + F Indra's loss of vigour (by drinking Soma) and recovery] [Sautrāmaṇī] MS^p 2,4.1:38.1–39.3; KS^p 12,10:172.5–173.9; ŚB 5,5.4.2–8 (= 1,6.3.1–7 [Darśapūrṇamāsau] s. below), 12,7.1.1–14 [mainly on F] [Tīvrasoma] (a kind of one-day soma sacrifice) JB 2,153–157.

[C smiting Vṛtra] [Sākamedha of the Cāturmāsyaṇi] MS^p 1,10.16:156.3–5

¹⁸⁸ Sakamoto-Gotô 2001: 159–162 (2.2.); 2000b: 248–251 (5.2., 5.3.).

(Puroḍāśa for Indra-Agni + **Caru** for Indra) ≈ KS^p 36,10:77.11–13; TB^p 1,6.7.5; ŚB 2,5.4.9.

[D **Vṛtra's metamorphosis** (→ 2.3., fn. 66, fn. 67)] [Rājasūya] MS^p 4,4.7:58.16f. (Vṛtra: *citrāṇi*, *nákṣatrāṇi*) ≈ TS^p 2,5.2.5 [Darśapūrṇamāsau] (s. below); MS^p 3,7.8:87.17 and 10.5:136.19–137.1 [Agniṣṭoma] (Soma plant); KS^p 12,3:165.1 [Traidhātavyā] (Soma sap); MS^p 2,4.4:41.18 [Traidhātavyā] ≈ TS^p 2,4.12.6 [Traidhātavīya] (Indra's belly); ŚB 1,6.3.17 [Pūrṇamāsau] (the moon and the belly of creatures on earth)..

[C **smiting Vṛtra and Indra's fleeing, E the gods' searching for him, F Indra's loss of vigour (by smiting Vṛtra) and his recovery**] various Kāmyeṣṭis (Caland Nr.32 and 33, Nr.144, Nr.137 and 138).

A pair of Kāmyeṣṭis MS^p 2,1.3:4.14–21 (Caland Nr. 32) and 2,1.3:4.21–5.5 (Nr. 33) present a remarkable similarity in the ritual structure, deities and oblations to the Pūrṇamāsau and the Darśa respectively. For the purpose of victory or conquest, the first Iṣṭi (Nr.32) is performed with oblations of an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni, an eleven-kapāla-cake to **Agni-Soma** and a two-kapāla-cake to Heaven-Earth; after the victory or conquest, the second Iṣṭi (Nr.33) with oblations of an eight-kapāla-cake for Agni, an eleven-kapāla-cake for **Indra-Agni** and a two-kapāla-cake for Heaven-Earth. The first Iṣṭi is combined with Indra's smiting Vṛtra by means of a Vajra with consent of Heaven and Earth, just as the Pūrṇamāsa, whereas the second is performed for Indra's recovery of vigour (*ójas-*) and manliness (*vīryā-*) after having smitten Vṛtra, just as the Darśa.

Interesting is also the Iṣṭi MS^p 2,2.11:24.5–7 (Nr.144): offerings an eleven-kapāla-cake each to Indra Vajrin, Indra Vṛtrahan and Indra Vṛtratūr, when one's rival preforms a Soma sacrifice.

Kāmyeṣṭis MS^p 2,2.10:23.14f. ~ KS^p 10,9:135.14–136.2 ~ TS^p 2,2.7.4f. (Caland Nr.137 and 138) with an oblation of **eleven-kapāla-cake to Indra Vaimṛdha** (KS^p Vimṛdha) are integrated into the Darśapūrṇamāsau in TS 2,5.3.1, s. just below.

[B **Tvaṣṭṛ + C smiting Vṛtra + D Vṛtra's metamorphosis**] [Traidhātavyā] (a Kāmyeṣṭi with offering of three layers of cake baked on 12 kapālas for Indra-Viṣṇu; Caland Nr.178)¹⁸⁹ MS^p 2,4.3–4:40.4–42.14; KS^p 12,3–4:164.16–166.17; [Traidhātavīya] TS^p 2,4.11–12; [Traidhātavī] ŚB 5,5.5.1–9. The Traidhātavyā succeeds immediately the Sautrāmaṇī in the MS; Indra's episodes toled in both are closely united with each other. On the other hand, there is a strong resemblance in Vṛtra's story from his genesis to his metamorphosis between the Traidhātavyā (Traidhātavīya/Traidhātavī) and the Darśapūrṇamāsau (s. just below).

¹⁸⁹ Cf. the Kāmyeṣṭi of offering three layers of cake baked on eleven kapālas for three aspects of Indra, namely *indra- rájan-*, *indra- svárājan-* and *indra- adhirājá-*, but not referreing to the Vṛtra's story (Caland Nr.121).

[A + B + C + D + E + F Indra's loss of vigour (by smiting Vṛtra) and his recovery] Darśapūrṇamāsau TS^p 2,5.1–3 ~ ŚB 1,6.3–4 (ŚB 1,6.3.1–7 = 5,5.4.2–8 [Sautrāmaṇī], s. above).

- 1) The first part [A+B] serves as introduction and presents a close parallel to the version on Sautrāmaṇī in the MS, KS and ŚB, s. just above.
- 2) The middle part [C+D] explains the offerings in the Pūrṇamāsa, which lead to the success of smiting Vṛtra: an eleven-kapāla-cake for Agni-Soma, gifts to Heaven-Earth (Nakṣatras and variegated creatures from variegated snakeskin of Vṛtra's corpus → 2.3., fn. 61), subsidiary offering to Indra Vaimṛdhra and Indra Vṛtrahan. For example,

TS^p 2,5.2.3–5 (→ Ex. 7.4.)

tābhyām etām agnīṣomīyam ekādaśakapālam pūrṇāmāse prāyachat. ... sā devatā vṛtrān nirhūya vātraghnaṁ haviḥ pūrṇāmāse niravapad. ghnānti vā enaṁ pūrṇāmāsa ā || 4 || amāvāsyaṣṭāyāṁ pyāyanti.... tāt samsthāpya vātraghnaṁ havir vājram ādāya pūnar abhyāyata. té abrūtāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī. mā prā hār. āvāyor vai śritā iti. té abrūtāṁ. vāraṁ vṛṇāvahai. nākṣatravihitāhām asānīty asāv abravīc. citravihitāhām itīyām. tasmān nākṣatravihitāsāu citravihiteyam. ... || 5 || ... sā ābhyām evā prāsūta indro vṛtrām ahan. ...

For the two (Agni and Soma), [Indra] offered this eleven-kapāla-[*puroḍāśa*-] belonging to Agni and Soma at the full moon. ... After having called off the deities (vital functions) from Vṛtra, he (Indra) took out (grain from the cart into the bowl, i.e., prepared and offered) the oblation belonging to Vṛtrahan 'smiter of Vṛtra' (i.e., Indra) at the full moon. Verily, [the gods] smite this one (Vṛtra) at the full moon, make [it] swell at the new moon. ... After having accomplished the oblation belonging to Vṛtrahan, having taken the Vajra, [Indra] rushed (*āyata* med.; cf. Goto 1990: 1000 Anm.79) again toward [Vṛtra]. Then [the pair of] heaven and earth said: "Do not attack! [Vṛtra] is, verily, attached on us." They said: "We will choose the boon." "I will be provided with the stars (Nakṣatras)", said the yonder one (heaven). "[I will be] provided with the variegated (creatures)", said this one (earth). Therefore, the yonder one (heaven) is provided with the Nakṣatras, this one (earth) is provided with the variegated (creatures). ... Urged by the very these two (heaven and earth), Indra smote Vṛtra. ...

TS^p 2,5.3.1 (→ 1.3., fn. 23, 2.1., fn. 47)

indraṁ vṛtrāṁ jaghnivāmsaṁ mṛdho 'bhī prāvepanta. sā etāṁ vaimṛdhāṁ pūrṇāmāse 'nunirvāpyām apaśyat. tām niravapat. téna vai sā mṛdhó 'pāhata. yād vaimṛdhāḥ pūrṇāmāse 'nunirvāpyò bhāvati. mṛdha evā téna yājamāno 'pahate.

Over Indra having smitten Vṛtra, feelings of lassitude (pl. *mṛdh-*)¹⁹⁰ came (on) trembling. He saw (discovered) this [*Puroḍāśa*] for removing lassitude (*vaimṛdhā-*), to be offered subsidiarily at the full moon. He took out (grain from the cart into the bowl, i.e., prepared and offered) the [*Puroḍāśa*]. By that, verily, he dispelled feelings of lassitude from himself (med.). When the Vaimṛdha [*Puroḍāśa*] to be offered subsidiarily

¹⁹⁰ Conventional interpretations "Kampf, Feind, Verachtung, Verächter, etc." are difficult from the meaning of *mardh/mṛdh* (*mārdh-a-*) 'be/become languid, inactive, etc., by tiredness' and f. pl. *mṛdhas* in the RV as well as *mṛdhra-* and *mṛddhā-*, s. Sakamoto-Gotô 2015: 185–9, esp. 185–7 (7.1., Anm. 40, 7.2.1.[4]).

at the full moon is applied, the Yajamāna dispels from himself feelings of lassitude by that as a result. ...

- 3) The last part [E+F] treats the offerings in the Darśa for the purpose of making Indra recover his vigour lost by battle with Vṛtra: Puroḍāśa of eight kapālas for Agni and Dadhi as well as Sāṃnāyya for Indra. For example,

TS^p 2,5.3.1f. (→ 1.3., fn. 23, 2.1., fn. 47)

indro vṛtrām hatvā devātābhiś cendriyēṇa ca vyārdhyata. sā etām āgneyām aṣṭākapālam amāvāsyāyām apaśyad aindrām dādhi...

Indra, having smitten Vṛtra, was deprived of divinities (i.e., vital functions) and what characterizes Indra (*indriyā-*). He saw (discovered) this eight-kapāla [Puroḍāśa] for Agni in the Amāvāsyā night (and the following day), [and] Dadhi for Indra.

This paragraph is followed by explanations of the Sāṃnāyya (2,5.3.5f. → fn. 47), searching for Indra (2,5.4.6 → fn. 28) and the curdler for making Dadhi for Indra (→ Ex. 5).

Ex. 7.3. As mentioned above, the combination [E+F] serves to explain the oblation of Dadhi and Sāṃnāyya for Indra: Cāturmāsyāni MS^p 1,10.5:146.2–5 ≈ KS^p 36,1:68.5f.; Darśapūrṇamāsau TS^p 2,5.3.5 and 6f. (→ s. above; fn. 47 TS^p 2,5.3.5; fn. 21 TS^p 2,5.3.1f.) ~ ŚB 1,6.4.1–13.15.

It is curious, however, that Sāṃnāyya is explained first in the brāhmaṇa on the Cāturmāsyāni, in which Sāṃnāyya is not used; instead, *āmikṣā-* “another kind of ‘mixture’ of sour and cooked fresh milk” is offered to Viśve Devāḥ (Vaiśvadeva-parvan), Maruts and Varuṇa (Varuṇapraghāsa-p^o) in contrast to *carū-* ‘porridge’ for Indra or Mahendra (Sākamedha-p^o). Exceptionally, in the Cāturmāsyāni integrated into the Rājasūya, Dadhi or Sāṃnāyya is offered to **Indra Tūriya** immediately after the offering to Indra Śunāsīrya¹⁹¹: MS^p 2,6.3:14.18 *aindrām dādhi*; KS^p 15,2:210.5 *aindrām sānnāyayam*; TS 1,8.7.1 *aindrām dādhi* (→ Ex. 6.7.B, fn. 192). Further, on the final day at the new moon during the Gavāmayana, the Sāṃnāyya is offered in TS^p 7,5.6.4; cf. *aidrā- dadhi-* in the succeeding section 5,7.2f. (→ fn. 23). For the relationship of Dadhi or Sāṃnāyya to the rituals other than the Darśapūrṇamāsau need further investigation.

As to the origin of Sāṃnāyya, there is a radical disaccord between the Black YV and ŚB. The former (MS^p, KS^p, TS^p) explains Sāṃnāyya from collecting Indra’s lost virility (*vīryā-*): After having smitten Vṛtra, Indra’s virility (MS/KS *vīryā-*, TS *indriyā-vīryā-*; implying the sense ‘semen/sperm’) dispersed from him on earth, then entered water, grass and trees (MS/KS) or became plants (TS). This virility was collected (*sam-nī*) by the gods (MS/KS) or by cattle under Prajāpati’s order (TS) and changed into milk, from which sour and cooked fresh milk are obtained and offered as Sāṃnāyya

¹⁹¹ Śunāsīrya counts as the fourth parvan of the Cāturmāsyāni after the TS onward.

to Indra for his recovery. In the ŚB, by contrast, Sāmnāyya is generated independently of Indra: the moon Soma enters waters and plants on earth, changes himself into milk inside the cows, which is milked, curdled or cooked for Sāmnāyya.¹⁹² Sāmnāyya represents thus Indra's virility in the Black YV in opposition to Soma in the ŚB.

Ex. 7.4. The time of Indra's smiting Vṛtra¹⁹³ fluctuates between the new moon and the full moon in the YV. From the concept attested in the RV that the sun (Indra) captures or swallows the moon at the new moon (→ 2.2., 2.3., 3.2.3.), it is natural to consider that Indra smites the moon Vṛtra at the new moon. In the TS, however, Indra smites Vṛtra (the moon) at the full moon, which causes the moon's waning and disappearance, whereas the moon begins to swell at the new moon. In order to provide Indra with power of conquering Vṛtra, the oblation (*hāvis-*) to Indra *vṛtrahán-*, called *vártraghna-*, is offered at the full moon with two *vártraghnī* stanzas (*rc-*), whereas two *vīdhanvatī* stanzas are recited at the new moon: TS^p 2,5.2.4f. (→ Ex. 7.2.)

sā devātā vṛtrān nirhūya vārtraghnam haviḥ pūrṇāmāse nir avapad. ghnānti vā enam pūrṇāmāsa ā || 4 || amāvāsyāyām pyāyanti. tasmād vārtraghnī pūrṇāmāse 'nūcyete vīdhanvatī amāvāsyāyām. tát saṁsthāpya vārtraghnam havir vājram ādāya pūnar abhy āyata.

After having called off the deities (vital faculties) from Vṛtra, he (Indra) took out (grains from the cart into a bowl, i.e., prepared and offered) the oblation belonging to Vṛtrahan 'smiter of Vṛtra' (i.e., Indra) at the full moon. Verily, [the gods] smite this one (Vṛtra) at the full moon, make [it] swell at the new moon. Hence, [two stanzas (*rc-*)] containing the word *vṛtrahán-* (or *vṛtrá-* and *hán*) are recited (as Puroṇuvākya) at the full moon, [two stanzas] containing the verb *vṛdh* 'grow' at the new moon. After having accomplished the oblation belonging to the smiter of Vṛtra, having taken Vajra, he (Indra) rushed again toward [Vṛtra].

This paragraph is followed by the episode belonging to [D] that heaven and earth obtained the Nakṣatras and the variegated creatures respectively from Vṛtra's corpus (→ 2.3., fn. 61), s. above Ex. 7.2.

Although the oblation *vártraghna-* at the full moon is the same, the time of smiting Vṛtra is set at the new moon in ŚB 1,6.4.12f.:

vártraghnam vai paurnamāsám. | indro hy ètēna vṛtram āhann. áthaitád eva vṛtrahátyaṁ yád āmāvāsyám. vṛtram hy āsmā etáj jaghnūṣa āpyāyanam ákurvan. || 12 || tát vā etád eva vārtraghnam | yát paurnamāsám. áthaiśá eva vṛtró yác candrármāḥ.

...

¹⁹² For this passage, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1124 (3.4.); Nishimura 2016: 245–249. The development of the interpretation of the ŚB is found in Kāthaka-Saṁkalana II [Amā-brāhmaṇa] and ŚadvB 4(5),6.1–3: in the Amāvāsyā night, the last 16th part of the moon enters successively herbs, trees, cows, cattle, the sun (*āditya-*), the sacred formula (*brahman-* nt.sg.) and the brahmins (*brāhmaṇa-* m.pl.), by which all the gods stay overnight; the brahmins collect (*saṁnayante*) the moon as Sāmnāyya from herbs, trees, cows, cattle, the sun and the sacred formula.

¹⁹³ In the RV, Indra's smiting Vṛtra which enclosed waters is often associated with the thaw making water flow freely. Indra's swallowing the moon signifies the lunar conjunction with the sun (→ 2.3. RV 10,55.5 ~ ŚB 1,6.4.18–20).

12. The [oblation (*hāvis-*)] belonging to the full moon, verily, belongs to the smiter of Vṛtra (Indra), for Indra smote Vṛtra by this (oblation). On the other hand, when [the oblation] belongs to the Amāvāsyā night, this indeed is the act of smiting Vṛtra (*vṛtrahātya-*), for [the gods] made [Vṛtra] the means of swelling (i.e., food: *āpyāyana-*) for this one (Indra) having smitten Vṛtra. 13. In the case of [the oblation] belonging to the full moon, it is verily this very one belonging to the smiter of Vṛtra (Indra). On the other hand, **in the case of the moon (*candrāmāh*), this is indeed Vṛtra.** ...

Hereafter follows the episode of Indra's swallowing Vṛtra: **1,6.4.18–20** (→ 2.3).

Abbreviations

m	mantra-portion
p	prose-portion (= “ <i>brāhmaṇa-</i> ”) ¹⁹⁴
AiG	see Wackernagel–Debrunner
AitB	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
ĀpGS	Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra
ĀpŚS	Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra
ĀsvGS	Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra
ĀsvŚS	Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra
AV	Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā
AV(P)	Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā, Paippalāda-recension
AV(P)-K	Kashmir manuscript (Ed. Vishva Bandhu)
AV(P)-O	Orissa manuscripts (I: Zehnder; XX 1–30: Kubisch; s. below)
AV(Ś)	Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā, Śaunaka-recension
BĀU	Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad
BaudhŚS	Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra
BhārŚS	Bhāradvāja-Śrautasūtra
ChU	Chāndogya-Upaniṣad
EWAia	see Mayrhofer
HirGS	Hiranyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra
HirŚS	Hiranyakeśi-Śrautasūtra = Satyāṣāḍha-Śrautasūtra
JB	Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa
KātyŚS	Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra
KauśS	Kauśika-Sūtra
KauṣB	Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa
KauṣU	Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad
KhGS	Khādīra-Gṛhyasūtra
KS	Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā
KpS	Kapiṣṭhala-Kāṭha-Saṁhitā
MānŚS	Mānava-Śrautasūtra

¹⁹⁴ The term *brāhmaṇa* (*brāhmaṇa-*) is applied to the texts titled “-Brāhmaṇa” as well as the prose portions of the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās.

MS	Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā
Nir	Yāska's Nirukta
PārGS	Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra
PW	see Böhtlingk & Roth
RV	Ṛgveda
ṢaḍvB	Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
ŚāṅkhGS	Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra
ŚāṅkhŚS	Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra
ŚB	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
ŚB (K)	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva-recension
ŚB (M)	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina-recension
st.	stanza
TA	Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka
TB	Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya-Samhitā
VādhAnv	Vādhūla(-Śrautasūtra)-Anvākhyāna
VaitS	Vaitāna-Sūtra
VārŚS	Vārāha-Śrautasūtra
VS	Vājasaneyi-Samhitā
VWC	A Vedic Word-Concordance (s. Vishva Bandhu)
YV	Yajurveda-Samhitā (MS, KS, KpS, TS, VS) and -Brāhmaṇa (TB, ŚB)

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Sažetak

Žrtve pri mladaku i uštapu temelj su vedskih obreda Iṣṭi, u kojima se prinose žitarice i mliječni prinosi. Velika važnost pridaje se žrtvi pri mladaku, koja upravlja smrću i ponovnim rođenjem Mjeseca i čovječanstva. Ṛksamhitā 10,85 opisuje prinošenje žrtvenoga napitka Soma pri polumjesečnoj i godišnjoj žrtvi pri mladaku kao vjenčanje božice Sunca i boga Mjeseca u vrijeme ljetnoga solsticija. Potonji bi se mogao potjecati od ceremonije pri mladaku neposredno nakon ljetnoga solsticija u kasnom 3. tisućljeću pr. Kr. U Yajurvedi, žrtva pri mladaku radikalno se promijenila iz obožavanja Mjeseca u konjunkciji sa Suncem u obožavanje Indre kao ubojice Vṛtre, paralelno s preoblikovanjem mita o Indri. Glavni prinos bila je Sāmnāyā (mješavina kiselog mlijeka i kuhanog svježeg mlijeka) za Indru, ali je u Śrautasūtrama zamijenjena kolačem Puroḍāśom za Indru-Agnija. Pretpostavlja se da je ekspanzija Indoarijaca u istočni dio Indije otežala nabavu biljke Soma koja raste u polusušnim planinskim područjima i uzrokovala zamjenu prinosa.

When the *sattrins* “offer themselves”: The plural agency in Vedic sacrifice

Abstract

One of the distinctive features of the *sattra* is commonly considered the fact that each participant in the *sattra* event can play the role of officiant (see e.g. Mylius 1995, s.v.). Thus, there is no “priestly gift”, but Falk (1985; 1986) objects that the sacrificers present themselves, i.e. their *ātman*, as *dakṣiṇā*, as explained in TS 7,4.9 and KB 15,1.23–26. On the other hand, the *sattra* way of performing sacrifices might have been a secondary later step in the history of sacrifice (Bronkhorst 2016: 159). Indeed, ancient Vedic sources include explicit recommendations for performing especially the *dvādaśāha* for oneself, instead of for someone else. Furthermore, the “plural agency of the *sattra*” even became the object of Jaimini’s *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* 10,6.45–59 (*sattrasya bahukarṭṛkatvādhikaraṇam*). The present paper aims at reconsidering the phrase *ātmādakṣiṇam sattrām* on the basis of Candotti, Neri & Pontillo 2020 and 2021, where the most ancient occurrences of the term *dākṣiṇā* are re-interpreted as the sacrificer’s “magnificence” both in an abstract sense “as an auspicious condition prototypically proper to a successful leader”, and in a more material one “as the outcome of such a condition”, which becomes the ritual substance that allows a community to perform a sacrifice.

1. Introduction

Sattras have been put under the spotlight of Indological research again on some pages in one of J. Bronkhorst’s most recent books, that is *How the Brahmins Won: From Alexander to the Guptas* (2016: 37–38; 159–161). In these pages, Bronkhorst mainly refers to Falk’s interpretation of *sattras* (1985; 1986: 30–44). Indeed, Falk sums up the main features of the classical *sattra* as explained in the most common secondary literature (i.e. in some well-known works by Hillebrandt, Renou, and Keith, among others), and then tries to newly reconstruct the original *sattra* by discussing these points. The features are as follows:

1. only Brahmins can participate in a *sattra*;
2. there is no classic patron of the sacrifice and, although one of the participants assumes this role and this special function, all the fruits of the sacrifice must be shared by all the participants;
3. since there is no patron who instructs the sacrifice, there is no *dakṣiṇā* either;
4. the basic pattern of the *sattra* is the twelve-day sacrifice.

Falk's (1985: 276) objection to point 1 is that in the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa*, one of the *sattrins*, i.e. Kavaṣa Ailūṣa is even a *dāsyāḥ putraḥ*, i.e. the son of a slave woman, despite the fact that he is at first removed from the sacrificial arena and ultimately summoned to it again, when waters and gods in general had proven their favour.¹ Against point 2, Falk (1985: 276) quotes a sentence by Śabara (ad JMS 10,6.50 = 57), where the *gr̥hapati* is said to be successful by attaining the highest prosperity *bhūyīṣṭhām ṛddhim ārdhnoti* (see below, section 3). He concludes that this clearly shows that the fruits of the sacrifice are not shared in equal parts among the *sattrins*,² but, as will hopefully be demonstrated by the present reconstruction of the context, the pre-eminence of the *gr̥hapati* at least originally (not necessarily in Śabara's opinion) depended on his success in earning riches for the community (rather than for himself). His personal income was to be found elsewhere, namely in his access to heaven. Indeed, *sattrins* appointed the most trustworthy one among them as *leader*, as the Śrautasūtras e.g. clearly explain.³ In order to reject the fourth point, Falk (1985: 277) quotes a couple of Vedic passages which even document two-day *sattras*,⁴ and, moreover, in the following pages (279–280) he lists several

¹ AiB 2,19: *ṛṣayo vai sarasvatyāṃ satram āsata. te kavaṣam ailūṣam somād anayan. dāsyāḥ putraḥ kitavo 'brāhmaṇaḥ [...]. tam bahir dhanvodavahan. atrainam pipāsā hantu. [...]. yad enam sarasvatī samantam parisasāra. [...]. tam upahvayanta* "The ṛṣis were sitting for a *sattra* on the banks of the Sarasvatī. They expelled Kavaṣa Ailūṣa far from the Soma. He was the son of a slave woman, a cheat, he was not a brahmin. [...] They led him out into the desert: thirst strikes him dead! [...] When the Sarasvatī flowed all around him [...] They summoned him." On the other hand, Kavaṣa Ailūṣa is protagonist of another story involving waters, mentioned as *śruta*- 'famous' and *ṛddha*- 'old' in RS 7,18.12.

² See Falk (1985: 276): "Dies zeigt deutlich, daß die Früchte des Opfers nicht zu gleichen Teilen unter die *Sattrins* kommen."

³ See for instance BŚS 18,24, where the relationship between the leader – called *sthapāti* – and the whole group of consecrated warriors (gathered all around him to perform the *vr̥tyastoma sattra*) is clearly outlined: [...] *te yam abhisamjānate tam sthapatim kurvanti. sa eṣāṃ vratāni carati. so 'dhaḥ samveśy amāṃsāśy astryupāyī bhavati. tad dhi dīkṣitavratam* [...] "[...] They appoint one whom they agree on as their leader. He observes vows for them. He becomes one who lies down (on the ground), who does not eat meat, who does not approach his wife. This is what the consecrated man observes. [...]." (trans. Candotti, Neri & Pontillo 2021: 90–91).

⁴ TS 7,1.4.1: *āṅgirasō vai sattrām āsata. té suvargāṃ lokām āyan tēṣāṃ haviṣmāṃś ca haviṣṭṛc cāhīyetām. tāv akāmayetām. suvargāṃ lokām iyāvēti tāv etām dvirātrām apaśyatām. tām āharatām. tēnāyajatām. tāto vai tau 'suvargāṃ lokām aitām. yā evaṃ vidvān dvirātrēṇa*

Vedic passages that show how people sat down for a *sattra* because of “The uncertainty of the context, which was determined by the pressure of the participants in specific periods of time”, i.e. because of a “bitter need”. Even the practice of spontaneous poetry (i.e. improvisation) is quoted as a piece of evidence of the uncertainty of the current situation.

Indeed, the crucial point of the series we are surveying is the third one, namely the absence of a genuine patron, i.e. of the *yajamāna*, or, to put it another way, the fact that each participant in the *sattra* event – even a chieftain⁵ – can play the role of officiant, and, as a consequence, there is no *dakṣiṇā*, interpreted as a “priestly gift”. This is commonly considered the distinctive feature of the *sattra par excellence* (see e.g. Renou 1954, s.v. *sattra*;⁶ Mylius 1995, s.v. *sattra*).⁷ Nonetheless, Falk (1985: 276;⁸ 1986: 37) objects that the sacrificers present themselves, i.e. their *ātman*, as *dakṣiṇā*, as explained in TS 7,4.9 and KB 15,1.23–26 (*ātmādakṣiṇam sattrām*) and maintains that self-immolation might have been part of the early *sattra*.⁹

The present paper aims to reconsider these two occurrences of the phrase *ātmādakṣiṇam sattrām* literally “the ritual session whose *dakṣiṇā* is the self”, in order to focus on the agents involved within a *sattra* and on their specific sacrificial goal. In particular, the present research will attempt to understand whether the mentioned expression has to be interpreted as evidence of a new sacrificial conception or rather should be considered as a form of legacy of the aforementioned reconstructed notion of sacrifice as self-immolation, i.e. as a sort of residual of the pre-Yajurvedic sacrifice.

yájate suvargám evá lokám eti “The Angirases were performing a *sattra*. They went to the world of heaven. Haviṣmat and Haviskṛt among them were left behind. Their desire was: ‘May we go to the world of heaven!’ These two saw this two-night rite, they grasped it. They sacrificed with it. Then they went to the world of heaven. He who knowing thus offers the two-night sacrifice, goes to the world of heaven.”; AiB 4,32.7: *āṅgirasō vai svargāya lokāya sattram āsata, te ha sma dvitīyaṃ dvitīyaṃ evāhar āgatya muhyanti. tān vā etac chāryāto mānava dvitīye ‘hani sūktam aśaṃsayat, tato vai te pra yajñam ajānan pra svargaṃ lokam* “The Angirases were performing a *sattra* to have access to the world of heaven. Whenever they came to the second day they used to be confused. Śaryāta Mānava caused them to recite this hymn on the second day. Thus, they discerned the sacrifice, the world of heaven.”

⁵ In Vedic literature the term *rājarsi* denotes chieftains who are priests at the same time. See Ježić (2009: 259 fn. 73) and bibliography there quoted.

⁶ “‘session’ rituelle, type de cérémonies sômiques qui vont en général de 13 à 61 (ou 100) jours (sans parler de formes susceptibles d’atteindre théoriquement cent années) [...] il n’y a point de *yajamāna*. [...]”

⁷ “n. wörtlich ‘Sitzung’; im Somakult die Opfer mit zwölf und mehr Preßtagen [...] Jeder Teilnehmer muß die Funktion eines Rtvj ausführen können; dennoch sind auch Könige als Teilnehmer eines s. überliefert [...]”

⁸ “die Opferer beschenken sich selbst mit ihrem *ātman*.”

⁹ See Bronkhorst’s comment (2016: 38) on the *Taittirīyasamhitā* passage quoted below (7,4.9): “The self-immolation is here described in symbolic terms, but the symbolism may be no more a thin disguise to cover the fact that real self-immolation sometimes took place, or had taken place.”

2. The phrase *ātmādakṣiṇam sattrām* in its plausible foundational context

Let us read the earliest occurrence of our phrase in what is estimated as the later extant Black *Yajurvedasamhitā*, i.e. in the *Taittirīyasamhitā*:

TS 7,4,9

suvargām vā eté lokām yanti yé sattrām upayānti. abhīndhata evā dīkṣābhir ātmānam śrapayanta upasādbhir dvābhyām lómāva dyanti dvābhyām tvācam. dvābhyām āsrt. dvābhyām māmsām. dvābhyām āsthi dvābhyām majjānam. ātmādakṣiṇam vāi sattrām. ātmānam evā dākṣiṇām nītvā suvargām lokām yanti.

Those who perform a *sattra* go to the heavenly world. With the *upasad* consecrations¹⁰ they kindle themselves,¹¹ with two [days of the *sattra*] they cut their hair, with two, their skin, with two, their blood, with two, their flesh, with two, their bones, with two, their bone marrow.¹² The *sattra* has the self as its *dākṣiṇā*. After bringing themselves as *dākṣiṇā*, they go to the heavenly world.¹³

Indeed, one wonders whether the *ātman* is actually a sacrificial fee or indeed the offering itself, since first of all – as already emphasized by the authors quoted in section 1 – there is no mention of genuine officiating priests, and secondly, the *sattrin*'s body (*ātman*) is evidently cooked as a victim, more than being used as a priestly gift. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the *sattrin*'s target is expressly the *svarga loka*, which he is said to reach through the flame of fire rising up to heaven, as if he were a sacrificial victim.

The second occurrence of our phrase takes place in a Ṛgvedic Brāhmaṇa, namely in the *KauṣītakiBrāhmaṇa*:

KB 15,1.17–26

huteṣu dākṣiṇeṣu nīyante. atrāpavargo hy abhiṣavo bhavati. atho ātmānam evaitan niṣkrīṇāti yad dākṣiṇā nīyante. atho dākṣiṇābhir vai yajñam dakṣayati. tad yad dākṣiṇābhir vai yajñam dakṣayati. tasmād dākṣiṇā nāma. ātmādakṣiṇam vai satram. tasmād ahar ahar japeyuh. ātmānam evaitat kalyāṇyai kīrtyai svargāya lokāyāmṛtatvāya dākṣiṇām nayāmīti. ātmānam evaitat kalyāṇyai kīrtyai svargāya lokāyāmṛtatvāya dākṣiṇām nayanti.

When the *dākṣiṇās* have been offered, they are brought. At that time, the [Soma] pressing indeed stops.¹⁴ Thus, he ransoms himself inasmuch as the *dākṣiṇās* are-

¹⁰ I.e. after the end of the *dīkṣā* and before the Soma pressing (*sutyā*).

¹¹ “they put fire to themselves” (Bronkhorst 2016: 37).

¹² Since six by two makes twelve, it is clear that this is a twelve-day sacrifice, even though this sacrifice is discussed in a previous chapter in Prapāthaka 2 and not in Prapāthaka 4 of Kāṇḍa VII.

¹³ See the translation by Falk (1986: 37): “Die ein *Sattra* betreiben gehen in die Himmelswelt: mit der *Dīkṣā* zünden sie sich an, mit den *Upasad*-Tagen rösten sie sich, mit zwei (*Sattra*-Tagen) schneiden die die Haare ab, mit zweien die Haut, mit zweien das Blut, mit zweien das Fleisch, mit zweien die Knochen, mit zweien das Mark. Bei einem *Sattra* gibt man sich selbst als *Dākṣiṇā*. Sie führen sich selbst als *Dākṣiṇā* (fort) und gehen in die Himmelswelt.”

¹⁴ Therefore, there is an interruption, but the use of the term *apavarga*- “liberation” is remarkable.

brought.¹⁵ Moreover, he makes the sacrifice effective by means of the *dākṣiṇās*. Since he makes the sacrifice effective by means of the *dākṣiṇās*, therefore *dākṣiṇā* is its name. The *sattra* has the self as its *dākṣiṇā*. Therefore day by day they should mutter: “Here, let me bring myself as a *dākṣiṇā* for noble fame, for the world of heaven, for immortality.” Thus, they really bring themselves as a *dākṣiṇā* for noble fame, for the world of heaven, for immortality.

Here again the achievement of the *svarga loka* is clearly mentioned, and there is no trace of any officiating priest, but two new details emerge, namely:

1. the paronymology of *dākṣiṇā* as something making the sacrifice “effective” (*yajñam dakṣayati*);
2. the notion of redemption (*niṣkrīṇāti*) brought about through a plurality of *dākṣiṇās*.

First of all, if we pay attention to the context, as will be done below, the paronymology might have to be intended in the sense that *dākṣiṇā* “makes the sacrifice possible”, rather than merely “reinforcing” it.¹⁶ Thus, before dealing with the latter point, which is indeed the core of the present paper, let us concentrate for a while on the scenario in which the assumed meaning of the paronymology might have been inscribed. The emphasis Falk places on the “bitter need” that has to be hypothesized as the main reason for performing a *sattra*, was also endorsed by Heesterman, who interpreted the sacrificial Soma pressing *sattra* especially within the framework of the *Vrātyas*, and depicted the protagonists of the *sattra* as acting like *vrātyas*, i.e. consecrated warriors, who in a destitute and rather desperate state, operated as sworn bands under a *sthapati*:

[...] another offshoot of the *vrātya* phenomenon, namely the *sattra*, the so-called sacrificial Soma-pressing ‘session’ [...]. [...] the *sattrins* [...] are all both *dīkṣita* and priest. [...] They (= the *Sattrins*) are said ‘pressed by hunger’, and so, having nothing to offer but their lives, they are *āmadakṣiṇā*, offering themselves as *dakṣiṇā* gifts. (Heesterman 1987: 98)

Nevertheless, we are still in need of further clarification in this *vrātya*-oriented reconstruction. Why do the *sattrins* wish to have something to be used as *dakṣiṇās* in the sense of priestly gifts? If the *sattrins* really were desperate, I would imagine that it had more to do with their need to obtain goods to be offered in sacrifice than a priestly gift, seeing that no officiant priest was actually performing the sacrifice. Thus, my proposal for these two passages is to adopt the interpretation of *dakṣiṇā* recently proposed in Candotti, Neri & Pontillo 2020 and 2021, where the most ancient Vedic and Pāli occurrences of the term *dākṣiṇā/dakṣhiṇā* have been re-analysed,

¹⁵ Cf. the translation by Keith (1920: 427): “Moreover he ransoms himself in that the fees are taken.”

¹⁶ Cf. trans. Keith (1920: 427): “in that with the fees he makes strong (*dakṣayati*) the sacrifice, therefore has the fee its name.”

showing how the term could not denote a “priestly gift”. In both the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* occurrences, we rendered its meaning as “magnificence”, in an abstract sense “as an auspicious condition prototypically proper to a successful leader”, and in a more material one, as “magnificence made an offering”. The latter is especially frequent in the *Atharvavedic* occurrences which might document the notion of *dakṣiṇā* closest to our compound *ātmadakṣiṇa*, as the outcome of the leader’s auspicious condition which allows a community to perform a sacrifice. It is ultimately the ritual substance derived from the booty gained during the sacrificer’s successful raids (Candotti, Neri & Pontillo 2021: 25; 42). This “magnificence” consistently ensures great “glory” to the sacrificer, as is clearly shown by the following Śaunakīya occurrence of *dākṣiṇā*, where the obsessive use of the term *yāśas* is not accompanied by any trace of a “sacrificial” or “priestly gift”:

ASS 6,58.1–3

yaśasaṃ méndro maghāvān kṛnotu yaśasaṃ dyāvāprthivī ubhé imé |
yaśasaṃ mā devāḥ savitā kṛnotu priyó dātūr dākṣiṇāyā ihā syām ||
yáthéndro dyāvāprthivyór yāśasvān yáthāpa óśadhiṣu yāśasvatīḥ |
evā víśveṣu devéṣu vayám sárveṣu yaśasaḥ syāma ||
yaśā indro yaśā agnir yaśāḥ sómo ajāyata |
yaśā víśvasya bhūtāsyāhām asmi yaśastamaḥ ||

Let the bountiful Indra make me glorious, let both these heaven and earth! Let god Savitṛ make me glorious; may I be dear here to the giver of magnificence (i.e. Indra). As Indra is a possessor of glory in heaven-and-earth, as the waters are possessors of glory in plants, so among all the gods may we be glorious among all. Indra [was born] glorious, Agni [was born] glorious, Soma was born glorious; I, glorious, will be the most glorious of the whole creation.

Thus, by means of this *dākṣiṇā*, impelled by Indra, the devotee will become glorious among glorious divine beings. But the most marked occurrences of *dakṣiṇā* are perhaps those contained in the so-called *pañcaudanāja* hymn (ASS 9,5), which is a “*sava*-hymn” (also later called a “*dakṣiṇā*-hymn”),¹⁷ in Gonda’s 1965 sense, in other words a hymn accompanying a mere offering, symbolic of the Soma sacrifice.¹⁸ The entire hymn concentrates on a specific eschatological doctrine. Its kernel seems to adopt the iconic value of this special offering of a goat with five dishes of smashed rice, in order to represent the psychophysical self of the sacrificer with his five organs of sense, who has to unite with a body entirely made of light.

ASS 9,5.22

āparimitam evā yajñām āpnóty āparimitaṃ lokām āva runddhe |
yò₃ 'jám pāñcaudanaṃ dākṣiṇājyotiṣaṃ dādāti ||

¹⁷ As regards this definition of ASS 9,5, see Shende (1985: 195–196).

¹⁸ See Gonda (1965: 19) about *Atharvavedic* sources: “It is, if I am not mistaken, sometimes – or, at first sight – very difficult to make out whether the victims or objects regarded as ‘victims’ mentioned in these rites are primarily presented as ‘offerings’ or as ‘gifts’.”

Indeed, he who gives the goat with five portions of mashed rice, whose light is his magnificence made an offering, gains an unlimited sacrifice, takes hold of an unlimited world.

This hymn is focused on the heavenly light gained by the sacrificer during his life. The offered goat representing the sacrificer is depicted as a fire created out of fire (thus, from the sacrifice) and is invited to conquer the world full of light in the heaven. This special offering is also qualified (nine times in ASŚ 9,5 and once in ASP 8,19) as *dākṣiṇājyotis-*, i.e. as “that whose light is the best the sacrificer can offer”, in other words the sacrificer’s magnificence transformed into an offering. In ASP 16,99.10 *dākṣiṇājyotis-* is replaced on one occasion by the term *akṣiti-* ‘imperishableness’. Thus, the offering (*dākṣiṇā*) which has characterized the sacrificer’s life, will remain permanently in heaven as a new celestial manifestation of its possessor. The amount of light matches the merit that results from his daily sacrifices and is stored day after day in heaven until his death, as it is explained in later sources, for instance at the beginning of JB,¹⁹ where creating a new immortal body²⁰ is explicitly indicated as the purpose of the *agnyādhāna* and *agnihotra* rituals. As emphasised by Bodewitz (1973: 19), the *agnihotra* is also “viewed as an *ātmayajña*”.

JB 1,2

[...] *so 'ta āhutimayo manomayaḥ prāṇamayaś cakṣurmayaś śrotramayo vāñmaya ṛñmayo yajurmayas sāmamayo brahmamayo hiraṇyamayo 'mṛtas sambhavati | amṛtā haivāsya prāṇā bhavanti amṛtaśarīram idaṃ kurute [...]*

He (arises) from this (fire) and becomes immortal in the form of an oblation, mind, breath, sight, hearing, speech, *ṛc*, *yajus sāman*, *brahman* and gold. His lifebreaths become immortal. He makes for himself an immortal body here. (Trans. Bodewitz 1973: 20.)

The primal idea of the human being’s reunion in heaven with his magnificent and excellent accomplishments on earth (i.e. of a sublimation – *via* sacrifice – of accumulated merits) could plausibly have originated from some sort of ritual laboratories of speculative reflections on the human chance of gaining a higher permanent status. These might have been the experience of watching what happened to a victim burned in the sacrificial fire and to the body of a deceased man put on the funeral pyre or the fiery pillar of fire and the flames which arise when milk is added to the heated *gharma*-pot during the *pravargya*-ritual, as in RS 1,164 studied by Houben (2000).

I believe that the phrase *ātmadākṣiṇa-sattra-* might have conveyed the sense of a sacrificial session whose “offering” was made up of all the best the *grhapati*

¹⁹ With regard to the hypothesis of a relationship between the inspirational background of ASŚ 9,5 and an eschatological theory, namely the doctrine of the so-called non-decay (*akṣiti*) of what is granted by sacrifices (*iṣṭāpūrtā*) taught by the controversial figure of Keśin Dārbyha in JB 2.3-54, see Pontillo forthcoming.

²⁰ As for this Sāmavedic notion, see also Fujii 2012: 108–110.

was able to offer, his auspicious condition, his dexterity, the magnificence of all his deeds – including sacrificial actions – and all the merits he had accumulated, all things which crucially ensured him access to the *svarga loka*. The abovementioned *ātmayajña*- notion in JB could be especially comparable. The inspirational idea may have been that of the sacrificer's magnificence indispensable to the material performance of the sacrifice, which was so-to-say “placed on the fire” as an offering and which finally went to heaven, transforming the sacrifice into a permanent luminous entity. This sacrificer's upgrading towards a divine state can perhaps be compared with the story of that type of gods who are not born as gods,²¹ such as Indra, who became the god Indra because of some dramatic and heroic deeds (see e.g. some details of RS 4,18 mentioned below). It is noteworthy that this putting human beings and gods on the same level belongs to the heterodox culture (and perhaps even to the Upaniṣadic *Weltanschauung*), but it is absolutely not part of the classical Brahmanical doctrines.

3. Plural agency in the *sattra*

Now, let us concentrate on the second new detail proposed by KB 15,1.17–26 and first of all on the plurality of *dākṣiṇās* mentioned there.²² It could be quite a surprise for any scholars who believe that there is no *dākṣiṇā* in the *sattra* performance (as seen in section 1) to actually find several *dākṣiṇās* in this passage (which is evidently related to a *sattra*). We are thus forced to wonder: how many *dākṣiṇās* are there in a *sattra*? None or more than one? But, above all, how many officiants are there? As is well-known, the latter question also became the focus of technical and exegetical-philosophical reflections, for instance, in the *Jaiminimīmāṃsāsūtra* (JMS) in which a quite technical section is devoted to govern the so-called “plural agency of the *sattra*”, i.e. that which is enunciated in Adhikaraṇa 14 (*sattra-sya bahukarṭṛkatvādhikaraṇam*) of Adhyāya 10. As is well known, this work is later than the earliest Śrautasūtras and it might have been contemporary to the *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra*, but the plural agency of the *sattra* in the latter text is taught in just three words:

KŚS 12,1.7–8

yajamānāḥ sarve sattreṣu. adakṣiṇāni ca svāmīyogāt

In the case of *sattras* all are sacrificers and, due to the connection of the masters [with the priesthood], they (i.e. the *sattras*) are without *dakṣiṇās*.

²¹ As for this specific way of achieving the godlike state as a heroic option, often connected with esoteric knowledge, see Horsch 1966: 405–410.

²² The plurality of *dākṣiṇās* is far from uncommon even in the earliest texts – see e.g. RS 3,36.5; 3,62.3; AŚS 9,6.54; 18,4.7 – but the *sattra*-context cannot be guaranteed there.

The relevant discussion in the Mīmāṃsā takes much longer. Therefore, from the ritualistic point of view, the absence of professional officiants and the absence of *daksinās* are taught as an indisputable orthodox feature of the *sattras* in the latest Śrautasūtras, but the Mīmāṃsakas discuss on this rule.

JMS 10,6.45–50

sattram ekaḥ prakṛtvat | 45 |
vacanāt tu bahūnām syāt | 46 |
apadeśaḥ syād iti cet | 47 |
naikavyapadeśāt | 48 |
sannivāpañ ca darśayati | 49 |
bahūnām iti caikasmin viśeṣavacanam vyartham | 50 |

(45) Only one man [should perform] the *sattra* according to the archetype.²³ (46) But because of a [specific] statement, it should be proper to several [agents]. (47) If you say that this should be a [mere] assertion, (48) the reply is no, due to the designation of “one” [which is mentioned elsewhere].²⁴ (49) And [there is a passage which] shows the commingling of fires.²⁵ (50) And when it is said “of several” if there were only one [agent], then the specific statement “of several” would be meaningless.

In commenting on *sūtra* 50, Śabara quotes the same sentence he used in his Bhāṣya on *sūtra* 57. As we have already seen above, this is also quoted by Falk (1985: 276) in order to show how a higher form of prosperity is obtained by the *grhapati*, i.e. to go against the common statement according to which the classic patron of the sacrifice is lacking in a *sattra*:

Śabara ad JMS 10,6.50 = 57

itaś cārṭvijeṣu yajamānā eva. kutaḥ. evam āha. yo vai bahūnām yajāmānānām grhapatīḥ sa sattrasya pratyetā, sa hi bhūyīṣṭhām ṛddhim ārdhnoti.

And hence the sacrificers are precisely among the officiants. Why? He said in this way. “Among the several sacrificers, the one who is the ritual holder of the *sattra* is the *grhapati*: he is successful with the highest prosperity.”

This is indeed an untraced Śruti sentence, where however *bahu-* is used in the superlative form *bhūyīṣṭha-* “the maximum amount of prosperity”: it thus follows that if there were no plurality of the agency in the *sattra* ceremony, this linguistic use of a superlative form would make no sense. As announced in section 1, my transla-

²³ I.e. according to the *darśapūrṇamāsa* which as is well known constitutes the model of sacrificial descriptions.

²⁴ This mentioned singularity according to the commentator Śabara is found in TS 7,2.10.2–3 which reads: *evam āha. eṣā ha vai kuṇāpam atti yāḥ sattré pratigrhṇāti [...]* *eka eva yajeta.* “The one who accepts at the *sattra*, does indeed eat a dead corpse: [...] Only one should perform the sacrifice!” As regards the context, see below.

²⁵ The quotation is taken from ĀpŚS 21,2.12–13: *sāvitrāṇi hoṣyantaḥ (= hoṣyamānāḥ) nirmathya saṃnivaperan. pañca paśubhir yakṣyamānāḥ saṃnivaperan* “When they are about to make offerings to Savitr, they should commingle [their fires] after having churned them out. When they are going to perform the five animal-sacrifices they should commingle [their fires].”

tion is different from Falk's,²⁶ because I interpret the *bhūyiṣṭhā-ṛddhi-* the *gr̥hapati* gains (*ārdhnoti*) as that by means of which he results as being successful, i.e. as the premise of and the input to the sacrificial performance and not its outcome. As we have already seen (section 1, fn. 3) in the plausibly most ancient Śrautasūtra, namely in BŚS 18,24, the leader is appointed by the *sattrins* on the basis of the high esteem in which he is held. As Falk (1985: 276) himself emphasizes, the *gr̥hapati* is in fact the trusted man in the *sattra* context (literally “der Vertrauensmann des Sattras”) and I consider that this trust on the part of the other participants in the sacrificial event is derived to him from the successes achieved, from the goods consequently guaranteed to the community. The general cultural background might match with the highly competitive and brotherhood-oriented situation depicted in a famous hymn in the *R̥gveda*:

RS 10,71.10

sarve nandanti yaśasāgatena sabhāsāhēna sākhyā sākhyāḥ |
kilbiṣaspr̥t pituṣāṇir hy eṣām āraṇ hito bhāvati vājināya ||

All comrades rejoice with the comrade who reached glory, with the comrade pre-eminent in the assembly. Truly he rescues [them] from sin, he wins food for them; he is destined for competition as he is fit for it.²⁷

The following set of Mīmāṃsāsūtras discusses the function of officiants which is also proper to the sacrificers themselves, a principle which is once again contra the archetype.

JMS 10,6.51–52

anye syur rtvijah prakṛtivat | 51 |
api vā yajamānāḥ syur rtvijām abhidhānasamyogāt teṣāṃ syād yajamānatvam | 52 |

(51) The others should be officiants in accordance with the archetype.

(52) Otherwise, they (i.e. the officiants) should also be sacrificers, due to the connection with the name of officiants (*rtvij-*). Let the characteristic of being sacrificers be proper to them!

However, the most important points of this chapter are the absence of a *dakṣiṇā* (JMS 10,6.59) and the intriguing lack of any opposition between the designation of consecrated and non-consecrated participants in the *sattra* (JMS 10,6.58), an opposition which is also emphasized elsewhere in quite ancient Vedic sources, as we shall see below.

²⁶ “Wer den vielen Opferherren als Gr̥hapati gilt, der ist der Vertrauensmann des Sattras, denn er erlangt den meisten Erfolg.” (Trans. Falk 1985: 276.)

²⁷ A comparable *scenario* of exchange between sin and food even emerges from a passage in AŚS 9,6.25–26: *sārvo vā eṣa jagdhāpāpmā yāsyānnam aśnānti || sārvo vā eṣo 'jagdhāpāpmā yāsyānnam nāśnānti* “Indeed everyone whose food they attain has his sin devoured. Verily everyone has his sin undevoured whose food they do not attain.”

JMS 10,6.57–59

bahūnām iti ca tulyeṣu viśeṣavacanāṃ nopapadyate | 57 |
dīkṣitādīkṣitavyapadeśaś ca nopapadyate 'rthayor nityabhāvitvāt | 58 |
adakṣiṇatvāc ca | 59 |

(57) And the specific mention “of several” (see above *bahūnām* in *sutra* 46), among equals, does not take place.²⁸ (58) The designation of the consecrated and non-consecrated men does not take place, on the basis of the permanent existence of both meanings.²⁹ (59) And because of the absence of the *dakṣiṇā*.

Of course, what is crucial for our research is to understand if this opposition is really ancient and, in a broader perspective, whether the collective way of performing a sacrifice, which Mīmāṃsā tradition seems to take for granted, is something innovative or *vice versa* conservative in the complex history of Soma sacrifices. In fact, within his fascinating hypothesis of the Brahmins’ complex action of “re-inventing themselves”, Bronkhorst explains the absence of the patron of sacrifice (*yajamāna*) as a sort of increasing asociality, which would have led the priests to perform sacrifices in their hermitages, where there were no non-officiating participants:

If you leave a Brahmin to himself, not only will he interact as little as possible with society, he will engage in rites for whose performance he does not need anyone else. The Brahmanical sage in his hermitage passes his time performing sacrificial rites, so much so that smoke is a constant feature of a hermitage. (Bronkhorst 2016: 159)

Bronkhorst (2016: 161) assumes that this happened when Brahmins “had lost, or were losing, their positions as priests in a primary religion, and were re-inventing themselves, mainly by turning inward.” There are indeed Vedic sources that document the sense of discouragement affecting anyone wishing to assume the role of an officiating priest, such as this passage from the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, which Bronkhorst himself quotes (2016: 158–159):

ŚB 9,5.2.12–13

[...] *sā ha śvāḥ śva eva pāpīyān bhavati yā etāni párasmai karóti*. [...] *śréyān bhavati yā etāni párasmai ná karóty áthaiśā ha vā asya daívo 'mṛta ātmā sa yā etāni párasmai karóty etám ha sa daívam ātmānam párasmai práyachat. átha śúṣka evā sthānuḥ páriśīyate*.

²⁸ This *sūtra* might hint at TS 7,2.10.1: see below.

²⁹ This *sūtra* probably hints at KS 34,9: see below. Here the sense of the aphorism seems to be that the designation of the consecrated and non-consecrated men could not arise, if both the items denoted by these two words were simultaneously and permanently existing. It is not possible to read the injunction which distinguishes the *sattra* from the *ahīna* way of performing the twelve-day sacrifice in the *Āpastambaśrautasūtra*, if the two roles of consecrated and non-consecrated men overlap with each other, that is, they are both permanently present.

[...] Indeed, the one who performs these rites³⁰ for another man becomes more miserable day by day. [...] The one who does not perform these [rites] for another becomes more excellent. Indeed this is his divine immortal body; and he who performs them for another person, makes over to another his divine body, and a withered trunk is all that remains.

Bronkhorst (2016: 158) interprets such a document as a secondary later step in the history of sacrifice, when “sacrificing for someone else came to be looked upon as inferior”. Nonetheless, I cannot help but notice that the recommendations for performing sacrifices (especially the *dvādaśāha*) for oneself, instead of for someone else, as will be seen below, are anything but late and isolated. Furthermore, we have already seen that this subject had also been the focus of technical and philosophical discussions, seemingly aimed at attaining the correct exegesis of ancient sources rather than inventing and justifying some new features for an emerging sacrificial pattern. On the one hand, Bronkhorst’s reading of the *sattra* is overtly inspired by some later inscriptions³¹ where the term *sattra* designates an institution for the feeding of ascetics and needy people, as a sort of charitable almshouse, so that his final hypothesis on *sattras* reads: “Presumably all *sattras* were ways of extracting donations from sponsors, whatever the texts say about it” (Bronkhorst 2016: 161). On the other, the scholar (2016: 157) is persuaded that, in the history of ritual ceremonies, “The distinction between officiant and sacrificer was as clear as daylight” from the beginning and that everything only changed after Alexander’s meteoric transit through Northwestern India, the period when both *sattras* and domestic (*grhya*-) rites – both private rites carried out by the sacrificer himself in his opinion – started to be performed. Of course, Bronkhorst is well aware that, according to Heesterman (1962; 1985; 1993; 2012), the pattern of the classical sacrifice represents the end of a long process that moves towards a lower and lower level of social complexity, but towards a higher degree of ritual technicalisation. He also explicitly refers to these studies, but, as is well-known, does not give any credit to the reconstruction of the “pre-classical sacrifice” (Bronkhorst 2016: 158).

By contrast, in recent years other scholars have expressed some doubts about the date of the stage when the distinction between officiant and sacrificer might have been stated. For instance, Kyoko Amano (see e.g. 2016: 35) explains how “forming and developing these concepts”, i.e. the officiant-patron distinction and the orthodox sacrificial arena,³² might have been realized secondarily and for the

³⁰ This statement refers to three rites respectively devoted to the fire-altar of the Yajus-formulas (*agniryājus*-), the *mahāvratā* of the Sāman-melodies (*mahāvratam sāmnam*) and the Great Litany of the Ṛc-stanzas (*mahād ukthām ṛcām*).

³¹ See Willis 2009: 104.

³² See Amano 2016: 35: “[...] a ritual whose core act is offering oblations with recitation of *ṛc* hymns by the Hotṛ priest and to which also some other priests are invited to play their own role, so that it makes some social meaning in their society in benefit for the ritual holder (sacrificer).”

first time by the bearers of the Yajurveda culture. Her analyses are grounded on the earliest Black Yajurveda sources, namely *Kaṭhaka-* and *Taittirīyasamhitā*, which have chapters expressly devoted to the *sattra*, and especially *Maitrāyaṇīsamhitā*, which has no special *sattra* chapter, but includes several passages devoted to *sattras* and above all myths about the *sattras*. All the relevant notions such as the officiant-patron distinction and the orthodox sacrificial arena, in her opinion are connected with non-orthodox ways of thinking and acting, outside the cultural mainstream of the Yajurveda itself (Amano 2016: 40; 63).

Nonetheless, as eccentric as such an institution might have been in its original format, at a certain time the *sattra* became embedded “successfully and also positively, so that we can recognize that the *sattra* culture was not regarded with hostility” in the so-called *śrauta* context (Amano 2016: 63–64). In the *Āpastamba-śrautasūtra* (commonly classified as middle, i.e. belonging to the second out of three chronologically ordered Śrautasūtra layers – see e.g. Brucker (1980: 58) – the absence of opposition between consecrated and non-consecrated men that was hinted at in JMS 10,6.58 (quoted above) especially in the relevant *Śabarabhāṣya*, constituted a well-established hallmark of the *sattra* version of the twelve-day sacrifice, opposed to its *āhina* pattern:

ĀpŚS 21, 1.3–4

sattram ahīnaś ca. dīkṣitam adīkṣitā yājayeyur ahīne. ete evārtvijo yajamānaś ca sattre. tasmād dvādaśāhena na yājyaṃ pāpmāno vyāvṛtyai iti vijñāyate.

It (i.e. the twelve-day sacrifice) can be a *sattra* and an *āhina*. In the *āhina* type, non-consecrated men should make a consecrated one perform the sacrifice. In the *sattra* type the same priests are also the sacrificers. Therefore, it is known that one should not officiate at a twelve-day sacrifice, in order to avert evil.

Since the expression *iti vijñāyate* in the earliest Śrautasūtras introduces a *paribhāṣā*, as something which is “known” on the basis of the *śākhā* to which the Vedāṅga text belongs – as explained by Chakrabarti (1980: 54–55), we can assume that *dvādaśāhena na yājyaṃ pāpmāno* is a *paribhāṣā* that must be traced far back in time in the Vedic sources. In fact, this recommendation already occurs in an identical form in the *Taittirīyasamhitā*:

TS 7.2.10

tasmād dvādaśāhēna nā yājyaṃ pāpmāno vyāvṛtyai.

One should not officiate a twelve-day sacrifice, in order to avert evil.

Moreover, the opposition between *āhina* and *sattra* sacrifices with reference to the relationship between consecrated and non-consecrated men involved in the sacrificial arena, already occurs in an even earlier Black Yajurveda sentence, which is perhaps the Vedic inspirational source for JMS 10,6.58, and clearly hinted at by Śabara’s commentary on JMS 10,6.58:

Śabara ad JMS 10,6.58

dīkṣitam adīkṣitā yājayeṣur ahīne. ete evārtvijo yajamānaś ca sattre.

In the *ahīna* type of the twelve-day sacrifice, the non-consecrated men should make a consecrated one sacrifice. In the *sattra* type the same priests are also the sacrificers.

Let us read the early Black Yajurveda passage containing the sentence *dīkṣitam adīkṣitā yājayanti*:

KS 34,9

prajāpatir akāmayata syām iti. sa dvādaśāhenāyajata. tenābhavat. tasmād āhur bubhūṣato yajna iti. taṃ māsā dīkṣitam adīkṣitā ayājayan. tasmād dīkṣitam adīkṣitā yājayanti.

Prajāpati wished: may I exist (i.e. may I become perceptible)! He worshipped by means of a twelve-day sacrifice. He started existing (i.e. he manifested himself) by means of this. Therefore, they say that it is the sacrifice of the one who wishes to be manifested. The non-consecrated months made the consecrated [Prajāpati] sacrifice. Therefore, [currently] non-consecrated men make the consecrated one sacrifice.

Here, Prajāpati, the patron of sacrifice, is explicitly classified as a consecrated man and the months which officiate for him are the non-consecrated beings. A similar story to this one that comes from the *Kāthakasamhitā* is also found in the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā*. The six seasons take the place of the twelve months, but the pattern is the same. The collective way of performing sacrifices with the Vaiśvānara fire – which represents the union of the clan confederations, as studied by Proferes (2007: 47–48) – seems to be depicted as a failure.

TS 7,2.10.1–3

nā vā eṣa 'nyāto vaiśvānaraḥ suvarṅgāya lokāya prābhavat. ūrdhvō ha vā eṣa ātata āsīt. té devā etāṃ vaiśvānarām pāry auhant suvarṅgāya lokāya prābhūtyai. ṛtāvo vā etēna prajāpatim ayājayan. téṣv ārdhnod ādhi tát. ṛdhnōti ha vā ṛtvikṣu yā evaṃ vidvān dvādaśāhēna yājate. tē 'sminn aichanta. sā rāsam āha vasantāya prāyachat. yāvaṃ grīṣmāyāuṣadhīr varṣābhyo vrīhīṃ charāde māṣatilāu hemantaśiśirābhyām. tēnēndram prajāpatir ayājayat. tāto vā indra indro 'bhavat. tasmād āhus. ānujāvarāsyā yajñā iti. sā hy etēnāgrē 'yajata. eṣā ha vāi kuṇāpam atti yāḥ sattre pratigrhñāti puruṣakuṇāpam āsvakuṇāpam. gāur vā ānnam. yēna pātrenānnam bibhrati yāt tāt nā nirṇēnijati tátō 'dhi || mālaṃ jāyate. ēka evā yajeta. ēko hī prajāpatir ārdhnot. [...]

This (rite) with a Vaiśvānara on one side was not able to win the world of heaven. It was stretched upwards and the gods piled round this Vaiśvānarā, in order to win the world of heaven. The seasons indeed made Prajāpati sacrifice with it. Among them he was successful upon it. Indeed, the one who – aware of this – worships by means of a twelve-day sacrifice is successful among the officiating priests. They strived to obtain (something) from him; he namely offered sap to the spring, [he offered] barley to the hot season, plants to the rainy season, rice to the autumn, beans to the winter, and sesame to the dewy season. Prajāpati made Indra sacrifice by means of this [sacrifice]. Therefore, Indra became Indra. Therefore, they say: “It is the younger’s sacrifice” because, for the first time, he (i.e. Indra) worshipped by means of this sacrifice. He who accepts in a *sattra* is indeed eating a corpse, a human corpse or the corpse of a horse, a

cow as food. Inasmuch as they do not purify the vessel in which they carry food, filth is produced. One should only sacrifice alone, because Prajāpati was successful alone.

The successful and effective solution for the assumed failure consists in a sacrifice where officiating priests and sacrificer are not the same. In fact, the story proceeds with a new sacrificial scenario where Prajāpati in turn plays the role of an officiating priest and Indra that of a sacrificer. This is called “the sacrifice of the younger (*ānujāvara-*)” because this is how Indra became the god Indra. It seems to hint at Indra’s heroic birth at the core of the enigmatic hymn RS 4,18, where Indra, after killing his father (Tvaṣṭṛ or Vṛtra, whoever he may be), ultimately seems to have attained glory when he receives the Soma brought to him by the falcon who stole it (RS 4,18.13: *ādā me śyenō mādhy ā jabhāra* “now the falcon brought the Soma up to me”).³³

It is difficult to underestimate the coincidence of the starting contexts described in the two Black Yajurveda passages here compared: there seems to be a god (Prajāpati and Indra respectively) who aspires to a pre-eminent position both in KS 34,9 and in TS 7,2.10.1. In the latter text, it is easy to recognize the use of the causative verbal stem *yājaya-* as perfectly corresponding to one of the specific stages in Amano’s (2014) reconstruction of the history of the relationship between the officiating priest and the sacrificer, precisely based on the usages of the causative form of the verbal base *yaj-* in the Black Yajurvedasamhitās. This is the stage when the role usually played by Bṛhaspati, as the priest who had the authority to decide whether the sacrificer can hold a sacrifice, is instead assigned to Prajāpati (Amano 2014: 1069). Prajāpati in fact is clearly an authoritative officiating priest for Indra’s sacrifice. The analysis of the two plural causative forms included in KS 34,9 (*taṁ māsā dīkṣitam adīkṣitā ayājayan*) and in TS 7,2.10.1 (*ṛtāvo vā etēna prajāpatim ayājayan*) respectively, which are also recalled by the plural verbal forms in Śabara ad JMS 10,6.58 and in ĀpŚS 21,1.3–4: (*dīkṣitam adīkṣitā yājayeyur*), is far more complex. Amano (2014: 1068) interestingly emphasizes the use of the plural causative verbal form of *yaj-* in MS 2,4.8 (*yāt kārīryā yājayānti* “That they let perform [the oblation] with the Kārīra-[fruit].”³⁴ where “the subject is surely the people who suffer from the lack of rain”. Therefore – she comments on the same passage – “no longer ‘a priest (who has the authority) makes a sacrifice hold a sacrifice’”, but “the more general meaning ‘someone makes someone hold/perform a sacrifice’” emerges. Instead in our two passages the plurality (of the months and of the seasons respectively) patently/ apparently denotes a group of *adīkṣitāḥ*, i.e. non-sacrificers.

³³ The famous incipit of this hymn is devoted to a dialogue between Indra’s mother and the still unborn Indra. Apart from the clear hint at the hero’s unnatural birth from his mother’s side, it might also imply the heroic birth of gods, envisioned as their well-deserved access to heaven (RS 4,18.1): *ayām pānthā ānuvittāḥ purāṇō yāto devā udājāyanta viśve | ātaś cid ā janiṣṭṣṭa prāvṛddho [...]* “This is the ancient known path from which all the gods were born. From this one should be born full-grown [...].”

³⁴ “Dass sie die Iṣṭi mit der Kārīra-[Frucht] veranstalten lassen” (trans. Amano 2014: 1068).

Nevertheless, in the first case the sacrifice is explicitly performed in order to obtain something that is desired by the *dīkṣita* and not by the *adīkṣitas* (*prajāpatir akāmayata syām iti*). In the second passage, the seasons explicitly aspire to achieve something (*tē sminn aichanta*), but I am not convinced that they should be considered as common individuals, since they rather seem to be members of a specific group who ask the best candidate among them to be the patron of sacrifice. Indeed, I interpreted the two sentences with the Parasmaipada causative form *ayājayan* as “they (i.e. the twelve months / the six seasons) made the *dīkṣita* / Prajāpati sacrifice”, but they can only partly be said to play a role similar to that of the officiants in the classical sacrifice. In particular, in TS 7,2.10.1, Prajāpati gives each of the six seasons something which appears to be very similar to a priestly gift given by the sacrificer, almost as if the seasons were orthodox officiants, but this might have also been a distribution among members of a brotherhood. The action performed by Prajāpati is also signified by the Ātmanepada form of *yaj-* in KS 34,9, just like the action performed by Indra in the final part of the above-quoted TS 7,2.10.1, and the one mentioned in the so-to-say ritual actualization of the myth in form of maxim contained in this latter text.³⁵

Instead another element that could suggest us a collective performance such as that of the reconstructed original *sattra* in which the officiants simultaneously play the role of officiants is the locative plural *tēsu*, then recalled by *rtvikṣu* in the so-called “actualization” in TS 7,2.10.1.³⁶ The untraced sentence quoted by Śabara ad JMS 10,6.50 = 57 and ultimately JMS 50 and 57 are quite close to this *Taittirīyasamhitā* passage, since they discuss on the plurality of *rtvij* and *yajamāna* and on the fact that they cannot all be considered equal (*tulya*). In fact, if we concentrate on the concluding words, which recommend that one should sacrifice alone – an action signified by an optative *ātmanepada* form of *yaj-* (*yajeta*) – because Prajāpati was successful alone,³⁷ one is inclined to rather interpret these two Black Yajurveda passages and especially the second one as a sort of foundational myth of what we will henceforth be normally used and considered as the original and evergreen sacrificial schema. However, in the two Black Yajurveda occurrences of *ātmadakṣiṇam sattrām* seen in section 2 a plural agency is involved both in the action of leading the *dākṣiṇās* and in that of reaching the heaven. In the second Black Yajurveda passage analyzed in section 3, the officiant/patron relationship like that of Prajāpati/Indra is presented as secondary and exemplary with respect to that of the plurality of priests/sacrificers of the type of Prajāpati/months or seasons.

In particular, let us note what at first glance seems to be a puzzling sentence, i.e. *eṣā ha vai kuṇāpam atti yāḥ sattrē pratigṛhṇāti puruṣakuṇāpām aśvakūṇāpām gaur*

³⁵ *rdhnōti ha vā rtvikṣu yā evaṃ vidvān dvādaśāhēna yājate* “Indeed, the one who – aware of this – worships by means of a twelve-day sacrifice is successful among the officiating priests”

³⁶ *tēsv ārdhnod ādhi tāt* “Among them (i.e. among the seasons), he (i.e. Prajāpati) was successful upon it.”

³⁷ *ēka eva yajeta. ēko hi prajāpatir ārdhnot.*

vā annam “He who accepts in a *sattra* is indeed eating a corpse, a human corpse or the corpse of a horse, a cow as food”, which in Falk’s (1986: 37)³⁸ opinion recalls how people died in *sattras* and even a form of early cannibalism. A quite similar sentence also occurs in the *Kaṭhakasaṃhitā*, as follows:

KS 34,8; 11

[...] *yas sattriyaṃ pratigrhṇāti. puruṣaṃ vai so ’ti* [...] *puruṣaṃ khalu vā ete ’danti yad dvādaśāhena yājayanti*

The one who accepts something coming from the *sattra* is indeed eating a man. Indeed, when they make (somebody) perform a twelve-day sacrifice they are eating a human being.

Thus, the Vedic passages devoted to this subject seem to contribute to reinforcing the image of the assumed self-immolation, commonly evoked at least as the prototypical sacrifice (e.g. Lévi 1898: 133; Tull 1990: 55; Malamoud 2002: 21)³⁹ and especially postulated in order to explain the king Soma-slaying semantic field.⁴⁰ However, they can often be of help in understanding how important its substitutive realization was. Indeed, in the earliest sources we also find illustrative sentences about this redemption, where the sense of replacing the self to be immolated with an animal victim is clearly explained. In another *Kaṭhakasaṃhitā* passage already pointed out by Heesterman (1987: 95), it is explained that the consecrated man (the *dīksita*) redeems himself by means of the fact that he takes hold of an animal victim: *de facto* he kills an animal as the sacrificial victim. As a consequence, the one who eats something of this victim is indeed eating a man.

KS 24,7

[...] *yat paśum ālabhate. ātmānaṃ tena niṣkrṇāti*. [...] *tasya yo ’śnāti puruṣam atti*.

He (the *dīksita*) redeems himself by taking hold of an animal victim. [...] the one who eats something of this [victim] is indeed eating a man.

We cannot definitely exclude that the sacrificer’s self-immolation and especially the chance to avoid such a fate by paying a ransom for his life was the common background for all the reinterpretations of the notion of redeeming themselves (*niṣkr-*

³⁸ “... eine Erinnerung daran gab, wie bei Sattras Menschen zu Tode kamen, und aus *atti* mußte man eigentlich auf einen ursprünglichen Kannibalismus schließen!” (... there was a remembrance of how people died in Sattras, and from *atti* one should actually infer an original cannibalism).

³⁹ By contrast, Filliozat (1963: 39) stated that “l’autocrémation du moine bouddhiste ne doit pas être rapprochée du sacrifice brahmanique, en dépit de son origine indienne”.

⁴⁰ As clearly explained by Pinault (2019: 273), when the Soma-plant is bought, it is welcomed as “a king, who comes voluntarily as guest to the sacrifice”, and: “It is clear that the plant is personified, and that its pressing is comparable to the sacrifice of an animal. This equivalence has long been recognized; it is supported by the repeated sentence that considers the pressing to be tantamount to a killing: *ghnānti vā etāt sōmaṃ yad abhisuṇvānti* ‘One kills the *soma* when one presses it’ (TS 6.6.9.2 and other formulations in many other texts).”

literally denoting the act of buying, paying off themselves), as was mentioned above when we focused on the new details added by the second passage containing our questioned phrase *ātmādakṣiṇam sattrām*, i.e. KB 15,1.17–26, with respect to TS 7,4.9. The general pattern actually seems that of a hero who gains a divine state for himself by means of the sacrifice, provided that he offers the whole booty, that is the whole outcome of his magnificence, to all the other members of his brotherhood and to his community in general. Thus, the sacrificer can be replaced by a victim, provided that he offers this victim and all the goods offered in sacrifice, i.e. the whole *dakṣiṇā*, to the community.

Such a notion of the sacrificer's redemption was variously re-elaborated in the Brāhmaṇas. For instance, the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* emphasizes a purchase, but what is bought is Soma, which could be considered the substitute *par excellence* for the sacrificer envisioned as the expected victim, to be ritually killed (when its stalks are pressed):

AiB 1,13

[...] *sarve nandanti yaśasāgatenety anvāha. yaśo vai somo rājā, sarvo ha vā etena kṛīyamāṇena nandati yaś ca yajñe lapsyamāno bhavati yaś ca na. sabhāsāhena sakhyā sakhāya ity eṣa vai brāhmaṇānām sabhāsāhaḥ sakhā yat somo rājā. kilbiṣasprḍ ity eṣa u eva kilbiṣasprḍ yo vai bhavati, yaḥ śreṣṭhatām āsnute sa kilbiṣam bhavati tasmād āhur mānuvoco mā pracārīḥ, kilbiṣam nu mā yātayann iti pituṣaṇir ity annam vai pitu, dakṣiṇā vai pitu. tām enena sanoty annasanim evainam tat karoti [...]*

[...] [It is said:] “All rejoice with the one who reached glory.” (RS 10,71.10) Indeed king Soma is glory. Everyone rejoices with the one which is bought, both he who is going to obtain something in sacrifice and he who is not. [It is said:] “The comrades with the comrade pre-eminent in the assembly” (RS 10,71.10). Indeed, he is the comrade who is pre-eminent in the assembly among the creators of sacred formulations, i.e. king Soma. [It is said:] He is “rescuing [them] from the sin” (RS 10,71.10). Indeed, he is a savior from sin. The one who becomes [the comrade pre-eminent in the assembly] indeed, who attains the pre-eminence, becomes sin. Therefore, they say: “Do not recite, do not proceed! Let him not be returning the sin!” He is a winner of nourishment. Nourishment is food; nourishment is the *dakṣiṇā*. Therefore, he wins with it; indeed, this makes him a winner of food. [...]

In any case, at the time when the above-cited sources were completed, it is clear that real self-immolation had become obsolete and that the relevant competitive and pressing context so well described by Falk (1985; 1986: 30–36) had been replaced by new purely ritualistic competitions in some specific sacrificial patterns such as the *vājapeya* or the *rājasūya*, where the outcome of horse-races and dice games was absolutely predictable.

Furthermore, while noticing how the collective sacrifice is put in a bad light compared to that based on a distinction between the roles of patron and officiant especially in TS 7,2.10.1, where the notion of purification also seems to be fake compared to the original context, one wonders if this assumed piece of evidence for ancient “cannibalism” might rather be “considered an exercise in anti-*vrātya* propa-

ganda”, like some gloomy portrayals of Vrātyas singled out in the Brāhmaṇas and explained in such a manner by H. H. Hock (2016: 111–112).

4. Conclusions

On the basis of the present survey of Vedic and technical sources regarding the *sattra*, we could conclude that the *sattra* way of performing a sacrifice with a plural agency but without a genuine priest was a well-known sacrificial modality before the age of the Black *Yajurvedasaṃhitā*, after which it was perhaps kept alive in the Śrautasūtras by putting it on the same level as the *ahīna* way. In other words, the *sattra* as the exclusion of the professional priests does not seem to be a late invention of Brahmins, dating back to the age of the latest Brāhmaṇas, such as the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (see the above-mentioned ŚB 9,5.2.12–13) and above all it was not a fallback for the lost centrality of the Brahmins. On the contrary, it might date back to the pre-*Yajurvedasaṃhitā* time, at least, and it seems reasonable to expect that we can only find some historical reflection on the difference between *sattras* and the other sacrifices after the Yajurveda age, i.e. when the new orthodox system distinguishing between patron and officiant priest(s) had really become the rule. One might wonder in fact why a Brahmin, whose nature or changed socio-political conditions made him decide to perform a sacrifice far away from the rest of the world, should feel the need to provide the world itself with a technical-philosophical explanation for the legitimacy of his choice (be it free or forced), as the one given in the selected Mīmamsā sources. And was this solely because this sacrificial pattern was felt to be distant from a classical pattern which the Brahmin had himself autonomously established? By contrast, an important step in the Brahmins’ plan to “inventing themselves” might have been to explain how the roles of priest and patron started to separate. Such an explanation discusses the sources where a plural agency and the commingling of fires are clearly imbued with the early spirit of the union of the clans (with the imagery of the central fire placed in the middle of allied peoples). It is actually tempting to consider the Black *Yajurveda* passages about such a comparison, which are especially focused on the contrast between *dīksita* and *a-dīksita* in the sacrificial arena, as a kind of aetiological myth about what will henceforth be the orthodox sacrificial schema.

We have seen how the passages which deal with the *sattra* do indeed concentrate on the agency involved in the *ahīna* and in the *sattra* ways of performing the twelve-day sacrifice, which are compared with each other. Within the boundaries of such a comparison, the offering – which is the best one can offer – is clearly envisioned as self-immolation. This is exactly what Heesterman and Falk have maintained – but it is important to interpret *dākṣiṇā-* in our bahuvr̥hi *ātmādakṣiṇa-* as an offering and not as a priestly gift. Indeed, the Black Yajurveda sources seem to be well aware

that the material *dakṣiṇā*, i.e. the offering itself, which is the best a *dīksita* can offer, allows the *dīksita* to be free, and not really immolated. However, they emphasize an assumedly dark side of the *sattra* in order to prevent anyone from assuming the role of a priest in such ceremonies and *vice versa* to promote an anti-*sattra* / anti-*vrātya* propaganda, which reinforces the newly inaugurated orthodox sacrificial arena. It seems that these sources intentionally take the compound *ātmādakṣiṇa*- literally and plausibly pretend to ignore that there is a soteriological interpretation of sacrificing themselves (see above, section 2), i.e. the notion of offering all the best one can, due to one's past successes, with the aim of reaching heaven as pure light. The sacrificer(s) moves/move on a heroic horizon balanced between death and immortality. The hero of a brotherhood has the role of food-provider for the community, but he had to gain loyal support for his expeditions. As sacrificer he might have obtained public allegiance according to the prototypical relationship illustrated by Prajāpati's myth.⁴¹ It is noteworthy that the self-immolation of the sacrificer, assumed to be a part of the *sattra*, at least in its prototypical version, also appears in *vrātya* dynamics, where the *sthapati* as *primus inter pares* indeed plays the role of an ascetic who sacrifices himself by carrying out the observances (*vrata*-) of the whole group (see above BŚS 18,24): as a *dīksita* he is often depicted as if he were dead.⁴² The aim of *sattrins'* and *vrātyas'* sacrifices officially consists in gaining access to immortality.

To sum up, I believe that it is time to try to capitalize on the fundamental awareness that not all ancient Indian institutions necessarily descended from the Brahmanical mainstream – as Bronkhorst has been teaching us from 2007 onward. *sattras* must have been part of a non-Brahmanical section of the Indo-Aryan people, dating back to an age when Brahmins – because of their clash with perhaps distant Indo-Aryan relatives – were forced to deal with their institutions, trying to incorporate them within their so-called inclusivist programme. With the advent of inheritance rights, due to the Yajurvedic development of sacrifice and society, the sacrificer historically split into two figures, respectively the chieftain who absorbed the ruling, military and economic power, and the priest as a recipient of a portion of the goods earned by the leader who guaranteed the technical relationship with the gods and above all with the collective tradition.⁴³

⁴¹ In other words, a hero is “besought for increase of wealth” – and perhaps the idea of cooking the *grhapati* might have derived from this basic notion, because through him “one receives the possibility of eating food” (Gonda 1986: 55). Nonetheless, all those who entrust themselves to their hero become obliged (*vrātyāḥ*) to him and come to constitute his troops (*vrātāḥ*), as explained by *Maitrāyaṇīsamhitā* 2,6.12 and *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa* 1,7.4.3 in the interpretation by Profers (2007: 58–59) and Maggi (2019: 64–65).

⁴² See e.g. JUB 3,11.3: *athaitad dviṭīyam mriyate yad dīksate*, “When he is consecrated, he dies for the second time” and the relevant comment by Kaelber (1989: 128).

⁴³ All translations from Vedic and Sanskrit are the author's, unless explicitly stated. The present work is part of a Cagliari University Research Project REG RASSR15811 “Justifying changes and making the new acceptable from the Antiquity to the Early Modern age” (RAS 2019–2020).

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Sažetak

Jednom od karakterističnih značajki sattre obično se smatra činjenica da svaki sudionik sattre može obnašati funkciju svećenika. Dakle, ne postoji „svećenički dar”, već Falk tvrdi kako žrtvovatelji prinose sebe, tj. svoj *ātman*, kao *dakṣiṇu*, kako je objašnjeno u TS 7,4.9 i KB 15,1.23–26. S druge strane, način prinošenja žrtvovanja sattra mogao je biti sekundarna, kasnija faza u povijesti žrtvenoga obreda. Doista, starodrevni vedski izvori uključuju doslovne preporuke za izvođenje *dvādaśāhe* za sebe, umjesto za nekoga drugoga. Štoviše, „višebrojnost djelatništva *sattre*” čak je postala predmetom obrade u Jaiminievim *Mīmāṃsāsūtrama* 10,6.45–59 (*sattrasya bahukarṭṛkatvādhikaraṇam*). Cilj je ovoga rada također preispitati izraz *ātmādakṣiṇam sattrām* na temelju rada Candotti, Neri i Pontillo 2020. i 2021., gdje se najstarije pojave pojma *dakṣiṇā* reinterpretiraju kao žrtvovateljeva „veličanstvenost” u apstraktnom smislu prototipskoga stanja svojstvenoga uspješnomu vodi, kao i u materijalnijemu smislu kao ishod takva stanja, koje postaje obredna srž koja zajednici omogućuje da izvede žrtveni obred.

Yājñavalkya's characterization of the Ātman and the four kinds of suffering in early Buddhism

Abstract

This paper offers an analysis of four attributes ascribed to the Ātman by Yājñavalkya: *ajāra-* 'unaging', *amāra-* 'undying', *amṛta-* 'immortal' and *abhāya-* 'not-being afraid, unfearing' (BĀU [M] 4,4.29–31 (ŚB XIV 14,7.2.29–31) ~ BĀU [K] 4,4.23–25). It is shown how they are related to the Early Upaniṣadic concept of Saṃsāra (in the later terminology) and karmic distribution, which in turn is linked to the older, ritualistic idea of *iṣṭāpūrtā-* '[the effect of] the offered-and-given'. Further, it is argued that the four kinds of suffering mentioned in Early Buddhism – birth, aging, sickness, and death – are likely derived from Upaniṣadic ideas such as recorded in the BĀU.¹

1.1

Books III and IV of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (BĀU),² traditionally entitled “Yājñavalkyakāṇḍa”, form a consistent legend as a whole, a kind of drama around this sage. Their contents are closely connected with material that is found in Volume X and XI of the *Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa* [ŚB] and Book II of the BĀU.

Book III can be regarded as a kind of summary of the previous theories in the history of speculation on *puruṣa-*, *brāhmaṇ-* and *ātmán-*, dramatized into a scene of the Brahmodya (theological disputation) held by King Janaka in which famous priest-scholars participate, among them Yājñavalkya and Śākalya. This framework as well as some parts of its contents (e.g., questions about the number of the gods, 3,9.1–9) are based on ŚB 11,6.3 (~ *Jaiminīya-Bṛāhmaṇa* [JB] 2,76f.). The *Puruṣa*

¹ This paper is a revised version of an article published with the same title in EJVS: Gotô 2005. Its short preliminary work was written in Japanese: Gotô 1996a. This study owes much to the discussions with Junko Sakamoto and her articles, especially 2000a, and its former Japanese version 1996. May Japanese readers refer also to Gotô 2009.

² The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* is transmitted in two recensions: Mādhyandina (M) and Kāṇva (K). The citations in this paper rest on the Mādhyandina recension, which is deemed on the whole more original than the Kāṇva, concerning the matters relevant to the subject.

doctrine of Vidagdha Śākalya (3,9.10–17) reflects the ideas which Dṛptabālāki Gārgya sets out before King Ajātaśatru in BĀU 2,1.2–13.

Book IV consists of three dialogues: two between Yājñavalkya and King Janaka (Chapters 1–2 and 3–4) and one between Yājñavalkya and his wife Maitreyī on the occasion of his renunciation (*pra-vraj*) of the world (Chapter 5). This last chapter seems to have been taken from BĀU 2,4. The book is based on the whole upon the discussion about the Agnihotra offering including Janaka's Five-Fire-Doctrine in ŚB 11,6.2, on which cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2000b; 2001b. Its traces are clearly observed especially in the explanation of Puruṣa and Virāj (4,2.2–4) at the opening of the second dialogue (4,3.1), and in the questions about *jyōtiṣ-* 'light' (4,3.2–7). Yājñavalkya's denial of the necessity of a son in 3,5.1 and 4,4.26 (K 22) as well as his renunciation of the world in 4,5.2, 25 (K 2, 15) can be regarded as a counter-stroke to Janaka's conclusion in his Five-Fire-Doctrine (ŚB 11,6.2.10), which identifies the daily deeds in the secular life with the Agnihotra offering itself.

Further possible sources of components of Book IV are: ŚB 10,5.2 (mystiques on the Agnicayana) for the theory of the Puruṣa in the right eye (4,2.2–3) via BĀU 2,3; Ajātaśatru's doctrine (BĀU 2,3) on the speculation about sleep (4,3); ŚB 10,6.3 (Śāṇḍilya's teaching) for the qualification of the Ātman (M 4,4.6f., K 5f.), cf. Gotô 1996c: 855; 1996d: 81.

The famous formula *sá eṣā néti néti ātmā* 'That is this (well known) ātman [which is described] "not ...", "not ..."' (see below, citation (2)) appears in 3,9.28 (K 26), 4,2.6 (K 4), 4,4.27 (K 22), and once more, only in the Kāṇva 4,5.15, always concluding a discussion. Also this phrase which characterizes the Yājñavalkyakāṇḍa seems to issue from Book II: *āthāta ādeśāḥ | néti néti. ná hy étaśmād iti néty any-āt páram āsti* 'Then the assertion (what it is)³ [of this, i.e., Ātman = *brāhmaṇ-* = *puruṣa-*] is: "not ...", "not ...". Because there is beyond this one no other thing [that could be called] "thus (: this is ...)" [nor] "not thus (: this is not ...)" (M 2,3.11, K 6). This sentence in BĀU II reminds us once again of the concluding word in Janaka's Five-Fire-Doctrine: *nātaḥ páram astīti hovāca* "'here is nothing beyond this", said [Janaka]' (ŚB 11,6.2.10).

1.2

The leitmotiv of the two dialogues between Yājñavalkya and Janaka (4,1–2, and 3–4) is the fear about one's state after death,⁴ as shown also in the legend of Bhṛgu

³ *ādeśā-* means 'assertion', and not 'substitution' as Thieme (1966: 44; 1968) and Ikari (1969) assume; cf. Tichy 1979: 189; Gotô 1989: 149f.

⁴ In this respect, we notice a striking resemblance between BĀU IV and the dialogue of Buddha and Ajātasattu (Ajātaśatru) in the Sāmaññaphalasutta (*Dīghanikāya* II, in Pāli). P. Deussen (1897: 456) has already pointed out the possibility that the opening part of the "six heretics" of the Sāmaññaphalasutta may have been modelled after the style of BĀU 4,1(–2),

(see below section 3). This theme appears clearly in the somewhat ironical question of Yājñavalkya, which, placed in the middle of the first dialogue, introduces his teaching:

(1) BĀU [M] 4,2.1 (ŚB 14,6.11.1) ~ BĀU [K] 4,2.1

... yāthā vai samrāḍ mahāntam ādhvānam eṣyān rāthaṃ vā nāvam vā samādādātaivām evaitābhir upaniṣādbhiḥ samāhitātmāsy. evaṃ vṛndāraka āḍhyāḥ sānn adhītavēda uktōpaniṣatka itō vimucyāmānaḥ kvā gamiṣyasīti. nāhām tād bhagavan veda yātra gamiṣyāmīty. ātha vai te 'hām tād vakṣyāmi yātra gamiṣyasīti. brāvītu bhāgavān iti. ||

[Yājñavalkya said:] "As, verily, oh great king, he who is going to make a long journey would take up a chariot or a ship to himself, just so you are the one whose self (*ātman*-) is equipped with these profound theories (*upaniṣad*-). Standing thus at the top [of the people] [and] wealthy, where will you go as the one who has learned the Veda [and] been taught the Upaniṣad, when you are released from this world?". [Janaka said:] "I don't know, sir, where I will go to". [Yājñavalkya:] "Then I will verily tell you where you will go to". [Janaka:] "You, sir, shall please speak".

The intelligent king, thirsting for the knowledge through which one can release oneself from this fear, forces Yājñavalkya with skilful questions step by step to reveal his more profound and elevated doctrine about Ātman. Thus, both dialogues are concluded with Yājñavalkya's confirmation that the king has reached *ābhaya*-(nt.) 'absence of fear, freedom from fear'.⁵ The king rewards him for this with his kingdom and himself. The first dialogue closes as follows:

(2) BĀU [M] 4,2.6 (ŚB 14,6.11.6) ~ BĀU [K] 4,2.4

sā eṣā nēti nēty ātmā. | āgrhyo nā hi grhyaté. 'śīryo nā hi śīryaté. 'saṅgō 'sito nā sa-jyāte nā vyāthaté. ' **ābhayaṃ** vai janaka prāptō 'śīti hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ. sā hovāca janakō vāideho. nāmas te yājñavalkyā-. **ābhayaṃ** tvāgacchatād yō no bhagavann **ābhayaṃ** vedāyasa. imē videhā ayām ahām asmīti. ||

That is the self known as "not ...", "not ..." . [It is] not to be grasped, for it is not grasped; not to be broken, for it does not break; without attachment, unbound, it does not cling, nor stagger.⁶ The freedom from fear, verily, oh Janaka, you have [already] reached", said Yājñavalkya. Then said Janaka, the chief of the Videha: "Homage to you, oh Yājñavalkya. The freedom from fear shall come to you, sir, when you make us know the freedom from fear. Here are the [people of] Videha; here I am [for you]".

At the end of the second dialogue this keyword *ābhaya*- appears once again and is identified with *brāhmaṇ*-(nt.). It deserves attention that an adjective *abhāya*- 'not-being afraid, unfearing' is used beside the neuter *ābhaya*- 'absence of, freedom from fear' in the same passage (cf. fn. 13):

where the opinions of the six masters about the question "What is *brahman*" are introduced by the king in a dialogue with Yājñavalkya. The similarity between the two stories is, however, not restricted to their framework, but also to their chief motive. What both kings seek for is to overcome the fear about one's state after death. Cf. also Sakamoto-Gotō 2001a.

⁵ On *ābhaya*- 'absence of fear, freedom from fear', cf. fn. 13.

⁶ For this phrase, cf. Gotō 1980: 27 with notes.

(3) BĀU [M] 4,4.29–31 (ŚB XIV 14,7.2.29–31) ~ BĀU [K] 4,4.23–25⁷

sá vā eṣā mahān ajā ātmā | annādo (ātmānnādo) vasudānah. sá yō haivām annādām vasudānam veda, vindāte⁸ vāsu. || 29 || sá vā eṣā mahān ajā ātmā | ajāro (ātmājāro) 'māro 'bhāyo 'mṛto brāhmā-. bhayaṃ vai janaka prāpto 'sīti yājñavalkyaḥ. so 'hām bhāgavate videhān dadāmi mām cāpi sahā dāsyāyēti. || 30 || sá vā eṣā mahān ajā ātmā | ajāro (ātmājāro) 'māro 'bhāyo 'mṛto brāhmā-. bhayaṃ vai brāhmā-. bhayaṃ hí vai brāhma bhavati yā evaṃ veda. || 31 ||

“That is, verily, this great unborn⁹ *ātman*¹⁰ [which is] a food-eater, a wealth-giver. The one, who knows the food-eater,¹¹ the wealth-giver in this way, finds the wealth for himself. That is, verily, this great unborn *ātman* [which is] unaging, undying, unfearing (*abhāya-*), immortal, [and is] the *brahmaṇ*. The freedom from fear (*ābhaya-*), verily, oh Janaka, you have [already] reached”, said Yājñavalkya. “I here give you, sir, the (people and country of) Videha, and also myself together to serve you as a servant”, [said Janaka]. That is, verily, this great unborn *ātman* [which is] unaging, undying, unfearing, immortal, [and is] the *brahmaṇ*. The *brahmaṇ* is, verily, the freedom from fear. He who knows thus, indeed, makes the *brahmaṇ*, just as the freedom from fear, his own.¹²

⁷ The order of sections and the wording are different in the Kāṇva recension: K 4,4.23 (~ M 4,4.30) *eṣa brahmalokaḥ samrāḍ enaṃ prāpito 'sīti hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ. so 'haṃ bhagavate videhān dadāmi mām cāpi saha dāsyāyēti*. Section 24 is nearly equivalent to M 4,4.28–29. Section 25 (~ M 4,4.31) *sa vā eṣa mahān ajā ātmājāro 'māro 'mṛto 'bhāyo brāhmā-. bhayaṃ vai brāhmā-. bhayaṃ hí vai brāhma bhavati yā evaṃ veda*. In K 4,4.23 appears *prāpito* ‘made to arrive’ (verbal adj. of the causative) for M *prāptó*. The edition by Limaye & Vadekar 1958 supplies a *daṇḍa* (|) behind *samrāḍ* and considers *enaṃ* to be the beginning of the next sentence. *enaṃ* is, however, an enclitic, which ought to be set in the second position of a sentence. The punctuation might rather be before *samrāḍ*, but the position just behind the vocative is also regarded as the beginning of a sentence. In any case, we have here an exceptional sentence structure; cf. Gotō 1996b: 94, fn. 13.

⁸ When a main clause following a relative clause begins with a verb, the verb has the accent (i.e., it has a value of the sentence beginning). See examples in Minard 1936: 180f., §658.

⁹ What is not born will not die. *ajā-* denotes a nature beyond genesis and termination (in opposition to the axiom: those which have been made, constructed, are impermanent). This is attested as an essential attribute of a universal principle already in the ṚV.

¹⁰ The three words *mahān ajā ātmā* form a unit, which is given in the translation here as a predicate. It is also possible to take them for a subject: As such, verily, this great unborn *ātman* is a food eater ... Cf. BĀU [K] 4,4.22 *sa vā eṣa mahān ajā ātmā yo 'yaṃ vijñānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu. ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaya ākāśas tasmīn chete* ‘This which consists of the discriminating faculty among the vital faculties (organs), that, verily, is this great unborn *ātman*. It lies in this space, which is inside the heart’ (BĀU [M] differs; the same sentence found in BĀU [K/M] 2,1.17 [ŚB 14,5.1.17] seems to be the origin for [K] 4,4.22). Cf. also BĀU [M] 23 = [K] 21 (śloka) *ajā ātmā mahān dhruvāḥ* ‘the unborn *ātman*, the great, the firm’.

¹¹ For the meaning of ‘food-eater’ (*annāda-*, *attār-*) as a ruling person in the society in opposition to *ánna-*, *ādyā-*, *adyāmāna-*, cf. Rau 1957: 34f.

¹² Commonly interpreted: ‘The one who knows thus, verily, becomes *brahmaṇ*, which is even freedom from fear’. Here is, however, to be assumed *idām bhū* construction (Hoffmann 1976: 557–559; Gotō 2008: 117–122): ‘the one comes to rule over, to control, be competent for, hold *brahmaṇ*’, ‘he makes *brahmaṇ* his own’.

1.3

The Ātman-doctrine serves, after all, as means to deliver oneself from the fear about the state after death. In text (3) quoted above, we find the following four words qualifying the Ātman: *ajāra-* 'unaging', *amāra-* 'undying', *amṛta-* 'immortal' and *abhāya-* 'not-being afraid, unfearing'.¹³ These four qualifiers¹⁴ are no mere epithets for a decorative modification, but express the essential qualities of the Ātman, which transcends this very fear. At first glance, however, *amāra-* 'undying' and *amṛta-* 'immortal' seem to have no clear difference in meaning. It appears also that no special attention has been yet given to explain the necessities of the two terms. This paper aims to elucidate this problem through finding clues in the philosophical background of the epoch. For this purpose, we must retrace at first the understanding of the Veda concerning the state after one's death. For the conclusion see below section 5, at the end. The result will then be compared with the enumeration of four kinds of suffering in early Buddhism, so that its significance in the history of ideas may become clear.

2

The teachings ascribed to Yājñavalkya deserve to be regarded as the highlight of the philosophy of the Upaniṣad into which preceding ideas flow all together. And from there issue various theses presented by the *brāhmaṇas* and *śramaṇas*, i.e., the traditional thinkers from the priest class on the one hand, and freethinkers and founders of new religious streams on the other. The discussions on the *ātmán-* 'the eternal substance of the self' which continues to exist also after one's death, are based on the axiom of *kárman-* 'what one does, deeds' which determines one's state after death, as well as that of *saṁsāra-* 'transmigration, perpetual succession of births and deaths'.¹⁵ All those ideas have their origin in the ritualistic speculation about

¹³ *ajāra-*, *amāra-*, *abhāya-* can be interpreted as determinative compounds, the latter member of which retains its verbal meaning unchanged (cf. Wackernagel 1905: 215). Pāṇini 4,2,116 teaches the accent of *ajāra-*, *amāra-*, *amitra-*, *amṛta-* as Bahuvrīhi in this order. *amṛta-* ('immortal, having no death at all'; nt. sg. 'immortality' and 'ambrosia, nectar, the nourishment of the gods') goes back, including its accent-place, to the Proto-Indo-Iranian (cf. av. *aməša-* < **h-mṛto-*, and was most probably formed as a Bahuvrīhi in its origin (cf. Wackernagel 1905: 226, 295). *abhaya-* (in citation (2), and (3)) with initial accentuation (looking like Karmadhāraya-Tatpuruṣa) is used in the *Ṛgveda* and later as an adjective 'free from fear, safe' and substantive 'absence of fear (i.e., danger), freedom from fear, safety' in the neuter singular. The word seems to have been formed by accent shift from Bahuvrīhi **abhayá-* 'without fear'. For *amāra-*, cf. section 5, at the end.

¹⁴ This set of the four words occurs also in BĀU [M] 3,8.8 (lacking in the Kāṇva) among other negated qualifiers of *etād ... akṣāram* 'this imperishable one'.

¹⁵ The word *saṁsāra-* itself does not appear in Vedic, but only after the *Kaṭha-* and *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*. It is likely that the term was first used in the Buddhist texts, cf.,

iṣṭāpūrtā- in the Vedic prose known as *brāhmaṇa-*. Let us take a backward glance to see how those conceptions came into being.

In the earliest stage it was generally admitted that a person who has performed enough sacrificial rituals and has duly rewarded priests on earth will go after death to the world of the fathers (*pitár-*) in the heavens, such as Yama's paradise described in Ṛgveda I and X, where he lives in ease and comfort for ever. There he recovers his *iṣṭāpūrtā-*,¹⁶ i.e., 'the offered (to the gods) and donated (to the priests)' by him in the previous life, viz. 'the effect of the offerings and donations' belonging to him. It is his *iṣṭāpūrtā-* that composes the life after death, provides him with celestial food and body. In the course of time, this optimistic vision was threatened by the fear that his *iṣṭāpūrtā-* might be exhausted; this means re-dying *punarmṛtyú-*¹⁷ in heaven, and accordingly, re-birth on earth. How high among the heavens can one ascend, how long and in which conditions can one stay there, and into which state of existence is one to be reborn in the next life on earth: all these questions are determined mechanically by the quality and quantity of one's *iṣṭāpūrtā-* accumulated during one's former life. Measures for getting out of re-dying were searched for. That was a most urgent subject for inquiry in the Brāhmaṇa period. The following passage is probably the oldest clear attestation of such conception:

e.g., *Dīghanikāya* 1, 14: *te ca sattā sandhāvanti saṃsaranti cavanti upapajjanti atthi tv eva sassatisamaṃ* 'even if those existent beings run around, make *saṃsāra*, migrate, get into (the next life), it exists, nevertheless, in the same way continuously'. The verb for 'run' shows in a well-known suppletive paradigm: the present *dhāva-*^{-ti}, aorist *á-sara-t*, perfect *sasāra*, causative *sārāya-*^{-ti} (*dhāvāya-*^{-ti} has developed into an independent verb for 'drive [a chariot]'), nouns *sāra-*, *sarā-* etc., i.e., *dhāva-*^{-ti} supplies its present-stem. In Pāli, *sandhāvati saṃsarati* forms a stock phrase, in which remarkably the normal expression *sandhāvati* 'runs a round' is made clear with the artificial verb *saṃsarati* in the sense of 'makes a *saṃsāra*'; as for *sam*, cf. *saṃvatsarā-* 'a complete cycle of one year'. *sassatisamaṃ* 'in the same way continuously, in the same way in successive manner' is explained from **śāśvatī-samam* as adverb from the accusative. As for *śāśvant-* 'occurring in succession, happening continuously', *śāśvatā-* 'having nature of occurring successively', cf. Klingenschmitt 1975: 67ff., 75f. = 2005: 149ff. – An existence situated in this endless chain of *Saṃsāra* cannot be denoted as "a man", "a person", or "a human being", because a (re-)birth into the human state is only conditioned by *karman* accumulated in one's respective "bank account". From this point of view we can probably explain the origin of the Buddhist term *sattva-* (cf. Windisch 1908: 12, 27, 49) as a masculine: The neuter *sattvá-* 'being-ness, existence, die Wesenheit' (TS-prose +) was personified and masculinized, so that the Buddhists could express the subject in *Saṃsāra* avoiding the use of the word *ātmán-*; cf. fn. 24, 36. – The *Saṃsāra* theory observes a living's cycle from the viewpoint of the earth, thus earth – heaven (or other world) – earth. Cf. fn. 24. In the Vedas, the home ground of a human was located in the heavens, cf. RV 10,72 (Mārtāṇḍa's return to heaven), Sakamoto-Gotô 2000: 479f., fn. 21, fn. 23.

¹⁶ A Dvandva compound of *iṣṭā-* 'offered (to the gods, and perhaps also to the fathers, ancestors, in the sacrificial rituals)' from *yaj* 'revere, sacrifice', and *pūrtā-* 'given, gifted, donated (to the priests as *dāksinā-* 'ritual fee' or other gifts)' from *pari/pṛ-* 'give'. It is used usually in the singular (collective), sometimes also in the dual. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2000a: 475f.

¹⁷ The word *punarmṛtyú-* itself occurs in the *Śatapatha-*, *Taittirīya-*, *Jaiminīya-*, and *Kauṣṭhiki-Brāhmaṇa*, *Śāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka*, etc. On the passages in which the concept is definitely stated, see Lévi 1898: 95–97, Horsch 1971: 136f.

(4) *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* 1,8.6: 123,18ff.

yó vai bahú dadivān bahv ījānò 'gnīm utsādāyate, 'kṣīt. tād vai tāsya tād. ījāná vai sukṭò 'mum lokām naḥsanti. té vā eté yān náḥsatrāṇi. yád āhūr, jyótir āvāpādi tārakāvāpādi, té vā eté 'vapadyanta. āptivā sthitē tā idām yathālokām sacante yadāmūtaḥ pracyāvantē. 'tha yó bahú dadivān bahv ījānò 'gnihotrām juhóti darśapūrṇamāsáu yájate cāturmāsyaír yájate bahūni satrāny upāiti, tāsya vā etád akṣayyām āparimitam. tiro vā ījānād yajñó bhavati. tād ābhyām evāgnibhyām dagdhavyāḥ. svām vā etád iṣṭām anvārohati.

If one, verily, after having given much (to the priests), having offered much (to the gods) (i.e., performed many rituals) for himself, sets aside [his ritual] fire (by his death), [his *iṣṭāpūrtā*-] is not-perishing [with his death] (*akṣīt*).¹⁸ As such (not-perishing), verily, it (*iṣṭāpūrtā*-) belongs to him. Having performed their rituals, verily, reach the righteous (good-doing ones) the yonder world. What the constellations are, they, verily, are these. When [people] say: "A light has fallen down", "A star has fallen down", these, verily, fall down as such. After having reached and stayed [there], they follow here [the earth] according to their (own acquired) world, as soon as (or: always when) they fall out from the yonder world. If one, on the other hand, after having given much, having performed many rituals for himself, offers the Agnihotra, performs the New- and Full Moon sacrifices, performs the Four-month-sacrifices [and] participates in many Soma sessions, [then] this immeasurable, imperishable (*akṣayyā*-) one (: *iṣṭāpūrtā*-), verily, belongs to him. The ritual, verily, becomes apart (hidden) from him who has performed his rituals. Therefore he is to be burnt with these very two fires (Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya). Therewith (by way of these two fires) he ascends to his own [effect of] performed ritual (*iṣṭā*-) afterwards.¹⁹

Two types of sacrificers (*yājamāna*-) are compared in this important passage. The first one performs many rituals and offers generous gifts, but obviously only within the limits of the Grhya rituals. His *iṣṭāpūrtā*- '[the effect of] performed rituals and offered gifts' continues to exist after his death but is limited to a certain period, so that he, having become a star in a lower heaven, must fall down into a certain sphere on earth according to the condition that again his *iṣṭāpūrtā*- determines. The second one performs many Śrauta rituals in the capacity of Āhitāgni, i.e., one who has settled his sacred fires (two in this case: Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya) required for a Śrauta ritual. His *iṣṭāpūrtā*- is everlasting, so that he can enjoy eternal bliss in the highest heaven. The Śrauta rituals are recommended in this somewhat threatening way for the sake of release from re-dying.

Besides reflections on the relation between the effect of ritual deeds and re-dying (and consequently re-birth), we find in the Brāhmaṇas a notion that ritual acts on earth compose one's *ātmán*- 'self' in heaven (cf. Fushimi 1995). In this context

¹⁸ *akṣīt* is probably an artificial formation for 'not-passing away' in the sense of 'not perishing with one's death' in contrast to the usual adjective *akṣayyā*- 'imperishable', which is not conditioned and therefore usually means 'never to perish, everlasting', as is actually the case 4 lines below. See Sakamoto-Gotō 2000a: 489. Bodewitz 1976: 161 points out rightly *iṣṭāpūrtā*- is to be understood as the subject here.

¹⁹ The offered sacrifices, and the given donations or ritual fees ascend to the highest heaven by way of the fire(s) set for the Śrauta rituals. Only taking this route, a sacrificer can attain that place. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000a: 476ff.

Ātman means not only a spiritual principle of an individual as seen in the Upaniṣads, but also a concrete, material subject in the next stage of existence, i.e., a living body in the yonder world. Śāṇḍilya's doctrine on Agnicayana (ŚB 10,6.3) may be instructive in this respect, where the word is used in the sense of 'body' of an eagle into the form of which the altar is piled up, as well as of 'self, subject-substance in the next existence' (cf. Gotô 1996d: 79f.).

3

The well-known legend of Bhṛgu, transmitted in two versions, ŚB 11,6.1 and JB 1,42–44, demonstrates a transition of the notion about the yonder world which took place during the Brāhmaṇa period. According to the ŚB, Bhṛgu goes forth in five directions following instructions of his father Varuṇa: east, south, west, north and northeast. He saw men tormented by men in the first four directions. Those are the scenes in which trees, grass, animals and water, taking human forms, revenge themselves in the yonder world on those who have tormented them in this world. In the last direction he saw a beautiful (*kalyāṇī-*) and an excessively beautiful woman (*ātikalyāṇī-*), representing confidence (*śraddhā-*) and non-confidence (*āśraddhā-*) respectively, as well as a black man with a staff, representing anger (*kródha-*; see below). According to the JB version, Bhṛgu had been deprived of breath by Varuṇa and visited six places in the world after death; their locations are not explicitly given.

Since early days, sacrificial rituals are regarded as slaughter of the offerings such as Soma, cattle (Paśu), or grain (Haviryajña). For example:

(5) ŚB 2,2,2,1 = 4,3,4,1 = 11,2,2,1

ghnānti vā etād yajñām | yād enaṃ tanvāte. yān nv evā rājānam abhiṣuṇvānti tāt tām ghnanti. yāt paśūṃ samjñāpāyanti viśāsati tāt tām ghnanty. ulūkhalamusalābhyām dṛṣadupalābhyām haviryajñām ghnanti.||

They, verily, slay this sacrifice, when they stretch it for themselves (i.e., perform it). Just when they press the King (i.e., Soma) out, then they slay him. When they make an (sacrificial) animal to agree [to be offered] (i.e., kill), [and] order [to cut it] apart, then they slay it. By means of a mortar and a pestle, by means of two millstones (a stone-plate and an upper millstone) they slay Haviryajña (grain-sacrifice).

It seems very probable that the black man, personified anger, in the legend of Bhṛgu stands for the Haviryajña in this citation. In the course of time this sort of guilt complex became stronger and stronger. We find also in ŚB 12,9.1.1 a conception that what we eat in this world will eat us in the yonder world in return. Those sins are expiated by the performance of the Agnihotra, which presupposes setting up of the special fires for the Śrauta rituals.

What attracts our attention in Bhṛgu's story, especially in the version of the ŚB, is that the worlds which Bhṛgu visited still alive are situated on the same level as our world, i.e., on earth. It follows that they are not worlds in heaven, which follow

directly one's death on earth as described in the early Brāhmaṇas, but places of existence into which one is reborn after re-dying in heaven. Their stay in heaven is not mentioned here. In this sense, the notion is near to the later one in the theory called Samsāra, cf. section 4, after citation (7), and fn. 15, 24, 25, 35, 39.

4

A summary of the orthodox views on the “*samsāra*” in the Upaniṣads is given in the theory ascribed to Yājñavalkya in BĀU [M] 4,4.3–5 (ŚB 14,8.2.3–5) ~ [K] 4,4.2–4. It commences with the scene of dying:

(6) BĀU [M] 4,4,3 (ŚB 14,7.2.3) ~ BĀU [K] 4,4.2

tāsya haitāsya | hṛdayasyāgram prādyotate. tēna pradyotēnaiśā ātmā niṣkrāmati cakṣuṣṭō vā mūrḍhnō vānyébhyo vā śarīradeśébhyas. tām utkrāmantam prāṇō 'nūtkrāmati. prāṇām anūtkrāmantam sārve prāṇā anūtkrānti.

Thus, namely, the tip of this one's heart flashes forth. By way of this flashing-forth, this Ātman steps out, from the visual organ or from the top of the head, or from other body areas. After it (the Ātman) which is stepping out (upwards) steps out the breath (upwards). After the breath which is stepping out (upwards) step out all living functions²⁰ (upwards).

Immediately the scene changes into the moment of being born again on earth:²¹

(7) *ibid.*

saṃjñānam evānvavakrāmati. sā eṣā jñāḥ saviññāno bhavati.²² tām vidyākarmāṇī samanvārabhete pūrvaprajñā ca. ||

[The Ātman] steps downwards after the very agreement (i.e., to the appointed place).²³ This Ātman becomes thus conscious, provided with intellect (faculties of perception). The knowledge and deeds [of him] hold on to it (the Ātman) together from behind, and also the former insight (i.e., the insight accumulated in his previous lives) [holds on to him from behind].

²⁰ On *prāṇāḥ* in the meaning of 'living functions, sense organs' originated from an elliptic plural ('the breath and so on'), cf. Delbrück 1888: 600; Oertel 1941: 45f. = 1994: 1414f., fn. 1; Hoffmann 1956: 5 = 1976: 387f.

²¹ For the abrupt change of a scene there are other examples in the Upaniṣads, e.g., *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* 4,1.7 (Pautrāyaṇa and Raikva), cf. Gotō 1996b: 100. Cf. also the case in JB in fn. 25.

²² For these two sentences the Kāṇva recension has: *saviññāno bhavati. saviññānam evānvavakrāmati* 'He becomes provided with intellect (faculties of perception, discrimination). He steps down towards just a one provided with intellect (i.e., another living being as a matrix for his next existence).'

²³ For *saṃjñāna-*, cf. RV 10,19.4 ('meeting-place' for cows). Here is meant the place where a transmigrating subject meets the mixture of father's *retas* and mother's blood (cf. fn. 36), or the object into which all the living functions agree to descend (cf., for instance, JB 1,17 *tasya vai saṃbhaviṣyataḥ prāṇā agre praviśanty atha retas sicyate* 'As he is going to come into being, the sense organs enter first, then the sperm is poured').

The Ātman of a dying person steps out upwards (*ut-kram*) from his body followed by all his living functions; then it steps downwards (*ava-kram*) for rebirth, to which knowledge (*vidyā-*), deeds (*kārmaṇ-*) and insight (*prajñā-*) gained in the course of his previous lives, hold on from behind together. This fact presupposes the notion that knowledge acquired as well as deeds performed by a person on earth, whether good or bad, are accumulated in heaven and wait for his ascension after his death. His Ātman is equipped again with them only in heaven and descends accompanied by them to rebirth on earth. This idea is beyond all questions a heritage from the ritualistic speculation of *iṣṭāpūrtā-* (see above, section 2). The intermediate stage between death and rebirth on earth consists of the heavenly life, which ends with re-dying (*punarmṛtyu-*) in the Brāhmaṇas. This stage is, however, not mentioned in the Upaniṣads. It may be considered already to be only as short time as no longer reckoned as “a life”,²⁴ or is not relevant for the discussion at issue.²⁵ The stress is in any case laid on the next existence on earth after re-dying and rebirth, cf. above section 3, at the end, and below section 5. An original optimistic view is found in the following sentences, maybe already as a faint reminiscence:

(8) BĀU [M] 4,4.4–5 (ŚB 14,7.2.4–5) ~ BĀU [K] 4,4.3–4

*tād yāthā tṛṇajalāyukā | tṛṇasyāntaṃ gatvātmānam upasamhāraty²⁶ evām evāyām
pūruṣa idāṃ (K: ātmedaṃ) śārīraṃ nihatyāvīdyāṃ gamayitvātmānam upasamhāratī.
|| tād yāthā peśaskārī | peśaso mātṛāṃ apādāyānyān nāvatarāṃ kalyāṇātaram*

²⁴ This stage is called *antarā-bhava-* ‘intermediate state’ in the Abhidharma texts of some Buddhist schools, cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 3,7:120,6ff. Its equivalent is not attested in the Pāli canon, where a corresponding existence between death and rebirth is expressed as *gandhabba-*, e.g., *Majjhimanikāya* 1,265f., 2,157. The duration of *antarā-bhava-* or *gandhabba-* is regarded as 49 days, or according to some others 7 days, no length, or indefinitely long. In some phase in which the cycle heaven–earth–heaven (above fn. 15, at the end) is replaced with that of the Sāṃsāra earth–heaven–earth, the length of the stay in heaven would have been radically shortened. At the same time, the timespan for the transmigration (*cyuti-*), which *antarā-bhava-* could have originally meant, might have taken the place of the stay in the heavens. – For *gandhabba-* (*gandharva-*) and *satta-* (*sattva-*, masc., cf. above fn. 15), cf. Windisch 1908: 12ff. *gandharvā-* (RV+, cf. Young Avestan *gandər̥βa-* name of some mythical being, Śughni *žindūr̥v*, f. *žindūr̥v* ‘werewolf’) is often to be taken as fathers reborn in heaven, cf. also ex. (8); in a later Buddhist wall painting from Qyzil (6–7th century CE), Gandharvas, Apsaras’ and the two dogs of Yama are drawn together, thus in a (lower) heaven of the dead (fathers): Le Coq 1925: 86, fig. 171, see Appendix.

²⁵ In the following passage in the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* about one who must go back to earth at some time or other, his life in heaven, which might last very long, remains unmentioned: JB 1,18:10–13 *sa haitam āgacchati tapantaṃ | taṃ hāgataṃ pṛcchati kas tvam asi iti* (sic) | *sa yo ha nāmnā vā gotreṇa vā prabrūte taṃ hāha yas te mayi ātmābhūd eṣa te saḥ iti* (sic) | *tasmin hātman *pratipratia ṛtavas *sāmpalyāyā padgrhītaṃ apakarṣanti | tasya hāhorātre lokam āpnutaḥ* “He comes namely to this one heating. Him he asks namely: “Who are you?” If he then namely reports by his name or family name, to him namely he says: “What was your Ātman under my care, here it is as yours.” When namely his Ātman has been given back, the seasons come surrounding him, and pull [him] out grasping [his] feet. Day and night reach namely his world.”

²⁶ Kāṇva: *tṛṇasyāntaṃ gatvānyam ākramam ākramyātmānam* ‘... having stepped another step ...’.

rūpam tanutā evam evāyam pūruṣa idam (K: *ātmedam*) *śārīram nihatyāvidyām gamayitvānyān nāvataram rūpam tanute* (K: *navataram kalyāṇataram rūpam kurute*), *pītryam vā gāndharvām vā brāhmām vā prajāpatyam vā daivam vā mānuṣam vānyēbhyo vā bhūtēbhyah*.²⁷ ||

That is, as an (inch-)worm, after having gone to the end of a grass, gathers himself (his body) up together, just so the “person” here (the living *ātman*), after having struck down this body, having made go to the non-knowledge, gathers itself up together.²⁸ That is, as a pattern-weaving girl, after having undone the woven patterned cloth’s elements, weaves [them into] another, a newer, more beautiful figure, just so the “person” here (the living *ātman*) weaves, after having struck down this body, having made gone to the non-knowledge, another newer figure, [a figure] belonging to the Fathers, or to the Gandharvas, or to Brahman, or to Prajāpati, or to the gods, or to the human beings, or [a figure] for other beings.

5

Successively preaches Yājñavalkya the *kārman*-doctrine in BĀU [M] 4,4.6 ~ [K] 4,4.5: through good deeds (*sādhukārī* ‘the one who behaves virtuously’, *pūṇyeṇa kārmanā* ‘through good deed’), one becomes good (*sādhuh*, *pūṇyah*), i.e., one is re-born in a good state, and through bad deeds (*pāpakārī*, *pāpena*), one becomes bad (*pāpah*). This theorem is to be understood as concerning a condition of one’s next existence on earth after re-dying in heaven; the stay in heaven that immediately follows one’s death has already become a mere intermediate stage, as mentioned above, and scarcely plays a role anymore (see above section 4, after citation (7)).

Then he points out desire (*kāma*-) as the very cause of *kārman*-, consequently of the “Samsāra”. Regarding a man having no desires who transcends the “Samsāra”, he says:

(9) BĀU [M] 4,4.8–9 (ŚB 14,7.2.8–9) ~ BĀU [K] 4,4.6–7

āthākāmāyamāno, yò 'kāmò niṣkāma ātmākāma āptā-kāmo bhāvati, nā tasmāt prāṇā ūtkrāmanty: ātraivā samāvanīyante. brāhmaivā sām brāhmāpy eti. || tād eṣā ślōko bhavati | yadā sārve pramucyānte | kāmā yē 'śya hṛdī sthitāḥ | ātha mārtiyo 'mṛto bhavaty (read: bhoti) | ātra brāhma sāmaśnute.

²⁷ Kāṇva: *pītryam vā gāndharvam vā daivam vā prajāpatyam vā brāhmaṇam vā vānyeṣām vā bhūtānām*. The dative *anyēbhyo vā bhūtēbhyah* in M and genitive in K seems to be applied in order to express a meaning of belonging to a kin without using a vṛddhi form, which is impossible from this word.

²⁸ Cf. BĀU [M] 4,3.41 (ŚB 14,7.1.41) ~ BĀU [K] 4,3.36 *sā yātrāṇimānam nyēti jarāyā vopatāpatā vāṇimānam nigacchati yāthāmrām vodūbaram vā pippalam vā bāndhanāt pramucyētaivām evāyam śārīrā ātmāibhyò 'ṅgebhyaḥ sampramūcyā pūnaḥ pratinyāyam pratiyony ādravati prāṇāyaivā* ‘Thus, when he enters into minuteness (a minute state), goes into minuteness due to age or suffering – just like a Mango fruit, or a Udumbara fruit, or a Pippala fig would be released from a stalk – so runs this Ātman belonging to the body (K: this Puruṣa) back in the reverse order towards its origin, just towards the vital breath, after having relieved itself completely from these limbs.’ Cf. Gotō 1996d: 81.

Then, [if there is] a man who is not desiring,²⁹ if [a man] becomes desireless, without desire, desirous of [only] his own self (*ātman*) [more], one who has attained already his desire, from him do not step out the vital organs [when he dies]. In this same place (in the very himself that dies), they are contracted together. Being very *brahmaṇ*, [so he] goes into *brahmaṇ*. Thereby the following stanza applies: ‘As soon as (or: always when) all the desires that are located in his heart are released, then a mortal becomes immortal. Here (in this place) [he] perfectly reaches *brahmaṇ*’.

This passage describes how a living person can attain *brāhmaṇ*- and become *amṛta*-. The word *amṛta*- ‘immortal’ (in neuter singular: ‘immortality’) does not mean that someone alive does not die on earth, for which the expression would be here *amāra*-, but that there is no (more) death at all. That is overcoming of *punar-mṛtyū*-, i.e., repeated death in a heavenly world resulting in rebirth on the earth, and consequently the transcendence of Saṃsāra. In this case the Ātman is absorbed into *brāhmaṇ*- in the very place where he dies. This is not only the very ideal pursued in the Vedic religion since the Brāhmaṇa period, but also what is sought after by Gotama Buddha and his disciples under the name of Nirvāṇa (Pāli *nibbāna*-) ‘perfect annihilation’ (cf. also below, citation (14)).³⁰

amṛta- ‘immortal’ as a qualifier of the Ātman besides *ajāra*- ‘unaging’, *amāra*- ‘undying’ and *abhāya*- ‘not-being afraid, unfearing’ (see above chapter 1.3) can thus be interpreted against the historical background of Vedic speculations. *amāra*-, on the other hand, is not attested anywhere else in the Vedic literature.³¹ This word is used in the particular sense of ‘someone alive does not die on earth’ with a clear intent to contrast it with the traditional term *amṛta*-.

6

Keeping the above-mentioned observations from the Upaniṣads in mind, we shall now examine the conception of *dukkha*- ‘painful (adj.); suffering (neut.)’ in early Buddhism. In the preaching of the “four noble truths” (*cattāri ariyasaccāni*) in Buddha’s first sermon, the truth of *dukkha* (*dukkha-ariyasacca*-) is defined as follows:

²⁹ *akāmāyamānaḥ* ‘[if there is] a man who is not desiring’ (or with a participle’s function ‘in case, [one] is not desiring’) is followed and explained through the clause with *yā*-, which carries on the rest of sentence (received by *tāsmāt*). In this interpretation a disjunct use of the nominative can be assumed, with which Oertel (1926) deals.

³⁰ Cf. the expression ‘the door of immortality’: *Samyuttanikāya* 1,137f. = *Majjhimanikāya* 1,168f. = *Vinaya* 1,5.7 = *Dīghanikāya* 2,39 (*amatassa d’āram/d’ārā* in Triṣṭubh); *Itivuttaka* 80, *Vimānavatthu* 5,14.27 [1035]; cf. also *dvāraṃ svargāya* in MBhār 6,17.8, *svarga-dvāra*-6,24.32 (*Bhagavadgītā* 2,32), 12,263.45; see Sakamoto-Gotô 1992: 471, fn. 2. Cf. further CPD s.v. *amata-dvāra*- “the door to *nibbāna*”, and *amata-nibbāna*-.

³¹ Later, e.g., *Manusmṛti* 2,148 = *Viṣṇusmṛti* 30,46 (*sā* [scil. *jāti*-] *ajarāmarā*), in the meaning of ‘god’ *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 4,8.7, etc., cf. above, fn. 13.

(10) *Vinaya* 1,10: 1,6.19 (~ *Samyuttanikāya* [SN] 5,421: 56,11.5)

idaṃ kho pana bhikkhave dukkha ariyasaccaṃ. jāti pi dukkhā. jarāpi dukkhā. vyādhi pi dukkhā. maraṇaṃ pi dukkhaṃ. (SN adds here: *sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyā-sā pi dukkhā.*) *appiyehi sampayogo dukkho. piyehi vippayogo dukkho. yam p' icchaṃ na labhati tam pi dukkhaṃ. saṃkhittena pañc' upādānakkhandhāpi dukkhā.*

Further, oh monks, the suffering as the truth for the noble³² is verily this (what follows): Birth also is painful. Aging also is painful. Sickness also is painful. Death also is painful. Union with the disagreeable (not dear) ones is painful. Separation from the dear ones is painful. When one, though wishing for [something], does not obtain [it], that also is painful. Taken altogether, the five *skandhas* (constitutional branches) of acquisition also are painful.

Birth, aging, sickness and death are well known as the “four sufferings” which represent all the kinds of suffering of the human beings. It is quite natural to regard aging, sickness and death as such. But birth (*jāti-*) is hard to be rendered painful in accordance with our common sense. We are neither conscious, nor do we have any memory of our own birth. For the family and community it is a rather welcome event. The later scholastic tradition, however, considers *jāti-dukkha-* as the pain which one bears in one's mother's womb and at the moment of being born.³³ This interpretation seems too forced. Considering that the three other items, aging, sickness and death, are *dukkha-* ‘painful’ in their nature, the *jāti-* also ought to have been meant by Gotama Buddha not as physical suffering incidental to birth, but as something which innately causes our suffering.

7

Glossing on this “four noble truths” in citation (10), the following passage explains *jāti-* ‘birth’³⁴ as re-birth in *Samsāra*:

³² *ariya-* ‘noble’ (probably from ‘equipped with the tribal custom’, Old Indo-Aryan *ārya-* or *ār̥ya-*), i.e., ‘respectable, ordinary [person]’ (belonging to Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya). About this interpretation of the compound, cf. Norman 1993: 171–174 (suggested by Prof. F. Enomoto).

³³ Cf. *Visuddhimagga* 498–501 (explanation of sickness *vyādhi* is lacking). On this subject which can be widely seen in the later literature including that of Buddhism, see Hara 1977: 667–683; 1980: 143–157. It is pointed out that the Sarvāstivādins have a remarkable tendency to interpret *jāti-dukkha-* as the suffering in one's mother's womb and at birth, while the original concept of *jāti-* found in the Nikāyas is taken up by Vasubandhu: Muroji 1996.

³⁴ This word does not appear in the Vedic language. In Skt., *jāti-* ‘birth’ is used especially in the meaning of ‘natural disposition, innate qualities, species, caste’. For the meaning of ‘to be born, birth’ expressed by *jāti-* in Pāli, is used *jānman-* in Vedic. In Pāli, on the other hand, this word is attested scarcely; according to PTSD and PTC, only in *Suttanipāta* 1018 (*Pārāyaṇavagga*): *ādiṣṣa jammanaṃ brūhi* ‘Say about birth’ (i.e., the year of your birth).

(11) *Dīghanikāya* 2,305, 6–9: 22,18 = *Majjhimanikāya* [MN] 3,249, 14–17: No. 141

katamā ca bhikkhave (MN: *āvuso*) *jāti. yā tesaṃtesaṃ sattānaṃ tamhitamhi sattanikāye jāti sañjāti okkanti abhinibbatti khandhānaṃ pātubhāvo āyatanānaṃ paṭilābho, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave jāti.*

And which is, oh monks, the birth? What is the birth of beings so-and-so in class of beings so-and-so – to be born into existence, to step down (*okkanti*-), to turn out into [something], the manifestation of the [five] *skandhas* (constitutional branches of an individual), to receive the sense organs – this, oh monks, is called birth.³⁵

The word *okkanti* (: *avakrānti*-, *ava-kram*'), used here, presupposes the notion that a subject in *Saṃsāra* has lived in the world above before descending into a mother's womb on earth, as we have already noted in the case of *anu-āva-krāmati* in *BĀU* 4.4.3 (citation (7)). This term is well established for impregnation throughout Pāli, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and Classical Sanskrit.³⁶

The same sentence³⁷ appears also in the explanation of the causal chain of twelve terms (*paṭiccasamuppāda*): *Samyuttanikāya* 2,3: 12,2.5, *Majjhimanikāya* 1,50: No. 9. Further it is found, independent of the “four noble truths” as well as the “causal chain of twelve terms”, in the *Cullaniddesa* [Nidd II] 147: No. 257 as gloss for *jāti*- (*Suttanipāta* 1004, 1048, 1052).

8

The usage of *jāti*- in the sense of re-birth in *Saṃsāra* is deeply rooted in the Buddhist scriptures. Below, only a few examples are cited from the Pāli canon. The repetition of life is regarded as suffering. A perfect release from *Saṃsāra* must be strived for. Here in Buddhism lacks a positive estimation of human life, expected in comparison with death or other lower states of existence such as in the hells.

³⁵ This quotation is followed by a description of *jarā, maraṇaṃ, soko, paridevo*, etc., but not of *vyādhi*. Given that the above enumerated items at birth are meant as a temporal process, the original meaning of the verb *janī* ‘to generate [an embryo which is to be born as his child]’ (used of a father) might have still been alive. See the next note.

³⁶ About *ava-kram*, see Windisch 1908: 31. An example from a medical text in addition: *Carakasamhitā* 4,3.3 *yadā cānayos tathāyukte saṃsarge śukraśoṇitasamṣargam antargarbhāśayagataṃ jīvo 'vakrāmati, sattvasamprayogāt tadā garbho 'bhinirvartate*. ‘And, after the union of the two (a man and a woman in good health) in such a condition is made, as soon as a living one (living *ātman*) steps down into the union of semen and blood located inside the womb, then turns out an embryo into existence from the conjugation [of the materials, i.e., semen and blood] with the pure element (i.e., living *ātman*)’. *sattva*- means originally perhaps the subject of a being in the *Saṃsāra*, cf. masculine *sattva*- in Buddhism, see above with fn. 15. *abhinirvartate* here corresponds to *abhinibbatti*- (< *abhinirvṛtti*-) in citation (11) in Pāli.

³⁷ For the development and transformation of this formula in the later Buddhist literature, cf. Muroji 1996.

(12) *Dīghanikāya* 2,30f.: 14,2.18 = *Samyuttanikāya* [SN] 2,10: 12,10.2 (in the introductory part of the Pratītyasamutpāda doctrine):

kicchaṃ vatāyaṃ loko āpanno, jāyati ca jīyati ca mīyati ca cavati ca uppajjati (SN *upapajjati*) *ca. atha ca paṇ' imassa dukkhassa nissaraṇaṃ nappajjānāti jarāmaraṇassa.*

Into trouble, alas, this world has fallen. Man is born, ages, dies,³⁸ falls out (from heaven),³⁹ and comes out (into this world). And yet man does not discern the exit from this suffering, from aging and death.

(13) *Itivuttaka* 76: §83 (five kinds of omen for a languishing divine person):

yadā bhikkhave devo devakāyā cavanadhammo hoti, pañca pubbanimitāni pātubhavanti. mālā milāyanti. vatthāni kilissanti. kacchehi sedā muccanti. kāye dubbaṇṇiyaṃ okkamati. sake devo devāsane nābhiramatī ti.

When, oh monks, a god becomes the one destined to fall out from the group of the gods, five previous signs become manifest: Garlands languish. Clothes become dirty. Sweat is (lit.: sweats are) released from the armpits. A bad complexion appears on the body. The god does not find pleasure in his own divine seat.

(14) *Dīghanikāya* 2,15: 16,1.29 (Buddha's bull-like voice at his birth, *āsabhī vācā*):

aggo 'ham asmi lokassa. jeṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa. seṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa. ayam antīmā jāti. n' atth' idāni punabbhavo.

The foremost of the world I am. The most supreme of the world I am. The best of the world I am. This is the final birth. There is now no [more] re-existence.

(15) *Suttanipāta*, p. 16, p. 112, etc. etc. (for this cliché expression see PTC I 179 s.v. *apara*, I 357 s.v. *itthattāya*):

khīṇā jāti. vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ. kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ. nāparaṃ itthattāyā ti abbaññāsi.

Extinguished is [the cause for a] birth. Lived is the *brahmaṇ*-life (i.e., the life of one who strives for *brāhmaṇ*- in the sense of *nibbāna*-, cf. above section 5, at the end). Done is what is to be done. There is nothing more for such a state as this. So he has realized.

(16) *Aṅguttaranikāya* 2,15, 27–30: 4,13 (stanza):

*sammappadhānā mārادهyyādhībhuṇo
te asitā jātīmaraṇabhayaṃ pāragū
te tusitā jetvā mārāṃ savāhaṇaṃ te anejā
sabbāṃ namūcibalaṃ upātivattā te sukhitā (ti).*

³⁸ Pāli *mīyati* 'dies' is used in the meaning of Old Indo-Aryan *mriyāte*, but its form originates (or its *i* is influenced) from (*pra*-)*mīyate* RV + (*mīyate* RV TS^p TB^p TĀ^p [*MahāNār-Up.*], *mīyāte* MS^p ŚB) 'passes away, is injured'.

³⁹ For Pāli *cavati*, *cuti*-, cf. Windisch 1908: 30f. He cites also from the Skt. texts some examples in *Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad*, *Bhagavadgītā* and *Mahābhārata*. *pra-cyāvante* in citation (4) from the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* (prose) is to be added as a very old and important occurrence, further *prā ... cyavate* TS^p 2,5.4.4, *prācyuta-* TS^p 6,1.1.5, ŚB 1,6.4.17, *cyāvayati* KS^p 25,5: 108.10 with its parallel in the KapS^p, *cyavante*, *cyāvayanti* JB 3,301 (of the *garbhas* from the *yonī*-). Cf. also the next citation.

Those who make right exertions conquer the destiny of death. They, the unbound, are those who go to the opposite shore of fear of birth and death. They are satisfied, having defeated Death with his troops (cf. *Suttanipāta* 442). They are unshakable. Having overwhelmed the whole forces of the demon Namūci (cf. *Namūci-senā Cullaniddesa* [Nidd II] 253: 602), they are blissful.

(17) *Aṅguttaranikāya* 2,12; 20: 4.10 = 2,52; 23: 4.49 (stanza):

sattā gacchanti saṃsāraṃ¹ jātimaṇaṇagāmino

The living beings, who go through birth and death, go along the Saṃsāra.⁴⁰

9

It is thus concluded that *jāti*-‘birth’ among the four kinds of suffering in the “four noble truths” means originally re-birth in Saṃsāra, which is caused by re-dying in heaven according to the thought in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. This enumeration of the four kinds of suffering – birth, aging, sickness, and death – reminds us now of the set of four attributes of the Ātman in Yājñavalkya’s doctrine (BĀU 4,4.30–31): *ajāra*-, *amāra*-, *abhāya*-, and *amṛta*- (see above section 1.2 with citation (3), and sections 1.3 and 5) The correspondence between *ajāra*- ‘unaging’ and *jarā*- ‘aging’ is evident. The Buddhistic *maṇa*- ‘death’, i.e., death on earth, matches *amāra*- ‘undying’ in negative wording. *abhāya*- ‘unfearing’ is put in place of *vyādhi*- ‘sickness’, a more concrete notion for our usual life. Lastly, *amṛta*- ‘immortal’, which, according to the Weltanschauung from Brāhmaṇa to Upaniṣad, means ‘not re-dying in heaven’, consequently no more rebirth on earth, corresponds to *jāti*- ‘birth’, i.e., rebirth in Saṃsāra in the case of the Buddhists:

BĀU [M]		BĀU [K]		<i>dukkha-ariyasacca</i>
<i>ajāra</i> ‘unaging’	————	<i>ajāra</i> ‘unaging’	↖ ↗	<i>jāti</i> ‘birth’
<i>amāra</i> ‘undying’	————	<i>amāra</i> ‘undying’	↖ ↗	<i>jarā</i> ‘aging’
<i>abhāya</i> ‘not-fearing’	↘ ↗	<i>amṛta</i> ‘immortal’	↖ ↗	<i>vyādhi</i> ‘sickness’
<i>amṛta</i> ‘immortal’	↘ ↗	<i>abhāya</i> ‘not-fearing’	↖ ↗	<i>maṇaṇa</i> ‘death’

⁴⁰ Because one does not go into the Saṃsāra from outside (the accusative would be then taken as that of the goal), but is already in Saṃsāra, we should probably interpret this accusative as the accusative of spatial extent (or way), cf. Pāṇini 2,3.5 *kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge* ‘When a complete connection (completely from the beginning and up to the terminal end) of time and road is meant, [the accusative is used: *ibid.* 2]’. Only few distinct examples are reported of this function, cf. Gaedicke 1880: 82ff.; Speijer 1886: 40f.: § 54; Delbrück 1888: 171: §118; cf. also Gotō 2002: 38f.

The conceptions of life and world in early Buddhism have thus inherited the reflections on birth and death found in the old Upaniṣads, and further explicated them. The predominance of the pessimistic view of life in early Buddhism (cf. above, section 8) can be explained from this historical background; it is rooted in the negative discussions about re-dying (*punarmṛtyú-*) in the heavenly world since the Brāhmaṇa period.

The teaching of Gotama Buddha, which aims to deliver the ordinary people from their concrete suffering, tends to observe phenomena of human life more realistically than his forerunners and endeavors to elucidate the causality of existence in Saṃsāra without admitting the existence of “the eternal subject of existence”, i.e., Ātman, thus resulting in the doctrine of Pratītyasamutpāda.

Abbreviations

BĀU = *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*

CPD = *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*. See Trenckner 1924–48.

JB = *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*

K = Kāṇva recension

KS = *Kaṭha-Saṃhitā*

KapS = *Kapiṣṭhalakāṭha-Saṃhitā*

^m = mantra, in the mantra portion

M = Mādhyandina recension

MS = *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*

^p = prose, in the *brāhmaṇa* portion

PTC = *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*: see Woodward & Hare 1952–55

PTSD = *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*. See Rhys Davids 1921–25.

ṚV = *Ṛgveda*(-“*Saṃhitā*”)

ŚB = *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*

TS = *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*

TB = *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*

⁺: corrected form

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Appendix Le Coq 1925: 86

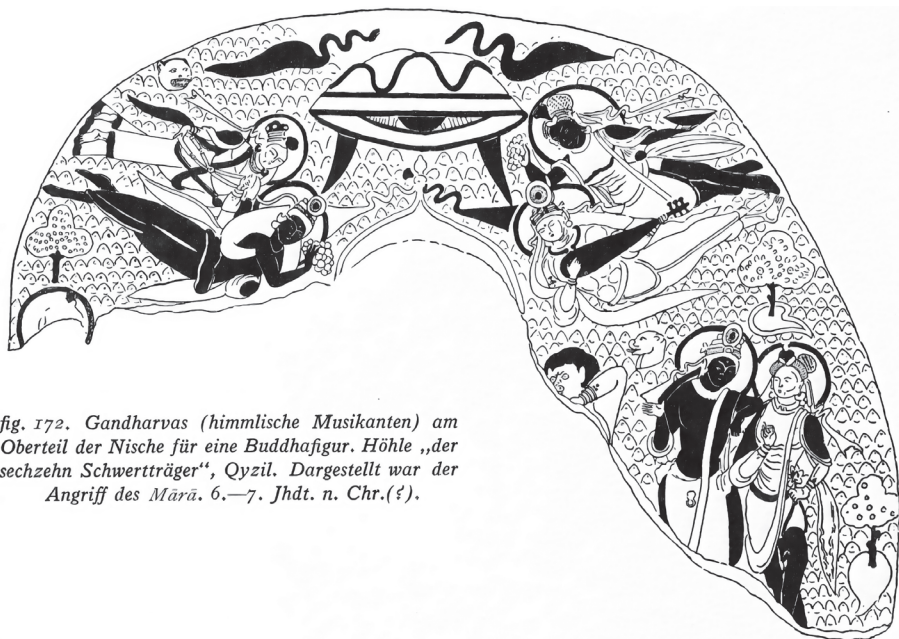


fig. 172. Gandharvas (himmlische Musikanten) am Oberteil der Nische für eine Buddhafigur. Höhle „der sechzehn Schwerträger“, Qyzil. Dargestellt war der Angriff des Mārā. 6.—7. Jhdt. n. Chr.(?).

Sažetak

U ovome se radu raščlanjuju četiri atributa koje je Yājñavalkya pripisao Ātmanu: *ajāra-* ‘neumirući’, *amāra-* ‘besmrtn’, *amṛta-* ‘besmrtn’ i *abhāya-* ‘ne-plašiti se, neustrašiv’ (BĀU [M] 4, 4.29–31 (ŚB 14,7.2.29–31) ~ BĀU [K] 4,4.23–25). Pokazuje se kako su ti pojmovi povezani s ranim upanišadskim konceptom *saṃsāre* i karmanske rasporedbe, koji je pak povezan sa starijom, obrednom idejom *iṣṭāpūrtā-* ‘[učinak] ponuđenog i danog’. Nadalje, tvrdi se da četiri vrste patnje spomenute u ranom buddhizmu – rođenje, starenje, bolest i smrt – vjerojatno potječu iz upanišadskih ideja kao što su zabilježene u BĀU.

Formation of the *Paśvāmbhana* rite of the *Agnicayana*: With regard to new information from *Vādhūlaśrautasūtra* 8

Abstract

This report focuses on the Paśubandha rite of the preliminary portion of the Agnicayana. The purpose of this rite is to authorize the existence of 5 heads of *paśus* (domestic animals) which are to be buried under the center of the ground when the huge brick altar is constructed. The rite involves the sensitive problem of immolation of a man (*puruṣa*) who is listed as the top of combination of 5 *paśus* required in the rite. In the ritual exegeses and practices of Brāhmaṇas and *sūtras*, there are various options for the method of this Paśubandha. Such a situation of coexistence of optional methods in a rite may reflect the difficult efforts on the part of ritual experts of Vedic ritual for integrating the treatment of heads of paśus into the Paśubandha rite. While reconstructing the history of transition of this Paśubandha rite, I have tried to shed light on the problems challenged by the Vedic ritual priests.

1.

The Agnicayana, the solemn construction of the great fire-altar of bricks, is one of the most elaborate rituals of the entire Vedic cult. The most characteristic feature of this ritual is the construction of a huge brick altar of 5 layers. Each of the more than one thousand bricks of the fire-altar embodies the power of a certain cosmic entity. According to the words of ritual exegeses of Black Yajurvedas, this altar of fire becomes a celestial eagle (*śyena*) and carries the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) to the world of heavenly light (*sva*), or the sacrificer transforms himself into an eagle and flies up to the heavenly light. On the other hand, the Brāhmaṇas of the White Yajurveda argue that the brick altar represents the reconstituted whole body of Prajāpati, the god of creation, who has become decrepit after his effort of creation of the worlds.

The ritual proceeding of the Agnicayana is a composite one formed in the system of the Śrauta rituals. The rite is set in the basic framework of the Soma ritual.

It consists of the preliminary procedure, the period of consecration of the sacrificer (*dīkṣā*), the period of preparation of ritual paraphernalia (*upasad*) and the period of Soma rites (*sutyā*).

2.

Before entering the formal start of the rite of consecration, some preliminary rites are to be performed. Two preliminary rituals of the Agnicayana ritual common to the Yajurveda traditions are: 1. Preparation of a clay pot called *ukhā* (*ukhāsambharaṇa*) and 2. The rite of Paśubandha (animal sacrifice).¹ In the traditions of the Black Yajurveda schools, the section of *ukhāsambharaṇa* precedes that of Paśubandha. But, the sequence of these two rites is transposed in the White Yajurveda. After the sacrificial animals are immolated and their heads are cut off, their dead bodies are thrown into the mudwater, wherefrom the clay for both the *ukhā* pot and the bricks are prepared.

The *ukhā* pot is a unique paraphernalia peculiar to the Agnicayana. A new special fire is kindled in it and the pot is carried by the sacrificer and adored for a certain period of time, ideally a full year. The fire is later amalgamated with the formal offering fire (*āhavanīya*) of the Śrauta ritual. Then, it is transferred to the top of the brick altar and starts to play the role of a new offering fire of the Agnicayana ritual itself.

On the other hand, the rite of Paśubandha is associated with the existence of another special paraphernalia required in this ritual, namely, 5 heads of domestic animals (*paśu*): a man (*puruṣa*), a horse (*aśva*), a bull (*ṛṣabha*), a ram (*meṣa*) and a he-goat (*aṇa*).² These are buried, during the process of construction of the brick altar, under the center ground of the altar.

3.

In the description of the Agnicayana ritual, the rite concerning the human head and other animal heads is arranged together with that of the Paśubandha. Among the Śrautasūtras of the Yajurveda, we find two types of arrangements of descriptions.

One is the separate and independent presentation of these two topics and the other is to involve the rite of the human-head as a part of the Paśubandha. Among the Śrautasūtras, the earlier layer texts, i.e. BŚS and VādhŚS are of the

¹ Almost all ritual schools prescribe only these two rites. It is only VādhŚS that contains 5 kinds of introductory rites: 1. *caru* offering for Tirodhā, 2. *caru* offering for Brahman, 3. *Ukhāsambharaṇa*, 4. *Traidhātavīya-iṣṭi*, 5. *Paśubandha* and preparation of 5 animal heads.

² They are called the five *paśus*. In this list, *puruṣa* as a *paśu* is to be understood as a servant or a slave, when he is juxtaposed with domestic animals. Cf. Rau 1957: 46, Sec. 31. We can add some further occurrences from *sūtra* literatures.

latter type,³ while the texts of later layer, i.e. MŚS, ĀpŚS, VārŚS, HirŚS belong to the former type.⁴ Two types of arrangements may reflect the attitudes of the *sūtra*-editors about the unusual paraphernalia of five heads of sacrificial animals, especially the human head.

4.

The contents of the early part of the Paśubandha section of VādhŚS (8,3.2–8,5.1) are summarized as follows:

The Paśubandha ritual starts with a he-goat of short horn (*aja tūpara*) as a sacrificial animal (*paśu*) (8,3.2.1f.). The proceedings are as follows:

- a. The Paśubandha rite follows the standard proceeding of the basic Paśubandha ritual (as in VādhŚS 5) upto the offering of the epiploon (*vapāhoma*).⁵
- b. Then comes the treatment rite of the human head (8,4.1.1f.). Using 21 beans and a perforated ant-hill, the lost vital spirits (*prāṇas*) of the human head are reactivated through the rite. Then, the other four animal heads are prepared as substitutions made of cereals or clay.
- c. The Paśubandha rite is resumed with the offerings of 7 type of cereal cakes (*paśupuroḍāśa*)⁶ (8,4.1.21f.).
- d. The Paśubandha proceeds along the standard formalities and completes.⁷ (8,5.1.4–59)

Several aspects are peculiar to this proceeding of the *Vādhūlasūtra*. First, there is the place where the human head treatment is inserted. Vādhūla allocates it after the epiploon offering (*vapāhoma*). The he-goat is immolated after the rite of *pariyagnikaraṇa* (circumambulation with a fire torch). After the immolation, dissection of its body starts for preparing the offerings of flesh, the first of which is the offering of the epiploon (*vapāhoma*). Vādhūla allocates, in this way, the human

³ BŚS 10,9:8.14f & 10,9:8.19f.; VādhŚS 8,8 and 8,9; (VaikhŚS 8,2:254.1f. & 18,3:254.6f.). In this context, we may disregard Vaikhāṇasa's evidence in its historical evaluation. Although the Vaikhāṇasa school belongs to the latest layer of the *sūtras*, it has the feature of copiously copying the style of the Baudhāyana.

⁴ MŚS 6,1.2.23f.; ĀpŚS 16,6.2f.; VārŚS 2,1.1.49f.; HirŚS 11,1.67f.

⁵ 1. Fueling of offering fire (*sāmidhenī*), 2. Two butter oblations (*āghārau*), 3. Appointment of divine and human Hotṛ (*hotṛvaraṇa*), 4. Fore-offerings (*prayāja*), 5. Offering of epiploon (*vapāhoma*).

⁶ The unusual high number of *puroḍāśas* may be set to correspond to the number of *paśus* dedicated in this school.

⁷ I attach my new edition of this Paśubandha portion of the *Vādhūlasrautasūtra*. For general information of the new edition, see Ikari 1995; 1996; 1998.

head rite after the immolation of the sacrificial animal. This is a peculiar aspect of this *sūtra* compared with those of the other schools of the Black Yajurveda. The general trend of the later *sūtras* of the Yajurveda puts the treatment rite of the human head separately before the start of the Paśubandha.⁸ Therefore, the rite concerning the human head seems to be independent from the Paśubandha rite. The schools of Baudhāyana and Vaikhānasa, on the other hand, insert the rite of the human head during the Paśubandha's preliminary process before the start of the substantive portion of the Paśubandha, i.e. the rite of *sāmidhenī* (feeding fuel to the ritual fire).⁹ This manner of handling the human head rite seems to be akin to that of later *sūtras* where the rite is treated separately from the Paśubandha ritual, as the treatment of *paśu* heads is not involved in the central portion of the Paśubandha.

In this light, Vādhūla's manner of arrangement of the human head rite is conspicuous. We shall come back to this problem later.

5.

The method of performing this Paśubandha rite seems to have undergone several stages of transition. Surveying opinions of various schools of the Yajurveda, we find several methods of performing the rite.

- I. Performing the rite with 5 kinds of animals all the way to the end.¹⁰
- II. Starting with 5 (or 6) kinds of animals, and completing the ritual with a single animal after *paryagnikaraṇa* (the rite of circumambulation with a fire torch).¹¹
- III. Performing the whole ritual with a single animal:
 - a) a he-goat for Vāyu, or b) a he-goat for Prajāpati.¹²

Method I is only referred to as an opinion of some school and it is just mentioned there without being discussed at all. This method, however, may be significant from the historical viewpoint. We shall touch on this problem later in the last section.

⁸ MŚS 6,1.2.23–26; ĀpŚS 16,6.2–7; VārŚS 2,1.1.49–2,1.2.2.; HirŚS 11,1.67–73.

⁹ BŚS 10,9:8.6–10,10:10.3; VaikhŚS 18,2:254.1–255.5

¹⁰ ŚB 6,2.1.13. This method is only referred to as the opinion of another school.

¹¹ *Maitrāyaṇīyasamhitā* (MS) 3,1.10; *Kāthakasaṃhitā* (KS) 19,8; *Kapiśṭhalakāṭhasaṃhitā* (KapS) 30,6; *Taittirīyasamhitā* (TS) 5,1.8; BŚS 25,29; MŚS 6,1.3.1f; ĀpŚS 16,7.1f.; HirŚS 11,2.1f.; VārŚS 2,1.2.3f.; KŚS 16,1.8f. Animals are offered to Kāmas Agnis (KS); to Agnis (MS, TS. MS does not specify the name of Agnis). After *paryagnikaraṇa*, the rite is performed only with a *prājāpatya paśu* (MS does not specify the name of Agnis).

¹² IIa. MS 3,1.8; KS 19,8; TS 5,5.3; ŚB 6,2.2 (Carakas); (as an option: ĀpŚS, MŚS, HirŚS, VaikhŚS, VārŚS, KŚS). This *paśu* is said to be sacrificed for all forms of the animals. II.b. ŚB 6,2.2 (Caraka), BŚS, VaikhŚS, KŚS.

In the following, summaries of the methods of the major schools are given:

- a) BŚS: method III. All 5 *paśus* are prepared beforehand and their heads are cut off when the treatment of the human head starts. The Paśubandha is performed with a he-goat for Vāyu. Treatment of animal heads is embedded in the ritual process after the ritual site and paraphernalia have been arranged.
- b) VādhŚS: method III. The Paśubandha is performed with a he-goat for Prajāpati. After the immolation of the sacrificial animal of he-goat, its epiploon (*vapā*) is offered. Then the treatment of the human head starts. The head is cut off and treated. Then, the other animal heads are prepared from cereals or clay. After the rite of *paryagnikaraṇa*, all of the heads are taken out of their enclosure. The Paśubandha rite restarts and it is completed with a he-goat for Prajāpati. As for the human head, it is to be noticed that no comment is added to it, while other *sūtras* mention the status of the man and/or his cause of death.
- c) MŚS: Treatment of human head precedes the start of Paśubandha. The human head is cut off and treated.
 - 1) method II. Paśubandha starts with 5 *paśus* (*aja* for Prajāpati; *aśva*, *ṛṣabha*, *vṛṣṇi*, *basta* for Agnis Kāmas). After *paryagnikaraṇa*, 4 *paśus* (*aśva* onwards) are let loose and their heads are cut off. The ritual proceeds with the he-goat (*aja*) upto the end.
 - 2) option. method III. Paśubandha with 5 *paśus* or with a he-goat for Vāyu Niyutvat.
- d) ĀpŚS: Treatment of human head precedes. (The head of *vaiśya* or *rājanya* is taken to the rite).
 - 1) method II. Paśubandha starts with 5 *paśus* (*aja* for Prajāpati, *aśva*, *ṛṣabha*, *vṛṣṇi*, *basta* for Agnis Kāma). After *paryagnikaraṇa*, 4 *paśus* are let loose and their heads are cut off. The rite is completed with the *aja* for Prajāpati.
 - 2) option. method III. option of a single *paśu* for Vāyu Niyutvat. (After *paryagnikaraṇa*) its head is cut off and is preserved.

Most of the extant Śrautasūtras of the Black Yajurveda admit method III at least as an option. The texts of the older layer, Baudhāyana and Vādhūla, give method III only. Texts of the later layer opt for method II and admit method III as an option. From a historical point of view, method III seems to have developed from method II. This is testified by the following two *brahmaṇa* passages. *Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā* 3,1.10 first proposes method II.

MS 3,1.10:13.5f.:

agnibhyaḥ || iti kāmāyālabhyante ... paryagnikṛtān utsrjanty ... ékena sámsthāpayanti.
(5 animals) are offered for Agnis for desire. ... They let them go out (of the rite) after they have been circumambulated with a fire. ... They bring the rite to completion with a single (sacrificial animal).

And then the text adds:

MS 3,1.10:13.11f.:

śvetām vāyāve niyútvatā ālabheta téjaskāmo ... yád vāyāva ekadhā syād unmāduko yājamānaḥ syād ... sárveṣāṃ vā eṣā paśūnāṃ rūpāni prāti.
One who desires flaming power should offer a white (he-goat) for Vāyu with a team of horses. ... If (the sacrificial animal) would be simply (a he-goat) for Vāyu, the sacrificer would become insane. ... This (single animal of he-goat) is indeed equal to the forms of all of the sacrificial animals.

Kāthakasamhitā also testifies:

KS 19,8:9.3f.:

athaithe 'gnibhyaḥ paśava alabhyante. ... yat paryagnikṛtān utsrjati ... ékena samsthāpayati. ... prājāpatyena.
These (five) sacrificial animals are offered to Agnis. ... He let them go out (of the rite) after they have been circumambulated with a fire. ... They bring the rite to completion with a single animal, one for Prajāpati.

KS 9,12f.:

athaiṣa vāyavyaś śvetas tūparas. sarvān vā eṣa paśūn praty ālabhyate.

Then, that white, short-horn (he-goat) for Vāyu (is offered). ... This (he-goat) is offered as equal to all (5) sacrificial animals

Therefore, method III of a single *paśu* seems to have been invented for replacing the method of 5 *paśus*. The reason of replacement was the irregular proceeding of method II: starting the Paśubandha rite with 5 *paśus* and releasing 4 of them just before immolation and completing the rest of the rite with a single *paśu*. Comparing this abnormal type of proceeding, method III proceeds along the normal pattern of the Paśubandha rite, as a kind of *kāmya paśu* (Paśubandha rite performed for a special desire).¹³

6.

As mentioned above, this Paśubandha rite has been introduced in the preliminary portions of the Agnicayana ritual with regard to the preparation of five animal heads. They are those of a man (*puruṣa*), a horse (*aśva*), a bull (*ṛṣabha*), a ram (*meṣa*) and a

¹³ E.g. TS 2,1.1; KS 13,1; MS 2,5.1. Cf. Caland 1968 [1908].

he-goat (*aja*). How are they brought to the ritual? There are various opinions among the ritualists on how to obtain the heads required for the ritual of Agnicayana.

The Brāhmaṇas of the *Yajurveda* keep silence on this point. Among the Śrautasūtras, *Baudhāyana* instructs to secure those heads beforehand.

BŚS 10.9:8.6–8:

*athaitasmīn eva pūrvapakṣe vāyavyena paśunā yajate. tasya tad upakṛtaṃ bhavati
yat paśunā yakṣyamāṇasya saṃgrāme hatayor aśvasya ca vaiśyasya ca sirasī.
dīvyanta ṛṣabhaṃ pacante vṛṣṇīm ca bastam ca.*

Now, in the same first half-month, the sacrificer performs (the Paśubandha) rite with a sacrificial animal for Vāyu. For the sacrificer who is going to perform the rite with a sacrificial animal, both heads of a horse and a Vaiśya man have been prepared who were killed in battle. They bet a bull as a stake (in a bet ritual and obtain its head for the rite). They cook a ram and a he-goat (in a community feast and obtain their heads for the rite).

Concerning the human head, similar instruction is given in other *sūtras* of the *Yajurveda*: a head of a *vaiśya* man or a man of *rājanya* family killed by lightning or an arrow (i.e. in battle) [MŚS, ĀpŚS, VārŚS, HirŚS, VaikhŚS]. KŚS simply says a head of a man of *vaiśya* or *rājanya*. However, it may sound strange that the performance of Agnicayana ritual must presuppose the happening of someone's death by battle or by lightning. In all the available prescriptive and explanatory passages of the Agnicayana ritual, we do not find any message suggesting that this ritual would presuppose someone's immediate death. In other words, it would be nonsense to wait for someone's incidental death to start this ritual.

Therefore, such a statement of someone's incidental death must be made for announcing the source of the head required for the ritual. The head would be taken from the body of the dead person. The hidden message behind these *sūtra* passages is clear. Among the heads of sacrificial animals, the head of a man has already been prepared and it is not to be procured during the ritual. The strange message of an incidental death of a man given in the Śrautasūtras must be understood in this direction. The authors or editors of those *sūtras* tried to avoid the immolation of a man during the ritual probably in line with the times.

When we focus our attention on the treatment of a man counted as one of the sacrificial animals (*paśu*), we find that there are two manners of its treatment.

a. Independent treatment of the human head and other animal heads from the proceeding of the Paśubandha. b. The treatment of heads of *paśus* is set into the preliminary portion of the Paśubandha rite. As mentioned before, the middle and later layer of the Śrautasūtras of the Black *Yajurveda* belong to type a., while the early layer of the *sūtras* of *Baudhāyana* and *Vādhūla* belong to type b.¹⁴ The difference may reflect the transition of the method of Paśubandha.

¹⁴ The VaikhŚS, belonging to the later layer, belongs type b., as this *sūtra* generally tends to imitate *Baudhāyana*.

In section 5 above, I have listed 3 methods of performing the Paśubandha ritual. In method II, the ritual starts with 5 (or 6) *paśus* including a man and after *paryagnikaraṇa* 4 (or 5) *paśus* are let loose from the ritual. The rest of the ritual including important offerings of flesh continues upto the end with a single he-goat.

Method II seems to be the standard way of performing the Paśubandha rite. The ritual starts with 5 kinds of *paśus* and after the *paryagnikaraṇa* rite which introduces the immolation of the sacrificial animal, 4 of 5 animals are released and are moved out. Then they are killed and their heads are preserved for later use.

The reason for forcing the irregular proceeding of method II is to incorporate those animals within the framework of the Paśubandha from the start. All the *paśus* except a man are present on the scene and participate in the ritual. But they are not immolated during the ritual. They are not subject to sacrifice in the ritual itself. Just before the official immolation of the sacrificial animal, they are released except for the one needed to complete the rite. The released animals are set aside and are killed and beheaded for obtaining their heads for later use. The Paśubandha ritual starts again with a single *paśu* and continues to the last.

From the standard way of performance of the Paśubandha, it is a quite an irregular manner to start the rite with a plural number of *paśus* and change the course of the rite at certain point by releasing the majority of animals out of the rite.

For the ritualists of the Agnicayana, this irregular form of Paśubandha is a reasonable compromise that enables two necessary things to coexist in the same rite: obtaining 5 animal heads and a due completion of the Paśubandha rite.

7.

In section 5, three methods of performing the Paśubandha are presented. Among them, Method I was not discussed because it is only referred to and ruled out at ŚB 6,2.1.13:

tād dhāika āhuḥ ātraivaitaiḥ sārvaṇiḥ paśūbhir yajeta ...

Regarding this, some say that one should offer with all (five) sacrificial animals at this point.

In all the extant ritual texts on the Agnicayana, there is no explicit opinion to recommend to offer all five *paśus*. However, from the perspective of the historical development of this Paśubandha rite, two passages of the *Śatapathabrahmaṇa* and the *Vādhūla-Anvākyana* give us the legendary report on the obsolete custom.

a. After discussing the method of performing Paśubandha with 5 *paśus*, ŚB 6,2.1.39 concludes as the following:

... sā etān evā pañca paśūn ālabheta yāvad asya vasaḥ syāt. tān haitān Prajāpatiḥ prathamā ālebhe, Śyāparṇaḥ Sāyakāyāno 'ntamó. 'iha ha smāitān evāntareṇālabhanté. 'thaitārhimāu dvān evālabhete prājāpatyās ca vāyavyāś ca. ...

He should offer these five domestic animals as far as possible. Prajāpati was the first who offered these (five animals), and Śyāparṇa Sāyakāyana was the last. Those who were in between used to offer them. On the other hand, nowadays only these two are offered: (an animal) for Prajāpati and one for Vāyu.

In this passage, a historical transition of the method of the Paśubandha is reported. The method of offering 5 animals had been performed from the time of Prajāpati, the mythical founder of the Agnicayana ritual, upto the time of Śyāparṇa Sāyakāyana, the well-known legendary priest.¹⁵ Then, this method became obsolete and has been replaced by the contemporary method of a single *paśu* either for Prajāpati or for Vāyu. These two methods of a single *paśu* are ascribed to the Carakas, that is, those belonging to the Maitrāyaṇī school or Kāthaka School of the Black Yajurveda.

Vādhūla-Anvākyāna, the Brāhmaṇa text of the Vādhūla school presents us important information on the historical transition of the Paśubandha rite. Here is told the method of a single *paśu* for Prajāpati. The *paśu* animal to be offered is a *puruṣa* (man). This story tells that the original pattern of offering a human *paśu* received negative reviews and was forced to modify repeatedly. It is said that after several times of remodelling, the he-goat was selected as the ultimate substitute, as our VādhŚS 8,3.2.1 (8,8.1) reads: *prājāpatyam evātaḥ paśum ālabhate 'jan tūparan*.

Vādhūla-Anvākyāna 5,5.1a (5,8a):

puruṣam ha sma vāvaitam purā prājāpatyam paśum ālabhanta etena karṇājāpena +jñāpitaḥ+; suvargam hi ha smainam lokam atidarśayanti. tasya ha +deveṣv+ pratikrāmsu Dhārtakratavo Jātūkarṇīdān na cakame prāśitun. tan tato 'śvañ cakrus. tasyo ha +deveṣv+ eva pratitarām +krāmatsu+ Rahahkṣito Jātūkarṇīdān na cakame prāśitun. tam u tato 'jan, "tūparaḥ prājāpatyas sarvarūpa" iti vadantaḥ.

Formerly, they used to dedicate the man as the sacrificial animal for Prajāpati (during the performance of the Agnicayana), while gaining his consent by whispering into his ear (as normally done in the animal sacrifice). It is because they had been showing far off the world of heaven to this one. When the gods were stepping back (to their own world towards the end of the ritual), Dhārtakratava Jātūkarṇin (, as a participating priest) did not want to partake of (the meat of the man as) the *idā* (i.e. portion of offering to be taken by the participants towards the end of the ritual). So thereafter, they replaced him (scil. the man as the sacrificed animal) with the horse. But, when the gods were further stepping back, Rahahkṣita Jātūkarṇin did not want to partake of (the meat of the horse during the *idā* rite). Then, (they replaced) it by a he-goat, saying that (a he-goat) of short horn for Prajāpati had the forms of all (five sacrificial animals) [i.e. the he-goat may represent any sacrificial animals and be used as a substitute for all of them].

Immediately follows the next paragraph. It tells that the single *paśu* performance also accompanied 5 domestic animals in its beginning. Their heads will be used during the construction of altar of Agni.

¹⁵ Cf. ŚB 9,5.2.1; 10,4.1.10. Macdonell & Keith 1912: 398.

Vādhūla-Anvākhyāna 5,5.1b (5,8b):

pañco ha sma vāvātān purā paśūn ālabhante: puruṣam eva prajāpataye, 'śvam agnaye kṣatratvata, ṛṣabham agnaye +kṣatrabhr̥te+, vṛṣṇim agnaye brahmaṇvate, bastam agnaye puṣṭimata iti. tān +sahaitena+ paśunā paryagnikṛtyotsṛjanti, prajā-patyeno eva saṁsthāpayanti.

And besides, they used to dedicate formerly these five domestic animals (in this animal sacrifice of the Agnicayana ritual), namely a man for Prajāpati, a horse for Agni Kṣatratvat (Dominion controller), a bull for Agni Kṣatrabhr̥t (Dominion supporter), a ram for Agni Brahmaṇvat (Controller of the sacred power), and a he-goat for Agni Puṣṭimat (Prosperity promoter). (In the proceeding of the Paṣubandha rite,) having performed the rite of *paryagnikaraṇa* (circumambulation with a fire torch) to those animals together with this one (with which they started this animal sacrifice, that is, the man dedicated to Prajāpati), they (used to) release them and then complete (the rite of animal sacrifice) only with the animal (i.e. the man) dedicated to Prajāpati.

This method can be compared to method II discussed above in section 5. The Paṣubandha rite starts with a single he-goat for Prajāpati as mentioned in the last sentence of the preceding paragraph. And at the same time it accompanies five other *paśus* as officially dedicated to various forms of Agni. These dedicated animals are then set free after the rite of *paryagnikaraṇa* and are taken outside of the rite. They are not immolated during the rite, but are killed outside and are beheaded. Their heads are preserved for later use. The rite itself continues with a single *paśu* for Prajāpati and comes to completion. In this manner, 5 heads of *paśus* are ensured while being consecrated in this Paṣubandha rite. The effort of the formulator of this rite must be focused on how to find the legitimate justification of the existence of 5 heads of *paśus* including a human one in the ritual procedure. This complicated question may be crystalized into the formula of *paśuśīrṣavidyā* (secret knowledge on the heads of *paśus*) which the learned ritualists of Vedic lore wanted to learn.

Vādhūla-Anvākhyāna 5,5.1–2 [5,8–9]:

kururājāya haikasmā Agniḥ paśuśīrṣavidyāṁ provāca. +tām+ ha sma kurupañcālānāṁ śrotiriyā vedair jñīpsanti- "itthā3m itthā3m" iti. net tu ha sma sa āha. atha ha Śuddhojā Māṇḍavyo +vicikitsan+ Māṛiṣabhagiṃ brahmacāriṇam uvaca- "ihi somyemaṃ rājānaṃ gaccha, Agnir haivāsmā paśuśīrṣavidyāṁ provāca. +tām+ haiva kurupañcālānāṁ śrotiriyā vedair jñīpsanti- "itthā3m itthā3m" iti. net tu haiva sa āha. tan tvam gatvānāyā paśuśīrṣavidyayā tathāpada. sa yad vyabhijānād vayan tvā yājayāmīty enaṃ bruvāsi- "-iti. tam haivaitad gatvovāca "rajan Agnir +ha vai+ te paśuśīrṣavidyāṁ prābravīd. iyaṃ sā yā katha3m" iti. tasmai hābhijñāyāñjaliṃ cakāra. "namas te astu bhagava, etāṃ mahyam Agniḥ paśuśīrṣavidyāṃ prābravīd, yūyam mā yājayatha"-iti. tam u ha sa yājayāñ cakāra. sa yo ha vā evam etāṃ agneḥ paśuśīrṣavidyāṃ veda sa eva saṃpraty agniṃ veda-, -atha ya evan na veda no haiva sa saṃpraty agniṃ veda ...

Agni has declared the secret knowledge of the heads of animals to a certain king of the Kurus. The learned people of the Vedic lore (śrotiriyās) in the countries of Kurus and Pañcālas used to wish to understand the knowledge through the Veda, conjecturing, "It is like this ? or like that?" However, (the Kuru king) has never told it. Then, Śuddhojan Māṇḍavya tried to find out (the secret knowledge) and said to his

pupil, Māṛiṣābhagi, “Come, my dear, go to this king. Agni has declared the (secret) knowledge of the heads of animals to a certain king of the Kurus. The learned people of the Vedic lore (*śrotriyaś*) in the countries of Kurus and Pañcālas wished to understand the knowledge through the Vedas, conjecturing, “Is it like this ? Is it like that?” However, (the Kuru king) has never told it. Having visited him, you should hit upon properly such knowledge of the heads of the sacrificial animals. When he would recognize (you), talk to him as “Let us perform the rite for you.” (The pupil of Śuddhojan Māṇḍavya) visited him (scil. the king) and said, “O King, Agni declared to you the knowledge of the heads of sacrificial animals. What knowledge is it?” (The king) recognized him and reverently joined his hands. (He said,) “I send a salute to you, O Reverend, it is this knowledge of the sacrificial animals that Agni declared to me. Please, perform the rite for me.” And he (Māṛiṣābhagi) performed the rite for the king. He, who properly knows that knowledge of Agni on the heads of the sacrificial animals, knows perfectly (the rite of) Agni . On the other hand, he who does not know Agni rightly does not know Agni perfectly. (...)

This legend suggests that the true knowledge of the heads of the Agni ritual had been monopolized by a certain king of the Kurus. The orthodox brahmin scholars of Vedic rituals (*śrotriyaś*) of Kuru-Pañcālas had been eager to learn it from the Kuru king. The *śrotriyaś* of Kuru-Pañcālas represent the learned brāhmins of Vedic lore who had been preserving and developing the orthodox Vedic ritual traditions. Then, this story may reflect an aspect of the formative period of the system of the Śrauta rituals. The lore of the Agnicayana ritual originally developed in some royal milieu later to be integrated into the milieu of the orthodox Vedic lore.¹⁶

With regard to the Paśubandha ritual together with the treatment of heads of domestic animals, we have observed the coexistence of various methods among the relevant exegeses and Śratutasūtras. These methods can be understood as the outcome of the process of integration of cultures of different milieus in the Vedic period.

¹⁶ On this subject, I shall discuss separately.

Appendix¹⁷VādhŚS 8,3.2–8,6.1¹⁸

8,3.2.

1. *prājāpatyam evātah* paśum ālabhate 'jan tūparan.* 2. *tasya prasiddhañ caraṇam ā sāmīdhenībhyas*

[*paśusāmīdhenīs*]

3. *tasya sāmīdhenīnām mīmāṃsā-* 4. *-etā eva pañcadaśaitā u saptadaśa.* 5. *sa yady ekaviṃśatiṃ parācīḥ kuryād etā evaikādaśa sāmīdhenyas,* “*samās tvāgna ṛtavo vard-hayantv*” (TS 4,1.7.a1) *iti daśa-*, *-etā ekaviṃśatiṃ parācyo.* 6. *'tha yadi caturviṃśatiṃ parācīḥ kuryād etā evaikaviṃśatis sāmīdhenyah*.* 7. *prthupājavatyau* (TB 3,6.1.3.h–i) *dhāyye.* 8. *“svāruhā yasya śriyo dṛśa”* *iti caturviṃśīn dhayyāṃ kuryād* “*rayir vīravato yathā agre yajñasya cetata*” (TB 2,4.8.1[3]) *ity.* 9. *etā u caturviṃśatiḥ parācyo.* 10. *'tha yadi caturviṃśatiṃ aparācīḥ kuryād apoddhared etās tistro dhāyyā.* 11. *“ājuhota duvasyata*” (TB 3,5.2.3,1) *-ity etām u sāmīdhenīnām apaivoddhared daśetarā daśetarās.* 12. *tāsan triśastā +prathamā+ triśastottamā-* 13. *-etā u caturviṃśatiṃ aparācyas.* 14. *saptadaśaivānubrūyād* 15. *etat +saṃsthitam+*

[*āghārau*]

16. *anūktāsu samīdhenīṣu sruveṇāghāram āghārayati manasā svayaṃ sampannam* “*hiraṇyagarbhas samavartatāgra*” *iti srugbhyām uttaram* “*bhūtasya [jātaḥ patir eka āsīt, sa dādharma prthivīm dyām utemām kasmai devāya haviṣā] vidhema*” (TS 4,1.8.3.n1) *-iti.* 17. *prasidhyati karma-*

[*hotṛvaraṇa*]

18. *āśrāvayaty.* 19. *atyāśrāvayati.* 20. *sīdati hotā*

[*prayājas*]

21. *prasūta srucāc ādatte.* 22. *prayājān yajaty*

[*āprīs*]

23. *“ūrdhvā asya samīdho bhavanti”-ity etā* (TS 4,1.8.a–m) *hotā āprīḥ karoty* 24. *etābhir yajaty* 25. *“ūrdhvā śukrā śocīm[śy agneḥ, dyumattamā supratīkasya] sūnor* (TS 4,1.8.a2–end) *iti samīdho yajati* 26. *“tanūnapād”* *iti tanūnapātam yajaty* “*asuro [viāavedā devo deveṣu devaḥ, patha ānakti madhvā] ghṛtena* (TS 4,1.8.b). 27. *“madhvā yajñan nakṣase prīṇāna”* (TS 4,1.8.c1) *ity utsrjaty etān nārāśamsa eṣo.* 28. *“cchāyam eti”-itīdo yajati* “*śavasā ghṛteneḍāno [vahnir namasā, agniṃ sruco adhvarēṣu] prayatsv*” (TS 4,1.8.d) *iti.* 29. *“sa yakṣad asya mahimānam agner”* *iti barhir yajati* “*sa ī mandrāsu [prayasaḥ, vasuś cetiṣṭho vasu]dhātamaś ca*” (TS

¹⁷ As the text of VādhŚS utilized in this article is based upon my new critical edition which is to be published shortly, I put the text concerned as an Appendix.

¹⁸ Text based upon two Malayālam MSS: K₁, K₄ and the oldest Devanāgarī MS M. (For details of the MSS. and the editorial principles, see Ikari 1995: 1–17; 1996: 1–2.

4,1.8.e) -iti. 30. “dvāro devīr” iti dvāro yajaty “anv asya viśve [vratā dadante agneḥ,, uruvyacasas dhāmnā] patyamānā” (TS 4,1.8.h) iti. 31. “te asya” -iti te yajati “yoṣane dviyae [na yonāv uṣāsānaktā, imaṃ yajñam avatām] adhvaran na” (TS 4,1.8.g) iti. 32. “daivā hotārāv” iti hotārau yajaty “ūrdhvam adhvara[m no 'gner jihvām abhi grñitam, kṛṇutam naḥ] sviṣṭim” (TS 4,2.8.h) iti. 33. “tisro devīr” iti tā yajati “barhir edaṃ [sadtntv idā sarasvatī, bhārātī mahī] grñānā” (TS 4,1.8.i) -iti. 34. “tan nas turīpam” iti tvaṣṭāraṃ yajaty “adbhutam purukṣu tvsṣṭā su[vīram, rāyas poṣaṃ viṣyātu nābhi]m asme” (TS 4,1.8.k) iti. 35. “vanaspata” iti vanaspatim yajaty “avasrjā rarāṇa[s tmanā deveṣu, agnir havyaṃ śamitā sū]dayati” (TS 4,1.8.kl) -ity. 36. “agne svāhā+kṛṇuhi+jātaveda” iti svāhākṛtipraiseṇa vapāṃ pariyajati- “indrāya havyaṃ, viśve devā havir idam] juṣantām” (TS 4,1.8.m) iti. 37. prasidhyati karma.

[vapāhoma]

38. vapāyā evātaḥ* 39. “prajāpataye chāgasya vapayā medaso 'vadīyamānasyānu-brūhi” -ity āha sruveṇa vapāṃ sampralumpān 40 “yaḥ* prāṇata” ity anvaha “nīmīṣato [mahitvaika id rājā jagato babhūva, ya īse asya dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ kasmai devāya haviṣā] vidhema” (TS 4,1.8.o) -[ti ātmav]ān eṣa. 41. “o śrāvaya” -ity āha. 42. “prajāpataye chāgasya vapāṃ medah prasthitam preṣya” -iti preṣyati maitrāvaruṇo. 43. “ya ātmadā” iti yajati “baladā [yasya viśva upāsate praśiṣaṃ yasya devāḥ, yasya chāyāmṛtaṃ yasya mṛtyuḥ kasmai devāya haviṣā] vidhema” (TS 4,1.8.p). 44. vaṣaṭkṛte juhōti 45. vapayā pracarya- “āpo hi śthā mayobhuva” iti tṛcena (TS 4,1.5.b-d) mārjayante cātvalē.

8,4.1

[Treatment of the human head and other animal heads]

1. +ekaviṃśatiñ+ ca [māśān sam]ādatte saptadhā ca vitṛṇṇāṃ valmīkavapān 2. drutvā paśor ardhma āha “parivāsaya paśor śira” ity. 3. ubhābhyāṃ valmīkavapāṃ pratinidadhātī paśuśīrṣāya paśave ca 4. “etat ta etaiḥ* parikrīṇāmi” -ity āha. 5. saptabhir māśaiḥ* puruṣaśīrṣaṃ parikirati 6. “yo śya kuṣṭhya jagata” iti ya[ma] gathāṃ gāyati “pārthivasyaika[a id vaśī, yaṃ +bhaṅgaśra]vasaṃ+ gāya u [rājā nā] parudhyata” (TĀ 6,5.2,1 var.) ity 7. “etat ta etaiḥ parikrīṇāmi” -ity āha. 8. saptabhir māśaiḥ puruṣaśīrṣaṃ parikirati 9. “saptahotāsyā vitata” iti yamagātham gāyaty “ālabdho daśakakṣyaḥ vaivasvatasya sādane saptahotary adhvara” (unidentified) ity. 10. “etat ta e[taiḥ parikrīṇāmi] -ity āha. 10a. [saptabhir māśaiḥ puruṣaśīrṣaṃ] parikiraty 11. “rddh[o] ... krāti” -ity yamagātham gāyati “yamasya grhe adhvaraḥ tasmin kanikradad grāvordhvo nṛtyaty aṃśśubhir” (unidentified) -ity. 12. “etat” ity āha yaṃ āha “prativeśaṃ kumbhīm uddhāya supramriktaṃ pramricyāpoddhṛtyāsyā māṃsāni nirdhūya mastiṣkam mrdābhilipyā nidhattād” iti 13. tat tathā kurvanty 14. athāsyai[te] pa[śavaḥ kṛtā syur, aśva]m ivāśvaṃ kuryād rṣabham iva rṣabham vṛṣṇim iva vṛṣṇim bastam iva bastan 15. ta ātmavantas sarvāṃgā[s] syur 16. abhi haiśām āṇḍadhānānīva kuryāt. 17. tān pākapeṣyāṇāṃ piṣṭānāṃ kṛtvā yathā pravartikāl pa-canty evaṃ paceyur 18. mṛdo hainān samvatsaraḍikṣāyāṃ kuryāc charkarāṇāṃ vā 19. tān sahaitena paśunā paryagnikrtvotsṛjet 20. [prajāpatye]no eva samsthāpayed

[Summary of the remaining sections:]

- Offering of 7 kinds of puroḍāśas: 9.21–10.43:

1. *puroḍāśa* of 12 *kapālas* for Prajāpati, 2. p. of 12 *kapālas* for Vāyu, 3. p. of 12 *kapālas* for (Agni) Vaiśvānara,
 4. p. of 8 *kapālas* for Agni Kṣatravat, 5. p. of 8 *kapālas* for Agni Kṣatrabhṛt, 6. p. of 8 *kapālas* for Agni Brahmanvat,
 7. p. of 8 *kapālas* for Agni Puṣṭimat
- Main offering (*havis*) of Paśubandha for Prajāpati: 10.44–57
 - Concluding part of the Paśubandha is done with the he-goat for Prajāpati (abbreviated) 10.59.

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Sažetak

Ovaj se pregled usredotočuje na obred Paśubandha koji se izvodi u uvodnome dijelu Agnicayane. Svrha je ovoga obreda odobriti da se 5 glava *paśua* (domaćih životinja) zakopaju ispod središta zemljišta na kojem se gradi golemi oltar od opeke. Obred uključuje osjetljivi problem žrtvovanja čovjeka (*puruṣa*) koji je naveden kao vrh skupine od 5 *paśua* potrebnih u obredu. U obrednoj egzegezi i praksama brāhmaṇa i sūtra, postoje različite opcije za izvedbu ove Paśubandhe. Takva situacija u kojoj koegzistiraju različite moguće metode izvedbe obreda mogu odražavati trud vedskih svećenika da integriraju glave paśua u obred Paśubandha. Dok sam rekonstruirao povijest promjena u obredu Paśubandhe, pokušao sam rasvijetliti probleme s kojima su se suočavali vedski svećenici.

2. Epics, Khilas and Purāṇas

Mislav Ježić and the Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas

Abstract

This paper presents a short history of the Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas (DICSEP), with a special focus on Mislav Ježić's role in it. It also gives an overview of the papers published in the proceedings of this conference so far.

No one scholar has done more for the study of epic and purāṇic literature than Mislav Ježić, father of the Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas. DICSEP, as it is affectionately known by all, is the leading forum for studies of these important genres. Over the past quarter of a century, DICSEP has drawn international scholars to one of the most spectacular cities in the world in a congenial and productive work environment. Each of the beautifully produced volumes of proceedings is a major monument in Indological research.

The seeds for DICSEP were sown in the aftermath of the Croatian War of Independence in the early 1990s. Mislav Ježić approached a number of well-known international scholars, including Greg Bailey (Australia), John and Mary Brockington (Edinburgh) and Peter Schreiner (Switzerland), with a two-fold goal: first, to put Croatian Indology on the world map, and second, to help revive Dubrovnik as the international hub for education, history and tourism it rightly deserved to be.

Together, this core group, under Mislav Ježić's leadership, compiled a list of interested individuals for a planning meeting, and put together a basic program. The official title of the event, held in Dubrovnik, 24–28 August 1994, was the "Preliminary Meeting", known in retrospect as DICSEP 0.

Arriving in Dubrovnik in 1994, signs of devastation were everywhere. Every house from the airport to the hotel was missing its roof. While the Old City had been cleaned up, the pavements were still pockmarked by mortar shells. Many buildings were severely impacted, including the Inter-University Centre, for example, where the upper storey had been completely destroyed.

The planning meeting was held in the five-star Excelsior Hotel to the east of the Old City, all expenses paid by the Croatian government. Even at this early stage Mislav Ježić's outstanding abilities in fundraising and handling political affairs were evident. The proposed conference was welcomed by the authorities as it was seen as contributing to the resurgence of Croatia after its terrific experience during the war.

In addition to Bailey, John and Mary Brockington and Schreiner mentioned above, the meeting was attended by Hans Bakker (Netherlands), Horst Brinkhaus (Germany), Georg von Simson (Norway) and Klara Gönc Moaçanin, Milka Jauk-Pinhak and Krešimir Krnic (Croatia).

The first meeting was surreal. The group used the conference facilities in the hotel, but otherwise, the huge venue was nearly empty, the only other guests being the UN peacekeeping troops. The soldiers, who seemed shell-shocked, sat at their tables and ate their meals in complete silence.

During six planning sessions over three days, a design for the conference emerged. No formal papers were presented: "we just talked and drank beer in the bar, because the wine is too expensive to drink in Dubrovnik". As early as DICSEP 0, the afternoon sessions were held, in accordance with an excellent local tradition, from 5:00 to 7:00 pm, followed by dinner, a practice that has been maintained during all subsequent DICSEPs.

The planning meeting resolved to hold a conference on Sanskrit epics and purāṇas in August 1995, and under the title Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas. Established scholars would attend by invitation and postgraduate students would be encouraged in limited numbers. There would be no parallel sessions, each speaker having a generous one-hour timeslot with a further twenty minutes for questions. The proceedings would be published. The IUC, with its excellent meeting spaces and ideal location near the Pile Gate was the obvious choice as the conference venue.

But DICSEP 1, planned for 1995, was not to be. Because of the uncertain security situation as the result of continuing armed conflict, and out of concern for "the safety and peace of mind" of participants, the first conference was postponed until 1997.

When DICSEP 1 finally began on 13 August of that year, the city was still very quiet. The IUC was serviceable again, but not for accommodation, only as a meeting place. Many hotels in Dubrovnik had been demolished or otherwise damaged, and had not yet been rebuilt. Most attendees stayed at the Lero or Bellevue Hotels within easy walking distance from the IUC.

DICSEP 1 ran from Wednesday until Saturday 16 August with a full-day excursion on the intervening Friday. The atmosphere was one of optimism. Meetings were held in a seminar room, around a table, which engendered lively discussion, in spite of lacking air-conditioning, as "we were celebrating work".

In addition to those who had taken part in the planning meeting, scholars came from all over the world, including Francis Brassard (Canada), Danielle Feller (Switzerland), Alf Hildebeitel (USA), Petteri Koskikallio (Finland), Renate Söhnen-Thieme (UK), Heinrich von Stietencron (Germany), J. Sudhakar (Switzerland) and Yaroslav Vassilkov (Russia), a total of eighteen participants.

The program, as mentioned, was based on the local work pattern. A long session in the morning entailed the usual conference format of papers and following discussion. This was followed by a longer lunch break, during which everyone repaired to a restaurant at the water's edge, and where conversations continued over beers. The late afternoon sessions were occupied with less-structured workshops to critique established methods and theories and to evaluate new ones. These were also to become a feature of subsequent DICSEPs.

As early as this first event, there emerged a theoretical gap between those who wanted to go beyond text-criticism of continental, philological Indology into more theoretically informed literary analysis from the Anglo-sphere. Greg Bailey's report on the future directions workshop appeared in the conference proceedings.¹ He points to the disparate nature of Indological research and calls on scholars to form teams to unite their efforts.

Partly as a result of this insight, at DICSEP 2 there had been much discussion about the *Harivaṃśa*, but as "nobody knew anything about it, it was thought, well, it's time they did. Let's try and collaborate and pledge, each of us, to do something on that text." As a result, a number of participants in DICSEP 3 presented work on the *khila* in the context of their own fields. Further, as a result of this collaboration, the digital edition of the entire critical edition of the *Harivaṃśa* was created by a team of DICSEP scholars, plus a new translation of the text by Simon Brodbeck.²

Another feature of DICSEP has been the contribution of Indology undergraduates from Zagreb. They inject youthful energy and a sense of fun, and especially brighten up the excursion days, whenever Krešimir Krnic produces his guitar. The students themselves also benefit from an educational perspective, as DICSEP gives them a chance to see first-class specialists – scholars at the top of the field – and to see how academics work. Students can experience first-hand various fields, theories and methods. DICSEP encourages younger students "to fall in love with Indology", as one scholar put it, and to continue as far as they can. Some ex-students continue to attend DICSEP long after graduating.

It is not the intention of this brief note to summarize every DICSEP conference, but to recall its origins and Mislav Ježić's role in its formation. So many of the features and highlights of the early events have been replicated successfully in later years. DICSEP soon outgrew the IUC's "in-the-round" seminar room and moved instead to the larger conference theatre downstairs. The loss of intimacy

¹ Bailey 1999.

² Brodbeck 2019.

was more than compensated by the presence of air-conditioning. Even as numbers grew, the concepts of stimulating scholarship, collegiality and conviviality have remained central. The original idea of DICSEP, that participants were a community who shared ideas – a family who work together – has endured.

DICSEP has become a significant part of the professional life of scholars from all over the world, and many count the years from one DICSEP to the next. For younger scholars, it has become an opportunity to meet people whose names they knew, but, as one remarked, “It was like meeting people from outer space – people I never thought I’d meet.” Especially in the days before “technology”, when scholars communicated by mail, meeting people in the flesh was a significant experience. For some, DICSEP was the deciding factor that drew them into a career in Indology, by providing encouragement and showing the way.

Reflecting on the contributions of DICSEP in general and Mislav Ježić in particular, one scholar of international standing observed, “As far as epic studies is concerned, outside Croatia, this is what Mislav is known for: creating DICSEP, and this is his great achievement.” The conferences themselves – and perhaps even more, the proceedings – have become highly significant for the discipline. The standard of papers in the published volumes has been uniformly outstanding, and the collaboration between scholars that the conferences have engendered has been invaluable.

DICSEP has effectively set the agenda for epic and purāṇic studies, and has publicized these studies dramatically. One of its most important outcomes is the creation of a network of scholars who share ideas, papers and mutual criticism. The conference has provided a particular stimulus to Indology in Central and Eastern Europe, especially as the discipline experiences increasing pressure in Western Europe and the Anglo-sphere.

It is widely hoped that DICSEP will continue in its current mode, characterized by informality, collegiality and collaboration. DICSEP, with a successful track record of nearly three decades, has huge potential for growing beyond a conference. It is now an internationally recognised “brand”. With its advantages of geography, climate and infrastructure, Dubrovnik and DICSEP could provide an ideal base for teams working together for longer periods, perhaps in a centre for epic and purāṇic studies. The success of the published proceedings is widely acknowledged. A logical possibility, building on the reputation of those volumes, could be a scholarly journal focused on our discipline.

The success of DICSEP is due to Mislav Ježić’s leadership, his old-world courtesy, hospitality and kindness. As doyen and creator of DICSEP, he has always striven to ensure that each participant feels comfortable. “I have never felt so well at a conference”, one senior participant remarked. As DICSEP’s “conceptual motor”, Ježić intended it to be a meeting of friends and colleagues who, even though they might think differently, come together in the spirit of joint endeavour. The scholarly community owes Mislav Ježić a great debt of gratitude.

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Appendix 1. DICSEP dates

DICSEP 0.	24–28 Aug 1994 (preliminary meeting)
DICSEP 1.	11–16 August 1997
DICSEP 2.	9–14 August 1999
DICSEP 3.	2–7 September 2002
DICSEP 4.	5–10 September 2005
DICSEP 5.	11–16 August 2008
DICSEP 6.	15–20 August 2011
DICSEP 7.	11–17 August 2014
DICSEP 8.	11–16 September 2017
DICSEP 9.	21–25 September 2020

Appendix 2: Contents of the DICSEP proceedings

Some entries have been lightly edited for consistency

DICSEP 1

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Sažetak

Ovaj rad predstavlja kratku povijest Dubrovačke međunarodne konferencije o sanskrtskim epovima i puranama (DICSEP), s posebnim osvrtom na ulogu Mislava Ježića u njoj. Daje se i pregled dosadašnjih konferencija te radova objavljenih u zbornicima radova s ovog skupa.

On *trṣṇā* in the *Mahābhārata* and its Buddhist predecessors

Abstract

The concept of *taṇhā* is extremely important in Buddhist thought, lying as it does as the eighth component within the *paṭiccasamuppāda* and is often attributed to be the underlying cause of *dukkha*, in a deep causal sense. If *taṇhā* can be eradicated then *dukkha/sukha* can be eradicated and the path to *nirvāṇa* opened up. The Sanskrit equivalent *trṣṇā* – occurs in the *Mahābhārata* in a similar sense in which it is found in certain central texts of the Pāli Canon. As expected it is usually found in Books 3, 5 and 12–14 when used in this philosophical sense, being used to designate physical thirst in other books of the MBh. In this essay I examine the relevant passages found in the *Mahābhārata* and compare and note some similarities with passages found in texts like the *Dhammapada* and the *Udāna*, with a glance at the *Lalitavistara*. What is significant in the *Mahābhārata* is that *trṣṇā* is used as one means of building up the character of Yudhiṣṭhira and of defining the choices he is required to make as king. As such its usage here is determined by the narrative plot and is used in a much less general ontological sense than in the Pāli sources.

The word *taṇhā*, designating “craving” in a psychological sense and “thirst” in a physical sense, occurs hundreds of times in early Pāli literature and Buddhist Sanskrit texts as well. This is largely due to its position as the seventh link in the chain of dependent origination and its treatment outside of this as an extremely important cause of particular forms of destructive behaviour leading inevitably to ongoing rebirth. It is often attributed by itself to be the underlying cause of *dukkha*. If *taṇhā* can be eradicated then *dukkha* can be eradicated¹ and the path to *nirvāṇa* opened up. As such its emphasis is different from the treatment of *trṣṇā* in the MBh, even though there is some overlap, especially in those parts of the MBh which assert particular doctrinal positions amidst the rebuttal of others. The MBh too draws heavily upon the basic meaning of *trṣṇā* as thirst/craving to explore the motivations for

¹ See e.g., *Dhammapada* 24, vs. 21.

kingly and personal avarice, especially as this has affected the behaviour of some of the principal characters in the epic narrative. Whilst my interest in this article was initially to uncover what appears to be the minimal amount of direct intertextuality between Buddhist texts and the MBh, the use of the concept in dealing with the character development of figures like Yudhiṣṭhira is also highly profiled.

In dealing with *trṣṇā* in the MBh there are clearly three interrelated elements in operation when defining its meaning: as an ontological substrate in the person, as forming an element in a causal chain leading to an action, and as an actual cause of behaviour itself exemplified in some of the principal characters of the epic narrative. The relationship between these three is not always clear but the destructive nature of *trṣṇā* is beyond doubt in all those passages I deem its meaning to be ontological, in the sense that it is an irreducible part of a person's mental state. There are parallels in concept between the MBh treatment and what we find in Buddhist sources both in Pāli and Sanskrit, though it seems direct parallels only occur in the *Udāna* and the *Nettipakaraṇa*. In addition, the *Udāna* and the *Dhammapada* both have separate sections on craving.

From an historical perspective it is likely significant that the word *trṣṇā* is found only twice in the Upaniṣads, in the rather late *Maitrī-Upaniṣad*. As a point of comparison it appears only four times in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, none of which correlates to the ontological sense in which I am interested here, though certainly more times in some Purāṇas.

Some relevant Buddhist texts

The Pāli texts present *taṇhā* both within the *paṭiccasamuppāda* and outside of it as an individual emotion/psychological condition causing both rebirth and *dukkha*.² Here is the typical presentation of the *paṭiccasamuppāda* found often in the Pāli Canon and Buddhist Sanskrit texts:

Conditioned by ignorance (*avijjāpaccayā*) are the habitual tendencies; conditioned by the habitual tendencies is consciousness; conditioned by consciousness is psycho-physicality; conditioned by psycho-physicality are the six (sense-) spheres; conditioned by the six (sense-) spheres is awareness; conditioned by awareness is feeling; conditioned by feeling is craving (*vedanāpaccayā taṇhā*); conditioned by craving is grasping; conditioned by grasping is becoming; conditioned by becoming is birth; conditioned by birth, old age and dying, grief, sorrow and lamentation, suffering, dejection and despair come into being. Such is the arising of this entire mass of ill.³

² Cf. Webster 2005: 132, "... there is a significant and close association between ideas of ignorance and hatred or aversion and the notion of *taṇhā*. This helps us to view *taṇhā* not as a unitary negative thing, but to see it more holistically as part of a complex of mental states." The situation in the MBh is similar. See also Harvey 1990: 53.

³ *Mahāvagga*, p. 5. Trans. Horner 2007: 1–2. For a Buddhist Sanskrit version, which is slightly different, see: LV, Ch. 22 (Vaidya 1958: 251), which gives the Pāli list in reverse order, *Avadānaśataka* 88.3.

What is significant here is that *taṇhā* seems to be the only psychological condition – if we can call it that – in the twelve-linked chain. *Upādāna* “grasping” is the direct manifestation of *taṇhā* rather than being a psychological condition and I note it is never used in conjunction with *trṣṇā* in the MBh. In the *paṭiccasamuppāda* *taṇhā* directly arises from the five senses, name and form, that is from the person as such. Because it is part of the twelve-linked chain it has to be said to be part of the forces that condition and cause ongoing existence rather than an underlying substrate that might define the idea of a permanent self, which would directly contradict the *anattā* doctrine.

Slightly further on from this passage is the following expression of the Buddha’s despair about the capacity of people to understand the *paṭiccasamuppāda* and the way to go beyond it:

This too were a matter very difficult to see, that is to say the calming of all the habitual tendencies, the renunciation of all attachment, the destruction of craving, dispassion, stopping, *nirvāṇa* (*taṇhakkhaya virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ*). And so if I were to teach dhamma and others were not to understand me, this would be a weariness to me, this would be a vexation to me.⁴

What is important here is the inclusion of the compound *taṇhakkhaya* “the destruction of craving”, a compound found frequently in the Canon in passages similar to this.⁵ It occurs in a series of preconditions for the attainment of *nibbāna*.

Another common formulaic expression is given from *Dīghanikāya* I 216 where *taṇhā* is further elaborated:

tisso taṇhā. kāma-taṇhā, bhava-taṇhā, vibhava-taṇhā. aparā pi tisso taṇhā. kāma-taṇhā, rūpa-taṇhā, arūpa-taṇhā. aparā pi tisso taṇhā. rūpa-taṇhā, arūpa-taṇhā, nirodha-taṇhā.

Three cravings: for sensual pleasures, for continuing existence, for the ending of existence.

Another three cravings: for sensual pleasures, for form, and for formlessness.

Another three cravings: for form, for formlessness, and for cessation.

This specific understanding of the term depicts *taṇhā* as an individual psychological force that can be applied to particular kinds of objects of desire, with the three in the first line being the most common, and the last referring to *nirvāṇa*. But they are never seen in this exact form in the MBh as the object of craving.

A third formulaic expression is the following from the *Suttanipāta*, referring to the components of Māra’s army:

⁴ Trans. Horner 2007: 6–7.

⁵ Cf. Harvey 1990: 60. See also MhV 2, 285: *etaṃ sāntaṃ etaṃ praṇītaṃ etaṃ yathāvadetaṃ avipaṇītaṃ yam idaṃ sarvopadhipratiniḥsargo sarvasaṃskārasamathā dharmopacchedo trṣṇākṣayo virāgo nirodho nirvāṇaṃ* || 2,418: *kṣīyati bhavatrṣṇā bhavaṃ nābhinandati sarvaśo trṣṇākṣayo nirvāṇaṃ* ||

Cf. LV, Ch. 25 (Vaidya 1958: 286).

Sensual pleasures are your first army; discontent is called your second; your third is hunger and thirst; the fourth is called craving.⁶

These might imply psychological activity rather than suggesting ontological categories. Other passages seem to correlate *taṇhā* with *rāga* and *kāma*, in a manner also found in some MBh passages.

Initial reflections on the MBh

Tṛṣṇā and variants occur seventy-four times in the Critical Edition of the MBh and across ten of its books.⁷ It is surely no coincidence that more than half of these occur in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan*, with another fifteen percent found in the *Āraṇyaka*- and *Āśvamedhikaparvans* respectively. Sometimes it only refers to physical thirst and more frequently to thirst for wealth, with the latter relating to the more general understandings of *tṛṣṇā* we find in the passages that deal with it as a motivator of human behaviour, and also fitting precisely into received views that the king must always be a promoter of wealth acquisition. Beyond those specific references to *tṛṣṇā* referring to physical thirst for water, most of the others fall into the categories of meaning – mainly ontological and psychological – found primarily in the didactic books of the MBh. They are especially prominent in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan* as one might expect, yet there is a distinctive, and intended, possibility of going beyond this and connecting speculations about *tṛṣṇā* to the main epic narrative theme. Above all this connection arises in the case of Yudhiṣṭhira's self-questioning of his own motives – a dominant theme throughout the MBh, where he questions why the great battle took place and what could have led the Pāṇḍavas to be involved in it at all. The point for him is this: was it worth it given the extent of human suffering it produced? It is also used a few times in advice given to Arjuna by Kṛṣṇa in the two Gītās, and to Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Above all it relates to the oft mentioned role of the king as an accumulator and distributor of wealth, and especially the need to engage in this without being influenced by craving, greed (*lobha*) and desire. Wealth is not to be accumulated for oneself, but for the good of the entire kingdom.

In this sense it might be objected that its occurrence in the MBh is mainly in association – certainly more than half the occurrences – with Yudhiṣṭhira's constant self-doubting. Even if this is so, it is still presented in a manner reaching back to its fundamental ontological/psychological sense along the lines found in early Buddhist literature. That the treatment of it – if it is an intentional treatment – is developed

⁶ *Suttanipāta* vs. 436: *kāmā te paṭhamā senā, dutiyā aratī vuccati, tatiyā khuppiṇā te, catutthī taṇhā pavuccati*, || Trans. Norman 2001: 71. For Buddhist Sanskrit, see LV 18.17 and MhV 2,240.

⁷ Here are the respective numbers: *Ādi* 2, *Āraṇyaka* 10, *Udyoga* 4, *Bhīṣma* 2, *Śalya* 1, *Strī* 1, *Sānti* 38, *Anuśāsana* 6, *Āśvamedhika* 9, *Āśramavāsikaparvan* 1.

along these lines is hardly surprising given the direct relationship between the narrative plot, which arguably dominates the epic, and the need to explain the motivations of the principal actors in terms of emotions and desires. These in turn are taken back to broader ontological and psychological categories defining the human condition. As such both parts of the narrative relate to each other, with the didactic portions universalizing the psychological interpretations as they apply to the actions, and the justifications thereof, illustrated in the behaviour of individual characters.

This differs from the Buddhist ontological material where *taṇhā* is almost always presented in a teaching given by the Buddha as one component of the psychological/perceptual states that produce rebirth. In this sense it is perfectly mirrored by those few passages in the MBh where the conditions leading to the immersion within *saṃsāra* are given. As a general rule the MBh seeks to provide actual examples where the Buddhist texts look at broad principles, with the exception being the genre of *karmavipāka* texts which developed in the early centuries of the Common Era. In looking at the passages in Books 3–5, 12–14 which deal with ontology, it is important to distinguish between those places where it is part of the human condition, and others where it is primarily a causal factor of human behaviour, that is, if these can really be distinguished.

Some relevant *Mahābhārata* passages

A relationship between the acquisition of wealth and craving is signalled initially in the second chapter of the *Āraṇyakaparvan* – where the Pāṇḍavas, primarily Yudhiṣṭhira, are being addressed by Śaunaka. It reveals a strong Buddhist influence and provides the earliest definition of *trṣṇā* in the MBh. This chapter is arguably foundational because it expounds a particular view of existence and right living which it relates directly to Yudhiṣṭhira's behaviour as king, anticipating that he will be king. Śaunaka describes the causes of sorrow and of *duḥkha* as it manifests in both physical body and mind. Vs. 32 recommends turning away from affections towards one's allies, friends and accumulated wealth (*dhanasaṃcayāt*), and he concludes this section with these verses:

MBh 3.2.33–36ab:

rāgābhibhūtaḥ⁸ puruṣaḥ kāmēna parikṛṣyate |
icchā saṃjāyate tasya tatas trṣṇā pravartate || 33 ||
trṣṇā hi sarvapāpiṣṭhā nityodvegakarī nṛṇām |
adharmabahulā caiva ghorā pāpānubandhinī || 34 ||
yā dustyajā durmatibhir yā na jīryati jīryataḥ |
yo 'sau prāṇāntiko rogas tām trṣṇām tyajataḥ sukham || 35 ||
anādyantā tu sā trṣṇā antardehagatā nṛṇām |

⁸ Cf. 12.284.5ab: *rāgadveṣābhibhūtaṃ ca naraṃ dravyavaśānugam ||*
 The compound *rāgābhibhūta* seems not to occur elsewhere in the MBh.

Overcome by impetuous passion a man is dragged around by desire. A wish arises in him and from that craving proceeds. Indeed, craving is the worst of all things, constantly producing agitation in men. It is massively imbued with what is against the law, it is ferocious and has evil consequences. It is difficult for the ignorant to get rid of it, it does not decay in one who is getting old. This is the fatal illness, but for one who abandons craving there is happiness. Yet craving, which has neither beginning nor end, exists within the body of men.

Tṛṣṇā seems to be the fourth in a chain of causation as vs. 33 lays out. The two verbs in 33ab are in the passive, implying the *puruṣa* has no control over his fate. As such the sequence is *rāga*, *kāma*, *icchā*, then finally *tṛṣṇā*. Yet vs. 36 seems to contradict this by describing *tṛṣṇā* as *anādyantā*,⁹ perhaps also indicated by *pravartate* in 33d which enshrines a sense of continuity. All four nouns operate in the overlapping semantic field of desire. *Kāma* and *icchā* are almost synonyms for a generalized form of desire, whereas *rāga* evokes more the sense of uncontrolled emotion/passion. Still, the relationship of craving/thirst to them is not precise, unless it indicates a more precisely directed form of desire, as is enumerated so often in Buddhist texts such as *Dīghanikāya* I 216 cited above. It is a sustained psychological intention that proceeds (*pravartate*) when these three conditions already exist. The final three verses provide a straight forward definition of *tṛṣṇā*, with 35cd–36ab almost clichéd since it occurs twice elsewhere in the MBh.¹⁰ But there is nothing positive about what is depicted, and *sukha* here seems to be presented as its opposite.

It is surely significant – and consistent with the use of *tṛṣṇā* as a motive for behaviour elsewhere in the MBh – that from vs. 38 onwards there are ten verses giving a very strong criticism of wealth and the dangers in desiring it. *Duḥkha* is used six times in vss. 41–43, with *sukha* once in 43b and in these two *pādas* of 44cd we are told: “There is no end of thirst (*pipāsāyāḥ*),¹¹ contentment is the supreme happiness.”¹² In these verses *artha* occurs fourteen times with *dravya* (45b) and *dhana* (45d) found once each, *saṃcaya* three times (45d, 46) and *vittavān* once (39). Responding to this Yudhiṣṭhira declares he only wants wealth to support the brahmins and others (48–59), invoking the correct dharmic duty of the householder to give and share.¹³

⁹ Other occurrences of *anādyanta* are few. All relate to what we might call ontological concepts: the wheel of existence (*cakra*) at 1,1.38; 12,203.11; the *avyakta* and *puruṣa* at 12,210.7; the filament of craving at 12,210.33 and Brahman at 12,224.11.

¹⁰ 12,168.45 and 13,7–20 in similar contexts to this, but I have not located it in any Buddhist texts.

¹¹ Where *pipāsā* here seems to be a perfect synonym of *tṛṣṇā*. But overwhelmingly it occurs in a compound with *kṣudh*, to refer to physical thirst. The two possible exceptions are 12,46.3 and 12,317.21, and possibly 3,206.20. See also Webster 2005: 129 making the same point about its use in Pāli texts.

¹² = 12,317.21.

¹³ *nārthopabhogalipsārtham iyaṃ arthepsutā mama* | 3,2.49ab “I do not wish for wealth for the sake of gaining enjoyment from the wealth.”

Śaunaka continues, talking about the danger of the sense objects in instigating greed:

When a person's mind is directed towards the objects of all the senses, desire springs up in him (*taṣyautsukyam saṁbhavati*), and a tendency to act is born (*pravṛttiś copajāyate*). Then, pierced by desire – whose strength is the intention – with the arrows of sense objects, he falls into the fire of greed (*lobhāgnau*), as the moth falls because of his greed for light. At last, crazed by his sports and meals, he drowns in the maw of madness and does not know himself.” (3,2.64–66)¹⁴

Verses 67–68 then function as a kind of summary with three factors being attributed as the causes for rebirth in *saṁsāra*:

MBh 3,2.67–68:

evaṁ patati saṁsāre tāsu tāsv iha yoniṣu |
avidyākarmatṛṣṇābhir bhrāmyamāṇo 'iha cakravat || 67 ||
brahmādiṣu tṛṇānteṣu bhūteṣu parivartate |
jale bhuvi tathākāśe jāyamānaḥ punaḥ punaḥ || 68 ||

As such he falls into rebirth here in birth after birth, being pushed around like a wheel by ignorance, action and craving. He rolls about in creatures, from Brahmā down to a blade of grass, born over and over again, in water, on land, and in the air.¹⁵

This final verse is what one might expect in a Buddhist text as it portrays rebirth as a combination of factors, though it lacks the complexity of the twelve-linked chain and others found in early Buddhist literature. Note again the use of the present participle in the passive implying the agent has no control over his acts. Of course, circular movement (*pari-vṛt*) is of fundamental importance here as the paradigm defining *saṁsāra*, where the wheel symbolism is perfectly apt, and is also found frequently in Buddhist literature. It defines a state of existence experienced by all living beings, but even though it is full of much doctrinal material, the entire chapter inevitably takes us back to the theme of a desire for wealth, especially as this might apply to Yudhiṣṭhira just before he enters his twelve-year sojourn in the forest.

I speculate whether the compound *avidyākarmatṛṣṇā* should be taken as a summary of the *pañiccasamuppāda* as it contains two of its elements *avidyā* and *trṣṇā*, and also *karma*, the process it purportedly describes, even though the word does not appear in the individual elements of the *pañiccasamuppāda*. Its only other occurrence in the MBh is a variant reading at 12,211.31ab *avidyākarmaceṣṭānām ke cid āhuḥ punarbhavam ||* where 6 mss. have *avidyākarmatṛṣṇānām*. The nearest I can find in Buddhist literature are these few:

LV 13.110:

skandhadhātāvāyatanāni dhātavaḥ tṛṣṇa avidyā iti karmapratyayā |

¹⁴ Translation following van Buitenen 1975: 236.

¹⁵ Translation following van Buitenen 1975: 237.

MhV 3,65:

kiṃpratyayā śāriputra jāyātīti avidyāpratyayā tṛṣṇāpratyayā karmaṇpratyayā idampratyayā śāriputra jāyati ||... kiṃpratyayā śāriputra pratisaṃdheti || avidyāye aprahīnatvāt tṛṣṇāye vaśīkṛtatvāt karmaṇ cāśya bhavati

The Exalted One replied to the venerable Śāriputra, “From what cause, Śāriputra, is a thing born? It is because of not eliminating ignorance, from being subject to craving and karma; that is why, Śāriputra, a thing is born.”...

“Why, Śāriputra, is it reconstituted? It is reconstituted through the non-elimination of ignorance and because of subjection to craving, and so it has a maturing karma.”

MhV 3.66:

kiṃpratyayā śāriputra na pratisaṃdhetīti | avidyāye prahīnatvāt tṛṣṇāye vyanīkṛtatvāt karmaṇ nāśya bhavati pakvaṃ nāsti idampratyayā śāriputra na pratisaṃdheti ||

“From what cause, Śāriputra, is a thing not reconstituted? It is because of the elimination of ignorance, because of the ending of craving; there is here no *karma* and no maturing of it.”¹⁶

I note, to my surprise, that *avidyā* is quite rare in the MBh, found only nine times and three of those are in the passages where *avidyā*, *karma* and *tṛṣṇā* are brought together. However, these three are not enough by themselves to indicate direct connections between the respective texts, but it is tantalizing to think so.

Moving to the *Śāntiparvan*, where the majority of occurrences of *tṛṣṇā* are found, it appears as expected that they all occur in teachings given by Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira. This is not just because he is the recipient of Bhīṣma’s teachings, but because they contribute to an important psychological picture of him, in a manner where psychology and ontology run together.

Unlike the passages just cited from the *Āraṇyakaparvan* the following passages begin with a statement of the foundational cause Yudhiṣṭhira gives to his four brothers and Draupadī when he is attempting to offer underlying reasons – as occurs so often in the MBh from both sides of the conflict – why the breakdown within the family and subsequent battle occurred. In his initial reflection *tṛṣṇā* is directly connected with evil activity (*pāpa*) at a specific time – just after the battle –, rather than with rebirth across lives as in other passages where it occurs.

... having thus escaped from all attachments and passed beyond all the snares, being in control of nothing at all – just like Mātariśvan – moving about with all passions gone (*vītarāga*), I will attain everlasting satisfaction.

It was craving (*tṛṣṇā*) and ignorance (*ajñānā*) that moved me to do (*kāritaḥ*) great evil.¹⁷ Some men do wholesome and unwholesome deeds to support those they call their “kin” ... (MBh 12,9.28–30, trans. Fitzgerald 2004: 186.)¹⁸

¹⁶ Trans. Jones 1956, III: 68–69.

¹⁷ Or 29cd: “Because through craving I have ignorantly caused this great evil.”

¹⁸ MBh 12,9.28–30:

*vimuktaḥ sarvasaṅgebhya vyatītaḥ sarvavāgūrāḥ |
na vaśe kasya cit tiṣṭhan sadharmā mātariśvanah || 28 ||*

A number of questions can be asked here. Are *rāga* and *trṣṇā* equivalent, in the sense that the former seems to be one of the causes of the latter as it is in 3,2.32–34? Does *trṣṇā* cause Yudhiṣṭhira's ignorance? And does ignorance here mean lack of knowledge or a mistake? *Trṣṇā* seems to be the undefined cause in a psychological sense where psychology is intermixed with ontology in describing part of the human condition. But it is not an absolute constant as it can be abandoned, though does this mean it is still potentially present? I also note the combination of craving, ignorance and action (*kāritāḥ*) in these verses, not unlike what is intended in 3,2.67c.

These comments are in direct response to a series of statements Arjuna makes in Ch. 8 about the need for the king to accumulate wealth, even if such wealth is to be taken from other people, and that in no way should this be considered as bad form on the part of the king. In truth this chapter is saturated with references to wealth and contextualizes Yudhiṣṭhira's immediate response. In later chapters the other three Pāṇḍavas (Bhīma Ch. 10 & 16, Arjuna Ch. 11, Nakula Ch. 12, Sahadeva Ch. 13 and Draupadī Ch. 14, and Arjuna again Ch. 15 & 18), all urge Yudhiṣṭhira to accept the kingship and perform the horse-sacrifice, but none place the king's need for wealth as so centrally found in Ch. 8.

At the end of this section where Yudhiṣṭhira is rebuked, there are a few concluding verses justifying the recriminatory self-reflections he has expressed over twelve of the previous chapters and foreshadowing the kind of philosophical teaching epitomized in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan*. He concludes:

...some others say that the soul within the body of five elements is connected with desire and aversion. Invisible to the eye and inexpressible in words, it operates in beings, accompanied by the motive force of past deeds. After making the sensory field auspicious, after suppressing craving in the mind, and after getting rid of the continuum of past deeds, one is free and happy. When there is this path which must be traversed with great delicacy, and which is used by the pious, how is it, Arjuna, that you praise something that luxuriates in evil (*artham anarthāḍhyam*). (MBh 12,19.18–21, trans. Fitzgerald 2004: 205.)¹⁹

vītarāgaś carann evaṃ tuṣṭim prāpsyāmi śāśvatīm |
trṣṇayā hi mahat pāpam ajñānād asmi kāritāḥ || 29 ||
kuśalākuśalāny eke kṛtvā karmāṇi mānavāḥ |
kāryakāraṇasaṃśliṣṭaṃ svajānaṃ nāma bibhrati || 30 ||

Cf. also 12,1.14:

idaṃ tu me mahad duḥkhaṃ vartate hṛdi nityadā |
kṛtvā jñātikṣayam imaṃ mahāntaṃ lobhakāritam || 14 ||

¹⁹

MBh 12,19.18–21:
athaikāntavyudāsena śarīre pañcabhautike |
icchādveṣasamāyuktam ātmānaṃ prāhur iṅgitaiḥ || 18 ||
agrāhyaś cakṣuṣā so 'pi anirdeśyaṃ ca tad girā |
karmahetupuraskāraṃ bhūteṣu parivartate || 19 ||
kalyāṇagocaraṃ kṛtvā manas trṣṇāṃ nigrhya ca |
karmasaṃtatim utsṛjya syān nirālambanaḥ sukhī || 20 ||
asminn evaṃ sūkṣmagamyē mārge sadbhir niṣevite |
katham artham anarthāḍhyam arjuna tvam praśaṃsasi || 21 ||

Unless we take *nirālambanaḥ sukhī* in 20d to mean ‘one who is happy without any support’ in the sense that it is a form of happiness beyond the normal human condition, then I assume this *sukha* is not an equivalent of *mokṣa*, and differs from the meaning in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan* (and often in the MBh) where *duḥkha* and *sukha* are seemingly correlated, as they are in early Buddhist teachings. And while the rebuttal of *karma* may seem to suggest it is a state beyond *sukha*, it is surely significant that it is the restraining of craving and getting rid of *karma* that produces *sukha*. This would, of course, differ from the Buddhist position where *sukha* remains embedded within *duḥkha*. In the preceding chapters where Arjuna and Bhīma condemn Yudhiṣṭhira for not taking up the kingship they believe is legitimately his, wealth comes into play. Once again though it is the distribution of wealth that is important to Arjuna and Bhīma. And, given that, the occurrence of *artha* twice in vs. 20 is hardly coincidental.

The idea of *trṣṇā* as the cause of the great battle, as expressed in 12,9.28–30, and accompanying grief also emerges much further on in Ch. 268 where Yudhiṣṭhira once more uses it to explain what had happened, but this time in less oblique terms:

Yudhiṣṭhira said, “For the sake of wealth (*arthahetor*) brothers, fathers, sons, kinsmen and friends were killed by us cruel men of evil intent. Grandfather, this very craving arises due to wealth (*arthodbhavā trṣṇā*). We were motivated to do this evil by craving. How can we remove it?”

Bhīṣma said, “There is this ancient tale which is told and was sung by the king of Videha to the inquisitive Māṇḍavya.

“Look here, I live extremely happily. I possess nothing and if Mithilā burned, nothing of mine would burn. For, assuredly, when wealth is accumulated it is misery to those who understand. And, as well, the absence of abundant wealth always deludes those without insight. And that which in the world is the pleasure arising from desire and that which is the divine great happiness, these are not equivalent to a sixteenth portion of the happiness arising from the destruction of craving (*trṣṇākṣayasukhasya*). Just as the horn of a growing cow grows over time so does craving grow with growing wealth ...”²⁰

²⁰ MBh 12,268.1–7:

yudhiṣṭhira uvāca
bhrātaraḥ pitaraḥ putrā jñātayaḥ suhr̥das tathā |
arthahetor hatāḥ krūrair asmābhiḥ pāpabuddhibhiḥ || 1 ||
yeyam arthodbhavā trṣṇā katham etāṃ pitāmaha |
nivartayema pāpaṃ hi trṣṇayā kāritā vayam || 2 ||
bhīṣma uvāca
atrāpy udāharantīmam itihāsam purāṇanam |
gītaṃ videharājena māṇḍavyāyānuprcchate || 3 ||
susukhaṃ bata jīvāmi yasya me nāsti kiṃ cana |
mithilāyāṃ pradīptāyāṃ na me dahyati kiṃ cana || 4 || = 12,17.18
arthāḥ khalu samṛddhā hi bāḍhaṃ duḥkhaṃ vijānatām |
asamṛddhās tv api sadā mohayanty avicakṣaṇān || 5 ||
yac ca kāmasukhaṃ loke yac ca divyaṃ mahat sukham |
trṣṇākṣayasukhasyaite nārhataḥ ṣoḍaśīm kalam || 6 || = 12,171.51c
yathaiva śṛṅgaṃ goḥ kālē vardhamānasya vardhate |
tathaiva trṣṇā vittena vardhamānena vardhate || 7 ||

I cite this not just because *trṣṇā* is found four times here, but because with the use of the causative *kāritāḥ* (2d), it strongly repeats what Yudhiṣṭhira says in 12.9.21d. Here, though, it elevates *sukha* as a kind of mental state beyond the possession of any form of wealth, meaning that it is not just a more acceptable form of *duḥkha* as it is in some Buddhist texts. And it chimes perfectly with Yudhiṣṭhira's deep concerns that craving derives from the possession of wealth, where *artha* (and *vitta* here) has to be understood very much in terms of the understanding of the role of the king to accumulate and distribute wealth, taking us right back to the first passage cited in this section.

In each of these passages Yudhiṣṭhira is reflecting on the underlying cause of the fratricidal battle, the source of so much grief and misery. Later passages of the *Mokṣadharmaparvan* give further clarification. The following proposes a chain of causes involving all kinds of negative attitudes having a causal relationship between them, yet without directly relating *trṣṇā* to wealth.

Due to passion and darkness delusion is effected, bull of men, and anger and avarice, fear and arrogance. By subduing them purity is attained.

Men enter the supreme, the supreme self, the undecaying, imperishable god Viṣṇu, who rests on the unmanifest, who is the best of the gods. Those men whose bodies are consumed by his power of illusion, deprived of true knowledge (*jñānabhraṣṭā*), despairing, due to their ignorance of true knowledge (*jñānasamṃmohāt*) then proceed to desire (*kāmaṃ prayānti vai*). Due to desire (*kāmāt*) these men become angry, avaricious and deluded. From arrogance and self-conceit ego arises and then actions arise from ego. The bond of affection is a consequence of actions, from affection comes unending grief, and by undertaking actions due to happiness and misery the moment has come for birth after birth.

In order to be born the embryo arises from semen and blood, fouled by what springs up from faeces, urine, moisture and blood. It is overwhelmed by craving (*trṣṇābhibhūtas*) and bound by them it definitely flows towards them. One should understand that in this matter it is women who effect the continuity of rebirth. (12,206.1–7)²¹

There seems no precise interaction between the individual components in the chain of causality here, though ignorance is fundamental to the kind of negative psychological qualities defining the person overcome by *tamas* and *rajas*. *Duḥkha* and *sukha* also come into play, as they do in most of the passages where *trṣṇā* is found, as does the triad of ignorance, action and craving, even if different terms are used to designate the first two. Yet the obvious difference from all the Buddhist material is that *trṣṇā* is partially understood within the framework of the *guṇas*. It had to be

Perhaps an echo of this verse from the Suttanipāta: 306:

Te ca tattha dhanam laddhā sannidhiṃ samarocayum, tesam icchāvatipññānam hiyyo taṇhā pavaḍḍhatha, te tattha mante ganthetvā okkākam punupāgamum ||

“And they receiving wealth there, found pleasure in hoarding it up. Overcome by desire, their craving increased the more. Having composed hymns for this purpose, they went up to Okkāka again.” (Trans. Norman 1984: 50–51.)

²¹ Cf. the translation of the vulgate by Wynne 2009: 349.

integrated within this frame given how fundamental the three *guṇas* are in various of the *Mahābhārata*'s ontologies.

A further important passage where a concentration of *tr̥ṣṇā* occurs, and without the mention of the *guṇas*, is 12,210.32–36, coming after a series of verses praising dispassion, mental and physical discipline.

MBh 12,210.32–36:

etāvad etad vijñānam etad asti ca nāsti ca |
tr̥ṣṇābaddham jagat sarvaṃ cakravat parivartate || 32 ||²²
bisatanur yathāivāyam antaḥsthaḥ sarvato bise |
tr̥ṣṇātantur anādyantas tathā dehagataḥ sadā || 33 ||
sūcyā sūtram yathā vastre saṃsārayati vāyakaḥ |
tadvat saṃsārasūtram hi tr̥ṣṇāsūcyā nibadhyate || 34 ||
vikāram prakṛtiṃ caiva puruṣaṃ ca sanātanam |
yo yathāvad vijñāti sa vitṛṣṇo vimucyate || 35 ||
prakāśaṃ bhagavān etad ṛṣir nārāyaṇo 'mṛtam |
bhūtānām anukampārthaṃ jagāda jagato hitam || 36 ||

As long as there is the knowledge that “this is and this is not”, this entire world wanders around like a wheel, bound by craving (*tr̥ṣṇābaddham*). Just as the filament of the lotus plant's stalk runs everywhere inside the stalk, so too does the filament of craving (*tr̥ṣṇātantur*), without beginning or end, exist always in the body. Just as a sower moves the thread around in the cloth with a needle, so too the thread of rebirth is bound by the needle of craving. He who truly knows the generative principle, its modifications and the eternal person, is without craving (*vitṛṣṇo*) and is freed. The sage Nārāyaṇa expounded this ambrosia out of compassion for all beings and for the good of the world.

Given that *tr̥ṣṇā* and variants occur four times in these five verses, one might almost consider this to be an attempted definition. Yet there seems little attempt to define its origin, only an assertion that it is a constant quality causing a person to traverse through *saṃsāra*, that it is “... without beginning or end, exist always in the body.” But it is not physical, rather it is psychological, a form of bondage from which one can be released. I would include it within the ontological category of meaning, especially since when one is without *tr̥ṣṇā*, one is released. *Jagat* in vs. 32 no doubt refers to the world of living beings and the use of the phrase *cakravat parivartate* anticipates the aimless wandering implied by *saṃsāra* as in vs. 34 and in other verses associated with *tr̥ṣṇā*.

A further passage implying an ontological meaning is found at 12,26.20 following. I cite it because it directly connects *tr̥ṣṇā* with *duḥkha* and *sukha*, in the manner of several other passages:

Day after day thousands of occasions for grief and hundreds of occasions for joy come upon the fool, but not the wise man of reasoning. In time these become objects of attachment and aversion in their due proportions, and so sorrows and joys alternate in living beings.

²² Cf. *Saundarānanda* of Aśvaghōṣa 11.36: *taṃ tarṣaṃ chindhi duḥkhaṃ hi tr̥ṣṇā cāsti ca nāsti ca ||*

There exists only misery, there is no happiness. Therefore, that is what is perceived.

Misery originates in the pain of craving (*trṣṇārtiprabhavaṃ*), and happiness originates in the pain of misery. Misery is right next to happiness, happiness is right next to misery. One does not get constant misery, nor does one get constant happiness. For there is happiness at the end of miseries and misery at the end of happiness. Therefore, whoever wants everlasting happiness should discard this pair.²³

The important verse here is 22cd: “Misery arises from the pain of craving and happiness arises from the pain of misery.” It is difficult to make sense of the contrast, as it is clear from elsewhere that craving gives rise to *duḥkha*, that they are virtually ontological absolutes, yet they are not absolute as they are impermanent. Though if *duḥkha* and *sukha* are closely connected (23), how can *sukha* arise from *duḥkha*, unless it is the state that occurs when *duḥkha* is somehow finished/absent?

Further clarification may be offered in 12,168, virtually at the beginning of the *Mokṣadharmaparvan*. The teaching given here is designed to assuage Yudhiṣṭhira’s ongoing feeling of loss, repeated many times already. It also foreshadows much that will be found in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan* and how the teachings there relate to kingship. It shares several verses with 12,26 which has already been considered above. Here I only cite a few relevant verses of what is a discussion of the relationship between *duḥkha* and *sukha*:

Misery originates in the pain of craving (*trṣṇārtiprabhavaṃ*), and happiness originates in the pain of misery. Misery is right next to happiness, happiness is right next to misery. One does not get constant misery, nor does one get constant happiness. For there is happiness at the end of miseries and misery at the end of happiness. Therefore, whoever wants everlasting happiness should discard this pair.

You have gained misery from happiness, and once more you will gain happiness. One does not get constant misery, nor does one get constant happiness.²⁴ ...

... And that which in the world is the pleasure arising from desire and that which is the divine great happiness, these are not equivalent to a sixteenth portion of the happiness arising from the destruction of craving.²⁵

²³ Trans. Fitzgerald 2004: 221.

²⁴ MBh 12,168.18–19:
trṣṇārtiprabhavaṃ duḥkhaṃ duḥkhārtiprabhavaṃ sukhaṃ | (= 12,26.22cd)
sukhāt saṃjāyate duḥkhaṃ evaṃ etat punaḥ punaḥ |
sukhasyānantaraṃ duḥkhaṃ duḥkhasyānantaraṃ sukhaṃ || 18 || (= 12,26.23)
sukhāt tvaṃ duḥkhaṃ āpannaḥ punar āpatsyase sukhaṃ |
na nityaṃ labhate duḥkhaṃ na nityaṃ labhate sukhaṃ || 19 || (= 12,26.23cd)

Using Fitzgerald’s translations of the identical verses from 12,26.20–24.

²⁵ MBh 12,168.36:
yac ca kāmasukhaṃ loke yac ca divyaṃ mahat sukhaṃ |
trṣṇāṣayasukhasyaite nārhaṭaḥ ṣoḍaśiṃ kalam || 36 ||

Identical are these passages from the *Udāna* and the *Nettipakaraṇa*: *Udānavarga*, Ed. Bernhard 1965: 30.31cd: *trṣṇā.kṣaya.sukhasya.etat.kalām.na.arghati.ṣoḍaśiṃ* || = 36cd. *Udāna*, ed. Steinthal 1948: 11 (PTS): *yañca kāmasukhaṃ loke yañcidam diviyaṃ sukhaṃ. taṇhakkhayaṣukhassete kalam nāgghanti soḷasi’nti. Nettipakaraṇa*: [PTS, page 165] *yañ*

And it concludes with a verse that occurs twice elsewhere in the MBh and so becomes almost a cliché:

It is difficult for the ignorant to get rid of it, it does not decay in one who is getting old. This is the fatal illness, but for one who abandons craving there is happiness. (12,168.45 = 3,2.35, 12,268.12)²⁶

The interrelation between wealth, craving, desire (*kāma*), *duḥkha* and *sukha* highlighted here also emerges in Ch.171, a chapter which shows the difficulty in simply asserting a deep ontological reality for *trṣṇā*. It is defined by a debate between the embodiment of desire, Kāma, and Manki who, after losing his wealth decides to renounce everything. Wit contains a long critique of wealth (*dhana* 14 times, *artha*, *vitta* and *dravya*), words for desire (43 times, *kāma* 27 times, and *īh*, *vivitsu*, *trṣṇā* and *lobha*), plus many references to *duḥkha* (9) and *sukha* (17), providing the debate with broader contextualization. Once again it shows how important are explorations about desire connected with physical wealth, even in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan*.

The first verse reads:

If aiming at various undertakings one does not gain wealth, and yet remains overwhelmed by thirst for wealth (*ghanatrṣṇābhibhūtaś*), doing what might he gain happiness? (12,171.1)

Here *trṣṇā* is directly associated with *dhana*, but again it might connect a tangible *trṣṇā* with a more metaphysical understanding of it. It is the motivation for the accumulation of wealth which is constantly stressed in this chapter and when craving is in the ascendancy – in conjunction with *lobha* and *kāma* – the accumulation of wealth by the king is for all the wrong reasons and leads to negative consequences, as we read:

Nobody has ever previously completely achieved all his wishes. For one who is dull craving grows in his body and during his life ... (12,171.17)

... I will wander about in good health, happy, unattached to the worlds, so that you must not place me into misery again in this way. For there is no other path for me who has been pushed on by you. Desire, you are always the source of craving, grief and exhaustion (*trṣṇāśokaśramāṇām*). The loss of wealth is most common. I consider it the worst misery. (12,171.32–34ab)

... Know that I have come for refuge, I who have disaffection, tranquillity, satisfaction, calmness, truth, restraint, forbearance, compassion towards all beings. Therefore desire, avarice, craving and pity must abandon me now that I am setting out. I am now standing in purity. (12,171.46)

ca kāmāsukhaṃ loke yaṃ cidam diviyaṃ sukhaṃ, taṇhakkhayasukhas sete kalaja nāgghanti soḷasim"ti.

²⁶

MBh 12,168.45 = 3,2.35, 12,268.12:

yā dustyajā durmatibhir yā na jīryati jīryataḥ |

yo 'sau prāṇāntiko rogas tām trṣṇām tyajataḥ sukham || 45 ||

And finally,

And that which in the world is the pleasure arising from desire and that which is the divine great happiness, these are not equivalent to a sixteenth portion of the happiness arising from the destruction of craving. (12,171.51)

What is important here is that in 171.46 *trṣṇā* is treated as one negative emotion that should be abandoned completely, though it may be significant that the person does not abandon the collection of such emotions, rather they should abandon him (*tyajantu mām pratiṣṭhantaṃ*). It also raises the question of the difference between *kāmaḥ*, *lobhaḥ* and *trṣṇā*, each seemingly operating in the same broad semantic field. I also note here that it is not the combination of *avidyā*, *karma* and *trṣṇā* that produces rebirth, given that the emphasis in this chapter is on the thirst for *dhana* as producing *duḥkha*.

This combination, however, occurs again in the following verse which summarizes the constituents necessary for rebirth to occur.

MBh 12,211.31–32:

avidyākarmaceṣṭānām ke cid āhuḥ punarbhavam |
kāraṇaṃ lobhamohau tu doṣānām ca niṣevaṇam || 31 ||
avidyām kṣetram āhur hi karma bījaṃ tathā kṛtam |
trṣṇāsaṃjananaṃ sneha eṣa teṣāṃ punarbhavaḥ || 32 ||

Some say rebirth comes from ignorance, activity and exertion. But the cause is avarice and delusion and the cultivation of faults. They say that ignorance is the field, that an act done is the seed, the production of craving is the moisture, and for them this is rebirth.²⁷

Besides the examples already cited, most of the other passages dealing with the ontological/psychological meaning of *trṣṇā* in the *Śāntiparvan* consist of single verses lauding the value of being free of it. In the seventh chapter of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, a *parvan* dealing primarily with *dānadharma*, is narrated the performances of positive actions and ascetic restraints that when practised by kings, brahmins and others will produce good results, both material and others such as rebirth in heaven and in a noble family. Near its end there is a small concentration of verses dealing with *trṣṇā*.

Having studied all the Vedas one is immediately freed from misery, and behaving with a dharmic mentality he will gain heaven.

Those of weak minds find craving difficult to get rid of, and it does not get old in one who is getting old. It is the fatal illness, but for one who abandons craving there is happiness. Just as a calf finds its mother amongst one thousand cows, so action previously done finds its doer. Just as flowers and fruits without being directed do not go beyond their own time, so too with an action previously done. The hairs of one who

²⁷ Cf. Wynne 2009: 393, “These – the Buddhists – say that ignorance is the field, the act committed is the seed and the arising of thirst is the moisture necessary for its germination: this for them amounts to rebirth.”

is ageing age, the teeth of one who is ageing age and the eyes and the ears age, but craving alone does not age. (13,7.20–23)²⁸

The final few verses deviate right away from this subject and it seems anomalous in the context where it is found. But arguably the combination of ignorance (“those of weak minds”), *karma* and *trṣṇā* come into play here again.

On the basis of all these passages it is still difficult to determine whether *trṣṇā* in the MBh has some kind of absolute status in an ontological sense, that is it is always present except when abandoned, and it is still there if not controlled with the appropriate restraint. Its abandonment may mean that it is still present as a functioning mental state, functioning as a response to the sense impulses/objects that enter the mind, but capable of necessarily being left in abeyance. This is implied in terms such as *vinītarōṣatrṣṇaḥ* (12,172.36), *vitṛṣṇasya nirāśiṣaḥ* (12,215.30), *vai-trṣṇyaṃ* (12,297.7; 14,31.8), *gatatrṣṇasya* (12,260.11), *apetrṣṇānām* (12,262.27), *chinnatrṣṇa* (12,325.4, 336.67), *kṣīnatrṣṇaḥ samāhitaḥ* (14,42.46), *eva trṣṇākṣayānte* (5,32.24c). Others indicate the explicit act of abandoning it such as *tyaj* (12,168.45; 3,2.35; 12,268.12, 275.19; 13,7.21; *ni-grah* (12,19.20) and *apa-nud* (14,61.4). In combination all present a wholly negative view of craving with as much intensity as found in Buddhist texts.

Conclusion

Having looked at the most important passages containing a reference to *trṣṇā* – omitting those where it definitely relates to physical thirst for water – it seems clear that it has been taken up in the MBh as one component in providing a lesson about kingship. Many times it is brought into connection with wealth or power (*artha*, also *dhana*) in an effort to distinguish between correct and incorrect attitudes to the accumulation of material wealth. That it applies above all to Yudhiṣṭhira is hardly a surprise given that his character is so prominently used as a device for exploring the normative character of the king and the inherent contradictions in this, especially in relation to violence and the negative emotions. It never seems to be used of Dur-

²⁸ MBh 13,7.20–24:

adhītya sarvavedān vai sadyo duḥkhāt pramucyate |
mānasam hi caran dharmaṃ svargalokam avāpnuyāt || 20 ||
yā dustyajāḥ durmatibhir yā na jīryati jīryataḥ |
yo 'sau prāṇāntiko rogas tām trṣṇāṃ tyajataḥ sukham || 21 || = 3,2.35; 12,168.45; 268.12
yathā dhenusahasreṣu vatso vindati mātaram |
evam pūrvakṛtaṃ karma kartāram anugacchati || 22 || = 12,174.16
acodyamānāni yathā puṣpāṇi ca phalāni ca |
svakālaṃ nātivartante tathā karma purākṛtaṃ || 23 || = 12,174.12
jīryanti jīryataḥ keśā dantā jīryanti jīryataḥ |
cakṣuḥśrotre ca jīryete trṣṇaikā tu na jīryate || 24 ||

yodhana, Yudhiṣṭhira's opposite, for whom *lobha* and *lubdha* seem most frequently used.²⁹

Its usage in the MBh is then quite different from what is found in the Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit texts where *trṣṇā* is above all factored in as a cause of rebirth for everyone, but is also developed as an extremely destructive psychological trait in its own right. It is not related to kingship as such, as to the universal nature of the human condition. Yet in texts of a more popular nature such as the *Dhammapada* and the *Suttanipāta* there are many instructions as to how craving can be removed from daily life. Even so, some of the passages examined do overlap with the early Buddhist treatment of *trṣṇā* to the extent that in the MBh it is certainly regarded as an extremely destructive force.

The small number of clichéd expressions in the MBh, one of which is also found in two Pāli texts, shows that *trṣṇā* had come to be expressed in stock phrases well-known in certain circles. They could be adapted to certain situations and characters as they are especially in the *Śāntiparvan*. Yet if I was to write of borrowings I would do so only with extreme caution as the dating of this literature and of the MBh remains extremely problematic still. The initial impression given is that though *tanhā* occurs in the existential chain that is the *paṭiccasamuppāda*, the connection with *saṃsāra* is not developed as it is in the MBh.

Thinking further, I think there is merit in asking the question of the difference between *icchā*, *kāma* and *tanhā*, perhaps “wish”, “desire”, “thirst”, and perhaps also *lobha*. Are the passages where they are being used together asking us to make this distinction? Equally in the *Udyoga* passage (5,43.16) where craving is listed with a number of other strong emotions, the idea seems to be that all of these psychological conditions are transitory but that they will create situations where things get out of control, leading to unrestrained behaviour, the opposite of everything the king and the brahmin stand for, let alone the ascetic.

Finally I note that most of the passages relating to *trṣṇā* are used by Yudhiṣṭhira of himself or are received as teachings given by Bhīṣma to him. Others who receive some teachings on *trṣṇā* are Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Arjuna, but almost nobody else. In contrast in the Pāli Canon *tanhā* is regarded as a universal quality of existence, as it is in the MBh, but in the latter it is applied to specific characters to explain the motives for their action, in conformity with the demands of the plot.

Abbreviations

LV = *Lalitavistara*

MBh = *Mahābhārata*

MhV = *Mahāvastu*

²⁹ Just a few examples amongst many are 1,55.39; 1,119.25; 5,29.28; 5,50.57; 5,70.18; 7,101.71–72; 7,135.8. It is only rarely used of Yudhiṣṭhira.

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Sažetak

Pojam *taṇhā* izuzetno je važan u buddhističkoj misli, jer predstavlja osmi član *paṭiccasamuppāde* te se često navodi na temeljni uzroku duhkhe, u dubokome uzročnome smislu. Ako se *taṇhā* može ukinuti, onda se i *dukkha/sukha* može ukinuti čime se otvara put do *nirvāṇe*. Sanskrtski ekvivalent *trṣṇā* pojavljuje se u *Mahābhārati* u sličnom smislu u kojem se nalazi u određenim središnjim tekstovima pālijskoga kanona. Očekivano, obično ga se može naći u knjigama 3; 5 i od 12 do 14 gdje se koristi u filozofskom smislu, dok se u ostalim knjigama *Mahābhārate* koristi za označivanje fizičke žeđi. U ovom članku ispituju se relevantni odlomci u *Mahābhārati* koji se, bilježenja sličnosti s odlomcima koji se nalaze u tekstovima kao što su *Dhammapada* i *Udāna*, s pogledom na *Lalitavistaru*. U *Mahābhārati* je značajno to da se *trṣṇā* koristi kao jedno od sredstava za razvoj i izgradnju Yudhiṣṭhirina karaktera kao i za određivanje izbora s kojoma se on mora suočiti kao kralj. Kao takva, uporaba je pojma *trṣṇā* ovdje određena narativnim zapletom i koristi se mnogo manje u općem ontološkom smislu nego u pālijskim izvorima.

Tales of slaughter, resilience and redemption from the *Mahābhārata*

Abstract

MBh 1,160–173 contains a cluster of tales in which the sage Vasiṣṭha, the paradigmatic *purohita* (personal priest or chaplain) of kings, plays the main role. Most of these stories relate deeds of bloodshed and cruelty perpetrated by the *kṣatriyas* on the Brahmins, while simultaneously emphasizing the fact that the *kṣatriyas* cannot possibly do without the Brahmins' support. Such narratives might reflect the prevailing historical conditions at the time before and around the composition of the great epic, in which the Brahmins had to suffer at the hands of foreign kings who did not recognize their superior status and whose religion was not Vedism. Advocating consensus and peace between the Brahmins and the *kṣatriyas*, these stories showcase the mild-tempered Vasiṣṭha as the champion of the brahmanical cause, instead of electing a war-like and destructive figure like Rāma Jāmadagnya. We shall see by what stratagems the Brahmins (and with them the Veda, which, as an oral corpus, can only survive incarnate in them), after facing tremendous ordeals, find ways to overcome their trauma and go on living, displaying extraordinary powers of resilience.

Introduction

The first time I met Prof. Mislav Ježić was in 1997, on the occasion of the first Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, which he had organized with his colleagues of Zagreb University. He has steered the DICSEP meetings through calm and stormy weather for the past twenty-five years now. Endowed with profound knowledge, humanism and benevolence, keeping unfailing calm – *dviṭīyo vasiṣṭha iva* – even in the midst of sometimes intense scholarly debates, he knew how to instill a spirit of camaraderie and goodwill in all the participants. With equal enthusiasm, he took us on boat tours on the often choppy Adriatic Sea, allowing us to discover ever more delightful nooks and islands along the tortuous Dalmatian coast. For all the insight – both aitiḥāsic and topographic – I

have gained during these Dubrovnik meetings and for the many wonderful scholars – now friends – I have met there, I shall ever remain grateful to him. It is my great pleasure to be allowed to dedicate this article to him.

In the context of ancient India, only the Brahmins, the members of the highest priestly class, were allowed to perform sacrificial rituals on behalf of the other classes. They were also the sole repositories of Vedic lore: thanks to their extraordinary mnemotechnic exertions, the Vedas, the most ancient texts of the Indian tradition, were transmitted by heart from guru to disciple for centuries, if not millennia, before being committed to script. This, coupled with ascetic practices (*tapas*), was supposed to give them supernatural powers. The great Sanskrit epic, the *Mahābhārata*,¹ takes some pains to show that the Brahmins are not only more powerful than the rest of mankind – and, especially, more powerful than the *kṣatriyas* or warriors –, but even mightier than the gods themselves.² This “truth” is repeated with such insistence that it makes us suspect that not everybody took the Brahmins’ superiority for granted and that there was a need to drive the point home.

And indeed, we do not have to look very far in order to identify those who thus questioned the Brahmins’ self-professed superiority. For the *Mahābhārata* itself tells us a number of stories in which the Brahmins as a group are slaughtered by kings going on genocidal sprees, vowing to eradicate them to the last – even up to the embryos in their mothers’ wombs. An epic text like the *Mahābhārata* is of course full of feuds and battles among *kṣatriyas*. These are in the order of things, especially given the fact that, for most of its long history, India has consisted of a great number of kingdoms which would often wage war against each other. But open animosity on the part of the *kṣatriya*-kings towards the Brahmins is extraordinary. For not only were the Brahmins allegedly superior to the rest of mankind and inviolable, but moreover, the *kṣatriyas* were the very class who was supposed to sponsor the Brahmins and provide them with the means to earn their livelihood as sacrificers and as personal priests.

Perhaps a look at the historical conditions prevailing before and around the time when the *Mahābhārata* was composed³ may shed some light on the matter. In the

¹ References will be given throughout to the critical edition of this text: Sukthankar et al. 1933–66 and the translations are by van Buitenen 1973.

² See Feller 2004: 295–297.

³ Concerning the date of composition of the text, Bronkhorst (2016: 97) remarks: “There is a growing consensus that the *Mahābhārata* – i.e. presumably that what we have called its “autograph” – was composed after the collapse of the Maurya Empire and before the year zero.” Goldman (2021: 52) proposes a slightly later date when he writes: “It remains, of course, an ongoing matter of debate as to when exactly the *Mahābhārata* as we know it was composed and over how long a period. But it seems likely that the archetypal form of the text was basically settled between the last century BCE and the first two centuries CE. This was a period of increasing foreign contact; exogenous groups such as the Greeks, Kuṣāṇas, and Śakas increasingly immigrated into the Indian subcontinent, where they both confronted and co-opted late- and post-Vedic civilization.”

centuries preceding the beginning of the common era, the northwestern regions of south Asia, the homeland of the Vedic religion, underwent great political change and upheavals: Alexander the Great invaded the northwest where he remained for two years (326–325 BCE). His conquest of the Indus valley was particularly bloody, and his historians inform us about several savage attacks and utter destruction of certain “cities of Brahmins” along with all their inhabitants.⁴ Subsequently, the Maurya empire, whose capital, Pāṭaliputra, was situated in the eastern Gangetic plain and whose religion was not Vedism, in turn annexed the northwest of the Indian subcontinent;⁵ later, the collapse of the Maurya empire only left room for further invasions from the north, especially by the Greeks and Scythians (Śakas).⁶ The above-mentioned passages of the *Mahābhārata* might possibly reflect these times of devastating social and political turmoil, during which Vedic religion was in danger of disappearing altogether. That it did not, and on the contrary found means of adapting itself to these new circumstances and emerging even stronger, testifies to its great powers of resilience.

In this paper, I propose to examine a cluster of tales found in the *Mahābhārata*’s first Book, the “Book of the Beginning” (MBh 1,160–173), which illustrate the feuds that arose between *kṣatriyas* and Brahmins, as well as the fact that the *kṣatriyas* cannot possibly do without the Brahmins’ support.⁷ We shall see by what stratagems the Brahmins (and with them the Veda, which, as an oral corpus, can only survive incarnate in them), after facing tremendous ordeals, find ways to overcome their trauma, go on living, and, sometimes, make peace with their oppressors. These stories are told in the *Caitraratha* sub-*parvan*, which derives its name from that of a *gandharva* named Citraratha. Citraratha has come down to earth at sunset to enjoy a bath in the river Ganges with his wives (MBh 1,158). He is furious when he is disturbed by the Pāṇḍava brothers accompanied by their mother Kuntī, who happen to be travelling by at that moment.⁸ He attacks them, but Arjuna easily defeats him

⁴ See Bosworth 1998: 196–198. He calls it “the greatest repression the Brahman community had probably suffered at any time” (p. 200). See also Eggermont 1975, Chapter 4.

⁵ See Stoneman 2019: 151: “The kings of Magadha are all non-Brahmanical. The first Magadha kings, Bimbisara and Ajātaśatru, ruling in Rajagriha (Rajgir) were Buddhist or Jain; the Nandas who ruled from about 350 were also Jains. Candragupta is a Jain hero, playing a large role in the Lives of the Jain Elders of Hemacandra. His son Bindusara supported ascetic sects including the Ājīvikas, and his grandson Aśoka’s preaching of the dharma is couched in strongly Buddhist terms”. Bronkhorst (2016: 9) indicates that Aśoka, at least before his conversion to Buddhism, proved a particularly vicious ruler.

⁶ See Bronkhorst 2016: 10.

⁷ There are of course many other such stories in the *Mahābhārata* (see the discussions in Feller 2014). But these four stories are grouped together and form a whole. Vasiṣṭha figures in all of them, either as one of the main characters or as the narrator, with a stress on his *purohita*-hood.

⁸ The Pāṇḍava brothers and their mother are roaming about incognito after saving their life from the fire in the lacquer house, set by their evil cousin Duryodhana.

in battle. After this, they make peace and Arjuna wants to know the reason why Citraratha has attacked them. “You have no fires, you have no oblations, you have set no priest before you”⁹ replies Citraratha (1,159.2). He then proceeds to tell them stories in which certain Brahmins, who are insulted, robbed or even slaughtered by kings, eventually manage to get the upper hand on them thanks to their superior powers (1,160–173). At the end of this narrative, Arjuna asks Citraratha to recommend a “suitable Veda-knowing *purohita* (chaplain)” (MBh 1,174.1), and Citraratha advises the Pāṇḍavas to seek out Dhaumya’s help. Thus, these stories, here put into the mouth of a supernatural being probably to give them added weight, should be read as a warning to the *kṣatriyas* that even though the Brahmins may seem to be physically weak (some of them are mere babies, as we shall see), their innate Brahmanical power is such that it can never be matched by the *kṣatriyas*’ physical strength. Hence the urgent need for the Pāṇḍavas to get a personal priest for protection. In almost all the following stories, the Brahmin hero is the sage Vasiṣṭha. As early as the *Rgveda*, Vasiṣṭha is *par excellence* the priest who intercedes with the higher powers on behalf of kings: for instance, in hymns 7,18 and 7,33 relating the famous “Battle of Ten Kings”, King Sudās obtains victory over his enemies thanks to Vasiṣṭha’s efficient prayers to Indra. (See Gonda 1975: 129). Vasiṣṭha is the hereditary *purohita* of the solar dynasty, and appears as such in the sister-epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹⁰ But here, Arjuna calls him “the house-priest of our forebears”¹¹ (MBh 1,164.4), which probably means that the *Mahābhārata* considers him to have been the *purohita* of at least some kings of the lunar dynasty too. The four stories told by Citraratha are as follows.

The story of Tapatī¹²

Once, king Saṃvaraṇa went out hunting in the mountains. After a long time, tired, hungry and thirsty, he came upon a beautiful woman in the forest. She told him that she was the daughter of the Sun-god, named Tapatī. Smitten by her beauty, madly in love with her, the king begged her to marry him. But she replied that she was not her own mistress and that he should ask her father’s consent. Then she vanished. Dev-

⁹ *anagnayo ’nāhutayo na ca viprapuraskṛtāḥ*. The last term, “who has set a priest in front”, seems to be synonymous with “having a *purohita*”, for *purohita* literally means ‘set in front’.

¹⁰ The solar dynasty is the dynasty to which belong Rāma and his family, whereas the Pāṇḍavas belong to the lunar dynasty. In Budhasvāmin’s *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṃgraha* (cf. 5,102), composed c. 1000 CE, Vasiṣṭha still figures as the family priest of king Udayana, considered in this text as a descendant of Rāma.

¹¹ *pūrveṣāṃ naḥ purohitaḥ*.

¹² In the course of their discussion, Citraratha calls Arjuna “Tāpatya” (descendant of Tapatī). Arjuna is intrigued by this epithet and asks the *gandharva* why he calls him by that name. Citraratha then tells him the story of his ancestress Tapatī.

astated by her disappearance, the king fell unconscious. His ministers eventually found him in the wilderness. When his *purohita*, the great sage Vasiṣṭha, understood how things stood, he went up to heaven to ask the Sun-god for his daughter's hand on behalf of the king. The Sun willingly consented, and the pair were married. Then they stayed in the forest for twelve years, enjoying themselves together, while the ministers ruled the kingdom. But in the absence of the king, the rain stopped falling on the land and a great drought prevailed. The people were famished and died. The rains returned only when Vasiṣṭha brought the king back to his palace, along with Tapatī (MBh 1,160–163).¹³

The story of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra

The next story relates the well-known feud between the Brahmin sage Vasiṣṭha and king Viśvāmitra. This story is known to both epics with a few minor variations.¹⁴ Vasiṣṭha was living in peace in his forest hermitage. One day, king Viśvāmitra came hunting in these woods with his retinue. He was exhausted and thirsty and came upon Vasiṣṭha's hermitage. Vasiṣṭha received him very hospitably, and, thanks to his cow of plenty called Nandinī, offered him all types of delicious foods and drinks. Viśvāmitra looked at the marvellous wish-fulfilling cow, and asked Vasiṣṭha to give her to him against a myriad of cows, or even in exchange for his kingdom. But Vasiṣṭha explained that he needed her "for offerings to the Gods, my guests, and my ancestors, and for melted butter oblations" (1,165.16). Blinded by greed, Viśvāmitra seized hold of the cow and her calf forcefully and tried to drag them away. She however cried out for help, asking her master Vasiṣṭha why he was abandoning her. He replied that he was not forsaking her willingly, and that she could stay if she wanted to. At these words, the cow grew fierce and produced a series of barbarian armies out of the various orifices of her body. These armies utterly routed Viśvāmitra's retinue and drove them away from the hermitage. Seeing this, Viśvāmitra vowed to become a Brahmin, realizing that the only real power was brahmanical power and that *kṣatriyas*' strength was nothing compared to it. He ultimately attained Brahminhood after performing extremely rigorous penance for thousands of years (MBh 1,165).

¹³ MBh 1,89.30ff. also tells of a series of other disasters incurred by king Saṃvarana during his reign, including exile to the shores of the Indus river, close to the mountains, from which Vasiṣṭha likewise rescues him.

¹⁴ See also Rm 1,53–54. Many scholars have tried to find traces of this feud in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* (see esp. hymn 7,104). But Jamison and Brereton earnestly caution us against this hypothesis, noting that "there is absolutely no evidence for this in the hymn itself, and no evidence for the Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra feud elsewhere in the *Ṛgveda*. It is always necessary to be wary about 'reading backward' into the *Ṛgveda* and other Vedic texts." (Jamison & Brereton 2014, II: 1015–16.)

The story of Vasiṣṭha and King Kalmāṣapāda¹⁵

Once, king Kalmāṣapāda of Ayodhyā, returning hungry and thirsty from a hunting expedition, found his narrow path blocked by Śakti, the eldest of Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons. Angrily, the king told him to give way. Śakti tried to soothe him with soft words, but the king would not hear reason and hit him with a whip. At this, Śakti cursed him:

Since you strike an ascetic like a Rākṣasa, you shall from this day be a man-eater, degenerate king! You will roam the earth and feed on human flesh. Now avaunt, worst of kings! (MBh 1,166.9–10)

This first curse on the king was then compounded by Viśvāmitra's meddling (who saw that he could turn this to his own advantage) and by another Brahmin's curse,¹⁶ so that the king was helplessly possessed by a *rākṣasa*, lost his mind and started craving human flesh. Soon afterwards, he again came upon Śakti and devoured him first (since, in his opinion, Śakti had been the source of all his troubles!) and then his ninety-nine younger brothers. Vasiṣṭha, upon hearing the news, decided to kill himself instead of seeking revenge. He tried to commit suicide by various means, but all in vain. Finally, defeated, he returned to his hermitage.

There, Vasiṣṭha met his daughter-in-law Adṛśyantī, the widow of his son Śakti, and heard the sound of the Veda with its six branches being chanted in the same way as his son Śakti used to recite it. Questioned by Vasiṣṭha, Adṛśyantī told him that she had been carrying her son by Śakti in her womb for twelve years now, and that it was he who was chanting the Veda even before being born. Hearing this, Vasiṣṭha was overjoyed: "There is offspring/continuation then!" (*asti saṃtānam*), he said and he turned away from death (MBh 1,167.15). Then he freed king Kalmāṣapāda from his curse and ordered him to always respect the Brahmins. In turn, the king begged a favor from him: that he would lie with his queen and beget a son on her.¹⁷ Vasiṣṭha followed his request and begat a son named Aśmaka on the queen. She gave birth to her son after carrying him in her womb for twelve years, finally cutting open her belly with a stone (*aśman*). That is why he was named Aśmaka (1,166–168).

¹⁵ Kalmāṣapāda is also called Saudāsa, son or descendant of Sudāsa, the very king on whose behalf Vasiṣṭha already intercedes in the *Rgveda*.

¹⁶ The story appears somewhat confused, and there is an accumulation and over-determination of curses. The second Brahmin curses the king because he ordered human flesh to be served to him.

¹⁷ Behaving like a man-eater under the power of Śakti's curse, Kalmāṣapāda had incurred yet another curse to the effect that he would instantly die if he again lay with his wife Madayantī (MBh 1,173).

The story of the Bhṛguś and the *kṣatriyas*

Adṛśyantī, Śakti's widow, gave birth to a boy named Parāśara. Thinking that Vasiṣṭha was his father, he would call him "Daddy" (*tāta*), until his mother disabused him and told him that Vasiṣṭha was his grandfather, and that his father Śakti had been killed by a *rākṣasa*. Furious at hearing this, the boy vowed revenge and bent his mind on the destruction of the entire world. To make him change his mind, Vasiṣṭha told him a story that happened in the past, when the descendants of king Kṛtavīrya were ruling the earth.¹⁸ At that time, the *kṣatriya* rulers were in dire need of riches. The Bhārgavas, an illustrious family of Brahmins, were very wealthy, and the *kṣatriyas* demanded their riches. Some of these Bhārgava Brahmins gave them their possessions willingly, but others buried them in the ground, so that the *kṣatriyas* would not take their wealth. One day, some soldiers were digging the ground in the dwelling place of the Bhārgavas and found a treasure. To punish them for hiding away their riches, the soldiers started slaughtering all the Brahmins. Although they were begging for mercy, they killed them all, down to the embryos (*ā garbhāt*, 1,169.18). Some of these Brahmins' wives managed to flee and took refuge high up in the Himalayas. One of them hid her embryo in her thigh for a hundred years, to prevent discovery. The six-limbed Veda came to him while he was in his mother's thigh. But ultimately, the *kṣatriyas* who had chased them up into the mountains found them and prepared to slaughter them. At that moment, the baby split his mother's thigh and emerged, Dionysos-like, blinding the *kṣatriyas* with his extraordinary effulgence, so that they lost their eye-sight.¹⁹ Staggering around blind, they begged the boy for forgiveness, which he granted them, restoring their eye-sight. Since he had been born from his mother's thigh (*ūru*), he was named Aurva (born of the thigh). But the boy was utterly disgusted with life, having witnessed the massacre of his entire family while he was yet unborn, and he decided to destroy the whole world with the power of his fury. His ancestors all appeared to him and dissuaded him from this rash deed by many arguments, so that he ultimately gave up his idea. Instead, he released into the ocean the fire born of his wrath. There, it became a huge mare's head, which devours the waters.

Hearing this story, Parāśara in turn abandoned the idea of destroying the entire world, and instead started a *rākṣasa*-sacrifice, to avenge his father's death since the latter had been devoured by a *rākṣasa*. But after a while this sacrifice was in turn stopped by the assembled sages, and the fire of the sacrifice was cast onto the northern slope of the Himalayas where it still burns (1,169–172).

¹⁸ This must refer to the hundred-armed Arjuna Kārtavīrya and his sons, famous for their fight with the Bhārgava Rāma Jāmadagnya.

¹⁹ Cf. the somewhat similar story of the sage Cyavana, Bhṛgu's son: as soon as he was born, shining like the sun, Cyavana reduced to ashes the *rākṣasa* who had kidnapped his mother (MBh 1,6).

Slaughter

All these tales, except the first which is thematically somewhat different, narrate deeds of singular bloodthirstiness and downright unbearable cruelty: the *kṣatriyas* slaughter, or even quite literally devour, whole families of Brahmins, steal their riches and tear embryos from their mothers' wombs. Most of these stories start in a similar way: a king is out hunting in the wilderness and consequently becomes exhausted and tormented with hunger and thirst. In this irritable frame of mind, he becomes intolerant of any frustration of his desires.²⁰ King Saṃvaraṇa has been out hunting for an inordinately long time, since his horse drops dead on the mountain, "overcome by hunger, thirst, and fatigue" (MBh 1,160.22), thus forcing the king to continue on foot. Viśvāmitra "was wont to hunt with his ministers far out in the wilderness, shooting deer and boar in the lovely deserts and wastelands. Once, when questing for deer, he became wan with fatigue and thirst, and he went to Vasiṣṭha's hermitage" (1,165.5–6). King Kalmāṣapāda "left his city to go hunting in the forest, and the crusher of his foes went about shooting deer and boar. As the king, now athirst and hungry, was following a narrow hollow path on his way, he met the great-spirited son of Vasiṣṭha" (1,166.2–3). From this perspective, these narratives can be considered as warnings to the kings, given in the latter's own interest. For if hunting was the sport of kings and deemed a salutary exercise if practiced in moderation, it was seen as a threat when it became an addiction, since the king was then likely to neglect his kingdom and his subjects.²¹

On the one hand, these physical thirst and hunger certainly hint at the psychological lack of restraint and greedy nature attributed to the *kṣatriyas*, which make them act on impulse without weighing the consequences of their deeds. In this, they are the opposite of the Brahmins (here represented by Vasiṣṭha, the paradigmatic and ideal representative of this class) who are supposedly wont to exercise *kṣamā*, 'restraint'.²² On the other hand, it is also likely that the fatigue, thirst and hunger afflicting these sovereigns are stressed because they are seen as mitigating circum-

²⁰ This same trait is also found in other epic stories. For instance, in the story of king Parikṣit, Arjuna's grandson, which belongs to the *Mahābhārata*'s frame story: one day, Parikṣit goes hunting in the forest. While pursuing a deer, he gets very hungry and thirsty. He comes upon sage Śamīka (the peaceful), who is practicing penance, and asks him if he has seen this deer. The sage, who has taken a vow of silence – which of course Parikṣit is unaware of – does not reply. Furious, Parikṣit hangs a dead snake around the sage's neck. Then the sage's son, Śṛṅgin (the horned), comes to know of this affront and curses the king to die of the *nāga* Takṣaka's bite, to the great dismay of his father (MBh 1,36–37). Here too, we find the motif of an equanimous and pacific older sage, opposed to his hot-tempered vengeful son.

²¹ This is most evident in King Saṃvaraṇa's case: while hunting, he comes across a beautiful girl, marries her and spends the next twelve years frolicking on the mountain-top while his neglected subjects die like flies in his drought-afflicted kingdom. Hunting leads to other lapses in *dharma*.

²² See Feller 2012.

stances. It is tantamount to saying: “What they did was horrible indeed, but they were not quite themselves when they did it.” Their physical distress explains why they, who are otherwise just and wise rulers, fall prey so easily to carnal desire (in Saṃvaraṇa’s case), greed for riches and power (in Viśvāmitra’s case) or arrogance and anger (in Kalmāṣapāda’s case).

This apologetic stance – apologetic towards the kings, that is – is also apparent in the way in which some of these narratives are “mythologized”. Vasiṣṭha’s riches take the form of a cow of plenty²³ – a mythical beast which can be milked of all desires, the ultimate object of greedy fantasy which even the gods cannot resist,²⁴ so what to say of a mere human like Viśvāmitra? King Kalmāṣapāda, it is true, whips Śakti when he returns exhausted from his hunt, but he does not kill and eat Brahmins when he is his right mind. He does so only when he is possessed by a *rākṣasa* and under the sway of, not just one, but multiple curses, as if a single curse would not have sufficed to make a king behave so much out of character. Following the same logic, the sacrifice undertaken at the end by Parāśara to avenge his father Śakti is not a sacrifice of kings,²⁵ (even if the real culprit is of course a king) but a sacrifice of *rākṣasas*, although the *rākṣasa* involved in the story, the aptly called Kiṃkara or “servant” (cf. MBh 1,166.17) is a mere instrument of Śakti’s curse.²⁶

This “mythologizing” trait appears even more clearly if we compare these tales with the one story that is not seen through this mellowing prism, namely the last tale relating the genocide of the Bhārgava clan at the hands of the *kṣatriyas*. It is interesting to note that this narrative is also the one which is said to take place in the remotest past, being told as a sub-subtale by Vasiṣṭha to his grandson Parāśara as something that happened in the past.²⁷ The tragic events unfolding in this narrative are told in the most straightforward and undisguised manner, and no precautions are taken to apologize for these warriors’ behavior or to explain away their cruel deeds. In this story, the *kṣatriyas* are neither exhausted by the hunt, nor thirsty and hungry, which would account for their short temper; they are not possessed by can-

²³ The cow of plenty and her calf may of course also represent Brahmin women and children.

²⁴ See the story of the god Dyaus, who tries to steal Vasiṣṭha’s cow and is then cursed by Vasiṣṭha to be born on earth as Bhīṣma (MBh 1,93).

²⁵ We can of course contrast this to what happens in the case of the great Bhārgava hero, Rāma Jāmadagnya, who goes on a *kṣatriya*-killing spree (which is explicitly likened to a sacrifice, cf. MBh 12,48.8), after his father Jamadagni was killed by *kṣatriyas*.

²⁶ Accordingly, the elder sages soon put a stop to this sacrifice, since it involves the killing of “unaware and innocent Rākṣasas” (MBh 1,172.11).

²⁷ Here, as it often happens in the *Mahābhārata*, we have (at least) four levels of narration: the *Mahābhārata* is told by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya. In the course of the main story of the epic, the *gandharva* Citraratha tells the Pāṇḍava heroes a tale about Vasiṣṭha and Kalmāṣapāda, in which in turn Vasiṣṭha tells his grandson Parāśara another tale about the feud between the Bhārgavas and some *kṣatriyas*. The first sub-tale (about Vasiṣṭha and Kalmāṣapāda) can at least roughly be dated in relation to the Pāṇḍavas, since it involves their great-grandfather Parāśara, the father of their “official” grandfather Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, the author of the epic.

nibalistic demons who force them to behave inhumanly; they do not manhandle a wish-fulfilling cow and her calf – in other words, mythical beasts –, but they straightforwardly kill Brahmin women and children. They even slaughter embryos, a deed gorier than which it is difficult to conceive, as if they were determined to literally “nip in the bud” all further propagation of the Brahmins.²⁸ And the reason why they behave in this way is simply because they are greedy for riches, which they take by force from the Brahmins, going so far as to dig up their backyards to lay hands on their hidden treasures. In the ancient Indian context, this is of course doubly shocking, because, in the right order of things, the kings’ duty is to provide for the Brahmins and the Brahmins’ is to receive gifts from the kings in exchange for their sacrificial performances.²⁹ Not the other way around. While the motifs of *rākṣasas* and wish-fulfilling cows immediately take the first stories to a mythical – and therefore remote and unrealistic – plane, the stark realism of the events as they are related in this last story lends them the sordid ring of truth.³⁰ We may emit the hypothesis that a mythical veneer was applied to the more recent stories in order not to give too blatant offense to the rulers in place. This precaution was perhaps deemed unnecessary in the case of tales relating events that took place in the hoary past, since there was no likelihood of hurting the feelings of a living king and patron.

Resilience

The term “resilience” derives from the present participle (*resiliens*) of the latin verb *resilire* (< *re-salire*), which literally means “to rebound”. Boris Cyrulnik, the well-known French psychiatrist and writer who has abundantly written on the subject, defines the concept of resilience as follows:

Quand le mot “résilience” est né en physique, il désignait l’aptitude d’un corps à résister à un choc. Mais il attribuait trop d’importance à la substance. Quand il est

²⁸ In MBh 12,49.54–55, Rāma Jāmadagnya also kills the *kṣatriyas*’ newborn babies. And, as Goldman (2021: 47) notes, in MBh 14,68, the Brahmin Aśvatthāman “unleashes the fearsome *brahmāstra* (a celestial projectile weapon) directly at the embryo in [Uttarā’s] womb, killing it. The child is stillborn; but Kṛṣṇa magically restores him to life as prince Parikṣit”. Here Goldman further remarks: “At this point it becomes apparent that the epic authors have a particular fascination with the theme of the killing of embryos and newborns, which violates both the dharmaśāstraic prohibition of abortion and revulsion for an abortionist. [...] It may be that this theme – the slaughter of the innocents – with its shock value is intended to graphically signify the importance attached to the idea of total extermination of the target class, race or species.”

²⁹ This is actually what happens under the reign of the virtuous King Kṛtavīrya, who gave very liberally (perhaps too liberally in his heirs’ opinion?) to the Bhārgavas in exchange for their sacrificial performances (MBh 1,169.11–12). His heirs seem to have had other views, and, finding themselves in need of money, took again by force what Kṛtavīrya had given away.

³⁰ The only mythical traits can be found in Aurva’s extraordinarily long gestation and birth from his mother’s thigh, and his extraordinary powers as soon as he is born.

passé dans les sciences sociales, il a signifié “la capacité à réussir, à vivre et à se développer positivement, de manière socialement acceptable, en dépit du stress ou d’une adversité qui comportent normalement le risque grave d’une issue négative.” (Cyrulnik 2002: 8)

In the stories which concern us here, two intimately interlinked entities display this “capacity to succeed, to live on and to develop positively” despite the situation of extreme hardship they have to undergo. These two entities are the Brahmins and the Veda. Their survival is closely interrelated, because learning, teaching, and reciting the Veda at sacrificial performances was the Brahmins’ traditional livelihood and because the Veda, as an oral religious and literary tradition, could only survive if the people who learnt it by heart survived to hand down their knowledge to their own pupils, following the tradition of *guruśiṣyaparamparā*. Any religion, of course, survives mainly in the minds of its believers.³¹ Vedism, as a temple-less and book-less form of religion, needed both the minds and the bodies of its practitioners for the purpose of remembering and reciting the texts. The Veda could not survive otherwise than incarnate in the Brahmins – and our stories make this abundantly clear.

The two Brahmanical seers or families of seers principally involved in these tales are, on the one hand, Vasiṣṭha and his clan, and, on the other hand, the Bhārgavas, that is to say, the descendants of the sage Bhṛgu.³² These are no ordinary Brahmins, but very ancient seers and poets: Vasiṣṭha is one of the seven great sages.³³ He is considered to be the author of several hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, especially of the entire 7th *maṇḍala*. The Bhārgavas on the other hand are linked with the tradition of the *Atharvaveda*.³⁴ If their clans died out, it can reasonably be assumed that the portions of the Veda whose composition and transmission was in the hands of their family would die out too.

If the kings are in general shown as lacking in restraint, impatient of any delay in the satisfaction of their desires and easily yielding to their instincts of anger and lust, the ideal Brahmin, here in the form of Vasiṣṭha, proves to be the exact opposite. Even under the direst threats and cruelest provocation, he keeps his restraint and does not yield to anger and thirst for revenge – not when Viśvāmitra tries to kidnap his holy cow and not even when his hundred sons are devoured by Kalmāṣapāda. His appears to be a rather passive attitude. However, in the context of Indian asceticism, this passivity – more positively termed equanimity – is seen as a distinct qual-

³¹ Cf. Guidetti 2021.

³² Viśvāmitra is of course also one of the seven great sages (cf. Mitchiner 2000: 11), and he and his family are renowned authors of *Ṛgvedic* hymns, notably of *maṇḍala* 3. But the MBh here treats him as a *kṣatriya* – he achieves Brahminhood only later in the story.

³³ He is even listed as one of the *saptarṣis* in both the Vedic and the epic lists of great sages, which reflects his continued importance over time. See Mitchiner 2000: 12.

³⁴ See Gonda 1975: 267–268; Bloomfield 1897: xxvi. See also Bronkhorst 2016: 233–240 on the importance of the Bhārgavas and the *Atharvaveda* in the MBh.

ity, for both lust and anger are considered to deplete the amount of *tapas* acquired by ascetic practices. In any case, there is no need for Vasiṣṭha to (re)act faced with the warriors' threats, for others do it in his stead: these "others" are the women.

At first sight, the women in these stories seem to play a rather negligible role. Since the Veda was exclusively transmitted in the male line, the women were neither allowed to learn it, nor to teach it. They mainly function as wombs or vessels who carry the precious embryos of the surviving Brahmin boys or future kings. But if we read these stories more closely, we realize that the different lineages survive only thanks to the women. For they go to extraordinary lengths to protect their children – born or unborn. Thus, Vasiṣṭha's wish-fulfilling cow Nandinī – whom we may here classify among women – reaches the height of her vengeful fury and releases armies out of her body when Vasiṣṭha, who, we remember, is merely sitting by and watching the events unfold, points out to her that Viśvāmitra has bound her calf in fetters and is dragging it away. Adṛśyantī, the "invisible",³⁵ Vasiṣṭha's unfortunate daughter-in-law, remains alone in her hermitage for twelve long years, guarding her foetus in her womb to protect it from a cannibalistic king, while Vasiṣṭha is wandering about in a state of depression. We are not told her side of the story, nor how she manages to survive in these appalling conditions. But undoubtedly, she is single-handedly responsible for the survival of Vasiṣṭha's grandson. The situation of the Bhārgavas' wives is even more extreme: their husbands have all been slaughtered and the group of women flee to the Himalayas. Aurva's unnamed mother carries her fetus for a hundred years in her thigh – probably so as to hide it in the folds of her dress – to protect it from their persecutors' fury. As for king Kalmāṣapāda's wife, she finally resorts to cutting open her own belly so as to allow her son to be born after a twelve-years' pregnancy, echoing in this the barbarous treatment inflicted on the Bhārgavas' wives by the soldiers.³⁶ All these women's roles are cast in the shadows or on the margins of these tales, whose focus is on the male characters. But when it comes to protecting their offspring, they display far greater agency, resourcefulness, and powers of resilience than their either passive, cursed or dead male partners.

As for Vasiṣṭha, after his ninety-nine sons' death, he turns his violence inwards and seeks to destroy himself. The extremely pathetic description which follows is the closest depiction of a state of acute depression I have ever come across in Sanskrit literature:

³⁵ Cf. Böhtlingk & Roth 1855–75 [PW], *vide sub a-drśyant*: "part. praes. pass. von *darś*-unsichtbar." For one who has to hide from a man-eater, it is definitively an advantage to remain unseen; but she also seems invisible to Vasiṣṭha, who apparently fails to see her when he returns to his hermitage for the first time (MBh 1,167.1) and notices her upon his second return only when he hears his grandson's voice coming from her belly.

³⁶ There are also echoes of Gāndhārī's pregnancy, who, after two years, decides to abort her own belly in order to give birth to her hard, ball-shaped one hundred and one embryos (MBh 1,107).

The blessed seer threw himself from the peak of [mount] Meru, and when his head hit the rock it was like a pile of cotton. When the blessed lord failed to die from the fall, he lit a fire in the wilderness and entered into it. Yet, although it blazed up high, the fire did not burn him – the flames turned cold. Seized with his sorrow, the great hermit went to the ocean, tied a heavy stone to his neck, and threw himself into the water. The current of the ocean waves placed the hermit back on the mainland and, dismayed, he returned to his hermitage. (1,166.41–45)

Then, finding his hermitage empty of his sons, he departed from it again, sick with his great sorrow. He saw a river full of new water – for it was the rainy season – that was washing down a great many trees of many kinds that grew on its banks. Then once more the thought occurred to him, “I will drown myself in this water”, for he was possessed by grief. The great hermit bound his body tight with ropes, and in his great distress he threw himself into the stream of the big river. But the river cut his ropes, crusher of enemy forces, and washed the unfettered seer to its even bank. The great seer stood up from its waves freed from his fetters, and he gave the river the name Vipāśā [‘fetterless’].

Thereafter he resigned himself to his grief and did not stay in any one place but went to mountains and rivers and lakes. The seer saw a stream coming down the Himalaya, full of ferocious crocodiles, and he plunged into its stream. But this good river thought that the brahmin was like fire and ran off in a hundred directions, whence it is now known as the Śatadrū [‘flowing in hundreds’].

Finding himself once more on dry land there, he said, “I cannot die”, and returned to his hermitage. (MBh 1,167.1–10)

Of course, Vasiṣṭha is one of the seven great sages. As the son of two gods, Mitra and Varuṇa, and of the *apsaras* Urvaśī,³⁷ or alternatively as the mind-born son of Brahmā,³⁸ he is an immortal.³⁹ As a “super-Brahmin”, he is furthermore inviolable: nobody, and not even the elemental forces like the fire, the waters or the mountains, would be foolhardy enough to be the cause of his death, for it is well-known that the sin of *brahmahatyā* (Brahmin-murder) is the worst sin of all.⁴⁰ Poor Vasiṣṭha is thus in a quandary: he cannot die, but he cannot live either. He continues his wanderings for twelve years in this depressed state, and it is only when he hears his grandson’s voice reciting the Veda in his mother’s womb that the wish to live comes back to him: “*asti saṃtānam*”, he exclaims. “There is progeny/continuation!” Here, the term *saṃtāna* certainly refers both to biological progeny or filial continuation, as well as to the filiation and continuation of the Vedic line and tradition. The baby in the womb is not only Śakti’s son, but he also recites the Veda just like his father used to do. This double continuation – of descent and Vedic tradition – functions as a powerful factor or resilience. It is only when he realizes that both his filial line

³⁷ See *R̥gveda* 7,33.11–13. The details of his birth are however far from clear.

³⁸ See e.g. MBh 3,160.14–15.

³⁹ According to astrological representations, Vasiṣṭha and the other sages are also identified as stars in the constellation Ursa Major. See Mitchiner 2000: 274.

⁴⁰ Manu (11,55) lists it as the first of the five major crimes. As Doniger and Smith (1991: 256) note: “These crimes, called *pātakas*, are more precisely those crimes that cause one to fall (*pat*) from caste and into hell.”

and, incarnate in it, his Vedic line, will live on, that Vasiṣṭha's depression lifts and he becomes his usual self again.

As we have already noted above, the Vedas were transmitted orally from teacher to pupil. The Śruti, as its name itself suggests, was not written down in manuscripts or books that could be buried – like the riches in the Bhārgavas' tale – and dug up again when times got better. When the line was broken, as it happens in two of our stories, the Veda, or at least the family's Vedic tradition, was in jeopardy. Both Brahmin boys, Parāśara and Aurva, are carried in their mother's womb/thigh in circumstances where all their male relatives (from whom they might perhaps have heard the Śruti recited as mere embryos) are either dead or absent. But the Veda is endowed with its own powers of resilience. As Aurva's mother declares to the *kṣatriyas* who persecute her:

When you, my sons, even killed the Bhṛgu's children in the womb, I carried this child of mine in my thigh, for a hundred years. The entire Veda and its six limbs came to the child when I bore him, to be once more of benefit to the dynasty of the Bhṛgus. (MBh 1, 170.3–4; trans. van Buitenen, modified.)

The Veda appears to have a will of its own. It is depicted here as a super-human entity who “possesses” the Brahmin boy for its own survival. The epithet “six-limbed” (*ṣaḍaṅga*) refers to the six auxiliary sciences of the Veda, which were probably developed towards the end of the Vedic period as props for the understanding and recitation of the Vedic texts, namely: *śikṣā*, phonetics; *chandas*, prosody; *vyākaraṇa*, grammar; *nirukta*, etymology; *kalpa*, ritual; *jyotiṣa*, astrology. But at the same time, this epithet lends the Veda a quasi-divine appearance and shape, for as we know, the Indian gods are often in the habit of sporting multiple pairs of arms. This deified Veda thus displays resilience and takes care of its own continued survival in threatening circumstances.

But more than mere survival is at stake here. For if we remember Boris Cyrulnik's words, resilience is not just a matter of surviving. It also designates the “capacity to succeed, to live on and to develop positively”. And indeed, this is precisely what happens here: for the surviving Parāśara's own future son is Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, the very author of the *Mahābhārata*. Vyāsa means “the Divider”: he deserves this name because, as soon as he was born, he divided the Veda (which used to be one, as the above tales reveal) into four: *Rg-*, *Yajur-*, *Sāma-*, and *Atharvaveda*, and went on to teach the *Mahābhārata* as the fifth Veda (MBh 1, 57.74). Thus, the role of Vasiṣṭha's descendance is not “just” to continue to recite the Veda by rote as they have learnt it from their forebears, but also to compose new and meaningful texts for the post-Vedic age, of no lesser status than the Veda itself. The Brahmins' resilience is not only that they survive the slaughter and the trauma, but also that they are the ones who live to tell the tale, and to tell it in their own words and from their own point of

view, which is in itself considered as a powerful factor of resilience.⁴¹ This brings us back to the title of Johannes Bronkhorst's book: "How the Brahmins Won".

Redemption

Finding themselves in these extreme circumstances – robbed, slaughtered, exterminated, devoured – the Brahmins had two options: they could either fight back or forgive. The two young Brahmin boys, Parāśara and Aurva, in their rage at what happened to their fathers, turn their violence outwards and feel the desire to burn the whole world. This violent reaction is shared by another great Bhārgava-figure who has been lurking in the shadows all the while even though our tales do not mention him, namely: Rāma Jāmadagnya, subsequently also known as Paraśurāma or "Rāma with the axe". After his father Jamadagni has been killed by King Arjuna Kārtavīrya's sons (probably the same who exterminate the Bhṛgu in one of our tales), Rāma takes to arms and exterminates, not just once, but "thrice seven times", all the *kṣatriyas* in the world.⁴² The extermination of the *kṣatriya* males is so thorough that, at least in one version of the tale, the Brahmins have to impregnate the surviving *kṣatriya* women in order to provide new kings for the protection of the earth. But in the cluster of tales which concerns us here, this desire to seek revenge, evidenced by the boys Parāśara and Aurva, is seen as childish⁴³ and leading to disaster, and they are earnestly warned off this path by their elder and wiser kinsmen.

Vasiṣṭha, unlike the younger Rāma Jāmadagnya, Parāśara and Aurva, seeks consensus and reconciliation, not revenge. It is of course true that, in our stories (unlike in Rāma Jāmadagnya's story), the guilty *kṣatriyas* are ready to cooperate, showing due remorse and the will to redeem themselves: in the first tale, king Saṃvaraṇa, who is not guilty of Brahmin-slaughter, but only of an excess of passion which nevertheless spells doom for his subjects, dutifully returns to his kingdom when Vasiṣṭha fetches him back from the forest. Viśvāmitra is so embittered by the rout of his army by Vasiṣṭha's cow, and in consequence so fully convinced of the Brahmins' superior power, that he even resolves to become a Brahmin himself – something that he eventually achieves only after millennia of the strictest *tapas*. Blinded by the young boy Aurva, the *kṣatriyas* who have been pursuing his mother beg for his

⁴¹ See Cyrulnik 2002: 178: "La créativité serait fille de la souffrance. [...] Pourquoi cette défense vient-elle si facilement à l'esprit des enfants maltraités : le dessin pour les petits, l'écriture pour les plus grands. Le crayon et la plume nous défendent bien mieux que l'activisme, la vengeance, l'isolement ou la régression. L'écriture rassemble en une seule activité le maximum de mécanismes de défense : l'intellectualisation, la rêverie, la rationalisation et la sublimation." (Cf. also p. 33.)

⁴² E.g. MBh 1,58; 12,48–49. For this personage, see Gail 1977; Feller 2013.

⁴³ See Feller 2012.

forgiveness and vow never to act so rashly again. King Kalmāṣapāda also shows due remorse and promises to always respect the Brahmins. He even goes so far as to request Vasiṣṭha to father a son on his queen, and Vasiṣṭha, far from seeking revenge on the king, generously agrees. This solution is of course beneficial to each party: Vasiṣṭha begets a new biological son in replacement of the hundred sons he has lost, and the king gets an official heir in the person of Āsmaka, who will continue his line. At the same time, we realize that the king's *kṣatriya*-lineage is now mixed with Brahmin blood. The story hints at a hope that the young Āsmaka will be the first of a better line – in effect half *kṣatriya*-half Brahmin – and, as such, the embodied token of continuing friendship and cooperation between the two classes.⁴⁴

Conclusions

Let us now return to our original hypothesis – that stories such as these may refer to actual historical events that took place either before or around the time when the *Mahābhārata* was composed, as reactions to the oppression undergone by the Brahmins at the hands of foreign kings who did not recognize their superiority. As far as the Brahmins are concerned, we see that what appears to be their foremost concern is the preservation of their social status and the continuation of their physical lineage along with their Vedic tradition. But, at least as evidenced in the stories we have just examined, the reasons why the *kṣatriyas* attack the Brahmins have nothing whatsoever to do with religion or ideology: the Veda seems to be none of their concern, nor are they trying to impose new religious forms on the Brahmins. They slaughter the Brahmins either for the sake of their riches or for reasons of social prestige and superiority – as evidenced in the highly symbolic scene where King Kalmāṣapāda comes face to face with the Brahmin Śakti, and neither wants to give way to the other. Faced with the inimical *kṣatriyas*' physical strength and weaponry, the Brahmins had one weapon at their disposal: their magical skills presumably derived from their tapas, which allows them to unleash supernatural powers – such as magical cows or demons – against their persecutors and would even allow them to destroy the whole world if they chose to do so. As Bronkhorst (2016: 225–226) remarks:

Brahmins had supernatural powers. In the good old days these flowed through the performance of the solemn ritual. Without clients for these expensive rites, the supernatural powers of the Brahmins were in danger of being underused and overlooked. Fortunately, there was a solution to this problem: the magical formulas that came to be collected in the *Atharva-Veda*. [...] These kinds of formulas and the associated

⁴⁴ Āsmaka is born after a long gestation of twelve years, a sign of above-average powers (see Feller 2014). In the one version of Rāma Jāmadagnya's story in which the Brahmins, after all the male *kṣatriyas* have been wiped out, father sons on the surviving *kṣatriya*-women, a golden age follows. (MBh 1,58.25–47)

rites made it possible for Brahmins to exert their powers even in hostile situations, in circumstances where the support of the ruling classes was not guaranteed or worse.

It goes almost without saying that these alternative ways of using their supernatural powers came in handy during the time when Brahmanism had to reinvent itself and had to establish its worth in the eyes of ruling classes for whom the solemn Vedic ritual was not part of inherited custom. The formulas of the *Atharva-Veda* were of the greatest importance to Brahmins during this period. Indeed, it is possible, even likely, that these formulas were collected into what we now call the *Atharva-Veda* precisely during this period.⁴⁵

These remarks are of the utmost importance. They explain why a Brahmin like Rāma Jāmadagnya, who belongs to the Bhārgava-family (precisely one of the brahmanical families associated with the composition of the *Atharvaveda*) was projected as the absolute champion of the brahmanical cause by the redactors of the *Mahābhārata*, his story being either told in detail, or alluded to, scores of times in this text.⁴⁶ As Bronkhorst (2016: 240) remarks, “the important roles played in the *Mahābhārata* by Bhārgavas and Āṅgirasas have nothing to do with the participation of these two groups of Brahmins in the composition, or brahmanisation, of this text, but rather are concerned with the image its redactors wished to project of Brahmins.”⁴⁷ And this image is, of course, that the Brahmins are above the law and can basically do whatever they like and get away with it.

The office of *purohita* was rather early on associated with a knowledge of the *Atharvaveda*, since the chaplain was supposed to master the magical spells in order to protect his royal patron.⁴⁸ It is therefore astonishing to see that the one sage who paradigmatically functions as the kings’ *purohita* in both epics is Vasiṣṭha, who is not connected with the *Atharvaveda*, but is an eminent Ṛgvedic seer. As Bloomfield (1897/1992: lxv) remarks: “There is no original connection between Vasishtha and the Atharvan.” Yet Vasiṣṭha is presented as the ideal *brahman* or *purohita* priest already in *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* 3,5.2.1 ff., a text belonging to the Black Yajurveda. A legend narrates how Vasiṣṭha was the only *ṛṣi* who could see Indra clearly, whereas the others could not. That is why Indra then made Vasiṣṭha his personal priest and since then, men have had Vasiṣṭha, or one of his descendants, for their *purohita*.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ See Bronkhorst 2016: 226–230 for the date at which the *Atharvaveda* was collected as a corpus.

⁴⁶ See Bronkhorst 2016: 239.

⁴⁷ Here based on Hiltebeitel 1999: 161–162: “But there is nothing to suggest that the composing Brahmins were Bhārgavas. Indeed, it is far more likely that they were not; [...] Bhārgavas represent other Brahmins: they speak and act for them in certain ways. And these ways are not far to seek. As has been repeatedly perceived, they are champions of the cause of Brahmins.”

⁴⁸ See Bloomfield 1897: lxxvii and Bronkhorst’s discussion (2016: 230–233) on the importance of the *purohita* and his relation to the *Atharvaveda*.

⁴⁹ See Bloomfield 1897: lx for a discussion of this legend. Bloomfield notes that “The same legend is repeated almost verbatim Gopathabrāhmaṇa II, 2, 13 [the only Brāhmaṇa attached to the Atharvaveda], but the text demurs at the last clause ... because it has previously

The epics, in systematically presenting Vasiṣṭha as the *purohita* of kings, are thus legitimized by the Vedic tradition. If we now return to the cluster of stories we have examined so far and remember the aim for which they are told – namely, to encourage the Pāṇdavas to hire the services of a *purohita* – we easily comprehend why the redactors of these tales would choose a figure like Vasiṣṭha, and not a Bhārgava, to represent the paradigmatic *purohita*. For it is likely that no king in his good senses and minimally attached to his life would choose someone like Rāma Jāmadagnya for his *purohita*! Hence the need to present the ideal *purohita* in a more amenable, though of course still awe-inspiring, light. And who would better fit the job than the consensus-seeking, peace-loving Vasiṣṭha, who moreover enjoys Vedic legitimacy? We may even go so far as to suggest, though this remains of course conjectural, that a more moderate branch of redactors, wary of the violent Bhārgava champions, showcased a more restrained champion of the brahmanical cause in the person of Vasiṣṭha. In the stories we have examined here, Vasiṣṭha does not fight back and seek revenge: not because he could not destroy the whole world, and all the *kṣatriyas* along with it, if the fancy took him, but because he chooses *not* to do so. The threat to the kings of course remains, but in a veiled form. Undoubtedly, the Brahmins, or at least some groups of Brahmins, had every advantage not to antagonize the *kṣatriyas* too directly, for after all, their economic survival depended on the patron kings and other wealthy members of the warrior class.

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stated emphatically that a *bhrigvaṅgirovid* is the only person fitted for that exalted office (I, 2, 18; 3, 1 ff.).”

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Sažetak

Mahābhārata 1,160–173 sadrži niz priča u kojima glavnu ulogu igra mudrac Vasiṣṭha, paradigmatički *purohita* (osobni svećenik ili kapelan) kraljeva. Većina ovih priča govori o krvoprolićima i okrutnostima koje su kṣatriye počinili nad brahmanima, dok istovremeno naglašavaju kako kṣatrije nikako ne mogu bez brahmanske podrške. Takve pripovijesti mogle bi odražavati prevladavajuće povijesne uvjete u vrijeme prije i oko oblikovanja velikoga epa, u kojem su brahmani morali trpjeti strane kraljeve koji nisu priznavali njihov nadmoćni status i čija religija nije bila vedizam. Zagovarajući konsenzus i mir između brahmana i kṣatrija, ove priče prikazuju blagoga Vasiṣṭhu kao prvaka brahmanskoga, umjesto ratoborne i destruktivne figure kao što je Rāma Jāmadagnya. Članak pokazuje kojim postupcima brahmani (s kojima Vede kao korpus usmeno prenošenih tekstova mogu preživjeti samo u njima utjelovljene), nakon što su se suočili s velikim iskušenjima, pronalaze načine da prevladaju svoju traumu i nastave živjeti, pokazujući izvanrednu fleksibilnost.

Repetitions in interpolations excluded from the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*

Abstract

In his papers dealing with the text-history of the *Bhagavadgītā*, Mislav Ježić proposes an approach based on the analysis of the repetition of words and expressions that occur in passages that appear to have been reworked or in new parts of the text that have been inserted. Ježić thus classifies repetitions into two categories: continuity repetitions and duplication repetitions. Continuity repetitions resume a topic and belong to the same text sequence, while duplication repetitions repeat something while giving new connotations to repeated expressions. Duplication repetitions indicate text expansion in terms of addition and interpolation. Based on this repetition typology, Ježić elaborates a detailed text history of the *Bhagavadgītā*. This paper will explore the question of whether repetitions like those identified by Ježić can also be found in examples of interpolations not included in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. In this sense, examples of later interpolations into the didactic (examples from the *Bhagavadgītā* and *Sanatsujātīya*) and narrative (*Sabhaparvan*) parts of the *Mahābhārata* will be presented and discussed.

Introduction

Mislav Ježić's landmark 1979 and 1986 papers propose a philological method by which to identify text layers in the *Bhagavadgītā* (= BhG). Differentiating and identifying different layers of the text enabled Ježić to develop a detailed schema of the historical development of the text of BhG. Ježić also identifies and reconstructs a *triṣṭubh* hymn interspersed throughout the text of BhG (Ježić 1979; 1986; 2009).¹ Ježić's method of repetition analysis is based on an earlier observation (cf. Ježić 1986: 629) that many meanings and expressions are repeated throughout the text of BhG. However, the repetitions Ježić analyses differ from the epic formulae –

¹ Cf. Ježić 2021; 2022.

metrical phrases typical of the epic technique of verse composition. Epic formulae are independent of context, forming a pattern into which words and phrases can be inserted. Ježić describes this phrasal syntax as being subordinate to the “higher discourse syntax” in which these repetitions appear. A closer inspection reveals that some of the repetitions appear in passages where the setting changes as compared to the previous text, while some repeated words and expressions, although in close proximity to each other, appear in a different meaning. Often, these repeated expressions receive a new connotation or are developed in a different, even contradictory way. Such changes in context and reinterpretations of material are traditionally referred to in philology as “text fractures” or “*Textbruchstelle*”, which also appear as contradictions and inconsistencies within the text.² These “fractures” are used as an indication that the text has been reworked and that there have been some disturbances in the coherence of the text, usually in terms of text expansion or inserted passages. Ježić notes that repeated words and expressions appear in passages (in BhG) where such a shift can be detected. Careful philological analysis enabled Ježić to classify these repetitions into two categories, which he refers to as “continuity repetitions” and “duplication repetitions”.

Continuity repetitions continue a topic and develop a theme by complementing and further elaborating upon something that has already been said in a natural, logical way. Such passages develop narration, and are therefore considered to belong to the same age layer. On the other hand, duplication repetitions give new connotations to repeated expressions; they indicate that the text has been expanded, that a new layer of text has been inserted as an addition or interpolation.

Repetition analysis represents a refinement of the traditional approach, which relies only on content, giving it a more formal note. To this claim it could be objected that the method is not fully formal because as it still heavily relies on semantic analysis that includes philosophical and historical interpretation of a certain cultural form. In other words, it can be argued that the method depends on the content insofar as duplication repetitions are identified on the basis of an analysis of the content of text in which such repetitions appear. However, duplication repetitions are – to some extent – formally different from continuity repetitions. The main difference is that duplication repetitions are in most cases literally repetitions of words/expressions from the surrounding text. Very often, words, phrases, or even entire *pādas* are repeated.³ On the other hand, synonyms also sometimes serve the same purpose, albeit rarely, and often for metrical reasons. Continuous repetitions, which are merely a continuation of the same theme, are spontaneous repetitions that are not usually literal. These are mostly repetitions of key words and very loose paraphrases of

² Cf. Oberlies (1997: 76), who holds that the key role in establishing text history is played by text fractures (*Textbruchstelle*) that disturb the logic of the narrative. These fractures indicate different text layers in the form of extensions and interpolations.

³ See for instance repetitions in Andrijanić 2021: 136, 140, 149.

previous parts of text. The main formal difference between continuity and duplication repetitions is that literal duplications are not found in passages whose narration develops logically.

Ježić's and Szczurek's analysis of text layers in BhG

By distinguishing between “continuity repetitions” and “duplication repetitions”, Ježić differentiates the text sequences forming the entirety of the *Bhagavadgītā* to the stanza, thus reconstructing the Gītā's text history to the most minute level. Using the same methodology, P. Szczurek identifies Bhakti interpolations in BhG. Szczurek (2005: 190) remarks that *bhakti* stanzas are adapted to neighbouring stanzas through the use of duplication repetitions from the surrounding text. The duplication of previous content with a different religious and philosophical context is undoubtedly evident in Szczurek's analysis. Words and expressions are also obviously duplicated from both preceding and subsequent stanzas, between which new material is added. Ježić's and Szczurek's examples elucidate a dense network of both verbal and non-verbal repetition. The following two examples show the appearance of duplicate repetitions in Ježić's and Szczurek's analysis. This allows one to clearly see how similar these repetitions (identified by Ježić) are to those that occur in interpolations that have been identified by manuscript evidence. Throughout this paper, duplication repetitions are boldfaced, and their English translations are underlined.

Example I (Ježić 1986: 630)

MBh 6,24.37 [BhG 2.37]

*hato vā prāpsyasi svargaṃ
jītvā vā bhokṣyase mahīm |
tasmād uttiṣṭha kaunteya
yuddhāya kṛtaniścayaḥ || 37 ||*

Either you are killed and will then attain to heaven, or you triumph and will enjoy the earth. Therefore, rise up, Kaunteya, resolved upon battle! (37)⁴

MBh 6,33.33 [BhG 11.33]

*tasmāt tvam uttiṣṭha yaśo labhasva;
jītvā śatrūn bhuñkṣva rājyaṃ samṛddham |
mayaivaite nihatāḥ pūrvam eva;
nimittamātraṃ bhava savyasācin || 33 ||*

Therefore rise yourself now and reap rich fame, Rule the plentiful realm by defeating your foes! I myself have doomed them ages ago: Be merely my hand in this, Left-hand archer. (33)⁵

Example II (Szczurek 2005: 191)

⁴ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 77.

⁵ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 117.

MBh 6.28.29–32 [BhG 6.29–32]

sarvabhūtaṣṭham ātmānaṃ
sarvabhūtāni cātmani |
īkṣate yogayuktātmā
sarvatra samadarśanaḥ || 29 ||

Yoked in yoga, he sees himself in all
creatures, all creatures in himself – he
sees everything the same. (29)⁶

yo mām paśyati sarvatra
sarvaṃ ca mayi **paśyati** |
tasyāhaṃ na praṇaśyāmi
sa ca me na praṇaśyati || 30 ||
sarvabhūtaṣṭhitam yo mām
bhajaty ekatvam āsthitaḥ |
sarvathā vartamāno 'pi
sa yogī mayi vartate || 31 ||

When he sees me in everything and
sees everything in me, I will not
be lost to him and he will not be
lost to me. (30)

He who shares in me as living in all
creatures and thus becomes one with
me, he is a yogin who, however he
moves, moves in me. (31)⁷

ātmaupamyena sarvatra
samaṃ **paśyati yo** 'rjuna |
sukhaṃ vā yadi vā duḥkhaṃ
sa yogī paramo mataḥ || 32 ||

He is deemed the ultimate yogin,
Arjuna, who, by comparing everything
with himself sees the same in
everything, whether it be blissful or
wretched. (32)⁸

Based on Ježić's analysis, Szczurek (forthcoming) analyses the text history of MBh passages related to Bhīṣma's death, while I (Andrijanić 2021) discuss the text

⁶ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 97.

⁷ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 97.

⁸ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 97.

history of Karāḷajanaka's discourse in the *Mahābhārata*'s *Mokṣadharmaparvan* section. This means that repetitions occur not only in passages of BhG that are suspected interpolations, but also in other didactic and narrative parts of MBh. This kind of text analysis is conducted on the critically constituted text; this means that the method is devised to reach beyond the manuscript evidence. In other words, the intent of this kind of analysis is to reconstruct the prehistory of the text – the history of the text dating back to a time before the constituted archetype. It is important to note that such analysis does not serve to correct a critically constituted text, nor does it claim to establish a new edition of the Ur-text. The aim of this analysis is to shed light on the cultural history of certain cultural forms.⁹ The main difference between the analysis of the historical layers of the text and text criticism (in terms of establishing an archetype) is that philological criticism (“higher” criticism) does not reject newer text layers or interpolations in the desire to establish the oldest text. On the contrary, all text strata are treated as equal sources for establishing the history of a particular spiritual form. Ježić (2021) compares historical text analysis with the historical analysis of the Cathedral of Saint Dominus in Split, which underwent centuries of modifications. Historical analysis of text thus resembles the work of an art historian who tries to unravel numerous modifications not only to establish its oldest form, but to understand the religious, spiritual, and social conditions in which the monument developed.¹⁰ In Ježić's words (2021: 272), the historical analysis (of both the Cathedral and BhG text development) reveals the “complex, sometimes even polemical, rich, and impressive way in which such a monument conveys its messages”.

Scope of research

At this point, it can be asked whether both interpolations and later text extensions excluded from the critically constituted text of the *Mahābhārata* also contain repeti-

⁹ Hacker (1961: 10) criticizes some older text historical research in Indology (in particular Lüders's analysis of the R̥ṣyaśṛṅga episode) by vividly describing text layers as dead bodies lying on a philological battlefield. Hacker (ibid.) claims that legends, myths, and didactic passages are changeable spiritual forms (*geistige Gestalt*); therefore, the main task in recognising and establishing the relative chronology of text layers is understanding the historical and spiritual conditions in which the changes occurred. The task is not merely to establish the oldest or “original” text; the philologist should consider all strata to understand and interpret temporal, spatial, and social changes in spiritual history. According to Hacker (1961: 12), the goal of historical text layer analysis should be to understand the history of these spiritual forms.

¹⁰ Split cathedral was originally built as the mausoleum of Roman emperor Diocletian. It was later converted into a church dedicated to the Christian victims of Roman persecution. Through the course of history, it underwent numerous modifications, additions, and alterations in accordance with the dominant historical styles of a certain period.

tions such as those distinguished and analysed by Ježić. The question also arises as to whether Ježić's typology of repetition can be applied to proven interpolations. There also exists external, manuscript evidence that interpolations into a critically constituted text are in fact interpolations. If it can be established that they contain repetitions comparable to those identified by Ježić, then we can more effectively observe possible interpolations, extensions, and adaptations in the text for which we have no external, manuscript evidence. Therefore, this paper will present a few examples of later interpolations in the text of the *Mahābhārata* which are excluded from the BORI critical edition, but are recorded in the critical apparatus as * passages and appendices. I shall present examples of later interpolations and additions to the didactic parts of MBh (*Bhagavadgītā* and *Sanatsujātīya*) that are comparable to BhG, as well as one significant example from *Sabhaparvan*.

Interpolations in the *Bhagavadgītā* excluded from the BORI edition

Firstly, I shall present examples from the *Bhagavadgītā*, primarily because Ježić analysed the layered structure of its critically constituted text. Although BhG text transmission is relatively stable in comparison to some other parts of the epic, some later interpolations and extensions do appear in certain versions. A total of 23 interpolations were recorded in the BORI edition as * passages (none of which appear in the Vulgate), plus additional four passages and numerous repetitions preserved in the Old Javanese version of *Bhīṣmaparvan* which were recorded as Appendix A in the BORI edition.

All interpolations relegated to the critical apparatus were identified by Sripad Krishna Belvalkar according to the general principles of textual criticism, that is, by the manuscript evidence. Here, I shall present a few examples to determine whether these later interpolations contain repetitions comparable to repetitions in passages identified as extensions or interpolations by Ježić and Szczurek. However, some of these interpolations do not contain indications of fractures in the narrative. In this sense, such additions neither break the narrative structure of the text nor reinterpret old passages from a different religious or ideological perspective. Therefore, I shall present three examples (illustrations I, II, and IV) that could not be easily identified as interpolations without manuscript evidence. One other example (illustration III) contains a disturbance in the narrative, which makes it conceivably identifiable as an interpolation even without manuscript evidence to this end.

Illustration I

¹¹ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 69.

MBh 6,23.7 [BhG 1.7]

*asmākaṃ tu viśiṣṭā ye
tān nibodha dvijottama |
nāyakā mama **sainyasya**
saṃjñārthaṃ tān bravāmi te || 7 ||*

But now hear, best of Brahmins, about
our outstanding men, the leaders of my
army, I mention them by name (7).¹¹

Ś₈ (19th c.), D₆ (1701) insert

***sainye** mahati ye sarve
netarāḥ śūrasaṃmatāḥ*

All the distinguishing warriors in the
great army, and no other.

This example could not be recognised as an interpolation without manuscript evidence; the word *sainya* “army”, originally in the genitive, is duplicated in the locative. Without manuscript evidence, this repetition might look like a continuity repetition.

Illustration II

MBh 6,25.36 [BhG 3.36]

*arjuna uvāca
atha kena prayukto 'yaṃ
pāpaṃ carati pūruṣaḥ |
anicchann api vārṣṇeya
balād iva niyojitaḥ || 36 ||*

Arjuna said:
What is it that drives a man to
commit evil Vārṣṇeya, however
reluctantly, as though propelled by
force? (36)¹²

¹² Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 85.

śrībhagavān uvāca
kāma eṣa krodha eṣa
rajoguṇasamudbhavaḥ |
mahāśano mahāpāpmā
viddhy enam iha vairiṇam || 37 ||

The Lord said:

It is desire, it is anger, which
springs from the force of rajas, the
 great devourer, the great evil: know
 that that is the enemy here. (37)¹³

K₆ (Kaśmirī version, Devanagari
 transcription from Ś, 1489), D₈ (Devanagari
 transcription from Ś, 1686.), C_ā (1883), C_b
 (Bhāskara), C_k (Rājanaka Rāmakavi 1875)
 insert:

śrībhagavān uvāca
eṣa sūkṣmaḥ paraḥ śatrur
dehinām indriyaiḥ saha
sukhatantra ivāsīno
mohayan pārtha tiṣṭhati

The Lord said:

He is subtle, the highest enemy of the dehin
 associated with the senses. As if sitting in
 a loom of happiness, he stands there bewil-
 dering, Pārtha.

kāmakrodhamayo ghorāḥ
stambaharṣasamudbhavaḥ
ahaṁkāro 'bhimānātmā
dustaraḥ pāpakarmabhiḥ

The Lord said:

Consisting of desire and anger, dreadful,
which springs from stupefaction and plea-
 sure, self-doing, whose essence is pride,
 difficult to cross for those with evil deeds

...

rajaḥpravṛtto mohātmā
manuṣyāṇām upadravaḥ

out of rajas he emerges, whose essence is
 confusion, the plague of men.

¹³ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 85.

This text expansion comments on and expands the theme from stanzas 36 and 37. In fact, this insertion is an extended gloss of the word “enemy” (*vairin*). The only possible difference from the original text is that, in stanza 37, desire and anger are the enemy, while the interpolation interprets the “enemy” as *ahaṁkāra* that consists of desire and anger and which emerges from *rajas*. Most likely, the need to interpret the word *vairin* ‘enemy’ triggered this insertion.

Illustration III

MBh 6,30.21 [BhG 8.21]

*avyakto 'kṣara ity uktas
tam āhuḥ paramāṁ gatim |
yaṁ prāpya na nivartante
tad dhāma paramaṁ mama || 21 ||*

This Unmanifest, also called Akṣara, they declare to be that ultimate goal upon reaching which souls no more return - it is my supreme domain. (21)¹⁴

MBh 6,30.22ab

*puruṣaḥ sa paraḥ pārtha
bhaktyā labhyas tv anyanyayā |*

It is the Supreme Person, attainable only through exclusive devotion, Pārtha ... (22ab)¹⁵

K₆, C_k insert:

*yaṁ prāpya na punarjanma
labhante yogino 'rjuna*

Upon reaching which, yogins do not attain rebirth, Arjuna,

¹⁴ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 103.

¹⁵ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 103.

MBh 6.30.22cd [BhG 8.22]

*yasyāntaḥsthāni bhūtāni
yena sarvam idaṃ tatam || 22 ||*

... in whom the creatures inhere, the one on
whom all this is strung. (22cd)¹⁶

MBh 6.30.23ab [BhG 8.23]

*yatra kāle tv anāvṛttim
āvṛttim caiva yoginaḥ |*

I shall set forth the times at which the yogins
departing life return or do not return. (23ab)¹⁷

This small interpolation is quite recognisable because the flow of narration is disturbed such that two subordinate relative clauses are attached to the main clause. It is obvious that one of these two subordinate sentences is redundant. The inserted sentence is composed of parts of the surrounding text, so it could hypothetically be recognised as an interpolation even without the manuscript evidence.

Illustration IV

MBh 6.33.12ab [BhG 11.12]

*divi sūryasahasrasya
bhaved yugapad utthitā |*

If in the sky the light of a thousand suns were
to rise at once ...¹⁸

MBh 6.33.26 [BhG 11.26]

*amī ca tvāṃ dhṛtarāṣṭrasya putrāḥ
sarve sahaivāvanipālasamghaiḥ |
bhīṣmo droṇaḥ sūta-putras tathāsau
sahāsmadīyair api yodhamukhyaiḥ || 26 ||*

And yonder all sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra
Along with the hosts of the kings of the earth,
Like Bhīṣma, Droṇa, that son of a sūta,
Along with our own chief warriors too.¹⁹

¹⁶ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 103.

¹⁷ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 103.

¹⁸ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 113.

¹⁹ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 115.

Ś₁ (1739) insert:

*sahasrasūryāṭasaṃnibhāni
tathā jagadgrāsakṛtakṣaṇāni*

(your numerous mouths) resembling
the light of thousand suns waiting for
the moment, the world to devour...

MBh 6,33.27a

vaktrāṇi te tvaramāṇā viśanti

Are hastening into your numerous mouths ...²⁰

Ś₁, Ś₈, K₆, D₈ (Abhinavagupta), Ck
insert:

*nānārūpaiḥ puruṣair vadhyamānā
viśanti te vaktram acintyarūpam
yauḍhiṣṭhirā dhārtarāṣṭrās ca yodhāḥ*

... along with persons of various forms
are slayed they enter into your mouth
of an inconceivable form Yauḍhiṣṭhira
and Dhārtarāstra warriors ...

These interpolations are merely extensions; they do not change the meaning of the text and do not attempt to reinterpret it. Also, no fractures (inconsistencies and contradictions) are clearly visible. The repetitions most likely serve as patches connecting the interpolated text to its environment.

Interpolations in the *Sanatsujātīya* excluded from the BORI edition

This part of the paper will present a few examples from *Sanatsujātīya*, a didactic philosophical treatise that constitutes a part of the *Udyogaparvan*. The critically constituted text, prepared by S. K. De and his collaborators, comprises 121 verses arranged in four chapters as MBh 5,42–45. According to S. K. De, the critical text was constituted on the basis of agreement between the Northern recension Śāradā MS Ś₁K and the Mālāyaḷam version of the Southern recension supported by the Bengali version. On the other hand, as the editor reports, the Southern recension is sharply divided between the Mālāyaḷam version (that is in agreement with Ś₁K and Bengali version) and the Telugu/Grantha version. The Telugu/Grantha version was generally utilised in the commented version, which is attributed to Śaṅkara in colophons. The Telugu/Grantha tradition and its additions served as a source of Nīlakaṇṭha's Vulgate text that appears in the northern Devanāgarī MSS. The *Sanatsujātīya* is pre-

²⁰ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 115.

served as a part of the *Udyogaparvan*, but also as a separate text accompanied with Vedāntic commentary attributed to Śaṅkara.

The critical apparatus lists 35 interpolations together with a whole *adhyāya* relegated to the appendix. Additions come from various sources, mostly the Telugu/ Grantha MSS. These 35 listed interpolations are 21 *triṣṭubhs*, 10 single *triṣṭubh* lines, 35 *ślokas*, and 17 single line *ślokas*. Additional 20 *ślokas* and *triṣṭubhs* from the *adhyāya* excluded from the CE can be added to this total. All of these additions comprise as much as 40% of the critically constituted text.

The *Sanatsujātīya* can serve as an excellent example of a didactic text in which interpolations are very well documented by manuscript evidence. They can be studied on two levels; it is possible to identify numerous repetitions which Ježić refers to as *duplication repetitions*, but it is also apparent that some of these interpolations contain clearly visible fractures in the text in the form of contradictions and inconsistencies.

Illustration I

Dhṛtarāṣṭra asks Sanatsujāta about people who follow *dharma* and those who do not follow *dharma*; he also asks which is stronger, *dharma* “law” or *pāpa* “sin”. Between 5,42.16ab and 5,42.16cd, a passage is inserted that duplicates a number of words from the surrounding text, however with a slight difference from the following passage.

MBh 5,42.16ab

ubhayam eva tatropabhuḥjyate phalaṃ;
dharmasyaivetarasya ca |

There are two fruits experienced here,
The fruits of the Law and its opposite.²¹

Version of the *Sanatsujātīya* commented
upon by Śaṅkara(?), uncommented D₅,
D₁₀ (17th C); T; and G insert:

tasmin sthito vāpy **ubhayam** hi nityam
jñānena **vidvān** pratihanti siddham
tathānyathā puṇyam upaiti dehī
tathāgataṃ **pāpam** upaiti siddham
gatvobhayam karmaṇā **bhuḥjyate** 'sthiraṃ
śubhasya **pāpasya** sa cāpi karmaṇā

²¹ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 287.

Both are permanently established as such in this world. The sage achieves success with knowledge, but the material-minded man achieves merit in a different manner, though he achieves a success tainted with evil as a result, experiencing the rewards of both virtue and vice, which are transitory, the man of action is once again firmly connected to action by his previous deeds of good and evil.

MBh 5,42.16cd

*dharmenādharmaṃ praṇudatīha
vidvān; dharmo balīyān iti tasya viddhi
|| 16 ||*

The sage discards Unlaw with Law,
So know from him that Law wins out.
(16)²²

This interpolation is actually a commentary and does not answer the question; i.e. to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's simple question as to the strength of virtue and vice (which is answered in 16cd), an answer is provided that the sage (*vidvān*) must transcend both with knowledge, which is in contradiction to line cd according to which the sage discards Unlaw with Law, and not transcend both with knowledge (*jñāna*), a term that does not appear in the critically constituted text. This appears to be a kind of "Textbruchstelle".

Illustration II

MBh 5,42.18

*sanatsujāta uvāca
yeṣāṃ bale na vispardhā
bale balavatām iva |
te brāhmaṇā itaḥ pretya
svargaloke prakāśate || 18 ||*

Sanatsujāta said:
The brahmins who do not compete in
strength as strongmen do, hereafter
shine in the world of heaven.²³

²² Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 287.

²³ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 287.

These two śloka are inserted in all T, G manuscripts and in commented Devanāgarī manuscripts Nīlakaṇṭha D_{n1} and Sarvajña's D_s. It also appears in uncommented Devanāgarī manuscripts D₈ and D₁₀ from 17th and 18th C. It also appears in a commentary attributed to Śaṅkara.

*yeṣāṃ dharme na ca spardhā
teṣāṃ tajjñānasāadhanam
te brāhmaṇā ito muktāḥ
svargaṃ yānti triviṣṭapam*

The brahmins who do not compete in *dharma*, that is a mean of acquiring knowledge, are released from this world and go to the Indra's heaven.

*tasya samyak samācāram
āhur vedavido janāḥ
nainaṃ manyeta bhūyiṣṭhaṃ
bāhyam ābhyantaram janam*

People who know Vedas call this conduct proper, but one should not hold a man who thinks about most plentiful external matters.

*yatra manyeta bhūyiṣṭhaṃ
prāvṛṣṭīva tṛṇolapam |
annaṃ pānaṃ ca brāhmaṇas
taj jīvan nānusaṃjvaret || 19 ||*

That place where a brahmin thinks that food and drink are most plentiful like grass in the rainy season, that place he will not regret.²⁴

All duplications are in the same place where they appear in the text in which they are inserted. The interpolator thus simply follows a metric scheme and composes the new text sequence based on a previously established pattern.

²⁴ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 287.

Illustration III

MBh 5.43.14

damas tyāgo 'pramādaś ca
eteṣv amṛtam āhitam |
tāni satyamukhāny āhur
brāhmaṇā ye manīṣiṇaḥ || 14 ||

Self control, relinquishment, heedfulness – on them rests immortality;
 sagacious brahmins say that these are
 headed by truth.²⁵

Some T and G insert here (some MSS
 after CE verse 19)

doṣatyāgo 'pramādaḥ syāt
sa cāpy aṣṭaguṇo mataḥ

Heedfulness is relinquishment of
defect; this is thought to be eight-fold.

From *śloka* 15 onward, eighteen vices are enumerated. However, the explanation of heedfulness comes later, in *śloka* 21.

MBh 5.43.21

apramādo 'ṣṭadoṣaḥ syāt
tān doṣān parivarjayet |
indriyebhyaś ca pañcabhyo
manasaś caiva bhārata |
atītānāgatebhyaś ca
mukto hy etaiḥ sukhī bhavet || 21 ||

Eight defects hurt heedfulness and
 should be avoided:
 those that derive from the five senses,
 from the mind, from the past, and
 from the future. Free from them, one
 becomes happy.²⁶

This small insertion attested in the Telugu and Grantha MSS most likely serves as explanation of the term *apramāda* “heedfulness”. However, in *śloka* 14, relinquishment is enumerated together with self-control and heedfulness, while heedfulness is the relinquishment of defects in the insertion. The insertion already hints at the eightfold nature of the defects that will be explained in stanza 21.

²⁵ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 289.

²⁶ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 289.

*Illustration IV*MBh 5.43.5

*asmiṃl loke **tapas** taptam
phalam anyatra dṛśyate |
brāhmaṇānām ime lokā
ṛddhe tapasi saṃyatāḥ || 5 ||*

Sanatsujāta said:

The austerity practiced in this world is seen to yield fruit in another. For brahmins these worlds are achieved when austerities are thriving.²⁷

*Dhṛtarāṣṭra uvāca
katham **samṛddham** apy **ṛddham**
tapo bhavati kevalam |
sanatsujāta tad brūhi
yathā vidyāma tad vayam || 6 ||*

Dhṛtarāṣṭra said:

How is it that austerities are either thriving or not? Explain this, Sanatsujāta, so that we may know.²⁸

T; G; D_n; D_s; D₈; D₁₀ insert:

*Sanatsujāta uvāca
niṣkalmaṣam **tapas** tv etat
kevalam paricakṣate
etat samṛddham apy **ṛddham**
tapo bhavati nānyathā*

Sanatsujāta said:

Austerity which is completely devoid of sin is acknowledged to be thriving, austerity devoid of these defects and possessed of these virtues thrives, and no other.

...

²⁷ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 288.

²⁸ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 288.

MBh 5,43.22ab

*etat samṛddham apy ṛddham
tapo bhavati kevalam |*

Only austerity devoid of these defects and
possessed of these virtues thrives ...²⁹

After the interpolation, MBh[CE] 7–21 enumerates and explains at length 12 vices, 12 virtues, six forms of relinquishment, 18 vices, and eight more defects. Sanatsujāta exclaims at 5,43.22 that only austerity devoid of these defects and possessed of virtues thrives (5,43.22 *etat samṛddham apy ṛddham tapo bhavati kevalam*). This line, which belongs to the end of the discourse as a conclusion, is duplicated at the beginning of the interpolation before the defects and vices are enumerated. In this interpolated verse, there is a clear break in narration as it presupposes the conclusion that appears in 22; i.e. the conclusion in MBh[CE] comes after a detailed exposition of sins and virtues, while in the Vulgate the conclusion comes first, followed by the exposition of sins and virtues, and then another conclusion, which is actually the original conclusion copied in the interpolation. Also, the duplication repetition is here entirely literal, as it repeats almost the entire line.

III Draupadī disrobed

In this section, I shall briefly consider the question of whether comparable repetitions can also be found in the narrative parts of the *Mahābhārata*.

Here, however, a problem appears in the fact that there are a huge number of interpolations and extensions in the critical apparatus of the narrative parts of BORI's edition of the *Mahābhārata*. A mere cursory review of randomly chosen narrative passages reveals numerous interpolations relegated to * passages. Such a cursory review also shows that many interpolations are simple additions of epithets, hyperbolic descriptions that do not seem significant to the main narrative. Some interpolations, however, seem more significant. Some of these more significant interpolations reshape the main narrative, while some add some new episodes. Few such episodes are well known; I thus decided to include in this summary the well-known episode in which Duṣṣāsana strips Draupadī of her clothes in the assembly (MBh[CE] 2,61 ≈ MBh[BE] 2,68). The critically constituted text of the *Sabhaparvan*, as edited by Franklin Edgerton, states only that Duṣṣāsana strips off Draupadī's clothes and that new clothes miraculously appear as he strips her garments, and she thus never appears naked in the assembly. However, Nīlakaṇṭha's Vulgate text

²⁹ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 288.

contains an important episode, relegated in the BORI edition to * passages, wherein Draupadī prays to Kṛṣṇa to save her. Kṛṣṇa hears her prayer in Dvārakā and comes to her rescue on foot, although remaining unseen.

MBh 2.61.40

*tato duḥśāsano rājan
draupadyā vasaṇaṁ balāt |
sabhāmadhye samākṣipyā
vyapakraśṭum pracakrame || 40 ||*

Then Duḥśāsana forcibly laid hold of
Draupadī's robe, O king, and in the
midst of the assembly began to undress
her.³⁰

K₁; D_n; D₁; D₄; D₅ insert:

*vaiśampāyana uvāca
govinda dvārakāvāsa
kṛṣṇa gopījanapriya
kurubhiḥ paribhūtāṁ mām
kiṁ na jānāsi keśava*

...

Vaiśampāyana said:

O Govinda, who dwells in Dvārakā,
Kṛṣṇa, dear to the cowherdess, how
come you don't see me being abused by
the Kauravas, o Keśava.

*vaiśampāyana uvāca
ākṛṣyamāṇe vasane
draupadyā cintito hariḥ |*

Vaiśampāyana said:

When Draupadī's skirt was being
stripped off, she thought of Hari.

...

*yājñasenyā vacaḥ śrutvā
kṛṣṇo gahvarito 'bhavat |
tyaktvā śayyāsanam padbhyāṁ
kṛpālūḥ kṛpayābhyagāt |*

³⁰ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 289.

When he heard Yājñasenī's words,
Kṛṣṇa was deeply moved; out of
compassion, the compassionate one left
his seat and arrived on foot.

...

*tvayā siṃhena nāthena
rakṣamāṇām anāthavat |
cakarṣa **vasanam** pāpaḥ
kurūṇām saṃnidhau mama ||
apakṛṣyamāṇe vasane
vilalāpa suduḥkhitā |*

...

Protected by you, lion lord, as if I were
helpless, the villain stripped my skirt
in the presence of Kurus; when my
skirt was being stripped off, I lamented
deeply distressed.

...

MBh 2,61.41

***ākṛṣyamāṇe vasane**
draupadyās tu viśāṃ pate |
tadrūpam aparaṃ vastraṃ
prādurāsīt anekāśaḥ ||*

But when Draupadī's skirt was being
stripped off, lord of the people, another
similar skirt appeared every time.³¹

*tasya prasādād **draupadyāḥ**
kṛṣyamāṇe 'mbare tathā
aṣṭottaraśataṃ yāvad
vasanam pracakarṣa ha
nānārāgavirāgāṇi
vasanāny atha vai prabho
prādurbhavanti śataśo
dharmasya paripālānāt*

Owing to his favour, when Draupadī's
clothes were being stripped off, as
many as more than hundred skirts he
(Duḥśāsana) stripped, hundreds of skirts
of various colours appeared by the act
of Dharma's protection.

³¹ Trans. van Buitenen 1981: 146.

In this example, a new story is interpolated, most likely as an interpretation and explanation of a miraculous event; the interpolated story reinterprets and redefines what appears in the critically constituted text. Duplication repetitions appear in a new light and in a different, *bhakti* context. This example shows a procedure remarkably similar to that described by Szczurek (2005), wherein Bhakti interpolations reshape and reinterpret the older material in BhG.

Concluding remarks

This study is in no way a comprehensive study of the repetition of words and phrases in interpolated passages. In fact, many interpolations in the BORI edition do not contain repetitions from the surrounding text. The desiderata for future research could be to determine more precisely the extent to which interpolations contain duplicate repetitions. This study merely shows that interpolations sometimes do contain repetitions comparable, if not equal to those analysed by Ježić in the critically constituted text. Also, at this moment, it is hard to interpret why interpolators sometimes repeat the surrounding text, and sometimes do not. It is also difficult to determine whether this is a conscious process wherein the interpolator consciously tries to “smoothen” the boundaries of interpolated text by levelling it with the surrounding text. It is also entirely possible that the interpolator automatically repeats words and entire phrases from the surrounding passages because of metrical needs. Whatever the case, interpolated passages for which we possess manuscript evidence sometimes do contain repetitions from the surrounding text wherein new material is added. Moreover, it is quite clear that these interpolated passages sometimes contain breaks in narration, contradictions, or new religious or philosophical ideology. In this way, even “fractures”, on which traditional philological methods relied,³² can serve as an indication that some kind of reworking has taken place in the text, most often in the form of interpolations and expansions.

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³² As described in Hacker 1961 or Oberlies 1997.

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Sažetak

U svojim radovima koji se bave poviješću teksta *Bhagavadgīte*, Mislav Ježić je predložio pristup koji se temelji na analizi ponavljanja riječi i izraza koji se pojavljuju u odlomcima za koje se čini da su prerađeni ili koji djeluju kao umetnuti novi dijelovi teksta. Ježić tako ponavljanja svrstava u dvije kategorije: kontunativna ponavljanja i podvostručujuća ponavljanja. Kontunativna ponavljanja nastavljaju temu i pripadaju istom tekstualnom nizu, dok podvostručujuća ponavljanja ponavljaju nešto dajući nove konotacije ponovljenim izrazima. Podvostručujuća ponavljanja upućuju na proširenje teksta u smislu dodavanja i interpolacije. Velikim dijelom na temelju takve tipologije ponavljanja, Ježić je razradio detaljnu povijest teksta *Bhagavadgīte*. U ovom radu istražit će se pitanje mogu li se takva ponavljanja, slična onima koje je identificirao Ježić, pronaći i na primjerima interpolacija koje su isključene iz kritički konstituiranog teksta *Mahābhārate*. U tom smislu, prikazuju se primjeri kasnijih interpolacija u didaktičke (primjeri iz *Bhagavadgīte* i *Sanatsujātīye*) i narativne (*Sabhaparvan*) dijelove *Mahābhārate*.

On a few meaningful repetitions in the introductory story of the *Saṃskṛtapaṇḍita* of the *Mahābhārata* (MBh 10,1–5)

Abstract

The paper represents the diachronic approach to the textual analysis of the *Mahābhārata*. It is an attempt to analyse a small part of the multi-layered composition mainly by referring to a method of text analysis fully developed by Mislav Ježić in his research on the *Bhagavadgītā*. This research resulted in the scholar's precise delineation and description of the textual layers of the poem, establishing the relative chronology of the layers, and consequently in answering the question of how the *Bhagavadgītā* arose (Ježić 1979; 1986; 2009). The method is primarily based on discerning and classifying the repetitions (of both thoughts and words or phrases) found in the text. The current paper refers to the beginning chapters of the *Saṃskṛtapaṇḍita* of the *Mahābhārata*, MBh 10,1–5. The duplication of information about the night slaughter planned by Aśvatthāman appears in this part, as well as a repeated discussion on this subject between Aśvatthāman and Kṛpā. Some information given in *adhyāyas* 2–4 also appears in *adhyāya* 5. There is a certain pattern in these repetitions, i.e. the information in *adhyāyas* 2–4 is usually presented in a more elaborate form than in *adhyāya* 5. The question arises here as to why some information appears twice or three times in such close proximity, and additionally, whether we have to do here with different textual layers. If so, which layer can be considered older and younger in a relative chronology? And what could be the purpose of expanding this part at some stage in the growth of the epic? It would seem that noticing the repetitions in this part of the epic, classifying them according to Mislav Ježić's method, and drawing conclusions based on textual analysis can be presented as a background to the still unanswered questions about the genesis and development of the great epic, including its development from within.

1. Introductory Remarks

An analysis of the *Sauptikaparvan* (“The Book of the Night Raid”), i.e. book 10 of the *Mahābhārata* [= MBh], from the viewpoint of the content and structure of the final version of the epic text most often leads researchers to the conclusion that the story of Aśvatthāman’s night raid on the sleeping warriors was carried out on two intertwining planes which can generally be described as the plane of deeds performed by human heroes (or the plane of human affairs) and a cosmic or universal or eschatological plane.¹ While the plane of human affairs focuses on events dominated by the activity of the epic heroes, the cosmic plane gives an universal dimension to this activity, placing the epic events in the context of Indian eschatology, the collapse of the old order and the transition to a new order in which the ultimate restoration of universal order (*dharma*), and thus the restoration of the universe, will occur. Human effort is subordinated to divine fate, which ultimately turns out to be dependent on divine will, which is identical to the will of god, the Supreme God who in the epic is most often Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva – Viṣṇu, although in book 10 this role is also assigned to Śiva. These two planes, which are clearly visible in book 10, are also discernible throughout the epic as a whole, and scholars refer to them as coexisting planes for the narrative of the *Mahābhārata*.² In terms of synchronic/holistic studies of the *Mahābhārata*, book 10 is sometimes interpreted as constituting the culmination of these planes in the epic.³

2. Ruth Katz’ interpretation of the *Sauptikaparvan*

Among such interpretations, the research by Ruth Katz (1985) dedicated to the analysis of the *Sauptikaparvan*, looks particularly interesting. Katz (1985: 109) analyses the content of book 10 as encapsulating “the central meaning and message of the epic as a whole”, and she lists as many as three levels of discourse in the *Mahābhārata*: the heroic level (level I), the human level (level II), and the Hindu level (level III). In book 10, these three levels intertwine with each other (Katz 1985: 114: “humanity and Hinduism [are] superimposed upon a heroic conflict”). This is clearly visible in the first of the two upaparvans of the *Sauptikaparvan* (MBh 10,1–9, bearing the same name as the entire parvan). According to Katz (who bases her opinion also on some earlier studies), the story of this upaparvan can be viewed as a reflection of the earlier “original” Pāṇcāla-Kuru conflict which could have been a sort of pivot around which a cycle of epic stories (based on the Pāṇcāla epic cycle) revolved and which culminated in the night-time extermination of the Pāṇcāla line.

¹ See e.g. Hiltebeitel 1976: 312–335; Scheuer 1982; Johnson 1998: XXI–XXIII; Crosby 2009: XVII–XXIV.

² See e.g. Smith 1980: 70.

³ Katz 1985; cf. Crosby 2009: XVII.

For the purpose of developing the epic narration on the heroic level, the “original” Pāñcāla-Kuru conflict was replaced by the Pāṇḍava-Kuru conflict.⁴ At the beginning of the parvan, the heroic level is represented in the argumentation of Aśvatthāman’s bloody act of revenge for the previous misdeeds of Pāñcālas and Pāṇḍavas, and in particular for the deaths of Droṇa and Duryodhana. The human level resonates most fully in the scenes of Aśvatthāman’s lamentation over the murder of Droṇa and Duryodhana, but also in the dispute between Kṛpa and Aśvatthāman on the morality of Aśvatthāman’s plan (10,2–5). The Hindu level, which ultimately permeates the entire story, appears primarily when the night raid (10,8) is depicted as a sacrificial act at the end of *yuga*, where Aśvatthāman’s destructive activity is equated with the destructive activity of the god Śiva as a World Destroyer at the time of *pralaya* (or the destruction of the whole world at the end of the universe). The incarnation of Śiva – in the mythological dimension of the epic – is Aśvatthāman, who was possessed by the god just before the night raid (10,7.64). In this understanding of the text, the story of the second upaparvan of the *Sauptikaparvan* (called the *Aiṣṭikaparvan*, “The Book of the Weapon Made of Stalks”, MBh 10,10–18) is essentially permeated by the Hindu level. The story of Aśvatthāman’s fall which is presented there can be interpreted as the result of his rejection of Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme (Katz 1985: 114–115).

Katz concludes her paper by presenting some interesting remarks relating to the issue of the composition of the final version of the whole *Sauptikaparvan* (Katz 1985: 116–117). Her research leads her to the supposition that some devotional poets and editors, devotees of Viṣṇu (she most likely meant Viṣṇu–Kṛṣṇa) are responsible for reshaping this part of the epic story into what we have at present, i.e. an expanded, many layered and many dimensional episode, on which, however, the Hindu (or eschatological) level of the story makes the greatest mark. The activity of these devotional authors “modified the meaning of the epic by depicting the epic characters as participants at the eschatological turning point in cosmic history” (Katz 1985: 117). Katz goes further and advances the hypothesis that these poets and editors can be identified (Katz 1985: 116–117). Through a series of skilful lexical identifications and allusions, she identifies these authors as Viṣṇu devotees of the Pāñcarātra sect, or at least their forerunners.⁵ According to her, they could have been focused around the court of the king known in the epic as Janamejaya (the son of Parikṣit and the great-grandson of Arjuna), the one to whom the brahminic sage Vaiśampāyana recited the whole *Mahābhārata* for the first time (as he had heard it from the sage Vyāsa, according to the text of the epic). They tried to “encapsulate”

⁴ Katz 1985: 110–111, 123–124 and fn. 39.

⁵ Katz 1985: 116–117. The meaningful lexical allusions to the term *Pāñcarātra*, are included in the terms: *Pāñc-ālas*, *pañca* – the five (on the one hand, the number of Pāṇḍavas and their sons by Draupadī, who in their mother’s line are also Pāñcālas; on the other hand the five earthly elements meaningful in the Pāñcarātra doctrine); *rātra* – the night, the second part of the compound and the time of Aśvatthāman’s raid, followed by the *brahmaśiras* portion of the episode in the second upaparvan.

the central meaning of the *Mahābhārata* in the *Sauptikaparvan*, i.e. in the part where the epic political conflict (succession and war) was finally resolved.⁶

In her analyses and hypotheses, Katz assumes the existence of a strictly epic substratum on which the material of MBh book 10 was built. She even tries to identify the oldest “original” level of the epic prehistory as the Pāṇcāla epic cycle on which the Pāṇḍava narrative was built.⁷ This way of looking at the text of the epic may also evoke some questions regarding the genesis and the oldest level, dimension or layer of “The Book of the Night Raid”. Considering the relatively long history of diachronic research on the text of the epic, and taking into account the stages and layers of growth in the process of its composition, one can also reflect on its prehistory or the so-called epic or heroic layer.⁸ Can it be found in the extant text at all? If so, how could one try to identify it? If one agrees with Katz’s hypothesis about the Pāṇcarātra authors’ contribution to the final version of the *Sauptikaparvan*, then, what was the version of the epic story that the Pāṇcarātrins (or their forerunners) took over, developed and adapted to their goals?

Unfortunately, these questions cannot be fully answered within the scope of this paper, especially since its focus is on analysing only the first five chapters of the *Sauptikaparvan* (MBh 10,1–5). However, a few observations will be made on this problem in this part of the book, i.e. the parvan’s introductory story. This part presents the events that led the three surviving warriors of the Kaurava army (Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa and Kṛtavarma) to the camp of the sleeping Pāṇcālas – the victors – after the great battle. It tells of the condition of the three warriors, the circumstances of Aśvatthāman’s decision to carry out the night raid, and the debate between Kṛpa and Aśvatthāman on the morality of the planned attack, continuing up to the moment when the warriors arrive at the camp of the sleeping winners. The distinction between planes or levels in the story from book 10 is made in existing studies primarily on the basis of content analysis, with a focus on topics, ideas, and characters. The content element is and of course must be the basic factor, also when studying the relative chronology of the text. But it would also seem promising to refer to research that takes into account certain more formal indicators.

3. Mislav Ježić’s method of text analysis.

In his papers examining the issues of the origin and development of the *Bhagavadgītā*, Mislav Ježić presented an original method of textual analysis (Ježić 1979; 1986;

⁶ For details, see Katz 1985, esp. pp. 116–117.

⁷ See esp. Katz 1985: 112.

⁸ On the genesis and development of MBh, from the viewpoint of the analytic or diachronic research, see above all: Hopkins 1901: 363–385; Winternitz 1927: 455–475; Dandekar 1954; van Buitenen 1973: XIII–XXV; Smith 1980; Jani 1990; Brockington 1998: 130–158.

2009). The starting point for the philological part of Ježić's research was his noticing a number of repetitions of both meaning and expressions in the text (phrases and/or words and terms) and his subsequent classification of these repetitions in relation to the content of the text.⁹

The first type of repetitions are those occurring in the parts that in a logical and definite way refer to what has been said earlier, i.e. continue a previously presented issue, narration, or description (e.g. answer a previously asked question, develop an earlier statement, refer to it through negation, or summarise a given subject). These repetitions have been named "continuity repetitions", as they indicate the continuity of definite sequences of the text. The verses which include this type of repetitions belong to the same sequences of text or textual layers. Such a formal indicator is especially important when identifying parts whose verses, in the historical development of the epic text, have been separated from each other by the addition (embedding) between them of passages of later origin and/or sometimes of shorter interpolations.

The second type of repetitions are those that introduce passages with phrases and words that repeat or duplicate something said elsewhere in an indefinite, or sometimes even opposite way. They have been named "duplication repetitions". The verses containing this type of repetitions do not expand the given topic directly, but rather reinterpret it and give new connotations to the repeated phrases and words. The passages containing these repetitions do not belong to the same sequences of text or textual layers, but represent a different (most often later) stage in the text's development.

Such observations became the basic tool for Ježić which, along with the analysis of the meaning of the text, enabled him to delineate a framework for several textual layers of which the *Bhagavadgītā* in its present form most likely consists. In his works, the Croatian scholar gave the most coherent, logical and complete answer to questions about the origin and development of the famous poem.

The universal significance of Ježić's research method in the study of the composition of the text of the great epic is evidenced by the fact that another Croatian scholar, Ivan Andrijačić, successfully applied Ježić's method of text analysis in his own research on the composition, origin and stages of growth of some other multi-layered sections of the *Mahābhārata* (mainly didactic and philosophical ones) achieving amazingly precise results (Andrijačić 2013; 2021a; 2021b; see also Andrijačić's paper in this volume). In a similar way, on the basis of the repetitions

⁹ This classification does not take into account the repetitions that represent different epic formulae, the syntax of which was shaped by the oral origin of some earliest epic parts of the texts. These ready expressions most often simply fulfil the metrical pattern, in many cases irrespective of the context of utterances (the most common repetitions of this kind are names and epithets, and sometimes compounds that define different characters). When analysing a text using Ježić's method, this type of repetitions is of much less importance, and is seen as inferior to the repetitions that affect the syntax of the text.

noticed in the text, although without reference to Ježić's method and terminology, Georg von Simson studied the texts of both the *Bhagavadgītā* and other parts of the *Mahābhārata*, also obtaining precise results as to the relative chronology of the parts being analysed (von Simson 1969; 1990).¹⁰

It seems that the text of the *Sauptikaparvan* also provides interesting material that can be analysed using Ježić's method. In her research on book 10, Ruth Katz noticed the multi-layered nature of the composition (although this was based merely on the analysis of the content), speaking of three levels of discourse (heroic, human, and Hindu). In the first five *adhyāyas*, analysed here, one cannot yet discern (at least at first glance) a topic that would strictly correspond to what the Hindu (cosmic or eschatological) level of the discourse brings. The heroic and human levels, to a large extent intertwined with each other, dominate here. What is discernible, however, is a number of repetitions. Some parts of the content and some motifs are repeated. And a closer look at the text reveals that these repetitions are sometimes accompanied by lexical repetitions, or repetitions of phrases and words. Noticing these repetitions in both the narrative and the phraseology became the impulse and the starting point for the further considerations in this paper.

4. The content of MBh 10,1–5, the text structure and repetitions

Let me start the remarks on this subject by presenting the content of the chapters under scrutiny.

Chapter 1 (MBh 10,1)

MBh 10,1.1–6. Saṃjaya relates the events to king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The only three survivors of the Kaurava army (Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa, and Kṛtavarma), fleeing from their enemies, tired and wounded, decided to set up camp for the night, near the Pāñcālas' camp, despite their fears.

MBh 10,1.7–16. Saṃjaya's relation is interrupted by Dhṛtarāṣṭra's words. He mourns over the death of his eldest son, Duryodhana, deceitfully killed by Bhīma, and over the death of all his hundred sons, also killed by Bhīma. He also grieves over his future fate. The old king ends his speech with a question about the fate of the three surviving heroes from the Kaurava army.

MBh 10,1.17–31. Saṃjaya continues his relation. In a great and terrifying forest, the three survivors set up a night camp. A description of the forest follows, with its diverse flora and fauna. The heroes unhitch their horses, take baths, and perform evening rituals. They set up their camp near a large and stately banyan tree. Kṛpa and Kṛtavarma fall asleep on the ground.

¹⁰ Also the author of this paper, impressed by Ježić's research method, applied it in his own studies on the *Bhagavadgītā* (Szczurek 2002; 2005) and on some parts of the *Mahābhārata* (in still unpublished papers presented during DICSEP 7 and DICSEP 8), obtaining the expected results in terms of the relative chronology of textual layers.

MBh 10.1.32–42. Unable to sleep in anger, Aśvatthāman watches an extraordinary scene. A huge owl that flew in and sat on one of the boughs of the banyan tree, alone in an insidious way murdered numerous crows peacefully sleeping on the boughs of this tree.

MBh 10.1.43–53. The night slaughter of crows prompts Aśvatthāman to reflect on his own vengeance. In his considerations, he makes a decision, in which he gradually becomes sure, to carry out a night attack on the Pāñcāla camp, where the sons of the Pāṇḍavas also sleep, and to kill the sleeping enemies.

MBh 10.1.54–66. Aśvatthāman awakens his companions and introduces them to the idea of the night slaughter. Initially, he does not get their approval. He therefore speaks to them reminding them how Duryodhana was murdered in an infamous way, and presenting a bitter vision of joy in the enemy's camp after the victorious battle. Then, reflecting on the inevitable consequence of the action to be taken, he asks them for advice.

Chapter 2

MBh 10.2.1–33. Kṛpa speaks to Aśvatthāman. His speech is dominated by the considerations of two factors to which people who undertake everyday endeavours are subject: destiny or divine fate (*daiva*) and activity or human effort (*karman*). The point of the argument (2–20) is the conviction about the importance of both of these factors in each undertaking and the significant balance between them. However, without a favourable destiny, no undertaking will be successful. On this occasion, daily activity and diligence in action are recommended, while indolence and inaction are rebuked (12–20). In further words, Kṛpa praises those who heed the advice of elders, or respected people (21–23), condemns human desires and passions (24), and then blames the actions of the greedy Duryodhana and his allies, including himself (25–29). Kṛpa suggests going to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gandharī and Vidura and asking them for advice (30–32). The last stanza (33) alludes to the words at the beginning of the chapter, the question of *daiva* and *karman*.

Chapter 3

MBh 10.3.1–16. Aśvatthāman takes the floor in response to Kṛpa's words. His statement begins with more general considerations (perhaps tinged with irony and sarcasm towards Kṛpa's words and appeal) on the attachment of everybody to their own reason, their own wisdom and views, and misunderstanding of other people's views. People show mutual respect only when they share common goals. Their thoughts change with age and circumstances, but they are what determines human activity.

MBh 10.3.17–23. Then Aśvatthāman refers to the divine origin of the four *varṇas*, the specific duties assigned to each *varṇa*, and he then proceeds to recall his own (paradoxical) situation – the Brāhmaṇa who, due to hostile circumstances, carries out the duties of the warriors (the *dharma* of *kṣatriyas*).

MBh 10.3.24–35. In accordance with *kṣatriyadharma* and wishing to avenge the murder of his father (treating it as his duty), Aśvatthāman announces bloody revenge on his enemies, a desperate attack on their camp and the murder of all sleeping warriors headed by the Pāñcālas' ruler, Dhṛṣṭadyumna.

Chapter 4

MBh 10,4.1–19. Kṛpa takes the floor again. On the one hand, he praises Aśvatthāman as a great warrior, but on the other hand, he urges Aśvatthāman to rest that night, fall asleep and regain strength, and only attack the Pāñcālas' camp in the morning. At the same time, he declares his and Kṛtavarman's support – a joint fight with the enemy – expressing the conviction that the three warriors are able to defeat their enemies, and if they fall, that they will reach the heavenly world.

MBh 10,4.20–33. Determined to carry out his intention, Aśvatthāman angrily responds to his uncle. He remembers again the infamous killing of his father (Droṇa) and his king (Duryodhana), his burning and unquenchable pain after their death, as well as after the death of his other companions and friends, and he expresses a desire for revenge. He is aware that he would not be able to defeat the Pāñcālas' and Pāṇḍavas' warriors if they were protected by Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa (who are not in the camp that night), and at the same time emphasises his determination to launch the night attack. Only the slaughter of his enemies will ease his anger and let him sleep peacefully.

Chapter 5

MBh 10,5.1–8. In his statement, Kṛpa presents two attitudes of people that do not serve human goals. The first is a humble person who, however, is unwise, while the second is a wise man who does not want to live in humility. Only humility and wisdom, as well as taming your senses, allow one to pursue noble goals. In order to do the right things, one must listen to the advice of wise friends. This statement by Kṛpa is summed up with a call to Aśvatthāman to focus on a noble purpose, tame himself, and listen to his uncle's advice.

MBh 10,5.9–15. Kṛpa then appeals to Aśvatthāman, as a great and sinless warrior, to refrain from attacking the sleeping warriors at night, which would be one of those wicked acts that lead to hell. Instead, as a great warrior, he should face his enemies at dawn without ruining his honour.

MBh 10,5.16–27. In response, Aśvatthāman first recalls the unworthy deeds of the Pāṇḍavas on the battlefield (killing Droṇa, Karṇa, Bhīṣma, Bhūriśravas and Duryodhana), particularly regretting the recent killing of Duryodhana, then underlines his determination to fulfil his bloody vengeance.

MBh 10,5.28–38. Aśvatthāman harnesses his horses to go to the camp of the enemies. Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman ask him about the decisive goal of his actions. The son of Droṇa remembers the murder of his father and announces the death of Dhṛṣṭadyumna during his sleep, a death unworthy of a warrior. He also appeals to his companions to prepare for the fight. All three go to the camp of the sleeping Pāñcālas.

After chapter 1, where the action of book 10 is set up, and where at the end Aśvatthāman presents his plan to his companions asking them for their advice, there follows a series of debates between Kṛpa and Aśvatthāman. The following chapters first present Kṛpa's statement opposing the night raid, then Aśvatthāman's answer arguing for the night raid. This arrangement is roughly repeated in the three series of extended debate, as follows:

MBh 10,2: Kṛpa, argumentation indirectly against the night raid – vs. – MBh 10,3: Aśvatthāman, argumentation for the night raid;

MBh 10,4.1–19: Kṛpa, argumentation against the night raid – vs. – MBh 10,4.20–33: Aśvatthāman, argumentation for the night raid;

MBh 10,5.1–15: Kṛpa, argumentation against the night raid – vs. – MBh 10,5.16–27 (and 31–35): Aśvatthāman, argumentation for the night raid.¹¹

Apart from the more general, structural repetitions in this part, the more detailed repetitions concern the narration of the announcement of Aśvatthāman's night raid on Pāñcālas and Pāṇḍavas, and on Dhṛṣṭadyumna in particular, as an act of vengeance. Aśvatthāman's first ideas about the treacherous night attack on the enemy (inspired by the scene of the murder of sleeping crows by an owl) are presented in chapter 1 (MBh 10,1.44–53). Immediately afterwards (MBh 10,1.54–55) Aśvatthāman awakens his sleeping companions and presents his idea to them, initially without gaining their approval. In chapter 3, in which Aśvatthāman speaks essentially in response to Kṛpa's speech in chapter 2, he ends his speech with a longer and more elaborate announcement of the night slaughter which he believes will make him happy (10,3.25–35). He presents his resolution again in chapter 4 (10,4.26–33), in response to Kṛpa's call to rest at night and to fight in the morning with the help of his two companions. Finally, in chapter 5, while already making preparations for the night attack, he once again presents his resolution to both warriors, who still seem to be hesitant (10,5.31–34), and emphasises his desire to take revenge on Dhṛṣṭadyumna for the murder of his father. The desire to take revenge on Pāñcālas is expressed three times by Aśvatthāman (10,3.33, 10,4.24–26, 10,5.32–34). It is visible that despite earlier announcements of revenge on Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the announcement in chapter 5 is presented in such a way as if it was there that Aśvatthāman revealed this special intention for the first time to his companions.¹² There are also other repetitions in the narrative, such as the repeated condemnation of the inglorious acts of the Pāñcālas (10,1.49; 10,1.58; 10,4.24–25; 10,5.17–22; 10,5.24), or Aśvatthāman's lamentation over the murder of his father (10,4.23; 10,5.17) and Duryodhana (10,1.56–58; 10,4.27–28; 10,5.21–23).

What seems especially interesting and meaningful in both Kṛpa's and Aśvatthāman's words from chapter 5 is that they do not look as if they are taking into account the arguments presented in chapters 2–4. In the present sequence of chapters,

¹¹ In the passage ending chapter 5, i.e. transmitting the events from the temporary camp of the three Kaurava warriors to the place in front of the Pāñcāla camp (10,5.28–38), again, Kṛpa and Kṛtavarma speak first (29–30), then Aśvatthāman speaks (32–35).

¹² Cf. MBh 10,5.31:

*aśvatthāmā tu saṃkruddhaḥ pitur vadham anusmaran |
tābhyāṃ tathyaṃ tadācakhyau yad asyātmakīrṣitam || 31 ||*

“But remembering the death of his father / Incensed Aśvatthāman told them his true intent.” (Trans. by Johnson 1998: 24. Johnson's translation of book 10 of the *Mahābhārata* is cited throughout this paper, unless indicated otherwise.)

some of the arguments of both characters from chapter 5 may look like repetitions of previously spoken arguments, but they are expressed in such a way that it seems as if their author was using his arguments for the first time without any reference to what had been said earlier, in chapters 2–4, and only with reference to chapter 1. So, my suppositions are that the statements from chapter 5 are not the repetitions of statements from chapters 2–4, but it is quite the opposite, what I would like to corroborate below.

5. Narrative continuity and continuity repetitions in MBh 10,1 and 10,5

The narrative link between chapter 1 and chapter 5 is what most clearly indicates a narrative continuity in this part. Chapter 1 presents an introductory story about an owl that deceitfully slaughtered crows sleeping on the branches of a large banyan tree at night (10,1.32–42). This becomes the inspiration for Aśvatthāman's insidious act, which he himself first reflects on before awakening his companions, and then presenting his plan to them both (10,1.43–53). However, he does not gain their immediate approval (10,1.54–55). Only as a result of a discussion between Aśvatthāman and his uncle Kṛpa, as well as due to the solidarity both warriors feel with the son of Droṇa, do all three decide, at the end of chapter 5, to jointly undertake the night attack on the camp of Pāñcālas (10,5.28–38). The short discussion and exchange of views between Kṛpa and Aśvatthāman in chapter 5 seems to relate much more directly to Aśvatthāman's considerations and resolution from chapter 1 than to continue the longer debate with additional (didactic) topics and the exchange of views of both interlocutors in chapters 2–4. Interestingly, it is only in chapter 5 that Kṛpa takes up the ethical/moral argument that Aśvatthāman refers to in chapter 1. The discussion refers to the code of conduct of a warrior (*kṣatradharma*, *kṣatriyadharma*), a topic well known from many passages in the epic. In 10,1.48 Aśvatthāman, debating with himself over the question of a night attack and the massacre of sleeping warriors, convinces himself that in certain circumstances his decision is in accordance with the warrior's code (*kṣatradharma*). Immediately afterwards, referring to those familiar with *dharma* (10,1.50, *dharmacintaka*), he cites two (anonymous) stanzas (10,1.51–52) which (as a citation from an undefined source) are to serve as proof texts supporting his case. The citation includes a kind of mini-list of behaviour acceptable for warriors in extreme war situations, among which is the consent to a night attack on sleeping warriors of the enemy army.¹³ A direct reference to these

¹³ The context of the utterance suggests that Aśvatthāman is referring here (10,1.51–52) to stanzas about the duty and ethics of a warrior, which could come, for instance, from a treatise on the art of ruling, state policy and warfare (of the type of *nītiśāstra*) or from a code of law and customs (of the type of *dharmasāstra*). However, there are no hints among commentators as to the possible location of these stanzas in ancient codices. Perhaps they belonged to some unreserved treatise or are examples of so-called floating verses, aphorisms which are, very generally, assigned to the ancient tradition.

considerations comes only in 10,5.9–12 along with Kṛpa's argumentation. Citing his list of behaviour inconsistent with the *dharma* of *kṣatriya* (*na ... dharmatas*), the generally accepted ethics of the warrior, Kṛpa begins it by condemning the killing of sleeping warriors.¹⁴ The following juxtaposition, is to illustrate the reference in chapter 5 to chapter 1 (verbal references have been underlined and marked in **bold italics**).

MBh 10,1.48 (Aśvatthāman):

*yac cāpy atra bhaved vācyam
garhitam lokaninditam |
kartavyam tan manuṣyeṇa
ksatradharmena vartatā || 48 ||*

MBh 10,1.50–53:

*asminn arthe purā gītau
śrūyete dharmacintakaiḥ |
ślokaḥ nyāyam avekṣadbhis
tattvārtham tattvadarśibhiḥ || 50 ||
pariśrānte vidīrṇe ca
bhuñjāne cāpi śatrubhiḥ |
prasthāne ca pravēṣe ca
prahartavyam ripor balam || 51 ||
nidrāntam ardharātre ca
tathā naṣṭaprañāyakam |
bhinnayodham balaṃ yac ca
dvidhā yuktaṃ ca yad bhavet || 52 ||
ity evaṃ niścayaṃ cakre
suptānām yudhi mārane |
pāndūnām saha pāñcālair
droṇaputraḥ pratāpavān || 53 ||*

It matters not at all what worldly blame
And censure such an action draws:
for warrior
Following the warrior's code, it is a duty
And it must be done. (48)

Those familiar with the universal law,
Who see into the heart of things, and know
What acts are proper in the light of truth,
Refer to two time-honoured stanzas – thus:

MBh 10,5.9–12 (Kṛpa's reply):

*na vadhah pūjyate loka
suptānām iha dharmataḥ |
tathaiva nyastaśastrānām
vimuktarathavājinām || 9 ||
ye ca brūyus tavāsmīti
ye ca syuḥ śaraṇāgatāḥ |
vimuktamūrdhajā ye ca
ye cāpi hatavāhanāḥ || 10 ||
adya svapsyanti pāñcālā
vimuktakavacā vibho |
viśvastā rajanīm sarve
pretā iva vicetasah || 11 ||
yas tesām tadavasthānām
druhyeta puruṣo 'nṛjuḥ |
vyaktaṃ sa narake majjed
agādhe vipule 'plave || 12 ||*

In this world, the slaughter of the
sleeping
Is not respected as conforming to
dharma.

The same applies to those whose arms
have been laid down,
To those whose fighting chariots have
been unyoked,
To those who have declared their
allegiance,
To refugees, and those with dishevelled
hair,
To those, as well, whose chariots have
been destroyed.

¹⁴ Cf. the three stanzas from the *Manusmṛiti* 7.91–93:

“(91) He [i.e. the warrior engaged in battle – P. Sz.] must never slay a man standing on the ground, an effeminate man, a man with joined palms, a man with loose hair, a seated man, a man declaring ‘I am yours’, (92) a sleeping man, a man without his armor, a naked man, a man without his weapons, a non-fighting spectator, a man engaging someone else, (93) a man with damaged weapons, a man in distress, a badly wounded man, a frightened man, or a man who has turned tail – recalling the Law followed by good people.” (Trans. Olivelle 2005: 159.)

“The enemy’s army, even when exhausted
 And wounded by its foes, even when eating
 And drinking, even when marching away
 Or resting in the camp, should be attacked.
 The same applies to forces when they sleep
 at night,
 Those leaderless or broken, and those divided
 By an error when they should be joined as
 one.”
 And by this line of reasoning, Drona’s
 powerful son
 Resolved himself to massacre at night
 The Pāṇḍavas and Pāñcālas as they slept.
 (50–53)

Tonight, my lord, the Pāñcālas will
 sleep,
 Their armour unbuckled, unconscious
 as the dead,
 All unsuspecting through the dark till
 dawn.
 The wicked man who seeks to harm
 them in that state,
 Without a doubt, would dive into a
 raftless,
 Fathomless, shoreless hell.

We have to do here with a narrative consistency and continuity, along with the development of the narrative. In references of Kṛpa from chapter 5 to passages from chapter 1 some continuity repetitions, according to Ježić’s terminology, can be noticed (although the lexical references themselves are not most important here).

In 10,1.49 Aśvatthāman, wanting to strengthen his decision about the night slaughter and treating his future deed as revenge on his enemies, mentions, in a general reflection, earlier shameful deeds done by the Pāṇḍavas with impure souls, which they committed throughout the great battle at every step (*pade pade*). A full reminder of these deeds, a specific summary and at the same time an extension of this statement, appears in verses 10,5.17–22, where Aśvatthāman, in course of his polemics with Kṛpa, presents a list of warriors of the Kaurava army killed by warriors of the Pāṇḍava army in violation of the warrior code.

MBh 10,1.49:

*ninditāni ca sarvāṇi
 kutsitāni pade pade |
 sopadhāni kṛtāny eva
 pāṇḍavair akṛtātmabhiḥ || 49 ||*

At every turn the Pāṇḍavas,
 those spiritual dwarfs,
 Have perpetrated guileful,
 reprehensible,
 Utterly foul, and contemptible
 deeds.

MBh 10,5.17–21:

*pratyakṣaṃ bhūmipālānām
 bhavatām cāpi saṃnidhau |
 nyastaśastro mama pitā
 dhṛṣṭadyumnena pātitaḥ || 17 ||
 karṇaś ca patite cakre
 rathasya rathinām varaḥ |
 uttame vyaśane sanno
 hato gāṇḍīvadhanvanā || 18 ||
 tathā śāṃtanavo bhīṣmo
 nyastaśastro nirāyudhaḥ |
 śikhaṇḍīnaṃ puraskṛtya
 hato gāṇḍīvadhanvanā || 19 ||
 bhūriśravā maheṣvāśas
 tathā prāyagato rane |
 krośatām bhūmipālānām
 yuyudhānena pātitaḥ || 20 ||*

*dur-yodhanaś ca bhīmena
sa-metya ga-dayā mṛdhe |
paśyatām bhūmipālānām
adharmaṇa nipātitaḥ || 21 ||*

In the presence of kings, and of yourself, my lord,
My father, who had laid aside his sword, was felled
By Dṛṣṭadyumna.
And the great warrior Karna, when his chariot's wheel
Was struck, and he was motionless in supreme
Distress, was killed by the Gāṇḍīva bow.
In the same way, Bhīṣma, Śāmtanu's son, unarmed,
His sword laid down on Śikhaṇḍin's account,
Was killed by Arjuna.
So too the great archer Bhūriśravas,
While fasting to death on the field of battle,
Was felled by Yuyudhāna though kings cried out.
And Duryodhana, confronted in battle
By Bhīma with a mace, was unlawfully felled
In clear sight of all the lords of the earth.

Reaffirming his intention, Aśvatthāman states, moreover, that he is able to bear all the consequences of his act, also in his next incarnation (10.5.25).

An interesting example of a direct narrative reference and continuity repetitions in book 10, though slightly beyond the part discussed in this paper, is found in chapters 8 and 9, following the announcement made in 5.34. Aśvatthāman announces the slaughter of Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna, spectacularly comparing it to the slaughter of the sacrificial animal (*paśu*), which is carried out in chapter 8 (14–21) and then reported to the dying Duryodhana in chapter 9.

MBh 10.5.34

The announcement of
Aśvatthāman:

*kathaṃ ca nihataḥ pāpāḥ
pāñcālāḥ paśuvan mayā |
śāstrāhavajitām lokān
prāpnuyād iti me matiḥ || 34 ||*

And then how, I wonder,
shall that evil Pāñcāla attain
the worlds reserved for those
Conquered in war by arms,
when he has been destroyed
By me, like an animal at the
sacrifice?

MBh 10.8.18

Samjaya's account of
the murder of
Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna:

*tam ākramya tadā rājan
kañthe corasi cobhayoḥ |
nadantaṃ visphurantaṃ ca
paśumāraṃ amārayat || 18 ||*

So one foot on his chest,
the other on his throat,
Aśvatthāman prepared to
kill him, groaning
And quivering like
a sacrificial beast.

MBh 10.9.51

Aśvatthāman to the dying
Duryodhana, the report of
the murder
of Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna:

*mayā ca pāpakarmāsau
dhr̥ṣṭadyumno mahīpate |
praviśya śibiraṃ rātrau
paśumāreṇa māritaḥ || 51 ||*

On the point of his evil
deeds, Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna
Was skewered by me,
great king, – entering the
camp
At night, I killed him like
a sacrificial beast.

6. Duplication repetitions in MBh 10,2–4.

The direct narrative relationship between chapters 1 and 5 is interrupted and expanded in chapters 2–4 with new topics, motifs and connotations. On the one hand, they significantly enrich the relatively brief debate between Aśvatthāman and Kṛpa in chapter 5, but on the other hand they somehow delay the narrative itself. In the last stanza of chapter 1 (10,1.66) Aśvatthāman asked his companions for advice, and he received it from Kṛpa along with chapter 5. But his request also opened a space for interpolated passages. This is already noticeable in the opening verses of chapter 2, in which, with a very loose reference to Aśvatthāman's earlier thoughts and statements, Kṛpa gives him quite an elaborate "didactic lecture" on two factors determining human life and activity, *daiva* and *karman*. In chapters 2–4 there are also some other didactic parts quite loosely related to the main epic thread of this section, although these always conclude with a reference to the main thread. In chapters 3 and 4 in particular there are a number of motifs, phrases and words, which are also found in chapter 5 (some of the narrative motifs have already been mentioned above). There is much to indicate that the repetitions appearing in chapters 3 and 4 duplicate statements and phrases from chapter 5 (even though they were placed earlier in the text). So, we can classify them as duplication repetitions, according to Ježič's terminology. The most important parts of chapters 3 and 4 with duplicating subjects, motifs and phrases from chapter 5 are presented below. Sometimes the repetitions of subjects and motifs are accompanied by synonymous repetitions of phrases and words (marked in regular), while sometimes they are literal repetitions (marked in ***bold italics***).

- 1) *adya svapsyanti pāñcālā ...: a parallel verse as the basis for the opposite argumentation.*

MBh 10,5.11–12

Kṛpa: condemnation of the night attack

adya svapsyanti pāñcālā
vimuktakavacā vibho |
viśvastā rajanīm sarve
pretā iva vicetasah || 11 ||
yas teṣāṃ tadavasthānām
druhyeta puruṣo 'nrjuḥ |
vyaktaṃ sa narake majjed
agādhe vipule 'plave || 12 ||

Tonight, my lord, the Pāñcālas will sleep,
 Their armour unbuckled, unconscious as
 the dead,

MBh 10,3.25–27

Aśvatthāman: affirmation of the night attack

adya svapsyanti pāñcālā
viśvastā jitakāśinaḥ |
vimuktayugyakavacā
harṣeṇa ca samanvitāḥ |
vayaṃ jītā matās caiśāṃ
śrāntā vyāyam anena ca || 25 ||
teṣāṃ niśi prasuptānām
svasthānām śibire svake |
avaskandaṃ kariṣyāmi
śibirasyādya duṣkaram || 26 ||

All unsuspecting through the dark till
dawn.
The wicked man who seeks to harm them
in that state,
Without a doubt, would dive into a raftless,
Fathomless, shoreless hell.

*tān avaskandya śibire
pretabhūtān vicetasah |
sūdayiṣyāmi vikramya
maghavān iva dānavān || 27 ||*

Tonight, like conquerors, the unsuspecting
Pāñcālas will unbuckle their armour
Unyoke their chariots, and sleep, crammed
with joy,
Thinking us beaten and extinguished by the
fight.
Then, as they are lying prone within their
camp,
Among their own people, in the dead of
night
I shall make an irresistible assault.
As they lie dead to the world, and senseless
In their tents, I shall attack and slaughter
them,
Fell as Maghavat against the Dānavas.

The same introductory phrases and words in *śloka* 10,5.11 and 10,3.25 are used in different – in fact opposite – contexts. While Kṛpa in chapter 5 uses these words to denounce the idea of the night raid, Aśvatthāman in chapter 3 develops them by expressing his affirmation of his attack on sleeping warriors.¹⁵ Kṛpa's statement from chapter 5 is the first and only direct condemnation of the night slaughter in the whole of chapters 1–5, and it is expressed from the point of view of the concept of the warrior's code. Aśvatthāman's statement in chapter 3 is one of his few announcements of the night slaughter (see also below). From the viewpoint of the formal structure of *śloka*, there is one extra hemistich in 3.25, which allows us to consider one of the three hemistichs in the extended *śloka* (most probably the last one) as a

¹⁵ Besides, in the preceding verses, 3.21–22 and 24, Aśvatthāman refers to the concept of *kṣatradharma*, confirming that he is acting in accordance with the warriors' code, when he performs the night attack as revenge on his enemies. He is, thus, in line with the attitude expressed in chapter 1.

MBh 10,1.48:

*yac cāpy atra bhaved vācyaṃ garhitam lokaninditam |
kartavyaṃ tan manuṣyeṇa kṣatradharmaṇa vartatā || 48 ||*

“It matters not at all what worldly blame / And censure such an action draws: for a warrior
Following the warrior's code, it is a duty / And it must be done.”
and:

MBh 10,3.24:

*so 'ham adya yathākāmaṃ kṣatradharmam upāsya tam |
gantāsmi padavīm rājñah pituś cāpi mahādhyuteḥ || 24 ||*

“And since I honoured my warrior duty, / Which accorded precisely with my desires,
Tonight I shall tread the path that the king / and my glorious father trod before me.”

so-called “inorganic line”¹⁶. The extended version of this *śloka* may indicate some of its re-working.

The expansion and development that a longer passage from chapter 3 brings is also somehow marked by the use of some stylistic means. Beginning with stanza 24, a figure of sound of repetition appears. In the passage of 10,3.24–35, the word *adya* is repeated 11 times, in every stanza except one (27). Moreover, in seven verses in this part, beginning with 25 (25, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35) *adya* is repeated at the very beginning of *śloka*. Thus, anaphora is used in these stanzas, starting with 10,3.25, repeated after 10,5.11, and concluding with the three last stanzas of chapter 3 (33–35), which creates the spectacular closure of this chapter.

2) *Praise of Aśvatthāman’s heroism as an argument while calling for a fair fight at dawn*

MBh 10,5.13–14

(Kṛpa):

sarvāstraviduṣāṃ loke
śreṣṭhas tvam asi viśrutah |
 na ca te jātu loke ’smin
susūkṣmam api kilbiṣam || 13 ||
 tvaṃ punaḥ sūryasaṃkāśah
 śvobhūta udite ravau |
prakāśe sarvabhūtānāṃ
 vijetā yudhi *śātravān* || 14 ||

You are celebrated throughout the world
 And peerless in your skill with weapons, and yet
 In this world you have never done the
 slightest wrong.
 So when the sun has risen on the morrow
 On all beings alike, you, like another sun,
 Shall beat your foes in war, in broad daylight.

MBh 10,4.1–19; cf. esp. 10,4.7–9

(Kṛpa):

na hi tvā rathināṃ *śreṣṭha*
 praṅhītavarāyudham |
jetum utsahate kaś cid
 api deveṣu pāvakiḥ || 7 ||
kṛpeṇa sahitaṃ yāntaṃ
 yuktaṃ ca kṛtavarmaṇā |
 ko drauṇiṃ yudhi saṃrabdham
 yodhayed api devarāṭ || 8 ||
 te vayaṃ pariviśrāntā
 vinidrā vigatajvarāḥ |
 prabhātāyāṃ rajanyāṃ vai
 nihaniṣyāma *śātravān* || 9 ||

For no one, not even the god of war
 himself,
 Has power to overcome you – best of
 warriors,
 Wielder of the greatest weapons of war.
 For who would fight Droṇa’s son in
 battle,
 With Kṛpa and Kṛtavarmaṇ at his side?
 – Not even the king of heaven himself.
 So we three, having rested up at night,
 shall
 Assail the enemy with the rising sun,
 Our spirits lifted, and our minds alert.

¹⁶ In the case of the extended *śloka*, one of its three hemistichs may be considered an “inorganic line”, one which can be added or omitted leaving the stanza’s meaning and grammar unharmed. See Sukthankar’s remark on a similar situation in book 1, regarding stanza 1,109.29; Sukthankar 1933 (*Mahābhārata*, Critical Edition, vol. I, *Prolegomena*): LXXXVII.

The two verses of Kṛpa's arguments from chapter 5 are set between those in which Aśvatthāman's uncle unequivocally condemns the idea of the night raid. The brief praise of Aśvatthāman as an excellent warrior capable of defeating enemies in the morning, in fair combat, serves to support the whole argumentation against a treacherous attack. The argumentation of these two verses is much more elaborate in chapter 4 (in which, however, the ethical reference to *kṣatradharma*, presented in chapter 5, is no longer duplicated), and it is enriched with additional points, such as an attempt to persuade Aśvatthāman to sleep and rest, Kṛpa's and Kṛtavarma's repeated assurance of their morning support in the attack on the enemy camp, and more diverse mythological references – Aśvatthāman cannot be defeated either by Indra (vs. 1, 8) or by Skanda (v. 7), Aśvatthāman himself is likened to Indra defeating *asuras*, *daityas* and *dānavas* (vs. 14, 15). Kṛpa's full, elaborate message – which is presented in two verses in chapter 5 – includes as many as 19 verses in chapter 4 (4.1–19).

3) *Aśvatthāman's memory of the mortally wounded king Duryodhana (lamenting, with a shattered thigh; vilāpo bhagnasakthasya ... rājñah)*

MBh 10.5.23

(Aśvatthāman):

***vilāpo bhagnasakthasya
yo me rājñah pariśrutah |***
vārttikānām kathayatām
sa me marmāṇi kṛntati || 23 ||

Even the messengers' reports,
the cries of
The king, his thigh-bones shattered,
cut me to the quick.

MBh 10.4.27–28

(Aśvatthāman):

***vilāpo bhagnasakthasya
yas tu rājño mayā śrutah |***
sa punar hṛdayam kasya
krūrasyāpi na nirdahet || 27 ||
kasya hy akarūṇasyāpi
netrābhyām aśru nāvrajet |
*nṛpater **bhagnasakthasya***
śrutvā tādṛg vacaḥ punaḥ || 28 ||

And again, whose heart is so pitiless
It would not burn to have heard, as I have,
The wailing of the king whose thigh's been
shattered?
Indeed, where is that man without compassion
Whose eyes would not fill with tears having
heard
Such a sound from the king with shattered
thighs?

The one-verse lamentation over Duryodhana in chapter 5 is slightly expanded in chapter 4 and presented in two verses. Both parts to which the cited stanzas belong, as well as the final part of chapter 3, are basically parallel statements by Aśvatthāman. Stylistically they are formulated slightly differently, the accents are put differently, and the topics introduced in chapter 5 are presented at greater length in chapters 3 and 4 (which may be one of main reasons to repeatedly introduce the topic). But they refer to the same context – Aśvatthāman's lamentation over his slain companions in arms, condemnation of the dishonourable deeds of Pāncālas and Pāṇḍavas, and expressing his determination regarding the night attack and slaughter, which is to be revenge for the actions of the enemies. The following examples concern these contexts.

4) *Aśvatthāman's announcement of the night slaughter (adya, sauptike)*

MBh 10.5.25–26:

pitṛhantīn ahaṃ hatvā
pāñcālān *niśi sauptike* |
kāmaṃ kīṭaḥ pataṃgo vā
janma prāpya bhavāmi vai || 25 ||
tvare cāham anenādyā
yad idaṃ me cikīrṣitam |
tasya me tvaramāṇasya
kuto nidrā kutaḥ sukham || 26 ||

Truly, if killing my father's
murderers,
The Pāñcalas, as they sleep in
the night, means
Rebirth for me as a worm or a
moth,
I shall
Suffer it gladly.
Tonight my purpose drives
me on,
and driven so,
What place is there for sleep,
what time for happiness?

MBh 10.3.35:

adya pāñcālasenām tām
nihatya *niśi sauptike* |
kṛtakṛtyaḥ sukhī caiva
bhaviṣyāmi mahāmate || 35 ||

Tonight, having destroyed
in darkness, in their sleep,
The Pāñcāla army,
I shall have then discharged
My duty to the full –
And I shall rest.

MBh 10.4.33:

ahaṃ tu kadanam kṛtvā
śatrūṇām *adya sauptike* |
tato viśramitā caiva
svaptā ca vigatajvaraḥ
|| 33 ||

But I shall sleep
And my grief shall be
dispelled,
when in their sleep,
This very night,
I have slaughtered all
my foes.

5) kuto nidrā kutaḥ sukham – *Aśvatthāman's reluctance to sleep due to his plans for the night raid*

MBh 10,5.26 (Aśvatthāman):

*tvare cāham anenādya
yad idaṃ me cikīrṣitam |
tasya me tvaramāṇasya
kuto nidrā kutaḥ sukham || 26 ||*

Tonight my purpose drives me on,
and driven so,
What place is there for sleep, what
time for happiness?

MBh 10,4.29 (Aśvatthāman):

*yaś cāyaṃ mitrapakṣo me
mayi jīvati nirjitaḥ |
śokaṃ me vardhayaty eṣa
vārivega ivārṇavam |
ekāgramanaso me 'dya
kuto nidrā kutaḥ sukham || 29 ||*

That he, who took sides with me and mine, lives
vanquished
Swells my grief, as a tidal wave the sea.
My mind is weathered to a single point of grief –
Whence shall sleep come tonight? And whence
content?

The phrase repeated in 10,4.29 appears in the additional hemistich (e–f), so one may have doubts as to its “organic” character in chapter 4 and suppose that it is secondary in comparison to verse 10,5.26.¹⁷

6) *Aśvatthāman's determination (no one can dissuade him from his resolution)*

MBh 10,5.27

(Aśvatthāman):

*na sa jātaḥ pumāṃśi loke
kaś cin na ca bhaviṣyati |
yo me vyāvartayed etāṃ
vadhe teṣāṃ kṛtāṃ matim || 27 ||*

Never in the world has that man been
born –
Nor will he be – who may rescind
my will
To their destruction.

MBh 10,4.31

(Aśvatthāman):

*na cāsmi śakyaḥ saṃyantum
asmāt kāryāt katham cana |
na taṃ paśyāmi loke 'smin
yo māṃ kāryān nivartayet |
iti me niścītā buddhir
eṣā sādhumatā ca me || 31 ||*

So the question of my holding back now doesn't
Arise. No man in this world can deflect me
From this, my duty. My mind is made up,
My thought is unerring.

Again, an additional hemistich appears in verse 4.31, considered here to duplicate verse 5.27.

¹⁷ See fn. 16.

7) The announcement of the murder of Dhṛṣṭadyumna
– revenge for the murder of Droṇa.

MBh 10,5.32–33

(Aśvatthāman):

*hatvā śatasahasrāṇi
yodhānāṃ niśitaiḥ śaraiḥ |
nyastaśastro mama **pitū**
dhṛṣṭadyumnena pātitaḥ
|| 32 ||
taṃ tathaiva **haniṣyāmi**
nyastavarmāṇam **adya** vai |
putraṃ **pāñcālarājasya**
pāpaṃ pāpeṇa karmaṇā
|| 33 ||*

With his sharp arrows my
father killed warriors
In their hundreds and
thousands. But when his
weapons
Were laid aside,
Dhṛṣṭadyumna felled him.
And so indeed, tonight,
when he has laid aside
All protective armour, I
shall kill him –
Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the Pāñcāla
king's evil son –
In just such a way, with just
such a wicked act.

MBh 10,4.24–26

(Aśvatthāman):

*yathā ca nihataḥ **pāpaiḥ**
pitū mama viśeṣataḥ |
pratyakṣam api te sarvaṃ
tan me marmāṇi kṛntati
|| 24 ||
kathaṃ hi mādṛśo loke
muhūrtam api jīvati |
droṇo hateti yad vācaḥ
pāñcālānāṃ śṛṇomy aham
|| 25 ||
dhṛṣṭadyumnam ahatvājau
nāhaṃ jīvitum utsahe |
sa me pitṛvadhād vadhyaḥ
pāñcālā ye ca saṃgatāḥ
|| 26 ||*

That special way in which
my sire was slain
By evil men – you saw it
all. And it is that
Rips my vitals now.
How can a man like me,
even for a moment,
Stomach a world where
one may hear that Pāñcāla
Refrain: “Drona is dead”?
Life is unbearable until
I've killed
Dhṛṣṭadyumna in battle.
He murdered
My father, and so he must
be killed by me,
Along with all his Pāñcāla
allies.

Cf. MBh 10,3.28

(Aśvatthāman):

***adya** tān sahitān sarvān
dhṛṣṭadyumnapurogamān |
sūdayiṣyāmi vikramya
kākṣaṃ dīpta ivānalaḥ |
nihatya caiva **pāñcālān**
śāntim labdhāsmi sattama
|| 28 ||*

Imagine a fire blowing
through dry grass –
Attacking them tonight all
in one place,
I shall, like that fire,
consume all those whose
lord
Is Dhṛṣṭadyumna. And then
I shall be at peace,
For the Pāñcālas will have
been destroyed.)

and 10,3.31:

*adyāhaṃ sarva**pāñcālaiḥ**
kṛtvā bhūmiṃ śarīriṇīm |
prahr̥tyaikaikaśas tebhyo
bhaviṣyāmy anṛṇaḥ **pituh**
|| 31 ||*

When the earth is buried in
Pāñcāla bodies,
When I have battered them
down, one by one,
I shall be free then from
that debt I owe
My father – tonight.

8) The murder of Dhṛṣṭadyumna in Aśvatthāman's announcement compared to the slaughter of a sacrificial animal (paśu).

MBh 10.5.34 (Aśvatthāman):

*katham ca nihataḥ pāpaḥ
pāñcālaḥ paśuvan mayā |
śastrāhavajitām lokān
prāpnuyād iti me matiḥ || 34 ||*

And then how, I wonder, shall that evil
Pāñcāla attain the worlds reserved for those
Conquered in war by arms, when he has
been destroyed
By me, like an animal at the sacrifice?

MBh 10.3.33 (Aśvatthāman):

*adya pāñcālarājasya
dhṛṣṭadyumnasya vai niśi |
virātre pramathiṣyāmi
paśor iva śiro balāt || 33 ||*

Tonight in the darkness before the dawn,
I shall, through sheer force, tear from the
shoulders
Of Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the Pāñcāla king,
His head, as though he were a tethered goat.

The juxtapositions presented above do not exhaust the list of repetitions that can be found by placing the verses from chapter 5, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the passages from chapters 2–4 next to each other. According to the main hypothesis of this paper, there is a noticeable close relationship in the text of the introductory story of book 10 between chapters 1 and 5 as those that could form the core and original sequel to the epic narrative. Following this hypothesis, one has to recognise chapters 2–4 as a section added to or rather embedded in between these chapters. It expands the strictly epic short debate related to the night raid with topics both directly and less directly related to the main plot of this part. And duplication repetitions point to efforts to stylistically unite the embedded parts with the earlier ones (see also below).

7. Distinguishing textual layers as a result of noticing and classification of repetitions

In the opening story of book 10 we have a debate consisting of three series of conversations with the same interlocutors, in which the pattern of interlocutors is repeated. The length of the statements of both interlocutors is more or less evenly distributed. One can also speak of a certain pattern, repeated after chapter 5, in the arrangement of individual statements, no matter of the subject matter of the statements being diverse. Chapters 2–3 and 4 create the expansion of chapter 5 following some common pattern after chapter 5, as follows.

Chapter 5

1. Kṛpa's short theoretical/didactic argument (on two human attitudes +
1a. appeal to Aśvatthāman to listen to his uncle's [= elder's] advice, vv. 1–8) →
2. Kṛpa's arguments against the night raid (vv. 9–15) →

3. Aśvatthāman's arguments for the night raid (vv. 16–27, 31–35) →
4. Closure of the introductory story of book 10, vv. 28–38 (clasp closure of statements, narrative clasp to chapter 1).

Cf.:

Chapter 2:

1. Kṛpa's longer theoretical/didactic argument (*daiva – karman*; vv. 1–11, 12–20 + 1a. praise of those who listen to their elders' advice, vv. 21–23) →
2. Kṛpa's arguments against the night raid (vv. 24–29 + 1a. appeal to Aśvatthāman to go to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gandharī and Vidura for their [= elders'] advice, vv. 30–32) →
4. Closure of chapter 2 (clasp closure [v. 33 as clasp to vv. 1–8], *daiva – karman*);

Chapter 3:

1. Theoretical/didactic argument by Aśvatthāman (ironic [?] response to Kṛpa's argument from chapter 2, vv. 1–16, 17–24) →
3. Aśvatthāman's arguments for the night raid (as a response to Kṛpa's argument from chapter 2, vv. 25–35; expanded in comparison to chapter 5; duplication repetitions from chapter 5) →
4. Closure of chapters 2–3 (vv. 33–35: anaphora *adya* ...);

Chapter 4 (development of the strictly epic narrative, no didactic argument):

2. Kṛpa's arguments against the night raid (vv. 1–19; expanded in comparison to chapter 5, duplication repetitions from chapter 5) →
3. Aśvatthāman's arguments for the night raid (vv. 20–33; expanded in comparison to chapter 5; duplication repetitions from chapter 5) →
4. v. 33: closure of chapter 4.

According to this scheme, apart from the short debate that I consider closest to the earliest epic debate (in chapter 5), which constitutes the part of what I would like to call the epic layer of the *Sauptikaparvan*, we have to do with two extensions of it, one longer (chapters 2–3) with the highlighted didactic parts, and one shorter (chapter 4) with no didactic part. Each of these three parts presents a complete statement of both interlocutors at a given stage (though sometimes shorter and sometimes longer), and all have their closures. The closure of the debate of the epic layer from chapter 5 takes the reader to the Pāñcālas' camp, thus ending the introductory part of the *Sauptikaparvan* story and opening the second, main part of the night raid. The two extensions of the debate also have their closures, i.e. concluding verses in which Aśvatthāman twice, in a similar way, expresses his determination to carry out the night raid.¹⁸ Based on the structure and content, it can be said that both of these extensions are independent of each other, even though they refer to the same topic,

¹⁸ Cf. 10,3.35 (conclusion of the debate in chapters 2–3) and 10,4.33 (conclusion of the debate in chapter 4) with 10,5.25–27; for quotes, see above, part 6, 4.

and according to the hypothesis of this paper, both are based on the shorter debate in chapter 5. Therefore another hypothesis may be made, that, from the compositional/editorial point of view, these represent two (separate) textual layers.

While the debate contained in chapter 4 is an extension of strictly epic argumentation, the debate from chapters 2–3 introduces new contexts of expression, enriching the epic argumentation with new topics which are didactic or philosophical in character. It can only be supposed that chapter 4, being thematically closer to chapter 5, is an earlier textual layer than the didactic layer of chapters 2–3. As has already been mentioned, in both layers, their final passages (4.20–33 and 3.25–35) develop while partially repeating the topic of Aśvatthāman's argument for the night raid from chapters 1 and 5. It is in these passages (i.e. the final passages of chapters 3 and 4) that duplication repetitions are most visible. It should therefore be emphasised that in the case of both of these parts, embedded in the epic layer, their author(s) made efforts to ensure that the later extensions fitted well, both thematically and stylistically (lexically), with the epic layer of this part of the narrative.

What goals might accompany these expansions of the hypothetically original epic layer? In the case of chapter 4, it is an expansion of the epic argumentation, both in Kṛpa's (4.1–19) and Aśvatthāman's (4.20–33) statements. The enrichment of the narrative with a new context is especially visible in Kṛpa's speech. Compared to chapter 5, there are new elements of argumentation against the night raid, i.e. the attempt to get Aśvatthāman to sleep and rest at night, repeated assurances of support in the morning from both of Aśvatthāman's companions, an extensive appeal to replace the night raid with the morning attack, and developed praise of Aśvatthāman's heroism and mythological allusions. While in chapter 5 Kṛpa refers to "negative" argumentation, so to speak (i.e. condemnation of the night raid from the point of view of the *kṣatradharma*), in chapter 4 the "positive" and human aspect is added, on which the extensive appeal for an honest morning fight was built. In this chapter, Aśvatthāman's repeated lamentation over the death of his father and king Dur-yodhana is also highlighted.

On the other hand, chapters 2–3 bring an expansion that enriches the epic episode with new topics and connotations. In chapter 2, the allusion to the whole epic main thread is Kṛpa's condemnation of the faults and attitude of Duryodhana, his allies and even himself as his companion (2.24–29, contrary to what Aśvatthāman says in chapters 1, 4 and 5); and also, at the end of the chapter (2.31–32), an appeal to go to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gandharī and Vidura for advice.¹⁹ The reference to the epic thread in chapter 3 is its final passus (3.25–35), that of Aśvatthāman's announce-

¹⁹ The passage of 2.21–32 is somewhat structurally similar to the passage of 5.1–8; perhaps one can speak of some inspiration during the composition. Both statements by Kṛpa have three common compositional elements: affirmation of the attitude of people who listen to the advice of other people, those who are kind to them (5.6–7 and 2.21–23); criticism of self-centered, wayward and foolish people who do not listen to the advice of others (5.1–5 and 2.24–29); direct encouragement to listen to advice (5.8 and 2.30–32).

ment of the night raid. The motif of bloody revenge on sleeping enemies is intensified here. What distinguishes this layer is a significant expansion of the epic thread concerning what one can generally define as didactic. In chapter 2 it is Kṛpā's lecture on divine fate (*daiva*) and human effort (*karman*), as well as his condemnation of indolence and praise of activity. In chapter 3, this is a polemical statement by Aśvatthāman (again didactic in meaning) about people's attachment to their own reasoning and views, their disregard for the reasoning and views of others, the relativity and impermanence of wisdom (3.1–16), and later, a normative passage about the duties of the four *varṇas* (3.17–20) followed by the expression of Aśvatthāman's own anomalous status (3.21–24).

The first didactic part, 2.1–11, deserves special attention. It introduces a new topic to book 10, namely a discourse on two determinants of human life: *daiva* – destiny or divine fate (literally: “what comes from god”) and *karman* – individual human action or human effort. Both factors are presented as essential and complementary to each other, but the conclusion is that without divine fate human effort becomes fruitless (2.10–11). If one would like to connect this discourse with the surrounding passages, one could most probably consider it as triggered by the content of verse 1.65, in which Aśvatthāman reflects briefly on defeat as the inevitable consequence of every human action (*kārya*). Kṛpā's lecture might appear to be a response to this reflection.²⁰ Let us note, however, that neither this Aśvatthāman's reflection, nor Kṛpā's lecture from chapter 2 (continued as praise for activity and a reprimand against inertia, 2.12–20), are firmly embedded in the epic context of this part. Aśvatthāman is determined to act from the very beginning, even though his action is seen as treacherous (1.44–54). In his announcements of the night attack, he does not mention the *daiva* factor at all (which may also call into question the originality of verses 1.64–65 in the epic layer). On the other hand, the *daiva* – *karman* part of 2.1–11 corresponds well with some passages from the later part of the *Sauptikaparvan* (especially in the first upaparvan). The conviction of the importance of divine destiny in human efforts, expressed theoretically in 2.10–11, is well-developed later in 6.25–26, in the scene of Aśvatthāman's extraordinary divine vision, and also in the following parts, where it is repeatedly expressed (6.29, 31, 32; 8.96; 9.10), culminating in verses 8.68–69, among the descriptions of the night slaughter of chapter 8, skilfully presented in two parallel planes, the human and the divine – cosmic – eschatological. It is emphasised there that the son of Droṇa was killing warriors who had already been killed by divine destiny, so he was acting only as a tool of *daiva*. The *daiva*-*karman* discourse from chapter 2 should then be considered not so much in the context of the introductory epic story of the first five chapters, as in the context of the whole book and its divine – cosmic – eschatological plane. And from the point of view of the composition of the multi-layered book, it should be considered in the context of the passages constituting a reinterpretation of the epic

²⁰ Cf. Johnson 1998: XIX–XXI.

events, undertaken by (Brahminic) author(s) responsible for placing the heroic epic on the Hindu level of narration (according to Katz's terminology, referred to above). The *daiva-karman* discourse in chapter 2 anticipates the passages reinterpreting the epic events and elevating them to the divine – cosmic – eschatological level. This is what is done in several parts of chapters 6–9 of the *Sauptikaparvan*, as well as in the second upaparvan of this parvan (MBh 10,10–18). The author(s) of this/these textual layer(s), depicting this eschatological plane, along with embedding chapters 2–3, made sure that his/their message was already anchored in the beginning part of book 10. The discourse on the relationship between *daiva* and *karman* permeates the entire epic, especially the battle books. One can refer to the opinion of those who believe that this topic reaches its climax in book 10.²¹

Let us notice that in the textual layers separated here one can find two different perspectives from which the epic characters of the story are perceived. The epic layer (chapters 1 and 5) presents the perspective of the defeated Kauravas, while especially in the didactic layer (chapters 2–3), the perspective of the winners comes to the fore. In the epic layer, Aśvatthāman's condemnation of Pāṇḍavas' insidious war deeds resounds fully. The dominant feature of his plan of the night raid is revenge for the deeds of Pāṇcālas and Pāṇḍavas, in particular the insidious and dishonourable killing of Duryodhana by Bhīma (1.56–58; 5.21–22) and Droṇa by Dhṛṣṭadyumna (5.17, 32–34). Also Dhṛtarāṣṭra, father of Duryodhana, laments over his son's treacherous murder (1.7–16). Pāṇḍavas and Pāṇcālas are condemned by Aśvatthāman both in general reflections (1.49; 5.24), and in the more detailed catalogue of the Kaurava army warriors killed unworthily and in violation of the principles of the warriors' code (5.17–22).²² Both Kauravas in general and Duryodhana in detail are spoken of with respect. On the other hand, in chapter 2, unequivocal condemnation of Duryodhana as greedy, unreflective, and blind in his actions is put into Kṛpa's mouth (2.25–27), followed by similar condemnation of his allies (28). What is more, Kṛpa even condemns himself as one of Duryodhana's companions (29). At the same time, in this part, the Pāṇḍavas are described as very virtuous (*guṇavattara*, 2.26) by their enemy. In chapter 4 Aśvatthāman, while expressing his lamentation, announces his bloody revenge, but he also states that no one would be able to kill the warriors sleeping in the Pāṇcālas' camp (not even the god Indra himself) if they were being protected by Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa (4.30).²³

²¹ Cf. e.g. Katz 1985; Johnson 1998: XIX–XXI. See also Crosby 2009: XXII–XXIII.

²² The epic expansion in chapter 4 partially follows this perspective (see 10.4.23–28).

²³ This brief reflection finds its continuation in a later part, at the end of chapter 8, when, after the end of the night raid, Saṃjaya states that Aśvatthāman was unable to commit his cruel act earlier for fear of the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa (8.148). But a fuller picture of the superiority of Arjuna aided by Kṛṣṇa over Aśvatthāman, already presented on the plane of divine interference in human activities, is given only in the second upaparvan of the *Sauptikaparvan* (*Aiśikaparvan*, 10,10–18), where a story is told of a duel for divine weapons between Arjuna and Aśvatthāman (10,12–16). The religious message of this story is that Arjuna was able to

In several research studies, one can find opinions that at some relatively late stage of development, along with the process of its Brahminisation, the great epic was edited from the point of view of the victorious Pāṇḍavas at the expense of the defeated Kauravas, or even that it was embedded in the framework of so-called Pāṇḍavas' propaganda (which was related to the growing importance of the divinity and worship of Kṛṣṇa, a process of Brahminical provenance).²⁴ If this is the case, the above examples show that the elements of Pāṇḍavas' propaganda did not appear in the epic layer of book 10, the layer that was possibly the earliest one of the *Mahābhārata*'s story as a whole. A much greater neutrality is noticeable there, which could be the case for the early compositional stage of the whole work. Sympathies and reasons were most probably distributed there on both sides of the conflict (depending on the context), and the author(s) did not hesitate to also describe the events from the perspective of the Kauravas, as in the introductory story of book 10, and also in the later parts of this book (as in the scenes of the night slaughter, 10,8, and of the death of Duryodhana, 10,9).

8. Concluding remarks

An attempt to distinguish the beginning of the so-called epic layer of book 10 (MBh 10,1 and 10,5), and the hypothetical reconstruction of a strictly epic introductory story, still deprived of didactic as well as divine and eschatological planes, does not bring with it any postulates to change the epic text, or to strip the epic of its didactic or religious and philosophical layers. The *Sauptikaparvan* is an excellent example to show that the epic story is much richer when it is presented on two (or maybe three, as Katz argued, see above) intertwining, well matched and complementary narrative planes, the heroic – human, and the divine – eschatological. However, equally as important as emphasising the current inseparability of the multi-layered composition, its richness and multi-dimensionality, is tracing the process of the expansion of the

win the duel and achieve his goal, because he used to keep his vows of chastity, but most of all because as Kṛṣṇa's devotee he came under his protection. Aśvatthāman failed because he had distanced himself from Kṛṣṇa, and had not become his devotee, so he did not have his support (Cf. Katz 1985: 114–115). The worship of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva (sometimes also presented as an incarnation of Viṣṇu), which dominates the religious parts of the epic over other cults, is somehow only reflected in the second part of book 10. Aśvatthāman, even though he was supported by Śiva during the night slaughter and even though acting as an incarnation of Śiva (and an instrument of divine destiny on the Hindu level of the narration, 10,7–8), so that he was able to kill all the Pāṇḍavas, is unable to overcome Arjuna, who finds protection in Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. Verse 4.30 seems to somehow reflect this belief of the religious authors of the *Mahābhārata*, and (as in the case of the *daiva* – *karman* discourse in chapter 2) to anticipate and anchor the topic which finds its full expression in textual layers elevating the heroic-epic story to its religious dimension or plane.

²⁴ See Winternitz 1927: 454–458; Dandekar 1954: 77–79; von Simson 1969: esp. 165–166, 171–174; Crosby 2009: XVII–XVIII.

content and meaning of the great epic. In this paper, such an attempt has been made focusing on a relatively short part of the text.

The research carried out so far leads the author of this paper to a somewhat banal, one could say, conclusion, similar to the one expressed by researchers representing the diachronic approach to the textual analysis of the *Mahābhārata*, that the composition of book 10, like the composition of the entire epic, was not a one-time and one-dimensional project, but a longer, multi-stage and multi-layered process.

The philological method of text analysis which Mislav Ježić developed in his work on the *Bhagavadgītā*, i.e. noticing and classifying the repetitions found in the text under scrutiny, becomes extremely helpful, and sometimes crucial when analysing different epic passages. It allows us to identify, delineate frames and describe textual layers of multi-layered composition, and consequently is helpful in presenting hypotheses about the chronology (especially the relative chronology) of individual parts of the epic text. Thus, it becomes a great starting point not only for the exploration of the history of the text itself, but also for the recognition of the history of ideas, including the religious and philosophical ideas that it contains.

It seems that the analysis presented here could be carried out further and cover the entirety of the first upaparvan of book 10. Much seems to indicate that this parvan retained the whole strictly epic part of the story about Aśvatthāman's night raid, which can be reconstructed. The hypothetically reconstructed earliest tangible version of this story, much shorter and poorer than its final version, devoid of didactic parts, divine interferences, partial incarnations of heroes into gods, or the eschatological dimension of the night raid, however, also creates a certain finite whole. It is shorter and poorer, but complete and finished. Traces of this oldest hypothetical version (or the epic layer) could be sought, most of all, in the majority of the verses in chapters 1, 5, 8 and 9 of the *Sautikaparvan*. This is, however, the subject matter for another possible and hypothetical paper.

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Sažetak

Rad predstavlja dijakronijski pristup tekstualnoj raščlambi *Mahābhārate*. Jedan se manji dio višeslojne kompozicije podvrgava postupku uglavnom pozivajući se na metodu raščlambe teksta koju je razvio Mislav Ježić u svom istraživanju *Bhagavadgīte*. Ishod se ovoga njegova istraživanja očituje u preciznom ocrtavanju i opisu tekstovnih slojeva pjesme, a zatim i uspostavljanjem relativne kronologije slojeva čime je dan odgovor na pitanje kako je nastajala *Bhagavadgītā* (Ježić 1979; 1986; 2009). Metoda se prvenstveno temelji na razlučivanju i klasificiranju ponavljanja (misli te riječi i fraza) koja se u tekstu nalaze. Ovaj rad obrađuje početna poglavlja *Sauttikaparvana* (*Mahābhārata*) 10,1–5. U ovome se dijelu teksta pojavljuje umnožavanje istih obavijesti o noćnom prepadu koje je planirao Aśvatthāman, a ponavlja se i rasprava o opravdanosti noćnoga prepada između Aśvatthāmana i Krpe. Neke obavijesti dane u *adhyāyama* 2–4 također se pojavljuju u *adhyāyi* 5. Postoji određeni obrazac u tim ponavljanjima, tj. građa se u *adhyāyama* 2–4 obično predstavlja u razrađenijem obliku nego u *adhyāyi* 5. Ovdje se postavlja pitanje zašto se neke obavijesti pojavljuju dva ili tri puta u tako neposrednoj blizini, i dodatno, radi li se ovdje o različitim tekstualnim slojevima? Ako je tako, koji se sloj može smatrati starijim, a koji mlađim? Koja bi uopće mogla biti svrha proširenja ove epizode u tijeku rasta epa? Čini se da se raščlamba ponavljanja u ovom dijelu epa, njihovo razvrstavanje prema Ježićevoj metodi te izvođenje zaključaka na temelju tekstualne analize može predstaviti kao osnova za odgovaranje na neodgovorena pitanja o nastanku i razvoju velikog epa, uključujući njegov unutarnji razvoj.

MARY BROCKINGTON

Restarting the *Rāmāyaṇa*: In my end is my beginning

Abstract

The traditional Rāma tale, created perhaps in the fifth century B.C., soon became so well-known and so well-loved that the main outlines of its narrative had to be respected whenever a retelling or continuation of the plot was produced. This requirement (the “beginning”) frequently conflicted with the equally pressing need for novelty, dictated either by the new teller’s individual talents or by a change in the values of a later generation. The seventh book of the so-called *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* (purporting to constitute “the end”), is prefixed by a lengthy passage of 36 *sargas* attributed to Agastya, clearly composed over a further long time-span, that takes the plot back to several generations before the previously-established “beginning”. The new composers repeatedly found themselves constrained by knowledge of what was still to happen in the core narrative, knowledge, crucially, shared for at least five centuries by successive audiences. It could not be ignored, however inconvenient or inappropriate it became to the new narrative or contemporary religious understanding. The interplay between “beginnings” and “ends” and the difficulties of seeking to reconcile the results with the traditional view of the heroes and villains are explored in this article.

En ma fin git mon commencement
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots (motto)

In my beginning is my end
T.S. Eliot

Beginnings and endings of all sorts have occupied a lot of my mind since I was first swept up, by the energy and enthusiasm of Mislav Ježić, into participating in his exciting new venture, now a well-established and well-respected element in Sanskrit scholarship, the DICSEP conferences. I was at the “pre-beginning” planning event in 1994, and have attended, in person or online, seven of the nine meetings held so far since 1997; Mislav’s characteristic determination has allowed neither a war nor a pandemic to bring about its “end”.¹

At the first conference I presented a paper on the initial construction of the Rāma story, the “beginning”, exploring the crucial relationship between various features of the narrative with a climax already planned for its “end” by a single, creative author, anonymous and unknown (Mary Brockington 1999). I have subsequently worked on the way this early concept has been developed into the so-called *Vālmiki-rāmāyaṇa*, *kāṇḍas* 2–6 in two distinct but overlapping stages (Mary Brockington 2012, followed by Mary Brockington 2007), examining the constraints imposed on successive retellers by the existing, and now familiar, story.² That familiar story, the “beginning”, could never be, and has never been, discarded or lost. I now have an extended study in progress on the much more complex issue of the *Bāla* and *Uttara kāṇḍas* (Stage 3), where narrators address the questions of what happened before the “beginning” and what happened after the “end”; the material on which this article is based forms a part of that project (for outline see ORA, section F. “New beginnings”).³

The task facing the authors of *kāṇḍas* 1 and 7 was simple to the point of banality: Rāma was born, proved himself as a warrior, and was married; he later ruled his kingdom justly, and died, succeeded by his sons. Such a prosaic plotline required – and received – a considerable amount of elaboration by numerous continuators over several centuries, during which social attitudes were undergoing marked changes. The clear lines of the earliest narrative might be obscured, but they could never be obliterated.

Agastya’s lengthy post-victory narrative (7,1–36) provides a particularly involved example of the tension between endings and beginnings; placed at the beginning of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, it nevertheless narrates events occurring long before the time-scale of most of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. As we now have the text, it sits suspiciously awkwardly between the *abhiṣeka* plus declaration of *rāmarājya* now concluding the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, and the departure of a number of kings and their armies (7,37–38) before the narrative thread is resumed at 7,39. Moreover, it stands at a point of

¹ I am grateful to the editors for providing this opportunity for us all to join in this tribute to Mislav, and to thank him especially for his constant and indefatigable care for the welfare of his guests in Dubrovnik. We can be assured that, in the (scarcely conceivable) event of Mislav ever having an “end”, his creation – his “beginning” – will continue to flourish.

² References to the Vālmiki version (VRm) are all to the Critical Edition.

³ ORA: Oxford Research Archive, *Development and spread of the Rāma narrative (pre-modern)*, deposited by John Brockington and Mary Brockington (online, freely accessible).

transition in the values of the society that produces it, reflecting that process in its narrative – a point which much of the rest of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* narrative had not yet reached. The Rāma tradition had always been able to absorb disparate elements, blending them together into a tale of ultimate military triumph; now the narrative was about to focus on the peacetime trials of an Ideal King. A new set of cultural values was emerging from the heroic ethos represented throughout almost all of *kāṇḍas* 2–6: Agastya’s narrative shows the human Rāma in the process of being transformed into the god Viṣṇu. The successive concepts do not always sit easily together.

Part A. The rise and fall of the *rākṣasas* (7,1–34)

As a whole, this part is presented as a glorification of the victorious Rāma by explaining and evaluating the might and nature of the defeated *rākṣasas*. It both extends and consolidates the earlier narrative, imparting to it a new focus, a new purpose and a new context; the prevalent values detectable imply composition at successive stages of development. I propose that Part A can best be considered as a well-planned and largely cohesive compilation of two sub-units, with Sub-unit Two enclosing Sub-unit One in a fashion common with continuations.

As is liable to happen in such cases, where a new narrative purpose entails a redirection, the necessary new material partially obscures or even obliterates the old, and the precise boundaries of the two Sub-units at the beginning of the passage are not entirely clear. However, the triumphant and reassuring climax of Sub-unit One (7,26.47), fully in tune with the issues addressed further on in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, would have provided a finely-crafted conclusion to Agastya’s narrative before the incorporation of Sub-unit Two.

Sub-unit One (7,1.1–18; 7,2–3; 7,9–10; 7,12–26)

This sub-unit examines how far Rāvaṇa conforms to the traditional *kṣatriya* values prevalent in the Rāma story from its inception, enlarging on a number of allusions and resolving some anomalies now perceived in the text of the core books, presenting a progressive deterioration in Rāvaṇa’s behaviour as a brother, as a sexual being, and as a warrior.

It opens, naturally enough, with the birth of Rāvaṇa and his siblings. Until this point, Rāvaṇa had been known only as the grandson of the humanoid, virtuous sage Pulastya or of his son Viśravas, with allusions to his ancestry in the whole of the core books, plus the *Bālakāṇḍa*,⁴ raising pertinent but never-stated questions about his *rākṣasa* appearance and nature. An answer, tracing his origin via the female line from Sumālin, is provided at 7,9. Mentions of Rāvaṇa’s conduct being safeguarded

⁴ 1,19.15+17; 3,64.16; 4,57.19; 5,21.4–8.

by a boon of limited invincibility had been made throughout the core text, but details of how it was granted are now explained in detail (7,9–10); boons for Kumbhakarna, and for Vibhīṣaṇa are added, to reinforce their differing birth-natures (7,9.28–30).⁵

In *sarga* 12 Rāvaṇa begins his career responsibly by accepting Mandodarī in marriage.⁶

The couple then produce a son, Indrajit. Next, Rāvaṇa finds suitable wives for his two brothers, and marries his sister Śūrpaṇakhā to Vidyujjihva, son of Kālaka. However, his sense of family duty is not strong enough to include respect for his virtuous elder non-*rākṣasa* half-brother, Vaiśravaṇa,⁷ who reprimands him for his riotous behaviour (7,13). Rāvaṇa offends protocol and breaches the theme of statecraft and its obligations prevalent in much of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* by killing the unfortunate messenger,⁸ attacks Vaiśravaṇa in his realm on Kailāsa, and seizes Puṣpaka (7,14–15), giving narrative substance to the frequent allusions to some such episode throughout *kāṇḍas* 3 to 6.

Rāvaṇa now develops an unthinking addiction to conquest, his arrogance fuelled by reliance on the deceptive boon of inviolability. Carelessly, he bereaves Śūrpaṇakhā of her husband when he slaughters the Kālakeyas (7,23.15). This failure in his duty of protection is used by the author to explain what by then was seen to be an anomaly in the earlier narrative – the fact that Śūrpaṇakhā was wandering in Daṇḍaka forest under no male supervision – but introduces another: a *rākṣasa* called Vidyujjihva is active in Laṅkā in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, but whether he is to be identified with the Vidyujjihva of *kāṇḍa* 7 cannot be determined. Characterised as ever by a vehement lack of respect for her brother (7,24.18–35, cf. 3,31), she complains that he has made her a widow, so he sends her off to Daṇḍaka under the protection of Khara and an army of 14,000 *rākṣasas*, in preparation for the pivotal encounter

⁵ A slightly different account of how Kumbhakarna acquired his sleep-pattern can be found at VRm 6,49.21–26. The whole issue of the *rākṣasa* brothers and their boons, so apparently simple, proves on examination to be far too complex and peripheral to be dealt with here, and merits a separate study.

⁶ It is reasonable to assume that Mandodarī can be identified with the unnamed daughter of Maya mentioned at 6,7.6. An attempt at consolidation by attributing a family relationship to Maya, Hemā, Māyāvin, Dundubhi, and Mandodarī, in practice introduces new elements into the already complex pattern of discrepancies found in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*.

⁷ Identified with Kubera by his attributes, but not specifically named as such in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, where all references are in the context of his relationship to Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa. Elsewhere in the VRm the two names are used interchangeably; see in particular 5,2.20d; 5,7.11bc; 6,28.20a; and 6,109.9c, where “Kubera” refers unambiguously to the *rākṣasas*’ brother.

⁸ In an episode already well-known to audiences, but technically yet to happen in the time-frame postulated by Agastya’s narrative, Rāvaṇa had been/will be persuaded by Vibhīṣaṇa against a similar breach of protocol when Hanumān is brought before him and proclaims himself as Sugrīva’s and Rāma’s accredited envoy (5,46.59; 5,48.16; 5,49.2–3; 5,50.1–9; 5,51.1–2). Such niceties, as with the anomaly of Vidyujjihva’s identity, typical of traditional narratives, are mere quibbles of no consequence.

with Rāma in the *Aranyakāṇḍa*. Anxious to repair a similar failure in clan duty in the next *sarga*, Rāvaṇa then immediately changes tactic and saves a more distant relative, Kumbhīnaśī, from a similar fate, recruiting her abductor Madhu as an ally in another violent campaign (7,25.20–49). It seems unlikely that this unexpected act of clemency has been introduced to show Rāvaṇa mending his ways; the characters involved are invented rather clumsily, probably once again to consolidate the narrative by giving the couple's son, Lavaṇa, a relationship to Rāvaṇa that unnecessarily introduces the theme of revenge into his conflict with Śatrughna in another part of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.⁹

Rāvaṇa's sexual prowess is now challenged, for his positive acceptance of his family responsibility to Kumbhīnaśī is of short duration: in the very next *sarga* he catches sight of the *apsaras* Rambhā, rapes her despite her pleading (perhaps unwisely) that she is related to him via his hated half-brother Vaiśravaṇa, and incurs a curse from her husband, Vaiśravaṇa's resentful son Nalakūbara, that is said to make him lose any further desire to rape an unwilling woman, lest his head burst into seven pieces (7,26). This attempt to explain why Sītā remains unharmed during her long captivity is part of the increasing insistence throughout the later Rāma tradition that she must be kept free from the most remote possibility of conferring pollution on her husband now that his earlier role as the "Ideal Hero" is being developed into that of the "Ideal King". But it wrecks her image as a faithful wife, heroically resisting the threats and blandishments of her captor; she becomes a passive victim, no longer directing the plot.¹⁰

Some time before this episode, Rāvaṇa had indulged in a series of attacks on women all over the universe; all had threatened him ineffectually with future revenge (7,24.1–16). More significantly Vedavatī, thwarted by his violation in her desire to marry Nārāyaṇa, had vowed to be reborn as Sītā (*ayonijā*) for his destruction (7,17). There is no indication in the text of the CE that Vedavatī equates Rāma conqueror of Rāvaṇa with Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa her desired husband: she is intent simply on revenge for ruining her now impossible dreams. But after the curse of Nalakūbara Rāvaṇa is forced to take the matter seriously, presenting an appropriate and effective climax to this part of his career.

Doubts about Rāvaṇa's physical prowess increase throughout Agastya's narrative. Gods are inhibited from resisting his attacks only by their duty to uphold the boon, not by any lack of strength (7,18; 7,20–23). The audience already knew that men were excluded from Rāvaṇa's boon, but a contemptuous insult to Nandīśvara

⁹ Conflict with Lavaṇa: 7,53–56; 59–63.6; revenge theme: 7,60.13–16. There is an unexplained allusion to this episode at 6,7.7. The relationship in date between these two parts of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* is an issue still to be explored.

¹⁰ Some of the consequences of this tendency and the paradox it entails in later Vaiṣṇava versions of the Rāma story are explored in Mary Brockington, forthcoming.

incurs a curse that now explains the prominent role of monkeys in his eventual defeat. Nothing daunted, he retaliates by bragging that he will lift Kailāsa, an outrageous attempt thwarted by the mere pressure of Śiva's big toe (7,16).¹¹ Earthly kings are defeated until the dying Anaranya of Ayodhyā predicts that a future Ikṣvāku king (Rāma) will avenge his death (7,19). The prophecy, is of course anomalous; Anaranya is human, and so he himself is not prevented by the boon from killing Rāvaṇa, but this issue is – necessarily – not explored. The anomaly is unlikely to indicate that the episode pre-dates acceptance into the narrative of the all-too-prevalent boon motif; it is another simple error forced on an unwary but enthusiastic author by his knowledge of the pre-ordained outcome, possibly struck by the name (also found in the genealogies at VRm 1,69.20–21 and 2,102.8–10), with its fanciful suggestion of antithesis with the “forest-dwelling” Rāma.¹² There is a limit to the amount of meticulous logic we should expect the continuator of such a complex narrative to exercise.

Rāvaṇa continues on his series of outrageously arrogant attacks on the worlds of men and gods, all the time incurring curses from his helpless victims that envisage eventual punishment by Rāma – punishment that the boon of inviolability prevents the gods from inflicting. References to the boon are found throughout the earlier narrative layers, so Agastya's audience already knows how it all ended. His narration exploits their knowledge, and a sense of doom pervades the recitation. Doom, but only for Rāvaṇa. For Rāma the climax of Sub-unit 1 in *sarga* 26 is the triumphant guarantee of his wife's continued purity with which it is closed.

Sub-unit Two (7,1.19–27; 7,4–8; 7,11; 7,27–34): Viṣṇu-oriented material

This happy note of triumph, so well-fitted to its context as part of the celebrations of the king's long-postponed *abhiṣeka*, was not allowed to remain unchallenged when Sub-unit 2 was created. These enclosing passages move the context on to a later stage in the developing brāhmaṇic culture by fully embracing the concept of Rāma as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, and some of its narrative consequences. Accordingly, Viṣṇu in person plays a substantial role in this sub-unit, which shows clear signs – cultural as well as narrative – of having been incorporated at a much later stage in the process of transition than the majority of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* narrative. It is in these passages that we find the majority of the references to Rāma as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu in the CE; elsewhere the concept is still almost absent.¹³

¹¹ This incident becomes a popular theme in later Śiva-oriented narrative, both verbal and visual.

¹² A similar discrepancy can be seen even more clearly in the duel between Rāvaṇa and Arjuna Sahasrabāhu (repeatedly called “a man”): Rāvaṇa can only be disabled, not killed, by virtue of the boon (7,32.60).

¹³ Significantly for the whole narrative, scattered references to the concept are also found only at 1,14–16 (inserted awkwardly and unnecessarily into the Rāghavas' birth story); possibly

Sukeśa's sons defeated (7,5–8)

At 7,4–8 an apparently original tale involving the defeat of Sumālin and his 2 brothers (sons of Sukeśa) is introduced into the overall narrative. The author makes apt use of already existent material on two of Sukeśa's sons, Mālyavān and Sumālin; this addition to the plot provides an example of internal development, arising from a casual mention of the two brothers and their offspring in a brief passage in Sub-unit 1 in connection with Rāvaṇa's duty to Kumbhīnasī (7,25.23–25). Mālyavān necessarily survives Viṣṇu's onslaught because he is already active in VRm 6,26–27, giving the passage a spurious air of authenticity. Sumālin is named as the maternal grandfather of Rāvaṇa and his siblings (7,9.1–9, also ascribed to Sub-unit 1). He is virtually unknown in the CE text either before or after these passages,¹⁴ but plays the anchor role throughout Sub-unit 2, from which we may infer a link between 7,4–9 and 27–30. Unlike his brother Mālyavān, having no back-story in the core text means that he should not be allowed to survive Agastya's narrative, and he loses his life heroically after a savage battle in the attack on Indra (7,27.31–42). Sukeśa and his third son, Mālin, are not mentioned outside this carefully-crafted passage, which seems to be unknown elsewhere in the text of the VRm CE; the absence of any tell-tale allusions elsewhere in the CE, together with the repeated references to Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa, locates *sargas* 7,5–8 towards the end of the tradition.¹⁵ In his coda to the incident (7,8.23–25), Agastya disparages Rāvaṇa compared to the sons of Sukeśa, but avoids the unstated corollary that he is thereby disparaging his conqueror by firmly declaring Rāma to be Nārāyaṇa.

The passage represents a major development reflecting the culmination of the gradual transition of the VRm as a whole from heroic romance to epic rescue of the cosmos. The salient points of the whole VRm subsequent to the introduction of the concept of Rāma as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu are reworked: Viṣṇu's task is primarily to save the cosmos (particularly the gods) from Rāvaṇa's depredations, and the objectives of the original Rāma story (to preserve Daśaratha's integrity and to rescue Sītā) become increasingly marginalised. The original tale of a human hero rescuing his human wife from a monster has been superseded, and Sītā – whether herself or an analogue from the earlier generation – is not even mentioned. The passage is nonetheless rooted in the earlier text, to the extent that the appeal to Viṣṇu to counter

in the single verse 1,75.17 (Rāma Jāmadagnya realises Rāma Dāśarathi's identity); overtly, yet in contradiction to the ethos of the whole preceding narrative, at 6,105 (his divine nature is revealed to the astonished Rāma when Sītā enters the fire); and sporadically in the last few *sargas* of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, specifically 7,94 and 99–100 (Rāma returns to heaven as Viṣṇu).

¹⁴ The only other reference is to his house at 5,5.20a.

¹⁵ The passage 7,4–8 is in general more ornate in style and language than other parts of Agastya's narrative. It shows relatively few close similarities of phrasing with the VRm and has quite as many with the MBh, which is a feature of particularly late passages where the convergence between the two originally distinct traditions is greatest (conversation with John Brockington).

the threat to the cosmos from *rākṣasas* who profit from a divine boon (7,6), to be continued by a much reduced copy of the war later to be/already conducted in Book 6, is closely modelled on the similar very late passage intruding into the account of the birth of Rāma and his brothers (1,14–16), which also mentions the assault on Indra (1,14.8). Not only does the Sukeśa episode present Viṣṇu in a heroic narrative role (in itself a mark of lateness in the tradition), but the corollary of the *avatāra* concept will be explored at 7,27.6–19: a rather embarrassed Viṣṇu has to refuse Indra’s appeal for help to counter the *rākṣasa* attack on his heaven on the grounds that “the time is not yet right” for him to kill Rāvaṇa; he promises to intervene later (i.e. when he has become incarnate as the human Rāma). While simple mentions of Viṣṇu should not necessarily be considered as identifications of Rāma with Viṣṇu (e.g. in the Vedavati episode in Sub-unit 1), narrative appearances are still rare and significant.

Allusions have been noted in the core text to other parts of Agastya’s narrative, but the absence of any specifically relating to Viṣṇu’s defeat of Sukeśa’s sons helps to confirm the very late date of that part of Sub-unit 2.

Indra humiliated (7,1.19–27; 7,27–30)

Indrajit’s battle with Indra is one of only two episodes involving Indrajit to be narrated by Agastya; it is located as a tailpiece to the equally puzzling episode at 7,25.1–15 where he earns a mild rebuke from Rāvaṇa for offering a sacrifice to various *devas* (“our enemies”) to gain spectacular weapons and powers. He then uses his powers almost immediately afterwards in the attack on Indra’s heaven (7,27–30.14), even imperiously taking over command from his exhausted father in an abrupt intervention that is uncharacteristic both of son and of father (Rāvaṇa has been/will be mortified and furious at 6,92.30–93.9 when his charioteer rescues him from similar danger). In the *Sundara* and *Yuddha kāṇḍas* Indrajit, though a powerful warrior, is respectfully subservient to his father. However, there are unspecific allusions in the core text (5,21.10 and 6,98.12) to Indra being defeated by Rāvaṇa himself, which may be nothing more significant than generalised references to his role as overall leader of the assault; equally well they may point to some form of an episode predating Indrajit’s intervention. Indeed, other definite allusions in the VRm (attributed to Stage 1)¹⁶ at 6,35.22; 6,67.3; 6,78.46 (Śakra is especially delighted by death of Indrajit); and (Stage 2) at 6,60.17 and 6,73.32; 6,79.1 + 9 appear to confirm Indrajit’s role. The whole implausible episode appears to be a clumsy and specious attempt to explain the name “Indrajit” (“he who would be capable of defeating Indra”) – better understood as the basis for the later narrative, rather than its consequence – by relating it to an actual incident. The more specific meaning

¹⁶ Definitions of the stages of composition can be found at John Brockington 1985: 329, or 2000: 353, or John Brockington & Mary Brockington 2006: 375.

(“defeater of Indra”) is subsequently conferred as a reward by the smooth-tongued Prajāpati when he negotiates the ransom of the captive Indra in exchange for the boon that Indrajit will be killed in battle only if he fails to complete a sacrifice to Agni (7,30.5; a foreboding, as the audience already knows, to Indrajit’s future death at 6,72–78).

The names chosen to designate Rāvaṇa’s son provide some corroboration of the late nature of the episode. Throughout 7,1–34 the indeterminate “Rāvaṇi” appears 18 times (each time referring to the son to be known as “Indrajit”), with no distinction between the Sub-units; “Meghanāda”, the name given him in his birth-story, appears a total of 4 times, 3 times in Sub-unit 1, and only once in Sub-unit 2; the distribution of “Indrajit” shows no difference in usage between the Sub-units, and indicates that the name familiar from the core books was still being used before the episode detailing the bestowal of the name became fixed in the canon.¹⁷

As a tail-piece to this whole episode the focus is then abruptly shifted from the *rākṣasas* to the *devas*: Prajāpati subjects the miserable Indra to a lecture attributing his military impotence to punishment for his rape of Ahalyā, a sin of which he can be absolved by performing a *vaiṣṇava* sacrifice (7,30). Evidently Indra is as open to punishment for rape as Rāvaṇa (7,17; 7,24.1–17; 7,26), although this punishment is rather more seemly – if less immediately effective – than the loss of his genitals meted out to him by the outraged Gautama in the *Bālakāṇḍa* account of his adultery (1,47.24–28; 48.1–10).¹⁸ Nonetheless, a consequence of this unexpected digression, presumably unintended, is that in diminishing Indra’s might it diminishes Indrajit’s triumph and therefore the glory of his ultimate conqueror.

Rāvaṇa humiliated (7,31–34)

Agastya’s account of the *rākṣasas* reaches its climax when Rāvaṇa himself suffers two humiliating defeats, one by Arjuna Kārtavīrya Sahasrabāhu (7,31–33) followed by one by Vālin (7,34); both accounts reciprocate and even parody the capture and release of Indra, and both come loaded with unstated menace for Rāvaṇa to an audience well versed in epic narrative traditions. Is the purpose of the Arjuna Sahasrabāhu episode limited to the humiliation of Rāvaṇa by indicating his vulner-

¹⁷ “Meghanāda”: the only occurrences in the whole CE are at 1,3.26b (Vālmiki’s summary of this incident); 7,12.26b,28d; 7,25.4d (all Sub-unit 1); and 7,28.2d (Sub-unit 2, at the beginning of his battle with Jayanta). “Indrajit”: is frequent in the core books, but the only occurrences in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* are at 7,1.21b; 7,12.26c; 7,25.34a; and 7,30.5c, 8b, 10b, 14c, 42a, with only the occurrences in *sargas* 1 and 30 referring to the bestowal of the name (Sub-unit 2), while those in *sargas* 12 and 25 are found in Sub-unit 1, significantly *before* the bestowal of the honorific name, and confirming both the late adoption of the literal understanding of the name and the even later composition of the reference in VRm 1,3.26b.

¹⁸ Renate Söhnen-Thieme (1996) examines many versions of the story of Indra and Ahalyā, assuming that the episode found at VRm 1,47–48 was composed before that at 7,30.15–41.

ability, or is it a more direct warning of Rāma's ultimate supremacy? Arjuna is otherwise virtually unknown in the VRm, mentioned only in passing at 1,74.23. He is better known in the MBh where he is killed by Rāma Jāmadagnya in revenge for the murder of his father (1,98.1); but his conqueror Rāma Jāmadagnya submits to Rāma Dāśarathi at VRm 1,73–76.¹⁹ So for Rāvaṇa to be overcome by Arjuna, the *rākṣasa* villain can only be considered by the audience as of very little account as a warrior.

Vālin presents a similar case (7,34). His capture of Rāvaṇa, bringing to an end Agastya's recital of successive defeats, is even more humiliating. Rāma is warned of his great strength (4,11.3–6 and 47), easily exceeds it in the ally test posed by Sugrīva, then kills him with a single shot; indignantly, the dying *vānara* king claims that he could have captured Rāvaṇa easily and restored Sītā to Rāma (4,16.25–27, 17.1–3+41–42), a boast that may well have suggested the episode narrated with such gusto by Agastya.

B. The rise of Hanumān 7,35–36

A two-*sarga* appendix to Agastya's narrative about the *rākṣasas* brings Hanumān to the fore. Rāma summarises his powers and exploits, declaring his heroic deeds to be greater than those of Vālin and Rāvaṇa (7,35.2), and greater even than a number of *devas* (7,35.8) asking Agastya to explain why he had not used them to rescue Sugrīva from Vālin's rage (4,9–11 and 4,45). The request and Agastya's answer presents the author with two anomalies which he is forced to ignore. One is that it seems that Hanumān himself is present in Ayodhyā until sent back to Kiṣkindhā with the other *vānaras* in 7,39, so it would have been logical for Rāma to have asked him himself. The other is that Hanumān's inactivity in *kāṇḍa* 4 (where he is already prominent and characterised by his loyalty) is a narrative necessity, for it is not he but Rāma who must be made to kill Vālin, so that Rāma may claim the grateful Sugrīva's aid on the basis of their parallel misfortunes. As always, logic must be subservient to an author's desire to create a good story.

In his explanation Agastya reproduces much of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* story of the monkey's birth as son of Vāyu and his babyhood leap towards the sun, gaining him his name and a boon from Brahmā after the angry Vāyu has been propitiated (VRm 4,65; allusion at 6,19.13–16). The author elaborates and augments the basic narrative with attacks on Rāhu and on Airāvata by the young monkey, incurring a much-intensified reaction from Vāyu (and some gratifyingly vulgar audience reaction, no doubt). It is now made plain that Hanumān's earlier silence was not the result of bashfulness but because the unruly child had been cursed by some sages

¹⁹ The relationship (if any) between 7,31–34 and 1,73–76 is uncertain; both are clearly very late, but Arjuna's encounter with Rāvaṇa seems more likely to be a development based on the *Bālakāṇḍa* passage than the reverse.

to forget his prowess for a long time (7,36.27–34). The sages had been provoked by his riotous behaviour (typical of real monkeys interacting with real humans at sacred sites even today, and adding a refreshingly realistic touch to the whole fantasy world of the *Rāmāyaṇa*); significantly, the undisciplined child's arrogant behaviour was fuelled by his reliance on the boons he had been granted. The whole episode recalls and contrasts with Rāvaṇa's behaviour in the earlier part of Agastya's narrative, with his obsessive warfare recast to be appropriate for a hero figure, rather than a villain. The young culprit is lovable, and his punishment is not designed to be permanent, unlike Rāvaṇa's retribution; the sages merely protect their peace and their property, knowing that the boisterous child's strength will be/have been needed (and used) later in the story.

Not only does this author augment Hanumān's physical prowess; he introduces a new factor, his mental abilities, into the picture, in what seems to be an attempt to attribute to him a fully-rounded personality comparable to the human heroes. He could hardly be expected to have received an education similar to the one that made the young Rāghavas so accomplished (1,17.14–22), yet Rāma now attributes not only heroic virtues, but also wisdom and mastery of polity (7,35.3) to the monkey characterised in the core *kāṇḍas* as impulsive, excitable and simple, clearly indicating a rise in his status. Beside his traditional physical prowess, heroism and fortitude, Agastya now extols his upright, agreeable nature and his shrewd, penetrating intelligence, and tells how the eager Hanumān mastered the complexities of grammar: turning to the sun he followed it in its path from its rising to its setting – from the eastern to the western mountains – facing the all-seeing Sūrya (7,36.41–42). This is an elaborated form of the boon already bestowed by Sūrya at 7,36.13–14, and it takes up hints already present in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, where he deliberates carefully about the best level of language to use in talking to the captive Sītā (5,28.17–19), and delivers a speech to Rāvaṇa appropriate to the role as Rāma's ambassador he has decided to assume (5,48.10–49, particularly 49.15–19).

To laud Hanumān in this way has the same disadvantage that was noted in Agastya's accounts of Rāvaṇa and Indrajit: his strength is great, and apparently limitless, but it is dependent on a boon conferred by Brahmā. At 4,65.25 the boon protects him from death in battle from any weapons, modified to the impossibility of being bound at 5,46.36–51 and 48.14–15 to suit the context at Rāvaṇa's court. So Hanumān, like Rāvaṇa, is no longer quite so great personally as we have been led to believe. These two *sargas* also were composed in a culture where the heroic emphasis of earlier times was no longer all-important. It can safely be assumed that Agastya's account of Hanumān's back-story was composed at a late stage in the compilation of the tradition now known as the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa*, and in imitation of (and hence later than) *sargas* 7,1–34, to which it is connected only tenuously; the notably elaborate nature of some of its diction adds credibility to the supposition that the passage was not included until a late point in the compilation. 7,36.44 in

particular was evidently composed in full knowledge of the *vānara* incarnation narrated in the *Bālakāṇḍa* (1,16).²⁰

Hanumān is depicted in later tradition in two contradictory ways. Some texts elevate him, until in modern times he reaches the status of a hugely powerful god, particularly in popular culture. Texts with a strong Śaiva emphasis adopt him, some even making him a son of Śiva, while those with different affiliations may diminish or even eliminate him completely. Agastya's narrative reflects an early stage of the glorification process; the *Mahābhārata* tradition provides prominent (and contradictory) examples of all shades of opinion.²¹ The encounter with Bhīma Pāṇḍava (the *Hanumadbhīmasaṃvāda*, MBh 3,146.59–150.15), in which Bhīma is ignominiously defeated by his elderly half-brother,²² extends the glorification process. When Bhīma is favoured with a display of Hanumān's wondrously massive form, he declares that Rāma could have delegated the conduct of the war to Hanumān. Hanumān agrees, explaining that he forebore merely in order not to detract from Rāma's glory (149.14–19). Rāma is acknowledged to be Viṣṇu (147.28), and a certain amount of affectionate mockery is directed at both parties; both features tend to indicate a late date for the passage. In the rest of the MBh tradition, however, Hanumān's role is increasingly underplayed. In the Rāmopākhyāna (RU), a substantial summary of the Rāma story found at MBh 3,257–76,²³ many of his more spectacular exploits are eliminated or minimised: his flight to Laṅkā and search for Sītā (66 *sargas* in the VRm) occupies only 12 verses (RU 266.57–68: no search of Laṅkā, no fights, no interview with Rāvaṇa), and in the final battle he takes little individual part: no flights for healing herbs; no bringing the herb-mountain.²⁴ Elsewhere, he is virtually absent from the MBh CE.²⁵ As for its supposed continuation, the *Harivaṃśa*, he has been completely eliminated.²⁶

²⁰ “He himself and these other great *vānara* chiefs ... were created by the gods for your sake, Rāma” (7,36.44). All translations from the Sanskrit text are by John Brockington.

²¹ John Brockington 2004; 2009; Mary Brockington 2005; 2006.

²² Both characters are said to be sons of Vāyu.

²³ Throughout the *upākhyāna*, the adapter naturally and skilfully eliminates or rearranges individual elements to produce a coherent summary of the narrative; his failure to refer to Agastya's narrative is a straightforward part of this process, rather than a more significant omission. The date at which it was composed (and presumably but not necessarily incorporated into the MBh), formerly suggested to be roughly the first century B.C. (John Brockington 1978; 2000: 299–301), is now thought to be perhaps the first century A.D. For a more detailed exploration of the relationship between Agastya's narrative and the RU, see ORA F. New Beginnings: *Appendices*: “RU”.

²⁴ Lakṣmaṇa's wounding by Rāvaṇa's spear (a particularly dramatic episode in the VRm (6,89) is wanting in the RU, perhaps also as part of this process of diminution of his rescuer, Hanumān.

²⁵ John Brockington 2004; John Brockington 2009.

²⁶ Mary Brockington 2005.

C. Characterisation

A notable difference between Agastya's narrative and the portrait of the *rākṣasa* family with which the audience of *kāṇḍas* 3 to 6 have become familiar is the almost complete absence of any attempt at characterisation. The Rāvaṇa who had burst on to the scene in the middle of the *Aranyakāṇḍa* is bombastic, arrogant, self-confident, buoyed up by sycophantic courtiers, and heedless of advice that contradicts his own self-image as omnipotent. Yet as Rāma's attack on Lankā proceeds, he becomes ever more wary, at first hiding his misgivings behind a screen of rage, eventually being overcome by grief after the death of one close relative after another, admitting regret at his banishment of Vibhīṣaṇa, and voicing his sorrow for the death of Kumbhakarṇa in terms strikingly similar to those in which Rāma laments his fear that Lakṣmaṇa has been killed.²⁷ Despite his ten heads and ability to fly, the monster of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is shown to develop an affectingly normal human personality, an appropriate foe for the still human Rāma. Agastya's Rāvaṇa shows no such subtle development, no such gradually unfolding emotions, indeed, no human feeling at all. Śūrpaṇakhā alone is allowed to retain the outspoken contempt for her brother she showed in the *Aranyakāṇḍa*,²⁸ and the audience might be tempted to think that Rāvaṇa consigns her to Daṇḍaka for the sake of sheer self-protection; the real explanation, of course, is authorial necessity. Rāvaṇa is governed by anger, pride, lust (the lust modified at last by a certain amount of self-interest and, again, authorial necessity); even in the face of outright defeat by Arjuna Sahasrabāhu and utter humiliation by Vālin he is attributed no emotion. The fearsome human monster of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is now nothing more than a pantomime villain with no humanity and no monstrosity.

Rāvaṇa is not the only hero defeated by mockery. Indra and others of his fellow-*devas* suffer the same banal degradation. When Rāvaṇa attacks Marutta, the *lokapālas* assembled for his sacrifice are treated with similar derision. Inhibited by his boon of invincibility, they cannot resist the onslaught; terrified, they take ignominious refuge inside the wombs of various animals.²⁹ Marutta cravenly uses his status as sacrificer to evade combat, abandoning the assembled seers to be devoured by Rāvaṇa (7,18). Later on Viṣṇu, the Supreme Spirit, the Lord Nārāyaṇa (7,27), is clearly embarrassed at having to refuse Indra's request for aid to repulse another *rākṣasa* attack, and excuses himself by pointing out that the time (pre-ordained by the narrative) for him to fulfil his destiny has not yet arrived. Worse still, not only is Indra ultimately captured by Indrajit and taken prisoner to Lankā, to be ransomed by Prajāpati's cajolery and bribery, but he is further humiliated by the lecture he

²⁷ Rāma's laments for Lakṣmaṇa: 6,39.5–6; 6,89.6–8+28. Rāvaṇa's lament for Kumbhakarṇa: 6,56, particularly vv. 12 and 16–18.

²⁸ 3,31, cf. 7,24.

²⁹ An origin myth: afterwards, the grateful gods grant their hosts various boons relating to their appearance or nature.

receives on his sexual transgression with Ahalyā.³⁰ The Warrior-King of the Gods is portrayed as nothing more than a naughty schoolboy scolded by his headmaster.

If Indra, hampered by his past sin, is such a poor figure that Indrajit's victory over him is no great achievement, how great is his killer's triumph? And is Agastya's whole account of the *rākṣasas* any more successful in extolling Rāma's might for having triumphed over an utterly fearsome enemy who yet has no power, and is eventually presented as a figure of fun? Did Rāma enjoy hearing that his glory was tarnished, and his supreme exertions of body and spirit had been just not worth the bother? Worse still, now that he has been elevated to divine status as Viṣṇu, he and his fellow gods fare little better. At the hands of the creators of Agastya's narrative of the *rākṣasas* – by comparison with successive creators of the core text, and with the characters they created – how are the mighty fallen!

D. Structure and purpose of Agastya's post-victory narratives

The passage 7,1–36, with its two Sub-units and its appendix on Hanumān – with all their anomalies and unintended consequences – are a development out of the core narrative found in VRm 2–6, but not a departure from its main purpose: the exaltation of Rāma. As a whole it presents a succession of disparate episodes clearly, carefully and effectively structured to demonstrate the limitations of Rāvaṇa's moral, physical and sexual prowess (founded as they are on his boon of invulnerability alone). It has been compiled from narrative elements of varied natures – military might, statecraft, familial obligations and respect, intervention by Viṣṇu, burlesque humiliation and ridicule of the villain – all overhung and welded together by a sense of doom based on the audience's foreknowledge of the outcome, buttressed by reassuring narratorial interventions addressed to Rāma, the fictive audience.³¹

The overall purpose of Agastya's narratives as presented nevertheless poses a number of puzzles. In what purports to be an encomium on his glory, the newly-installed Rāma is praised for killing Indrajit, whose capture of Indra during Rāvaṇa's assault on Indra's heaven is said to prove him a greater threat to Rāma and the cosmos than was Rāvaṇa. Yet the death of Indrajit has regularly been presented throughout the VRm tradition as the most spectacular exploit, not of Rāma, but of

³⁰ A fairly extreme example of the decline in status throughout the epics noted by John Brockington (2001). A different account of the episode now appears at VRm 1,47–48, where there is no suggestion in the text that Rāma is Viṣṇu. He remains the hero-prince, the focus of a series of episodes steadily building up, through miraculous birth and education, to the climax of his validation tests: recognition at Mithilā and marriage. The progression is typical of a heroic Wonder Tale. When either account first entered the tradition is uncertain. Of course, the narrative structure is again complicated by the overall time-frame, literally interpreted. For a more detailed exploration of the relationship between the two accounts of Ahalyā's redemption, see ORA F. New Beginnings: *Appendices*: "Ahalyā, Indra and Rāma".

³¹ 7,8.23–25; 7,34.44.

Lakṣmaṇa, and by this point it should be far too well-established in the received text to allow such an apparently careless blunder to remain unchallenged by the audience. The matter is raised rather intemperately by a group of seers, so Rāma politely asks for an explanation. Agastya's reply, presented as the whole purpose of his narrative from 7,2.1, strangely does not address the topic for another 27 *sargas*, towards the end, but before the present climax, of Sub-unit 2 (7,28–30); he eventually summarises his answer to Rāma's question at 7,30.42. Whether the sages' error (which the author does not cause Rāma to correct), together with a less decisive hint at 7,27.15, can be explained as really no more than authorial slips, or whether deliberate, the discrepancy is certainly glaring.³²

A more fundamental problem, as far as the structure is concerned, is that the current text leaves Sub-unit 1 (that is to say, the original beginning to the *Uttarakāṇḍa*) with neither an opening nor a purpose. Here a comparison with the wording of the RU may be helpful. This MBh *upākhyāna* not merely follows the narrative of the VRm,³³ but reproduces the text of the NE recension closely.³⁴ Significantly, its adapter used only expressions appearing in Sub-unit 1, strongly suggesting that Sub-unit 2 was not yet available as a model when the RU was being compiled; that is to say, it corroborates the suggestion that at least parts of the enclosing passage I have identified as Sub-unit 2 were added after Sub-unit 1 had already been in circulation for some time. One such expression, applied to Indrajit to explain the magnitude of the threat he had posed, occurs at 7,1.21c,³⁵ and is in no way incompatible with the list of *rākṣasa* warriors named as killed in verses 16 to 18. Indrajit's superiority to Rāvaṇa is mentioned only in verses 19 to 20, and picked up in Rāma's request to Agastya for more information at verses 23–27; only in verse 27 is Indrajit credited with conquering Indra. If verses 19–27 are considered as having been inserted to facilitate the incorporation of Sub-unit 2 (i.e. they are in effect part of Sub-unit 2), the majority of *sarga* 7,1 (vv. 1–18) falls into place as the original introduction to Agastya's narrative, with a presumed question by Rāma for information about Rāvaṇa himself now overlaid by verses 23–27 forming the question mentioned at 7,2.1. The sage then opens his reply making no allusion to Indrajit, leading naturally into the description of Rāvaṇa's lineage and early exploits forming the content of Sub-unit 1. To excise the whole of the speech of the importunate sages at 7,1.12–22, with Rāma's response, would leave the whole of Agastya's narrative, not just

³² This is not the only careless slip made by the authors of Agastya's narrative; Kumbhakarna is "asleep for many thousands of years" at 7,13.7 (Sub-unit 1), but takes a full part in battles at *sargas* 25 (Sub-unit 1) and 28 (Sub-unit 2).

³³ See above, fn. 23.

³⁴ John Brockington 1978; 2000.

³⁵ *avadhyaḥ sarvabhūtānām* "unkillable by all beings". Other parallels at 7,2.4bcd, 7,10.6ab and 7,10.10bcd (all in verses ascribed to Sub-unit 1) offer very strong evidence for borrowing by the RU.

Sub-unit 1, with no appropriate opening or purpose. Nor can the capture of Indra (7,28–29), awkwardly introduced though it is, easily be separated from its present context in Agastya's narrative; the passage is too integral to the structure of the text. It is firmly linked to other constituent elements by the figure and attributes of Viṣṇu, testifying to a particularly late stage of development in the text of the VRm. It seems reasonable to locate the Indrajit/Indra duel in the context of Viṣṇu's defeat of Sumālin and his brothers (7,3.20–8.25) together with the whole of Rāvaṇa's attack on the *devas* in Indra's heaven that culminates in the Indrajit episode (7,27–30.14).

Indeed, the extent and cohesion of the component narrative elements comprising VRm 7,1–36 as a whole is not entirely clear. Somewhat discourteously, Agastya abruptly closes the conversation and leads his fellow-seers away at 7,36.45–46,³⁶ seeming to refer only to *sargas* 35 and 36; only by forcing the wording could v. 45 be stretched to cover 7,1–36 in its entirety. However, the conclusion of the account of the *rākṣasas* is even more cursory, with no suggestion of the seers' departing.³⁷ 7,30.42 closes the conversation in a much more satisfactory way, by referring back to the opening of Sub-unit 2 (the declared purpose of Agastya's whole narrative)³⁸ and raising the implication that Rāvaṇa's encounters with Arjuna and Vālin (7,31–34), as well as the appendix on Hanumān, were conceived and inserted as further Sub-units of Agastya's narrative.

During this transitional stage the old heroic culture, concentrating on human men and their superhuman exploits, was being submerged by a culture that preferred stories of gods, with supernatural boons replacing natural prowess, and wonders occasionally giving way to tasteless ridicule and vulgar burlesque. The Old Order had changed. The earliest form of the Rāma story that we can retrieve narrates the efforts of the virtuous young prince to uphold the integrity of his father Daśaratha, and to rescue his captive wife and punish her abductor, Rāvaṇa. When the gods became involved as more than mere admirers of the human Rāma, the purpose of the narrative was changed to a more universal one: Rāvaṇa was a threat to the whole cosmos (particularly to the gods themselves) and a hero must be found who would destroy Rāvaṇa and save the gods from destruction – the unintended consequence of boons conferred on the *rākṣasa* king by Brahmā himself, making the gods powerless to act in their own defence. Viṣṇu undertakes the task of becoming incarnate as the human Rāma, and narrative problems abound. Some, where heroes and villains alike are disparaged, have been discussed already.

³⁶ “I have told you everything you ask me about; I have described Hanumān's childish deed. You have had sight and conversation with us, Rāma.” With these words all the sages left again. 7,36.45–46. In these two verses the poet has reverted to the śloka metre, after an interruption of four verses in longer metre.

³⁷ “Vālin's incomparable strength was absolute, Rāma, and yet he was burnt up by you, like a moth in a fire.” (7,34.44)

³⁸ “Indrajit's strength was as I have described to you, Rāma; he conquered the king of the gods, so what chance is there for other living beings?” (7,30.42)

This change of purpose prompts a number of simplistic questions, to which the answers are far from simple. Now that the concept of the heroic has been modified, who is the hero of the Rāma story? Of course, it remains Rāma. But is Rāma still himself, or is he now Viṣṇu? Some of the more highly developed adaptations call him exclusively “Viṣṇu”, and clearly think of him as Viṣṇu the god, not as Rāma the man (or former man). And we now know that whoever he is, he is not necessarily as great as we were led to believe, when he was a single human being ranged against an all-powerful supernatural enemy.

Even allowing for the fact that space is limited in such a brief summary of the whole complex narrative, the redirected focus has removed the need for any mention of some of the tradition’s most significant and prominent characters. Daśaratha now has no place in the plot and Sītā appears only as a hint – the means for the reborn Vedavati to achieve her revenge. The mighty Hanumān supplants all Rāma’s other *vānara* allies. Lakṣmaṇa too is absent, but his position is rather more complicated. In the first *sarga* of the whole passage the audience is told that the killing of Indrajit had been the most crucial point of the battle, as the rest of Agastya’s narrative (or at least part of Sub-unit 2) purports to explain. So is Lakṣmaṇa, traditional killer of Indrajit, the real hero? In what I postulate as the first words of Sub-unit 2, Rāma himself is specifically said to have killed Indrajit.³⁹ Rāma is by this time acknowledged to be Viṣṇu incarnate (7,8.25), so the implied hero must be Viṣṇu, who chose to be born to Daśaratha as his human father (VRm 1,15.7). An anomaly immediately arises when the childless king is given *pāyasa* to distribute to his three chief wives at the sacrifice that produces his sons (vv.17–18). It is part of the story that Daśaratha has four sons: is Viṣṇu to be born only as Rāma, or as all four? Daśaratha’s division of the *pāyasa* in unequal shares (vv. 25–27) muddies a problem for which hundreds of subsequent tellers have struggled in vain to find a satisfactory resolution.⁴⁰ Is the transfer of Lakṣmaṇa’s greatest exploit to Rāma at 7,1.19–21 another clumsy attempt to deal with the anomaly?

The reader will be aware by now that one of my biggest problems in preparing my text has been the question of what tense to use when comparing events in the core books 2–6 – fixed in the minds of audience or readers as “already in the past” – with others in books 1 and 7, specifically in 7,1–36, as having occurred long before. This is not the trivial matter it may seem: it is symbolic of a whole host of dilemmas faced by subsequent tellers, of whom the fictive Agastya is only one of the earliest, when trying to introduce new material into a well-known tale.

³⁹ “... when Rāvaṇi engaged in a duel with you, fortunately you killed him.” (7,1.19cd)

⁴⁰ Many redistribute the *pāyasa* in ever more complicated ways, while many declare outright that Viṣṇu had undergone a fourfold incarnation, thus fulfilling the expectations before the *aśvamedha* (VRm 1,11.12); but never are the brothers given equal status in the narrative. The traditional tale evidently cannot be subjected to such a drastic transformation. Rāma is paramount in all traditions except the Jain, where from Vimalasūri onwards Lakṣmaṇa plays the superior role (even to killing Rāvaṇa), but that is for sectarian rather than military reasons.

The relationship between allusions in the core text and the newly extended narrative poses many intriguing puzzles too complex to explore in the present article: has the new narrative been expanded out of these suggestions – have the “beginnings” found their “ends” in the later-composed passage – or are the brief allusions much later interpolations – the “ends” of “new beginnings” initiated in the newly-composed Agastya passages?⁴¹

The whole of Agastya’s post-victory narrative at 7,1–36 was demonstrably composed in several different stages, almost certainly at several different dates (perhaps as much as 500 years apart), but the unifying thread linking all sections and sub-sections is the attempt to force the well-known, highly popular and carefully crafted Rāma narrative into a new mould to make it conform to different standards and values. This is a hazardous occupation, especially when it involves disparaging villains, gods, allies and heroes alike. That such disparate elements could be tolerated in a single series of episodes is evidence that the culture that produced it was in a state of transition, with the process of evolution from the heroic, via the burlesque, towards full acceptance of Viṣṇu as supreme god just beginning. It is the quality and attraction of the original narrative that has enabled it to survive that process with its popularity unimpaired.

Abbreviations

CE = Critical Edition

MBh = *Mahābhārata*

ORA = Oxford Research Archive

RU = *Rāmopākhyāna*

VRm = *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa*

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⁴¹ Some random thoughts on the issue can be found on ORA (see fn. 3 above), at F. New Beginnings: 3. “Rough Notes”: *Allusions*; I hope to write these up later into a coherent piece of research.

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Sažetak

Tradicionalna priča o Rāmi, nastala možda oko petoga stoljeća prije Krista, ubrzo je postala toliko poznata i toliko voljena da su se glavni obrisi njezine priče morali slijediti kad god bi se priča prepričavala ili proširivala. Taj je zahtjev („početak”) često bio u sukobu s jednakom prijetnjom potrebe za inovacijom, koju diktiraju ili osobni talent novog pripovjedača ili promjene u vrijednostima kasnijih generacija. Sedma knjiga takozvane Vālmīkijeve *Rāmāyaṇe* (koja navodno predstavlja „kraj”) započinje dugačkim odlomkom od 36 *sarga* koje se pripisuju Agastyi, koji je očigledno sastavljen u dugom vremenskom razdoblju, a koji radnju vraća nekoliko generacija u prošlost prije prethodno utvrđenoga „početka”. Novi pjesnici stalno su bili sputani znanjem o tome što će se tek dogoditi u središnjem narativu, i to znanjem, što je ključno, koje je tijekom najmanje pet stoljeća uzastopno dijelila publika. To se nije moglo zanemariti, koliko je god to bilo postalo nezgodno ili neprikladno novom narativu ili suvremenom religijskom shvaćanju. U ovom se članku istražuje interakcija između „početaka” i „krajeva” te poteškoće u nastojanju da se pomire rezultati s tradicionalnim pogledom na heroje i zlikovce.

Why did Śambūka have to die?

Abstract

The story about Śambūka, a Śūdra who was killed by Rāma because he apparently transgressed *dharma* by performing unlawful activity is probably inserted into the epic to illustrate Rāma's strictness in protecting *dharma*. By analyzing the episode this paper argues that Rāma's action cannot be taken as just without any question. To prove this the paper examines a number of standard legal texts – Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras – in order to find support for Rāma's severe punishment of Śambūka. It seems that such a support is not easily traceable and that Rāma's actions could be interpreted in different ways – not in the context of the sacred law, *dharmaśāstra*, but in the context of a possible illustration of the changed political and social situation in the period when the episode was inserted. Such possible interpretations include the preserving of the social position of the brahmin class or a reflection of the actual advancement of the Indo-Europeans to the South of the Sub-continent.

A few years ago, going through the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, the seventh book of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, I realized that, in spite of many inconsistencies, many loosely connected stories and events that it describes, *Uttara* nevertheless presents interesting readings, and some of its parts may pose interesting questions that might tell us something about the social context and probably through this let us discuss some problems of textual criticism in a different manner. The story to which I would like to turn my attention in this paper is one about Śambūka: a Śūdra who suffered the capital punishment by Rāma, his sole offence being that he was performing *tapas* at the slope of some mountain in the southern region. The questions I would like to answer in this regard are the following:

- What was the justification of Rāma's deed?
- How does it fit into the picture of Rāma the righteous one?
- Does the episode give us any clue about the history of the ideas and, if so, the history of the text?

- Does the geographical positioning of the transgressor reflect any kind of North-South antagonism?

But before the actual attempt to answer these questions, let me summarize the story briefly.

It happened on one occasion that a *brāhmaṇa* came to Rāma's court, carrying his dead five-year old son and accusing Rāma that it must be his misrule in the kingdom that causes the untimely death. Rāma summons the *munis* and one of them (Nārada) explained to him about the acceptability of performing penances among different classes in different cosmic periods (*yugas*). It turned out from this explanation that *tapas* was an acceptable activity only for Brahmins in the *kṛtayuga*, for Brahmins and Kṣatriyas in the *tretāyuga*, for Vaiśyas too in the *dvāparayuga*, and that it will be acceptable also for Śūdras in the future *yuga*, i.e. the *kaliyuga* (which *yuga* was to come in the supposed action time of the epic).¹ But for the time being, explains Nārada, it is not allowed for a Śūdra to perform penances, and exactly this is happening somewhere in Rāma's realm, which in turn caused the Brahmin's son death. Rāma then searches the four quarters of his realm (in the order: West, North, East, South) and finds no transgressor in the first three, but finds a man doing penances in the South, at the northern slope of mount Śaivala.² Upon questioning about his origin, Śambūka (the penance doer) immediately states that he is a Śūdra. Without any further questioning Rāma beheaded him, and at the same time the Brahmin's son is restored to life.³ (Rm CE 7,64–67)

A number of questions rose in my mind when first I read the passage. Should not Rāma as a paragon of righteousness enquire into the subject somewhat more intensively? Wasn't there any less drastic solution? Why did only one Brahmin's son die because of the *dharma* deterioration, and why exactly this one? Do the Dharmaśāstras really prescribe such a severe action in such cases? What about the woman ascetic mentioned earlier in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Śabarī)?

Following that strain of thoughts and researching a little more I realized that the passage was obviously a dissonant note in the core of the epic sentiment. Several authors commented on it, and traditional commentaries also found it interesting and tried to give some more explanation. In later reworkings, the story that is blatantly cruel in Vālmīki, was also submitted to adaptation and adjustment to the expected taste of the readers. Rāma's action has been approved either on the grounds that

¹ For detailed description who in which *yuga* can practise *tapas*, see CE 7,65.9–23.

² According to commentaries *Rāmāyaṇatilaka* by Rāma and *Rāmāyaṇaśiromaṇi* by Śiva-sahāya it is a mountain not too far to the South of the Vindhya. Govindarāja just states that it is *vindhyasamīpavartigiriḥ* ('a mountain not too far from the Vindhya').

³ The story continues here with Rāma's visit to Agastya's *āśrama* and accepting a divine ornament as a gift (the CE gives quite a short description of this encounter, but many manuscripts include an elaborate scene of the gods rejoicing and doing a favor to Rāma after beheading Śambūka.)

Rāma is actually “... the Supreme Lord who came to earth on a special mission, so he needs to perform certain acts that ordinary mortals might not consider appropriate” (Richman 2001: 7),⁴ or as an act of compassion that is meant to help Śāmbūka to attain heaven as in the *Ānandarāmāyana* (Aklujkar 2001).

Especially in modern times the story provoked reworking in different genres and has been subject to dramatic adaptation that put into question the real objective of Rāma’s action or at least its meaning on the larger scale (Richman 2004). A not unusual view of the event explains it as a symbolic act of colonization of the Indian South by the Brahman dominated North. We must not forget that Rāma in the Vālmiki episode was the sole agent of Brahmanical ideas. **First** the grieving **Brahmin** himself explains to Rāma that it must be somehow his fault as a king that such an untimely death happened in the kingdom (*rājadoṣair vipadyante prajā hy avidhipālītāḥ | asadvṛtte tu nṛpatāv akāle mriyate janaḥ*, Rm 7,64.12), and then, **secondly**, the **Brahmin** Nārada explained to Rāma about the classes authorized to do *tapas* in a particular *yuga*, stating that it is a substantial break of the law if it is performed by a Śūdra in the *tretāyuga*. And exactly this, states Nārada, is happening in Rāma’s kingdom right now. Therefore, the untimely death of the Brahmin’s son. We will put aside, for a moment, the question how exactly Nārada knew that a Śūdra is performing *tapas*, and why he did not tell Rāma where exactly it is happening and spare him his search in the Eastern, Northern and Western regions. And how exactly Nārada knew that **this particular offence** is the cause of the Brahmin boy’s death and not some other breach of the law (there is an inexhaustible treasury of offences that could be interpreted as a breach of the law in Rāma’s realm and could be the cause of the young Brahmin’s death), or to put it in other words, where is there a prescription of the type: “... and if a Śūdra performs *tapas* in some realm, then an untimely death of a Brahman boy will occur”. Nārada concluded his explanation with a verse:

Rm 7.65.25

*sa tvaṃ puruṣaśārdūla mārgasva viṣayaṃ svakam |
duṣkṛtaṃ yatra paśyethās tatra yatnaṃ samācara ||*

Therefore, you tiger among men, search through your region, and when you spot the transgressor, take care of it.

These lines does not even suggest the way in which Rāma should deal with the situation, but simply state that Rāma should stop it. It does not say “kill him” or something similar.⁵ Such an imprecise and laconic suggestion by Nārada, one would expect, would presuppose the regulation of such a situation in legal treaties. But after looking in several fundamental texts (the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, the Dharmasūtras of *Āpastamba*, *Gautama*, *Baudhāyana* and *Vasiṣṭha*) it turned out that no such situa-

⁴ Richman gives such an explanation when commenting on the way problematic topics from Vālmiki were dealt with by Tulsīdās.

⁵ The phrase *yatnaṃ samācara* is explained as *nivāraṇayatnaṃ* by CTi., *nivāraṇopayaṃ samācara* by CRā, and *nirākaraṇayatnaṃ* by CGo.

tion is mentioned, and therefore no punishment is prescribed for it. The only important text that in a way asks for Rāma's action (although without detailed description of it) is the very same passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ch. 64) where Nārada explains to Rāma about different varṇas in respect of their right to perform tapas. Dharmasāstras and Dharmasūtras, while referring at places to the offences done by a Śūdra and prescribing the appropriate punishment for a particular offence, nowhere mention explicitly what should be done with the tapas-performing Śūdra. So, for example, we can find in these texts the rules concerning Śūdras that state what a Śūdra is supposed to do:

ĀDhS 1,1.7–8

śudrūṣā śūdrasetareṣāṃ varṇānām. pūrvasmin pūrvasmin varṇe niḥśreyasaṃ bhūyaḥ.

Śūdras are to serve the other classes; the higher the class they serve, the greater their prosperity. (Trans. Olivelle 1999: 7.)

But in Gautama there is also said:

GDhS 10,65

pākayaññaiḥ svayaṃ yajetety eke.

According to some, he may offer sacrifices on his own using cooked food. (Trans. Olivelle 1999: 96–97.)

We also can read what are prescriptions for upper class people concerning Śūdras:

ĀDhS 1,9.11–12

*śūdrāyāṃ tu prekṣaṇapratiprekṣaṇayor evānadhyañyaḥ.
tathānyasyāṃ striyāṃ varṇavyatikrāntāyāṃ maithune.*

He shall suspend his vedic recitation, however, if he even exchanges glances with a Śūdra woman 12 or any other woman who has violated class boundaries in her sexual relations. (Trans. Olivelle 2000: 39.)

VDhS 18.14–15

*na śūrāya matiṃ dadyān nocchiṣṭaṃ na haviṣkṛtaṃ |
na cāsyopadiśed dharmam na cāsyā vratam ādiśet || 14 ||
yaś cāsyōpadiśed dharmam yaś cāsyā vratam ādiśet |
so 'saṃvṛttaṃ tamo ghoram saha tena prapadyate || 15 ||*

One should not impart wisdom to a Śūdra or give him one's leftovers (A 1.3.27 n.) or the remnants of a sacrificial offering. One should not teach him the Law or prescribe to him a vow. A man who teaches him the Law or prescribes to him a vow will go to the dreadful hell called Asaṃvṛta. (Trans. Olivelle 1999: 309.)

The proposed punishment for particular offence is not difficult to find too, so the punishment for partaking in some exclusively twice-born activities is sanctioned:

GDhS 12,1–7

śūdro dvijātīn atisaṃdhāyābhīhatya vāgdaṇḍapāruṣyābhyām aṅgaṃ mocyo yenopahanyāt. āryastryabhiḡgamane liṅgoddhāraḥ svaharaṇaṃ ca. goptā ced vadho 'dhikaḥ. atha hāsyā vedam upaśṛṇvatas trapujatubhyām śrotrapratipūraṇam. udāharaṇe jihvācchedaḥ. dhāraṇe śarīrabhedaḥ. āsanaśayanāvākpathiṣu samaprepsur daṇḍyaḥ.

If a Śūdra uses abusive language or physical violence against twice-born people (ADhS 1,1.16–18), the part of his body used for the crime should be chopped off. If he has sex with an Ārya woman, his penis should be cut off and all his property confiscated; if the woman had a guardian, then, in addition to the above, he shall be executed. **And if he listens in on a vedic recitation, his ears shall be filled with molten tin or lac; if he repeats it, his tongue shall be cut off; if he commits it to memory, his body shall be split asunder. If, while he is occupying a seat, lying on a bed, speaking, or walking on the road, he seeks to be their equal, he should be beaten.** (Trans. Olivelle 2000: 149.)

ĀDhS 2.27.14–16

jihvācchedanaṃ śūdrasyāryaṃ dhārmikam ākrośataḥ. vāci pathi śayyāyām āsana iti samābhvato daṇḍatāḍanam. puruṣavadhe steye bhūmyādāna iti svāny ādāya vadhyaḥ.

If a Śūdra hurls abusive words at a virtuous Ārya, his tongue shall be cut out. If, while he is speaking, walking on the road, lying in bed, or occupying a seat, a Śūdra pretends to be equal to Āryas, he should be flogged. If a Śūdra kills a man, steals, or appropriates land, he should be executed and his property confiscated. (Trans. Olivelle 2000: 113.)

We could continue to list different passages from which it is obvious that *dharmaśāstra* as a discipline took great care about how to punish different type of transgressions. But even in this prescription for “pretending to be equal to Āryas” it is not prescribed the severest punishment. We see that for killing, stealing and appropriating land severer punishment is to be inflicted on a Śūdra.

To give an overview of the legal status of a Śūdra would be, of course, incomplete if we would not refer to the most famous and probably most authoritative text concerning the duties of different social classes. The *Mānavadharmasāstra* refers to Śūdras at many places, regulating their position in the society relative to the other classes and their responsibility towards the Sacred Law. The common notion is that Śūdras are class whose duty is to serve the three upper classes.

MDhŚ 9,334

*viprāṇāṃ vedaviduṣāṃ grhasthānāṃ yaśasvinām |
śūśrūṣaiva tu śūdrasya dharmo naiśṛeyaśaḥ paraḥ ||*

But to serve Brāhmaṇas (who are) learned in the Vedas, householders, and famous (for virtue) is the highest duty of a Śūdra, which leads to beatitude. (Trans. Bühler 1886.)

MDhŚ 10,123

*viprasevaiva śūdrasya viśiṣṭaṃ karma kīrtyate |
yad ato 'nyad dhi kurute tad bhavaty asya niṣphalam ||*

The service of Brāhmaṇas alone is declared (to be) an excellent occupation for a Śūdra; for whatever else besides this he may perform will bear him no fruit. (Trans. Bühler 1886.)

They are ritually unclean, they should not perform sacrificial rites, and by all means they should be prevented from gaining access to the Vedas. But in spite of this at first sight cruel regulation, *dharmaśāstra* in most part gives the impression that in the traditional Indian society it gave to the Śūdras a specific regulated position, which was not lacking the positive discrimination elements as well. For example, for some offences and crimes the higher the class the higher the punishment.

MDhŚ 8,337–338

*aṣṭāpādyam tu śūdrasya steve bhavati kilbiṣam |
śodaśaiva tu vaiśyasya dvātriṃśat kṣatriyasya ca ||
brāhmaṇasya catuṣṣaṣṭiḥ pūrṇam vāpi śataṁ bhavet |
dviguṇā vā catuṣṣaṣṭis taddoṣaguṇavid dhi saḥ ||*

In (a case of) theft the guilt of a Śūdra shall be eightfold, that of a Vaiśya sixteenfold, that of a Kṣatriya two-and-thirtyfold,

That of a Brāhmaṇa sixty-fourfold, or quite a hundredfold, or (even) twice four-and-sixtyfold; (each of them) knowing the nature of the offence. (Trans. Bühler 1886.)

But in what we are interested more now is: How does MDhŚ sanction a Śūdra practicing tapas? The simple answer is: it doesn't. Nevertheless, we can try to corroborate Rāma's action on the basis of the few chapters from MDhŚ where it proscribes Śūdras from trying to do anything that falls outside their serving-the-upper-class duty.

First, we see that MDhŚ threatens with hell the one who imparts the sacred law to a Śūdra:

MDhŚ 4,81

*yo hy asya dharmam ācaṣṭe yaś caivādiśati vratam |
so 'saṁvṛtaṁ nāma tamaḥ saha tenaiva majjati ||*

For he who explains the sacred law (to a Śūdra) or dictates to him a penance, will sink together with that (man) into the hell (called) Asaṁvṛta. (Trans. Bühler 1886.)

Then there are various passages where a Śūdra's pretending to be like a member of a higher class is sanctioned:

MDhŚ 8,281

*sahāsanam abhiprepsur utkrṣṭasyāpakṣṭajāḥ |
kaṭyām kṛtāṅko nirvāsyah sphicaṁ vāsyāvakartayet ||*

A low-caste man who tries to place himself on the same seat with a man of a high caste, shall be branded on his hip and be banished, or (the king) shall cause his buttock to be gashed. (Trans. Bühler 1886.)

MDhŚ 9,224

*dyūtaṃ samāhvayaṃ caiva yaḥ kuryāt kārayeta vā |
tān sarvān ghātayed rājā śūdrāṃś ca dvijaliṅginah ||*

Let the king corporally punish all those (persons) who either gamble and bet or afford (an opportunity for it), likewise Śūdras who assume the distinctive marks of twice-born (men). (Trans. Bühler 1886.)

Then again, to my surprise, in DHŚ we could find the passages that are in discord with general rules about Śūdra practices:

MDhŚ 10,126–128

*na śūdre pātakaṃ kiṃ cin na ca saṃskāram arhati |
nāsyādhikāro dharme 'sti na dharmāt pratiśedhanam ||
dharmepsavas tu dharmajñāḥ satāṃ vṛttam anuṣṭhitāḥ |
mantravarjyaṃ na duṣyanti praśaṃsāṃ prāpnuvanti ca ||
yathā yathā hi sadvṛttam ātiṣṭhaty anasūyakaḥ |
tathā tathemaṃ cāmuṃ ca lokaṃ prāpnoty aninditaḥ ||*

A Śūdra cannot commit an offence, causing loss of caste (*pātaka*), and he is not worthy to receive the sacraments; he has no right to (fulfill) the sacred law (of the Āryans, yet) there is no prohibition against (his fulfilling certain portions of) the law.⁶

(Śūdras) who are desirous to gain merit, and know (their) duty, commit no sin, but gain praise, if they imitate the practice of virtuous men without reciting sacred texts.

The more a (Śūdra), keeping himself free from envy, imitates the behavior of the virtuous, the more he gains, without being censured, (exaltation in) this world and the next. (Trans. Bühler.)

Finally, there are passages in which punishment for various offences by Śūdras are prescribed, from fines for lesser transgressions to corporal punishment suggested for serious offences, very often connected to the listening of the sacred texts or abusing upper-class people in one way or another. But despite sometimes very detailed descriptions of the type of offence and the appropriate punishment (at times verging on the bizarre),⁷ I could not find any explicit rule about what to do with a Śūdra who is doing *tapas*. The closest to it would be:

MDhŚ 8,418

*vaiśyaśūdrau prayatnena svāni karmāṇi kārayet |
tau hi cyutau svakarmabhyaḥ kṣobhayetām idaṃ jagat ||*

⁶ Commentators to this verse explain that it is not prohibited for Śūdras to perform certain activities prescribed by the Sacred Law, as are ritual bath, organizing five big sacrifices etc. (So in the note on this verse in Olivelle 2009: 338.)

⁷ *avaniṣṭhivato darpād dvāv oṣṭhau chedayen nṛpaḥ |
avamūtrayato meḍhram avaśardhayato gudam ||* (MDhŚ 8,282)

“If out of arrogance he spits (on a superior), the king shall cause both his lips to be cut off; if he urines (on him), the penis; if he breaks wind (against him), the anus.” (MDhŚ 8,282; trans. Bühler 1886.)

(The king) should carefully compel Vaiśyas and Śūdras to perform the work (prescribed) for them; for if these two (castes) swerved from their duties, they would throw this (whole) world into confusion. (Trans. Bühler 1886.)⁸

So, the king is authorized to “carefully compel” (Bühler) or “strenuously make” (Olivelle) Śūdras to do activities that are prescribed to them. If we would like to justify Rāma’s action toward Śambūka with such a sentence, we would have to admit that killing the tapas performing Śūdra in the middle of sentence (a sincere, truthful sentence at that) was a pretty drastic understanding of “carefully compelling” or “strenuously making” somebody to follow the right path.

Summarizing the above, I would dare to say that Rāma’s action was unjustified. Nowhere in Vālmīki’s text, for example, can we read that Śambūka was reading or listening to the sacred texts. So that could not be the basis for punishment. He was even very honest in admitting his Śūdra status without any hesitation. Rāma’s hasty action, without any chance given to Śambūka to explain himself, was really far from the picture of Rāma as a patient and righteous ruler, and the one who was known for constantly warning his younger brother Lakṣmaṇa not to act hastily.

(It is interesting to try to guess something about the relative chronology of the MDhŚ and the Śambūka episode. First of all, we have to decide what is more probable: the author of the Śambūka episode disregarding positive legal rules or the MDhŚ disregarding the episode. In my view it is hardly believable that the legal text of such an importance as MDhŚ would not in a way have tried to reflect on the episode provided it existed at the time of the composing of the MDhŚ. If we, then, assume the date of composition of the MDhŚ closer to the 2nd century CE (Olivelle 2009: XXIII), we have to ascribe the Śambūka episode to post 2nd century *Rāmāyaṇa* parts. Such an approach is, therefore, one more argument for the lateness of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.)

This brings us to our second question: How does the Śambūka episode fit in the image of Rāma as a paragon of righteousness? There are a few episodes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* core story that are notorious for Rāma’s swerving from morally acceptable conduct (although his behaviour should not only be acceptable, but such that it may serve as a role model). In the killing of Vālī episode Rāmā shot this monkey king from behind while the latter was in the middle of a duel with his brother Sugrīva. Not very brave a feat indeed. It incited many discussions, but finally it is accepted as such, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* could hardly be imagined without it. The mocking and provoking of Śūrpaṇakhā, which in turn caused her mutilation by Lakṣmaṇa, is maybe not exactly the act of a gentleman, but it did not harm Rāma’s reputation as righteous king in the context of the story. Neither did so Rāma’s harsh words directed to Sītā that made her submit herself to the fire ordeal, when she was recovered from Laṅkā after the war. At least in this last episode Rāma took care to explain himself stating

⁸ It is interesting to note here that the expression *prayatnena* from this verse resonates with Nārada’s instruction to Rāma in 7.65.25cd: *duṣkṛtaṃ yatra paśyethās tatra yatnaṃ samācara*.

that he was convinced of her innocence but held that the mode of propriety dictated him to make her testify in order to prevent any doubts by others (Rm 6,101–106).

Finally, in the Uttarakāṇḍa the banishment of Sītā, triggered by the “rumours around the town”, although a very unhappy episode, could somehow be accepted as a sacrifice of personal happiness to the common good. Rāma was greatly distressed by the decision he thought he was compelled to make, which is clear from his being very emotional when he had to inform his brothers about his decision to banish Sītā.⁹ He even explicitly said that there was no actual fault on Sītā’s part:

Rm 7,44.9

*antarātmā ca me vetti sītām śuddhām yaśasvinīm |
tato grhītvā vaidehīm ayodhyām aham āgataḥ ||*

It is my deepest conviction that Sītā is chaste,
and that’s why I took Videhī and came back to Ayodhyā.

Rather, he is doing it only because there are (faulty) rumors equally in the city and in the countryside:

Rm 7,44.10

*ayaṃ tu me mahān vādaḥ śokaś ca hr̥di vartate |
paurāpavādaḥ sumahāṃs tathā janapadasya ca ||*

Now, there is a big complain about me and it produces grief in my heart.
There are grave accusations among city folk and in the countryside.

So, Rāma wanted to avoid scandal at any cost:

Rm 7,44.13–14

*apy aham jīvitaṃ jahyām yuṣmān vā puruṣarṣabhāḥ |
apavādabhayād bhūtaḥ kiṃ punar janakātmajām ||
tasmād bhavantaḥ paśyantu patitaṃ śokasāgare |
na hi paśyāmy aham bhūyaḥ kiṃ cid duḥkham ato ’dhikam ||*

I would abandon even life or you, the best of men, for the fear of accusations. Not to talk about Jānaka’s daughter. Therefore you, sirs, shall see me fallen in the ocean of sorrow, because I do not see any bigger sorrow than this.

⁹ *bāṣpapur̥ṇe ca nayane dr̥ṣṭvā rāmasya dhīmataḥ |
hataśobhaṃ yathā padmaṃ mukhaṃ vīkṣya ca tasya te ||
tato ’bhivādyā tvaritāḥ pādau rāmasya mūrdhabhiḥ |
tasthuḥ samāhūtaḥ sarve rāmaś cāśrūṇy avartayat ||* (Rm 7,43.25–16)

“Having seen Rāma’s eyes filled with tears and his face resembling the lotus which has lost it’s beauty, they quickly greeted his feet with their foreheads and stood there all together, while Rāma was shading tears.”

and:

*teṣāṃ samupaviṣṭānāṃ sarveṣāṃ dīnacetasām
uvāca vākyam kākutsṭho mukhena pariśuṣyatā ||* (Rm 7,44.1)

“With his dry mouth Kākutsṭha said to them all who were standing there deeply distressed.”

We see that in the two episodes concerning Sītā's fire ordeal and her banishment, Rāma (or the author) at least bothered to give some consistent explanations. With the Śambūka episode this was not the case. Regarding explanation, it is worth mentioning that commentators did not always find the Śambūka episode self-explaining and that they too felt that some explanation is necessary. Some commentaries were pretty original in the explanation of Rāma's action, so the commentary *Rāmāyaṇaśiromaṇi* by Śivasahāya commenting on 7,67.4 states in very scholastic language basically that Śambūka was executed because his physical position during tapas (hanging upside down) prevented him to behave appropriately when Rāma arrived, i.e. to bow etc.¹⁰

Having in view the lack of the explanation in the text itself and the far fetched way in which the mentioned commentary tries to explain the episode (as well as later adaptations of the story that gave their own interpretation of it), we cannot but feel it is an element that is but loosely connected to the story. It for sure did not add to the image of Rāma as righteous ruler in the same sense as he was depicted throughout the epic. At the other hand it might suggest a shift in the notion of the righteousness in the later parts of the epic. If this shift is so substantial that we might consider some part of the text as a candidate for exclusion from the constituted text of the CE, is yet another question.

When we look at the textual history, episodes as this one with Śambūka, can shed some lights on it. Comparing two episodes in which characters who are not supposed to practise ascetic life are doing exactly that, it turns out that the epic has two different measuring sticks. The low-cast ascetic woman Śabarī at the end of the *Aranyakāṇḍa* is treated in a completely different way than Śambūka (Lutgendorf

¹⁰ Commentary to Rm 7,67.4:

*bhāṣatas tasya śūdrasya khaḍgaṃ suruciraprabham |
niṣkṛṣya kośād vimalaṃ śiraś ciccheda rāghavaḥ || 4 ||*

“While this Śūdra was still speaking, Rāma the Rāghava pulled his glittering and spotless sword from the scabbard and chopped off his head.”

राघवः शूद्रस्य शिरः कोशात् खड्गं निष्कृष्य विमलं मलसंसर्गरहित्यं यथा भवति तथा चिच्छेद नचैतत्तपश्चर्याया विरुद्धत्वे परमात्मदर्शनम् परमपुरुषार्थप्रापकरामशस्त्रकरणकहननं च विरुद्धम् निषिद्धाचरणस्य निषिद्धफलकत्वादिति वाच्यम् तस्य परमपुरुषार्थप्रापकसत्यावलम्बित्वेन विरोधाभावात् एतेन शीघ्रं परमात्मप्राप्त्यर्थमेव विरुद्धाचरणमप्यनेन कृतमिति बोध्यम् एतेन तस्यार्तप्रपन्नत्वं व्यक्तम् तत्प्रणामाद्यकरणेन प्रणामादिकरणेतिदयालु रामो न हनिष्यतीति तन्निश्चयो व्यक्तः ॥

“Drawing his sword from its sheath, Rāghava cleanly cut off the head, that is to say, he did so in such a way that there was a complete absence of contact with impurity. Since ascetic practice on his [i.e., Śambūka's] part was forbidden, the vision of the Supreme Spirit as well as a killing, whose instrument was the weapon of Rāma, who brings one to the highest goal of man, is ruled out because of the fact that there is a prohibition in his case concerning that which is dependent upon the virtuous action that would bring about the acquisition of the highest goal of man. Therefore, in order to attain the Supreme Spirit quickly, he [i.e. Śambūka] did this even though it was. forbidden action. This is what is to be understood. By this his [i.e. Rāma's] status as the recourse of the afflicted is made clear. By the fact of his [i.e. Śambūka's] failure to offer obeisance, etc., it is manifestly certain that, had he offered obeisance, etc., then extremely compassionate Rāma would not have killed [him].” (Trans. Goldman & Sutherland Goldman 2017: 1032–1033.)

2001: 125–126). Strictly speaking, she also transgressed her *dharma*. But instead of being punished for this, she is blessed by Rāma, and given permission to go to heaven. Whence this disparity of Rāma's attitudes? In the Śabarī episode, Rāma was more than kind to this low-cast woman and sees no contradiction in her wish to join other ascetics in heaven (Goldman & Pollock 1991: 240). On the other hand, Śambūka was hardly given a chance to speak up before he was decapitated. The answer to the question just raised seems rather obvious: The feeling of what is according to *dharma*, and what is not, has changed between the supposed date of the two episodes in the evolution of the epic. It is also interesting to note that the *Rāmopākhyāna* (MBh 3,258–275), probably the first coherent alternative representation of the *Rāmakathā*, does not mention the Śambūka episode (which is understandable, because the *Rāmopākhyāna* ends approximately with the content of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, except that at the very beginning it gives some material from *Bāla* and *Uttara*, the latter being represented by a retelling of the story about Rāvaṇa's receiving a boon from Brahmā), but it doesn't mention the first episode (Śabarī) either. It might be either that the episode about Śabarī was not known to the author of *Rāmopākhyāna*, or that the episode was consciously left out, probably also being subject to suspicion, in other words, that the editor of the *Rāmopākhyāna* found it inappropriate with respect to low-cast duty and therefore dropped it. In general, it would support Brockington's estimation of the relative chronology of the two epics (Brockington 1998: 471–484) where the composition of the *Rāmopākhyāna* falls roughly between the composition of the central books (II–VI) and the addition of the *Bāla* and *Uttara* material. Therefore it would be exactly in the period of that shift in the ethical attitude that I mentioned earlier, during which the practising of some form of *tapas* by low-casts went from tolerable (Śabarī) to fully unacceptable (Śambūka). It is worth mentioning here that the MBh is not completely unaware of the Śambūka episode, since it refers to it in the passage 12,149.62, where examples of well-known cases of reviving somebody from death are given.

Having in view the last question I put to myself at the beginning of this paper, I would like to comment shortly on the geographical position of the transgressor. As mentioned earlier, erring Śambūka was placed in the south, and he is low-cast and not deserving the right to do *tapas*. His unworthiness is reflected just a couple of *sargas* after the passage in which he is found and punished: In *sargas* 70–72 (CE) the story of Ikṣvāku's son Daṇḍa is told in order to explain the name of the Daṇḍaka forest. Poor Daṇḍa, apparently, was not so smart, so his father Ikṣvāku sent him to rule in some southern region, namely, exactly in the region between the Vindhya and Śaivala mountain. Even there he managed to do something stupid and to be punished by Bhārgava and destroyed together with all his retinue. The waste land after this incident is known as Daṇḍaka.

From the short passage where the reason for Ikṣvāku to send his son to the south is stated, we can conclude that the author did not have too much respect for the south:

Rm 7,70,16

*sa paśyamānas taṃ doṣaṃ ghoram putrasya rāghava |
vindhyaśaivalayor madhye rājyaṃ prādād ariṇdama ||*

Noting this terrible defect of his son, Rāghava, he gave him the kingdom between mountains Vindhya and Śaivala, tamer of foes.¹¹

Judging from this passage, and comparing it with the Śambūka episode, it is not difficult to conclude that the placement of the transgressor in the south is indeed very important and that by this the authors send us a particular message. Furthermore, even if we look from this point of view, it is clear how the attitude changed from the Śabarī episode. The low-cast ascetic woman was situated at the banks of the Pampa lake, which is most probably even further in the southern part of the Peninsula than the Daṇḍaka forest.

If we now accept the proposed thesis that the attitude toward tolerable activity among the low-casts (including low-cast women) has considerably changed during the evolution of the epic, as well as the attitude of Northern India towards the South of the Peninsula, we can easily conclude that the prevailing direction of the change was that of brahmanization and of petrifying the social structure. Why it happened is not easy to answer but one possible conclusion would be that at the certain period upper-class people felt vulnerable because the social structure started to deteriorate. It might be because of the spread of various unorthodox movements (like Buddhism or Jainism, or independent wandering ascetic teachers). In that respect, when we think about the cause why Uttarakāṇḍa was added to the epic at all, the reaction to such developments in the society is the reasonable assumption.

Abbreviations

CTi = Commentary *Rāmāyaṇatilaka* by Rāma

CRā = Commentary *Rāmāyaṇaśiromaṇi* by Śivasahāya

CGo = Commentary *Rāmāyaṇabhūṣaṇa* by Govindarāja

¹¹ The complete passage (Rm 7,70.14–16) goes as follows:

*teṣāṃ avarajas tāta sarveṣāṃ raghunandana |
mūḍhaś cākṛtividyaś ca na śuśrūṣati pūrvajān || 14 ||
nāma tasya ca daṇḍeti pitā cakre 'lpatejasah |
avaśyaṃ daṇḍapataṇaṃ śarīre 'śya bhaviṣyati || 15 ||
sa paśyamānas taṃ doṣaṃ ghoram putrasya rāghava |
vindhyaśaivalayor madhye rājyaṃ prādād ariṇdama || 16 ||*

“Youngest of them, my dear delight of Raghus, was stupid and ignorant, and not obeying his older brothers. The father named him Daṇḍa, because he was of low spirit (knowing that) the stick (*daṇḍa*) should often fall on his body. Noting this terrible defect of his son, Rāghava, he gave him the kingdom between mountains Vindhya and Śaivala, Tamer of foes.”

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Sažetak

Priča o Šambūki, Šūdri kojeg je Rāma ubio jer se ogriješio o *dharma* vršeći nezakonitu radnju, vjerojatno je umetnuta u ep kako bi se ilustrirala Rāmina nepokolebljivost u zaštiti zakona. Raščlambom epizode ovaj rad pokazuje da se Rāmin postupak ne može tako lako shvatiti kao pravedan. Kako bi se to pokazalo, u radu se prvo propituju standardni pravni tekstovi – dharmasūtre i dharmasāstre – kako bi se pronašlo opravdanje za Rāmino oštro kažnjavanje Šambūke. Čini se da takvo opravdanje nije moguće naći u pravnim tekstovima te da bi se Rāmino djelovanje moralo tumačiti na drugačiji način – ne u kontekstu svetoga zakona, dharmasāstre, već u kontekstu moguće ilustracije promijenjene političke i društvene situacije u razdoblju kada je epizoda umetnuta u ep. Takva moguća tumačenja uključuju očuvanje društvenog položaja brahmanske klase ili čak napredovanje Indoarijaca na jug Potkontinenta.

Rāma's travels eastwards

Abstract

The Rāma story has spread throughout SE Asia. Although it is often not possible to trace the period of its arrival because of political upheavals and population migrations, in many areas there is visual evidence (mostly sculptural friezes on temples) for its popularity centuries before the earliest extant verbal text. Epigraphic evidence is found from the 6th century onwards. The earliest sculptures belong to the 9th century: Khmer reliefs in the Angkor area and Javanese reliefs at Prambanan. The oldest extant text, the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*, belongs to the early 10th century. Written texts elsewhere follow from the 12th or 13th centuries. Throughout the development of the Rāma story, two opposing processes are found: acculturation and faithfulness to the received narrative. This is most apparent in the verbal narratives, along with changes in the character of Rāma and Sītā and in the nature of the story. An important factor is the differing religious background in different cultures. Verbal tellings of the Rāma story occur throughout the region and the other main written ones are: the Malay *Hikāyat Serī Rāma*, the Khmer *Rāmakerti*, the Burmese *Rāma Vatthu*, the Thai *Rāmakien*, and the multiple Lao versions. The narrative was regularly indigenised, even becoming a foundation myth in some places. The much-travelled Rāma has found new homes.

It is a great pleasure to make this contribution to the felicitation volume for Mislav Ježić, a dear friend and colleague for very many years.¹ In it I survey the multiple versions of the Rāma story extant throughout Southeast Asia, noting the modifications that they have undergone and the reasons for, and the nature of, their adapta-

¹ We have met in each other's homes as well as at many conferences over more than four decades, first at the 3rd World Sanskrit Conference at Paris in June 1977 and at many subsequent ones, later also at the Dubrovnik Conferences on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, which Mislav founded (and in which I was happy to assist him). So it is perhaps not inappropriate that my contribution to this volume is based on my keynote address to the 16th World Sanskrit Conference in Bangkok in June 2015, circulated at the conference but never published.

tion to different cultural or religious contexts.² The Rāma story is a living tradition through most of SE Asia just as much as in India.

Not only Rāma – or more exactly the Rāma story – spread far beyond India but so did much else besides. There is increasing archaeological evidence that trade between South Asia (mainly but probably not exclusively South India) and SE Asia began much earlier than once thought, a century or two B.C. (Manguin 2011). How much more than the goods actually traded was exchanged at this early period it is impossible to say. It is only substantially later, from the late 4th century A.D., that we find inscriptions in Sanskrit and in Indian scripts in several parts of SE Asia, appearing at dates not so widely different in different regions (Guy 2011), which attest obvious cultural influence from India and indeed the prestige value attached to Sanskrit and presumably also to the texts of which it is the vehicle. It is clear, however, that local peoples selected from Indian culture only those features that they found beneficial or useful in some way.

Among such features was undoubtedly the Rāma story which they liked so much that they adopted it as a matter of free choice. But it is often not possible to trace the period of its arrival because of the many political upheavals and population migrations that SE Asia has undergone; indeed migrations into its mainland parts from the north have continued well into historic times. As a consequence of such disruption, in many areas evidence for the popularity of the Rāma story in visual form (mostly sculptural friezes on temples) and that from geographical or personal names, precedes the earliest extant verbal text by centuries. From the time of its first introduction, the story was passed on, both historically, to succeeding generations, and geographically, from one region to another. The transmission process is often still obscure but the reception is much clearer. The further the story migrated from India, the more it became indigenised, the more it was accepted as part of the tradition of its new home or homes, and the more it was transformed. For example, it is harder to recognise the Rāma story in some Lao versions and in the Philippines than it is in Myanmar.

The oldest certain evidence for dissemination of the Rāma story in SE Asia is epigraphic: the Veal Kantel inscription (K. 359) from the reign of King Bhavarman of Chenla (580–598 A.D.) in the area of modern Cambodia and the Trà Kiêu inscription (C. 173), dated 657 A.D., of King Prakāśadharman of Campā in the area of modern south Vietnam.³ The former records that a *brāhman* Somaśarman, who had married the king's sister, donated copies of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and a *Purāṇa* to a Śaiva temple on the Mekong river for daily recitation. The latter, dedicating the temple to Vālmīki, refers both to Vālmīki as the first poet and

² My acquaintance with the SE Asian versions of the Rāma story is necessarily based on translations into English, French or German and on secondary literature.

³ Jean Filliozat suggests that there is a reminiscence of the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* in a 3rd-century inscription from Vo-can (central Vietnam in Cham territory) in the words *lokasyāsyā gatāgatim* (Filliozat 1969) but these seem to me quite likely to be aphoristic.

to Rāma as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Its founder, King Prakāśadharman, was perhaps indebted to Khmer culture for his attachment to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Mus 1928). The inscription itself reveals close acquaintance with the opening of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, even reproducing VRm 1,2.30c (Mus 1928; Goodall & Griffiths 2013: 434–437).

Except for Old Javanese, no written texts are earlier than the 13th century and evidence for the popularity of the Rāma story continues to come from inscriptions and sculptures. In the 10th and 11th centuries the Khmer rulers of Kambuja know about the Rāma story: a Thnal Baray stele inscription of Yaśovarman (889–910 A.D.) refers to Pravarasena and his *Setubandha*; the Pre Rūp stele inscription (K. 806) of Rājendravarman (944–968 A.D.) implicitly but unmistakably refers to many Sanskrit texts, including the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*; a stele dated 1006 A.D. at the ruined Prāsāt Trapān Run describes the donor as an expositor of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*; and the Prāsāt Sankhah inscription (K. 128) describes Sūryavarman I (1002–49 A.D.) as listening to recitations of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Purāṇas*. Numerous temples in the Angkor area have Rāma story reliefs, including Banteay Samre (mid-9th century onwards), the Baphuon temple (11th century), and Angkor Vat (12th century). Major temples in the Khmer style with Rāma story sculptures can be found within modern northeast Thailand, in particular at Phimai (late 11th to 12th century) and Phanom Rung (12th century). The Phimai sanctuary, a Vajrayāna Buddhist temple, has several such reliefs on its lintels and pediments, including the building of the causeway, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the *nāgapāśa*, and Rāma fighting Rāvaṇa, and the Śaiva temple at Phanom Rung similarly has several scenes, including the abduction of Sītā, the combat between Vālin and Sugrīva, and Kumbhakarṇa fighting *vānaras*.⁴

The earliest extant text is the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* from the late 9th or early 10th century, ascribed to Yogīśvara (probably a title rather than a personal name). One view is that it celebrated the victory of central Java's Śaiva rulers over the Buddhist Śailendra dynasty, which ruled in the 8th and early 9th centuries (Robson 1980). This view would give added relevance to the construction of the Prambanan or Loro Jonggrang temple complex in the mid 9th century, with its elaborate scheme of Rāma-narrative reliefs on what is overall a Śaiva temple; the 106 narrative panels begin on the central Caṇḍi Śiwa, continue on Caṇḍi Brahmā and finish on Caṇḍi Viṣṇu. The spectacular and carefully selected visual narrative carved at great expense here, like those at Angkor Vat, was a much-needed affirmation of the power of their royal patrons and the legitimacy of their newly-acquired position.

The *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*, the only surviving *kakawin* from the Central Javanese period, is not based directly on the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* but on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*,

⁴ The Phimai National Museum contains further Rāma story reliefs from the site itself and other nearby sites of the same period. Mary and I are very grateful to Dr Amara Srisuchat and her colleagues in the National Museum Service for all their planning and assistance in our visits to these and other historical sites in February 2013. For a fuller treatment of the visual evidence see John Brockington 2021.

though with more divergence from it in the later part; it has a fairly standard plot outline, though increasing the role of Trijaṭā, for example. It was followed by the Old Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* in prose around 1000 A.D., episodes from which were the subject of two 14th-century works: the *Arjunawijaya* and the *Hariśraya*. It is interesting to note that it shares some episodes with Bhaumaka's *Rāvaṇārjunīya*, notable for its use of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; possibly both Bhaṭṭi's and Bhaumaka's works were valued in Indonesia for their grammatical content, although it is clear that classical Sanskrit literature as a whole was highly valued. Episodes from these *kakawins* are depicted on temple reliefs throughout Central and East Java, at Caṇḍi Panataran (mainly 14th century; its earliest associated date is 1197 and the latest is 1454), where Hanumān is particularly prominent (Kieven 2011), the Surawana temple at Kediri (built 1400) and elsewhere.⁵ While these are all Old Javanese texts produced in Java itself, we must not overlook the significant role of Bali in preserving this literary heritage after Java became largely Islamic; indeed, selections from the *Rāmāyana Kakawin* and others remain integral to some aspects of Balinese religion and to *wayang* and similar performances.

A rather different version of the Rāma story is found in the *Serāt Kāṇḍa* and the *Rāma Kling* (17th century) from the Mataram period of Javanese history. The more important of the two, the *Serāt Kāṇḍa*, has incorporated much Islamic material, in the same way as the Malay *Hikāyat Srī Rāma*, with which it also agrees in making Mandodarī originally Daśaratha's wife and Sītā's mother. Agreements between these two texts are only to be expected, since the *Hikāyat Srī Rāma* was particularly influential in Java, where upper-class merchants were largely Malay. Before we move on to that text, let me also mention a version from western Java, the Old Sundanese "The sons of Rama and Rawana", assignable to the 16th century or earlier, which starts from the *Uttarakāṇḍa* narrative and develops further episodes repeating the conflict between Rāma and Rāvaṇa in a second generation (Noorduyn 1971; Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006).

The complex of Muslim versions known collectively as the *Hikāyat Serī Rāma* form probably the next oldest written text after the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana Kakawin*. A vast, sprawling compilation popular in much of Indonesia as well as the present Malaysian peninsula, it represents a popular form of the story carried orally to Indonesia and transmitted there between the 13th and 17th centuries. It exists in several recensions showing varying degrees of assimilation to this very different cultural environment, while also continuing to be transmitted orally (Ziesenis 1928; Barrett 1963).⁶ Whether within India or beyond, a major factor in the development of the

⁵ The 15th-century terraced sanctuary of Candi Yudha (site LX) on Mt Penanggungan once had Rāmāyana reliefs (Kinney 2003: 285). A few 14th–15th century reliefs from Trowulan, the Majapahit capital, also illustrate the Rāma story (Fontein 1973; Saran & Khanna 2004: 116–117; Mary Brockington 2012).

⁶ It must always be borne in mind that each published text represents only one version, not the totality of the tradition current in any particular area; because a feature occurs (or is absent)

Rāma story is the religious outlook of teller and audience. Buddhists on the whole had little difficulty accommodating the Vaiṣṇava Rāma into their narrative, since at the popular level the transition from *avatāra* to Bodhisattva was not hard to make. But this Malay version was presumably Islamicised at a considerably later date than the corresponding Buddhist transformations of the Rāma story, even though written versions of these are later. In Muslim areas the deities are given appropriate new identities as Allah, Nabi Adam and the angel Gabriel, but traces of Rāma's identity with Viṣṇu and other examples of reincarnation remain. It is not clear just what was the nature of the tradition underlying the Islamicisation process. References to Rāma's identity with Viṣṇu imply a Hinduised substrate but details suggest a certain amount of influence from Buddhist sources, where too Rāma is frequently called Naray. The Muslim elements found in the extant manuscripts are little more than a veneer over an already-established core. The *Ḥikāyat Serī Rāma* contains the idea that Sītā is Rāvaṇa's daughter, which is recorded as early as the Jain *Vasudevahiṇḍī*⁷ and is found in increasingly fantastic forms in other SE Asian versions, including the Javanese *Serāt Kāṇḍa* and the Old Sundanese version just mentioned.

Although there is inscriptional and sculptural evidence of Khmer acquaintance with the Rāma story much earlier, the *Rāmakerti* only emerged in the middle period (15th–17th centuries) of the Khmer language, when there are several versions of the Rāma story, all given the generic title *Rāmakerti* (the alternative form of the name, *Reamker*, is closer to modern pronunciation); the oldest belongs mainly to the 17th century although some parts may go back to the 16th. *Rāmakerti I*, composed by several poets as the libretto of a mimed dance-drama called *lkhon khol*, can be viewed as a condensed and selective version of the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* with less input from popular imagination or other cultures than subsequent *Rāmakertis*, which show the increasing impact of these two factors (Pou 1977).⁸ Composed when Buddhism was at its peak in Cambodia, it shows a distinctly Buddhist outlook and, although Rāma is frequently called Nārāy (= Nārāyaṇa), the stress is rather on Rāma as a Buddhist figure, portrayed both as a Bodhisattva and as a Buddha, so still characterised as the upholder of *dharma*. The narrative breaks off in the middle of the battle over Laṅkā, as Rāvaṇa seeks help from his friend Mūlaphalam (5025–34), an incident paralleled by that of Mūlapatāni in the Malay version and Mūlaphalam in the Thai verbal and

in one published text, we must not assume that it was or was not known in the same area or language group at the same date. For further details and references on this and much else see the relevant sections of our material on the Oxford Research Archive at <<http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:8df9647a-8002-45ff-b37e-7effb669768b>>.

⁷ John Brockington 1985: 266–267. The motif has spread widely; for example, it also occurs in the Tibetan version from Dunhuang (9th–11th centuries; cf. Roesler 2016: 56).

⁸ Saveros Pou's *Rāmakerti I* corresponds to fascicules 1–10 of the Institut Bouddhique edition and *Rāmakerti II* to fascicules 75–80. In addition, a version of the Mahīrāvaṇa episode, which seems more or less to follow on from *Rāmakerti I*, has been translated into French (Khing 1995).

visual versions as a personalised form of the core unit (*mūlabala*) of Rāvaṇa's troops found in both Kampaṇ's *Irāmāvatāram* and Eḷuttaccan's *Attīyātuma Rāmāyaṇam*.

The later *Rāmakerti II*, most probably composed in the 18th century but incomplete, recounts the events of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and includes several features which are standard in many SE Asian versions (Pou 1982). Thus, in Rāma's absence Sītā is inveigled by a servant (one of Rāvaṇa's family in disguise) into drawing a portrait of Rāvaṇa, which is hidden under Rāma's bed on his return and causes him such discomfort that in anger he commands Lakṣmaṇa to execute Sītā, but Lakṣmaṇa cannot do it and leaves her in the forest (1–215). This motif of making a likeness of Rāvaṇa at the request of female companions, which is found in many other SE Asian versions (the Javanese *Serāt Kāṇḍa*, the Malay *Ḥikāyat Serī Rāma*, the Thai *Rāmakien*, several Lao versions and others), can be traced back as far as the Jain tellings of Bhadreśvara and Hemacandra; subsequently it occurs in the *Ānandarāmāyaṇa* and features prominently in Candrāvātī's Bengali telling, where the woman is Kaikeyī's daughter Kukuyā (Bose & Bose 2013).⁹ After she is abandoned by Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā then reaches Vālmīki's hermitage and there gives birth to one son, the other being created by the sage through a fire-sacrifice. Part of the *Lpoek Aṅgar Vatt*, which is dated 1720 A.D., contains at one point a description of the Rāma scenes supposedly sculpted on the Angkor Vat galleries, although a sculptural narrative frieze in this style is not seen anywhere at Angkor; this text closely follows the *Rāmakerti* in its description of the events depicted (st. 203–374), indicating that its description is indeed based on the *Rāmakerti* rather than any actual sculptures, despite the way that the author presents it.

Although the oral tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story in Myanmar may date as far back as the 11th century,¹⁰ the earliest written Burmese version, the *Yama Wutthu* (*Rāma Vatthu*), probably comes from the 17th century and has a thoroughly Buddhist appearance with Rāma presented as a Bodhisattva, while keeping fairly close to the general outline of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*. The characters are repeatedly said to observe and preach specifically Buddhist codes of conduct; distasteful episodes such as the bereaved blind ascetic's curse on Daśaratha, the mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā,

⁹ It is likely that the woman who appears on relief panels 2 and 16 of the mid-9th century *Rāmāyaṇa* frieze on the Caṇḍi Brahmā at Prambanan (with Daśaratha's 4 young sons, and involved in the scene when Rāma listens to gossip), is Kikewī, the malicious daughter of Kaikeyī who persuades Sītā to draw Rāvaṇa's portrait (Kats 1925; Fontein 1997: 196; Saran & Khanna 2004: 38–39 and 70).

¹⁰ There is certainly archaeological evidence of Rāma's presence as early as the 11th century: the Nat Hlaung Kyaung temple, thought to have been built by King Anawratha (1044–77), has images of six *avatāras* in exterior niches, the last on the north wall being Rāma with his bow, and King Kyansittha (1084–1113) claimed in two Mon inscriptions at Mya Kan, Bagān (Pagān), and on the Kyaik Thalān pagoda near Thaton, to have been born in the family of Rama of Ayodhapur. Evidence of links with the NE of India, such as the use of scripts derived from Northern Brāhmī in Rakhine (i.e. Arakan) and Śrī Kṣetra, and the presence in Bagān of Mons, who may well have had links with the Mon kingdoms of Haripuñjaya and Dvārāvātī, mean that the Rāma story might have been first transmitted from either direction.

repeated examples of Rāvaṇa's lust and generally immoral behaviour, are minimized or eliminated, and there is less killing (Ohno 1999). Next is a ballad in *thagyin* rhyme, called *Yama Thagyin*, composed by U Aung Phyō in 1775 (1137 Burmese era) at Innwa (Ava). There is also a reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa* in a Myanmar *pyō* (Jātaka poem), entitled *Thuwunna-shan Thahte-khan Pyō* and based on the *Suvaṇṇasāma Jātaka* (*Sāma Jātaka*) by Shin Agga Thamadi of 1527; the author warns his fellow monks not to tell the stories of Sītā and Hanumān in public.¹¹

The early political and cultural history of the area comprising modern Thailand is complex. In the 2nd to 6th centuries the northeast (Isan, the Khorat plateau), where in the 11th and 12th centuries the Khmer temples at Phimai and Phanom Rung were erected, formed part of the kingdom of Funan, centred in modern Cambodia. From about the 6th century the Mon culture of Dvārāvātī flourished in the central plains. The first actual Thai kingdom was that of Sukhothai in the central plains (traditionally founded in 1238) and there is some evidence for the popularity of the Rāma story even then, since the third ruler of Sukhothai was named Ramkhamhaeng (Rāma the great, 1279–98). The Sukhothai kingdom was supplanted by the kingdom of Ayutthayā in 1378, which was strongly influenced by Khmer culture and even more strongly by the Rāma story, as the names of its capital and several of its rulers attest. Not only was Ayutthayā named after Daśaratha's capital but Lopburi was identified with the *vānara* capital and at the same time linked with Lava (Lop).¹²

However, extant versions of the narrative are all subsequent to the catastrophic sacking of Ayutthayā by the Burmese in 1767, after which also Bangkok (more correctly Krung Thep) became the capital of Thailand. After Ayutthayā was lost, the surviving Thai army started a 15-year war against the Burmese, the Vietnamese and the Lao under the command of General Chakri, who subsequently, in 1782, assumed the throne as the founder of the Chakri dynasty, with the dynastic name of Rama I. One consequence of the sack of Ayutthayā was the wholesale destruction of records and Rāma I commissioned and supervised the production of the Thai *Rāmakīṇ*, completed in 1797, to replace lost texts of the Rāma story. This was written as a dance-drama and is the fullest Thai version. His successor, Rāma II, had

¹¹ The *Sāma Jātaka* is basically the story of the ascetic boy (Sāma/Śyāma) killed by a hunter (in the Rāma story this is Daśaratha) and often called Śrāvaṇa in later tellings; this has enjoyed widespread popularity (Mary Brockington 2010).

A royal commission was set up in 1789 to translate stories from "the Gyum (Krom) capital of the kingdom of Ayuthia and the Yan capital of the kingdom of Haripunja" (Thein Han 1973: 76), from which came the Rāma-play tradition. In the 19th century stage performances and marionette shows of the Rāma story were presented in the Myanmar palace by royal troupes of professional artists. Also to the 19th century belonged a series of wood carvings on the Moda Kyaung monastery, Mandalay, destroyed by fire in the 1960s, which illustrated scenes from the Rāma story (Ohno 1999: iii and plates; personal information from John Okell, 28th April 2015).

¹² Physical evidence is limited. However the ordination hall, *ubosot*, of Wat Phra Non (in the Aranyik area north of Kamphang Phet), built in the 15th–16th century, had eight boundary stones with decoration which included Rāma-story scenes, which were later removed and are now in the Kamphang Phet National Museum (Rooney 2008: 226).

certain scenes re-arranged around 1815 to make a work more suitable for dramatic presentation. The *Rāmakīen* in all its forms is neither Hindu nor Buddhist, but a non-devotional, secular narrative, although Buddhist sensibilities are not ignored and so more overtly Hindu elements tend to be reduced or eliminated.

There are multiple Lao versions of the Rāma story, which was probably introduced into Laos in the 15th century. There is a Tai Lu version from Muongsing known as *P'ommachak* or *Phommachak* (Lafont 2003), one from Vientiane called *Phra Lak Phra Lam* or *Phra Lam Sadok* (Sahai 1996), one from Luang Prabang (Vo 1971), and the *Gvāy dvōraḥbī* probably from Xieng-Mai or northern Laos (Sahai 1976), as well as a fragmentary narrative within a Lao version of the *Pañcatantra* (Lafont 1917: 101) and librettos for the Royal Ballet. The Muongsing version is in Jātaka form, though not wholly in tune with Buddhist ideals, but it is rather closer to the original Rāma story than the Vientiane version, which is a highly aberrant version written down, probably in 1850, by Phutthaphochan (possibly a misreading for Phutthakhochan, i.e. Buddhaghōṣa) on the basis of an earlier oral or perhaps written text and cast in the form of a Jātaka, as its alternative title indicates, with the Buddha identifying himself as Rāma at the end; in a similar fashion to the Khmer *Rāmakerti I*, it makes Rāma into an ideal upholder of *dharma* and Buddhism. It is also framed as a foundation myth, with Vientiane being established by Daśaratha. It has clearly been much influenced by other SE Asian versions. The opening of the eclectic Luang Prabang version seems specifically indebted to the Thai version, but all versions seem to know the Javanese, Khmer and Malay forms of the story; indeed not infrequently different forms have been combined, leading to duplication of incidents or characters. The *Gvāy dvōraḥbī* is brief and incomplete but nevertheless incorporates anomalies resulting from attempts to fuse several incompatible narrative elements; it lacks the Jātaka framework of other versions and presents a largely secular adaptation, after its opening Buddhist invocation.

There are also a number of other SE Asian versions of the Rāma story that have received less scholarly attention up to the present. No earlier than the 18th century, in the former Annam (north Vietnam), the story was given a local setting, with Annam itself as the kingdom of Daśaratha and Campā to the south as that of Rāvaṇa (Huber 1905). Further north still, there is the *Lanka Xihe* from Yunnan in the Tai-Lu language, which shares episodes with the Burmese and Lao Muongsing versions (Ohno 1999: 33–43). A Mon version, the *Loik Samoing Ram*, was apparently compiled by a Buddhist monk named Uttamu in 1834 A.D., according to Ohno mainly on the basis of the Burmese version but also influenced by the Thai version (Ohno 1996a; 1996b). The story has even spread as far as the Philippines, where an oral version in Maranao, entitled *Maharadia Lawana*, was current on Mindanao in the 17th–19th centuries; this was clearly not inherited directly from India but is related to the Malay folk versions, the *Sēri Rāma* and the *Ḥikāyat Mahārāja Rāvaṇa*,

and possibly also to Lao versions (Francisco 1994);¹³ its teller often replaces earlier elements with international motifs and shows no interest in moral issues, although the narrative is given an Islamic veneer.

Having traced the way that the Rāma story spread across SE Asia, I turn to the even more fascinating way that the story has been modified in the course of its travels, about which I have made a few remarks already, and I now consider this aspect further through the changes to the story-line and in particular the characters.

Probably the most notable change is the increased prominence of Hanumān, which also has the effect of decreasing Rāma's status and, since this is first found in India in some of the Śaiva-oriented Purāṇas, it is quite probably deliberate. Certainly, Hanumān's rescue of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa from Mahīrāvaṇa, probably first recorded in the *Śivapurāṇa* (3,20.34),¹⁴ subordinates Rāma to Hanumān. The episode of Maiyārāb (Mahīrāvaṇa) is found in both the Malay *Ḥikāyat Serī Rāma*, the Javanese *Serāt Kāṇḍa* and in many other SE Asian tellings. It is also found in a later addition to Kṛttibās' Bengali version, forming one possible piece of evidence for the transmission of the Rāma story through Bengal to SE Asia.¹⁵ In particular, Hanumān's parentage undergoes considerable transformations in several versions. Although his birth as the son of Añjanā and Vāyu, as recorded in the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* (4,65.10–18) is found in the Khmer *Rāmakerti I* and a few other versions, Hanumān is the son of Rāma and Sītā – conceived while they are temporarily transformed into monkeys but then transferred into Añjanā's womb – in the Javanese *Serāt Kāṇḍa*, the Malay *Ḥikāyat Serī Rāma* and others, while he is the son of Rāma and another female in a few versions: of Añjanā in two Lao versions (Vientiane and Luang Prabhang) and in the Malay *Ḥikāyat Serī Rāma*, and of Potre Langawi in the Philippino *Maharadia Lawana*. Indeed, in some of these narratives Hanumān's assistance is conditional on Rāma's acknowledgement of the relationship.

Far from being the model of celibacy that more modern Indian tradition makes him, Hanumān has many sexual adventures in SE Asia, especially in Thailand: during the search for Sītā he makes love to Butsamālī, guardian of Śiva's jungle palace

¹³ Another telling of this version than the one known to Francisco was noted down at a slightly earlier date and shows some differences in its story-line but it is only known in a Malay translation entitled *Radia Mangandiri* (Lahiri 2007).

¹⁴ Since the *Śivapurāṇa* reached its standard form over a long period (roughly the 8th to 14th centuries), its priority over narratives of this episode in, for example, the *Jaiminibhārata*, the *Ānandarāmāyaṇa* and by Advaitakavi and Battaleśvara is less than certain.

¹⁵ The episode also occurs (among other versions) in the Myanmar *Mahā Yāma* (late 18th or early 19th century) which more probably took it from another SE Asian source rather than from Bengal, as well as in the Kāśmīrī version by Prakāśa Rāma (Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa) of 1836 A.D. The same story was, however, current at the opposite end of India, in the Tamil legends of Mayil Rāvaṇan and the Malayāḷam poem on Pātāla Rāvaṇa in the 17th century by Vīra Kerala Varma (Zvelebil 1987), so routes of transmission are by no means obvious.

For more precise references and more instances for every feature mentioned below see the lists of occurrences in C. Narrative Elements within our material on the Oxford Research Archive at <<http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:8df9647a-8002-45ff-b37e-7effb669768b>>.

(Thai *Rāmakīen*); he enjoys the women of Laṅkā for eight nights as he reconnoitres (Lao, Vientiane version); as he takes Vibhīṣaṇa's daughter, Benjakai, back to Laṅkā, he seduces her on the way (Thai *Rāmakīen* and numerous visual representations; Mary Brockington 2012; 2021); he has a son, Makaradhvaja, by Suvarṇamatsya, the queen of the sea creatures (Khmer *Rāmakerti*, Thai *Rāmakīen*, Mon *Loik Samoing Ram* and others); he seduces Vānarin, thus releasing her from Śiva's curse (Thai *Rāmakīen*); and he seduces Mandodarī disguised as Rāvaṇa (Thai *Rāmakīen*).¹⁶

If Hanumān is his son by another female, Rāma cannot have been totally faithful to Sītā as Indian tradition almost universally insists.¹⁷ For example, besides the union which produces Hanumān, he also collects many wives on his long journeys in the Lao Vientiane version. But more significant is the change in his behaviour towards Sītā herself in many SE Asian versions, becoming altogether harsher. For example, he is unsympathetic when she cannot keep up with his pace through the forest in the Burmese *Rāma Vatthu* or declares that it is her own fault for insisting on coming in the Lao Muongsing version. Some SE Asian versions portray him as using harsh and intensified violence towards her when exiling her and attribute his doing so to the suspicion of sexual infidelity. In general, however, the trend was towards Rāma himself being sidelined by the growth in prominence of Hanumān. But one limiting factor in this downplaying of Rāma's role is the religious outlook in societies with a strong Buddhist component, where he is naturally identified as a Bodhisattva (as in the Khmer, Mon, Myanmar and Yunnan versions), since the transition from *avatāra* to Bodhisattva was not hard to make, and he continued to uphold *dharma*.

The portrayal of Sītā too is developed in varied ways. Her birth story becomes greatly elaborated: she is commonly regarded as the daughter of Rāvaṇa and/or Mandodarī, but she is the daughter of a replica Mandodarī impregnated by Daśaratha in Malay versions, the *Ḥikāyat Serī Rāma* and a folk telling, the *Ḥikāyat Mahārāja Rāvaṇa*, and she is presumably the daughter of the Earth, since Rāma regards the Earth as his mother-in-law, in the Old Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa*. She is often consigned to the sea or a river in a casket or on a raft, which ends up being found by Janaka, with many variants regarding the details in the different versions.¹⁸ The episode in which Sītā attests her continuous chastity during her captivity by entering a fire which does not burn her is often retained, though without divine intervention, but it

¹⁶ However, Hanumān's sexual activity is not entirely unprecedented within the Indian tradition. Whereas he merely defeats the guardian goddess of Laṅkā in later additions to the *Vālmikīrāmāyaṇa* and in the *Narasimhapurāṇa*, in the Jain tellings by Vimalasūri (*Paūmacariya* 52) and Hemacandra (*Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacarita* 6.182–280) he both fights and makes love to Laṅkāśundarī.

¹⁷ Again the Jain tellings form an exception. Rāma has four chief queens and 8,000 concubines in the versions by Vimalasūri (*Paūmacariya* 91) and Raviṣeṇa (*Padmacarita* 94.24–25).

¹⁸ The element of her being rescued by Janaka from a river, into which astrologers' gloomy predictions have caused Mandodarī to throw her, also occurs version from India, Prakāśa Rāma's Kāśmīrī version from the late 18th century.

has been completely eliminated from two Lao versions in favour of an immediate happy reunion between Rāma and Sītā (Vo 1971: 58, 81). As noted earlier, the motif of her making a likeness of Rāvaṇa at the request of female companions, already found in some Indian tellings, occurs in most SE Asian versions and indeed they tend to give it some prominence, in line with their greater emphasis on sexual motives for plot developments. Also, as Rāma becomes harsher in some versions, so Sītā tends to become more resentful and unwilling to trust him, expressed in various ways.

Rāvaṇa on the other hand often becomes less of a villain and more of a counter-hero. He is portrayed as an initially virtuous monarch in, for example, the Lao Muongsing version, the Malay *Hikāyat Serī Rāma* and the Burmese *Rāma Vatthu*. His relationship with Śiva is particularly prominent in the Thai *Rāmakīen*. His boon of invulnerability is generally present but developed sometimes a little differently; in the various Lao versions he is granted the boon of invincibility by Brahmā to all except Buddha, Bodhisattvas and giant monkeys (Muongsing version), or in powers granted by Indra unless an individual with supernatural power dives to the bottom of the ocean to fetch a lethal arrow (Vientiane version), or the boon is instead that of supernatural vision, lost when his wife strikes him on the head to untie the knot into which Hanumān has tied their hair (*Gvāy dvóraḥbī*, also in other versions). Both the Lao Muongsing version and the Thai *Rāmakīen* also have the motif of the separable soul, through which alone he can be killed.

In contrast to such expansion of material is the occasional omission. It is noteworthy that in several SE Asian versions a major episode is lacking: the court intrigues at Ayodhyā that lead to Rāma's exile do not appear – they would have provided a poor example of monarchy – and the abduction is now made to take place during the journey of the newly-wed Rāma and Sītā from Mithilā to Ayodhyā.¹⁹ There is also considerable sensitivity in SE Asia about portraying or presenting the death of Rāvaṇa – a villain, but a king nevertheless (Bizot 1983: 262). Whereas the triumphant return to Ayodhyā is a favourite scene of individual carvings on early Khmer lintels or pediments, many friezes or series of paintings or sculpture from the 18th century onwards conclude with the exemplary death of one of Rāvaṇa's warriors. A corollary of this is that the events of Sītā's banishment, which also show Rāma in a less favourable light, are also missing.²⁰ It seems clear that the Rāma story in SE Asia is strongly associated with kingship, in particular with its legitimization. Just as much as the early sculptures at Prambanan and Angkor Vat, some verbal tellings were a much-needed affirmation of the power of their royal patrons and the legitimacy of their newly-acquired position.

¹⁹ An analogous chronological shift in the placing of the abduction is found in the Jain Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*.

²⁰ A notable exception is the early narrative frieze at Prambanan (mid-9th century), which is closer to the Sanskrit original.

Throughout the development of the Rāma story in SE Asia that I have been tracing, two opposing processes are in tension: acculturation on the one hand, and faithfulness to the received narrative on the other. But what was that received narrative and where did it come from? The development of the Rāma portrayed in most Indian vernacular versions – the upholder of *dharma*, divine, devoted to his wife in a strictly monogamous union – into a fallible monarch subject to human emotions is considerable; the portrayal of his sexual behaviour in a few SE Asian versions is even more radical. Once Rāma left India, he was no longer an Indian king; much less an Indian god.

Yet it is possible to trace certain commonalities between India and SE Asia and between the many versions in the different languages of SE Asia. I have indicated some of these already but there is much more that remains to be done in this regard. Nevertheless, it is clear, for example, that the Javanese *Serāt Kāṇḍa* and the Malay *Ḥikāyat Serī Rāma* share many innovations with each other (due more perhaps to their common ethnic background than to their Islamic context) and that the Mon has less in common with the Burmese Rāma story than Ohno surmised (Ohno 1996: 323) and rather more with the Thai and even the various Lao versions. Was the direction of borrowing always from South to Southeast Asia, as commonly assumed, or might some developments have been carried back to India, to appear there in later regional versions? Plotting more fully the spread of shared innovations will help to unravel the complex pattern of transmission from one to another. It is clear, nonetheless, that as a result of the now lost preceding transmission in each individual area, the narrative was regularly indigenised, even becoming a foundation myth in some. The much-travelled Rāma found new homes wherever he went.

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Sažetak

Priča o Rāmi proširila se po cijeloj jugoistočnoj Aziji. Iako nije moguće točno odrediti kad je priče tamo došla zbog političkih previranja i migracija stanovništva, na mnogim mjestima moguće je naći vizualne dokaze (uglavnom skulpturalni frizovi na hramovima) o popularnosti priče o Rāmi stoljećima prije najranijeg sačuvanog teksta. Epigrafske je dokaze moguće naći od 6. stoljeća nadalje. Najranije skulpture pripadaju 9. stoljeću: kmerski reljefi u području Angkora i javanski reljefi u Prambananu. Najstariji sačuvani teksta, starojavanska *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*, pripada ranom 10. stoljeću. Drugi pisani tekstovi pripadaju 12. ili 13. stoljeću. Kroz razvoj priče o Rāmi vidljiva su dva suprotna procesa: prvi je akulturacija, a drugi vjerno sljeđenje narativa preuzetoga iz Indije. To je najočitije u jezičnim narativima, zajedno s promjenama u liku Rāme i Site i u prirodi priče. Važan čimbenik je i različita vjerska pozadina u različitim kulturama. Jezični narativi priče o Rāmi javljaju se u cijeloj regiji, a drugi glavni pisani tekstovi su: malajska *Hikāyat Serī Rāma*, kmerska *Rāmakerti*, burmanska *Rāma Vatthu*, tajska *Rāmakien* i više laoskih verzija. Narativ se redovito udomaćivao, čak je na nekim mjestima postao utemeljujući mit. Rāma koji je mnogo putovao pronašao je nove domove.

Framework and narrative in the ancient Indian epics

Abstract

In this article I am going to study the various configurations of the framework of the two great Indian epics, *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, based on their own textual evidence, which testifies to some kind of chronology within the texts themselves. In the *Mahābhārata* this is intimately connected with the “authority” of Vyāsa (although he is not the narrator himself) which pertains also to a number of Purāṇas, where he often appears in the frame dialogue. The *Rāmāyaṇa* framework provides a clearer identification of the “author”, depicting him, in its first chapters, as a “poet” who intends to “publish” an epic in honour of his hero Rāma. These chapters open a frame that is not finally taken up again, but is converted into a continuation of Rāma’s story in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, in which Vālmīki appears as one of its figures, which thus can no longer be part of Vālmīki’s composition, but would require a different author. In conclusion, the article suggests that there is a distinction between the two “epics” as to their generic identification, either as an “epic” or as something else that is to be found only in the Indian tradition.

Introduction

This contribution consists of two articles on the framework of the two ancient Indian epics, the first being based on a paper read in Kiel on October 12, 2012, at the conference in honour of Professor Horst Brinkhaus at the occasion of his retirement, while the second is based on a guest lecture given at Zagreb University in November 2014, to which I had been invited by Professor Mislav Ježić. Both are concerned with, and encouraged by, the academic discourse at the DICSEP conferences over many years, which were initiated by Professor Ježić in 1994–95, one more reason to offer them to him on this special occasion.

A. Reconsidering “framework” and authority¹ in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*

At the DICSEP in 2002, Alf Hiltebeitel presented his conception of the *Mahābhārata* as a written composition that must be read synchronically, as a well-constructed whole (Hiltebeitel 2005). This seems to have become at present the main school of thought of MBh discourse, and how strong the impact of this predominant theory is can be seen in an article by Christoph R. Austin (2011), on the two *Gandhamādana* episodes in the *Āraṇyakaparvan*: arriving at a diachronic solution, he keeps on apologising for it and reassuring us throughout the article that he nevertheless believes in the synchronic approach.

Not belonging particularly to any one side, I have been mainly interested in the composition of texts, which naturally presupposes a kind of synchronic approach; but it is interesting to find that the texts themselves include diachronic schemes, such as the sequence of layers of interlocation in their framework. Thus I would like to concentrate on the actual evidence of the texts themselves and explore what can be gleaned from there, with as little prejudice as possible.

Before doing so I had better explain the term “framework” which I used in the title and by which I mean the application of frames in general, be it frame stories that, while emboxing other stories, have a plot of their own, as in e.g. the Arabian Nights or the *Pañcatantra*, or be it dialogue frames, which may be provided with some rudimentary background information, but which have no plot of their own. (Sometimes one can also find an interpretative frame referred to or taken up within the main narrative, such as the story of the unburdening of the earth in the MBh.)

In the following I am going to use the concept of dialogue frames or “narratorial” frames (i.e. frames relating to narrators) for works of epic-purāṇic literature, and concentrate mainly on the MBh and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, which are to some extent comparable, since the BhāgP draws on the MBh,² trying to improve and replace it, as it were.

Thus it is not surprising that both employ a similar device in framing their main story in the form of a dialogue between the “bard” (Sauti or Sūta) and Śaunaka and other participants at the *sattra* in the Naimiṣa forest.³ The main narrators of both texts are, however, different: whereas the MBh is told by Vaiśampāyana, a disciple of Vyāsa, the BhāgP is told by Vyāsa’s son Śuka and, according to the BhāgP testimony, after Vyāsa had conceived the MBh (since he is reported to be not satisfied with it), but before it was told publicly by his disciple Vaiśampāyana, since the narrative frame for it, the last seven days of Parīkṣit’s life, precede, of course, Janamejaya’s snake sacrifice.

¹ The title refers to my article “The setting of Purāṇas: Frame stories, layers of interlocation, and ultimate authority” (Sönnen-Thieme 2005: 437–464).

² Cf., e.g., Matchett 2002 and Valpey 2009.

³ I am aware of the problematic double introduction or “forked beginning” (Adluri 2011; 143–210), but it is not relevant in my context.

Looking at “narrative frames” one has also to take into consideration an anonymous “external” narrator who is outside the outer layer of interlocution, providing the information about Ugraśravas or Śūta and their audiences. In the case of the BhāgP he may be identical with the poet of the devotional verses at the very beginning of the BhāgP, composed in sophisticated non-purāṇic metres and addressed to anonymous listeners (termed *rasika*). Both the MBh and BhāgP share the first dialogue frame, which is provided by the external narrator with some background situation: the dialogue between the “bard” and Śaunaka and/or other sages involved in a *sattra* sacrifice in the usual setting of the Naimiṣa forest. The dialogue itself is, of course, different in the MBh and the BhāgP: in the MBh, where Ugraśravas reports that he has been present at Janamejaya’s snake sacrifice and heard the story being told in its intervals, his audience wants to hear the same MBh story from him, whereas in the BhāgP the listeners inquire of their own accord about the Bhagavān and his *avatāras*, especially the Kṛṣṇa *avatāra*, and about where to find *dharma* after Kṛṣṇa’s death; the answer to this is the BhāgP, which had been narrated by Śūka to Parīkṣit during the latter’s last seven days of his life, with Ugraśravas among the other listeners.

As for the time period during which the narration is said to have taken place, the BhāgP is thus confined to these seven days, within which Śūka is reported to have narrated a little over ten *skandhas*, excluding the first and most of the last *skandha* of the extant BhāgP. It is more difficult to find a narration time for the MBh, allegedly told in the intervals of Janamejaya’s snake sacrifice, but there is no reference to the snake sacrifice once Vaiśampāyana and Janamejaya have engaged in their dialogue. Besides, the story of the sacrifice told in the *Āstīkaparvan* was already concluded with a kind of *phalaśruti*, and did not contain any reference to the MBh narrative (or other narratives). Now Śaunaka utters the wish to hear the epic composed by Vyāsa and told in the intervals of the sacrifice; and Ugraśravas reports the dialogue between Vaiśampāyana and Janamejaya, to which Ugraśravas adds at the end a summary of the completion of Janamejaya’s snake sacrifice, to round off the outer frame (MBh 18,5.26–30). It is, however, uncertain what the intervals of the sacrifice might have been, allowing for the bulk of the MBh to be narrated, even if it was narrated in instalments, but this is perhaps a question of poetic licence.

The most important part of the framework is no doubt the dialogue layer which serves as a narrative frame for the main narrative. Whereas the Ugraśravas–Śaunaka dialogue had provided background circumstances of the MBh narration, that dialogue layer is responsible for the composition and presentation of the MBh proper, based on the interaction between narrator and listener, the latter taking some part in shaping the narrative by his questions. Thus one can assume that Vaiśampāyana had some choice in arranging Vyāsa’s creation (*kṛṣṇadvaipāyanamataṃ* 1,53.35; *matam kṛtsnam vyāsasya* 1,55.2), concerning the sequence and the selection, and degree of elaboration, of details. Perhaps one has to think of Vyāsa’s creation as a kind of “blueprint”, not dissimilar to Lauri Honko’s “mental text” (= *matam?*), a term he

developed for the tradition of the oral Siri epic in South India, denoting an underlying “organized structure of relevant ... material present in the singer’s mind ...” (Honko 2000: 23), which in Vyāsa’s case seems to have been transmitted to his disciples’ memory (*smṛti*, under which category the MBh is subsumed),⁴ Vaiśampāyana’s presentation of the narrative would then be one of possible performances. No other performances are transmitted or known of, and perhaps it is the function of the outer frame to have Ugrasravas record this particular performance and report its exact wording to his listeners.⁵ This is at least how the author/redactors of the archetype wanted the oral transmission of the MBh to appear, even if only in fiction.

Turning to the BhāgP, we find a similar arrangement: a referential frame with Śuka and Parīkṣit as dialogue partners, whose dialogue is recorded by the Sūta and reported to his audience in the outer frame. As for Vyāsa as alleged author of the BhāgP, the evidence is not as unanimous as for the MBh. He is credited with the composition of the BhāgP only in the first *skandha*, narrated by the Sūta, who is for the BhāgP authors no doubt the traditional narrator of the *itihāsapurāṇa*, i.e. the MBh and the Purāṇas, and who presents a new version of the end of the MBh, from the *Sauptikaparvan* onward, adapting it to the message of the BhāgP and extending it to the story of Parīkṣit, to whom the BhāgP will be told (actually, according to the Bhāgavata narrator, before the *Mahābhārata* was told to Janamejaya at his snake sacrifice,⁶ which was undertaken as a revenge on the snakes for his father’s death). As for Śuka, the main narrator, he admits that he learnt the BhāgP from his father, but he traces its origin back to Brahmā who taught it to Nārada, before it came to Vyāsa, its ultimate authority being, however, the Bhagavān himself. Śuka’s presentation seems to be quite independent of any specific prefixed source: he selects various authorities to illustrate specific topics; and their didactic dialogues he appears to quote literally. Their teaching may even rely on a *paramparā* different from his own, as in the case of Maitreya, who is the main speaker/teacher in *skandha* 3 and 4.

This leads us to the topic of the role of “authorities”. For the main MBh narrative the “ultimate” authority is clearly Vyāsa, understood by Janamejaya to be an eyewitness (*pratyaṅśadarśivān* 1,54.18), on whose original version Vaiśampāyana’s performance is based. But the latter’s version is not presented as being a direct quotation from Vyāsa; it must be an adaptation or re-creation suited to his listener’s request. Thus it is not exactly Vyāsa’s creation that Ugrasravas reports to Śaunaka.

⁴ Vyāsa requests from Vaiśampāyana to tell “everything that you heard from me” (*sarvam ācakṣva yaṁ mattaḥ śrutavān asi* 1,54.22). It does not specify whether “everything” refers to content or exact wording.

⁵ There is no term for “exact wording” in the text. The term most frequently used in the outer frame (Ugrasravas–Śaunaka) is *vidhivat* “duly, according to the rules” (the only other term, *yathātatham* occurring only once, in 1,53.30), which refers to Vyāsa’s original narrative (in 1,53.33) as well as to Vaiśampāyana’s performance (in 1,1.9). In 1,53.29 and in the second half of 1,53.33 no narrator is named.

⁶ Cf. Söhnen-Thieme 2016.

This is, however, not to say that Vaiṣampāyana does not quote Vyāsa at all: he is introduced as the teacher of the *Vṛhidraṇikaparvan* in Book 3 (before Draupadī's abduction); he appears again in the *Droṇaparvan*, first in order to console Yudhiṣṭhira about Abhimanyu's death, by adducing stories relating to death (among them the Sauvarṇaṣṭhīvin story and the Śoḍaśarājākīya); then in a dialogue with Aśvatthāman, to whom he explains why his weapon was unable to hit Arjuna, followed by a dialogue with Arjuna about Śiva, including some Śiva myths and the Śatarudrīya. The last time Vaiṣampāyana quotes Vyāsa directly is in the initial section of the Śāntiparvan: when Yudhiṣṭhira is paralysed by regret and remorse and his brother and Draupadī try to persuade him to return to an active *kṣatriya* life, the discussion is carried on between Yudhiṣṭhira and Vyāsa, who also presents various arguments in favour of the *kṣatriyadharmā*, but in the end Vyāsa recommends that Yudhiṣṭhira should seek advice about the *rājadharmā* from Bhīṣma, which shows that Vyāsa is not considered to be superior to Bhīṣma, an authority of at least equal rank.

On the whole it seems indeed that Vyāsa does not appear as a higher authority than other traditional authorities, like Nārada, Lomaśa, Mārkaṇḍeya, etc. (including the perhaps most important teacher within the MBh, Bhīṣma).

In the BhāgP one looks in vain for a similar involvement of Vyāsa in the narrative or didactic discourse. For the discourse in three of the books Śuka adduces relevant authorities like the eyewitness and temporary narrator Uddhava, Maitreya as the authority for the purāṇic topics of creation and part of the genealogies, Nārada for the account of several *avatāras* connected with a couple of demons, and Kṛṣṇa himself for some teaching in the last but one *skandha* that tells also of his death. After the first *skandha* and the introductory verses to the second *skandha*, Vyāsa is not even mentioned any more up to the end of the BhāgP.

In the MBh there is actually one more instance which suggests Vyāsa as ultimate authority of the MBh narrative: ch. 8 in the *Strīparvan*, where he answers Dhṛtarāṣṭra's despair about his son's death with the information he gleaned from the assembly of the gods that Duryodhana's death is for the benefit of the earth, who had complained about her burden of *kṣatriyas* at the very beginning of Vaiṣampāyana's narration. This links in with the interpretational frame introduced in ch. 58 of the *Ādiparvan* and concluded in ch. 5 of the last *parvan*. But there is no special layer with Vyāsa as narrator (as is maintained by some authors, e.g. Alf Hiltebeitel⁷), even if Vyāsa is again and again praised in the text as its "author".

After this survey of layers and functions the following scheme can be established for the narrational layers of two most influential texts of Hinduism:

⁷ Hiltebeitel 2005: 461: "In the MBh, there are in fact three frames. Initially, Vyāsa recites the epic to his Brahman disciples, first to his son Śuka and then to the other four, including Vaiṣampāyana (1,1.63). Second, Vaiṣampāyana recites it at Vyāsa's bidding to King Janamejaya ... And third, the Bard Ugraśravas ... brings it to Śaunaka ...".

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. "External" narrator | authorial/redactional level |
| 2. Outer dialogue frame | transmissional level |
| 3. Main/referential dialogue | layer authorial level |
| 4. Quoted dialogues | eyewitness/authority level |

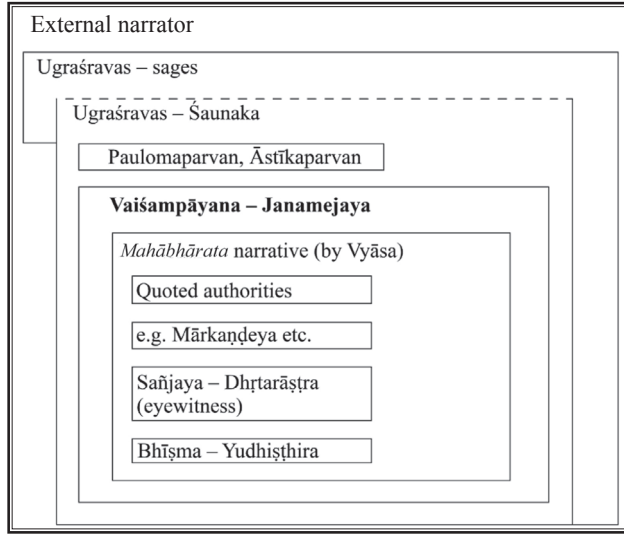
Let us resume what these layers imply.

1. Each text presupposes a person who implicitly says "(I say/narrate the following:) Ugraśravas arrived ..." (Bal 1997: 22). This person is of course anonymous; whether authorial, redactional, or scribal activity is behind it cannot be ascertained. In the BhāgP he may have expressed himself in the initial verses addressed to a sympathetic audience. At any rate he provides the information about the setting and the dialogue partners of the outer dialogue frame.
2. The outer frame with Sauti Ugraśravas in the MBh and the Sūta in the BhāgP provides (a) information about the setting of the inner dialogue frame, including in the MBh a narrative of Janamejaya's snake sacrifice and its prehistory, and gives (b) an uninterrupted complete report of the dialogue in this inner frame; it is responsible for the transmission of the MBh in the form as has been presented by Vaiśampāyana at this occasion.
3. The inner dialogue is the referential layer where the MBh is actually narrated, partly in answer to requests of the dialogue partner. It may include references to, and reports of, former dialogues known to the narrator, where topics relevant to the main narrative were discussed, or where other instructive information is given, including subordinate stories. This layer is responsible for the shape the MBh narrative has definitively taken.
4. Being responsible for the verisimilitude of his narrative, the main narrator may include testimonies by quoting dialogues with relevant informants: eyewitnesses as in the case of Sañjaya's dialogue with Dhṛtarāṣṭra in the MBh, likewise the dialogue between Uddhava and Vidura in the BhāgP, with Uddhava's report about Kṛṣṇa's death, or dialogues involving well-known traditional authorities like, e.g., Mārkaṇḍeya in both text, who impart their knowledge to listeners within the story itself and might even introduce an earlier dialogue on their part. A special case is Bhīṣma, the most important teacher of *dharma* in the MBh, whose dialogue with Yudhiṣṭhira takes a great part of the MBh text, including also quotations of previous dialogues, especially in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*.

Thus each of these layers has a special function, which can be summed up, starting from the innermost:

- (a) the layer of quoted authorities serves to provide first-hand knowledge pertaining to the main narrative as well as traditional lore from various sources, as complements to it;

- (b) the main or referential layer serves to present the material in an individual performance in a specific context, partly conditioned by the individual listener;
- (c) the outer dialogue frame serves to transmit the exact wording of this individual performance; and
- (d) the layer of the anonymous “external” narrator encompasses the complete text including the information about its transmission (the text as it is now available in the written medium).

Layers of interlocution in the *Mahābhārata*

B. Framework and genesis of the Rāmāyaṇa

Composition and Transmission of the Rāmāyaṇa, as testified by the text itself:

sarvāpūrvam iyaṃ yeṣāṃ āsīt kṛtsnā vasuṃdharā |
prajāpatim upādāya nṛpāṇāṃ jayaśālinām, || 1 ||
yeṣāṃ sa sagaro nāma, (sāgaro yena khānitaḥ, |
ṣaṣṭiḥ putrasahasrāṇi yaṃ yāntaṃ paryavārayan, || 2 ||
ikṣvākūṇāṃ idam teṣāṃ rājñāṃ vaṃśe mahātmanām |
mahad utpannam ākhyānam, RĀMĀYAṆAM iti śrutam; || 3 ||
tad idaṃ vartayiṣyāmi⁸ sarvaṃ nikhilam āditaḥ |
dharmakāmārthasahitaṃ śrotavyam anasūyayā || 4 ||

To whom belonged, first of all, the whole earth,
to the ever-victorious kings, including Prajāpati,
among whom was Sagara, who had the ocean dug up,
whom sixty thousand sons were accompanying, as he went –
in the family of those kings, of the noble-minded Ikṣvākus,
this great epic narrative arose, heard of as “Rāmāyaṇa”:

⁸ A few MSS (D_v, D_{2,6,8}) read dual *vartayiṣyāvaḥ* (in agreement with *kuṣīlavau*).

That is what I shall recount as follows, all in total from the beginning,
it accords with the three goals of life and is to be listened to with good will.

This is the opening of the fifth canto of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, the first book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which Jacobi once identified as the most probable beginning of the epic,⁹ and indeed, it reminds us of the beginning of similar epics in the Western tradition, such as the *Nibelungenlied* or *Beowulf*.¹⁰

Nibelungenlied, with end rhyme:

<i>Uns ist in alten mæren</i>	<i>wunders vil geseit</i>
<i>von helden lobebæren</i>	<i>von mancher arebeit</i>
<i>von vreude und hochgezîten</i>	<i>von weinen und von klagen,</i>
<i>von küener recken strîten</i>	<i>muget ir nu wunder hæren sagen.</i>

In olden tales we are told	of marvels manifold,
of praiseworthy heroes,	of many a brave deed,
of joy and festive times,	of weeping and lamenting,
of bold warriors fighting:	you may now hear tell of marvels.

Beowulf, with alliterative rhyme:

<i>Hwæt wē Gār-Dena</i>	<i>in gēar-dagum</i>
<i>þēod-cyninga</i>	<i>þrym gefrūnon,</i>
<i>hū ḡa æþelingas</i>	<i>ellen fremedon.</i>

Indeed we have heard the might of the Spear-Danes,
of the kings of the people, in days of yore,
how those noble men showed valour.

These two intimations have several features in common: both state that the events took place in the remote past; the expressions *wē gefrūnon* and *uns ist geseit* are synonymous, referring to the oral transmission of the epic; similarly both emphasize the valour of their heroes. In the *Beowulf*, these heroes are furthermore identified as belonging to a certain people, which makes this introductory pronouncement less vague than the first stanza of the *Nibelungenlied*, even if the main heroes remain anonymous, and no information about specific events is provided.

This is similar in the stanzas quoted from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where the hero's family line is emphasized and, as in *Beowulf*, the hero is, after all, identified in the title: "*Rāmāyaṇa*" meaning the "(story dealing with) Rāma's life". Here the opening stanzas are concluded by the reciter's determined announcement that he going to tell the whole epic, emphasizing its educational qualities.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, as we have it today, does not start with those opening stanzas. They are preceded by four chapters containing some special sort of information: about the alleged author, his coming to be acquainted with the story which he will present in his epic, a legend about the origin of the metre used in epic verse, a

⁹ Cf. Jacobi 1893: 55.

¹⁰ The opening of the Homeric epics is slightly different, focusing either on a triggering initial condition (the wrath of Achilles) or on the hero (Odysseus).

summary or table of content, and some information about how it was made known to the public – all this being a kind of preface or introduction which one would expect from the editor of a work, but not as a part of the author’s work itself. Some similar, but far more extensive material about the prehistory and occasion of the first performance, including several summaries of content, can be found in the other great epic of ancient India, the *Mahābhārata*, and it seems not unlikely that the transmitters of the Rm found it appropriate to equip their epic with similar information. So they provided it with

- (a) in ch. 1, an authoritative source, the omniscient Nārada (in place of the eye-witness Vyāsa in the MBh, also the MBh’s alleged author);
- (b) in ch. 2, a divine commission (evidently not needed for the MBh) through god Brahmā in ch. 2, which also contains the story about the invention of the epic metre (presumably in order to indicate that this epic, unlike the MBh, is also a work of art);
- (c) in ch. 3, a summary of content in about 100 keywords or titles of narrative sections, – most probably corresponding to the third summary in the MBh (1,2.34–39), with its titles of the 100 narrative sections (*parvans*) of which the epic consisted at a certain time; or less probably corresponding to the fourth summary (1,2.71–234), which presents the contents in titles of narrative sections, arranged in 18 “books” (also called *parvans*), which informs us also about the number of chapters and verses, approximately in accordance with the arrangement of the MBh as we know it today.
- (d) in ch. 4, a report about transmission and first recital of the epic, loosely corresponding to Vyāsa’s teaching of the epic to his four main students, and to the first and only occasion of the MBh being narrated, i.e. within a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana, allegedly during a sacrifice (which may have inspired the author of the late last book of the Rm, the *Uttarakāṇḍa* or “appendix book”, to have the recitation of the Rm also first performed at a sacrifice, Rāma’s *aśvamedha*), but nothing of this kind is mentioned in ch. 4 of the *Bālakāṇḍa* (except in a passage of the NR). In the second half of its ch. 4 the Kuśīlavas are reported to give performances of the epic in the presence of sages and hermits in various places, being highly praised in those circles, before they are invited to Rāma’s palace, in order to sing the epic in the presence of Rāma and his brothers.

So it seems that the four “preface” chapters of the Rm are secondary to the epic; they were possibly not even placed there at the same time. Nārada’s short narrative about Rāma, compared with Vālmīki’s reflection on the content of the epic to be composed (presented in keywords), shows that, as has been noted for a long time, they seem to present different stages of the epic’s development: Nārada’s short narrative does not mention anything before the beginning of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, and ends with Rāma’s regaining his wife and his kingdom, framed by praise of Rāma’s excellent qualities in the beginning of Nārada’s speech and by similar praise of his

rule in the future tense at the end. The summary in keywords, by contrast, includes the main features of the *Bālakāṇḍa*: Rāma's birth, stories heard in Viśvāmitra's company, Sītā's wedding and the breaking of the bow, and the encounter with Rāma Jāmadagnya. Its presentation of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* has nothing new to offer, and the titles referring to book 3–6 list more details,¹¹ but add nothing essential for the plot (except perhaps Trijaṭā's prophetic dream in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*). The *Yuddhakāṇḍa* ends with Rāma's return to Ayodhyā and his coronation, after Ravaṇa's death and the recovering of Sītā; there is no mention of her fire ordeal.¹² There are, however, three more keywords in the summary that correspond approximately with chapters 38–48 of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. The last and most important of them is the repudiation of Sītā, of which Vālmīki can only have come to know just before starting his composition (perhaps from Sītā herself, if we trust the report of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* that she found shelter in his hermitage). The chapter concludes with the remark that what happened later to Rāma was composed by Vālmīki in an additional poem (*uttare kāvye*).¹³ All

¹¹ In comparison with the short Rāma narrative, there is, concerning the *Aranyakāṇḍa*, some uncertainty (reflected also in the differences between the Southern and Northern recensions) as to sequence in which various hermits are visited (including the visit at Atri and Anasūyā's hermitage, which is allocated to the *Aranyakāṇḍa* in the summaries, but to the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* in the epic proper) and when the encounter with Virāḍha took place. Otherwise the events mentioned are more or less the same. For the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* some more catchwords are added: Tārā's lament, the brothers' stay in Kiṣkindhā during the rainy season and Rāma's anger at its end; likewise, towards the end of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, the delivery of Rāma's ring, Hanumān's visit in the bear's cave, and the fast until death of the monkeys (before they meet the vulture Sampāti). There are considerably more keywords for the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, mostly giving more details about Hanumān's deeds in Laṅkā; they include the two keywords about Sītā and the Rākṣasīs: threats of the Rākṣasīs and the prophetic dream of the Rākṣasī Trijaṭā, which were not mentioned in the short narrative. – The *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, for which the short narrative contains only the problem of crossing the ocean and the result of the battle, but nothing about the battle itself, is presented with some more important intermediate events: alliance with Rāvaṇa's brother Vibhīṣaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa's revelation of the means to destroy Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa's death, and the slaying of Meghanāda, Rāvaṇa's son, before Rāvaṇa himself is slain.

¹² One Northern MS (B₂) inserts, after *rāvaṇasya vināśam*, mention of *sītā-tyāgam* (divorcing Sītā), of the appearance of Brahmā and other gods and their words to Rāma, and of *sītāyāḥ pratyayam* (Sītā's proof, no doubt referring to the fire ordeal) before *sītāvāptim areḥ pure* in the Southern recension and in Rm[-CE] (This would agree with the events as narrated in the *Rāmopākhyāna* in the MBh).

¹³ Unlike the Southern Recension, the Northern Recension presents here, in its keywords, most of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*: the assembly of sages, led by Agastya (who will tell Rāvaṇa's story), the origin of the Rākṣasas and Rāvaṇa's victory; this is followed by Rāma's exemplary rule and the repudiation of Sītā, mixed with an arrival of sages and the dispatch of Śatrughna on a mission against Lavaṇa, the defeat of Lavaṇa being reported after Sītā's giving birth in the forest. The last three keywords concern Lakṣmaṇa's unfortunate fate, Rāma's handing over his kingdom to his and his brothers' sons and going to heaven himself. What is strikingly absent from this list of keywords is Rāma's horse sacrifice, the performance of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in its intervals, the recognition of the young singers as Rāma's sons, and the final disappearance of Sītā. (These are the events of which Vālmīki himself would have been an eye-witness, if we take the information of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* seriously.) The *aśvamedha* is instead mentioned in the next chapter (ch. 4, about the transmission of Vālmīki's composition) as the first occasion of a complete recitation of the epic, which clearly presupposes the events narrated in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

this was not mentioned in the short narrative, since it is placed in the frame dialogue at a time shortly after Rāma had regained his kingdom: Nārada did not disclose any future events. But the *Uttarakāṇḍa* seems for a long time not to have been acknowledged as a genuine part of the Rm, as is testified by early visual presentations of the Rm as well as by the *Rāmopākhyāna* in the MBh, so it is most likely that its events did not yet form part of the Rāma tradition when the short narrative was composed, which was probably later prefixed to the Rm than the following three chapters.

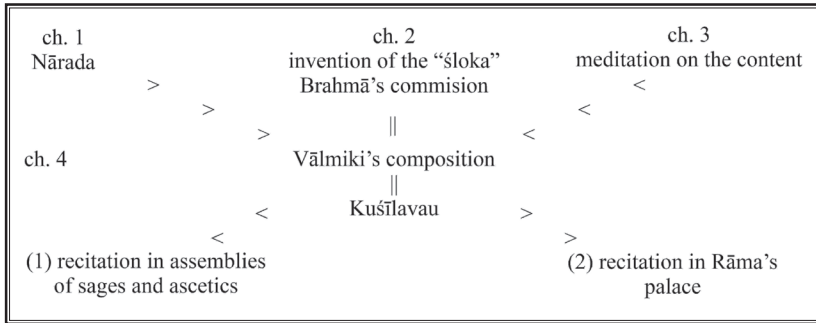
Whereas the first three chapters of the editor's introduction provide information about the composition of the Rm, including a "table of contents", the chapter immediately preceding the beginning of the Rm proper reports how the author's work was made known to the public, which was often done, we must believe, by professional performers, called here *kuśīlavas*. Very often such performances are carried out by two reciters, alternating with or supporting each other. In ch. 4 of the Rm, two of them (dual *kuśīlavau*) appear in Vālmīki's hermitage as hermits (*muniveṣau*), touching his feet, while he is wondering to whom to teach his composition.¹⁴ Finding that they are knowledgeable of the Veda, he decides to transmit his work to them. Since the term *kuśīlavau* appears in the dual, it was interpreted as a (grammatically impossible) dual of two names, Kuśa and Lava, who are introduced as brothers of royal descent and described as "mirror images of Rāma".¹⁵ This raises the expectation that they will eventually turn out to be his sons, but such a recognition scene is not part of the editor's introduction in the *Bālakāṇḍa*. The brothers are not only well-versed in the Vedas (*vedeṣu pariniṣṭhitau*), but at the same time gifted with musical talent and beautiful voices; so they are considered by Vālmīki to be the perfect performers of his newly created epic (*kāvyaṃ rāmāyaṇam*), which he teaches them "in order to support and complement the Vedas" (*veda-upabr̥ṃhaṇa-arthāya tāv agrāhayata ...*), naming it also "the great life story of Sītā" (*sītāyāś caritaṃ mahat*) and "the slaying of the descendent of Pulastya (= Rāvaṇa)" (*paulastyavadham*). This epic, which is also said to display the seven or more sentiments (*rasas*), as found in later aesthetic theory, is pleasant to recite and to sing, and the brothers, who are musical experts (*gāndharvatattvajñau*), sing it to the accompaniment of stringed instruments, observing its musical measures and scales (one may wonder how they could have acquired their musical skill and knowledge in the hermitage, if they were born and brought up there). After learning how to sing it, they now go about to perform it at assemblies of sages and ascetics, and are greatly applauded and honoured with gifts. At one of these occasions they are seen by Rāma, coming along the royal highway, where such an assembly took place,¹⁶ and are taken to his residence, where Rāma

¹⁴ There is no mention that they had already been staying at Vālmīki's hermitage before, but in the Northern recension they are introduced as *vālmīkiśiṣyau* (Rm[-CE] 203* l.5).

¹⁵ Two Western Devanagari manuscripts read actually *rāmaputrau* (instead of *rājaputrau*) in vs. 4.

¹⁶ The Northern recension (Rm[-CE] 215*, l.2) tries to introduce here the horse sacrifice from the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, but the sequence of events is not convincing.

encourages them to sing their epic in the presence of his brothers. After this the epic proper starts in ch. 5, with the opening quoted above.



This editorial introduction leaves, however, two pending questions, in ch. 4 a kind of “open end” that requires to be taken up after the recitation, the expected identification of the reciters; such recognition after a presentation of a long story does not infrequently happen in narrative works where stories are embedded in a frame story with a plot of its own. Thus ch. 4 introduces a kind of “germ” of a plot outside the narrated epic, and one expects that, after the Rm is told, Rāma and his brothers will try to find out how the work came into existence, how the reciters came to know it, and who they really are, since they resemble Rāma, as the editor had pointed out. This leads to the other question, which concerns the last keyword presented in ch. 3, “the repudiation of Sītā”: can this have been a proper end for such an epic culminating in Rāma’s victory and proverbial exemplary rule for 10,000 years? It is nowhere found in traditional Rm accounts outside the Rm, e.g., the *Harivaṃśa* and other early or less early Purāṇas, where his sons Kuśa and Lava are often mentioned. Their appearance in ch. 4 naturally raises the question, how did they become disciples in Vālmiki’s hermitage? If they were sons of a king, why were they not brought up at the royal court? To this Sītā’s banishment could be a perfect answer. It has thus to be part of the epic, and it is something Vālmiki may have come to know directly from Sītā, after the information he got from Nārada. It is not possible to decide whether this last keyword referred to an already existing final episode of the Rm or whether the “editor”, now more in the function of an “author”, added the episode to the end of the Rm himself, when he fixed his introduction.¹⁷ (As mentioned before, it may even have originally belonged to the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*.)

¹⁷ The *Uttarakāṇḍa* shows that there was a vast field of possible topics to be amplified (apart from Sītā’s and Rāma’s further history), starting with the prehistory of Rāvaṇa as a power dangerous to the three worlds, for whose defeat a god in human shape was needed, which explains the necessity for Viṣṇu’s *avatāra* told in the *Bālakāṇḍa*. These topics are actually already found in the three chapters of introduction (MBh 3,258–260) to the Rāma story in the MBh (*Rāmopākhyāna*), set apart from the main story by a question of Yudhiṣṭhira, to whom the story is told. It is just possible that one of the authors/redactors of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* might have taken Rāvaṇa’s prehistory from there and elaborated on it.

At any rate, the appearance of the two reciters who resemble Rāma in the introduction and the story of their birth in Vālmīki's hermitage and their recognition as Rāma's sons after their performance at the horse sacrifice in the middle of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* might appear to form a kind of "narrative framework" around the Rm proper, answering all the questions arising from ch. 4: the work was composed by Vālmīki, from whom the brothers had learned it (it consists of 500 cantos, to which the Southern recension adds that it was composed in 24,000 ślokaś, arranged in 100 *Upākhyānaś*, presumably "narrative units", since their number corresponds roughly to the keywords in ch. 3).

During their recitation Rāma recognizes them to be his sons and has their mother fetched, but there is no happy family reunion; Sītā performs a truth spell (*satyakriyā*) to prove her purity (perhaps in order to secure her sons' legitimacy), and is then swallowed by the earth, never to return.¹⁸ The following chapter, describing Rāma's grief and reporting the death of his "mothers", Daśaratha's queens, seems then to be a suitable end of the epic and its frame. But since Rāma's biography is not yet told up to his death, the epic as we have it now is not yet concluded: more episodes are told (some of them mentioned at the end of ch. 4 in the Northern recension version), before Rāma goes to heaven on the banks of the Sarayū.

At the end of this article, we must come back to the term "framework", by which I mean the application of frames in general, be it frame stories that, while emboxing other stories, have a plot of their own, as in e.g. the Arabian Nights, the *Pañcatantra*, or the *Daśakumāracarita*, and are thus part of the narrative whole, or be it dialogue frames, which may be provided with some rudimentary background information, but which have no plot of their own,¹⁹ serving mainly to introduce a competent narrator, who has an authorised insight into the narrative to be told.

As for the "external" narrator who is outside the outer layer of interlocution, providing the information about the narrator and the background of the narration, there seem to be, in the case of the Rm, two of such "external narrators": one is no doubt the "editor" who provides the information given in the first four chapters of the Rm, and who may also be made responsible for the report of the events that lead to the recitation and completion of the Rm in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. The "narratorial framework" of the Rm would in this case consist of Vālmīki teaching his epic to the performers and the report of their performance before the epic is told, which would then be complemented at its end by a description of the effect on the audience. But in the Rm as we have it today an end of the Rm is difficult to define, as we

¹⁸ This is actually the reverse of a traditional truth spell, which normally results in positive rescue from a difficult situation. Sītā's last *satyakriyā* suggests, however, that she (understandably) does not want to return to Rāma anymore. (In the whole of the epic Sītā is not more aware of the earth being her mother, as Rāma is of his identity with Viṣṇu.)

¹⁹ Sometimes one can also find an interpretative frame within the main narrative, such as the story of the unburdening of the earth in the MBh (or Viṣṇu's descent on earth in his part incarnation as Rāma in the *Bālakāṇḍa*, taken up by Rāma's ascending to heaven to become Viṣṇu again at the end of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*).

have seen; instead there is a second report of the first performance of the Rm which is not in agreement with the first one, Rāma's horse sacrifice being a later innovation (probably borrowed from the MBh). So one has to accept that there might be a second editor (or rather a new anonymous author) who supplied this new version, together with the long-expected effect on the audience leading to the recognition of the performers as Rāma's sons. But since the story does not even end here (i.e. with the reunion of the royal family), one cannot call it a "frame" (the picture has "grown out" of its frame, so to speak).

The other "external narrator" is the one behind the opening verses of the Rm which are quoted at the beginning, the unidentified "I" in the verb *vartayisyāmi* "I shall bring into circulation" or "pronounce", which is no doubt the reciter (could it be Vālmīki himself?), but probably not the author himself, who would remain anonymous.

On the basis of the different narrative layers in combination with the list of contents and short versions, the following stratification of the *Rāmāyaṇa* may be attempted:²⁰

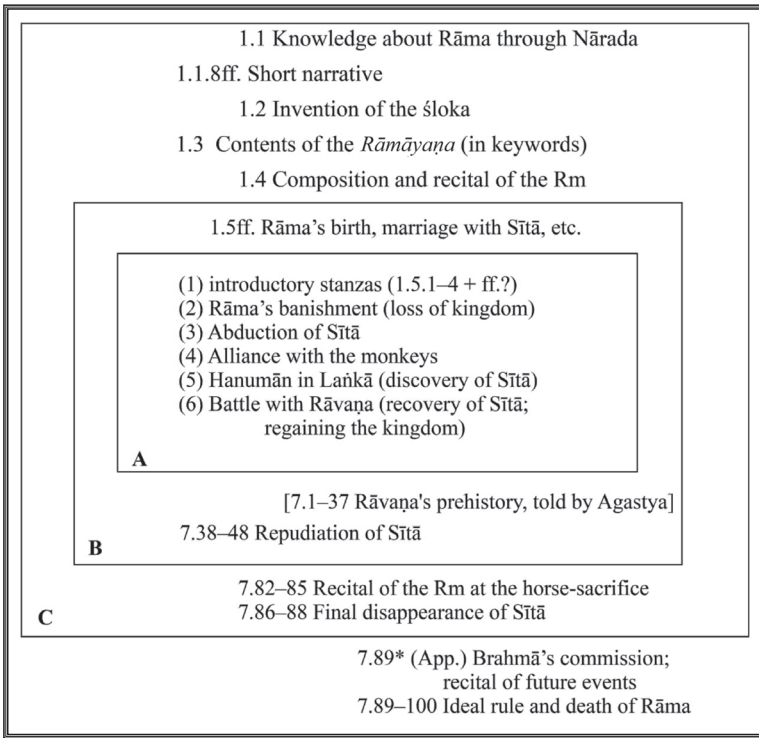
A. Book 2–6; 1,5.1–4 (+ ff.): author not known	
	Characteristics: no inserted stories, <i>ādikāvya</i> style (final stanzas in longer metres, poetic similes, longer compounds).
	Cross references: Nārada's story in 1,1; main part of the Rāma episode in the MBh.
B. Parts of Book 1; 7,38–48	
	Author Vālmīki, reciters Kuśa and Lava (according to 1,1–4, layer C).
	Characteristics: introduction of purāṇic style (for the more recent parts): simpler language; some inserted stories (Viśvāmitra); some influence of the MBh.
	Cross references: main part of the Rāma episode in the MBh.; summary in catch-words in 1,3.
C. Remaining parts of Book 1 and 7:	
	Author and reciters unknown.
	Characteristic: purāṇic style; borrowing of motifs and tales from the MBh.
	Cross reference: introductory section of the Rāma episode in the MBh.

Framework of the *Rāmāyaṇa*

²⁰ Layer A corresponds approximately to layer 1 and 2, layer B to the larger part of layer 3 of the stratification suggested by J. Brockington in the appendix of *Righteous Rāma*, which is based, on the one hand, on linguistic and stylistic criteria, on the other, on textual evidence of the critical Baroda edition. (No further stratification is suggested for the first and last books; they constitute his layer 3 as a whole.)

Conclusion

At the final session of the last DICSEP (8) before Corona, taking place 2017 in Dubrovnik itself, the question of generic terminology for the old Indian Sanskrit “epics” was raised and was thought to be a possible general point or topic for a future DICSEP. The question had arisen whether it was justified to name them with a term of Western literary history, or whether one should rather use indigenous Sanskrit terms instead. Now I hope to have shown, by analysing their different frameworks and related questions, the way in which these two fundamental works differ from each other.



Considering the “original” beginning of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in ch. 5 of the *Bālakāṇḍa* (but without including the narratives of the *Bāla*- and even later *Uttarakāṇḍa*), it seems to me not inappropriate to understand it also as an “epic” in the European sense of the word, if one thinks, e.g., of medieval epics in various European languages, created by a more or less well-known poet, intended to be a work of art, and rather not to give an “authentic historical account” (based on eye-witness).

This is quite different with the *Mahābhārata*. It is not created by a poet, but by someone considered to be an all-round authority. He does not tell it himself, but no

bards are involved, instead a brahmin disciple, who delivers what he has learned, in a dialogue with a descendent of the heroes at the centre of the narrative, who is, of course, eager to come to know about his ancestors (no poetic considerations are involved). It is considered to be an account of events that happened in the Indian history, for which Vyāsa was not only an authority, partly in the role of a direct eye-witness, but was even involved in engendering some of the heroes. There is no parallel for that in Western literary traditions. Apart from this, the *Mahābhārata* contains, to a great extent, dialogues about questions of the *dharma*, the correct way of living, like an educational treatise. All this makes it difficult to identify it with a single term. Being intended, among other things, as a historical account, it may be accounted for as belonging to the genre of *itihāsapurāṇa* (often Purāṇas are also authorised by Vyāsa), but it differs from all Purāṇas, since Vyāsa is not personally involved in them. The MBh has its “epic” components, the life stories of heroes, dramatic situations which lead to their involvements in battles, etc., but the framework with the emphasis on authority puts it into the vicinity of the Purāṇas. So the term *itihāsapurāṇa* might be a better choice for a genre classification in case of the *Mahābhārata*, which has no equal in Western literary tradition.

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Sažetak

U ovome članku proučavam različite konfiguracije i okvirne priče dvaju velikih indijskih epova, *Mahābhārate* i *Rāmāyaṇe*, na temelju njihovih vlastitih tekstualnih dokaza, koji svjedoče o nekoj vrsti kronologije unutar samih tekstova. U *Mahābhārati* je to blisko povezano s Vyāsinim „autoritetom“ (iako on sam nije pripovjedač) što se također odnosi na brojne purāṇe, gdje se on često pojavljuje u okvirnim dijalozima. Okvirna priča *Rāmāyaṇe* jasnije identificira „autora“, prikazujući ga u svojim prvim poglavljima kao „pjesnika“ koji namjerava „objaviti“ ep u čast svog junaka Rāme. Ova poglavlja otvaraju okvir koji se dalje više ne nastavlja, već je pretvoren u nastavak Rāmine priče u *Uttarakāṇḍi*, u kojoj se Vālmīki pojavljuje kao jedna od likova u priči, koja stoga više ne može biti dio Vālmīkijeve kompozicije, već zahtijeva drugoga autora. Zaključno, članak sugerira da postoji razlika između ta dva „epa“ u pogledu njihove genetičke identifikacije, bilo kao „ep“ ili kao nešto drugo što se može naći samo u indijskoj tradiciji.

Further considerations regarding the contents and the textual formation and development of the *Harivaṃśa*

Abstract

The *Mahābhārata-khila*, titled “*Harivaṃśa*”, addresses certain deficiencies and ambiguities of the *Mahābhārata*. In a core text, the lineage (*vaṃśa*) of the Bhāratas, who were involved in a great war among themselves in the *Mahābhārata*, was clarified. This genealogical account, beginning with the creation of the world by Viṣṇu (Hari) and ending with the addressee of the whole epic, King Janamejaya, has been supplemented with the origin of Kṛṣṇa, who did not belong to the Bhāratas, but was decisively involved in the war as a friend and advisor to the Pāṇḍavas. About Kṛṣṇa one learns in the *Mahābhārata* that he had once grown up as a cowherd and as such had already performed amazing heroic deeds, without a clear picture emerging from these frequent allusions. This is criticised accordingly in a subsequently introduced *Harivaṃśa* introduction. Kṛṣṇa’s Yādava-line, however, were only inserted towards the end of the Bhārata genealogy. As for the *Mahābhārata*, there had been observed an increasing interest in the person of Kṛṣṇa, who was regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu; this development has been called the Kṛṣṇaisation of the *Mahābhārata*. The same applies to the *Harivaṃśa*. Here too, Kṛṣṇa and his Yādava origin increasingly came into focus. In the first part, an improvised information seems to have been included in the *Harivaṃśa* text, which, however, later on led to a very thorough correction in the subsequent text. As a result, the Kṛṣṇa depiction of the *Harivaṃśa* became more and more the centre of the *Mahābhārata-khila*. Kṛṣṇa’s childhood and youth were now described in detail, including various heroic deeds against demons, and the Yādava lineage was subsequently extended by two more generations in detail and by several further generations in a bare list of names. The generally awakened interest in Kṛṣṇa, however, resulted in the subsequent Purāṇa literature where the *Harivaṃśa* portrayal of Kṛṣṇa was taken up and further developed into an overall biography from the birth to the end of Kṛṣṇa’s life.

As is well known, the *Mahābhārata* (= MBh) is essentially about a war between the five Pāṇḍu sons (Pāṇḍavas) on the one side and their cousins, the 100 sons of the Pāṇḍu brother Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Kauravas) on the other. The ostensible issue is the supremacy of the Bhārata Empire in northern India. Right at the beginning, however, this war takes on a supra-mundane dimension. In MBh 1,58, a prelude in heaven is reported, in which Mother Earth complains to the other gods of the pantheon that she is suffering from an overload, caused on the one hand by an overload of earthly creatures and on the other hand by the fact that, in addition, numerous demons have mingled on earth especially among the *kṣatriyas*, where they have begun to terrorise their subjects, the humans, more and more and thus increasingly torment the people. The gods should urgently do something about this. The gods agreed with this and prepared to descend to earth with parts of themselves in order to eliminate these grievances by instigating a great war and on the other hand by fighting the demons. In doing so, they called upon Indra and Viṣṇu to lead them in this enterprise. So now Indra decides to take the role of the middle Pāṇḍava brother Arjuna, and Viṣṇu decides for himself to stand by the Pāṇḍavas in every way as an adviser and friend named Kṛṣṇa, and thus together with them put an end to the double grievance.

In the *Bhagavadgītā* (= BhG), probably the most famous piece of text in the MBh, which is entirely dedicated to Kṛṣṇa and his special protégé Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa as Arjuna's charioteer in the midst of the battlefield forcefully points out to him, Arjuna, as Arjuna's charioteer in the midst of the battlefield, urged Arjuna to enter into this war against his kinsmen and that he himself, who was actually an incarnation of Viṣṇu, descended on earth as such from time to time to suppress the wicked and protect the good.¹ The content of the *Bhagavadgītā* was certainly conceived in the context of the war events of the MBh, but it is far too long and has a philosophical-theological content that it must certainly have been inserted into the war reportage only afterwards. Nevertheless, it is known and recognised as a part of the MBh.²

The *Harivaṃśa* (= HV³) is different! This was probably conceived from the outset as an appendix or supplement (*khila*) to the complete text of the MBh. It took over the external form of the epic by placing itself within the narrative framework of the MBh. In accordance with its title "*Harivaṃśa*", however, it initially offered only a general overview of the lineage of the Pauravas centrally involved in the MBh war, which had previously been mentioned only fragmentarily here and there in the epic itself, as compensation for a deficit in the MBh. This Paurava line was then subsequently supplemented by Kṛṣṇa's line of origin. The latter addition, however, came into focus due to apparently increasing interest in the person of Kṛṣṇa, so that

¹ MBh 6,26.7–8 = BhG 4.7–8

² Cf. Jacobi 1918: 323–327.

³ This refers here specifically to the text version of the critical edition of the HV. In what follows, HV generally stands for CE-HV, unless otherwise indicated.

the HV as a whole was finally regarded and appreciated as a small Kṛṣṇa epic⁴ in its own right.

In the following, I am particularly concerned with the text-historical development of the HV, which, as is well known, on the one hand was long regarded as a work of c. 18,000 *śloka*s (Vulgate version), but since the publication of a critical edition (1969–71⁵) of only c. 6,000 *śloka*s in this form has been regarded as the standard text. With regard to the genesis and textual-historical development of this work, I can refer here first of all to my own lecture.⁶ But without wanting to repeat myself too much, I will only present a brief summary of the most important results of my research at that time:

The core of the HV is probably not the *Kṛṣṇacarita* in the middle *parvan* (*Viṣṇuparvan*) of the Vulgate version, as was generally assumed before, but rather the world-historical-genealogical embedding of the MBh events and MBh heroes, entirely in accordance with the title “*Harivaṃśa*”. The description ranges from the primordial world creation by Viṣṇu (= Hari) through many human generations to the most recent narrative past of the MBh events in the first *parvan* of the Vulgate version (*Harivaṃśaparvan*) and at the same time includes the lineage of King Janamejaya at the beginning of the third Vulgate *parvan* (*Bhaviṣyaparvan*), to whom the aforementioned war events are reported by the Vyāsa disciple Vaiśampāyana. This is then followed only by a relatively brief outlook into the future of the Kaliyuga that has just begun.⁷

If I now take up the topic of the text-historical development of the HV once again today, it is because I have certain new findings in mind, especially concerning inconsistencies within the aforementioned long interpolation in the HV middle section, which once again place the picture of the development of the HV in a partially new light. In particular, the process of Kṛṣṇaisation seems to me to have taken place in at least two clearly distinguishable stages, as I will explain below.

One of the peculiarities of the presentation of Kṛṣṇa in the MBh is that on the one hand, which is correspondingly criticised in the HV (in HV 1.5⁸), his line of

⁴ According to HV 118.43, the HV does not see himself as Ākhyāna, but as Mahākāvya! (Cf. Ingalls 1968). On the problem of the continuity or discontinuity of the HV, Cf. Matchett 1996.

⁵ Published by P. L. Vaidya, Poona 1969–71. The division of the HV into three parvans is a peculiarity of the Vulgate HV and has been abandoned in the CE; in the CE HV 118 *adhyāyas* are counted through.

⁶ Brinkhaus 1990.

⁷ To be precise: At that time I considered the HV-*adhyāyas* 1–10; 20–23.121; 114–118 as the oldest stage, i.e. as the core of the text, and as a subsequent interpolation mainly in the sense of a Kṛṣṇaisation of the HV-text I singled out the long HV-middle section 23.122–113. As a presumably even later addition, there then remained the HV-*adhyāyas* 11–19, titled “*Pitrkalpa*”, which I did not elaborate on then and will not elaborate on now.

⁸ HV 1.5: *tatra janma kurūṇāṃ vai tvayoktaṃ lomaharṣaṇe |*
na tu vṛṣṇyandhakānāṃ vai tad bhavān prabravītu me || 5 ||

origin is left in the dark, so that at times one might even have the impression that he belongs to one and the same family with the Pāṇḍavas (cf. HV 1.11cd⁹), and on the other hand also the fact that allusions are repeatedly made to his childhood and youth as a shepherd boy (*gopāla*, Govinda) and to certain heroic deeds from that time,¹⁰ without a clear picture emerging as to what it is more precisely about.

Now, we know that at the time of the composition of the MBh (roughly: about the beginning of the Christian era)¹¹ there was already a Kṛṣṇa legend about an adolescent shepherd boy of that name, since reference is already made twice by Patañjali to the killing of Kāṁsa by Kṛṣṇa.¹² The multiplicity of possibly older MBh allusions to Kṛṣṇa as a *gopāla*¹³ suggests that early redactors of the MBh claimed this probably already popular Kṛṣṇagopāla legend as an account of an earlier phase of the life of the Pāṇḍavas' friend and adviser, who acts only as an adult in the MBh.

Let us now look again at the HV text: There, first of all, the genealogical line of Viṣṇu (= Hari) would have been listed as the world origin to the war heroes of the MBh, the Pūru descendants (= Pauravas) in HV 1.15–10.80; 19.1–23.121 and 114.1–115.2. This Paurava line, however, was subsequently interrupted and the line of Yadu descendants (= Yādavas) was inserted there, which first of all at the end reached Kṛṣṇa. To illustrate Kṛṣṇa, a Kālayavana episode¹⁴ has been appended very briefly (in HV 25.11–17) and then a Syamantaka episode (HV 28–29)¹⁵ offered in more detail. The editor in question, however, seems to have known the MBh with its various Govinda allusions, but apparently not the Kṛṣṇagopāla legend itself, at least not precisely enough; for his details differ from the information offered below in the *Kṛṣṇacarita*. About Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma, it is stated in HV 25.1–2¹⁶ that

⁹ HV 1.11cd: *ekaś ca me mato rāśir vṛṣṇayaḥ pāṇḍavas tathā* || 11 ||

¹⁰ E.g. *keśihanṭr* (MBh 2,36.2) or *keśisūdāna* (MBh 2,30.11); cf. note 13 below.

¹¹ The most recent opinion on the question of the dating of the MBh that I am aware of is by Georg von Simson, who in his partial translation of the MBh (von Simson 2011: 647), suspects "that the genesis of the great epic, or an editing associated with its writing, did not take place before the 1st century BCE, perhaps even in the first century CE."

¹² Brockington 1998: 264: "Kṛṣṇa's slaying of Kāṁsa is referred to by Patañjali which suggests that it was well known in the 2nd century B.C."

¹³ An overview of the corresponding allusions in the MBh is given by John Brockington (1998: 260). To what extent these allusions (such as the relatively frequently used term "Govinda") preceded the HV-*khila* and to what extent such allusions are themselves already influenced by the HV-*khila* (in larger numbers, for instance, in the *Āśvamedhikaparvan*! The reference comes from Brockington (1998: 260, note 59), is probably not to be distinguished in detail. However, both possibilities are probably to be reckoned with.

¹⁴ To explain the move of the Yādavas from Mathurā to the newly constructed Dvārakā.

¹⁵ The Syamantaka episode of Kṛṣṇa was already known in Yāska's time, as he mentions it in the *Nirukta* (probably from the 5th century BC). In the HV, it may have been cited for the rehabilitation of Kṛṣṇa as an honest man.

¹⁶ HV 25.1: *pauravī rohiṇī nāma bāhlikasyātmajā nṛpa |
jyeṣṭha patni mahārāja dayitānakadumdubheḥ* || 1 ||

HV 25.2ab: *lebhe jyeṣṭhaṁ sutam rāmaṁ sārāṇaṁ śaṭhaṁ eva ca |*

he was begotten as Vasudeva's eldest son with his wife Rohiṇī, and Kṛṣṇa himself is mentioned in 25.4¹⁷ as Vasudeva's only child with his other wife Devakī. Measured against the following *Kṛṣṇacarita*, both statements are wrong or at least inaccurate. The same applies to the Kālayavana episode, which is only touched upon very briefly, and which is also reported later in the text with differing content. Besides Kṛṣṇa's paternal lineage, the lineage of Kṛṣṇa's mother, i.e. of Devakī, is also inferred in this part of the text (in HV 27), and on this occasion the name of the arch-enemy Kāṃsa also appears for the first time, who is shown to be Ugrasena's son and that is to say a close relative of Kṛṣṇa on his mother's side.

In addition to HV 23.122–129, the redactor in question here is probably also responsible for the piece of text at the beginning of the HV in 1.5 to 1.14, where it is criticised that the MBh lacks a clarification of Kṛṣṇa's origin, i.e. the lineage of the Yādavas. According to Kirfel's *Purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa*,¹⁸ it is precisely this part of the HV text that is missing in the parallel of the ViP and BrP and then also in all other Purāṇa parallels and may be seen as a specific feature of the MBh-*khila*, which saw itself as a supplement to the MBh, a claim that should no longer apply to the redactors of the Purāṇas.

The closer but erroneous reference in the HV to Kṛṣṇa, who had played rather a minor role in the MBh, and also the mention of Kṛṣṇa's arch-enemy Kāṃsa may have moved or even provoked a connoisseur of the older Kṛṣṇa-Govinda legend to present the "correct" version of *Kṛṣṇacarita* from HV 30 onwards, as an account of the adolescent Kṛṣṇa's growing up, even though at first glance it has little in common with the adult Kṛṣṇa acting in the MBh.

Right at the beginning, namely in HV 30–31, a new central idea is introduced, namely the idea that Viṣṇu already in various earlier manifestations (*prādurbhāva*) had fought demons who had disturbed the order of the world in one way or another. This aspect of fighting demons is then underlined once again by the description of the recurring god-demon war (*devāsurasamgrāma*), here now especially the *Tārakāmayasamgrāma*, in which the demon Kālanemi took a leading role (HV 33–38), but was ultimately put in his place by Viṣṇu. It is then reported (in HV 39–40) that Viṣṇu withdrew to rest until he was again called to help (HV 41). The mother earth lamented. She once again enumerated Viṣṇu's previous assistances. At present, however, she was tormented by the weight of far too many creatures on earth, and to make matters worse, many demons had mingled with the *kṣatriyas*, terrorising the other creatures (HV 42). The gods immediately devised a plan to decimate the *kṣatriyas* in particular through a great war within the Bhārata dynasty. Viṣṇu was to take part in it as Kṛṣṇa (HV 43). What is new here in comparison to the previously mentioned MBh version is that the Ṛṣi Nārada takes Viṣṇu aside for a moment and informs him that the previously defeated Daitya Kālanemi has now become active again on earth and is up to mischief as the Ugrasena son Kāṃsa. He was to be fought

¹⁷ HV 25.4ab: *vasudevāc ca devakyāṃ jajñe śaurir mahāyasāḥ* |

¹⁸ Kirfel 1927.

first by Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa together with his helpers, before Kṛṣṇa would then turn to the MBh war and lead the gods in it. Viṣṇu agreed, saying that he had foreseen all this. And he set out for the earth (HV 45). The *Kṛṣṇacarita* follows, here first a biographical account ranging from the birth of Kṛṣṇa and his brother Rāma through childhood and adolescent actions to the killing of Kāṁsa and the reinstallation of Kāṁsa's father Ugrasena on the royal throne (HV 46–79).

That the identification of the MBh-Kṛṣṇa with the Kṛṣṇagopāla of the *Kṛṣṇacarita* was not unproblematic was evidently very much in the mind of the editor who inserted the piece of text from HV 30 onwards into the HV without regard to any contradictions it might have caused to the preceding piece of text. Presumably for this very reason, this editor added three special pieces to the *Kṛṣṇacarita*, which was probably already traditionally prefigured, in order to make the identity of the two Kṛṣṇas in question quite clear. These three special pieces are as follows:

1. The first piece is found in HV-*adhyāya* 44 and this has also been referred to earlier. In the preceding *adhyāyas* 42–43, the earth had requested help from the gods and had specifically addressed Kṛṣṇa, asking him, along with the other gods, to once again assist her and lighten her unbearable burden. As mentioned before, this story has already been formulated in a very similar way in the MBh itself (in MBh 1,58ff.), but in the HV a second request (in HV 44) has been added to this, in that the Ṛṣi Nārada asks Viṣṇu to proceed against the Ugrasena son Kāṁsa, into which the previously already defeated Kālanemi had entered, before participating in the MBh war. The latter, together with his helpers, was to be defeated first, before Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa would then see to the decimation of the remaining evil *kṣatriyas* among the Bhāratas by means of the MBh-war. This scene of a second commission is missing not only in the MBh but also in all purāṇic parallels, so it is again HV-specific.
2. Within the youth story in the *Kṛṣṇacarita* (HV 46–79), the Govardhana episode is narrated (in HV 62). In this, Kṛṣṇa rebels against Indra's worship, which leads to an outburst of anger on Indra's part, which Kṛṣṇa bravely defies, until finally Indra appears to ask Kṛṣṇa to give special protection to one of the Pāṇḍava brothers, namely Arjuna, as he himself will incarnate in him (in HV 62.68–99).
3. And a little later (in 67.52–68) after Kṛṣṇa's killing of the demon Keśin, the Ṛṣi Nārada once again appears to prophesy the great Bhārata war and Kṛṣṇa's special role in it.¹⁹

¹⁹ The *Kṛṣṇacarita* of the HV according to the CE version was translated in 1980 by F. G. Hutchins under the title "Young Kṛṣṇa", and in a short afterword ("About the Translation", p. 129) states without any further justification: "Two short passages together totalling 49 lines (Chapter 62, lines 68–99 and Chapter 67, lines 52–68), in which Indra and then Nārada foretell Kṛṣṇa's later adventures, have been omitted."

After the biographical sketch of Kṛṣṇagopālas's childhood and adolescence (HV 46–79), the *Kṛṣṇacarita* in the narrower sense, is followed by more or less episodic individual adventures without a continuous thread in the sense of an overall life course of Kṛṣṇa as he grows older and eventually old (in HV 80–113). And incidentally, this HV section now also lacks at least a mention of the phase of Kṛṣṇa's life as a friend and advisor to the Pāṇḍavas in the MBh war. The HV also completely lacks a biographical conclusion in the form of death or, in the present case, a return of Kṛṣṇa to the heaven of the gods; such a conclusion is added only in the purāṇic versions as the conclusion of the *Kṛṣṇacarita* (now in the broader sense of an overall life course). The fact that the demise of the entire Yādava clan and Kṛṣṇa's ascension are also reported as early as towards the end of the MBh (in *parvans* 16 and 17) does not militate against what has been said before, since the last MBh *parvans* are generally considered to be relatively late components and may well have already been influenced by the oldest Purāṇas. The episodes on adult Kṛṣṇa offered in the HV can be divided into three thematic complexes: In the first play (HV 80–86), acts of revenge by the demons Jarāsaṃdha and Kālayavana for the killing of their fellow demon Kaṃsa are reported, leading to the escape of Kṛṣṇa and the Yādavas from Mathurā to Dvārakā. The rest of the section deals with episodes concerning Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna and his son Aniruddha and the arrangement of their respective marriages. In HV 98, other children of Kṛṣṇa and their descendants are listed by name; for Aniruddha, at least, another four generations of successors are mentioned. Altogether, it seems to me that this is less an attempt at an overall biography of Kṛṣṇa than a continuation of the *vaṃśa* theme. Ageing is indeed expressed through the mention of children and grandchildren, but, as I said, a conclusion to life is still entirely missing here. The tracing of the Yādava lineage now no longer ends with Kṛṣṇa, but it continues for a few more generations. Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna and his son Aniruddha are again illustrated with episodes. The leading idea of the “*vaṃśa*”, however, would then have been replaced in the purāṇic parallels by the idea of a biographical account that encompassed Kṛṣṇa's entire life from his birth to his ascension (*Kṛṣṇacarita* in the broader sense). A reference to the MBh is then made again in HV 101–103, after all, in that Arjuna, on a visit to Dvārakā, left alone for a while, proves to be utterly helpless and in dire need of Kṛṣṇa's support. The idea has been taken up by the Purāṇas: Here Arjuna's helplessness is extensively depicted after Kṛṣṇa's ascension (in ViP 5.38 and BrP 112).

After all these observations mentioned here, I finally come to the conclusion of once again emphatically assigning to the HV a place in literary history after the written version of the MBh and before the oldest Purāṇas, namely specifically the *Viṣṇu-* and the *Brahmapurāṇa*.

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Sažetak

Mahābhārata-khila, pod nazivom „*Harivaṃśa*“, bavi se određenim nedostacima i nejasnoćama u *Mahābhārati*. U jezgrenom je tekstu razjašnjena loza (vaṃśa) Bhārata, koja je bila uključena u veliki bratoubilački rat u *Mahābharati*. Ovaj genealoški izvještaj, počevši od Viṣṇuova (Harieva) stvaranja svijeta i završavajući s naslovnikom cijeloga epa, kraljem Janamejayom, dopunjen je Kṛṣṇinim podrijetlom. Iako on nije pripadao Bhāratama, bio je odlučno uključen u rat kao prijatelj i savjetnik Pāṇḍava. O Kṛṣṇi se u *Mahābhārati* doznaje da je nekoć odrastao kao pastir i da je već ranije činio čudesna herojska djela. Ove česte aluzije u *Mahābhārati*, međutim, ne oblikuju jasnu sliku o njem. To se shodno tome kritizira u uvodu u *Harivaṃśu* koji je u nju naknadno uvršten. Međutim, Kṛṣṇina je loza Yādava umetnuta tek pred kraj genealogije Bhārata. Što se tiče *Mahābhārata*, primjećuje se sve veće zanimanje za lik Kṛṣṇin, koji se smatra Viṣṇuovim utjelovljenjem; ovaj je razvoj nazvan kṛṣṇaizacijom *Mahābhārata*. Isto vrijedi i za *Harivaṃśu*. I ovdje su Kṛṣṇa i njegovo yādavsko podrijetlo sve više dolazili u očište. U prvom je dijelu *Harivaṃśe*, čini se, u tekst unesena samo improvizirana obavijest, što je, međutim, kasnije dovelo do vrlo temeljite korekcije u daljnjem tekstu. Kao ishod toga, Kṛṣṇin prikaz u *Harivaṃśi* sve je više postajao središtem *Mahābhārata-khile*. Kṛṣṇino djetinjstvo i mladost sada su detaljno opisani, uključujući razna herojska djela protiv demona, a loza Yādava naknadno je detaljno proširena za još dvije generacije, te za još nekoliko daljnjih generacija u golom popisu imena. Općenito probuđeni interes za Kṛṣṇu, međutim, rezultirao je kasnijom purānskom književnošću koja preuzima prikaz Kṛṣṇin i dalje ga razvija u cjelokupnu biografiju od rođenja do kraja njegova života.

The piercing of the Krauñca mountain: By Skanda and/or Paraśurāma?

Abstract

This article provides a historical study of the legendary motif of the piercing of the Krauñca mountain, which is ascribed to the god Skanda in the epics (*Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Harivaṃśa*) and in the earliest purāṇas (*Vāyu*-, *Skanda*-), but in kāvyas and commentarial literature following Kālidāsa is attributed to the hero Paraśurāma, or to both the brahmin-warrior and the warrior-god, respectively disciple and son of Śiva. Their rivalry became a specific motif in the plays of Bhavabhūti, Mūrāri and Rājaśekhara. The power of the Bhārgava for creating gaps within mountains appears nevertheless attested already in the *Mahābhārata* and in the later regional purāṇic traditions.

Among the legendary deeds attributed to the Bhārgava brahmin-warrior Rāma Jāmadagnya alias Paraśurāma, a less known “topographic” (or geographic) one is his piercing of the Himālayan mountain known as Krauñca, the “Crane” Peak, alluded to only in kāvyas and commentarial literature.¹

In the epics, beside a single obscure reference to some famous Gate (*dvāra*) of the Mānasa (lake), the versant of which (viz. leading to the lake and embracing it), in the middle of a (unnamed) mountain (range), was made (opened?) by the glorious (Bhārgava?) Rāma:

MBh 3,130.12

etad dvāraṃ mahārāja mānasasya prakāśate |
varṣam asya girer madhye rāmeṇa śrīmatā kṛtam || 12 ||²

¹ The episode is mentioned by Charpentier (1936: 13) in his article, but not dealt with by Gail (1977) or Jaganathan (2019) in their respective books devoted to Paraśurāma.

² I understand here *varṣam asya* = *mānasasya*, instead of connecting *asya* with *gireḥ* (in this case, *dvāram* should be taken as the name of the mountain, which is strange for a pass or frontier gate; *asya* = *dvārasya* is syntactically also possible, cf. van Buitenen’s translation: “Now here appears, great king, the Gate-of-Lake-Mānasa; its rain-fed area was created by the

The piercing or cleaving of Mount Krauñca enabling the way (through its inner gap) to the *haṃsa* birds and vultures is, on the other hand, attributed to the god Skanda. For instance, in the *Skandotpatti* in Book 3 of the *Mahābhārata*, it is declared that the god cleft the Krauñca mountain, son of the Himālaya, with his arrows:

MBh 3,214.31

bibheda sa śaraiḥ śailaṃ krauñcaṃ himavataḥ sutam |
tena haṃsās ca grdhrās ca meruṃ gacchanti parvatam || 31 ||

(before cleaving, this time with his javelin (*śakti*), the summit of Mount Śveta, 214.34; the mountains then fly away and the earth trembles).

See elsewhere the comparisons referring to his deed: *skandaśaktyā yathā krauñcaḥ purā*, MBh 6,107.44cd; *krauñco yathā skandahato mahādriḥ*, 9,16.50d; 7,131.56d; 8,66, App. I no. 41, l. 4; Rm 6,47.38cd, 55.12cd (*guho 'calaṃ krauñcam ivograśaktyā*), 7 App. I no. 1, l. 197, with the glosses ad loc. Cf. also (without reference to Skanda) MBh 7,109.29, 114.82, Rm 7,7.28, for the sharp piercing arrows compared to the birds passing through the Krauñca (see also Rm 6,51.19 and App. I no. 3, l. 210, for other comparisons with the birds plunging into the Krauñca gap).³

The longer passage in MBh 9,45.70–81 specifies that it is during his grandiose fight against the *asura* Bāṇa, and with a javelin provided by Agni, that Skanda cleft the mount (*śaktyā bibheda bhagavān kṛttikiyo 'gnidattayā*, 73cd; *bibheda śaktyā krauñcaṃ ca*, 79c; *krauñcas tena vinirbhinnāḥ*, 81c).⁴

illustrious Rāma in the middle of the mountains”). Nīlakaṇṭha explains *varṣam* (lit. a “versant”, the portion of territory between two mountain ranges) as *vasitasthānam* (a place of rest”) and makes an interesting link with the next even more obscure *śloka* (*eṣa vātikaṣaṇḍo vai prakhyātāḥ satyavikramaḥ | nābhyavartata [nātya° N] yaddvāraṃ videhān [°ād N] uttaraṃ ca yaḥ || 130.13*; trans. van Buitenen: “This is the Vātikaṣaṇḍa, north of Videha, where truth is might and whose gate is not breached”) that he comments: *yo rāmaḥ prakhyātāḥ satyavikramaś ca videhād uttaraṃ ca yaddvāraṃ yad varṣasya dvāraṃ eṣo 'nubhūyamāno vātikaṣaṇḍo vātānītaḥ padmādisamūho nātyavartata tena rāmeṇa kṛtam iti pūrveṇānvayaḥ | anena vāyor apy asmin varṣe praveśo nāsti kimutetarasyeti padmāder vātānītasvātrāpraveśād rāmasāmarthyam pratyakṣam āścaryam* (cf. v. 14a N = *639,1) *ity arthaḥ ||*. One could also understand: “This [*varṣa* made by Rāma] is indeed the windy gap (var. °*khaṇḍaḥ*; or “the breach for the *vātika/vātika* birds”?), the (other) gate of which (*yad-* = *varṣasya/khaṇḍasya*), north of the Videha country (var. *videhād*), the celebrated truly valiant [Rāma] did not attack.” Which would mean that Rāma attacked and pierced a mountain range for making a gap at the Kashmir frontier gate (cf. *kāśmīramāṇḍalam* 130.10a; *kāśmīradvāra-* in Kalhaṇa’s *Rājatarāṅginī* 4.404), on the Indus high-valley side, leading to the Mānasa lake (the area of which gap and lake is termed as as a *varṣa* between mountain-ranges), whereas the path starting from the frontier gate north of the Videha country and joining the Mānasa through the Brahmaputra high-valley side, was left untouched by the hero.

³ Goldman et. al. (2009: 951) ad Rm 6,51.19 points out that “all commentators who remark on this phrase refer to the fact of the mountain’s having been pierced by Skanda’s javelin, while none refers to the second piercing by Paraśurāma’s arrow”.

⁴ The two main MBh passages (Books 3 and 9) are compared with the version of the early *Skandapurāṇa* (see below fn. 7) by Mann (2012: 85, 192–195) and Staiger (2017: 15–16, 38–39, 72, fn. 102).

Rāmāyaṇa 4,42.24–28 describes, in the northern, Himālaya, region (to be explored by the monkeys, just after the Kailāsa mount), the Krauñca range in its new state (viz. a long time after Skanda’s piercing), as having a main “hole (opening which can be understood as a pass) difficult to enter” (*bilam tasya sudurgamam*), within which godlike great seers live, and numerous caves, slopes etc.; devoid of trees, its peak is (nevertheless) a “wish-fulfilling rock” (*kāmaśailam*) abode for the birds going to the Mānasa (lake); the *devas* and other supernatural beings do not go there.

In *Harivaṃśa* 36,22–24, Krauñca (said in 13,14 to be the son of Mount Maināka, himself the son of the Himālaya with Menā) is the main magic flying mountain created by Maya for the purpose of attacking the *devas*.⁵ *Vāyupurāṇa* 41,37; 39 and 42 evokes the place “from where the Six-Faced (Kārttikeya) enthusiastically set out for the forest of the Krauñca mountain (*krauñcaśailavanam prati*)”, and the place “on the ridge of the Krauñca mountain where Skanda, the destroyer of the foes of the *devas* (*devāriskandanah skandah*) discharged his javelin (*śaktim vimuktavān*)”, he “the destroyer of Krauñca (*krauñcaghātin*)”.⁶ Accordingly, one of the names of Skanda in the *Amarakośa* is *krauñcadāraṇa* “Krauñca-splitting” (1,1.98). The early *Skandapurāṇa* (6th–7th c.) devotes a whole chapter (171 [Bh]) to the episode of the god’s killing (rather than cleaving) of Krauñca, alluded to in other chapters also (2.27b; 87.30d; 90.6d; 107.8cd: *jaghāna hṛdaye kruddhaḥ krauñcam śaktyā yathā guhaḥ*; [Bh] 114.25c; 34a; 115.19cd; 136.31cd: *śaktyā guhaḥ krauñcam ivācalendram*; 141.23d).⁷

⁵ Cf. the translation of 36,24 (*nirmitām svena putreṇa krauñcena divi kāmagām | prathitām pārvatīm māyām sasṛje sa samantataḥ ||*) by Couture (1991) and his note ad loc. (“predicative instrumental”): “Alors, il [= Maya, the Dānava magician] fit sortir de lui-même cette célèbre magie de montagne qu’était son propre fils Krauñca: envahissant tout l’espace, cette montagne, qui se déplaçait à volonté dans le ciel...” (cf. differently Brodbeck 2019: “Built by his own son Krauncha, it flew through the sky wherever he wished. It was the famous mountain spell, and it cast it all around”). It is indeed important to understand here *nirmita*, not as “built by” (with instr. ag.), but as “built, fashioned, created, made *out of*” (with abl. or instr. mat.) or even (Couture) “créé en tant que, sous la forme de”.

⁶ The passage is also in the Calcutta edition of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, indicating that it may belong to the old (4th–5th c.?) *vāyuproktabrahmāṇḍapurāṇa* kernel (see Vielle 2005). See also VāP 72,6 = BḍP 2; 3; 10,7 (cf. BḍP 1; 2; 13,35cd ≈ VāP 30,32ef) for Maināka as the father of Krauñca, like in the HV.

⁷ The context of the killing of Krauñca in SkP *adhyāya* 171 [Bh], is quite original (cf. Mann 2012: 191–192; Staiger 2017: 25, fn. 58; 72, fn. 102). Skanda and Indra, in dispute over the delimitation of their respective territories, decided that the winner would be the one who made the fastest tour of Mount Krauñca. Skanda easily won the race, but Indra claimed the prize too. Called to make a decision, the silly (*vimūḍhātmā*, 22a) Krauñca declared Indra the winner. Because of having pronounced such a sentence devoid of truth (23cd), “the peak of the mountain promptly fell down as if it had been struck with an axe” (*papāta śikharam tūrṇam kuliśena yathā hatam*, 24ab), and all the divine beings living on (or in) the mountain fled away. Then Skanda, out of rage, threw his mortal javelin (... *śaktim samutkṣiptya* ... | *cikṣepa bhagavān skandah kruddhaḥ krauñcajighāmsayā*, 27) at the head (the top) of (Mount) Krauñca (*sā papāta girer mūrdhni śaktiḥ krauñcasya* ..., 28ab), who died. Afterwards, at the

In the plays ascribed to Bhāsa too, it is only the epic tradition of the cleaving of the Krauñca by Skanda that appears to be referred to. In *Bālacarita* Act II, st. 23cd, the further killing of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa is compared to that of Krauñca by the “spear-bearing” Skanda:

nihanmi kaṁsaṁ yudhi durvinītaṁ krauñcaṁ yathā śaktidharaḥ prakṛṣṭaḥ || 23 ||

Whose exploit is recalled in Act III st. 9cd:

bālena hi purā krauñcaḥ skandena nidhanaṁ gataḥ || 9 ||

The same similes are found in the plays concerned with Rāma Dāśaratha, that is Abhiṣeka Act I, st. 24:

*śaranirbhinnahrdayo vibhāti dharaṇītale |
guhaśaktisamākrānto yathā krauñcācalottamaḥ* || 24 ||

and Act VI, st. 7cd:

*bhūmau sthitaṁ rathagataṁ ripum īkṣamāṇaṁ |
krauñcaṁ yathā girivaraṁ yudhi kārṭtikeyam* || 7 ||

while in Pratimānāṭaka Act V, st. 12, Rāma threatens (indirectly, when talking to Rāvaṇa) the Himālaya mountain by declaring:

*sauvarṇān vā mṛgāṁs tān me himavān darśayiṣyati |
bhinnō madbāṇavegena krauñcatvaṁ vā gamiṣyati* || 12 ||

Either Himāvan will show me those golden deers or, pierced by the force of my arrow(s), he will attain the state of Krauñca.

One can suppose that what is meant here is “pierced by the force of my arrow(s) like, in the case of Krauñca, by the force of Skanda’s javelin (or arrow)”, even if one cannot exclude that a comparison with the arrow of Paraśurāma was intended.

No reference in the epics and earliest purāṇas links the Krauñca mountain to the Paraśurāma legend. It is the poet Kālidāsa who the first appears to have made this link. In *Meghasamdeśa* st. 57, he alludes to the opening in the Krauñca mountain as the gate for the *haṁsa* birds and, at the same time, as the “path of glory” of the Bhārgava hero:

*prāleyādṛer upataṭam atikramya tāṁs tān viśeṣān
haṁsadvāraṁ bhṛgupatīyaśovartma yat krauñcarandhram |
tenodīcīm diśam abhisareḥ [...] || MghS 57*

request of Śiva, himself solicited by the afflicted mountain family (Himālaya and Pārvatī), Skanda agreed to resurrect his “brother” Krauñca (61–63). Before this episode, in 163,21–23 the young Skanda already picks up a divine bow and, as a child’s play (*līlayā*), shoots an arrow (*bāṇam*) at an unnamed mountain, breaking off its peak (see Staiger 2017: 39, 88, 114 and 168 for the reading *jaghāna śikharaṁ gireḥ* in 21d, followed by *prodbhinnaṁ ... śikharottamam* in 22ab).

Having passed beyond (after enjoying the sight of) the various objects of curiosity near the skirt of the Himālaya proceed to the north [...] by the opening in (mount) Krauñca (*krauñcarandhram*), the gate of the *haṃsas* and the very path of glory of the most eminent of the Bhṛguṣ. (Trans. Kale, slightly adapted.)

In this stanza, if the compound *bhṛgupati*, following all the commentators (starting with Vallabhadeva), must refer to Rāma Jāmadagnya, it is much less obvious that Kālidāsa means that the breach in the Krauñca was made by the same. The poet may have only meant to say that the breach in the Krauñca is the gate of the *haṃsas*, and that it was (also) the “glorious path of”, viz. “for” the Bhārgava. Which could mean: it was the famous path Rāma passed on or through when he was going to, or going back from, the Himālaya (where he is supposed to have propitiated Śiva and acquired his divine weapons).⁸ Why indeed would Kālidāsa have gone, on this small detail, against the well established epic tradition? However, all the commentators agree here with the fact that the opening in the mountain was made by Paraśurāma’s arrow(s); cf. Vallabhadeva (10th c. Kashmir), yet silent about the weapon used by Rāma (see below fn. 10):

kīdrg randhram | bhṛgupatiḥ paraśurāmas tadīyasya yaśaso vartma prasaraṇamārgaḥ |
tena [= paraśurāmeṇa] krauñcasya bhajyamānatvāt |

Sthiradeva (13th c.):

bhṛgupatiyaśovartma bhṛguparaśurāmasya yaśaḥprasaraṇasaraṇiḥ |
purā kila tena [= paraśurāmeṇa] sa giriḥ śarair dārīta iti [...] |

Janārdana (13th–14th c.):

bhṛgupatiyaśovartma bhṛgupateḥ śrīparaśurāmasya yaśaḥprasaraṇasaraṇiḥ |
purā kila tena paraśurāmeṇa krauñcanāmā girir nārācaprahāir dārīta iti [...] |

Pūrnasarasvatī (beginning of the 14th c. Kerala):

bhṛgupatiyaśovartma bhagavatā paraśurāmeṇa śaravedhato janitavād niratiśaya-
balavīryahetukasya tadyaśo divyadeśaprasaraṇasaraṇim [...] |

Parameśvara (middle of the 14th c. Kerala):

krauñcagirimadhyasthaṃ randhram bhṛgupatinā śareṇaikena nirmitam;
ata eva tadyaśo devalokagamanāya mārgabhūtaṃ haṃsadvāram iti prasiddham |

or, later, Jagaddhara:

bhṛgupateḥ paraśurāmasya yaśovartma kīrtimārgaś ca |
purā paraśurāmeṇa krauñcādrau randhram kṛtam |

Moreover, as hinted by Charpentier (1936: 13), the story would be also shortly alluded to by Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa* 11.74a: *bibhrato 'stram acale 'py akuṇṭhitham*.

⁸ The episode of Rāma getting weapons from Śiva is narrated (without precise geographical location) in MBh 8.24.144–156; see Goldman 1972: 159–160.

This *pāda*, in which the Bhārgava is speaking to Rāma Dāśaratha, can be translated as: “To me bearing a missile unimpeded even in [viz. “by” or “against”] the mountain” (trans. Nandargikar 1897; cf. Stenzler 1832: “*mihi, telum gerenti, quod ne in monte quidem irritum est*”; Renou 1928: “mon dard ne peut s’émousser même contre une montagne”); where already Vallabhadeva⁹ understands *acale* as *parvate krauñcākhye* (and *akuñṭītham astraṃ* as *abhagnaṃ astraṃ ... paraśulakṣaṇam*; cf. *astraṃ paraśum* according to the 16th–17th-century. Kerala commentator Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita ad loc.)¹⁰, cf. Mallinātha with the gloss *krauñcādrau* (when Hemādri and Jinasamudra simply gloss by *parvate*).

Following Kālidāsa (and obviously alluding to MghS st. 57), the Paraśurāma tradition is adopted by Kumāradāsa (1st part of the 6th century) in the beginning of his *Jānakīharaṇa*, describing the city of Ayodhyā:

diḍṛkṣur antaḥsarasīm alaṅghyaṃ yatkhātahaṃsaḥ samudīkṣya vapram |
sasmāra nūnaṃ dṛḍhak[r]auñcakuñjabhāgacchido bhārgavamārgaṇasya || 1.5 ||

In the moat of which [city of Ayodhyā] the swan, eager to see the inside pond (comparable to the Mānasa), in viewing the insurmountable rampart remembers the Bhārgava arrow (*mārga*) piercing the brushy flank of the massive Krauñca.

This stanza is quoted in the (late 6th c.?) work of prosody Jānāśrayī Chandovicitī (4.37; p. 40), which elsewhere (4.116; p. 66) quotes a very long anonymous stanza still celebrating Skanda “by whom the high summit of the Krauñca was cleft by means of his javelin” (*yena prāṃśu krauñcasyāgraṃ ... bhinnam śaktyā ... so ... devo ... māyuravaradhvajah*). Bhāmaha (7th century) confirms the role of the Bhārgava in his *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra* (3.32ab: *abhinat ... giriṃ krauñcam bhrūtāmaḥ*).

The double tradition (viz. the piercing of the Krauñca by Skanda or Paraśurāma) is to be found in the 7th century with Bāṇa. In *Kādambarī* (*pūrvabhāgaḥ*), he offers comparisons with puns referring to the *haṃsas* proceeding from the Krauñca mountain (*yasmāc ca dhavalīkṛtabhuvanatalaḥ sakalalokaḥṛdayānandakārī krauñcād iva haṃsanivaho nirjagāma guṇagaṇaḥ*) and to the story of Krauñca defeated by Skanda (*ṣaṇmukhacaritam iva śrūyamāṇakrauñcavanitāpralāpam* “[the Acchoda Lake] in which there was [heard] the chattering of female *krauñca*-birds, like in the deeds of the Six-faced God [in which were heard the loud lamentations of the wife of Krauñca, when the latter was pierced by Skanda’s javelin]”). At the same time, he (or his son) alludes to the version of the cleaving by Paraśurāma:

Harṣacarita, ucchvāsaḥ 6

saraḥsu rājahaṃsā iva paraśurāmaparākramasmṛtikṛtaḥ

⁹ Stanza no. 73 in the critical edition prepared by Goodall, Isaacson, Dezső and Kiss, who kindly shared their material thereon.

¹⁰ Which could explain how Charpentier (1936: 13) can talk about “a tradition that Paraśurāma with his axe cleft a passage through the Himālaya”, whereas we have just seen that usually it is with his arrow(s) (so one can guess that ad MghS st. 57 Vallabhadeva has also the *paraśu* in mind).

Kādambarī, pūrvabhāgaḥ

*sakalarājanyavaṃśavanadāvānalasya paraśurāmasyevāśya nārācāḥ śikhariśilātala-
bhido babhūvuḥ*

Kādambarī, uttarabhāgaḥ

paraśurāmaśaravivaranirgatā iva rāja- (var. kala-) haṃsapāṅktayaḥ

The first and the third of the last three references are quoted by Pūrnasarasvatī in his commentary ad MghS st. 57 (see above).

Bhavabhūti (8th c.) provides us with new material. In his drama *Mahāvīracarita*, Act II, st. 17, he declares that it is by Rāma's cleaving of the Krauñca mountain¹¹ that the *haṃsas* were at first able to fly down to earth (*vīraḥ krauñcasya bhedāt kṛtadharaṇitalāpūrvahaṃsāvatāraḥ*), just before qualifying Jāmadagnya as the vanquisher of Skanda (*jetā ... tārakāreḥ*), the "Enemy of Tārakāsura" being himself described as "the commander of the armies of *gaṇas* headed by Heramba (= Gaṇapati) and Bhṛṅgin (= Nandin)" (*herambabhṛṅgipramukhagaṇacamūcakriṇaḥ*). This new qualification of Paraśurāma, interestingly, presupposes a hitherto unknown episode in the stories of both figures, that concerning a grandiose fight between the brahmin and Skanda, with the former as the winner, possibly including the cleaving of the Krauñca mountain. The episode of the victory on Skanda is already alluded to in Act I, st. 33c (*līlānirjitaśaṇmukhād bhagavataḥ śrījāmadagnyād rte*), which specifies that the God was defeated in a sport contest (or "without effort", *anāyāsānirjitaśandāt* comm. ad loc.; but the same ad II.17 says: *śastrakalahe* "during a contest with weapons" – or "for" one peculiar weapon? See below), and again in Act II, st. 19b (*viśrutakārttikeyavijayaḥ*), after which it is added that it was before the eyes of Śiva (who, in the words of the Bhārgava, loves him, his disciple, as much as his son Skanda, st. 28d: *skanda iva priyo 'ham athavā śiṣyaḥ*; comm.: *skandād api baliṣṭhaḥ*), who granted the ascetic (who dwelt with the god for one thousand years) his own axe subsequent to the latter's victory over Skanda and his troops (between stanzas 33 and 34, Rāma Daśaratha says to Paraśurāma: *ayaṃ sa kila yaḥ saparivārakārttikeyavijayāvarjitena bhagavatā nīlālohitena sahasraparivatsarāntevāsine tubhyaṃ prasādīkṛtaḥ paraśuḥ*). According to the hero himself:

*astraprayogakhuralīkalahe gaṇānām
sainyair vrto 'pi jita eva mayā kumāraḥ |
etāvatāpi parirabhya kṛtaprasādah
prādād imam priyaguṇo bhagavān gurur me || II.34*

In a contest during a military exercise (*khuralī*) consisting in the casting of missile weapons, Kumāra, though protected by the troops of *gaṇas*, surely was defeated by me. Pleased by such a deed, my guru Lord (Śiva), who likes virtue, embraced me and gave me this [axe].

¹¹ The Krauñca mountain is also described, without references to Paraśurāma or the *haṃsas* passing through its gap (but instead to other birds living on it), in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* Act II, st. 29 (cf. Warder 1983: 350–351 = vol. 4, § 2351; see also §§ 2285–2286 for his comment on some of the passages of the *Mahāvīracarita* here quoted).

And the same says to Rāma that the terrible fight was not without injuries for him:

herambadantamusalollikhitaikabhitti
vaṣṭo viśākhaviśikhavaraṇalāñchitaṃ me | II.38ab

My chest is in one place scratched by the mace-like tusk of Heramba (Gaṇeśa) and is marked by wounds made by the arrows of Viśākha (Skanda).

However, despite Vīrarāghava's comment ad st. II.17 on, respectively, Krauñca's cleaving and Skanda's defeat at the hands of Paraśurāma (... *iti paurāṇikī prasiddhir atra draṣṭavyā*; ... *iti paurāṇikī prasiddhiḥ*) a corresponding early epic or purāṇic telling of such one (or two distinct) episode(s) is until now missing.¹²

Following Bhavabhūti, Murāri (9th–10th c.) in the *Anargharāghava* drama, Act IV, again in the meeting of the two Rāmas repeatedly refers to the defeat of Skanda at the hands of the Bhārgava during the latter's stay with Śiva:

sākaṃ śaktidhareṇa tatra bhavato devād bhavānīpater
yaḥ samyañcaṃ avāpa cāpanigamaṃ samyañci sāmāni ca | IV.23ab

In the company of the Spear-Holding (Skanda), he learned the real art of archery as well as all the Samavedic verses from Bhavānī's husband, the divine Lord (Śiva) himself.¹³

bhasmānkureti khuralīkalahe kumāram
apy ākṣipan paruṣaroṣarasāndhacetāḥ |
dr̥ṣṭo 'smi yaḥ kṛtamithohasitaṃ śivābhyām [...] || IV.24ac

My mind being blinded by the harsh feeling of wrath, I insulted even Kumāra (Skanda) when quarrelling about archery (*khuralīkalahe*), calling him the son of a false ascetic. Then, seeing this, Śiva and his wife laughed at me.

[...] *śatror mukhaṃ dr̥ṣṭavān*
yaḥ pr̥ṣṭhaṃ dadato 'pi ṣaṇmukhajaye so 'yaṃ kṛtī bhārgavaḥ || IV.26cd

And he saw the face of the fleeing enemy when he won a fight against the Six-Headed (Skanda) – here he comes, powerful Bhārgava.¹⁴

¹² The longest epic account of Paraśurāma's deeds is to be found in the *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (13th c. Kerala; see Vielle 2014: 24–25, and the edition in preparation). His initiatic journey into the Himālaya and his meeting with Śiva is told in *adhyāyas* 59–63 (this portion was inserted in the Bombay edition of the BḍP 2,3, *adhyāyas* 21–25; cf. Vielle 2005: 538–540). Here, expanding the MBh 8,24.144–156 account (see before fn. 8; cf. Gail 1977: 143–144), the hero gets the axe of Śiva and uses it in a fight against the threatening Daityas, before receiving other divine weapons from the great God and being instructed by him in their handling, but neither the young god Skanda nor the Krauñca mountain are mentioned at this occasion. The episode of the hero's fight with the Daityas is in fact even more developed at a cosmic level in the (7th c.?) *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (1,36.17–68.2, with digressions like the *Śaṅkaragītā* teaching in *adhyāyas* 52–65; cf. Gail 1977: 81–91), again without any mention of Skanda or Krauñca.

¹³ *Anargharāghava* translations by Törzsök, slightly adapted.

¹⁴ See Törzsök's note ad loc.: "Since Skanda has six heads, Paraśurāma had the privilege of seeing half of the god's faces even when Skanda turned his back toward him to escape."

*mahāseno yasya pramada yamadaṃṣṭrāsahacaraiḥ
śarair mukto jīvan dvir iva śarajanmā sambhavat* | IV.32ab

O careless child, Mahāsenā (Skanda) was spared by my arrows (*śara*-), which resembled the fangs of the Yama, and thus he obtained a second *śara*-birth while still alive.¹⁵

*strīṣu pravīrajananī jananī tavaiva devī svayaṃ bhagavatī girijāpi yasyai |
tvaddorvaśīkṛtavīśākhāmukhāvalokavṛṇḍāvidīrṇahṛdayā sprhayāmbabhūva* || IV.33

Your mother (Renukā) was the only woman to give birth to an excellent hero. Even Girijā (Pārvatī) herself envied her, while the goddess's heart was torn apart with shame to see her Viśākha (Skanda)'s face after he was defeated by your strong arms.

And further in the same Act IV, Paraśurāma recalls twice his piercing of the Krauñca mountain:

*prāḡ uccaiḥśirasam kṣurapranakharaiḥ krauñcādrivantāvalam
bhittvā haṃsamayāni mauktikaphalāni ākīrya* [...] | IV.47ab

Once I split the high-headed elephant-like Krauñca mountain with my sharp-edged arrows and made the pearls produced in the form of the *haṃsas* disperse.¹⁶

*yadbānavraṇavartmanā śikhariṇaḥ krauñcasya haṃsacchalād
adyāpy asthikaṇāḥ patanti* [...] || IV.52cd

Still today the particles of bones of Mount Krauñca fall by the trickery (*chala*: deliberate, or unintentional, error of flight?) of the *haṃsas* [passing] through the wound-way made by his arrows.

The latter half-stanza is quoted by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha in his commentary on MghS st. 57 (see below). Commenting the former half-stanza, Rucipati confirms the tradition (*paraśurāmeṇa krauñcam bhittvā rājahaṃsā ānītā iti purāṇam*).

Following also Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara (c. 900) in his drama *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act II, st. 15, comparing Rāvaṇa to Rāma Jāmadagnya, presents the latter successively as the one who cleft the Krauñca and the vanquisher of Skanda (*cicchide krauñcam anyo ... | jetā ... bhagavataḥ kārṭtikeyasya cānyaḥ*),¹⁷ a victory in a fight

¹⁵ See Törzsök's note ad loc.: "There is a pun on the word *śara*, meaning "arrow", and Skanda's place of birth, which was a *śara*-vaṇa, 'thicket of reeds'. Since Paraśurāma did not kill him, the *śaravaṇa*-born Skanda gained a second *śara*-birth thanks to Paraśurāma's arrows (*śara*)."

¹⁶ For the last two stanzas I do not agree with Törzsök's translation, that is "swans born in its [= Krauñca's] cave" in st. 47 (where *mauktikaphalāni* could also be understood as "the [Mānasa] offsprings striving for liberation"); and, in st. 52: "From the wounds where he pierced Mount Krauncha with his arrows, the fragmented bones of the hillside are still falling out in the form of swans", with the fanciful note ad loc.: "The swans said to reside in the caves are pictured as pieces of bones coming out of the deep wounds of the pierced mountain, the wounds being the caves" (cf. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa ad 47: *mānasasarasthā haṃsāḥ krauñcādrivivarān niṣpatantīti prasiddhiḥ*; and Rucipati ad 52: *haṃsā hi kailāsthāmānasasarasaḥ śaradi krauñcagirivivareṇa bhuvam āyāntī*).

¹⁷ However, *kārṭ[ṭ]ikeyasya* in the Benares edition of 1869 (cf. also S. Venkatarāma Śāstri's translation) is replaced by a more common (and less satisfactory, because the comparison is with the fact that Rāvaṇa has defeated the god Indra) *kārṭavīryasya* in the Calcutta ed. of 1884.

during his learning of archery with Śiva recalled in st. 37a (*cāpācāryas tripura-vijayo kārṭtikeyo vijayaḥ*)¹⁸ and described in more detail in stanzas 40, 42 and 43:

*kailāsādriviṭaṅkataḥ saha surair draṣṭuṃ pravṛtte harau
madhyasṭhe śaśīśekhara raṇavidhau sūnoś ca śiṣyasya ca |
sārdham yena vinirjito gaṇacamūcakreṇa herambiṇā
skando 'sau daśakaṇṭha kuṇṭharabhasās tasmin mayi tvādrśāḥ || II.40*

Such [assailants] of stupid vehemence like you, O Ten-Necked (Rāvana), [are] to me [like] this Skanda defeated together with his whole host of *gaṇas* headed by Heramba (Gaṇeśa), in a fight between the son and the disciple witnessed by the Moon-Crested (Śiva), from the topmost point of Mount Kailāsa, surrounded by Hari (Viṣṇu) and the [other] gods who came to watch the spectacle.

*herambādambariṇi nandininandihetāv
uddāmacandramasi saṃyati saṇmukhena |
mukto 'si yat paśupatipraṇayānurodhāt
tena tvam eva vijayī vijitaḥ kumārah || II.42*

In the battle with the Six-Faced (Skanda), in which there was [together for him] the high-sounding Heramba (Gaṇeśa), the cause of supreme joy Nandin and the raised Candramas, it is because you were liberated [from finishing the fight and killing him] by respect for Paśupati (Śiva)'s affection (both for his disciple and his son),¹⁹ that you were [declared] the winner [and] Kumāra (Skanda) the loser.

*īśo gurur girisutā jananī kim ābhyāṃ
śaśvat sa eva samareṣu parāṇmukhasya |
adyāpi kāṇḍacayakhaṇḍitacandrakāgrāḥ
sākṣī śikhaṇḍanivaho guhavāhanasya || II.43*

The Lord (Śiva), [my] master, [and] the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī), [his = Skanda's] mother [where there] (as witnesses), but what need of them? For ever and even now, the feathers of the peacock's tail of the martial vehicle of Guha (Skanda) have visibly their tips cut off by the multitude of [my] arrows.

In Act III, st. 77b, Paraśurāma is referred to by the name “Enemy of Mount Krauñca” (*krauñcācaladveṣin*).

In Act IV, before the confrontation between the two Rāmas, the heroic life of Rāma of the Axe, the one who has defeated in battle the son of Śiva (*saṃkhye 'bhimukham ajayat sūnum ardhendumauleḥ*, st. 3a), is evoked at length (st. 12–41) according to a series of paintings representing the “great drama [entitled] The exploits of the Bhṛgu Lord” (*bhṛgupatiparākramamahānāṭaka*), described sequentially

¹⁸ In his commentary ad loc., Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara adds the cleaving of the Krauñca in the same episode by silently copying Mallinātha (ad MghS 57, cf. below): *purā kila bhagavato devād dhūrjateḥ dhanururupaṇiśadam adhīyānena bhṛgunandanena skandasya spardhayā krauñcaśikhariṇam atiniśitaviśikhāmukhena helayā mṛtpiṇḍavad bibheda, iti paurāṇikī kathā*. This st. II.37 is discussed in a poetic perspective by Warder (1988: 459 = vol. 5, § 3656).

¹⁹ It is also possible to understand (cf. S. Venkatarāma Śāstri's translation): “Since you were liberated / let off by Skanda (*saṇmukhena* ... *tena*) because of his respect for Śiva's affection (for his disciple), you were (thereafter) the winner”; but this is not coherent with the further description of the episode, and syntactically less satisfactory (note Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's right gloss: *yat ... tena hetunā*).

starting with his acquisition of the science of archery (*kārmuka-/śarāsanopaniṣad*, *dhanurveda*) in the Himālaya. In st. 14, the picture shows Paraśurāma's learning of archery from Śiva, together with Skanda and Gaṇeśa, fierce pupils not inclined to bow their heads:

*dūrāvarjitamaulayaḥ sarabhāsaḥ sadyaḥ pratīcchanty amī
herambeṇa ca ṣaṇmukhena ca samaṃ rāmādayaḥ suvratāḥ || IV.14cd*

The rivalry between the Bhārgava and Skanda (*parasparaspardhā*) born during their common weapon-exercises (*khuralīkhalana*), as explained in st. 15–16,²⁰ became a serious quarrel when they started shooting a series of arrows (*prasarat-prṣatkapāṇktīnām*) in the process of learning archery (*kodaṇḍapāṇḍityanibandhanaḥ pravṛtta eva kalahāḥ*; prose portion between stanzas 16 and 17).

*dvandvārambhavijṛmbhitabhrukuṭinā bhālena rāme munau
kodaṇḍaṃ nibiḍāṅgulīparigamād āsphālayaty agrataḥ |
jyānirghoṣakaṣāyitodaraḥṣaṃ gīrvāṇasenāpateḥ
ṣaḍvaktīśravasāṃ karoti na karadvandvaṃ pidhānakriyām || IV.17*

When Rāma the muni, with knitted brows in the forehead at the beginning of the contest, by holding the bow tight with his fingers, made it flap (close) in front of Skanda, the pair of hands of the god (*gīrvāṇasenāpateḥ*) was not able (because holding also bow and arrows) to perform the action of closing the (twelve) ears of his six faces, whose cavities were rendered full of the sound of the (Rāma's) bow-string.

And so a furious fight began (*chayā* of the Prakrit portion between stanzas 17 and 18: *nandipramukhasenāpatiparivṛtayoḥ kumāraherambayo rāmeṇa saha jhaṭiti samarasamrambhavyavasitam*), described in no less than 10 stanzas: under the eyes of Śiva and Pārvatī watching on Mount Kailāsa (st. 18), the *gaṇa*-troops of Gaṇeśa are quickly defeated (st. 19–22 + prose portions),²¹ leaving Skanda alone, notably

²⁰ In st. 15bc, it is said that whereas they were doing the same exercises the Bhārgava was at any rate superior (*samaṃ api ca yatante kartum abhyāsam ete | tad api bhṛgukulenduḥ kāmam utkrṣyate 'sau*; with Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's gloss: *herambādibhyaḥ utkrṣto bhavati*); in st. 16 that in the presence of Skanda and Gaṇeśa, Śiva prefers to express his spiritual affection (instead of his filial one) for the Bhārgava only (*eva*), touching him with his hand on the back. Cf. already II.28, when the Bhārgava remembers that, while engaged in the practice of archery, under the envious eyes of Skanda (*serṣyaṃ paśyati ṣaṇmukhe*), Pārvatī kindly tied his dishevelled hair into a knot and kissed him on the head.

²¹ Cf. S. Venkatarāma Śāstri's translation (slightly adapted):

"In the battle in which Nandin rejoiced, Canda careered fiercely, Candamas was moving about in sport, Dviradāśya (Gaṇeśa) indulged his love of jokes to an unbounded extent, Ghaṇṭāmukha ('Bell-faced') appeared, Bhrṅgiriṭi rushed hither and thither and the whole host eagerly took part, in such a battle, this [Rāma] who was effectively in every direction was beheld with satisfaction by Hara in company with Umā. [st. 19]

Mātali: – See here, the ludicrous and the marvellous abide together.

The heroic deeds of Heramba (Gaṇeśa) when excited to rage in battle quickly ravish the heart. From a lofty bow bent by his two strong arms shafts are mechanically shot. His powerful trunk wields an axe. His tusks have been made to serve as bars studded with iron; his ears answer the purpose of gags applied to the mouths of antagonists to silence them. [st. 20]

here named also the “Enemy of [the] Krauñca [mountain]” (*krauñcāriḥ*, st. 22d); Rāma challenges Skanda and is ready to kill him (st. 23–24),²² but Pārvatī prevents the hero from doing so (st. 25–26);²³ Śiva gives his axe to Rāma as a reward for his victory and teaches him the 14 *vidyāsthānas* (st. 27–28).²⁴ It is on this occasion, like

Combining the acts of a man and an elephant and absorbing the three eyes of Rudra upon them, the warlike gambols of Heramba (Gaṇeśa), oh marvellous to say, become irresistible. [st. 21]

Saudāminī: – Incensed at the fresh work which the elephant-faced (Gaṇeśa) has created for him, the son of Jamadagni has set about doing something in consequence of which (*upakrāntaṃ kim api yena*) the hosts of Śiva’s attendants begin to disappear and the region of the sky (viz. the battle field) appears as if it had been swept clean.

Daśaratha: – You judge well, Saudāminī.

The hosts scamper off timidly into the interior of the mountain Kailāsa; Nandin and Bhrṅgiriṭi, who have had their bows cut, cast away their quivers here. The face of Heramba (Gaṇeśa) which has ceased to show rut from the fear that has possessed him, is being deserted by bees here; but there is Krauñcāri (Skanda) alone left laughing in the field with his feathered shafts.” [st. 22]

²² “[Daśaratha] (*Beholding in front*). Why, there appears some writing in front of Jāmadagnya. (*Reads*):

‘You are the son of the enemy of the Three Cities. I am his disciple. So the instruction that you have received may be said to be equal to mine; but how can it be termed superior? If the efficiency of a weapon depends upon the wielder thereof, take your bow then, oh Skanda, and prove what difference there may be between us.’ [st. 23]

Mātali: – Behold, oh Kaśyapa of the earth, setting at defiance Ṣaṇmukha (Skanda) who stood facing him as well as Gajānana (Gaṇeśa), the lord of the Bhṛgu race is joyfully ready with his Pāśupata weapon, which with its gleams of splendour covers the confusion that prevails in the hollow cavity between earth and sky.

Daśaratha: – Why, there is some writing. (*Reads*):

‘Corresponding to the great wrath that has been roused in me, corresponding to the ceaseless practice I have had at the weapon, corresponding to the training received from the three-eyed god, may this shaft proceed from this bow even towards Ṣaṇmukha (Skanda) to make a headless trunk of him without fail, causing alarm and apprehension to the minds of all the gods.’” [st. 24]

²³ “Mātali: – Something has happened in the meanwhile.

No sooner does the descendant of Bhṛgu set upon the machinery of his bow the shaft of the three-eyed deity (viz. imbued with the magical energy of Śiva) with a mind somewhat disturbed by resentment, aiming it at the son of Satī (Skanda), than that holy divine (*bhagavatī*) wife of the one who shows mercy (*mṛḍānī*) (Pārvatī) placed herself between the combatants, rushing with tinkling anklets, with her girdle loose and the mantle that covered her dropping off in disarray. [st. 25]

Daśaratha: – (*Seeing in Front*.) How wonderful is it that Rāma, though naturally of a proud spirit, shows his humility in this fashion! Therefore are his life and exploits incomparably wonderful (surpassing) in the three worlds. For,

Upon seeing the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī) standing between him and Ṣaṇmukha (Skanda) with her soft hand raised, Rāma withdrew the weapon and shaking the quiver off and casting away his bow, bowed down at her feet, brushing them with the mass of matted hair already drooping before him. [st. 26]”

²⁴ “Saudāminī: – How great is the favour shown to Rāma by the moon-crested lord (Śiva)! Oh lord of the human world, please see.

Daśaratha: – (*Seeing*.)

a conclusion to the whole episode, that Rāma cleaves the Krauñca (supposed to have been already pierced before by Skanda, his very first “enemy”, as already stated, and later confirmed)²⁵:

*yaḥ śṛṅgāgraiḥ saraṇim aruṇat krauñcaśailaḥ sahelam
yātuḥ śambhor dhanurupaniṣatprāptaye pādamūlam |
so 'yaṁ kopād vahati vihitaṁ mārganair bhārgavasya
chidradvāraṁ tridivasarasīhaṁsayātrāpavitram || IV.29*

The mountain Krauñca, which with its towering peaks wantonly obstructed the progress [of Rāma] when he was going to wait upon Śambhu (Śiva)'s feet in view of learning the secret sciences of the bow, has now, pierced by the Bhārgava in wrath with his arrows, a hole-gate (*chidradvāraṁ*), an opening which has since been sanctified by the journeys of the swans to the celestial lake [Mānasa].

Accordingly, when the two Rāmas meet, the Bhārgava is presented as the *muni* “who has perforated a big opening in the mountain Krauñca with his ever sharp-edged arrows” (*nityākuṇṭhakhuraprakhaṇḍitabr̥hatkrauñcādrigarbhāntaraḥ*, st. 55b) as well as the one “to whom the axe was given by (Śiva) his guru after he cut off the feathers of the tail of the (peacock-)vehicle of Guha (Skanda) with his arrows” (*bhāṇavalūnaguḥavāhanabarhadāmnah | yasya... gurudattam imaṁ kuṭhāram*, st. 56bc),²⁶ he who is so proud to be “the spiritual son of Rudra's wife, the one who with the piercing impact of his arrows cleft a portion of the Krauñca mountain, the one who inflicted defeat (lit. made an assault) on Skanda” etc. (*rudrāṇīdharmasūnur viśikhavilikhanacchinna krauñcādrikuṇṭhaḥ skandāvaskandadāyī...*, st. 65ab).

It is obviously by relying on such an expanded version of the episode that later South-Indian commentators on *Meghasamdeśa* st. 57, like Dakṣiṇāvartanātha

The noble axe for retaining which, even after it had become split by being struck against the side of Sumeru, the lord Śambhu (Śiva) was styled Khaṇḍaparaśu (broken-axed) – that axe he now presents to Rāma who stands with his palms joined in reverence, as a mark of favour and in recognition of his victory [over Skanda]. [st. 27]

The god imparts at the same time to Rāma the fourteen branches of knowledge or learning. And the graciousness of the great ones gives out blessing in hundreds of ways. [st. 28]

Mātali: – I suppose Rāma came to be styled Paraśurāma since then.”

The learning of the 14 *vidyāsthānas* is already alluded to in the prologue of Act IV: *bhārgavo bhavānīvallabhāt pratipannakārmukopaniṣat saṁviditacaturdaśavidyāsthānarahasyaś ca*.

²⁵ In Act IX, st. 57, it is indeed the skillful piercing of the Krauñca by Skanda which is remembered as one of the two greatest heroic feats, together with Śiva's burning of Tripura, which are comparable to the killing of Rāvaṇa by Rāma:

*nīradagdhatripurendhano 'stu giriśaḥ krauñcācalacchedane
pāṇḍityaṁ viditaṁ guhasya kim u tāv ajñātayuddhotsavau | IX.57ab*

²⁶ It is not clear whether Rāma himself was wounded or not during his fight with Skanda, according to the variants in the prose passage before st. 35: *śikhaṇḍiketukāṇḍāvalībhīr apy aprahr̥taḥ* in the Benares edition of 1869 (cf. S. Veṅkaṭarāma Śāstri's translation: “he has not been wounded even by the arrows of the god with the peacock sign”) versus *apahr̥taḥ = ākr̥ṣṭaḥ* (“taken away”, “attracted”?) in the Calcutta edition of 1884, but following the context of the sentence, it looks as though he was not (contradicting Bhavabhūti, who insists on his wounds, cf. II.38 quoted above).

and Cāritravardhana (13th–14th c.?), explain that it is because of his rivalry with Skanda, himself “the enemy of Krauñca”, that Paraśurāma pierced the mountain:

Dakṣiṇāvartanātha

*skandena krauñcārātīnā spardhamānaḥ paraśurāmaḥ krauñcācālaṃ śareṇa
sarandhram akarot | tena tasya mahatī kīrtir āsīt | tasmād bhṛgupatyaśovartimety
uktam ||*

Cāritravardhana

*krauñcavairiṇā kārṭtikeyena spardhamānaḥ paraśurāmaḥ krauñcaparvatam
sacchidram akārṣīt | tena tasya mahatī kīrtir āsīt iti kathā ||*

Mallinātha (first part of the 15th c.) ad loc. provides some more details on the episode, which echo the words used in Rājaśekhara’s *Bālarāmāyaṇa*:

*purā kila bhagavato devād dhūrjaṭer dhanurupaṇiṣadam adhīyānena bhṛgunandanena
skandasya spardhayā krauñcaśikhariṇam atiniśitaviśikhāmukhena helayā mṛtpiṇḍa-
bhedaṃ bhittvā tataḥ krauñcabhedād eva (var. tata eva krauñcakroḍād iva/eva)
sadyaḥ samujjīrmbhite kasmīn api yaśaḥkṣīranidhau nikhilam api jagajjālam
āplāvitam iti kathā śrūyate ||²⁷*

Kumārasvāmin, Mallinātha’s son, in his commentary *Ratnāpaṇa* on Vidyānātha’s *Pratāparudrīya* 2 (*kāvyaaprakaraṇa*), st. 49, a stanza which affirms, divergently, that it is Skanda who, during the weapon-exercises, was the author of the piercing exploit (*khuraliviharatkārṭtikeyeṣujātacchidracchadma- ... krauñcakṣmābhṛd bhavati mahato vismayān nīscalāṅgaḥ*), changes the story accordingly:

*purā kila kārṭtikeyaḥ khuraliviharaṇavelāyāṃ paraśurāmaspardhayā krauñcagiriṃ
dadāreti prasiddhiḥ |*

Elsewhere, the episode of Paraśurāma’s victory over Skanda and the one of the cleaving of the Krauñca (by Skanda and/or Paraśurāma) remain distinct. For instance, Kṣemendra (11th c.) in the *Bhāratamañjarī* says that Skanda (Guha) holds a formidable spear that cleft the Krauñca mountain (*prajagrāha guhaḥ śaktiṃ krūrāṃ krauñcādrīdārīṇīm*, 19.1415cd), itself given as the son of Maināka (19.120bc; cf. HV and fn. 6 above) and through which the *haṃsas* fly (7.341cd); while in *Daśavatāracarita* ch. 6, Paraśurāma is described as the vanquisher of Skanda (*jītatārakārīḥ*, 6.10; cf. Bhavabhūti above) in the fight which occurred because of their rivalry (*saṃgharṣa*), when they were learning the science of weapons from Śiva (who gave his axe to Rāma after his victory on the *asuras*, 6.11),

²⁷ Cf. also the Bengali commentator Bharata Mallika (17th c.), close to *Bālarāmāyaṇa* IV.29 (and skipping the fight with Skanda): *purā kila paraśurāmo maheśvarād dhanurvidyāṃ ādadāna rjuvartmano śiḡhram tatsamīpaṃ jigamiṣuḥ krauñcagiriṃ bāṇair vibhidyā randhira-rūpaṃ saṃnihitam vartma cakre*; and the Mithila commentator Kṛṣṇapati (18th c.), in a concise manner: *purā kila jāmādagnyayuddhāt kārṭtikeyas tenaiva svaśaktikṛtarandhreṇa prapalāyita iti*.

here without any reference to Krauñca. As for Jayadeva (13th c.), in his drama *Prasannarāghava*, he presents again, like Bhavabhūti, Paraśurāma as the one by whom both the Krauñca was pierced and, separately, Skanda was defeated (*vedhyaṃ krauñcamahīdharasya śikharaṃ ... jeyas tārakasūdanaḥ*, IV, st. 16a–c), but at the same time conciliates both versions by making Paraśurāma, naturally of a generous disposition, feel ashamed at having pierced with several arrows the Krauñca mountain that had already been wounded by the javelin thrown by Skanda:

*kimca krauñcagiriṃ girīśatanayavyāviddhaśaktikṣataṃ
viddhvā bāṇagaṇair udāttaḥṛdayo vailakṣyam ālambate* || IV.17cd

In the apocryphal sequel to Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhava* (of uncertain date), no mention is made of Paraśurāma when the early childhood and education of Skanda are described (*sarga* 11), but in *sarga* 15, during the war against the *asura* Tāraka, in a discourse to the pride-infatuated demon in order to dissuade him from fighting with Skanda, among the exploits of the young god then recalled there is his piercing of a hole in the Krauñca mountain with one arrow:

*abhramḥlihaiḥ śṛṅgaśataiḥ samantato dikcakraṇvālaiḥ sthagitasya bhūbhṛtaḥ |
krauñcasya randhram viśikhena nirmane yenāhavas tasya saha tvayā kutaḥ* || 15,35

And the fact that even Paraśurāma, though having been taught in archery by Śiva and having exterminated twenty-one times all the *kṣatriyas* (st. 36), is not (yet? viz. at this point of the story) ready for a fight with the divine champion Skanda:

*na jāmādagnyaḥ kṣayakālarātrikṛt sa kṣatriyāṇāṃ samarāya valgati |
yena trilokīsubhaṭena tena te kuto 'vakāśaḥ saha vīgrahagrahe* || 15,37

Neglecting the episode of the Krauñca-piercing (and thus avoiding the problem of its authorship), some works concentrate on the rivalry between Skanda and Paraśurāma and their grandiose fight. This is the case in the 13th c. Hoysala historical prose kāvya *Gadyakarmāṃṛta* of Sakalavidyācakraṇvartin, which conceives the rival (Nṛsiṃha II) Hoysala and (Māravarman Sundara) Pāṇḍya kings as, respectively, the reincarnations of Subrahmaṇya (Skanda) and Paraśurāma, whose weapon-quarrel is here said to have ended in a mutual curse to be reborn in the mortal world (cf. Janaki 1964: 242, 244). Bhānudatta Miśra (c. 1500; author of the *Rasatarāṅgiṇī* and *Rasamañjarī*) in his *campūkāvya* *Kumārabhārgaviya* narrates the marriage of Śiva and Pārvaṭī, the birth of Kumāra (Skanda) and, during the latter's education, his victorious fight, here fancifully not against the Bhārgava himself, but against the Bhārgavīyas, that is the *rākṣasa*-disciples of Paraśurāma (the cleaving of the Krauñca by the young god is briefly mentioned in 10,17b: *yaḥ krauñcasya vidāraṇaṃ vīhitavān yaḥ śaktimān vartate*).

To go back to the late and regional purāṇic literature, the *Keralamāhātmya* (16th–17th c.), exploiting the theme of the Skanda-Paraśurāma rivalry, well established since the Bhavabhūti-Murāri-Rājaśekhara's dramatic Rāma-trilogy, “refers in

detail to the mace-fight at Subrahmaṇyapura between Paraśurāma and Subrahmaṇya [Skanda] to the wonder of all the celestials. The fight ends in a stalemate and Paraśurāma establishes an institution for the practice of arms (*āyudhābhyāsaśālā*) at Subrahmaṇyapurī” (Janaki 1966: 67), a new city created by the sage; a part of this newly-created area is received by the god. Here from rivalry their relationship transforms into friendship: Subrahmaṇya helps the Bhārgava in establishing his foundations,²⁸ and the latter erects many temples for the former, helping him also in the slaughter of Tārakāsura and in his marriage with Vallī and Devasenā (Janaki 1966: 65–66). Within this sort of local “*Paraśurāmāyaṇa*” (as the *māhātmya* is sometimes called), the theme of the piercing of the Krauñca mountain is not mentioned, probably because it firmly belongs in Kerala folklore to the legend of Skanda, as seen in the Malayalam version of the *Skandapurāṇa*, that is, the (16th–17th c.) *Skandapurāṇam kiḷippāṭṭū* ascribed to a successor of Tuñcattu Rāmānujan Eḷuttacchan. According to the summary given by Vettam Mani (1975: 417, s.v. Krauñca II; cf. 8, s.v. Agastya):²⁹

Long ago there lived an Asura named Krauñca. He was leading a wicked life and was haughty and arrogant. Once Agastya went to Kailāsa and worshipped Śiva. Kāverī devī also was standing close by, worshipping Śiva. God Śiva appeared before Agastya and told him that he might ask for any boon. He requested for the power to push down Vindhya by kicking and to establish a holy Tīrtha (bath) on the earth. Śiva granted the boons. For making the tīrtha Śiva turned Kāverī into a river and placed her in the water-pot of Agastya. As Agastya was returning from Kailāsa with Kāverī in his water-pot, Krauñca the Asura took the shape of a mountain and hindered his way. The Asura caused a heavy rain too. Agastya wandered through the forest without finding the path for days. At last he realized the cause. He took a few drops of water from his waterpot and with chanting of Mantras and meditation threw the drops at the Asura with the curse that he would stand there for ever as a mountain. He said that he would be liberated from the curse when pierced by the arrow of Subrahmaṇya, the son of Śiva. From that day onwards Krauñca the Asura had been standing there as a mountain. That mountain was called “The mountain of Krauñca.” (Skanda Purāṇa [Kiḷippāṭṭū], Asura Kāṇḍa[m]).

The piercing of the Krauñca by Skanda, during his war against the *asura* Tāraka, is in fact told in Book 1 (*Sam̐bhavakāṇḍam*) of the *kiḷippāṭṭū*, whereas the previous episode of the *asura* magician Krauñca taking the shape of a mountain for misleading the sage Agastya, and being subsequently cursed by the latter to remain in this state, is included in the narrative about the *asuras* forming the Book 2 (*Āsurakāṇḍam*).

²⁸ When Paraśurāma created the land of Kerala that he made rise from the ocean (cf. Vielle 2014), it was already for helping him in this matter that Subrahmaṇya was sent to him by Śiva, with the promise that all the divinities, including himself, will be present in the newly-created holy territory (*adhyāyas* 7–8).

²⁹ This version is often alluded to (without mentioning Mani as its source) as if it was a Sanskrit one, for instance by Goldman et al. ad Rm 6,47.38 (VI, 2009: 881; “Skanda, who, according to legend, pierced Mount Krauñca in order to release a demon of the same name who had been imprisoned there by the *ṛṣi* Agastya”; cf. idem ad 55,12; p. 992: “thus liberating the *asura* Krauñca”).

This Malayalam version of the *Skandapurāṇa* appears to be based on the earlier Tamil *Kantapurāṇam* by Civācāriyar (14th c.?), where in Book 1 (*Uṣpattikāṇṭam*, ch. 20), Murukaṇ (Skanda) goes to war against Tārakan, whom he finally kills by throwing his javelin which splits open the demon's chest together with the mountain Kiravuñcam (Krauñca) his ally, the story of whose curse by the sage Akattiyaṇ (Agastya, who had already pierced it with his staff) is told in Book 2 (*Avuṇakāṇṭam*, ch. 24); unless the *kilippāṭṭu* summarizes the (*Kantapurāṇam* closely connected) southern Sanskrit work claiming to be the *Śivarahasyakhaṇḍa* of the (*Śaṅkara-/Śāṅkarī-* or *Agastyasamhitā* of the) *Skandamahāpurāṇa*, where the two episodes are, in many details, identically narrated, respectively in the *Sambhava* (*adhyāyas* 37–45) and *Āsura* (*adhyāya* 11) *kāṇḍas*.

Turning back to Paraśurāma, even if his piercing of the Krauñca mountain appears, on the whole, to belong rather to the scholarly (kāvyā and commentarial) tradition, there nevertheless exist popular traditions about similar “topographic” deeds by the hero. In the *Kālikā(upa)purāṇa* (10th–11th c. Kāmarūpa/Assam? See Hazra 1963: 245–254 = 1979: 302–313), in the story of the river Lauhitya/Brahmaputra (*adhyāyas* 82–83 = 85–86 in Hazra 1963: 225–228 = 1979: 276–279, who follows the Calcutta edition), Paraśurāma, in penance (for cleaning the sin of his mother's beheading) at the Brahmakuṇḍa (“pool”) *tīrtha*, opened the way for the Brahmaputra, that he made flow down to the earth by digging a channel there with his axe (*vīthīm paraśunā kṛtvā taṃ mahyām avatārayat*, 82.43cd). More precisely, just after his bath and the cleaning of his axe in the pure water of the Brahmakuṇḍa (water constituted by the Son of Brahma):

vīthīm paraśunā kṛtvā brahmaputram avāhayat || 83.29cd
brahmakuṇḍāt sṛtaḥ so 'tha kāsāre lohitāhvaye |
kailāsoṣṭyakāyāṃ tu nyapatad brahmaṇaḥ sutaḥ || 83.30
tasyāpi sarasas tīre samutthāya mahābalaḥ |
kuṭhāreṇa diśaṃ pūrvām anayad brahmaṇaḥ sutam || 83.31
tataḥ parātrapi giriṃ hemaśṛṅgaṃ vibhidya ca |
kāmarūpāntaraṃ pūṭham āvahad yad (cor. *āvāhayad*?) *amuṃ hariḥ* || 83.32

Digging a channel with his axe, he made the Brahmaputra flow (downwards). The Son of Brahma emerged from the Brahmakuṇḍa and fell into a lake called Lohita, in the valley of the Kailāsa (mountain). On the bank of this lake also, the very powerful hero (Rāma) proceeded (to dig a channel) with his axe and brought down the Brahmaputra eastwards. Then, Hari (Rāma) cleft the Hemaśṛṅga mountain (which stood in the way) beyond (the Lohita lake) and led this [Brahmaputra] towards what is now the Kāmarūpa country.³⁰

³⁰ Hazra (1963: 249–250 = 1979: 307–308, fn. 554) quotes a stanza from an inscription of the 11th-century Kāmarūpa King Indrapāla stating that the river Lauhitya (viz. the Brahmaputra; a name explained in the *purāṇa*, v. 33, as meaning the One coming from the Lohitya lake) was so named because its waters were coloured red (*lohita*) by the thick blood washed off from Rāma's battle-axe (said here to have been cleaned in the river after he had severed the heads of kings, not the one of his mother as in the *purāṇa*). He further notes that the later *Dharma-upapurāṇa*, included in the *Śrīṣṭikhaṇḍa* of the *Padmamahāpurāṇa* (from *adhyāya* 44 (or 49) to

This additional mountain-cleaving on the eastern side of the Himālaya strengthens the possibility that the opening on the western side alluded to in MBh 3,130.12 (see fn. 2 above) is the deed of Rāma Jāmadagnya, as supposed by Fitzgerald (2002: 122).³¹ Moreover, as hinted at by the same (ibid.), among the sacred places/*tīrthas* associated with the Bhārgava in the MBh, there is also a Lohitya *tīrtha* declared to have been “once created by the favour of Rāma” (*rāmasya ca prasādena tīrtham ... kṛtaṃ purā | tal lohityam ...*, 3,83.2). This mountain-piercing/digging power of Paraśurāma is also attested to further in the south, as if it had followed the migration of the brahmins. It is so reported (by Raghava Varier 1983: 285) that according to the (Malayalam) *Kāśyapakṣētramāhātmyam* (a local Nambudiri *māhātmya* purported to belong to the *Skandapurāṇa*) Paraśurāma “created the Phalgat gap” in the Western Ghats.

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82 (86), a portion composed in Kāmarūpa sometime between 1250 and 1325) provides in the story of Rāma’s difficult washing of his blood-stained axe (*adhyāya* 52 (55) *śloka*s 35–53) the description of a holy place in the middle of the mountains on the high-course of the Lauhitya river, where the hero cleaned his axe and bathed, which corresponds to the Brahmakuṇḍa (not named as such). Modern folklore identifies a specific “Parashuram Kund” nearby (or identical to) a “Brahma Kund” spot in Arunachal Pradesh.

³¹ A paper delivered at the second DICSEP, in August 1999, when I had the pleasure of meeting for the first time Mislav Ježić, who so kindly welcomed me there several times and in honour of whom the present article is written. I take the opportunity of this last footnote to express my sincere thanks to Dylan Esler and Ilya Comet for their help in correcting a first draft of this text; Amandine Bricout for her precious additional remarks concerning the early *Skandapurāṇa* references; Csaba Dezső and Dominic Goodall for kindly providing me with their material on the *Raghuvamśa*; and Timothy Cahill for his helpful scan of the rare English translation of the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*.

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Sažetak

Ovaj je članak povijesna studija legendarnoga motiva probijanja planine Krauñca, koji se pripisuje bogu Skandi u epovima (*Mahābhārati*, *Rāmāyaṇi*, *Harivaṃśi*) i u najranijim purāṇama (*Vāyu*-, *Skanda*-); međutim u kāvyama i u komentarskoj literaturi nakon Kālidāse probijanje planine Krauñca pripisuje se heroju Paraśurāmi, brahmanu-ratniku i učeniku boga Śive, a nekad bogu-ratniku Skandi, sinu boga Śive. Njihovo je rivalstvo postalo specifičan motiv u Bhavabhūtijevim, Murārijevim i Rājaśekharinim dramama. Moć Bhārgava u stvaranju praznina unutar planina ipak je potvrđena već u *Mahābhārati* i kasnijim regionalnim pūraṇskim tradicijama.

3. Epics and Purāṇas and their reflection in later literature

Notes on the “Lava-Kuśa episode” in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*

Abstract

Somadeva’s *Kathāsaritsāgara*, one of the retellings of the *Brhatkathā*, has a small tale of Rāma which mainly traces the story of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, the final volume in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This is not a simple retelling, but intends to be a unique adaptation. Especially interesting is that there is an episode regarding Rāma’s two sons, Lava and Kuśa, in which we find many elements peculiar to this retelling. The present paper will examine the plot of the “Lava-Kuśa episode” in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and clarify sources of some elements (keywords/motifs), while comparing the *Kathāsaritsāgara* mainly to the tale of Rāma in Kṣemendra’s *Brhatkathāmañjarī*, another retelling of the *Brhatkathā*. Thereafter, we will consider the question of what type of plot was comprised in the lost work *Kashmirian *Brhatkathā*, upon which both retellings based their respective versions.

Introduction

In the 9th volume of Somadeva’s *Kathāsaritsāgara* (=KSS, 11th c. CE)¹, there is a small tale of Rāma which is told in 54 verses, KSS 9,1.59–112: Somadeva first summarises the story of the 1st to the 6th volumes of Vālmīki’s *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rm), namely the story from Rāma’s birth to his victory over Rāvaṇa and return to Ayodhyā along with Sītā, in a mere 6 verses (KSS 9,1.59–64), and he dedicates another 48 verses (KSS 9,1.65–112) to a presentation of the story of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, the final volume of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rm 7). Thus, this part of the KSS apparently intends to show a “retelling of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*”. However, Somadeva does not just trace the renowned story in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but rather seeks to offer a unique adaptation.

Especially striking is the uniqueness of the episode regarding Rāma’s two sons. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sītā gives birth to “twin boys” at Vālmīki’s hermitage, where

¹ The date of Somadeva’s compilation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is supposed to be 1063–1081 CE. Cf. Winternitz 1922: 319.

she is staying after being forsaken by her husband, Rāma, due to a false accusation of infidelity. Vālmīki names the elder one “Kuśa” and younger one “Lava”. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, however, Sītā first gives birth to Lava only, and later Vālmīki creates Kuśa, a replica of Lava, made of sacred “kuśa grass”.² Then Sītā adopts Kuśa as the younger brother of Lava. In this way, the order of brotherhood is inverted from that as told in the original *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Apart from the miraculous birth of Kuśa, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* comprises many peculiar elements, which scholars have given only little attention.³ The present paper focuses especially on the episode of Lava and Kuśa (I temporarily refer to it as the “Lava-Kuśa episode”) in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and examines sources of some elements (keywords/motifs) found in that episode.

The Tale of Rāma in *Kathāsaritsāgara* 9,1.59–112

The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, “the Ocean of the Streams of Stories”, compiled in 18 volumes (*lambaka*-), is an adaptation of the *Brhatkathā*, “the Great Narrative”. The latter is said to have been written by Guṇāḍhya, but its original text is no longer extant.⁴ Somadeva, the author of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, was a poet of the Kashmirian Court in the second half of the 11th century CE, and he retold the story of the *Brhatkathā* in a large-scale narrative consisting of 21 388 verses: The central character in this narrative is Naravāhanadatta, son of King Udayana who rules the land of Vatsa. One day, Madanamañcukā, the first wife of Naravāhanadatta is abducted by Mānasavega, king of Vidyādhara (semi-divine beings). Then, Naravāhanadatta begins to search for his missing wife, and rescues her while defeating Mānasavega and other enemies. Thereafter, Naravāhanadatta is endowed by the God Śiva with the status of Cakravartin (the supreme king) in the world of Vidyādhara.

On the other hand, the adventurous story of Naravāhanadatta is adorned by various substories in which he falls in love with many Vidyādhārīs (ladies of Vidyādhara) and marries them one after another. The small tale of Rāma is inserted into such a substory in the 9th volume, “*Alaṃkāravatī-Lambaka*”, which gives an account of the marriage of Naravāhanadatta and Alaṃkāravatī: One day, Kāñcanaprabhā, mother of Alaṃkāravatī, is informed by Śiva that her daughter is destined to be a wife of

² The *kuśa* grass (*Desmostachya bipinnata*) is often used for purifying of utensils in the Vedic ritual. Cf. Sen 1978: 95 (as “*barhiṣ-*”), 83–84 (as “*pavitra-*”), 108 (as “*veda-*”).

³ Brockington 1985: 265 (fn. 13) briefly mentions that the motif of “creation of Kuśa from *kuśa* grass” occurs in the Tibetan version of the Rāma story, the Tale of Rāma in the KSS, and the Kashmiri version as well as Southeast Asian versions of the Rāma story. Smith 1999: 109–110 summarises the tale of Rāma in the KSS.

⁴ The date of the original work attributed to Guṇāḍhya is indefinite. Winternitz 1922: 316 presumes it as around the 1st century CE. It is transmitted that Guṇāḍhya made the *Brhatkathā* in “*Paiśāci*”, the little-known Prakrit language, which is thought to be an old dialect in North-west India. Cf. Winternitz 1922: 312; Lacôte 1908: 40–59.

Naravāhanadatta, and later the two fall in love just as Śiva announced. On the day before their wedding, Naravāhanadatta has to return to his home country of Vatsa temporarily on account of a small task. It is a separation for merely one night, but the two sink into a deep sorrow as if it were a long separation. Then, Kāñcanaprabhā narrates the tale of Rāma in order to encourage them.

KSS 9,1.57–58:

dr̥ṣṭvā tau tādr̥ṣāu dvāv apy avādīt kāñcanaprabhā |
kiṃ ekarātriviśeṣe hy adhairyaṃ yuvayor idam || 57 ||

aniścitāvadhiṃ dhīrāḥ sahante virahaṃ ciraṃ |
śrūyatāṃ rāmabhadrasya sītādevyās tathā kathā || 58 ||

57. When Kāñcanaprabhā saw the two in such a state, she said: “Why do you show such discouragement because you are to be separated for one night?”

58. People who possess firmness endure for a long mutual separation to which no termination is assigned. Hear the tale [which tells of] such a case of Rāmabhadra and his queen Sītā.

In this way, Kāñcanaprabhā begins to tell the tale, in which Rāma forsakes Sītā in the forest against his true will, and long after they happily reunite. This tale is told for the purpose of “encouraging” a young couple; for this reason, it does not have a tragic ending like that in the original story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in which Sītā ultimately enters the earth and Rāma laments the eternal separation from her (Rm 7,88–89). The second half of the tale, however, seems to deviate from that purpose, because it mentions almost nothing about the relationship between Rāma and Sītā, but rather presents the marvelous episode of their children, Lava and Kuśa.

Table 1: Synopsis of the tale of Rāma in KSS 9,1.59–112 with numbers of comparable portions of the tale of Rāma in *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (=BKM) 15,1.33–50

Contents	KSS	BKM
[A] Summary of the story of vols. 1–6 in the Vālmīki’s <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> .	9,1.59–64	15,1.33–42
[B] Sītā is forsaken in the forest by Rāma, who is afraid of the false accusation of her infidelity by citizens.	9,1.65–71	15,1.43
[C] Sītā demonstrates her innocence by crossing the pond called “Ṭṭibhasaras” in front of hermits who are suspicious of her chastity. The hermits get angry at Rāma, who wrongly forsook her.	9,1.72–85	<i>cf. 15,1.44–48ab</i> [Hermits talk about a ṭṭibha bird who overcame his mistaken doubt about his wife’s chastity.]

[D] Sītā gives birth to Lava, and Vālmīki creates Kuśa from <i>kuśa</i> grass; Vālmīki teaches them the use of weapons and all sciences.	9,1.86–94	<i>cf. 15,1.48cd–49ab</i> [Sītā gives birth to twin boys just as told in the Rm.]
[E] Lava plunders golden lotuses and <i>mandāra</i> flowers from Kubera’s garden, while defeating Yakṣas (the attendants of Kubera).	9, 1.95 – 100ab	—
[F] Lakṣmaṇa abducts Lava as a victim at the human sacrifice (<i>naramedha</i> -) to be held by Rāma; Kuśa goes to Ayodhyā in order to rescue Lava and battles against Lakṣmaṇa as well as Rāma.	9,1.100cd–107ab	<i>cf. 15,1.49cd</i> [The boys meet Rāma, who is just holding his horse sacrifice (<i>vājimedha</i> -).]
[G] Hearing the identity of the two boys, Rāma recognises them as his own sons and calls Sītā back to Ayodhyā.	9,1.107cd–112	15,1.50

It is also to be noted that the part of the Lava-Kuśa episode in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* shows only minor correspondence to the tale of Rāma in the BKM, another extant recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* in Kashmir. The *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* was made by Kṣemendra, who was mainly active in the first half of the 11th century CE,⁵ and it also has the tale of Rāma in its *Alaṃkāravatī-Lambaka* (the 15th volume). Both works (the BKM and the KSS) are thought to be abridged retellings based on a common source of the *Bṛhatkathā* which was known in medieval Kashmir, but no longer exists. Undoubtedly, the lost precedent work, the so-called “*Kashmirian *Bṛhatkathā*” (*KBK),⁶ already had a tale of Rāma in the same place in the story, and both works based their respective versions upon it. But the plot of the second half of both works differed from each other due to certain reasons. Now I would like to offer “Table 1”, which shows a synopsis of the tale of Rāma in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* while showing numbers of comparable portions in *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*.

In this table we can roughly recognise that both works (the BKM and the KSS) show clear correspondences in portions [A] and [B]. The contents of [A] and [B]

⁵ It is supposed that Kṣemendra made the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* around 1037 CE, about 30 years earlier than Somadeva’s compilation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (see fn. 1). Cf. Winternitz 1922: 319.

⁶ Lacôte 1908: 122–145 clarifies that the BKM and the KSS are based upon some common source (cf. Winternitz 1922: 318). According to Serbaeva Saraogi 2009: 337 (fn. 112), Alexis Sanderson suggests in his unpublished work in 2004 that the KSS has undergone at least two redactions, both in Kashmir, being originally a large text written in a *paśāca* language of non-Kashmiri origin.

are basically the same in both works, though the manner of narrating is somewhat different between them: In [A], the BKM shows a summary of the story in Rm volumes 1–6 with 10 verses, a little more than of the number in the KSS which has 6 verses; For [B], the BKM has merely 1 verse for telling Rāma’s forsaking of Sītā, but the KSS has more detailed depiction with 7 verses, in which Rāma gets a shock while hearing a conversation between a man and his wife among his subjects who are very suspicious of Sītā’s chastity, and Rāma decides to forsake Sītā in order to defend his honour. In any case, both works steadily follow the plot as shown in the original Rm (7,42–44).

In addition, the verses of the concluding portion [G], KSS 9,1.107cd–112 and BKM 15,1.49cd–50, depict the happy reunion of Rāma and Sītā along with the two boys, while deviating from the plot of the Rm. This is reasonable because this tale of Rāma is told in order to encourage Naravāhanadatta and Alaṃkāravatī as previously mentioned.

On the other hand, portions [C] to [F] deal with the episode after Sītā was left by Lakṣmaṇa in the forest, which the KSS narrates in detail with 35 and a half verses (9,1.72–107ab). In contrast, the comparable portions in the BKM consist of merely 5 and a half verses (15,1.44–49cd), the contents of which basically follow the original story of the Rm. That is to say that, in these portions, the narrative of the KSS represents its uniqueness most directly. Therefore, we will examine these portions respectively in the next section in order to clarify the sources of the “Lava-Kuśa episode” in the KSS to the extent possible.

The Lava-Kuśa Episode in *Kathāsaritsāgara* 9,1.72–112

KSS 9,1.72–85 (portion [C]): Sītā’s proof of her innocence

The contents of portion [C] in the KSS and the BKM seem much different on the surface, but they comprise several common words and motifs. The BKM describes that hermits (*muni-*) in the forest immediately discern the innocence of Sītā, left there by Lakṣmaṇa, who tearfully does so upon an order from Rāma. Then, the hermits talk about a couple of “*ṭiṭṭibha*”, a kind of bird: Once a male *ṭiṭṭibha*, staying on the shore of a pond, saw his wife bird just flying near another male bird without any intention. Then, the male bird became suspicious of her chastity. When the husband went to forsake her, he heard a voice from the sky say, “[she is a] chaste woman!” (*sādhvī-*), and he immediately trusted her again. Compared to this fable, the hermits criticise Rāma’s wrongful behaviour (BKM 15,1.44–48ab). Thereafter, Sītā reaches the hermitage of Vālmīki.

On the other hand, portion [C] in the KSS presents an episode “after” Sītā’s arrival at the hermitage of Vālmīki: First the hermits (*muni-*) are suspicious about Sītā’s chastity, and intend to move to some other forest in order to avoid seeing her,

whom they find impure. When Sītā hopes to be inspected by them regarding her chastity, they propose that she proves it at a pond called “Ṭṭibhasaras” (“pond of ṭṭibha”). It is there that once a chaste woman (*sādhvī*) called Ṭṭibhī, whose husband had wrongly accused her of adultery, implored the gods to manifest the fact, and they proved her chastity. Then, Sītā demonstrates her innocence by crossing the water while riding on the lap of the earth goddess whom she invoked. Finally, the hermits recognise Sītā’s chastity and criticise Rāma’s wrongful behaviour (KSS 9,1.72–85).

Thus, both works apparently share some keywords, namely the keywords of “*ṭṭibhī*” and “*sādhvī*”, and the motifs that one recognises the innocence of a chaste woman (*sādhvī*) and that the hermits criticise Rāma. In addition, the location of story, “the shore of a pond”, is also common. Maybe the lost *KBK, upon which both works were based, comprised these elements in some form or other. What causes the difference between the works is in fact that the KSS depicts the miraculous scene of “Sītā’s proof of her innocence”, which the original Rm tells at the end of story of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (Rm 7,88). In other words, the KSS combines the scene of Sītā’s proof with those elements common to the BKM version. Nonetheless, this does not necessarily mean that the KSS shows later modifications and the BKM version is closer to the original text in the *KBK, because the BKM tends to shorten stories of the *KBK, even awkwardly, and rather the KSS can reflect the original form of story.⁸

For the moment, we may presume at least three possibilities: (1) The BKM version is closer to the original story in the *KBK, and the KSS shows the later enlargement; (2) The KSS version is closer to the original and the BKM shows the later abbreviation; (3) Transmissions of the *KBK, upon which both works were based, were not same and had different stories for portion [C], and consequently the contents of both works differ.

KSS 9,1.86–94 (portion [D]): Lava’s birth and creation of Kuśa by Vālmīki

As for portion [D], the BKM has merely 3 *pādas* (15,1.48d + 49ab), which express that Sītā gives birth to twin boys and Vālmīki educates them into excellent *kṣatriyas*, just as told in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the Rm. In contrast to this, the KSS offers a comedic episode as follows: First Sītā gives birth to Lava. One day, she goes to bathe

⁷ *ṭṭibha*- is a kind of bird (*Amarakośa* 2,5.35 has *ṭṭibhaka*-), *Paara jacana* or *Tringa goensis*. The form *ṭṭibha*-/*-bhī*- is attested in KSS 9,1 only. Somadeva knows the word *ṭṭibha*- in the meaning of the bird, because he offers an episode of a pair of *ṭṭibha* birds in KSS 10,4. Therefore, the word *ṭṭibha*-/*-bhī*-, which the BKM 15,1 shows, seems to be the original. Now I merely suggest that the word form *ṭṭibha*-/*-bhī*- could have been changed into the artificial word form *ṭṭibha*-/*-bhī*-, when Somadeva (or some precedent writer) modified the episode of a female bird to that of a woman named “Ṭṭibhī”.

⁸ Cf. Winternitz 1922: 318 (fn. 2); Lacôte 1908: 123–134; Speyer 1908: 36–43.

along with Lava, whom she usually leaves at her shed. Meanwhile, Vālmīki comes to her shed and notices Lava’s absence. Then, he wrongly imagines that Lava was abducted by a beast, and quickly creates a “living replica” of Lava by means of sacred *kuśa* grass, in fear of Sītā’s fatal grief over her missing child. Sītā comes back along with Lava, and is surprised to see another child who exactly resembles Lava. After hearing the explanation from Vālmīki, she adopts the new child, named “Kuśa”, as the younger brother of Lava. Thereafter, Vālmīki holds rites of passage for them, and teaches them the use of weapons and all sciences (KSS 9,1.86–94).

This type of birth story of Rāma’s sons involving the “creation of Kuśa by means of *kuśa* grass”⁹ had been known among some Tibetan people earlier than the period of Somadeva’s compiling of the KSS. In a manuscript of the Tibetan version of the Rāma story discovered in Dun-huang,¹⁰ we find a story similar to that in the KSS, which tells of an event that occurred “before” Rāma’s abandonment of Sītā: One day, when Queen Sītā (*btsun mo si ta*) goes for a walk, she leaves her son Lava (*la ba*) in the care of 500 sages (*draṅ sroṅ*, skt. *ṛṣi-*), but Lava follows her. When the sages notice Lava’s absence, they realise that he is missing, and a sage creates another child by means of *kuśa* grass (*rtsva ku śa*). Thereafter, Sītā returns along with Lava and adopts another child, named Kuśa.¹¹

Dun-huang was occupied by the Tibetan dynasty from 786¹² to 848 CE, and most probably the manuscript mentioned above was produced around this period. The origin of the Rāma story which the manuscript transmits is thought to be somewhere in India. Perhaps Vālmīki’s role in creating Kuśa described in the former Indian version has been replaced with that of the “500 sages” in the phase of Tibetan adaptation in which Vālmīki never appears. Kashmir, being located near Tibet as well as Central Asia, could be the origin place of that type of story or, at least, a passing point for its spreading outside India. In any case, it is highly probable that this type of birth story of Rāma’s sons was known in Kashmir at the time of Kṣemendra and Somadeva (11th c. CE).

⁹ We find the same motif of “creation of Kuśa by means of *kuśa* grass” also in later retellings of the Rm: e.g. the *Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa* (ĀnRm, around 1400 CE according to Koskikallio 2002: 314, fn. 6) 5,4.61–75; *Lavakuśa-Yuddha-Carita* 1283–1303 (ed. Grierson) in the Kashmiri version of the Rāma story by Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa (18th c. CE). Cf. Smith 1999: 111, 117.

¹⁰ For the Rāma story comprised in the Dun-huang manuscripts, see de Jong 1972 (introduction and synopsis); 1977 (text); 1989 (English translation and text).

¹¹ For the portion in which Lava and Kuśa appear in the Tibetan version, see de Jong 1977: 84–85 (text XLII = manuscript A 352–368); 1989: 41–41 (translation XLII).

¹² De Jong 1972: 191 mentions the period of the Tibetan occupation of Dun-huang: “787 (according to Demiéville) or 782 (according to Fujieda) to 848”. [De Jong refers Demiéville, P. (1952) *Le concile de Lhasa*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, and Fujieda, A. (1969) *The Tunhuang Manuscripts: A General description*, part II. In: *Zinbun: Memoirs of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University* 10: 17–39]. Ueyama 2012: 25–31 reconsiders the date of the fall of Dun-huang while referring to Chinese documents, and adopts 786 CE as the most reasonable year of the fall of Dun-huang. I follow Ueyama’s suggestion about the date of beginning of the Tibetan occupation of Dun-huang.

On the other hand, it is hard to attest whether the *KBK had this type of birth story of Rāma's sons or not. Whichever it is, it seems reasonable to assume that this type of story was not created within the narrative tradition of the *Bṛhatkathā*, but was invented in some adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and that later, it influenced the tale of Rāma in the *Bṛhatkathā*.

For the moment, we may presume at least three possibilities: (1) The KSS version is closer to the *KBK, and the BKM replaced the original story in the *KBK with the story just as told in the Rm; (2) The BKM version is closer to the original, and the KSS replaced the original with another story which was known in Kashmir during the same period; (3) Transmissions of the *KBK, upon which both works were based, were not the same and had different stories for portion [D], and consequently the contents of both works differ.

KSS 9,1.95–100ab (portion [E]): Lava's plundering of flowers from Kubera's garden

In portion [E], the KSS depicts some acts of the two naughty boys, especially Lava, as follows: One day, the two boys slaughter a deer in the hermitage and eat its meat. Furthermore, they play with the holy *liṅga*, which Vālmīki worships every day. Having watched their acts with astonishment, Vālmīki orders them to perform atonement worship for Śiva with golden lotuses and flowers of the *mandāra* tree, both to be found in Kubera's garden on Mt. Kailāsa. Then, Lava goes to that garden and plunders those flowers, while defeating Yakṣas, the attendants of Kubera (KSS 9,1.95–100ab).

First, it can be said that Lava's attack against Kubera's garden represents the twin's aspect of "brave warriors", which was developed in medieval retellings of the Rm. The Rm, as well as the Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (= Raghuv, 4th c. CE), merely mention the boys' singing of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which has the function of causing Sītā to return to Ayodhyā in order to clear her of suspicion. In later retellings such as the *Uttararāmacarita* (=UCR, 8th c. CE) by Bhavabhūti, the *Pātālakhaṇḍa* of the *Padma-Purāṇa* (=PdP, around 11th c. CE?), and the *Jaiminīya-Aśvamedha* (=JA, around 12th c. CE?), the aspect of epic singers is put aside, and rather that of brave warriors is strongly emphasised:¹³ in those retellings, they bravely fight against large armies of Rāma without knowing he is their own father, and defeat great commanders such as Śatruguṇa, Lakṣmaṇa, and so on. The KSS seems to present a new variation of the aspect of the brave warrior of Lava by depicting him overpowering Yakṣas.

¹³ Rm 7,59–85; Raghuv 15,32–68; UCR 5, vv. 1–56; PdP 5,54; 5,60–64; JA 29,62–36,63. For detailed discussion, see Teshima, H. (forth.) The Evolution of the Kuśa-Lava Episode: Its Vedic Origin, and Variations in the Epic and Post-Epic Texts. In: DICSEP 7.

The source for the idea of “attacking Kubera’s garden” is indefinite because there is no similar scene in any other works of *Bṛhatkathā* including the BKM, or in any retellings of the Rm. It seems, however, presumable that its origin was not in the narrative tradition of the Rm, but in that of the *Bṛhatkathā*. The influence of the cult of Kubera, the god of wealth and the guardian of the north, characterises the narrative of the *Bṛhatkathā*,¹⁴ and its Sanskrit variants, including the KSS, apparently tend to mention this god in different ways. Therefore, the scene as outlined above is thought to have been made in such a manner as to connect the “Kubera motif” peculiar to the narrative of *Bṛhatkathā* to the “aspect of the brave warrior” out of medieval retellings of the Rm.

As for portion [E], it is also remarkable that the two boys show “extraordinary power”: They slaughter the deer to eat, and play with the weighty *liṅga* of stone as if it were children’s toy. The two boys’ power, which is also emphasised in medieval retellings of the Rm, is naturally associated with their aspect of brave warriors as mentioned above. The retellings of the Rm, however, give them the powerful image only in the “battle scene”, and always depict them in the scene at the hermitage as innocent and childish. Therefore, the most unique point of the story in the KSS is that the boys show their power even when they are at home.

Perhaps those scenes found in the KSS have somehow been influenced by the famous legend of Kṛṣṇa’s boyhood. The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (=BhāgP, around 8th to 10th c. CE?), for instance, comprises several episodes which represent the extraordinary power of Kṛṣṇa as a boy: Little Kṛṣṇa uprooted a forked *arjuna* tree by trailing a heavy mortar to which Yaśodā (his foster mother) had tied him in order to punish him for mischief (BhāgP 10,9–10).¹⁵ Further, he seized the hind legs and tail of a calf, which was actually a transformed demon, whirled it round, and finally threw it far away (BhāgP 10,11.41–44). Thus, the image of Kṛṣṇa as a boy seems to overlap somewhat with that of Lava and Kuśa as described in the KSS. Now I merely speculate that Somadeva (or some precedent writer) could have been inspired by the legend of Kṛṣṇa’s boyhood to enhance the attractiveness of Rāma’s sons in the scenes of portion [E].

KSS 9,1.100cd–107ab (portion [F]): Kuśa’s rescuing of Lava, who was abducted by Lakṣmaṇa

The narrative of the KSS in portion [F] begins with the scene of an accident which happened to Lava, who was returning home from Kubera’s garden: Lava becomes a little tired and rests on a tree. At that moment, Lakṣmaṇa comes there seeking

¹⁴ “Naravāhanadatta”, the name of the central character in the *Bṛhatkathā*, means “[the son] given by Naravāhana (an epithet of Kubera)”. For the connection between the narrative tradition of the *Bṛhatkathā* and the cult of Kubera is discussed in Tsuchida 2017: 167–169.

¹⁵ The story in BhāgP 10,9–10 is a retelling of the episode told in HV 51.

someone suitable as a victim at the human sacrifice (*naramedha*-) to be held by his elder brother, Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa challenges Lava to a duel, and succeeds in binding this boy and then carrying him off to Ayodhyā. After hearing about this, Kuśa goes to Ayodhyā in order to rescue Lava, and he overpowers Rāma's armies and defeats even Lakṣmaṇa by means of divine weapons bestowed by Vālmīki. Finally, Kuśa fights against Rāma evenly (KSS 9,1.100cd–107ab). Thereafter Rāma asks for his identity, so the story continues to the concluding portion [G].

In this portion, the BKM (15,1.49cd) briefly mentions Rāma's "horse sacrifice" (*vājimedha*-), on the occasion of which the twin boys see Rāma and are introduced to him for the first time by Vālmīki. Thus, this passage simply follows the plot of the original Rm. Medieval retellings of the Rm, however, tend to describe fierce battles between the twins and Rāma's armies roughly as follows: Lava captures the horse released from the ritual place of Rāma's horse sacrifice and enters into combat with Rāma's armies. Lava defeats his opponents one after another, but Śatrughna, one of the younger brothers of Rāma, succeeds in defeating Lava. Then, Kuśa runs to the battlefield and rescues Lava, while overpowering all opponents.¹⁶

In general, the plot in the KSS is influenced by those in the medieval retellings of Rm as outlined above. But the KSS remarkably changes the "type of ritual" which Rāma celebrates: In the KSS, the "horse sacrifice" is replaced with the "human sacrifice". This new plot is obviously based upon the knowledge of kingship rituals ordained in the Vedas: According to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (ŚB) 13,5–7, for instance, the human sacrifice (*puruṣamedha*-) and the all sacrifice (*sarvamedha*-) are enlarged variants of the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*-), and they are all to be celebrated by highly puissant kings. They differ from each other mainly with regard to the principal victim (horse/man/all kinds of living things), the number of days for the Soma sacrifices (3 days/7 days/10 days), the size of the central fire altar, and the quantity of the sacrificial fee (*dakṣiṇā*-) given to the priests.¹⁷ Therefore, at least from the view-point of Vedic ritualism, the horse sacrifice is replaceable by the human sacrifice as seen in the KSS.

On the other hand, it seems very bizarre that Rāma, who has usually been considered a merciful ruler, wants to sacrifice a child. This idea is totally unique to the KSS, so we find that no other work telling the Rāma story, whether it precedes or follows the KSS, describes such horrible behaviour by Rāma. Perhaps this plot was invented to simplify the story before the encounter between Rāma and his sons. As seen in the outline given above, the plot comprising the scenes of capturing the horse

¹⁶ This type of plot is found in JA 29,62–32,7. In ĀnRm 5,7.47–123, Lakṣmaṇa defeats Lava and binds him, then Kuśa comes to the battlefield for rescuing of Lava. Cf. Smith 1999: 110–113. In addition, the ĀnRm (5,6.1–64) seems to have borrowed the motif of "Lava's plundering of flowers" from the episode in the KSS. But in the ĀnRm, Lava plunders flowers from Rāma's garden (not Kubera's).

¹⁷ ŚB 13,5.4.24 (*aśvamedha*); 13,6.2.1.8 (*puruṣamedha*); 13,7.1.13 (*sarvamedha*). For the procedure of each of rituals, see Hillebrandt 1897: 149–154.

as well as the large-scale battles, which many retellings of the Rm describe, is difficult to shorten in order to adjust to a small-scale Rāma story. By changing the type of ritual from the horse sacrifice to the human sacrifice, one can make a new story which introduces the encounter of Rāma and his sons more efficiently.

Though it is hard to attest to which phase this type of plot occurred in, I wonder whether it could be made in the narrative tradition of the *Brhatkathā* in Kashmir, because the motif, in which someone is captured as a victim for human sacrifice, also appears in the preceding part of KSS, 2,2.140–143.¹⁸ Perhaps this type of motif might have been preferred by medieval Kashmirian writers (or by Somadeva himself).

Final Remarks

Through an examination of respective portions of the tale of Rāma in the KSS, we have clarified some remarkable points in that version. Especially in portions [E] and [F], the KSS demonstrates its uniqueness: Portion [E] depicts some scenes emphasizing the “extraordinary power” of Lava and Kuśa, and narrates Lava’s plundering of flowers from Kubera’s garden; Portion [F] describes Lakṣmaṇa’s abduction of Lava for the “human sacrifice to be held by Rāma”. The contents of these portions are not shared with any other extant work.

Now we will consider the question of whether these portions could have also been in the lost *KBK or not. As a clue to ponder this matter, I would like to offer “Table 2”, in which some parallel passages between the KSS and BKM are juxtaposed (the underlined portions indicate words shared in both texts).

¹⁸ Cf. Winternitz 1922: 327–328. The origin of this motif could be found in the archaic legend of Śunaḥśepha (*Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* 7,13.1–18.9 and *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra* 15,17–27), in which a boy is captured as a victim for the *puruṣamedha*.

Table 2: Apparent parallels in KSS 9,1.59–112 to BKM 15,1.33–50

KSS	BKM
Portion [A]	
<u>rājño</u> <u>daśarathasyāsīd</u> <u>ayodhyādhīpateh</u> <u>sutah</u> <u>rāmo</u> <u>bharataśatrughnalakṣmaṇānām</u> <u>purāgrajaḥ</u> 59	<u>rājño</u> <u>daśarathasyāsīd</u> <u>ayodhyādhīpateh</u> <u>sutah</u> <u>rāmo</u> <u>guṇagaṇārāmo</u> <u>virāmo</u> <u>vairisampadām</u> 33
Portion [B]	
iti tadgr̥hiṇīm tām ca bruvatīm taṃ nijam patim rāmo rājā sa <u>śuśrāva</u> <u>khinnaś cābhyantaram</u> <u>yayau</u> 69 lokāpavādabhītaś ca sītām <u>tatyāja tām vane</u> sahate virahakleśam yaśasvī nāyaśaḥ punaḥ 70 sā ca <u>garbhālāsā</u> daivād <u>vālmīkeh prāpad</u> <u>āśramam</u>	mithyāpavādaṃ sītāyāḥ <u>śuśrāva</u> raghunandanah tadājñayā lakṣmaṇas <u>tām vane</u> <u>garbhābharālasām</u> <u>tatyāja</u> sāsrunayano vālmīker āśramāntike 43 : <u>vālmīker āśramam prāpya</u> sītāsūta sutadvayam 48
Portion [C]	
asty atra <u>tītibhasaro</u> nāma tīrthaṃ mahad vane <u>tītibhī</u> hi purā kāpi bhartrānyāsaṅgaśaṅkinā 78 mithyaiva dūṣitā <u>sādhvī</u> cakrandāśaraṇā bhuvam lokapālāmś ca tais tasyāḥ śuddhyartham tad vinirmitam 79	<u>tītibho</u> 'bdhitate jāyām dr̥ṣtvānyena samāgatām pratiśrayārthinā bhartṛdhiyā nirvyājamānasām 45 īrṣyāśaṅkākulasya tyaktum udyatas tām nabhastalāt śrutvā <u>sādhvī</u> ti vacanam śīre 'syāḥ pratyayam yayau 46
Portion [D]	
ity uktā tena <u>muninā</u> sītā lavakuśau sutau <u>tena</u> iva <u>kṛtaśaṃskārau</u> vardhayām āsa <u>tatra</u> <u>tau</u> 93	<u>tau tena muninā tatra</u> kṛtarājocitavratau savidyau yayatur vājimedhe rāmaṃ samāsthitaṃ 49

In this table, we can see the words which were likely taken from the *KBK as the common source for both retelling works, and recognise that they appear exclusively within portions [A] to [D]. Consequently, we may suppose that the *KBK comprised those portions in some form. And, of course, it is considered that the final portion [G] was likely also in the *KBK, though there are only a few words common between both retelling works.

On the other hand, we have no evidence which indicates that portions [E] and [F] existed in the *KBK. Furthermore, the contents of these portions have almost

nothing to do with the relationship between Rāma and Sītā. As previously mentioned, this tale of Rāma is told for the purpose of “encouraging” Naravāhanadatta and Alampkāravatī, who have to separate from each other for one night. Therefore, the essential matter is to narrate the happy reunion of Rāma and Sītā after their endurance during a long separation. In other words, portions [E] and [F] are not necessary for the original purpose to tell the tale of Rāma on that occasion.

All things considered, we may speculate that portions [E] and [F] were not comprised in the *KBK, and Somadeva inserted them into the second half of the tale of Rāma, if Kṣemendra, author of the BKM, did not dispose of both portions totally and replace them with the simple plot. In the case that portions [E] and [F] were inserted by Somadeva, he perhaps utilised some motifs or images regarding Lava and Kuśa which were known in medieval Kashmir. And it seems also conceivable that Somadeva added there some new element(s) which he created by himself.

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Sažetak

U Somadevinoj *Kathāsaritsāgari*, jednoj od prerada *Bṛhatkathae*, nalazi se kratka inačica priče o Rāmi koja uglavnom prati priču iz *Uttarakāṇḍe*, posljednje knjige *Rāmāyaṇe*. To ustvari nije jednostavna prerada, već jedinstvena adaptacija. Posebno je zanimljivo da se u njoj nalazi epizoda o Rāminim sinovima, Lavi i Kuśi, u kojoj nalazimo mnoge elemente svojstvene ovoj preradi. U ovom se radu raščlanjuje radnja „priče o Lavi i Kuśi“ u *Kathāsaritsāgari* i raznjašnjuju izvori nekih elemenata (ključne riječi/motivi) uspoređujući priču o Rāmi u *Kathāsaritsāgari* sa Kšemendrinom *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, drugoj preradi *Bṛhatkathae*. Tako ćemo razmotriti pitanje kakav je tip zapleta sadržan u izgubljenom djelu *Kašmirska *Bṛhatkathā*, na kojem se obje prerade temelje.

The structure of *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya Campū* by Tirumalāmbā¹

Abstract

The *campū* or the poem in verse and prose, entitled *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya* was composed by the Vijayanagara poetess Tirumalāmbā who lived in the 16th century and flourished at the court of Acyutadevarāya, a king of the Tuluva House. However, her piece, contrary to its title, is not entirely devoted to Varadāmbikā and Acyuta's love story and their subsequent marriage. Moreover, one can notice that the *campū* is formed by two main significantly different parts of similar length. The present paper is devoted to the analysis of their structure. The supposed reason that lies beneath such a construction of Tirumalāmbā's *campū* will be given.

Introduction

The *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya* or *The Marriage of Varadāmbikā* was written by Tirumalāmbā, the poetess at the court of Acyutadevarāya, a king of the Tuluva dynasty who ruled the Vijayanagara Empire. Tirumalāmbā most probably became one of his wives, if we agree that the Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi mentioned in the Srirangam inscription (EI 1942: 285–290) is the same person as our poetess. Varadāmbikā, the Salaga chief's daughter, was the senior queen of Acyuta, as we know. Acyuta's life (r. 1529–42) was a subject of works in Telugu and the *Acyutarāyābhudaya* written in Sanskrit by Rājanātha III Ḍiṇḍima is also devoted to him and his rule. The latter work is a *sargabandha mahākāvya* whereas we are concerned with the composition designed by its author as a *campū*. The research on *campūs* is not particularly advanced and even the theoreticians of Sanskrit literature of the past did not devote too much space to discussing the nature of this particular literary genre.

¹ The first version of this paper was presented during the *Pandit Subbarama Pattar Endowment National Conference on New Horizons of Indological Research* organized by the Sanskrit Literature Department of Sree Sankaracharya University of Sanskrit, Kalady in October 2021.

Definitions and internal structure of a *campū* according to the theoreticians of Sanskrit literature

Daṇḍin (7/8 c. CE) briefly introduces the *campū* genre, while mentioning mixed forms (*miśra*) such as types of Sanskrit drama:

gadyapadyamayī kācīc campūr ity abhidhīyate (KAd. 1.31b)

A certain [mixture of] prose and verse is called *campū*.²

Viśvanātha (14/15 c. CE) in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* repeats almost the same words:

gadyapadyamayam kāvyam campūr ity abhidhīyate || SD 6.336 ||

Also Vidyānātha (13/14 c. CE) in the *Pratāparudrīya* or *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa* emphasises that a poem which consists of prose and verses should be referred to as *campū* (*gadyapadyamayam kāvyam campūr ity abhidhīyate*). And he continues:

vaktram cāparavaktram ca socchvāsavam ca bhedakam || PR 2.73b ||

Its determinant is the presence of *ucchvāsa* subdivisions and *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* metres.

This brings to mind certain prescriptions of theoreticians of literature with regard to the *ākhyāyikā* genre that is a biography. In fact it was Bhoja (11c. CE) who first stated that *campū* is like *ākhyāyikā*:

*yākyāyikaiva sāṅkā socchvāsa divyapadyagadyamayī
sā damayanīvāsavadattādir ihocyate campūḥ* || ŚrPr 11.344a ||

This [composition] concerning Damayantī, Vāsavadattā, etc., which consisting of charming prose and verse, like *ākhyāyikā* has *aṅkas* and *ucchvāsas*, is called *campū*.

V. Raghavan in his monumental work devoted to Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* noticed: "What this *Aṅka* is, is not known. Bhoja's definition of *Ākhyāyikā* does not mention any *Aṅka*" (Raghavan 1963: 605).

After the 10th century, *campū*, as A.K. Warder explains, "to some extent replaced the biography" (Warder 1989: 185–6), even if not all *campūs* can be described as biographies. In fact, the contents of the *campū* can really be extremely varied. Warder sees an affinity between the two literary genres, *campū* and *ākhyāyikā*, also in the fact that they were both most probably presented before an audience. Therefore, if we are considering the internal structure of the *ākhyāyikā*, it is possible to assume that the presence of the chapters called *ucchvāsas* ("breathing out") is connected with the oral transmission of epic poems in the past. Such a huge story had to be divided into parts in order to give the audience, as well as the reciter, a chance to breathe. While discussing the structure of Sanskrit *mahākāvyas* in prose (*kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*) and verse (*sar-*

² Unless otherwise stated, all the translations are mine.

gabandha), my article “*Ucchvāsa, sarga and lambha: Text divisions in Sanskrit poems (mahākāvyas)*” (Sudyka 2011) mentions an interesting passage in the *Kāmasūtra* where the *ākhyāyikā* is spoken of as if it actually were a kind of dramatic performance. One can find it among the 64 *kalās*, i.e. arts and skills: ...*nāṭakākhyāyikādarśanam*... (KS 1.3). The *campū* also relates the life of a hero or heroine and it is possible to indicate a pair: *campū* and its performance, namely *cākkīyar kūttu* or *prabandham kūttu* in Kerala – public recitation, or rather a dramatic monologue delivered by an actor narrating the story with the appropriate intonation, expressions and gestures. A. K. Warder wrote in the first volume of his monumental *Indian Kāvya Literature*: “In Kerala, where the Indian tradition survives in its purest form, *campūs* are performed in theatres by actors” (Warder 1989: 186). If so, the term *aṅka* used by Bhoja could in fact be understood as a scene or act, just as in the case of drama.

However, the *ucchvāsa* division is not the only one to be found in the *campū* texts. There are *campūs* divided into *stabakas*, literally “bunches of flowers”, *āśvāsas* which is synonymous to *ucchvāsa*. There are works with chapters called *vilāsa* or *ullāsa* meaning “shinning, flash”. Bhoja’s *Campūrāmayāṇa* is divided by *kāṇḍas* just like *Ramāyaṇa*. In this case, the use of this and not another term must be due to the emphasis on the belonging of this particular work to the *Ramāyaṇa* tradition. Nonetheless, other authors also use this division of the text. Ahobala (15 c. CE?), for instance, divided his *Virūpākṣavasantotsavacampū* into two *kāṇḍas*.³ But the possibilities do not end here: the term *taraṅga* or *kallola* appears if the authors decide to include the word “river” or “ocean” in the title. Even the term *sarga*, seemingly reserved for *padyamahākāvya*, is used by some *campū* authors. What brings us closer to the main subject of the present paper is another possible division of a *campū* text into *varṇyas* or “to be described”, “what is worth describing”. Marie-Claude Porcher has proposed “celebration” as the rendition of this term in her French translation of the *Viśvagunādarśacampū* of Veṅkatādhvarin (Porcher 1972).

The *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya*, which is the text we are going to deal with here, makes use of still another possibility. Although it is quite long, it is not divided into chapters at all, but the thematic wholes within it are clearly visible. It is not a unique creative practice, because other *campū* authors also did the same thing. Suffice it to mention *Colacampū* by Virūpākṣa edited by V. Raghavan (Raghavan: 1952). Tirumalāmbā constructs her work through descriptions. These will be descriptions of places, people, their activities and feelings as well as different events.

The descriptions in the *mahākāvyas*

It is a well-known fact that, according to the theoreticians of Sanskrit literature, the descriptions were essential in the case of each and every *sargabandha mahākāvya*.

³ More about *Virūpākṣavasantotsavacampū* in Sudyka 2019.

It must definitely have been a vital feature for this genre. Suffice it to mention the long list of items that should be described as Daṇḍin indicates in his *Kāvyaḍarśa*:

[...] *mahākāvya* [...] || 14 ||
nagarārṇavaśailartucandrārṇakodayavarṇanaiḥ |
udyānasalilakṛīḍāmadhupānaratotsavaiḥ || 16 ||
vipralambhair vivāhaiś ca kumārodavavarṇanaiḥ |
mantradūtaprayāṇājīnāyākābhyaḍayair api || 17 ||
alamkāram [...] || 18 || (KAd.1.)

[...] the *mahākāvya* [...] is ornamented with descriptions of: a city, the ocean, a mountain, seasons, moonrise, sunrise; play in a garden, play in water, drinking wine, the delights of love-making; separations of lovers and weddings, the birth / the growing up of sons; and also a council, [the dispatch of] an envoy, a march [of an army], a battle, the triumph of the hero (...).⁴

One can immediately notice that Daṇḍin speaks about the descriptions of the setting of events and the events themselves. The described situations can be divided into two groups: themes connected with love and, to use Indira Viswanathan Peterson's words, those connected with the "activities of heroes in kingship and war" (Peterson 1989: 288). Of course, this particular characteristic is also valid in the case of *gadya* or prose poems and *campū kāvyas*, even if theoreticians of literature are silent about it, because of the conceptual priority and domination of *sargabandha mahākāvya* in theoretical reflections. However, what is worth noticing is that the term *campū* "had ceased to be a simple, descriptive term for poetry in prose and verse. Instead it was largely reserved for prosimetric poetry on the *mahākāvya* scale, such as the King Bhoja's *Rāmāyaṇacampū*" (Jones 2018: 103). This status, in turn, offers the possibility and even the obligation to comply with certain recommendations specific for *mahākāvyas*.

The case of *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya*

The specificity of the descriptions contained in the *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya*, or better to say their particular arrangement, is connected with the clear division of the composition into two parts, not formally indicated by the authoress. The first part has its own hero, let us be precise, this is the war hero Narasiṃha, Acyuta's father. The second part which is almost the same length presents a romantic hero, that is Acyuta himself. The link between them is a comparatively short mention of Narasiṃha's marriage to Ombamāmbā, a longer description of Acyuta's birth, and then finally Acyuta takes centre stage in the story.

In this first part there is an extensive and very sophisticated description of Narasiṃha in prose and verse, which often develops interestingly through the series of *śleṣas*⁵ and

⁴ Trans. in Trynkowska 2000: 40.

⁵ More about *śleṣa* in Bronner 2010 and 2013.

shows him as a brave warrior and good king. To quote the subordinate clause, which is in fact one long compound forming a part of very long prose sentence:⁶

[...] *bhayamkara-bhujadaṇḍa-pracaṇḍa-maṇḍalāgra-kunḍalivarākhaṇḍa-
śaunḍīrya-bahirakuṇṭhitājñācakra-pari-maṇḍala-pālita-vidhyaṇḍa-bhāṇḍa-
sambhāṇḍita-pāṇḍura-kīrti-pūra-sudhāsāraḥ*.

[He shone], the one whose fame spilled a white stream of nectar collected in a vessel of universe, protected by a circle of his authority stretching beyond his kingdom, like two proudly intertwining magnificent snakes of great rounded swords in his mighty arms that arouse fear.

Then his conquest march is described. We see the lands and regions through which the ruler is marching with his armies: the Tundira country is described, the Cola country, a single verse introduces a long prose depiction of the Kaveri river. Then the warriors are presented and the battle itself. The long passages are devoted to describing different war-drums and the column of dust raised by the two armies. Of course, the battle is also portrayed and the final victory of Narasiṃha over the Cola king, after which Narasiṃha proceeds to worship Rāmeśvara. This is the right moment for the description of the sea. The sea is presented as a mighty, awe-inspiring and fearful entity. It can be said that the mighty lord of the rivers, namely the ocean, and the lord of the earth – the victorious Narasiṃha stood before each other as equals. They both evoke the utmost respect and admiration. Narasiṃha's western and northern campaigns are mentioned and his return to his capital, called here Vidyāpurī, followed by a brief description of the city. There, in Vidyāpurī, he learns from the family priest about a certain girl and after ensuring that she is a suitable candidate to be a king's wife, he marries her. Feelings are not mentioned, the bride is briefly introduced as being blessed with many virtues, that is the qualities of her character and looks. This is of course Ombamāmbā, Acyuta's future mother.

Once again if we refer to what we know about the *sargabandha mahākavyās*, what is most noticeable is that in this first part of the *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya* there are almost no discursive fragments. A certain balance between the discursive and descriptive passages was usually kept by the authors of the *sargabandhas*. In this connection it is worth remembering Louis Renou's analysis of the two styles (descriptive and discursive) in the *Kirātārjunīya*, as given in his article "Sur la structure du kāvya" published in *Journal Asiatique* 247 (1959). The five-component political-military sequence, for instance is usually developed in the *sargabandhas* by long descriptive and discursive sections. Its *mantra* or counsel component provides a good occasion for monologues and dialogues and powerful speeches. Here Narasiṃha delivers only three very short sentences: to the spy, to his minister and to the aforementioned priest who told him about a girl that was suitable for him. The authoress

⁶ In the edition by Suryakanta, the whole sentence is 43 lines long. VPC, in Lakshman Sarup's opinion (Sarup 1960: 31–31), repeated by Suryakanta (Suryakanta 1970: XXV), contains the longest compound word to be found in Sanskrit literature.

devotes a lot of space to outlining the background against which the main character, King Narasiṃha, will move, striving for a victory that will ensure the stability and prosperity of the kingdom.

In such a prosperous kingdom Acyuta, his heir, is born. From the very moment of the description of Acyuta's birth, the way the new protagonist is depicted moves into the world of emotions. All the subjects of Narasiṃha rejoice and celebrate the birth of a crown prince, not to mention the King's great joy and satisfaction. Young Acyuta is described in the convention of the *nakhaśikhavarṇana* but the description pays great attention to the smallest details, which emphasize the magnificence of Acyuta's youthful beauty, evoking veneration and love. Lakshman Sarup presented the translation of this passage at Moriz Winternitz's Festschrift as a very rare specimen of a description of man's physicality by a woman (Sarup: 1933). The poetess also discusses his equally adorable character as well as his education. The image of Acyuta on horseback created by Tirumalāmbā, shows him as an excellent rider. As far the descriptions of the King's magnificent stallion and his riding on horseback are concerned, there are some affinities with earlier authors. In this connection *Madhurāvijaya* by Gaṅgādevī, another Vijayanagara poetess⁷ can be mentioned, Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhīyacarita* (NaiC 1. 57–73) and a depiction of Candrāpiḍa's horse and his horse-riding in *Kādambarī* by Bāṇa (Kād. 2009: 354–373). In Tirumalāmbā's *campū*, the main goal of the authoress is to show Acyuta's equestrian talents and also to highlight his predisposition to rule the country. The King participates in a horse-race, impressing his vassal princes as a skillful rider, and on this occasion he takes the opportunity to inspect their military abilities, even though they are not aware of the fact. Then the song of the bards who address the young ruler with words of admiration adds even more splendour to this kingly figure. Since the hero of the romantic story has already been introduced, a suitable background must be set for a love adventure that will end in a wedding. And that is exactly what Tirumalāmbā does. Acyuta goes to the garden, which displays its charms before the eyes of the young king and ours. The description is saturated with *śṛṅgārarasa*. The creepers are compared to dancing girls performing the *hallīśaka* dance. Their buds-breasts are enshrouded by pollen-bodices. The creepers sing numerous songs with the voices of cuckoos and other birds. The lines of hovering bees are juxtaposed with the dancers' glances moving to and fro. The twigs-arms are lifted up and they are covered with honey-perspiration. Such a tone foreshadows what will happen – love at first sight between two young people. Acyuta strolls in the garden and sees Varadāmbikā for the first time in the nearby temple and falls in love with her. He suffers when he is separated from the object of his infatuation. He remembers her beauty, which he describes in the lengthy monologue. Varadāmbikā too is in love and she soon learns that her two brothers have agreed to give her hand in marriage to Acyuta. The wedding ceremony is then described. Conjugal love also

⁷ More about Gaṅgādevī as well as the description of Kampana's steed in Sudyka 2013a.

needs the right scenery to show its flowering. Tirumalāmbā describes the arrival of spring, the garden and walks around it picking flowers, the noon of day, playing in the water, the sunset and finally mentions the married couple's love making. Soon we learn that the Queen is pregnant and about the birth of Acyuta's son. The story may now be over as the succession and continuity of the dynasty seems to be secured, especially after anointment of a young boy as Acyuta's heir-apparent, which is also briefly mentioned. After bestowing a final benediction on the royal family the poetess introduces herself. It is the usual practice of Sanskrit poets to add such a *kavipraśasti* or *kaviparicaya*, i.e. biographical verses to their longer compositions.

Let us emphasize again: the VPC consists of two parts with different heroes who operate in two different spheres: one is a war hero, the other is a romantic lover. Therefore, the descriptions in both parts differ in terms of the topics and the emotions they arouse, but this is not the only difference. It should be added that the second part contains quite a lot of discursive fragments: both dialogues and monologues.

The authoress gives voice to Acyuta and members of his court whereas Narasiṃha and his entourage are not given such a chance. We hear the conversation between Acyuta and his jester, then the King overhears the conversations of Varadāmbikā's companions and later on, as he longs to see the beautiful stranger again, he pours out his thoughts, praising her beauty in a long monologue. There is also a report from the jester who has located the whereabouts of the young woman, followed by a monologue spoken by Varadāmbikā, who is also suffering from love. The gardeners speak to the King inviting him to come to the garden and see its vernal beauty. This is where the conversation of royal ladies picking flowers takes place. We can again point to Gaṅgādevī's literary legacy as offering a certain parallel to this conversation (Sudyka 2013a: 52–53). The conversation is very polite and elegant, although mockery may be concealed in some of the women's utterances, as in the sentence:

“*ayi priyatamāli! tamālipallavam api na kimu pradhāryate hṛdayāya te⁸ kimu kuśalaṃ kapolakuṅkumatamālapatram iti*” (VPC prose before v.139)

Oh, dearest friend! Why don't you like even the leaf of *tamāla*? Is it because of patterns (*tamāla-pattra*⁹) made with saffron on your cheeks, which are intact?

The concern expressed by one of the wives or concubines may be fake and conceals mockery: “The king did not spend the night with you, because your makeup is intact.”

⁸ I take the proposal of the editor and translator of the *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya* to emend *hṛdyāryate* to *hṛdayāya*. As he explains in footnote 954: “The root *pra+√dhṛ* governs the locative or dative of the person or thing upon which attention or mind is fixed” (Suryakanta 1970: 226).

⁹ According to the Monier Monier-Williams dictionary *tamāla-pattra* means “a sectarian mark on the forehead”. However, what is meant here is an element of a woman's makeup, namely a pattern adorning her cheek.

Conclusion

This work in verse and prose is made up of two differently constructed parts, with two different heroes, who are neither formally separated nor named with any of the above-mentioned terms. The work is known under the title *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya* but only the second part revolves around the *pariṇaya* or the wedding theme. Alongside the Sanskrit title, the editor of Tirumalāmbā's *campū*, Lakshman Sarup used its equivalent rendered in English as Romance of the Wedding of Princess *Varadāmbikā*. There can be no doubts that such a title suits the content of the second part only.

On the basis of the structure of Tirumalāmbā's work, it can be hypothesized that the *campū* known as *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya* was originally limited to the theme corresponding to its title and exclusively told the love story of a princely couple. The date of composition of the work would therefore be in the years when Acyuta was not yet king, but only one among the sons of Narasiṃha Tuluva. The first part dedicated to Narasiṃha, on the other hand, would be a later addition written in order to legitimize Acyuta's rule. From the very beginning, Acyuta's entire reign was marked by revolts and fights with rebels (Sudyka 2013b). To confirm such a supposition, it would be necessary to confront the hypothesis with all the pieces of information concerning the Tuluva dynasty, such as those coming from inscriptions and other sources, including literary ones, for instance the already mentioned *Acyutarāyābhudaya* of Rājanātha III Ḍiṇḍima. This task is the subject of my further research.

Abbreviations

EI = *Epigraphia Indica*

Kād. = *Kādambarī*

KAd = *Kāvyādarśa*

KS = *Kāmasūtra*

NaiC = *Naiṣadhīyacarita*

PR = *Pratāparudrīya*

SD = *Sāhityadarpaṇa*

ŚrPr = *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*

VPC = *Varadāmbikāpariṇayacampū*

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Sažetak

Campū ili pjesmu u stihovima i prozi, pod nazivom *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya*, napisala je vijayanagarska pjesnikinja Tirumalāmbā koja je živjela u 16. stoljeću i djelovala na dvoru Acyutadevarāye, kralja iz dinastije Tuluva. Međutim, njezino djelo, suprotno naslovu, nije u potpunosti posvećeno Varadāmbikinoj i Acyutinoj ljubavnoj priči i njihovu kasnijem braku. Štoviše, može se primijetiti da campū čine dva glavna značajno različita dijela slične duljine. Ovaj rad posvećen je analizi njihove strukture. Bit će također naveden navodni razlog koji leži ispod takve konstrukcije Tirumalāmbima campūa.

Debatable devotion: Candrāvati's *Rāmāyaṇa*

Abstract

In her version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the 16th century Bengali woman poet Candrāvati retells the long Rāma tale in less than 700 couplets arranged over three sections, with one section telling the story from Sītā's point of view in her own voice. While Candrāvati follows the conventional plot line of Rāma's legend, her subject is not Rāma's heroism as in the poems of her predecessors such as Tulsīdās and Krittībās. Her focus is rather on Sītā's suffering, especially at Rāma's hand. Her undeserved pain under male domination is viewed in the poem as the universal fate of women, with no relief coming even from a divine saviour. While Candrāvati accepts Rāma as God incarnate, she portrays him as a mere man only too vulnerable to human failings, rash in judgment and tyrannical in action. Though she never complains of his cruelty, can the reader's faith in divine justice remain unshaken? Candrāvati's poem implies that Sītā's fate strains the doctrine that God loves humankind and that the grand design of creation eventually leads to bliss, no matter how painful the present may be. Thereby she puts to question the devotional message of the Rāma legend, namely, faith in a loving and all-powerful divinity. In undercutting that faith, Candrāvati's *Rāmāyaṇa* stands out as a departure from the dominant literary ethos of medieval Bengal founded on *bhakti*.

The late 16th century Bengali woman poet Candrāvati's *Rāmāyaṇa* is one of the many Rāmakathās that have circulated in India and its contiguous lands through the past two millennia.¹ While it follows the conventional plot line of Rāma's legend, that is, his disinheritance and exile, Sītā's abduction by Rāvaṇa, her rescue by Rāma, her subsequent banishment on suspicion of her chastity, and her self-chosen death, Candrāvati's poem is not a paean to Rāma either as man or god. Unlike her great predecessors Krittībās and Tulsīdās, Candrāvati makes Sītā's suffering her subject and portrays Rāma as a man only too fallible in his pride and jealousy, rash in his judgment, and tyrannical in

¹ See Richman 1991 and Thiel-Horstmann 1991. For surveys of the Rāma legend outside India, see Raghavan 1980.

his action. Surprisingly in the context of Bengali literary history, the poem thus stands out as a statement against the dominant literary ethos of medieval Bengal which was founded on *bhakti* variously of the *vaiṣṇava*, *śākta* or *śaiva* persuasion.

Candrāvātī's *Rāmāyaṇa* originated in the Maimansingha region of Bangladesh and it is from there that the text has been compiled over time. Firmly entrenched in the rural public culture of eastern Bengal from the time of its composition, Candrāvātī's *oeuvre*, comprising this and two other narrative poems attributed to her, survived principally in the oral tradition of singers and story-tellers, backed by manuscript fragments in their private collections. It became available in print only in the 1920s as a result of research efforts by antiquarians and folklorists of Bengal to gather manuscripts from rural caches. The first published version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* appeared as a mere fragment in Dineshchandra Sen's collection, *Pūrvabaṅga Gītikā*, later reprinted in an anthology of folk ballads from Maimansingha under the title *Maimansimha Gītikā* edited by Sukhamay Mukhopadhyaya.² In the early 1970s, Kshitishchandra Moulik brought out a much fuller text of Candrāvātī's *Rāmāyaṇa* in *Prācīna Pūrvabaṅga Gītikā*, his seven volume collection of verse tales from eastern Bengal;³ the Bengali passages quoted in the present study are from this text, cited as Moulik, followed by the text's page numbers and verse numbers I have assigned to them. The first translated version in English prose is mine jointly with Sarika P. Bose and appeared in 2013.⁴ All English passages quoted here are from this text, cited as CR, by page number and *range of verse numbers*. A verse translation by the poet and Candrāvātī scholar Nabaneeta Dev Sen was posthumously published in 2020.⁵ A partial manuscript is held in Calcutta University's Bengali manuscript collection.

Consisting of less than 700 rhymed couplets in three sections, one of which is entirely in Sītā's own voice, the poem as it appears in Moulik's edition is by no means an overt complaint against Rāma. Rather, Sītā's suffering is traced to destiny, which is, however, placed in parallel to the common fate of womankind in general ordained by Vidhātā, Lord of Fate. But the iteration of patient resignation is in itself an accusatory gesture as it locks Sītā's destiny to Rāma's passion-filled jealousy. Further, the poem includes not the least hint that such a destiny is anything but eternal, or that it is merely an illusion of present suffering that will be reversed sometime in the future. Thus the poem undercuts the ideology of *bhakti* by denying any conceivable hope for a blissful union with the divine being in whose service the devotee bears suffering willingly.

In the ideology of devotion, the devotee's compliance with his or her suffering is often made palatable by the revelation that there is actually no suffering, that it is a mere illusion. This stratagem has been particularly popular with narrators of the

² Sen 1926; Mukhopadhyaya 1970.

³ *Candrāvātī Biracita Rāmāyaṇa*, in *Prācīna Pūrvabaṅga Gītikā*, 1975(7): 277–347.

⁴ Bose & Bose 2013.

⁵ Sen 2020.

Rāma legend in grappling with Rāma's treatment of Sītā. It has been seen as so unbearably harsh that constant attempts have been made to explain it away either as a matter of necessary sacrifice, or of divine *māyā*. Tulsīdās's invention of an illusory Sītā ("Aranyakāṇḍa", *dohā* 23, *caupāi* 1–2, p. 486; "Laṅkākāṇḍa", *dohā* 107, *caupāi* 7, pp. 665–666; *dohā* 108, *chanda* 1–2, pp. 666–667) falls into the second group, which absolves Rāma of the charge of injustice and which Tulsīdās re-uses in the "Lavakuṣākāṇḍa" (*dohā* 12, *caupāi* 2–3, p. 800) again to reassure readers that the real Sītā has been safely sent to heaven by Rāma and it is only her illusory form that is now banished by Rāma.⁶

This escape route is not taken by Candrāvātī. She offers no apology for Rāma's heartless act but does explain it by tracing it to the uncontrollable jealousy into which he is led by his evil sister Kukuyā. This woman at whose birth "āsmāner suryathākur go, mukha lukāilo" (Moulik 1975[7]: 306, verse 246a; "the sun hid his face", *CR* p. 63, verses 228–249), maneuvers Sītā into drawing a picture of Rāvaṇa and places it on her breast when she falls asleep so that when Rāma is brought into the room he finds "*Sītā nidrā jāy go Rāvaṇa bakkhe laiṇā*" (Moulik 1975[7]: 327, verse 453b; "Sītā . . . sleeps holding Rāvaṇa on her breast", *CR*, p. 79, verses 440–462).⁷ His rage knows no bounds:

raktajabā āṅkhi rāmera go śire rakta uṭhe |
nāsikāy agniśvās go brahmarandhra phuṭe ||
 (Moulik 1975[7]: 328, verse 459)

His eyes turned red, blood mounted to his head, as if it would burst, and his nostrils breathed fire.

(*CR*, p. 79, verses 440–462)

This fire that Kukuyā lights, Candrāvātī tells us, will consume not just Sītā but Rāma as well, and with him all of Ayodhyā, Rāma's perfect kingdom. Summing up with the aphorism that to trust to another's counsel is to bring ruin upon oneself, Candrāvātī delivers her judgment: "Candrāvātī kahe, Rāma go, tomar buddhi haila nās" (Moulik, 1975[7]: 328, verse 462b; "O Rāma, you have lost your senses", *CR*, p. 80, verses 440–462) and bewails Sītā's undeserved fate:

nā uiṭha nā uiṭha go tapan, tumi meghe lukāo mukh |
janam dukhinī Sītār nā dekhio dukh ||

ākāśer pavana deva go, tumi nā bahio ār |
kemane sahibā pavana go, eman nirduṣṭir duḥkhabhār ||
 (Moulik 1975[7]: 328, verses 464–465)

⁶ Textual citations are from *Śrīrāmācaritamānasa*, ed. and transl. R. C. Prasad, 2nd ed. (Delhi: MLBD, 1990), numbered by *dohā*, *caupāi* and *chanda* as well as page number.

⁷ The story appears in slightly different forms in several *Rāmāyaṇas*. The plot is initiated by Rāma's stepmother Kaikeyī in the 15th century *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*, by his sister Śāntā in the *Savarcas Rāmāyaṇa*, and by his sister-in-law Kikewi Dewi in the Malay *Hikayat Seri Rāmāyaṇa*.

Do not rise, O Sun, hide your face in the clouds. Do not witness the anguish of Sītā, she who was born to suffer. O god of winds, cease to blow, for how would you bear the affliction of so blameless a person, Pavana?

(CR, p. 80, verses 463–467)

One of the ironies of Candrāvati's poem is that its initial jubilation at the birth of Rāma as Viṣṇu incarnate gives way to disappointment if not despair at his fallible humanity, as she goes deeper into Sītā's story: in place of the conventional justification of Rāma in the major *Rāmāyaṇas*, we find disappointment at his heedless folly in the poem's penultimate verse:

duṣṭa loker kathā śuinā go ki kām karilā |
janmer matan Rāma go Sītāre hārāilā ||

(Moulik 1975[7]: verse 676)

What have you done by listening to the gossip of evil folk! You have lost Sītā forever from your life.

(CR, p. 89, verses 629–676)

But amazingly, that is the extent of assigning guilt directly to Rāma. Through the repeated lament over Sītā's tragic life, the overt cause of her suffering is nothing but fate. Sītā prefaces the overview of her life for her companions in Part 2 with the lament:

āmār bhāgyer kathā go, ki kaiba kāhinī |
vidhātā sṛjila more go, janamaduhkhinī ||

(Moulik 1975[7]: 307, verse 255)

What tales can I tell about my fateful life? Vidhātā made me a born victim.

(CR, p. 68, verses 250–270)

This becomes the refrain of her recapitulation, with its attendant fatalism. On being banished, she says to Lakṣmaṇa, “kāro kono doṣ nāi go, āmār bhāgya se falila” (Moulik 1975[7]: 334, verse 531; “none is to blame but the workings of my fate”, CR, p. 83, verses 526–541), and again, “bidhātār bidhān āmi go, mātāhā pāitā niba” (Moulik 1975[7]: 335, v. 534; “I take with bowed head what God has ruled” CR, p. 83, verses 526–541). At the end, Sītā and her chronicler come together in their understanding of the world:

Candrāvati kāindya kay go kāhāro doṣ nāi |
karmaphal sukh duḥkha go dātā vidhātā gosāñ ||

(Moulik 1975[7]: verse 677)

Weeping, Candrāvati laments: “None is at fault, for joy and pain and the fruits of one's deeds are in the hands of the god of fate.”

(CR, p. 89, verses 629–677)

This insistent withholding of blame in the face of a justifiable condemnation of Rāma's unjust jealousy suggests a residual adherence to the tradition of reverence

for Rāma as god, coupled with the equally powerful tradition of devotionism in eastern India. This double influence can be traced as much to Kṛittibās's *Rāmāyaṇas* as to the long established spirit of devotionism in *vaiṣṇava* poetry, especially in the poetry of Vidyāpati (14th c.) and to its most charismatic propagator, Śrī Caitan-yadeva. Candrāvati's poem does not belong to the *padāvalī* tradition but to the medi-eval Bengali tradition of folk narratives represented by *gāthās*, *pālās* and *gītikās*. But while it is cast as a popular tale, its content aligns it with the far larger world and the deeper ethical concerns of the epic tradition. We might bear in mind that Kṛittibās's *Rāmāyaṇa* is similarly composed in the form of a folk narrative. Despite its folkloric form, then, Candrāvati's poem promises to pursue the common view of the Rāma tale as the victory of good over evil brought about by Viṣṇu incarnate.

This may explain why Candrāvati refrains from explicitly accusing Rāma. But on the other hand she also refrains from conceding, as Kṛittibās and Tulsīdās do, that Rāma who is Viṣṇu personified must be beyond human judgment. Her poem therefore proceeds on two contradictory ideological lines. One moves along the apparent *bhakti* vector where no open criticism of Rāma is voiced and Sītā submits to his judgment without uttering any complaint against him. Noticeable here is the contrast with Vālmīki's and Kṛittibās's heroine who chides Rāma for acting like a lowborn ("*itara*") man even as she declares her undying love and devotion to him. Candrāvati's Sītā fits the common popular image of an infinitely submissive wife. Ironically, it is this stance of submission that lays down the story's other line of development, namely, the undermining of faith by drawing attention to Candrāvati's virtuous resignation so insistently that placed against it Rāma's tyranny shows in the darkest relief. As a result we are never sure whether we are expected to adore or condemn Rāma.

In doing so the poem at once accepts and denies its cultural context. Although it is situated at a distance from the exclusively *bhakti* texts of its time, it nonetheless shows complete awareness of the idea of the divinity of its principals. Like other Rāma tales, this too calls Rāma and his brothers a four-fold incarnation of Viṣṇu (Moulik 1975[7]: 298–305; *CR* pp. 61–63) and identifies Sītā as Lakṣmī (Moulik 1975[7]: 295–298; *CR* pp. 59–60). The poem's link with *vaiṣṇava* rhetoric is evident in Part 3, which offers an extended scene of the happy couple. Rāma and Sītā are not actually called Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī but they are so persistently compared to divine couples that it is hard not to see them as incarnations. We do not know how well-versed Candrāvati was in *vaiṣṇava* poetry, but exactly the same kind of parallel between earthly and heavenly rulers is a common poetic strategy in Vidyāpati's *padāvalī*. In that poem, especially in the sections describing Rādhā's coming of age (verses 9, 17, 19, 23) and the separation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (verses 70, 72, 80),⁸ the imagined love connection between the divine lovers is reflected in the earthly

⁸ References are to *Vidyāpati Padāvalī*, ed. Nagendranath Gupta, vol. 2 (Calcutta: Basu-mati Sahitya Mandir, [Baṅgābda 1342] 1935).

love observed between Vidyāpati's patron King Śivasimha and his Queen Lakhimā (or Laccimā).

One might expect from Candrāvati an attitude of self-erasing devotion, not only because she lived in an age of *bhakti* but particularly because of what we know of her life from an account left by the poet Nayāncānd Ghōṣa, written sometime in the 17th century. His poem tells of Candrāvati's love for young Jayacandra who deserts her on the eve of their wedding to marry a Muslim girl. To relieve Candrāvati's grief, her father Dvija Vaṃśīdāsa, himself the renowned author of a *Manasāmaṅgala*, advises her to worship Śiva and to compose her own *Rāmāyaṇa*. She turns away the remorseful Jayānanda when he returns to her, forbidding him, now a Muslim, to enter and pollute the temple where she worships Śiva. Heartbroken, Jayānanda throws himself into the river and drowns.

While the authenticity of this account cannot be verified, its burden of betrayal and loss is close enough to the tenor of Candrāvati's *Rāmāyaṇa* to lend it some credibility. The overwhelming emphasis of the poem is on Sītā's anguish, and that is how the poem has been understood within the cultural region in which Candrāvati's poem was located, by traditional folk performers,⁹ singers and scroll painters, who have till recent times sung it to rural audiences, sometimes underlining the pathos by means of showing *patacitras* or scrolls depicting Sītā's suffering. It is also worth noting that the two other narrative poems attributed to Candrāvati are both built on the theme of an innocent woman's betrayal at the hands of her putative protectors. The biographical parallel, then, may not be unsound. If we accept it then we have an explanation of the ambiguity at the centre of her *Rāmāyaṇa*. On the one hand, as a Śiva *bhakta* she is not likely to be a disbeliever, nor reject the ideal of devotion. On the other, her experience cannot help but compel her to ponder the ruin of her life through no fault of hers.

Candrāvati's *Rāmāyaṇa* thus hinges upon the theme of undeserved suffering, setting aside the twin enterprises of war and honour in favour of focusing upon the life of the weak on earth. Instead of glorifying battles the poem mourns the victims. So complete is the concern for victims that the poem thrusts into the background even the ethical necessity that is understood in the major *Rāmāyaṇas* as the motive force of the story, that is, the need to rid the world of Rāvaṇa—at the cost though it may be of innocent bystanders such as the women of Laṅkā. And Sītā. The demon king's defeat and slaying are briefly reported by Sītā, who voices no delight, no relief at the destruction of her tormentor, lamenting on the contrary the devastation of his kingdom and the extinction of his line. The entire matter of punishing the evil-doer is rapidly passed over in less than ten lines, giving way to an idyllic section describing Sītā's brief sojourn in Rāma's palace, with which Part 3 opens. But this episode, even as it unfolds, presages Sītā's banishment, again through no fault of hers. The question that this narrative plan thus forces upon the reader is whether

⁹ Moulik cites local tradition as support for Nayāncānd's account (Moulik, 1975[7]: 279).

bhakti can survive in the face of unrelieved and undeserved suffering. Troubling enough on the social plane, in the spiritual context the question can annihilate faith altogether when the perpetrator of injustice is God himself.

This corrosive doubt is further sharpened by the gender issue in the poem. The principal victim of the male ego is of course Sītā, first as the object of Ravana's lust and then of Rāma's proprietary claim. But there are other victims, including Mandodarī and even Mantharā and Kukuyā, all of whom are driven by the need to gain what they desire that only a man can give them. Mandodarī is driven to a suicide attempt by her need to survive as Rāvana's queen because he spends all his time with other women (Moulik 1975[7]: 288–289, verses 73–79; *CR*, pp. 56–57, verses 69–80). Survival trumps moral impulses for most women in that world, Sītā excepted. In a telling ethical gesture Candrāvatī creates in her poem a veritable legend of bad women in the related stories of Mantharā and Kukuyā. True, both are evil, motivated by malice and self-love. But what makes them evil? Mantharā's tricks to ensure Kaikeyī's ascendancy, which lead to Kukuyā's birth and Rāma's exile, are defensive moves against losing power within a royal household entirely dependent upon one man's—King Daśaratha's—will. These are thus ultimately consequences of women's total dependence on male patronage. Without male approval women are nothing. That is what Mandodarī comes to believe. Tragically, that is what Sītā believes as well even though she is entirely secure in her own virtue, for she tells Rāma, "*janam duḥkḥini bāñcā ache go tomār mukha cāi*" (Moulik 1975[7]: 345, verse 651b; "Born to suffer, this woman lives only for you", *CR*, p. 88, verses 629–677). One might question this view of female dependency by pointing at Kukuyā whose malice is her own. Yet her plot too is a demonstration, albeit a negative one, of men determining women's lives. Is it not the urge to satisfy the male ego that in this instance corrupts female nature? If it was not for Rāma's demand for both the reality and the appearance of Sītā's sexual purity, would her life be doomed? Let us not forget that behind these principals of the story, there are those millions of women of Lañkā who mourn their husbands and sons, whose loss has made them curse Sītā because their lives are now worthless (Moulik 1975[7]: 334, verses 529–530; *CR*, p. 83, verses 526–541). Even deeper in the background lies Candrāvatī's own life, laid waste by the betrayal of a man. Across the centuries, Jane Austen would have captured with immediate comprehension the fact of these women's dependency as their common condition.

Set against this predetermined dependency of women, the usually highlighted materials of the Rāma tale recede out of sight. The entire Rāma-Rāvana conflict at Lañkā is squeezed into 16 lines of verse in Part 2 (Moulik 1975[7]: 318–319, verses 366b–373b; *CR*, p. 73, verses 352–377). The poem includes not one of Rāma's many exploits, whether in battle or in providing succour to those in need of it, for instance, the forest-dwelling *ṛsis* or Ahalyā. Similarly telling omissions are episodes of Rāma meting out punishment to opponents, such as Śūrpaṇakhā and Vālin. The

poem ignores these assertions of Rāma's *puruṣottama* status, which the *bhakti* ideology of Kṛtibās and Tulsīdās celebrates despite their graphic violence and questionable justice (Śūrpaṇakhā mocked, then mutilated, Vālin slaughtered as an animal). There is a deliberate rejection in Candrāvātī's poem both of masculine heroism and of despotic rule. The whole concept of a just war is rendered meaningless by shifting the reader's gaze from those who wage war to those who suffer. The focus is on the process of Sītā's inexorable doom rather than on Rāma's heroism.

With the poem so inescapably oriented to the experience of loss as the ultimate reality, it can hardly support *bhakti* as a viable spiritual mode. This is not to see the poem as an assault on belief as such. Candrāvātī does not question the divinity of Rāma. But his actions are another matter. They strain the doctrine that god loves humankind and that the grand design of creation eventually leads to bliss even though the present may only bring pain. Candrāvātī accepts his all-powerful status but neither the infallibility of his sense nor the benevolence of his sensibility, for she directly accuses him of allowing his passion to overmaster his judgment. That is the same lack of self-control that brought down Rāvaṇa; is there not a parallel to the demon king implicit in Rāma's all-destructive self-love? Yet Candrāvātī does not romanticize opposition to "Rāma and his rabble" as Michael Madhusudan Dutt did 300 years later, for she chooses rather to leave her work ambiguous and thus capable of sparking continuing debate.

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Sažetak

U svojoj verziji *Rāmāyaṇe*, bengalska pjesnikinja Candrāvātī (16. stoljeće) priča priču o Rāmi u manje od 700 dvostiha odvojenih u tri dijela. Neobično je to što jedan dio pjesme u potpunosti prenosi priču iz Sītina stajališta. Dominantan je prizvuk pjesme dvosmislen stav prema Rāmi, posebno kada se govori o njegovu ponašanju prema Sīti. S jedne strane, Candrāvātī ne pokušava opravdati Rāmine postupke na način na koji su to činili neki drugi pjesnici (Tulsīdās, Krittibās), ali ga u isto vrijeme prihvaća kao boga, čija su djela nepogrešiva u višem smislu. Candrāvātī je uspjela stvoriti pjesmu koja je donekle otuđena od čiste *bhakti*, ali ipak prihvaća Rāmu kao božansku osobu. U svojim rodnim pitanjima, pjesma jasno označava ženu kao ovisnu o muškoj volji i prihvaća to stoički kao prirodni poredak stvari. Candrāvātī ne dovodi u pitanje Rāminu božanstvenost, ali je ipak kritična prema njegovim postupcima. Oni pak dovode u pitanje doktrinu da bog voli čovječanstvo i da veličanstveni plan stvaranja na kraju vodi do blaženstva, iako sadašnjost može donijeti samo bol. Candrāvātī prihvaća njegov svemoćni status, ali ga još uvijek ne smatra nepogrešivim s obzirom na njegov razum, niti dobroćudnim u svom senzibilitetu, jer ga ona izravno optužuje da je dopustio svojoj strasti da nadvlada njegovu rasuđivanje.

Jan Janak Jānakī: With Ajñey¹ in the footsteps of Sītā in search for identity?

Abstract

For centuries, the epic traditions of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* not only have inspired generations of artists, but have also been an essential element in constructing identity in India. While the identity-structuring function of epics has been noted by many scholars, studies on how epics partake in the process of identity building and influence literary activity producing literary discourse in contemporary India await their turn. This paper attempts at providing preliminary notes in this regard, taking as a starting point for consideration a collection of essays *Jan Janak Jānakī: Jānakī jīvan yātrā vṛttānt*, edited by Saccidānand Vātsyāyan “Ajñey” (1911–1987), one of the most influential figures in the Hindi literary world. The volume grew out of a 1983 journey by a group of writers and artists that was conceived by Ajñey. We will try to demonstrate that forty years after its publication, the volume has itself become an interesting historical testimony to the type of thinking that keeps searching for identity in India’s tradition and past.

Introductory notes

The epic traditions of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, regarded as the national epics of India,² have for centuries been not only an inexhaustible source of inspiration for generations of artists, of pan-Indian as well as regional and local recognition, but also an essential element in constructing cultural identity at individual and group levels in a continuous and multidimensional process. In this context, it is worth quoting Lauri Honko’s very apt elaboration of Bridget Conelly’s observation that an epic is “a saga of identity and, as such, a saga of alterity”. Honko, advancing

¹ In this article, I refer to Saccidānand Vātsyāyan “Ajñey” (1911–1987), using his pseudonym by which he is known in the Hindi world.

² For more on such a qualification and the process of creation of national epics conceived of as not a poetic but a political act, see Honko 1996: 28–32.

this thought, states:

[...] by creating “us” the epic simultaneously creates alterity, a contrast to and distance from other groups. Unity is impossible without alterity [...]. Their value, however, derives less from their literal content than from their cultural context and function: they are seen in relation to something beyond their text, such as people’s perception of group identity, core values of the society in question, models of heroic conduct and human endeavor, symbolic structures of history and mythology. (Honko 1996: 21)

The problem of identity as an objective and subjective feature of social groups and communities for decades has been of interest to scholars in different fields, also in epic studies, gaining momentum towards the end of the second half of the twentieth century in an increasingly changing world (cf. Hall 211: 1–17, Honko 1996). While many scholars have noted the identity-structuring function of epics, an in-depth examination of the extent to which and how they, their characters, narratives and myths partake in this process and influence the literary activity that produces literary discourse is still an open question.

Such a line of research seems very promising, especially in light of the fact that myth in India is pervasive, and “the flame of mythology cannot be considered spent”,³ continuing to live on not only in folk tradition among uneducated or less educated classes of rural, small-town and urban society, but also, in various literary and more popular forms, among the vernacular-speaking elites as well as in the English-speaking classes of metropolises. In the latter case, we can refer to the books by Amish [Tripathi] from his Ram Chandra Series (Amish 2015, 2017, 2019) as one of the most contemporary examples, or to the books by Devdutt Pattanaik published by Penguin, HarperCollins or Rupa. Works by both authors can be found in upscale bookstores in big cities. While Amish is described as “India’s Tolkien” (Amish 2015: iii, 2017: iii), whom one must read “to understand the New India” (Amish 2019: iv), Pattanaik is introduced to his readers as “someone who has skilfully shown us how mythology has an impact on modern-day society, governance and management. But he is also a stellar storyteller who has shown us how myths and folktales are timeless and connect with our values and belief systems” (Srinivasan 2018). Last but not least, an interesting example in the case of vernacular- (Hindi-) speaking elites is a much earlier volume *Jan*⁴ *Janak Jānakī: Jānakī jīvan yātrā vṛttānt* that serves as the source material in this paper.

³ Leonid Batkin quoted by Meletinsky (1998: 260).

⁴ Due to different pronunciation and transliteration/transcription rules with respect to Sanskrit and Hindi words which are written in the same way in the Devanāgarī script, in order to avoid confusion and multiplying different forms of words, I generally use Sanskrit forms for the names of literary characters. In other cases, I follow the transcription commonly used for Hindi, in which short “a” is usually dropped in final and certain intersyllabic positions. Therefore, I write Janaka, when referring to the well-known *Rāmāyaṇa* character, but *Janak*, e.g., when I use it in *Jan Janak Jānakī*, the title of Ajñey’s work in Hindi.

Jan Janak Jānakī: preliminaries

Jan Janak Jānakī is a collection of essays edited by Ajñey, a pioneer modernist poet, seen as the founder of modernism (*ādhunikā*) in Hindi literature (Malinar 2019: 1762), and one of the most important voices of the Hindi literary world. The date of its publication is not given in the book itself but it came out shortly after the expedition to which the volume is devoted – some authors mention 1984 (e.g. Tivārī 2004: 77, Kumār 2007: 227, Yādav 2016) and others 1986 (e.g. Ācārya 2001: 494, Pālīvāl 2013: 243). In his recently published comprehensive bibliography of Ajñey, Akshaya Mukul (Mukul 2022: 701) gives the year 1983, which seems less likely.

The collection comprises eighteen essays by sixteen authors, including two important texts by Ajñey himself, and is the result of a journey organized by him in 1983 on behalf of Vatsal Nidhi, the foundation he set up in 1980 with money received for the Jnanpith Award.⁵ In the context of this paper, it is important to note that the main aim of Vatsal Nidhi was to make writers less dependent on the state by allocating funds to various literary projects such as lecture series, tours, and writers' camps (*lekhak śivir*) that were intended by Ajñey to provide an opportunity to established and emerging authors to travel and live together.⁶

One such project was the 1983 “cultural expedition” (*sāṃskṛtik-yātrā*; Upreti 2000: 119) in the form of an itinerant camp, during which its participants travelled the main route from Sītāmaṛhī to Citrakūṭ, following the footsteps of Sītā–Jānakī.⁷ It took place in two instalments – from 22 January to 5 February and from 11 to 18 February 1983 and was designed according to Ajñey's idea. Together with Ajñey there were a total of eighteen participants: Jitendra Simh, Buddhināth Miśra, Ilā Dālmīyā, Girirāj Kiśor, Devkumār Miśra, Śankārdayāl Simh, Bhagvatīśaraṇ Simh, Lakṣmīkānt Varmā, Amṛtāl Nāgar, Nareś Mehtā, Vidyānivās Miśra, Rāmkamal Rāy, Rāmsvarūp Caturvedī, Uṣākiraṇ Xān, Vidyābindu Simh, Raṇvīrsimh Biṣṭ, and Omprakāś Śarmā. As can be seen from this list, this was a group made up mainly of writers and critics, most of them very well established in the Hindi world, accompanied by two well-known artists – a photographer (O. Pī. Śarmā) and a painter (Biṣṭ) who, each in his own way, documented the journey and events related to it, such as visits to important places in the area, meetings with local people, etc.

The essays provide a kind of chronicle of the journey in Jānakī's footsteps and follow her up from Sītāmaṛhī up to Citrakūṭ, thus forming a patchwork story, a col-

⁵ The highest Indian literary honour granted annually by the Bharatiya Jnanpith, awarded to Ajñey in 1978.

⁶ For interesting details about Vatsal Nidhi see Mukul 2022, esp. 529–532 and e.g. Thānvī 2011.

⁷ The participants also visited other places of interest, both on and off the main route, linked to cultural figures of different format – Buddha, Kabīr, Tulsīdās, Malūkdās, Sumitrānandan Pant. For a more detailed programme with the names and the dates of the places and sites visited see Ajñey NY: 12.

lection of individual testimonies of directly experiencing the places visited in their proper habitats, among people who are their very essence.

Framing the idea

Approaching the title as an element of the conscious technique of framing of communication, we see it as the first message on what is being communicated and how it can be interpreted (cf. Bauman 1977: 15, Lutgendorf 1994: 18, 23). Both the title and subtitle of the volume more generally point to their obvious connection to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and in particular to Jānakī as its main focus.

The book's three-part main title – *Jan Janak Jānakī* – meaningful and equivocal at the same time, in an evident way builds on the element common to all three of its components, i.e. a noun *jan(a)* (from Sanskrit √*jan* with the basic meaning “to generate; to cause to be born”, meaning in Hindi: “a living being”, “a man, a person”, and in plural as well as in compounds “people, folk; community, a group” (cf. Monier Williams 1899: 410, 418 and McGregor 1993: 355, 368). The title, understood in terms of a *dvandva* compound, enumerates its elements one after another, drawing thus our attention to them individually and jointly at the same time: (1) to “people” (*jan*), (2) to Janak – “father, progenitor” – the well-known *Rāmāyaṇa* king of Mithilā, father of Sītā, and (3) to his daughter who is commonly known by her patronymic Jānakī.⁸ In fact, the title should be read as *tatpuruṣa* that focuses on Jānakī – the *raison d'être* of this journey – the one who is Janaka's daughter but also belongs to Mithilā and its people (Maithilī), is the daughter of Mithilā (*mithilā kī beṭī*), and thus is particularly close to their hearts. Thus, although her fate is in various ways inseparable from Rāma and the story of his life – *rām-kathā* – in Mithilā's culture, but not only there, the focus is shifted to her, or to her together with Rāma (*Sītā-Rām*, *Sītā-Rām*). The journey designed by Ajñey was fundamentally based on this very shift, as the title of the volume itself indicates.

The position of Jānakī as the focal point of the journey and the resulting volume is further emphasised by the volume's subtitle – *Jānakī jīvan yātrā vṛttānt* – given only on the half-title page, meaning literally “an account of Jānakī's life journey”. The English translation of *yātrā vṛttānt*, provided on the copyright page, is rendered as “a travelogue”, or more precisely “travelogues”, indicating the collective character of this publication.⁹ Thus, the common denominator of all the essays and illustrations (photos and drawings) that make up the main body of *Jan Janak Jānakī* are the subsequent segments of the unique 1983 expedition which itself has now passed into history but reveals to us the state of mind of a representative group of Indian writers four decades ago.

⁸ I would like to thank Monika Nowakowska for inspiring discussions on possible readings of the book title and other Sanskrit dilemmas of a Hindi scholar.

⁹ The English equivalent of the whole title reads: *Jana, Janaka, Janaki (Travelogues)*.

This work is usually classified as travel literature (*yātrā sāhitya*) and can be said to have entered the canon of this genre as one of its best achievements in the 1980s. For example, in her *Hindi kā yātrā sāhitya* Rekha Pravīn Upretī, following the very initiator of the expedition, Ajñey, and its other participants (e.g. Rāy NY: 103), emphasises its innovative, even experimental, character (*ek abhinav aur mahattvapūrṇ prayog; ek anūthā prayog*, Upretī 2000: 119, 124; cf. Tivārī 2004: 113, 150). The unique character of this journey, and the resulting volume, is also expressed in an intriguing way in the Introduction (*Bhūmikā*) penned by Karṇ Simh on behalf of the trustees of the Vatsal Nidhi foundation, the patron of the journey.

jan, janak, jānaki ek asādhāraṇ pustak hai. yātrā kī paramparā bhārat mẽ atyant prācīn kāl se calī āī hai aur deśāṭan ko kavi kī śikṣā kā bhī anivārya aṅg mānā jātā rahā hai par jan, janak, jānaki jis 'jānakī-jīvan yātrā' kī smārikā hai, na to yah yātrā pāramparik tīrth-yātrā kī paridhi mẽ rakhī jā saktī hai, na hī jo sāhitya-sarjak aur kalākār usmē sammilit hue unkā praśikṣaṇ hī uskā uddeśya thā. niḥsandeḥ sabhī ne yātrā mẽ aur yātrā se śikhā aur jānā bahut kuch; niḥsandeḥ is anubhav aur jñān kā prabhāv unke racnā-karm par bhī hogā aur is prakār us samāj tak pahūcegā jis tak pahūcnā kavi-karm kā ek lakṣya hotā hai. lekin 'jānakī-jīvan yātrā' us arth mẽ bhī asādhāraṇ yātrā thī kī yātrā ke uddeśya kī khoj bhī yātrā kā ek mahattvapūrṇ uddeśya thā. antah kadācit sabhī yātrāō kā uddeśya yātrā ke uddeśya kī khoj bhī hotā hai: yātrā ātm-sāṅgātīkār aur pratyabhijñā kā nimitt bantī hai (Simh NY: 5).

Jan Janak Jānaki is an extraordinary book. The tradition of travel in India dates to very ancient times and travelling across the country has been considered an essential part of the poet's education. But 'Jānaki's life journey', of which *Jan Janak Jānaki* is the commemorative volume, neither can be counted as a traditional pilgrimage, nor was its purpose to educate the litterateurs and artists who participated in it. Undoubtedly, all have learnt and known a lot during and from the journey; undoubtedly, this experience and knowledge will also influence their work and creativity and thus reach that public, which is the target of the poet's work. Yet "Jānaki's life journey" was also an extraordinary journey in the sense that the search for a purpose of the journey was also its important purpose. After all, perhaps the purpose of all journeys is also the pursuit of a journey's purpose: the journey becomes the cause of self-realisation and cognition.

As can be seen from Karṇ Simh's words, his emphasis on the educational dimension of travels has wide implications – they teach us not only about the outside world, but also about our inner world, allowing one to get to know oneself, one's inner self. This aspect is further developed from yet another perspective in a very short, even laconic Foreword (*purovāk*) by Mahādevī Varmā (1907–1987), one of the few dames in Hindi literature, in which she addresses the participants of Jānakī's life journey with the following words:

hamārī saṁskṛti mẽ yātrāō kā viśeṣ mahattva hai, kyōki is vicitratā-bharī dhartī mẽ ek saṁskṛti kā praśn yāyāvarī ke sāth jurā huā hai. sāhityakārō kī yah yātrā rām-kathā se sambandh rakhtī hai aur ukt kathā kā anivārya aur sabse mārmiḥ aṁś sītā se jurā huā hai. niścay hī lekhaḥ tathā kavi is anubhav se us bhūmi ke jīvan se paricīḥ ho kar is bhūmi se bhī paricīḥ ho sakēge.

hamārī āj kī samasyā apnī dhartī se vicchinn ho jānā hai. sītā to cir-kṣatramayī aur cir-vijayinī hai (Varmā, M. NY: 7).

Travelling is of special importance in our culture because in this land full of variegation, one of the issues of culture is related to wandering. This journey of writers is related to the story of Rāma, and the essential and most touching part of the story is related to Sītā. Surely, through this experience, the writers and poets will get to know the life of that land and will also be able to know this land.

Our problem today is detachment from our land. Sītā is ever powerful and ever victorious.

The *Jānakī jīvan yātrā* Project: its goals

Mahādevī Varmā, in her brief address, infusing with new meanings what the title and the words of Karaṇ Simh imply in their own ways, highlights the problem of the world today – the detachment from the traditions of one’s own land and its people. Although she did not explicitly specify who she meant when using the pronoun “our”, the context indicates that she had in mind the participants of the journey, i.e., the men of letters, the artistic elite, with whom she clearly identified. Her words also underline the purpose of Ajñey’s project which was to connect its participants with their own land and its people. According to Varmā, it was to be achieved by means of revisiting “the essential and most touching part of the story” in places where “ever powerful and ever victorious” Jānakī stayed and lived, and thus tracing the paths she took in her life. This was not to verify the historical authenticity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and its related sites, nor to establish their geographical identity but to connect with the people who have communed with the story over the centuries, and whose convictions have made it the received truth, objective to them (Ajñey NYb: 58).

In the volume, we find two very telling statements by Ajñey that support this thesis. The first of them is quoted by Rāmkamal Rāy in his essay on the group’s visit to Prayāg and Citrakūṭ. And although it is “merely a quotation” from Ajñey, and comes later in the volume, it serves as a good introduction to the idea that Ajñey develops in his piece.

ham rām-kathā kī aitiḥāsiktā kā patā lagāne ke lie nahī nikle the. hamē isse prayojan nahī hai ki itihās mē rām-kathā kis rūp mē ghaṭit huī – ghaṭit bhī huī yā nahī. ham jānte hāi ki rām-kathā yugō-yugō se bhāratīy cetnā ko anupramāṇit kartī rahī hai, use ek jīvan-dṛṣṭi detī rahī hai aur jīne kā bal detī rahī hai. usī lok-cetnā ke sāth sākṣāt karne, usī ūrjā srot kā saṁsparś pāne ham nikle hāi (Rāy NY: 105)

We did not set out to find out the historicity of the story of Rāma. We are not interested in how the story of Rāma happened in history – whether it happened or not. We know that the story of Rāma has been attesting to the Indian consciousness for ages, giving it a view on life and the strength to live. We have come out to experience this very consciousness of people, to get in touch with this very source of energy.

The other statement, interestingly complementing the one just cited, comes from Ajñey’s essay on the group’s visit to Vālmīki Nagar in Bihār. Ajñey reveals:

man bār-bār vālmīki nagar aur van-vīthiyō kī or lauṭtā hai. vālmīki āśram sacmuc vahā thā yā nahī, yā kahī aur thā, yah praśn pīche chūṭ jātā hai. āśram ke āśramatva

kī udbhāvnā ham kar lete hai, āraṇyak jīvan kī mūlya-dr̥ṣṭi thorī bhī der ke lie hamāre man ko punarālokit kar jātī hai, to isse kyā ki āśram ke khaṇḍahar kahā par hai yā the? ek jīvant āśram to hamne chū liyā, ādi kavi kī sarjak karuṇā kā saṃsparś to hamne to pā liyā. (Ajñey NYb: 62)

The mind returns again and again to Vālmīki Nagar and the forest paths. Whether the Valmiki Ashram was really there, or it was somewhere else, this question is left behind. We gain an idea of the ashram-ness of the Ashram, a glimpse of the values of forest life sheds light on our mind again for a while, so what of where the ruins of the Ashram are or were? We touched a living ashram, we felt the creative compassion of Ādi Kavi.

As can be seen from the preceding passages, the project was meant to reach out to the consciousness, the mind of people (*lok-cetnā, jan-mānas, lok-mānas*) and that source of power from which Indian culture has drawn its breath for centuries (Upreti 2000: 119). In that sense, Jānakī's life journey, or *Sīyā-rāmmay yātrā* – “the journey immersed in Sīyā/Sītā and Rāma” – as it is also termed in the volume (e.g. JJJ NY: 10, 13ff, 105), was a search, during which Ajñey and the whole group were “seeking, recognizing and living their national identity” (*apnī jātīy asmitā ko khojte-pahcānte-jīte*; Pālīvāl 2011: 8). And, perhaps even more importantly, they could get exposed to emotions associated with the episodes and characters of the story as well as of its creator Vālmīki himself, and each in his/her own way responded to them. It is difficult to ignore such a statement by Ajñey, of whom one critic says: “Just as if there were two forms of his personality, exactly there were also two extremes. He was modern and at the same time used to go for *Jay-Jānakī* or *Bhāgvat-bhūmi yātrā*, while talking about *Purāṇas*” (*unke vyaktitva ke jaise do rūp the, vaise hī do sire bhī the. ve ādhunīk the aur purāṇō kī bāt karte hue jay-jānakī yā bhāgavat-bhūmi yātrā par bhī nikal parte the*; Thānvī 2011: 7), or otherwise, one may fall into a misjudgement of his thinking, further motivated by ethnocentrism.

This line of thinking not only underpins the entire volume but is also advanced in individual essays from different stages of the journey. Written by its sixteen writer-participants, they reflect their authors' respective understandings of the notion of the project and the expedition itself. For example, Lakṣmīkānt Varmā, as if summarising his own contribution, states towards its end:

yah yātrā keval jānakī-jīvan yātrā nahī thī. yah jānakī-jīvan ke mādhyam se sampūrṇ sām̐skṛtik pravāh se sākṣātkār karne kī yātrā thī. ismē śramaṇ sām̐skṛti, ārya paramparā, purāṇ-itihās, mithak aur bhakti āndolan tathā sant āndolan, saguṇ-nirguṇ, sab kuch ek sāth ek saṃveg mẽ pravāhit thā. yātrā ne ham sabko dharm, adhyātm, mithak, paramparā aur uskī anek antardhārāō mẽ ek sāth chor diyā aur ham sab dūbte-utrāte apne-āpko talāś bhī karte rahe aur dūbte bhī rahe. (Varmā, L. NY: 82)

This journey was not just Jānakī's life journey. It was a journey through Jānakī's life to witness directly the entire flow of culture. Mendicant culture, Aryan tradition, *Purāṇas* and history, myth, Bhakti movement and Sant movement, *saguṇ-nirguṇ* – everything flowed together in it at one speed. The journey left us all together in the midst of religion, spirituality, myth, tradition and its many strands – all of us, while sinking and rising to the surface, kept looking for ourselves and kept drowning.

Lakṣmīkānt Varmā's testimony vividly demonstrates how demanding this *yātrā* was for its participants – they were thrown into the vortex of vital, diverse cultural tides, whose constituent elements they sought to grasp, while trying to find their own selves among them.

Of particular interest here is the metaphor of flow that Varmā uses. The process of forming a cultural identity is conceived here in terms of a flowing stream, in which the participants of the journey sink and rise to the surface time and again. What do they encounter at the end of the stream? Does it have any end at all? The question remains open.

However, not only the writers who participated in the journey were involved in this process. Its important, albeit implicit, element were also their readers, as Ajñey's statement, to which Rāmkumār Rāy alludes, expresses very clearly.

18 mārc, yātrā kā antīm din. isī dīn yātrā visarjit honī thī, kāmadgiri ke caraṇō mē. bhojan-pūrv ajñey ne ek goṣṭhī bulā rakhī thī, pūrī yātrā ko samāhit karne kī drṣṭi se. unkī parikalpnā mē hī yah bāt thī ki yātrā jahā yātriyō ko ek sāmśkr̥tik samṛddhi pradān karegī, vahī ve kuch aisā racēge bhī, jisse guzar kar hindī pāṭhak kuch aisā upalabdh kar sakegā jo use bhāratīy cetnā kī adhik sahī pahcān karā sake. (Rāy NY: 109)

18 March, the last day of the journey. That day the journey was to end at the foot of Kāmadgiri.¹⁰ Ajñey called a meeting before the meal with a view to putting the whole journey together. His assumption was that in so far as the journey would give the travellers cultural richness, they would create something from which the reader of Hindi could derive that something enabling him to better understand the Indian consciousness.

The style of the last, long sentence of the above quotation, with a number of emphatic forms (*hī*, *vahī*, *bhī*) and the repetition of the pronominal phrase *kuch aisā* ('something like', 'some kind of') may seem to lack the elegance and precision of the style one would expect from a master of words like Ajñey. Or could this be Rāy's shortcoming? The context of his essay and the volume as a whole, however, indicate that this need not be credited to Rāy, after all an established Hindi critic, well acquainted with Ajñey's ideas and work.¹¹ Rather, it is expressive of the difficulty of formulating the expectations Ajñey had of himself and the project participants, perhaps due to the lack of specific linguistic tools that would make this possible. At the same time, it seems to testify to a kind of vagueness in his understanding of the impact that literature and literary activities have on the process of identity formation, in which literary discourse is one of the vehicles. Besides, Ajñey was also not an author who referred to widely understood *Rāmāyaṇa* themes in his literary and essay writing – on the contrary, as Rāmsvarūp Caturvedī notes in his essay:

¹⁰ The most popular pilgrimage site in Cītrakūt.

¹¹ He is, among other things, the author of books on Ajñey (Rāy 1978 and 1986) and the editor of a volume on language and the question of national identity (Rāy 1997).

ab tak ajñey ne rām-kathā ke kisī ams̄ par lekhanī nahī̃ uṭhāyī hai. par ek cintak aur sām̄skṛtik karmī ke rūp mē jātiy smṛti ke is pakṣ se unhē vaicārik uttejan milā hai. yah unke racnā-karm mē kis rūp mē vyakt hotā hai, yah dekhne kī bāt hogī. (Caturvedī NY: 114)

Till now Ajñey has not picked up his pen to address any part of *rām-kathā*. Yet, as a thinker and cultural activist, this aspect of national memory has stimulated him to think. It remains to be seen how this is expressed in his work.

As far as I am aware, his two essays in *Jan Janak Jānakī* are the only substantial literary expressions testifying to his interest in this subject.

Jan Janak Jānakī: performance

Although Jānakī is not only nominally the focus of the 1983 journey and the resulting volume, interestingly, especially in his essay fundamental to the entire collection and closing it, Ajñey concentrates his considerations on Rāma, in several places on both Rāma and Sītā/Jānakī, Jānakī seems to be given hardly any space in his main argument (Ajñey NYc: 128–132).

Ajñey summarises the project and its aims in general terms, dealing mainly with the meaning of the epic and epic heroes and their place in the lives of communities. Devoting a few paragraphs to the role of Citrakūṭ played in the journey, Ajñey also explains its significance in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He expresses the view that “the observance of the laws natural in this world ended by Citrakūṭ” (*is lok kī prākṛt vyavasthāō kā pālan citrakūṭ tak ho cukā thā*). Continuing, he visualizes Rāma in the shadow of Kāmadgiri, “stepping into the role for which he had been incarnated” (*us bhūmikā mē padārpaṇ kar rahe the jiske lie unkā avatāraṇ huā thā*; Ajñey NYc: 129), and explicates this change as follows:

[...] us niyati-puruṣ rām [...] itihās-puruṣ kah lījīe, kāl-puruṣ kah lījīe – yā keval puruṣ kah lījīe, aur cāhe to puruṣottam kah lījīe – maryādā-puruṣottam. vaiśvik āyām mē apnā viśeṣ dharm pūrā kar rahe hone kī pahcān, aur pūrī tarah samarpit bhāv se use ho jāne dene kā saṅkalp hī to mānuṣ ko puruṣ banā detā hai: mānuṣ jo kartā hai, puruṣ jiske niṣkartiṛtva mē hī uskā kṛtīṭtva chipā huā hai. (Ajñey NYc: 129)

[...] call that Rāma *niyati-puruṣ* [...] *itihās-puruṣ*, call him *kāl-puruṣ*, or simply call him *puruṣ*, or if you wish, call him *puruṣottam* – *maryādā-puruṣottam*.¹² In the world-

¹² Due to the possibility of different interpretations of the meanings of these nouns and nominal phrases deeply rooted in various currents of Indian thought, we have decided to leave them in their original form in the main translation, providing their literal meaning in Hindi in the footnote: *niyati-puruṣ* ‘Destiny Man’, or the one who destines; *itihās-puruṣ* ‘History Man’, or the one who determines history; *kāl-puruṣ* ‘Man of Time’, or the one who determines time(s); *puruṣottam* ‘the best of men, an excellent or superior man; the supreme being’ (cf. McGregor 1993: 638 and 794, Monier-Williams 1899: 637, 791); *maryādā-puruṣottam* literally ‘the best among men within the bounds of propriety/law’, or ‘the paragon of propriety’, i.e. the best among the righteous. For more on the meaning of *maryādā-puruṣottam* see Stasik 2009: 261.

ly dimension, it is the recognition of the state of fulfilling one's own particular *dharma* and the very determination to allow it to be fulfilled with full devotion that make a man (*mānuṣ*) Man (*puruṣ*): the man (*mānuṣ*) who is the creator (*kartā*), Man (*puruṣ*) in whose non-creator status his creating/performing ability is hidden.

In this characterisation of Rāma, drawing from various elements of different strands of thought (which are interesting to be analysed in their own right but we leave this for another occasion), Ajñey refers to him as a figure of the epic dimension. Drawing on the example of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, he then goes on to explain his understanding of the epic.

According to Ajñey, the epic is not only a heroic poem (*vīr-gāthā*), and its hero not only the leading character of his life narrative (*carit-nāyak*) – he is its *niyati-puruṣ*, and:

uske karm mẽ keval ghaṭnā nahĩ ghaṭ rahĩ hai balki niyati ghaṭmān ho rahĩ hai, vidhi-vidhān ho rahā hai. kāl ke is āyām ke gahre bodh ke binā 'epik' kā epik caritr nahĩ bantā. uskā mahattva, aur samūcī jāti tathā jāṭiy samskṛti ke lie uskāsabse gahrā arth, isĩ āyām kī pahcān mẽ hotā hai. (Ajñey NYc: 129)

In his act, not only does an event unfold, but destiny is accomplished, the ordinance of fate is fulfilled. Without a deep understanding of the dimension of time, the epic character of the epic would not have been formed; its importance, and its deepest meaning for the whole nation and national culture, lies in the recognition of precisely this dimension.

He makes the claim that this dimension allows *niyati-puruṣ* to elevate an event from a level of historical reasoning to a dimension in which destiny (*niyati*) is fulfilled (mythical thinking!). That is why, according to Ajñey, “Epics” are national poems and whole nations and cultures find their “destiny” in them’ (*'epik' jāṭiy kāvyā hote haĩ, pūrĩ jāṭiyā aur samskṛtiyā un mẽ 'deṣṇinĩ' pahcāntĩ haĩ*; Ajñey NYc: 129–130). So, this is in Citrakūṭ, where such a change takes place in Rāma, “transferring us into several dimensions of time – into several speeds of time, into many dimensions of speed” (*hamẽ kāl ke kaĩ āyāmõ mẽ – kāl ke kaĩ gatiyõ mẽ, gati ke kaĩ āyāmõ mẽ – lā kharā kartā hai*; Ajñey NYc: 130). Concluding this part of his argument on the significance of time in the process of forming of an epic hero, Ajñey states openly: “I have been trying to understand this matter myself all my life” (*is bāt ko svayam samajhne kā prayās bhĩ maĩ jīvan bhar kartā āyā hũ*; Ajñey NYc: 130).

In this context, Ajñey, referring to an intriguing metaphor of moving walkways in airports, attempts to explain the significance of a “historical moment” (*aitiḥāsik kṣaṇ*) and the difficulty of its identification by common people (*sādhāraṇ log*) who walk at normal speed, on solid ground. Nevertheless, there are those who are able to discern it with their exceptional, razor-sharp mind and:

[...] ham apne nijĩ anubhav mẽ nahĩ, to apne sāmūhik anubhav mẽ, jāṭigat anubhav mẽ is bāt ko jānte haĩ. aise 'kṣurasya dhārā' par jīnevāle ko hĩ ham 'yug-puruṣ', 'bhāgya-puruṣ', 'kāljit', 'kāl-puruṣ', 'kālātmā' kī sañjñā dete haĩ. (Ajñey NYc: 131)

[...] we know it, if not from our personal, then from our collective experience, the experience of a community/nation. And him, who lives on such a “dagger’s edge”, we name *yug-puruṣ*,¹³ *bhāgya-puruṣ*, *kāljit*, *kāl-puruṣ*, *kālātmā*.

Ajñey emphasises that unlike in the case of a common man, the footprints of a *puruṣ* get imprinted not on the ground but in the minds of people. He adds: “The epic does the work of awakening this imprint. That is why we link the epic to the communal/national memory” (*isī chāp ko jagāne kā kām epik karte haī. isīlie ham epik ko jātiy smṛti ke sāth jorte haī*; Ajñey NYC: 131).

Jan Janak Jānakī: concluding remarks

Ajñey’s argument, recapitulating the entire volume, seems to miss one but essential element in the context of the Jānakī’s life project – where does Jānakī belong here?

Let us explain that, writing about the *Rāmāyaṇa* and addressing its epic dimension, Ajñey does focus on its eponymous hero, but by no means forgets about Sītā, without whom Rāma’s deeds could not have happened and been accomplished. He mentions Sītā at the beginning of his essay and returns to her at the end. Both Rāma and Sītā, though “living for a moment” (*kṣaṇjīvī*), are to him “everlasting incarnated characters” (*avatārī sanātan caritr*), and “their life is an unbroken tradition of defining moments of destiny” (*jinkā jīvan niyati kā nirdhāraṇ karnevāle kṣaṇō kī satat paramparā hai*; Ajñey NYC: 131). Therefore, “every moment of their life will be a defining moment not only for individuals but also for communities/nations and cultures” (*unke jīvan kā pratyek kṣaṇ vyaktiyō ke hī nahī jātiyō aur samskr̥tiyō ke bhāgya kā nirṇāyak kṣaṇ hogā*; Ajñey NYC: 131).

More generally, we can say that the story of their life, seen as one of the formative elements of the community’s tradition, through repeating and living it in different contexts of cultural and social life, serves the group in question to re-enact and make present what has been imprinted on their minds, give a sense of belonging and identity. It was for this reason that Ajñey set out on a journey with his writer fellows to, as has already been said, connect them with their own land and its people, or, speaking more metaphorically, to re-plant their roots in the soil of Indian tradition through the medium of “the essential and most touching part of the story”, i.e. the one related to Jānakī and her life. It is also worth noting in this context that the reflections included in this collection are built on thinking about past traditions in terms of myth and history, understood not as contradictory but complementary or even synonymous, important elements in the construction of the identity (cf. Chandra 1999: 57–58).

¹³ See also the explanation and translations of the phrases in the preceding note: *yug-puruṣ* ‘Epoch-Man’, i.e. Epoch-Maker; *bhāgya-puruṣ* ‘Destiny-Man’; *kāljit* ‘Time-Conqueror’; *kālātmā* ‘Time Soul’.

Forty years after the journey, the volume itself has become an interesting historical testimony to the type of discourse that has always searched for identity in India's tradition and past. As such, it has also become a quite rare source material in Hindi, in which leading authors immerse themselves in the *Rāmāyaṇa*-lore, expose themselves to it in an unconventional way, and offer an understanding of it in contemporary world. *Jan Janak Jānakī* is all the more valuable textual testimony because it was published before the turn of 1980s and 1990s, when the Ayodhyā-related agitation was becoming increasingly audible, soon to reach its zenith, and consequently leave its imprint on the story and its reception in India.

Abbreviations

JJJ = Ajñey (ed.) (NY) *Jan Janak Jānakī. Jānakī jīvan yātrā vṛttānt*. Dillī: Prabhāt Prakāśān.
 NY = no year of publication given

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Sažetak

Stoljećima, epske tradicije *Mahābhārata* i *Rāmāyaṇe* ne samo da su nadahnjivale generacije umjetnika, već su bile i bitan element u izgradnji identiteta u Indiji. Dok su mnogi stručnjaci primijetili funkciju epa koji strukturira identitet, studije o tome kako epovi sudjeluju u procesu izgradnje identiteta i utječu na književnu aktivnost koja proizvodi književni diskurs u suvremenoj Indiji još čekaju na svoj red. Ovaj rad pokušava dati preliminarne bilješke u tom pogledu, uzimajući kao polazišnu točku za razmatranje zbirku eseja *Jan Janak Jānakī: Jānakī jīvan yātrā vṛttānt*, koju je uredio Saccidānand Vātsyāyan „Ajñey“ (1911.–1987.), jedan od najvažnijih autora u hindskom književnom svijetu. Svezak je izrastao iz jednoga putovanja grupe pisaca i umjetnika iz 1983. koje je vodio Ajñey. Pokušat ćemo pokazati da je gotovo četrdeset godina nakon objavljivanja svezak sam po sebi postao zanimljivo povijesno svjedočanstvo o načinu razmišljanja koji neprestance traga za identitetom u indijskoj tradiciji i prošlosti.

4. Linguistics, Religion and Philosophy

The *Netratantra* as unifying cultural diversity

Abstract

This paper is written in honour of my esteemed colleague Mislav Ježić who, through close textual analysis, has argued that we can identify different layers of the *Bhagavadgītā*, particularly an original layer (Ježić 1986; 1989), that have formed the text that has come down to us. Inspired by his work, in this paper I wish to identify some themes found in the *Netra-tantra* that indicate the ways in which the redactor or redactors have worked diverse material into a synthesis, thereby creating a text that contains a unified vision that was highly successful and was a major influence upon the political and religious field in Kashmir and Nepal. The text offers an innovation that brings culturally diverse themes and practices together into a unifying theological and even political vision.

The *Netra-tantra* was an important scripture in the Kashmir valley from its composition in the eighth century through the flowering of Śaivism to the thirteenth. According to Sanderson, it was composed in Kashmir between 700 and 850 AD, based on internal evidence (Sanderson 2004: 229–300). It was copied for the king of Nepal Arimalla (b. 1153, r. 1200/01–1216) or his son Abhayamalla (b. 1183, r. 1216–1255) (Sanderson 2004: 293–94) in March 1200 by a scribe named Kīrttidhara and commissioned by a minister Viśveśvara where it was used in the court and ritual manuals produced from it.¹ Indeed, there is still ritual practice within the Netra tradition in Nepal.² The Kashmir recension of the text published in the KSTS series has a commen-

¹ Kīrttidhara writes in the colophon (folio 89): “This instruction by the Lord of Immortality, Mrtyuñjit, is completed, full, and auspicious. This book, commissioned by Viśveśvara, was written by me, Kīrttidhara, in the bright fortnight of the month of March/April, 320.” (*samāptam idaṃ mrtyuñjidadmṛtīśavidhānam saṃpūrṇam iti śubham. saṃvat 320 caitra śudī 9 śanidine++ viśveśvaralikhāpitam idaṃ pustakam || paṇḍitakīrttidharalikhitaṃ mayā ||*).

² Personal communication, Dr. Bjarne Wernicke-Olesen. I should like to thank Dr Wernicke-Olesen for his comments and insight into the text of which we are producing an edition and translation, along with Dr Rajan Khatiwoda: *Tantra in Medieval India and Nepal, an annotated translation and edition of the Netra Tantra* (London: Routledge, forthcoming). I should also like to thank Professor Sanderson for reading some chapters of the text and commentary with us.

tary from the non-dualist philosopher Kṣemarāja (c. 1000–1050 AD) and the Nepalese witness preserves an even older version of the text. The Kashmiri redactor/s has/ have corrected the text and sometimes made it conform to a particular theological vision of Śaivism.³ While the text is quite close to the *Svacchanda-tantra*, one of the key Bhairava Tantras, the *Netra-tantra* proclaims itself to be a universal (*sāmānyam*) scripture, and indeed it does seem to embrace all that was going on at the time, incorporating even Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism within it. There is a theological vision that seeks to incorporate all traditions and to see all deities and different revelations as forms of the transcendent Amṛteśvara. This singular theological vision, that while being Śaiva is informed by Śākta ideas and practices, creates a certain coherence to the text, in its incorporation of a diversity of material, a coherence partly due to the text's incorporating different religions into its chapters on deity meditation and partly due to the classification of three yogas or meditations, supreme, subtle, and gross. While there are separate chapters on these, mention of the scheme occurs on occasion throughout the text, indicating the effectiveness of this heuristic device. In this essay I would like to identify four themes, the universal eye identified with the sun, the three levels of meditation, the variety of deity systems visualised, and the Śākta theme of possession, exorcism, and sacrifice. Indeed, my colleagues Bjarne Wernicke-Olesen and Diwakar Acharya argue that this strong Śākta influence constitutes the *Netra* as a fundamentally Śākta text. Certainly, we might claim that the *Netra-tantra*'s theological vision is not simply Śaiva, but Śaiva-Śākta.

But as Hélène Brunner observes in the earliest study of this text, the borders between its different layers are not easy to identify (Brunner 1975: 127). The text incorporates a range of heterogeneous material but always, as Brunner observes, bringing it within the orbit of a Śaiva perspective. There is an abundance of description of magical rites to avert the evil eye, elaborate visualisations, the formation of the *netra-mantra*, and theological reflection on the nature of an absolute reality broadly sympathetic to a Śaiva non-dualism, which Kṣemarāja expounds and brings out in his commentary. But the agenda of the text, if we can speak so, is not simply theological but political, as Sanderson argues, in articulating the impulsion of Śaivism into the royal court. The Śaiva guru comes to replace the Vedic priest as the king's chaplain, the *Rājapurohita*, thereby exemplifying the movement of Śaivism into royal realm. The chaplain's duty would be to offer ritual protection to the king and his family (Sanderson 2004: 233).

³ For example, the Nepalese text of 1.29 lists four powers of Śiva, namely will, knowledge, ignorance and action, whereas the Kashmir edition names three powers, will, knowledge and action, thereby making the text more theologically streamlined in conformity to Śaiva theology. But the original text could be reflecting a Goddess theology in which she embraces the opposites of knowledge and ignorance. 1.29. *evam mamecchā jñānājñā kṛyākhyā śaktir ucyate (jñānājñā Na and Nb: jñānākhyā K)*. This example pointed out by Dr Wernicke-Olesen.

The Theme of the Universal Eye

The opening chapter is on the all-seeing eye with the second focussed on the construction of the netra-mantra, a universal mantra that has the power to infuse even ineffective mantras with power once they are framed by it. The text is a dialogue between Śiva as the Lord of Immortality, Amṛteśa/Amṛteśvara or the Conqueror of Death (Mrtyuñjaya/Mṛjuñjit) and the Goddess Parvatī who asks him questions to which he responds. Her opening questions are on the nature of the eye of the Śiva that is paradoxically fiery and watery. If it is made of liquid, “how can fire that burns time have arisen from it?” (1.13cd: *tasmād agniḥ katham raudra utpannaḥ kāladāhakaḥ*). On the one hand the eye is completely full of the nectar of immortality (*amṛtam*) from which emanates the entire world (1.18), while on the other it turns Desire to ash (1.14). There is a theological ambiguity here with Śiva creating the cosmos and it being filled with the nectar of immortality, which is the contents of this eye, while also destroying the cosmos. The opening chapter presents the theological ambiguity that the eye is the giver of life, “the life in all breathing things” (*sarvaprāṇiṣu jīvanam*) (1.23b), and the destroyer of life in the sense that the eye contains the fire of time (*kalānala-*) that consumes the universe at the end of an aeon (1.20a). These functions of creation or emanation and destruction are qualities of Śiva along with the maintenance of the cosmos, the three theological functions being associated with each of Śiva’s eyes. The text reads:

1.30. Imagining the three eyes is imagining the three luminosities [that comprise] fire, sun and moon, perceived here for me as having the same purpose.

1.31. By that I bestow illumination, burning [of time and desire], and nourishing. I who have three bodies [of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva] bestow emanation, maintenance, and withdrawal.

1.32. All that [universe] is filled up with power, enlarged by my lustre, whose nature is will, knowledge and action, which is the supreme nectar of my eye.⁴

The text is replete with such homologies, here between the three eyes, the three cosmological functions, with illumination, burning and nourishing, and with the three bodies, which Kṣemarāja in his commentary says are the deities Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. These three are furthermore linked to the three powers of Śiva will (*icchā*), knowledge (*jñāna*), and action (*kriyā*). The text goes on:

⁴ NT 1.30–32: *sūryācandramasau vahnis tridhāmaparikalpanā | trinetrakalpanā mahyaṃ tadartham iha drśyate* || 30 || *dahanāpyāyanan tena prākāśyavidadhāmy aham | sṛṣṭim sthitiṃ samhṛtiṃ ca [tri]tanur vidadhāmy aham* || 31 || *tad vīryāpūritaṃ sarvaṃ manteja upabṛmhitam | icchājñānakriyārūpaṃ netrāmṛtam anuttamam* || 32 ||. 31a *dahanāpyāyanan tena*] N1 N2: *dahanāpyāyane tena* K, 31b *prakāśya-*] N1 N2: *prakāśayaṃ* K, 31c *sṛṣṭim sthitiṃ*] N1 N2: *sṛṣṭisthitiṃ* K, 31d *-tanur*] N1 N2: *tritanur* K, 32b *manteja upabṛmhitam*] N1 N2: *mama tejopabṛmhitam* K.

1.33. That power is the supreme place, which is the nature of supreme nectar. This is that great joy and that is the supreme foundation in the body.

1.34. This is that which is knowledge without aspect, pure, the supreme eye. Because of that it is named the Conqueror of Death, the bestower of liberation on all.

1.35. That [eye] bestows supreme success, O Goddess, it bestows freedom from all suffering. It is the god Śiva who destroys all sickness and all disease.⁵

The eye is the highest power of Śiva identified as supreme splendour (*paramam dhāma*), supreme nectar (*paramāṃṛtam*), supreme bliss (*paramānandam*), the supreme place (*paramam padam*), undivided knowledge (*niṣkalam jñānam*) and the conqueror of death (*mṛjuñjit*). The universal aspiration of the text is illustrated in bringing into a single vision the various categories from the ambient theological environment.

The identification of the eye with the sun equates Śiva with the sun, an identification found in other Śaiva scriptures. Indeed, the opening liturgical visualization in daily rites is the meditation on Śiva as the sun, as in the *Somaśambhupaddhati*.⁶ This identification of Śiva with the sun itself echoes the *Bhagavadgītā* 11.12 where the Lord is described as being like a thousand suns. We see here a direct textual parallel and the *Netra-tantra* may either be directly borrowing from that text or from a common body of metaphors that the *Bhagavad-gītā* itself is drawing on. Śiva, being the life in all living beings (*sarvaprāṇiṣu jīvanam* 1.23b) reflects the *Bhagavadgītā* 7.9c where Kṛṣṇa says that he is the life in all living beings (*jīvanam sarvabhūteṣu*). This eye is both Śiva's abode and the animating power of "the strong":

1.24. [It is] truly my supreme abode, my own virile power and my own object of knowledge. That virile power of all virile powers is the strength of the strong.⁷

Again, there is a parallel here in the *Bhagavad-gītā* 7.8.d where Kṛṣṇa claims to be the manhood in men (*pauruṣam nṛṣu*). Like the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Netra-tantra* claims a universality and seems to be drawing on metaphors shared by the earlier text as well, if not directly citing them.

⁵ NT 1.33–35: *tad vīryāpūritam sarvaṃ manteja upabṛṃhitam | icchājñānakriyārūpaṃ netrāṃṛtam anuttamam || 32 || tad vīryam paramam dhāma yat parāṃṛtarūpakam | sa eṣa paramānaṃdo dehe tat paramam padam || 33 || tad etan niṣkalam jñānam viśuddham netram uttamam | mṛtyuñjit tena cākhyātam sarveṣāṃ mokṣadāyakam || 34 || tat siddhidam param devi sarvaduḥkhavimokṣadam | sarvavyādhiharam devaṃ sarvāharamayaṃ śivam || 35 || 33b yat parāṃṛtarūpakam] N1 N2 : yat parāṃṛtarūpi ca K, 33c sa eṣa paramānaṃdo] N1 N2 : yat tat tat param ānandam K, 33d dehe tat paramam padam sa eṣa paramānaṃdo] N1 N2 : yad etat paramam padam K, 35a, devi] N1 N2: devaṃ K, 35d sarvāharamayaṃ] N1 N2 : sarvāmayaharam K.*

⁶ For example, the *Somaśambhupaddhati* prescribes opening daily worship as meditation on Śiva as the sun. SSP 1, III.1–23, pp. 68–89.

⁷ NT 1.24: *svaśamvedyaṃ svavīryam ca mamaiva paramam padam | tad vīryam sarvavīryāṇāṃ tad vai balavatām balaṃ || 24 || 24a svaśamvedyaṃ svavīryam ca] N1 N2: svaṃ svavīryam svaśamvedyaṃ K.*

We have here the identification of the eye with both the life-giving nectar of immortality and the fire of time, as well as with the sun and the text draws on the shared metaphor of the sun identified with divinity and in its association with power, with different kinds of weapons which are nevertheless beneficial and life bestowing: thus the eye is the weapon of Śiva (*pāśupatāstram*), the discus weapon (*sudarśanam*) of Viṣṇu, and the stick of Brahma (*brahmadaṇḍaḥ*).⁸ In this way the first chapter establishes its universal credibility and the power of the eye.

The universal theological vision that the text promotes is found throughout. A clear statement of this vision is in the opening chapter on the visualization of Sadāśiva where the supreme reality is colourless but like a crystal takes on different colours depending on its environment:

9.6. The nature of the supreme reality is colourless, so the pure, all-pervading God comprises all the revelations.

9.7–8. [He is] all pervading, who bestows the total perfection of all mantras. As a pure crystal threaded on a coloured thread always reflects [the colour] by which [the thread] is coloured, so [God] is seen among others, not being coloured by its own nature.

9.9. As the Lord of Gods is expressed in all revelations, he always bestows fruit for all practitioners.

9.10. Therefore, the blazing one is the stream [of tradition] among all [of them], like a wish fulfilling gem. Visualised according to the modes of [different] natures, he gives the fruit of all the revelations.⁹

This is a clear statement of the theological universalism promoted by the *Netra*. All revelations and traditions are expressions of the absolute reality (*paramārthaḥ*) approached according to different dispositions (*bhāvabhedaḥ*).

⁸ NT 1.41: That weapon gives long life to all beings, that one abundant energy is extended by an infinity of divisions. 1.42: For me [the weapon is] the Great Pāśupata [mantra], while for Viṣṇu it is Sudarśana, for Brahmā it is the staff of Brahmā; everyone has their own weapon. 1.43. That weapon [is manifested] through numerous forms and in various ways, its energy expressed by me, the essence of the gods. *sarveṣāṃ eva bhūtānām āyur dhatte tad āyudham | tad ekaṃ bahudhā vīryaṃ bhedaṇantavisarpitam || 41 || mahāpāśupataṃ mahyaṃ viṣṇos tac ca sudarśanam | brahmaṇo brahmadaṇḍas tu sarveṣāṃ svaṃ svaṃ āyudha || 42 || anekākārārūpeṇa āyudhaṃ tad anekadhā | surāṇāṃ svasvarūpeṇa mayā vīryaṃ samarpitam || 43 ||* 41d *bhedaṇantavisarpitam*] N1 N2: *bhedaṇantavyavisarpitaṃ* K, 42b *sudarśanaḥ*] N1 N2: *sudarśanaḥ* K, 42d *svasvam āyudhaḥ*] N1 N2: *svaṃ svaṃ āyudham* K, 43c *svasvarūpeṇa*] N1 N2: *svaṃ svarūpeṇa* K.

⁹ NT 9.6–10: *na tasya rūpaṃ varṇaṃ vā paramārthena vidyate | yasmāt sarvagato devaḥ sarvāgamamayaḥ śubhaḥ || 6 || vyāpakam sarvamantrāṇāṃ sarvasiddhiphalapradam | nirmalaṃ sphaṭikam yadvat tantu proktaṃ sitādikam || 7 || pratibimbata sarvatra yena yena hi rañjitaṃ | tattad darśayate 'nyeṣāṃ na svabhāvena rañjitaḥ || 8 || tathā tathaiva deveśaḥ sarvāgamanīyojitaḥ | phalaṃ dadāti sarveṣāṃ sādhakānāṃ hi sarvataḥ || 9 || tasmāt srotaḥ susarveṣu cintāmaṇirivyojjvalaḥ | bhāvabhedenā vai dhyātaḥ sarvāgamaphalapradah || 10 ||* 6a *varṇam*] N1 N2: *varṇo* K, 6b *paramārtham vadāmite* N1 N2 6c *sarvagato devaḥ*] K: *sarvagatam devam* N1 N2, 6d *sarvāgamamayaḥ śubhaḥ*] K: *sarvāgamamayaṃ śubham* N1 N2, 7a *vyāpakam*] N1 N2: *vyāpakah* Kñ, 7b *sarvasiddhiphalapradam*] N1 N2: *sarvasiddhipradāyakah* K, 7c *tantu*] N1 N2: *tantau* K, 7d, *sitādikam*] N1 N2: *sitādike* K, 8b *rañjitaḥ*] N1 N2: *rañjitaṃ* K1.

The Three Meditations

Chapters six, seven, and eight, offer descriptions of three kinds of “meditation” (*dhyānam*), the gross (*sthūla-*), subtle (*sūkṣma-*), and supreme (*parā-*), which in chapter two (2.7b) Kṣemarāja had glossed as three methods of mantra, yoga, and knowledge (*jñānam*). These three the text describes as follows:

6.7. The king of mantras powerfully creates the gross [method that comprises] ritual, fire offering, mantra repetition and meditation accompanied by gestures, the framing mantras and so on.

6.8. The subtle [method] is by the practice of the centres of the body and so on, and by the arising of the channels and powers. The supreme [method] is God who bestows liberation, the essence of all, [whereby] one becomes the conqueror of death.¹⁰

The first comprises various magical practices involving mantra for the protection, notably the king and his family, and from affliction by malevolent supernatural forces, the various kinds of goddess and demonic beings that oppress people. These rites involve framing the sick person’s name within the *netra* mantra, OM JUM SAḤ and other rites.¹¹ The second meditation is on the subtle body and involves the visualization of the various centres and knots along the body’s vertical axis, famous from later Haṭha yoga, while the supreme yoga is a reinterpretation of Patañjali’s eightfold yoga, principally claiming that each of these stages in effect represents supreme knowledge of the non-dual reality of Śiva.¹² I will not describe these practices presented in the text here, but simply wish to make the point that this three-fold structure is used as a heuristic through which to absorb or organize a plethora of practices absorbed from its ambient culture and expresses the universalizing ambition of the text. The *Netra-tantra* is claiming that it embraces not only the highest theology on non-dual Śaivism, but also the practice of yogis developing subtle body

¹⁰ NT 6.7–8: *sthūlaṃ ca yajanaṃ homaṃ japadhyānaṃ samaudrakam | mantrāṇi saṃpuṭādīni mantrarāṭ kurute bhṛśam || 7 || sūkṣmaṃ cakrādiyogena kalānāḍyādayena ca | paraṃ sarvātmakaṃ devaṃ mokṣadaṃ mṛtyujid bhavet || 8 ||*. 7a ca] N1 N2 : tu K; homaṃ] N1 N2: homo K, 7b japadhyānaṃ samaudrakam] N1 N2: japo dhyānaṃ samudrakam K, 7c mantrāṇi saṃpuṭādīni] N1 N2: yantrāṇi mohanādīni K, 8b kalānāḍyādayena] N1 N2: kalānāḍyudayaena K, 8c devaṃ] N1 N2: caiva K.

¹¹ E.g. NT 6.18–20: 6.18. “If a weak man, filled with a hundred diseases, is looked after, then after repeating his name framed [by the *netra* mantra], he will be freed. 6.19. Even though by itself ineffective, whatever mantra the wise man repeats framed by the Lord of Immortality [mantra], with that he will quickly achieve success. 6.20. The framing mantra which is a remedy is given for the emaciated body, O Goddess. The strong one obtains nourishment O Goddess, in an instant.” *yadā vyādhiśākīrṇā hy abalo drśyate naraḥ | tadā tu saṃpuṭīkṛtya nāma japtvā vimucyate || 6.18 || yaṃ yaṃ maṃtram japet vidvān amṛtīśena saṃpuṭam | satasya siddhyate kṣipraṃ bhāgya hīno ‘pi yo bhavet || 6.19 || kṣīṇagātrasya deveśi bheṣajam mantrasaṃpuṭam | dīyate tatkaṣṇād devi sa puṣṭim labhate balī || 6.20 ||*. 18a vyādhiśākīrṇā] N1: vyādhiśatākīrṇo N2 K, 18c tadā tu] N1 N2: tadāsyā K, 19b amṛtīśena] N1 N2: amṛteśena K, 19c satasya siddhyate kṣipraṃ] N1 N2: tasya siddhyati sa kṣipraṃ K.

¹² See Bäumer 2019 for a translation and reading of chapters seven and eight.

practices, as well as practices of mantra that address everyday concerns of sickness, poverty, and the vanquishing of enemies attractive to kings.

Visualizations as Modes of Śiva

There follows a group of chapters (9–13) concerned with meditation or visualization of various deity systems. These chapters reflect the religious world of its composition and show how the text intends to embrace and bring all the different systems into its orbit. These chapters are a fine indication of the different sects operating at the time. If we take the order of chapters to reflect the order of importance of these groups, then the first visualization is of Sadāśiva, the central deity of the Śaiva Siddhānta. This would be the dominant form of Śaivism; the dualistic doctrine that offered a comprehensive system of initiation and daily ritual, ensuring liberation at death for the appropriately initiated but also offering the possibility of the path of power and pleasure in higher worlds, the path of the Sādhaka (Brunner 1974). Chapter nine opens with the explicit statement that the text intends to embrace all the different systems as manifestations of Mṛtyuñjit. The Goddess asks Bhairava:

The Goddess spoke:

9.1–2. I have heard all about the magnanimous system of mantra. Now I want to hear about that which is declared by my Lord, how he bestows perfection through the distinct modes which are the precepts of all the revelations, [namely] the left, right, Siddhānta, Saura, Vaiṣṇava and Vaidika [traditions].

9.3. So you must tell about the god who bestows fulfilment [on each] according to his desire, according to desired custom, [who bestows] the fruit of the wish fulfilling gem, O Lord of gods.¹³

Here the theological position of the text is made clear. The Lord bestows perfection (*siddhiḥ*), which also means power, through the different systems. These are the precepts (*vidhānam*) or perhaps “ways of life” would be better here, of the different systems of revelation (*āgamam*), and the text lists them. This refers to an emic division of the tantric revelation into the Siddhānta, the left path (*vāmamārgaḥ*), and the right path (*dakṣiṇamārgaḥ*), forms of religion that the Śaiva priest could perform. One can worship Sadāśiva in the context of the Siddhānta, Bhairava in the right path (*dakṣiṇamārgaḥ*), and Tumburu in the left path (*vāmamārgaḥ*) (Sanderson 2007: 386). Other systems dealt with are the Saura revelation of the sun, the Vaiṣṇava and

¹³ NT 9.1–3: *śrīdevyuvāca: śrutam mayā mahādevam mātmyam mantranāyakaṃ | adhunā śrotum icchāmi yaduktam vibhunā mama || 9.1 || sarvāgamavidhānena bhāvabhedena siddhidam | vāmadakṣiṇasiddhāntasauravaiṣṇavavaidike || 9.2 || yatheṣṭasiddhido devo yatheṣṭacarayogataḥ | tadākhyāhi sureśāna cintāratnaphalodayam || 9.3 ||* 9.1a *śrutam mayā mahādevam*] N1 N2: *śrutam deva mayā sarvam* K, 9.1b *mantranāyakaṃ*] N1 N2: *mantranāyake* K, 3a *yatheṣṭasiddhido devo*] N1 N2: *yatheṣṭasiddhidam devam*] K, 3b *yatheṣṭacarayogataḥ*] N1 N2: *yatheṣṭācārayogataḥ* K.

Vaidika revelations, but more than this, the text also absorbs the Buddha as a form of Amṛteśvara. Which revelation is followed seems to be of little consequence as all are manifestations of Amṛteśvara, depending on one's desire (*yatheṣṭasiddhidah*), desired custom (*ācārah*), and in distinct modes (*bhāvabhedaḥ*).

The term *bhāvabheda* is used several times in the text and we have already come upon it 9.10c cited above. I have rendered it here that the eye bestows perfection (*siddhidam*) through distinct modes (*bhāvabhedena*). It could indicate distinct or different emotional dispositions, or a more esoteric understanding might be through the ability to distinguish different modes of being or levels of the cosmos.¹⁴ But other passages support the idea of choice: according to the disposition of the practitioner. Thus, later in the text we read:

13.16. [The practitioner] should meditate according to his disposition, [because] by whatever method he becomes identical to him [Amṛteśa]. [This is] the command of the Goddess.¹⁵

This sense of *bhāvabheda* referring to qualities of the individual practitioner occurs in other places. Śiva explains the universal mantra used in ritual that is nevertheless in accordance with the modes of the worshipper.

16.20. Therefore, I will speak about the ritual of [the mantra] that is always to be performed universally, O Goddess, according to the distinction of [the practitioner's] mode. It is done according to [my power of] will.¹⁶

The universal mantra is used in accordance with the mode of the practitioner and the tradition. And with the mantra, liberation and power is achieved:

16.15. The [mantra] to be worshipped obtains liberation and magical powers according to different modes [of practitioners], which practice is taught by me in the scriptural teachings [and] traditions, particularly the rite of sacrifice and fire offerings.¹⁷

The various scriptural traditions, including the Vedic fire sacrifice, are all forms of Amṛteśvara and are the modes of practitioners who live within them. And again, the text indicates that different practices are performed in accordance with the practitioner's disposition or preference:

¹⁴ Discussion with Dr. Wernicke-Olesen who proposed this interpretation.

¹⁵ NT 13.16: *yena yena prakāreṇa bhāvabhedena saṁsmaret | tasya tanmayāṃ yāti ity ājñā pārameśvarī* || 16 ||. 16c *tanmayāṃ yāti*] N1 N2: *tanmayatām eti K*. The term *pārameśvarī* is attested in the Nepal manuscripts and in K rather than *pārameśvaryāḥ*, but the context seems to make the genitive appropriate.

¹⁶ NT 20. *tasmāt sarvaṃ sadā devi yaṣṭavyaṃ bhāvabhedataḥ | yāgamasya pravakṣyāmi kṛyate tu yathechchayā* || 20 || *kṛyate*] N1: *kṛiyate* N2 K.

¹⁷ NT 16.15–16ab: *bhāvabhedena yaṣṭavyo mokṣasiddhim samīhate | yasmin yasmin yadācāraṃ mayā śāstreṣu bhāṣitam* || 16.15 || *srotassu tat tathā kāryaṃ viśeṣād yāghomayoḥ* | 16.16ab.

16.51. By whatever practice or by what is appropriate to one's nature, be that general, particular, or Kaulika [one achieves success], O Goddess.¹⁸

The text expresses in a different terminology the point of 9.1–2 where the different traditions are modes of Śiva, but here widening it to the totality of practices. Universal or common worship (*sāmānyam*) refers to popular worship as found and prescribed in the epics and Purāṇas, forms of worship open to all four caste categories, and this includes those who undergo Śaiva initiation, whereas particular or special worship (*viśeṣam*) is restricted to the twice-born, who undertake the prescriptions of the Vedas (i.e. Śruti) and Dharmaśāstras (Sanderson 2007: 232). Sanderson cites the *Jayadrathayāmala* that outlines this system where those who follow the Saura, Śaiva, and Pāñcarātra scriptures, along with the followers of the Atharvaveda as well as the Buddhists and Jains, are regarded as following particular or special worship because a person follows one of them, having undertaken a special observance or vow (*vratam*) (Sanderson 2007: 232–233). The *Netra-tantra* refers to a third mode of practice, the Kaulika or the esoteric teachings of the Goddess tradition often involving transgression. Although there is no explicit suggestion of a hierarchy of value here in the sense that all these forms of practice bring success, the sequence suggests some gradation from exoteric to esoteric.

The syntactic structure of relative-correlative terms, of instrumental *yena yena* ..., “by whatever...”, followed by *tena tena* ... “by that” or *tasya* ... is used fairly frequently to articulate this unified theological vision. So we have in chapter eight:

8.54cd–56ab: By whatever method by which he should meditate, by that mode the Yogi becomes a conqueror of time. Wherever he is established or by whatever observance, and by whatever practice [which is] a distinction of mode, he achieves success.¹⁹

Again, we have the phrase *bhāvabhedenā* here linked to the term *yoga*, which we can probably render simply as “practice” although Kṣemarāja restricts the term to be practices occurring in the scriptures (*saṃhitāsu*). In his commentary on 3.25cd to 3.26ab, Kṣemarāja cites a now lost text, which we know is the *Triśirobhairava-tantra* (first chapter), articulating the theological vision that by different practices the practitioner becomes identical with that supreme reality. The text uses a parallel construction:

Whatever form the Practitioner should constantly visualize, by that he goes to identification with that [supreme reality. This is] the wish fulfilling gem that is the Lord.²⁰

¹⁸ NT 16.51: *yena yenopacāreṇa bhāvabhedenā yena vā | sāmānyena viśeṣeṇa kaulikenātha suvrate || 16.51 ||*

¹⁹ NT 8.54c–56ab: *yena yena prakāreṇa yatra yatraiva saṃsmaret || 8.54 || tena tenaiva bhāvena sa yogī kālajid bhavet | yatra yatra sthito vāpi yena yena vratena vā || 8.55 || yena yena ca yogena bhāvabhedenā siddhyati.*

²⁰ *Triśirobhairava-tantra* 1 cited at NTU 3.25. *yena yena hi rūpeṇa sādhaḥ saṃsmaretsadā | tasya tanmayatām yāti cintāmaṇiriveśvaraḥ.* The same verse is cited by Jayaratha in his com-

The text – and others – seems to want to override the significant theological differences between the schools as does Kṣemarāja in the sense that he wishes to absorb them within his Śākta orientated non-dualism. But the *Netra-tantra* itself is clearly of the view that all theologies are modes of a unitary reality. The verse on which Kṣemarāja was commenting reads:

3.25–26ab: He should meditate upon the wish-fulfilling gem in accordance with his distinct nature in accordance with the distinct nature [of the deity as] gentle, fierce, terrible and deformed [namely] Sadāśiva, Bhairava, Tumburu and Vīranayaka.²¹

In this passage distinction of the modes or *bhāvabheda* of the practitioner is in accordance with that of the types of deities worshipped. The phrase *bhāvabheda* is also applied to Śiva himself. In chapter sixteen we read:

16.3. Śiva pervades, he is the conqueror of death comprising all the gods. According to the [various] modes of his being he is to be worshipped through many traditions.²²

Here *bhāvabheda* seems to refer to the manifestations of Śiva and asserts the central theological vision that all various traditions are forms or manifestations of Amṛteśvara. The term *bhāvabheda* can refer both to dispositions of practitioners and to traditions themselves. Indeed, rather than simply personal preference, what is indicated here is that the manifold traditions are forms of the one reality of Śiva called Amṛteśvara. *Bhāvabheda* is a term used to support the universal claim of the text and its unified theological vision.

This idea is further reinforced through the visualization chapters. These include the standard form of Sadāśiva of the central tradition of the Śaiva Siddhānta (chapter 9), Bhairava (chapter 10), Tumburu (chapter 11), and Kuleśvara (chapter 12). An interesting chapter thirteen includes other diverse traditions, namely worship of Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa with Śrī seated on his lap and surrounded in the directions by the goddesses Jayā, Lakṣmī, Kīrti and Māyā,²³ an ithyphallic youth mounted on a ram and playing with a crowd of naked young women,²⁴ indicative of a form of Kṛṣṇa although not attested anywhere else to my knowledge, the universal form of Viṣṇu (*viśvarūpam*), and his incarnations as the Man–Lion, Dwarf, and Kapila.²⁵ The text again uses the term *bhāvabheda*, that the practitioner should meditate by whatever method according to his disposition, for whatever the way, he becomes identical

mentary on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* 1.115 where he names the text.

²¹ NT 3. 25–26ab: *atha cintāmaṇiprakhyam bhāvabhedenā saṁsmaret | saumyam raudram tathā bhīmaṁ vikṛtam bhāvabhedataḥ || 25 || sadāśivam bhairavam ca tumburum vīranayakam |*.

²² NT 16.3: *sarvadevamayo hy eṣa mṛtyujid vyāpakah śivah | bahubhiḥ saṁpradāyaiś ca yaṣṭavyo bhāvabhedataḥ || 3 ||*

²³ NT 13.2–9

²⁴ NT 13.10–12.

²⁵ NT 13.13cd–15.

with Amṛteśvara.²⁶ There is an elaborate visualization of the sun²⁷ and of the Buddha in the ragged clothes of a monk and presenting the fear-not and boon-giving gestures while holding a rosary and lotus (presumably in four hands). This form, the text tells us, gives liberation to women in particular,²⁸ and illustrates the general Śaiva attitude to Buddhism as a religion for women (in contrast to the masculine Śaivism) that was often patronized by queens rather than kings (Sanderson 2004: 254).²⁹ So while at one level the text seems to regard all traditions as fungible, at another level it places its own universalizing claim at the top.

The Goddess in the Netra-tantra

On the one hand this universalizing claim is Śaiva in the sense that the text proclaims the supremacy of Amṛteśvara and the eye (*netram*) embracing all traditions, yet on the other hand there is some suggestion that it is the Goddess who is supreme. This begins to be hinted at quite early on. In the passage cited above in chapter sixteen we have a sequence of revelations, with the implicit idea that the Kaulika tradition is the esoteric culmination, transcending the general and the particular revelations (16.45). In the chapter on meditation on Kuleśvara (chapter 9), the text classifies the deity as being within the Bhairava current of revelation, which it calls the *kulāmnayadarśana* (9.1), the worldview of the Kula tradition. In this chapter the text has Kuleśvara in the centre of a lotus, on whose eight petals eight goddesses are located, the eight Mothers, famous in Kaula literature.³⁰ Few iconographic details are given, although Kṣemarāja fills them out in his commentary.

Another indication of the emergence of female deities in the text is chapter eleven where Tumburu and his four sisters is described as being the left current or path (*vāmamārgaḥ*) or the northern system (NT 11.1: *uttaratantram*). Although Tumburu is located in the calyx of the lotus, it is his sisters on the primary petals and the messengers (*dūtīḥ*) on the petals of the intermediate directions, who bestow power (NT 11.32). There is evidence of the Goddess tradition in the subtle meditation (*sūkṣmadhyānam*) of chapter seven where a system of visualizing the subtle body is

²⁶ NT 13.16: “[The practitioner] should meditate according to his disposition [for] by whatever method, he becomes identical to him [Amṛteśa]. [This is] the command of the Goddess.” *yena yena prakāreṇa bhāvabhedenā saṁsmaret | tasya tanmayatām eti ityāññā pārameśvaryāḥ* || 13.16 ||.

²⁷ NT. 13.17–28.

²⁸ NT 13.35–36.

²⁹ For example, the chief queen Paramādevī of the Āndhra king Mahrāja Govindvarman I (r. c. 422–62) founded a Buddhist monastery (Sanderson 2009: 70–71).

³⁰ NT 9.3–4. They are Brahmī, Maheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Mahendrī, Cāmuṇḍā and Bahurūpinī, established in due order from the east. These are extensions of the seven great mothers (*mahāmātrikā*) and the text mentions the seven elsewhere (at 19.55–56).

presented according to the Kula system, the *kulaprakrīyā*, in which the nectar of immortality held at the crown of the head is visualized as flooding the body: a specifically Kaula practice indicating a Śākta anthropology as Wernicke-Olesen observes (Wernicke-Olesen 2018: 244).³¹ Lastly, we have the presence of the Goddess in the chapters on possession (chapters 19 and 21 of the Nepalese edition, 20 in the KSTS edition) and exorcism or the gross meditation (*sthūladhyānam*, chapter 6). It is here much further into the text that we have the idea of female supernatural agents, the Yoginis (Törzsök 1999). These female supernatural beings who possess people and cause such harm in people's lives, turn out to be a central feature of the soteriological system. The Yoginis are in fact instruments of Śiva's grace in liberating bound souls. Indeed, the bound souls are sacrifices to Śiva – that is their purpose – and the term *paśu*, beast/soul, points to this meaning. In an important section the text reads:

The Lord spoke:

21.4. Listen, O Goddess, I will tell [you] the secret, supreme wonder, from the teachings of the Lord for bound souls, since [the malevolent beings] desire to hurt living creatures.

21.5. Those [Yoginis who are] bereft of greed and delusion, free from passion and hate, will offer humans to the God of Gods for the purpose of sacrifice.

21.6. They do not harm [for they are] without greed, without desire to harm, they protect the teaching of the god, the Great Bhairava.

21.7. Why are souls created just [from] the self [of] the self-created one? The souls are used for the purpose of sacrifice to the Lord, not otherwise.

21.8. [In that way the Yoginis] free souls from sin, O fair one, as instruments of grace; [the Yoginis] cut the flood of their bonds.

21.9. Of the souls used [in this way, the soul] goes to the highest abode; [The Yoginis] unite [the souls to Śiva] by the command of Śiva by three methods.

21.10. They unite [the souls] by the three supreme, subtle, and gross [methods] and they do not simply kill with their power.³²

Far from being driven by lust to consume the life force of human beings, the Yogini are bereft of any fault and act in accordance with divine will. Again, we have men-

³¹ NT 7.1–3.

³² NT 21.4–10: *bhagavān uvāca: śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi rahasyaṃ paramādbhūtam | yathā prāṇā jighāṃsanti paśūnāṃ paśiṣāsanāt || 4 || rāgadveṣa[-vi]muktā lobhamohavivarjitāḥ | yāgarthaṃ devadevasya paśavaḥ prokṣayanti tāḥ || 5 || na lobhena na hīṃsaṃti na caiva hi jighāṃsayā | mahābhairavadevasya śāsa[naṃ pā]layanti tāḥ || 6 || yad artha[m] paśavas sṛṣṭā[h] svayam eva svayambhuvā | paśavaḥ patiyāgarthaṃ upayujanti nānyathā || 7 || teṣāṃ anugrahārthāya paśūnāṃ ca varānane | mocaya[nti] hi pāṇebhyaḥ pāśaughāṃ chedayanti tāḥ || 8 || paśūnāṃ upayuktānāṃ nityam ūrdhvagatirbhavet | trividhena tu yogena yojayanti śivāy ayā || 9 || pareṇaiva hi sūkṣmeṇa sthū[lena] tritayena tu | yojayanti na caivātra ghātayanti balena tāḥ || 10 ||*

tion of the threefold yoga of gross, subtle, and supreme that is a structuring principle of the *Netra* and an eschatological claim about the purpose of creation, namely that souls are a sacrifice to the Lord, and a soteriological claim that through that sacrifice they are saved.

Indices of Cultural Diversity

The *Netra-tantra* is a text that contains a diversity of topics and reflects different social strata to which its themes point, but its final redaction, it seems to me, brings this diversity into a high degree of theological coherence. While it is possible or even probable that the text was built up over time, without a concerted linguistic study, it is, as yet, too early to identify specific layers and the sequence of layering that comprises the text. It could be that the possession and exorcism sections represent an earlier level (White 2012), but I am not convinced, as I see no reason why the yoga, mantra, or visualization materials could not equally be candidates. Perhaps a more useful way of looking at this, at least until a more thorough study could be completed that persuasively identifies the buildup of textual layers, is to see the final redactor or team bringing coherence to a number of blocks of textual material. The three yogas (gross, subtle, and supreme) form a structure by which the redactors have organized different practices and the all-inclusivity of the text can be understood because of its aspiration to universality.

The opening chapter on the eye and the Goddess's questions about its nature are not returned to and yet the opening chapter sets the universalizing theme. This is also provided by the mantra, the instruction concerning its formation, and its use through the text as embodying the Śiva's power of the Goddess. The chapters on visualization of the various deity systems again serve to bring coherence to diversity, as does the possession material and chapter on the Yoginis. Thus, on the one hand the text contains statements about non-dualist philosophy in its interpretation of the eight-fold yoga of Patañjali (chapter 8), while also containing prescriptions for protection against and cures for possession by supernatural agencies (chapter 19). While the *Netra-tantra* may be aimed at higher social echelons, specifically kings who might be patrons of its system, to some extent it cuts across the class-caste categories. The chapters on possession might point to lower caste groups but belief in the evil eye was prevalent at all social levels. Moreover, it assumes the rites of the Śaiva Siddhānta in its chapters on initiation and ritual as having been dealt with in other texts. In the range of texts of the period, the *Netra* builds on a body of Tantras intending to transcend the others in the claim to universality.

We might read this diversity as an index of a diversity of cultural and social forms at the time of its composition. There are subtle yoga practices focusing on the subtle body, possession and exorcism, the formation of the mantra, and visualiza-

tions of various deities from several traditions and the text embodies different understandings of the nature of the person, a gnostic view, a processual view in which the yogi ascends the cosmical hierarchy to Śiva, and a transactional view in which the boundaries between self and world are porous (Flood 2020). There is also a political agenda in the text, as Sanderson has argued, in which the Śaiva guru becomes the royal chaplain, the *rājapurohita*, performing apotropaic rites for the protection of the king, his family, and the kingdom (Sanderson 2004). This is Śaivism encroaching upon the traditional ground of the Vedic priest. There is also a theological agenda for a unified vision of a transcendent yet immanent Śiva as Amṛteśvara, who appears in a diversity of traditions and forms. It is this singular theistic reality that is to be approached according to tradition and personal disposition and which gives the fruit of liberation and worldly powers. The text may be an index of the political aspiration of Śaivism to attract patronage and become the dominant religious form, an aspiration that it fulfils (Sanderson 2009), yet it is also an index of a soteriological aspiration as a vehicle for practitioners to achieve success, and of a sociological aspiration for curing ordinary ills from disease to poverty. The *Netra-tantra* expresses a new ideal of universal inclusivity expressed in the topics it covers and in its insistence on the power of the Netra mantra: a wide cultural diversity is embraced by the singular theological vision of a Śaiva-Śākta transcendent power that can embrace all within it. The text consciously locates itself within the mainstream Śaiva tradition and Brahmanical orthodoxy, even reflecting metaphors from the *Bhagavadgītā*, and while it might not offer a social vision of the future – few texts do – it does offer eschatological hope and an implicit aspiration for prosperity under the righteous and successful king.

Somewhat like the *Bhagavadgītā*, that Professor Ježić has identified, the *Netra-tantra* offers indices of a diversity of cultural or religious practices during the early medieval period. But we probably cannot yet identify a chronology of practices because mantra, yoga, and exorcism all have their roots in the distant past. The genius of the *Netra-tantra* lies in its ability to cohere into a single text such diversity and to offer to kings down to common people, a vision of future salvation and hope for everyday and political success, a hope that meant the text sustained communities in Kashmir and Nepal for many hundreds of years.

Abbreviations

K = *Netra-tantra* as published in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies edition.

Na = *Amṛteśatantra*, NAK MS 1–285, NGMPP Reel No. B 25/5.

Nb = *Amṛteśatantra*, NAK 5–4866, NGMPP Reel No. A 171/12.

NAK = National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu

NGMPP = Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project

NT = *Netra-tantra*

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Sažetak

Ovaj je rad je napisan u čast mog cijenjenog kolege Mislava Ježića koji je kroz pomnu tekstualnu analizu ustvrdio da možemo identificirati različite slojeve *Bhagavadgīte*, posebno izvorni sloj (Ježić 1986; 1989), koji su oblikovali tekst koji je došao do nas. Inspiriran njegovim radom, u ovom radu želim identificirati neke teme pronađene u *Netratantri* koje ukazuju na načine na koje su redaktor ili redaktori obrađivali različite materijale i stvorili sintezu, stvarajući tako tekst koji sadrži jedinstvenu viziju koja je bila vrlo uspješna i koja je imala veliki utjecaj na politički i vjerski život u Kašmiru i Nepal. Tekst nudi inovaciju koja spaja kulturološki različite teme i prakse u ujedinjuću teološku, pa čak i političku viziju.

On negation, absence and non-existence: Vaiyākaraṇa and Naiyāyika view

Abstract

In this contribution I propose to analyse the concepts of negation, absence and non-existence in the works of classical Indian Grammarians (especially Patañjali in *Mahābhāṣya*) and the Nyāya philosophical school in its classical period. Indian Grammarians, following probably the hermeneutics of Vedic rituals, distinguished two types of negation—implicative negation (*paryudāsa-pratiṣedha*) and non-implicative (absolute) negation (*prasajya-pratiṣedha*). These two types of negation in Grammarians originally appear as a part of the so-called prohibitive rules (*pratiṣedha-vidhi*) that impose various kinds of restrictions on the domain of application of certain (Pāṇini's) grammatical rules of derivation (*vidhisūtra*). Patañjali, however, also develops a discussion regarding the semantic value of (implicative) negation, which certainly found its echo in the philosophical analyses of the Nyāya school. However, Nyāya does not deal primarily with the problem of negation as a negating statement/term (*prasajya-*, *paryudāsapratiṣedha*) but is interested in “hypostasized negation” or “absence” (or “non-being”, *abhāva*) as an objective component of the content of our cognition. In the following, various Nyāya arguments in support of this claim are analysed based on the classical works of that school, *Nyāyasūtra*, *Nyāyabhāṣya* and *Nyāyavārtika*. The conclusion highlights some similarities between the Grammarians' and Nyāya's approach, Nyāya's critique of the Buddhist “absolute” negation “self does not exist”, as well as some examples of the Buddhist (Madhyamaka school) use of (non-implicative) negation.

Theory of negation and contradiction within the Vedic hermeneutical tradition: Introduction

The Sanskrit term for negation is *pratiṣedha* (from the verb root *prati√SIDH*) basic meaning being “prevention”, “prohibition”, and then “denial”, “negation”. Sometimes the term *niṣedha* (from *ni√SIDH*) appears in the same meaning. From the

same root is also derived one of the sanskrit terms for contradiction, *vipratishedha*, or “mutual prohibition”¹.

Historically, concepts of negation and contradiction seem to have emerged within the Vedic hermeneutic tradition of analysing ritual injunctions (*codanā*, *vidhi*) formulated in an imperative or optative (“should”) mode. There are a myriad of these injunctions that are not necessarily compatible with each other, sometimes seem to contradict each other, and it was necessary to harness some hermeneutic tool to reconcile them. Thus, e.g. the *Āpastambaśrautasūtra* (fifth to fourth century BC) records a case where a priest is unable to perform a sacrifice in accordance with what is prescribed to him on the basis of one ritual rule because he is already performing a sacrifice on the basis of some other ritual rule. Therefore, the text formulates a principle that applies in cases of mutual contradiction between two rules and that is applicable to the same (ritual) situation.² This new principle or rule is actually a “meta-rule” (*paribhāṣa*) that “manipulates” the original rules by resolving the contradiction.

There are ritual injunctions that are formulated negatively (prohibitively). Hermeneutics of Vedic rituals asks the following: Is prohibition non-implicative (absolute) or implicative, i.e. implies or allows (ritual) activities that are contrary to the prohibited?

The ritualist’s view is as follows: If a prohibitive injunction is expressed in such a way that the negation “no” (*nañ*, according to Pāṇini’s notation for negation) is associated with a verbal ending (“he will not eat”), then the prohibition is absolute and does not imply the possibility or necessity of executing some other injunction. If a positive injunction is unequivocally encouraged to be executed, then that same injunction, when it is joined by a negation, unambiguously indicates the opposite of the encouragement, i.e. prohibition. It is pointed out, however, that something that was not previously established cannot be forbidden since prohibition depends on (previous) establishment (of something positive).³ Hence, positive injunction and prohibition are of a completely different meaning:

“But if the meaning of sentences (of prohibition) were that actions other than (those prohibited, such as) killing etc. were to be performed, they would be alike in meaning, because in both cases alike simply something to be done would be established. And that is not correct.”⁴

This type of absolute or non-implicative negation or prohibition, which is syntactically always related to the verbal ending is simply called *pratiśedha* or *niśedha*.

But negation can also occur attached to nouns. In these cases, the negation is

¹ This is how Patañjali interprets the term: *itaretarapratishedhaḥ vipratishedhaḥ anyonyapratishedhaḥ vipratishedhaḥ* | (MahāBh 1,304.11, ad P. 1.4.2)

² Staal 1962: 53.

³ Edgerton 1929: 171.

⁴ Edgerton 1929: 166 (*Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa* 325).

not prohibitive (absolute) but implicative. E.g. the negation “*abrāhmaṇa*” (“non-Brahmin”) implies everything that is not Brahmin or a class of all objects that are not Brahmins or that are contrary to Brahmins, i.e. *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras*. Likewise, when negation directly joins the verb root, the negation will be implicative rather than prohibitive. E.g. “*nekṣeta*” (“he should not look”, optative mode) suggests certain meaning that is the opposite of looking (*īkṣaṇa-virodhī*).⁵ This kind of negation is called *paryudāsa* (“exclusion”).

Thus, ritualists distinguish between two types of negation, prohibition (absolute or non-implicative negation, *pratiṣedha* or *niṣedha*) and exclusion (*paryudāsa*, implicative negation) and formulate a (syntactic) rule of formation for both cases:

“Exclusion is to be understood where the negative is taken with another word (than the verbal ending; i.e. with the verbal root, or a different word, as a noun). Prohibition is to be understood where the negative is taken with the verb(-al ending).”⁶

Vaiyākaraṇa on negation: syntactical and semantical approach

Indian grammarians treat the problem of negation (and contradiction) in an analogous way. The only difference is in the subject matter to which their analyses relate. This subject matter are no longer rituals and ritual injunctions but primarily spoken language (Sanskrit) of the “educated élites” (*śiṣṭa*) and to a lesser extent Vedic language. Instead of a series of ritual injunctions or rules expressed in an imperative or optative mode that ritualists seek to bring into harmony, where it is evident that they oppose or even contradict each other, by shaping a whole series of “meta-rules” (*paribhāṣa*) through which these injunctions are “manipulated” and harmonized, Indian grammarians have before them a series of (Pāṇini’s) rules of grammatical formation (expressed, however, in the indicative) which are also sometimes opposed to each other or even contradictory with regard to their application and which also required the formulation of certain “meta-rules” (*paribhāṣa*) which should determine with a precision the scope of their application, the hierarchy of their validity, etc. Already in Pāṇini we find the formulation of some of these “meta-rules”, e.g. P. 1,4,2. *vipratīṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* “In case of contradiction (between two grammatical rules), the later (rule) should be applied”. “Later” rule here means a rule that appears later in the text.⁷ In the commentary, Patañjali (second century BC) gives a definition of contradiction (*vipratīṣedha*): “When two (rules) with different meanings are applied to one (word), it is a contradiction.”⁸

The problem of negation in grammarians primarily arises as a part of the

⁵ Staal 1962: 59.

⁶ Edgerton 1929: 167 (*Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa* 330).

⁷ Staal 1962: 55.

⁸ MahāBh 1,304.13–14, ad P. 1,4,2: *dvau prasaṅgau anyārthau ekasmin saḥ vipratīṣedhaḥ*.

formulation of rules that define grammatical formations. There are general rules (*utsarga*), specific rules or “exceptions” (*apavāda*) and negative or “prohibitive” rules (*pratiṣedha*). Their relationship, with respect to the domain of their validity, is roughly as follows: The general rule is applicable in all domains of application. A specific rule opposes a general rule by formulating a special rule for a specific domain of a general rule, which is contrary to the general rule, thus limiting its domain. The prohibitive rule, on the other hand, opposes the general or specific rule by nullifying their grammatical operation (domain of validity).⁹

This cancellation can result in two outcomes. If in the rule in question negation is associated with the next word (negative compound) then the outcome is a positive rule that covers the domain that remains by excluding the negative rule. If, on the other hand, negation is associated with a verbal ending then the outcome is a negative rule that completely nullifies the operation of the positive rule.¹⁰ Thus grammarians, as well as ritualists, operate with two types of negative utterances. The first type is called *paryudāsa-pratiṣedha* (ritualists: *paryudāsa*), and the second *prasajya-pratiṣedha* (ritualists: *pratiṣedha* simply). Also, the first type of negation expresses a difference (*bheda*), e.g. “*abrāhmaṇa*” (“non-Brahmin”), expresses a member of the remaining three castes. The second type of negation expresses absence (*abhāva*), e.g. in the compound “*asūryampaśyāni (mukhāni)*”, “(faces) of the sun-not-looking”, the negation expresses the absence of the act of looking.¹¹

Returning to the negative (prohibitive) rules, the same principle applies here as with the ritualists (see above), namely the negative rule must be considered together with the rule whose operation it nullifies. Negation (*pratiṣedha*) presupposes and demands “that which is denied” (*pratiṣedhya, negandum*). Negation is always the negation of something or in relation to something: “Having set something up, one says ‘no’; thus there will be both (both the set and its negation/absence).”¹² In this connection, a rule has been formulated that is already well known to us:

“Where the *vidhi* is subordinate and the *pratiṣedha* principal, (that is,) where (the meaning of) the negative (is concomitant) with activity, there is *prasajya-pratiṣedha*; but where the *vidhi* is principal and the *pratiṣedha* subordinate, (that is,) where the negative (is concomitant) with the second member of a compound, there is *paryudāsa*.”¹³

Patañjali also develops a discussion of the semantic value of the *paryudāsa*-type of negation (implicative negation) as a commentary to P. 2.2.6 which states that the negative particle *nañ* associated with the next (declinable) word constitutes a

⁹ Cf. Cardona 1967: 54.

¹⁰ Cardona 1967: 54.

¹¹ Cardona 1967: 40–41.

¹² MahāBh 1,103.3, ad P. 1,1.44: *prasajya kim cit na vā iti ucyate tena ubhayam bhaviṣyati* |

¹³ *aprādhānyam vidheryatra pratiṣedhe pradhānatā prasajyapraṭiṣedho 'yam kriyayā saha yatra nañ prādhānyam tu vidheryatra pratiṣedhe 'pradhānatā paryudāsaḥ sa vijñeyo yatrot-tarapadena nañ* | trans. Cardona 1967: 42.

compound of the tatpuruṣa type, e.g. “abrāhmaṇa” (“who is not Brahmin”, “non-Brahmin”).

Patañjali starts from the grammatical rule that the compound has the meaning of the last member as its fundamental meaning (*uttarapadārthapradhāna*, MahāBh 1,410.9, ad P. 2,2.6). But since the negative particle *a-* by itself signifies “non-existence in general” (*asatsāmānya*), and “brāhmaṇa” as the second member of the compound “abrāhmaṇa” signifies certain existence (*sat*), as such it is impossible to bring them into a semantic relationship because existence (particular or general) and non-existence (semantically) mutually nullify each other. Patañjali tries to solve the problem by establishing a “qualifier-qualified” relationship (*viśeṣaka-viśiṣṭa*) between the first and the second member of the compound. Thus e.g. in the statement *abrāhmaṇam ānaya* “bring a non-Brahmin” to the question of which person will be brought, Patañjali answers that bringing will happen for that (person) who is marked with the word (qualifier) and qualified by the negative particle *nañ*.¹⁴ That word whose meaning is qualified with *nañ* is nothing but a word whose “objectivity” (*padārtha*)¹⁵ has been removed (*nivṛtta*)¹⁶. (MahāBh 1,410.9, ad P. 2,2.6)

Thus, in the statement “bring a non-Brahmin”, Brahmin is not brought because here Brahmin is such a word whose *padārtha* is removed by the use of the negative particle *nañ* which qualifies it so. But since the word “Brahmin” signals to us, so to speak, which *padārtha* should be removed, it thus qualifies itself as the main member of the compound. In other words, non-existence cannot be specified until its (positive) counterpart (“Brahmin”) is stated, which thus (nevertheless) positively indicates the reference of the compound.

Patañjali then considers the following: If the *padārtha* of an object is removed by using negative particle, is this removal (*nivṛtti*) inherent in the nature of the object (*svābhāvikī*) or is it dependent on the use of the word (*vācanikī*), namely the use of the negative particle? (MahāBh 1,410.9, ad P. 2,2.6) According to the first alternative elimination or absence of e.g. “brahmanhood” is inherent in the nature of something else, e.g. in the nature of *kṣatriya*. According to the second, the very use of the negative particle leads to the removal of the object just as an appropriate drug removes the disease. But if removal is inherent in the nature of the object (e.g. *kṣatriya*), then why use a negative particle at all?¹⁷ Since everyone knows that *kṣatriya* is someone in whom brahmanhood does not exist, what is the purpose of

¹⁴ MahāBh 1,103.3, ad P. 1,1.44: *tena viśiṣṭasyānayanam bhavati ihāpi tarhi nañ viśeṣakah prayujyate tena nañviśiṣṭasyānayanam bhaviṣyati*.

¹⁵ *Padārtha* can mean both an object *per se* but also an object as a referent of a word (“meaning”). In the first part of the discussion Patañjali seems to have the first option in mind, but it will be revealed later that he actually takes *padārtha* in a sense of a meaning of an object that is mental in nature.

¹⁶ Just like *padārtha*, *nivṛtta* can refer to the non-linguistic reality in the sense of removed (object), annulled (object) but also to the domain that concerns meaning (denied, negated).

¹⁷ MahāBh 1,103.3, ad P. 1,1.44.: *yadi svābhāvikī kim nañ prayujyamāṇaḥ karoti* |

calling it “abrāhmaṇa” (non-Brahmin)? On the other hand, if the removal depends on the use of the negative particle, then a rule should be formulated according to which the negative particle *nañ* has the power to remove *padārtha* of an object.¹⁸ But, Patañjali ironically remarks, “if it were the great power of the negative particle *nañ*, kings would never have to (physically) hold back (the enemy’s) army (‘elephants and horses’), they should just say ‘no’.”¹⁹

It is now clear that understanding of *padārtha* as a concrete physical object whose objectivity has been removed by the use of a negative particle leads to absurdity. Patañjali therefore accepts the *svābhāvikanivṛtti* (removal is inherent in the nature of things) view but understanding the term *padārtha* in a sense of the “concept” or “idea” of the object (“meaning of the word”) and not in a sense of the concrete physical object. What is caused by the negative particle (*nañnimittā*) is the idea or “perception” (*upalabdhi*) of the absence of the object (MahāBh 1,410.9, ad P. 2,2.6). A negative particle does the same thing as a lamp: The lamp allows the perception of objects standing in the dark, but it does not produce them.²⁰ Returning to our example, the negative particle does not eliminate “brahmanhood” as a physical entity but brings the absence of brahmanhood (e.g. in *kṣatriya*) to our understanding. It does not, therefore, produce absence, but only reveals it by pointing out, at the same time, the object of negation. Negation is always negation of something (existing) and in negative statements there is always a requirement for the presence of the opposition (“counterpositive”) of the negative particle, a word that expresses a meaning that is absent:

(The word ‘Brahmin’, whose meaning is denied in ‘abrāhmaṇa’, is used) to be understood in this way, (namely) it denies (negates) its meaning. For if one simply says “no” a dilemma would arise, (namely) whose meaning (negative particle) denies (negates). Therefore, the word “Brahmin” was used to remove this doubt.²¹

The negation of the term (*pariyudāsa*, implicative negation) thus reveals the fact of the absence of the referent of the term in something else in which it is inherently present (*svābhāvika*). The obvious assumption of this explanation is that the term refers to a property of a class or a generic property (*jāti*). “Non-Brahmin” expresses the absence of brahmanhood in *kṣatriya* (*vaiśya* and *śūdra*). A further implication is that the negation of the term is not vaguely implicative in a sense that “non-Brahmin” literally means everything that is not Brahmin (fishes, mountains, houses,...), but that it operates within the same class, in this case within the “caste” class.

¹⁸ MahāBh 1,103.3, ad P. 1,1.44: *atha vācanikī tat vaktavyam: nañ prayujyamāṇaḥ padārtham nivartayati* |

¹⁹ MahāBh 1,103.3, ad P. 1,1.44: *yadi etat nañāḥ mātmyam syāt na jātu cit rājānaḥ hastyasvam bibhṛyuh naiti eva rājānaḥ brūyuh* |

²⁰ MahāBh 1,103.3, ad P. 1,1.44: *tat yathā samandhakāre dravyāṇām samavasthitānām pradīpnimitam darśanam na ca teṣām pradīpaḥ nirvartakaḥ bhavati* |

²¹ MahāBh 1,103.3, ad P. 1,1.44: *evam yathā vijñāyeta asya padārthaḥ nivartate iti na iti hi ukte sandehaḥ syāt kasya padārthaḥ nivartate iti tatra asandehārtham brāhmaṇasabdāḥ prayujyate* |

Patañjali, however, proposes an alternative explanation but with basically the same outcome. Words such as “Brahmin”, “*kṣatriya*”, “*vaiśya*” and “*śūdra*” can be understood in a sense that they stand for a whole or a “cluster” of certain properties (*guṇasamudāya*). Thus the properties of a Brahmin or what makes a Brahmin Brahmin (*brāhmaṇakāraka*) are asceticism (*tapas*), learning (*śruta*) and birth (*yonī*, Brahmin by birth). But it is possible that properties or qualities like learning and asceticism are absent in a Brahmin, so he is a Brahmin only by birth. Thus the word “Brahmin” can mean a Brahmin who is a Brahmin only by birth, while he lacks all the other characteristic properties of a Brahmin. But that word can also denote a person who is not a Brahmin by birth, but possesses all the other properties (qualities) of a Brahmin. The semantic principle required for the description of this situation is that the same word that denotes a whole (or a whole of properties) also denotes individual parts (or individual properties).²²

In this regard, the meaning of “Brahmin” in the negation “*abrāhmaṇa*” can be twofold. If it is a Brahmin who is a Brahmin only by birth (caste) but lacks other properties of being Brahmin, then the “Brahmin” in “*abrāhmaṇa*” will stand for the property of birth while the negative particle will deny the presence of other properties of Brahmin. On the other hand, “Brahmin” in “*abrāhmaṇa*” can denote a non-Brahmin, i.e. *kṣatriya*, who is not a Brahmin by birth but possesses all other properties of a Brahmin. In that case, “Brahmin” will stand for all these other properties of Brahmin, while the negative particle will deny the property of birth (caste).

Absence (non-existence) as an object of cognition: Naiyāyika defense

Nyāya in its classical period approaches the problem of negation from a strictly epistemological point of view neglecting or merely implying an analysis of the semantic value of negation of a proposition (statement) or negation of a term. In other words, Nyāya does not deal primarily with the problem of negation as a negating statement/term (*prasajya-*, *paryudāsapratiṣedha*) but is interested in “hypostasized negation”²³ or “absence” (or “non-being”, *abhāva*) as an objective component of the content of our cognition. Arguing that absence is the objective support of our cognitive abilities, as well as a positive entity/property, as we shall see, Nyāya concludes that absence or “non-being” (*abhāva*) belongs to the fundamental “categorical” (*padārtha*) structure of reality or “thatness” (*tattva*).

The realist and foundationalist epistemological project of Nyāya requires that the instruments of cognition (*pramāṇa*: perception, inference, analogy, and verbal testimony) that generate correct or objective cognition (*pramiti*) are in an intrinsic

²² MahāBh 1,103.3, ad P. 1,1.44: *samudāyeṣu ca vṛttāḥ śabdāḥ avayaveṣu api vartante* |

²³ Matilal 1968: 3.

(*svarūpa*) relation to “thatness” (*tattva*) of the object (*artha*, *prameya*).²⁴ Thatness of an object is something that precedes the (metaphysical) definition of an object in terms of substance, generic property, etc., and is actually equivalent to what Vaiśeṣika calls the “highest general” (*parasāmānya*), namely *sattā* (“beingness”). In the reality of experience, however, thatness is not and cannot be an immediate epistemic object precisely because it is a condition for every possible experience or cognition. Therefore, when asked what “thatness” is, Nyāya gives the following answer introducing also into the discussion the problem of “absence” (*abhāva*):

What then is “thatness”? It is precisely the real existence (*sadbhāva*, ‘being that is’) (in the case) of what is (*sat*) and the non-existence (*asadbhāva*, ‘being that is not’) (in the case) of what is not (*asat*). ... But how can the latter (what is not) be known through the instruments of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*)? (It is possible, because) when the existing (*sat*, what is) is known (through *pramāṇas*), it (non-existent, what is not, *asat*) is not known (grasped). As in the example of a lamp. When a lamp illuminates, what is visible is grasped, and what is not grasped by that illumination is not existing. (Reasoning follows). “If that (ungrasped object) were (present), it would somehow become manifest (cognized), (but) since (its) cognition is absent, it does not exist.” In the same way, when existing is cognized (grasped) through the instruments of valid cognition, what is not cognized (through *pramāṇas*), does not exist ... In this way (we see) that the instrument of valid cognition that reveals what exists (at the same time) reveals what does not exist.²⁵

Uddyotakara (seventh century CE) in his commentary on NyāBh also starts from the implicit assumption that “thatness” cannot be the principal object of *pramāṇas*, since it is a condition for the possibility of their instrumentality, but that the actual object of *pramāṇas* can only be existing and non-existent (*satasat etad pramāṇaviśayatva*). He further explains:

“The nature of the existing and the non-existent is twofold: the existing is affirming (*vidhīyamāna*), the non-existent is negating (*pratiśidhyamāna*). What is affirmed in one place (where it exists) is denied (negated) in another place (where it does not exist), for example, smell is (affirmed) with respect to the earth, but denied with respect to water.”²⁶

To the remark that notwithstanding this dual nature of the existing and the non-existing, the problematic fact remains, namely that the existing and the non-existing are fundamentally indistinguishable since they constitute the object of *pramāṇas* in the same way insofar as they are the immediate object of the latter, Uddyotakara replies:

²⁴ NyāBh, introduction: *catasṛṣu caivamvidhāsv arthatattvaṃ parisamāpyate* |

²⁵ NyāBh, introduction: *kiṃ punas tattvaṃ? sataś ca sadbhāvo 'sataścāsadbhāvaḥ |.... katham uttarasya pramāṇenopalabdhir iti? saty upalabhyamāne tadanupalabdheḥ pradīpavat | yathā darśakena dīpena dr̥ṣye gr̥hyamāṇe tad iva yan na gr̥hyate, tan nāsti | yady abhaviṣyad idam iva vyajñāsyata, vijñānābhāvān nāstīti | evaṃ pramāṇena sati gr̥hyamāṇe tad iva yan na gr̥hyate tan nāsti | ... tad evaṃ sataḥ prakāśakaṃ pramāṇam asad api prakāśayati |*

²⁶ NyāVadNyāBh, introduction: *satasatoḥ bhāvaḥ dvirūpaḥ vidhīyamānaḥ pratiśidhyamānaḥ ca yad ekaṭra vidhīyate tad anyatra pratiśidhyate tad yathā gandhavaṭi pṛthivī agandhā āpaḥ iti |*

“... Therefore it (existing and non-existing) is not identical. Because the instrumental cause (*kāraṇa*) of grasping (of the existing is given) by itself (*svatantra*, immediately), while the instrumental cause of non-grasping (of the non-existing is given) in dependence on something else (*paratantra*). That is to say, the existing becomes objective support (*ālambana*) of *pramāṇas* by itself (independently), while the non-existing (becomes objective support of *pramāṇas*) in dependence on something else, i.e. through negation.”²⁷

Locus classicus of the establishment of absence as an object of cognition (*prameya*) is found in NyāS 2,2.7–12. Here, too, argumentation develops in dialogue with an opponent who takes the opposite view. We provide a translation along with the commentary (NyāBh):

“(Objection) Absence (non-being, *abhāva*) is not valid because (its) object cannot be established.”²⁸

“(Answer) Since absence is established as an object in many (cases) of everyday experience (*lokasiddha*), it is foolish to say that absence is not valid (*prāmāṇya*) because (its) object cannot be established.”²⁹

“Absence is not an instrument of valid cognition because it cannot have (its) object (*viśaya*). What does not have (its) object cannot be an instrument of valid cognition ... But who even said that absence is an instrument of valid cognition? (Our view is that) cognition of the absence of an object (*abhāva-viśayā pratipattiḥ*) is an instrument of valid cognition because through that (cognition) the object is known (as absent) and the object of that (cognition) is precisely absence.”³⁰

“Among the (objects) that are characterized, those (objects) that are not characterized are established as the object of valid cognition because they are characterized by the absence of a characteristic (*alakṣaṇa*).”³¹

“(There are some things) that are established as objects of cognition through their absence. How? When marked (characterized) cloth does not need to be brought, unmarked cloth to be brought is marked (characterized) by a non-characteristic because it is characterized by the absence of a characteristic (*lakṣaṇābhāva*). (To the man) in the presence of both (group, marked and unmarked clothes could be ordered): ‘Bring unmarked clothes’ and through the absence of a mark (characteristic) he will recognize those clothes on which there are no markings (characteristics). And recognizing it, he will bring (those unmarked clothes). And the instrument of valid cognition is (only what) is the cause (*hetu*, which leads to) cognition.”³² [Therefore, it must be

²⁷ NyāV ad NyāBh, introduction: ... *tasmāt anekāntaḥ ayam iti svatantraparatantra upalabdhi-anupalabdhi-kāraṇabhāvāt ca viśeṣaḥ sat khalu pramāṇasya ālambanam svatantram bhavati asat tu paratantram pratiṣedhamukhena*

²⁸ NyāS 2,2.7: *nābhāvaprāmāṇyaṃ prameyāsiddheḥ |*

²⁹ NyāBh ad NyāS 2,2.7: *abhāvasya bhūyasi prameye lokasiddhe vaiyātyād ucyate nābhāvaprāmāṇyaṃ prameyāsiddher iti |*

³⁰ NyāBh ad NyāS 2,2.7: *na abhāvaḥ pramāṇam viśaya-abhāvāt | yad aviśayam tad apramāṇam ... kaḥ ca evam āha abhāvaḥ pramāṇam api tu abhāva-viśayā pratipattiḥ pramāṇam tayā pratīyate iti | kaḥ punar asyāḥ viśayaḥ abhāvaḥ iti uktam |*

³¹ NyāS 2,2.8: *lakṣiteṣv alakṣaṇalakṣitatvād alakṣitānāṃ tatprameyasiddheḥ |*

³² NyāBh ad NyāS 2,2.8: *tasyābhāvasya sidhyati prameyam | katham? lakṣiteṣu vāsaḥsu anupādeyeṣv upādeyānām alakṣitānām alakṣaṇalakṣitatvād lakṣaṇābhāvena lakṣitatvād iti | ubhayaśannidhāv alakṣitāni vāsāṃsy ānāyati prayukto yeṣu vāsaḥsu lakṣaṇāni na bhavanti tāni lakṣaṇābhāvena pratipadyate, pratipadya cānāyati, pratipattihetuś ca pramāṇam iti |*

concluded here that the absence of a mark (characteristic) is established as an object of valid cognition because it leads to the cognition of that absence].

“(If it is claimed): ‘if the object is non-existing, there can be no absence (negation)’, (we say) no, because the characteristic (can be) present in something else.”³³

“(Opponent) When an object existed and ceased to exist, we can talk about absence. But it is not so that the marks (characteristics) were on unmarked cloths and then (after that) they ceased to exist there. Therefore, we cannot talk about the absence of marks (characteristics) on them. (Answer) No, because the marks (characteristics) may appear elsewhere (on other objects). Just as (man) sees the presence of marks (characteristics) on other cloths, so he does not (see characteristics) on unmarked (cloths). Seeing the absence of marks (man) recognizes (cognizes) an object (unmarked cloth) through absence.”³⁴

“(Opponent) But the fact that those (marks on the marked clothes) are present (‘established’) is not the reason (for absence of marks) on the unmarked clothes.”³⁵

“(Opponent) There can be no justification for the absence of those marks (characteristics) that exist on the marked clothes. It is not logical (to say) that the marks (characteristics) present on the marked (cloths) are absent from the unmarked (cloths), because it is contradictory (*vyāhata*) to speak (of the absence) of those which are present.”³⁶

“(Answer) No, because (absence of marks) is established in relation to (*apekṣa*) the presence of marks (elsewhere).”³⁷

“(Answer) We are not saying that the absence of those marks (characteristics) that are present is at work. (We say the following) When marks are present on some (objects) and absent on other (objects), when (man), searching for marks does not find (‘see’) them present in them (later objects), these (objects) he recognizes through the absence of marks (characteristics).”³⁸

“Also, because absence occurs before arising of things.”³⁹

“There are two (kinds) of absence: When (the object) does not exist before (its) arising and when it does not exist after its disappearance. This (first kind) of absence of marks that appears before production exists on cloth that is not marked with marks, not the second (kind of absence).”⁴⁰

³³ NyāS 2,2.9: *asaty arthe nābhāva iti cen nānyalakṣaṇopapattēḥ* |

³⁴ NyāBh ad NyāS 2,2.9: *yatra bhūtvā kiñcin na bhavati tatra tasyābhāva upapadyate | na cālakṣiteṣu vāsaḥsu lakṣitāni bhūtvā na bhavanti, tasmāt teṣu lakṣaṇābhāvo 'nupapanna iti | nānyalakṣaṇopapattēḥ yathāyam anyeṣu vāsaḥsu lakṣaṇānām upapattiṃ paśyati naivam alakṣiteṣu | so 'yam lakṣaṇābhāvaṃ paśyann abhāvenārthaṃ pratipadyata iti* |

³⁵ NyāS 2,2.10: *tatsiddher alakṣiteṣv ahetuḥ* |

³⁶ NyāBh ad NyāS 2,2.10: *teṣu vāsaḥsu lakṣiteṣu siddhir vidhyamānatā yeṣāṃ bhavati na teṣāṃ abhāvo lakṣaṇānām | yāni ca lakṣiteṣu vidyante lakṣaṇāni teṣāṃ alakṣiteṣv abhāva ity ahetuḥ | yāni khalu bhavanti teṣāṃ abhāvo vyāhata iti* |

³⁷ NyāS 2,2.11: *na lakṣaṇāvasthitāpekṣasiddheḥ* |

³⁸ NyāBh ad NyāS 2,2.11: *na brūmo yāni lakṣaṇāni bhavanti teṣāṃ abhāva iti, kin tu keṣucil lakṣaṇāny avasthitāni anavasthitāni keṣucit, apekṣamāṇo yeṣu lakṣaṇānāṃ bhāvaṃ na paśyati tāni lakṣaṇābhāvena pratipadyata iti* |

³⁹ NyāS 2,2.12: *prāg utpatter abhāvopapattēḥ ca* |

⁴⁰ NyāBh ad NyāS 2,2.12: *abhāvadvaitaṃ khalu bhavati prāk cotpatter avidyamānatā, utpannasya cātmano hānād avidyamānatā | tatrālakṣiteṣu vāsaḥsu prāg utpatter avidyamānatālakṣaṇo lakṣaṇānām abhāvo netara iti* |

Non-existence as absence of relation between (otherwise) existing things

The problem of absence or non-existence Nyāya also considers from an ontological point of view in the context of the relation between the existing (*bhāva*) and the non-existing (*abhāva*). NyāS gives an opponent opportunity to develop his own arguments in defence of his rather “extravagant” thesis, namely that “everything is non-existent”, which might echo (though wrongly understood) the position of the famous Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna according to whom all things are “empty” (*śūnya*), lacking any independent, non-relative existence.

We give the full translation of relevant *sūtras* (NyāS 4,1.37–38) along with the commentary (NyāBh):

(Opponent) “Everything is non-existent because mutual absence is established in objects.”⁴¹

(Opponent) “Everything is non-existent insofar as it has arisen from the existing. Why? Because mutual absence is established in objects. (That is to say) a cow is non-existent in the form of a horse. A cow is not a horse. A horse does not exist in the form of a cow. A horse is not a cow. In this way, since the idea (or cognition, *pratyaya*) of non-existence or negation (*pratiśedha*) (manifests) grammatical (syntactical) agreement⁴² with the word for existing (*bhāva*), everything is non-existent.”⁴³

(Answer) “(The objection is) illogical (unreasonable) because of the contradiction (*vyāghāta*) between the two words (existing and non-existing) in the statement of proposition and between proposition and reason. The word ‘everything’ (*sarva*) means ‘the state of being the non-remnant (*aśeṣatā*) of many (objects)’. And the word ‘non-existing’ means the negation of the existing. The former (‘everything’) is distinguishable (*sopākhya*), while the latter (‘non-existing’) is indistinguishable (*nirupākhya*). In this context, how can (‘everything’) that is discernible (be identical with) non-existing that is indistinguishable? A non-existing that is indistinguishable can never be propositionally characterized as many objects and (or) as something that is of the state of being non-remnant ... Furthermore, there is (here) a contradiction between proposition and reason. Proposition is the negation of the existing, ‘everything is non-existing’. The reason is ‘since mutual absence is established in objects’. It is (then) said (concluded): ‘everything is non-existing’. (But), if everything were non-existing, it would not be possible for mutual absence to be established in objects. And if mutual absence were established in objects, then (the proposition) ‘everything

⁴¹ NyāS 4,1.37: *sarvam abhāvo bhāveṣv itaretarābhāvasiddheḥ* | In a later elaboration of the types or kind of absence, “mutual absence” (*itaretarābhāva* or *anyonyābhāva* in later terminology) denotes an absence based on the difference (*bheda*) between objects. In cognitions “cow is non-horse”, “horse is non-cow”, “clothing is non-existent in the pitcher”, etc., there is mutual cancellation or absence (of relation) of identity (*tādātmyābhāva*). In statements of mutual absence, object A, called the “counterpositive” (*pratiyogin*), is in relation of absence of identity with object B, cf. Bhattacharya 1977: 37–38 and Matilal 1969: 46–47.

⁴² *sāmānādhikarāṇya* (lit. “having the same locus”), grammatical agreement between two or more words in terms of grammatical gender, number, etc., cf. Joshi 1968: xiii.

⁴³ NyāBh ad NyāS 4,1.37: *yāvad bhāvajātaṃ tat sarvam abhāvaḥ | kasmāt? bhāveṣv itaretarābhāvasiddheḥ | “asan gaur aśvātmanā” anaśvo gauḥ “asann aśvo gavātmanā agaur aśvaḥ” ity asatpratyayasya pratiśedhasya ca bhāvaśabdena sāmānādhikarāṇyāt sarvam abhāva iti* |

is non-existing' could not be achieved (could not hold).⁴⁴

Response to the objection from NyāS 4,1.37:

"No, since the identity ('own nature', *svabhāva*) of objects (things) is established."⁴⁵

(Clarification) (first argument) "Everything is not non-existing. Why? Because things are really existing (*sadbhāva*) through their own (inherent) nature (*svena bhāvena*). (Our) proposition is set: 'things exist through their own properties' (*svena dharmeṇa*). And what is the own property of things? Substance, quality and action (or movement) (inhere in the highest) general (called) being (*sat*), etc. Substances (have their own property) of possessing action (*kriyāvat*), etc. Furthermore, earth has (own property) ending with touch (color, taste, smell). Indeed, every (thing) possesses infinite differences. Also, the distinctive (properties) of general (*sāmānya*), individual (*viśeṣa*) and (relation) of inherence (*samavāya*) are grasped. (Therefore, if everything were non-existing), there would be no difference between objects that leads to cognition (idea), since the non-existing is indistinguishable... Therefore (it cannot be said) 'everything is non-existing'.

(second argument) Or (we can argue) no, since the identity ('own nature') of things is established in a sense that their own form (*svarūpa*) is established. When the word 'cow' is uttered (used) what is understood is a substance characterized by a generic property (*jāti*) and not mere non-existing. If everything were non-existing, the non-existing (by name) 'cow' would manifest. And the word 'cow' would mean non-existing. However, when the word 'cow' is used, what is disclosed is a specific substance (*dravyaviśeṣa*), not non-existing. Therefore (the proposition 'everything is non-existing') does not hold.

(third argument) Or (we can argue) 'no, since the identity (own nature of things) is established in the following sense: (The opponent said) 'a cow is non-existing in the form of a horse'. Why is it not said (set) 'a cow is non-existing in the form of a cow'? Since it is not so said, (it follows that) the cow exists in the form of a cow, (and this is the intention of our claim that) own nature (of things) is established (*svabhāvasiddhi*). Furthermore, why is it not said 'a horse is not a horse' or 'a cow is not a cow'? Since this is not said, it is known that substance exists by its own form.

(fourth argument) Even when non-difference (*avyatireka*) is negated, cognition of the non-existing (*asat*) manifests grammatical (syntactical) agreement with the existing. Difference (*vyatireka*) (means) a relation of conjunction, etc. In this context, non-difference (means) a relation called 'identity' ('non-difference', *abheda*). And when this (relation) is denied (negated), the cognition of the non-existing always (manifests) grammatical agreement (with the existing). For example, (it is said) '(fruits) of jujube do not exist in a pitcher'. (When it is said) 'a cow does not exist in the form of a horse' and 'a cow is not a horse', the non-difference (identity) between a cow and a horse is denied (that is to say), 'there is no identity (*ekatva*) between a cow and a horse'. And when this (identity relation) is denied, the cognition of the non-existing (manifests) the grammatical agreement with the existing cow (which is manifested by the statement) 'a cow is non-existent in the form of a horse'. For example, when the association between (the fruit) of the jujube and the jug is denied, the knowledge

⁴⁴ NyāBh ad NyāS 4,1.37: *pratiññānvākye padayoḥ pratiññāhetvoś ca vyāghātād ayuktam | anekasyāśeṣatā sarvaśabdasyārtho, bhāvapratiṣedhaś cābhāvaśabdasyārthaḥ | pūrvam sopākhyam uttaram nirupākhyam tatra samupākhyāyamānam katham nirupākhyam abhāvaḥ syād iti? na jātv abhāvo nirupākhyo 'nekatayāśeṣatayā śakyah pratiññātum iti ... pratiññāhetvoś ca vyāghātaḥ sarvam abhāva iti bhāvapratiṣedhaḥ pratiññā, bhāveṣv itaretarābhāvasiddher iti hetuḥ ... sarvam abhāva ity ucyate | yadi sarvam abhāvo bhāveṣv itaretarābhāvasiddher iti nopapadyate | atha bhāveṣv itaretarābhāvasiddhiḥ, sarvam abhāva iti nopapadyate |*

⁴⁵ NyāS 4,1.38: *na svabhāvasiddher bhāvanām |*

of the non-existing (manifests) grammatical agreement with the really existing (the fruits of the jujube) (which is manifested by the statement) ‘(the fruits) of the jujube do not exist in the jug’.⁴⁶

Concluding remarks

The most important theoretical achievement of Indian grammarians (and Vedic hermeneutics perhaps before them) as to the problem of negation is their distinction between implicative (*paryudāsa*) and non-implicative (*prasajya*) negation (*pratiṣedha*) which was, as we have seen, closely related to the need for harmonization of various and different grammatical or ritual rules (or injunctions) that often negated each other or were in any other way mutually opposed with regard to the domain of their application. However, Patañjali also developed an investigation regarding the semantic value of (*paryudāsa*) negation, which bore certain epistemological and even ontological implications, which were further elaborated by the Nyāya philosophical school. One of Patañjali’s key insights in this regard is his claim that negation always presupposes negated, that is, that “non-existence” cannot be specified until its positive “counterpart” is established. Based on this insight, it seems, Nyāya developed its “epistemological theory of absence” according to which the direct cognition of a positive entity also leads to the indirect cognition of negative or absent entities. Also, in the ontological sense, non-existence is nothing but “difference” (*abheda*) or the absence of some relation (identity, conjunction, etc.) between (otherwise) existing entities. Uddyotakara explains Nyāya’s latter view through an example:

For when the word ‘jug’, etc., is “co-ordinated” (in grammatical agreement, *samānādhikaraṇa*) with (the predicate) ‘does not exist’, it (the predicate) does not denote the mere (absolute) non-existence of the jug, but (that predicate) denies the

⁴⁶ NyāBh ad NyāS 4.1.38: *na sarvam abhāvaḥ | kasmāt? svena bhāvena sadbhāvēd bhāvēnām | svena dharmēṇa bhāvē bhavanīti pratijñāyate | kaś ca svo dharmo bhāvēnām? dravyaguṇakarmanām sadādisāmānyam, dravyānām kriyāvad ityevamādiviśeṣaḥ, sparśaparyantāḥ pṛthivyā iti ca; pratyekaṃ cānanto bhedaḥ | sāmānyaviśeṣasamavāyānām ca viśiṣṭā dharmā grhyante | so 'yam abhāvasya nirupākhyatvāt sampratyāyako 'rthabhedo na syāt?... tasmān na sarvam abhāva iti | atha vā na svabhāvasiddher bhāvēnām iti svarūpasiddher iti | gaur iti prayujyamāne śabde jātivīṣṭaṃ dravyaṃ grhyate, nābhāvamātram | yadi ca sarvam abhāvaḥ gaur ity abhāvaḥ pratiyeta, gośabdena cābhāva ucyeṭa | yasmāt tu gośabdaprayoge dravyaviśeṣaḥ pratiyate nābhāvas tasmād ayuktam iti | atha vā na svabhāvasiddher iti | asan gaur aśvātmaneti gavātmanā kasmān nocyate? avacanād gavātmanā gaur asīti svabhāvasiddhiḥ, anaśvo 'śva iti vā gaur agaur iti vā kasmān nocyate? avacanāt svena rūpeṇa vidyamānatā dravyasyeti vijñāyate | avyatiṛekapratīṣedhe ca bhāvena asatpratīyayasāmānādhikaraṇyam bhāve saṃyogādisambandho vyatiṛekaḥ | atra avyatiṛekaḥ abhedākhyasambandhaḥ tatpratiṣedhe sadā ca asatpratīyayasāmānādhikaraṇyam, yathā na santi kuṇḍe badarāṇīti | asan gaur aśvātmanā anaśvo gaur iti ca gavāśvayor avyatiṛekaḥ pratiṣidhyate gavāśvayor ekatvaṃ nāstīti | tasmin pratiṣidhyamāne bhāvena gavā sāmānādhikaraṇyam asatpratīyayasya asan gaur aśvātmaneti, yathā na santi kuṇḍe badarāṇīti kuṇḍe badarasamīyoge pratiṣidhyamāne sadbhir asatpratīyayasya sāmānādhikaraṇyam iti |*

connection of (that) jug with (a certain) place (“house”), a certain moment of time or (denies certain causal) effectiveness (*sāmarthyā*) of the jug.⁴⁷

In this regard, Uddyotakara seeks to show that the Buddhist absolute negation – “self (*ātman*) does not exist” – is an absurd proposition in the sense of denying something that (according to Buddhists) absolutely does not exist. On the contrary, the negation “self does not exist” can only deny the connection (*saṃyoga*) of otherwise existing self (*ātman*) with a certain place, time, properties, etc. Therefore: “He who denies the self must (previously) specify the subject of the word ‘self’. Indeed, we do not see a word (*pada*) without an object (to which it refers).”⁴⁸

Nyāya thus seems to deal only with the concept of “implicative negation” (*paryudāsapratiṣedha*), which is quite understandable given its highly realistic philosophical orientation in which there is no room for absolute (non-implicative) negation that basically completely cancels the subject of proposition or, epistemologically, the object of cognition or, ontologically, the thing itself.

Some Buddhists, on the other hand, knew how to “benefit” from the concept of non-implicative or absolute negation (*prasajyapratīṣedha*) of grammarians for their own philosophical purposes. Thus, for example, the Buddhist philosopher Candrakīrti (seventh century CE), commenting on the first part of Nāgārjuna’s (second to third century CE) negative tetralemma (MMK 1,1), *naiva svata utpannā* (“things do not arise from themselves”), responds to an opponent’s remark that this might be the case of an implicative negation:

(Objection): Is it not so that when “*naiva svata utpannā*” is specified, the unwanted (logical consequence) is achieved (namely) that (things) arise from other? (Answer): No, it is not achieved. Since non-implicative negation (*prasajyapratīṣedha*) is intended (*vivakṣita*) here, arising from other will also be negated.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ NyāV ad NyāS 2,1.12: *na hi ayaṃ nāstinā samānādhikaraṇo ghaṭādi-śabdo ghaṭābhāvaṃ pratipādayati api tu gehaghaṭasaṃyogaṃ vā kālaviśeṣaṃ vā ghaṭasya sāmarthyam vā pratiṣedhati* |

⁴⁸ NyāV ad NyāS 3,1.1. (introduction): *ātmapratīṣedhaṃ ca kurvāṇenātmaśabdasya viśayo vaktavyaḥ na hy ekaṃ padaṃ nirarthakaṃ paśyāmaḥ* |

⁴⁹ *Prasannapada* 12,8: *nanu ca naiva svata utpannā ity avadhāryamāṇe parata utpannā ity anīṣṭaṃ prāpnoti* | *na prāpnoti prasajyapratīṣedhasya vivakṣitatvāt, parato 'py utpādasya pratiṣetsyamānatvāt* | Bhāvivēka (sixth century CE) in his commentary on MMK 1,1 also points out that non-implicative (absolute) negation is intended here because otherwise, namely if it were implicative negation (*paryudāsapratiṣedha*), it would be contrary to the accepted doctrine (*kṛtānta*) of Madhyamaka school which rejects any ontological commitment. The emphasis therefore should be on the negation of the predicate “do not arise” and not on the manner they do not arise (from themselves, *svatas*) because the latter could imply some other way of their arising (eg. “from other”, *paratas*, etc.). Cf. Ames 1993: 221.

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Sažetak

U ovom prilogu predlažem analizirati koncepte negacije, odsutnosti i nepostojanja u djelima klasičnih indijskih gramatičara (osobito Patañjalia u *Mahābhāṣyi*) i filozofske škole nyāya u njezinu klasičnome razdoblju. Indijski gramatičari, vjerojatno slijedeći hermeneutiku vedskih obreda, razlikovali su dvije vrste negacije – implikativnu negaciju (*pariyudāsa-pratiṣedha*) i neimplikativnu (apsolutnu) negaciju (*prasajya-pratiṣedha*). Ove dvije vrste negacije u gramatičara se izvorno javljaju kao dio takozvanih prohibitivnih pravila (*pratiṣedha-vidhi*) koja nameću različite vrste ograničenja na domenu primjene određenih (Pāṇinievih) gramatičkih pravila derivacije (*vidhisūtra*). Patañjali, međutim, također razvija raspravu o semantičkoj vrijednosti (implikativne) negacije, koja je našla odjeka u filozofskim analizama škole nyāya. Međutim, nyāya se prvenstveno ne bavi problemom negacije kao negirajuće izjave/pojma (*prasajya*-, *pariyudāsapratiṣedha*), već ga zanima „hipostazirana negacija“ ili „odsutnost“ (ili „ne-biće“, *abhāva*) kao objektivna komponenta sadržaja naše spoznaje. U nastavku se analiziraju različiti argumenti škole nyāya koji govore u prilog ovoj tvrdnji na temelju klasičnih djela te škole, *Nyāyasūtra*, *Nyāyabhāṣye* i *Nyāyavārtike*. Zaključak naglašava neke sličnosti između gramatičara i nyāyina pristupa, te nyāyinu kritiku buddhističke „apsolutne“ negacije „sopstvo ne postoji“, kao i neke primjere buddhističke (škola Madhyamaka) uporabe (neimplikativne) negacije.

The motivation of phrasemes in Kālidāsa's dramas

Abstract

This paper is divided into six parts. Basic information on the corpus of classical Indian dramas, their authors, place and time of creation and the particularities of language use, is listed in the introduction. Following is the presentation of the theoretical framework which defines the criteria for the exclusion of phraseological units, distribution of their motivation and the attempt to solve the potential issues with the recognition of phrasemes in the corpus, having taken into consideration the particularities of Old-Indo Aryan and Middle Indo-Aryan and the necessity of making a distinction between the poetic comparisons and phrasemes with a comparative structure. The aims and methodology of the work are stated following the theoretical frame. The fourth part contains an overview with key phonological changes necessary for determining affiliation of phrasemes to a certain language in a play. In the fifth part of the work, the meaning and motivation of phrasemes, which are categorized into three sub-groups according to the criterium of motivation and structure, are stated. Except for the phrasemes in classical Indian dramas, the phrasemes of similar or equivalent structures in Hindi are stated, as well as the examples of use which are excerpted from the corpus. Based on the data on the preservation of the structure and meaning of phraseme in the language which has developed from one of the varieties of Middle Indo-Aryan, in the conclusion the factors which can affect the prediction of diachronic stability of phraseological units are highlighted.

1. Introduction: basic data on drama corpus

1.1. Time and place of Kālidāsa's life and the creation of plays

On the exact time and place of the poet's life, and the creation of the drama corpus there are no agreed historical sources. The establishment of a relative chronology of Kālidāsa's life is based on two activities: 1) the research of epigraphic inscriptions that include the name of poets or quote parts of their works; 2) the interpretation of elements from the literary texts of Kālidāsa which point to the

cultural-historical circumstances of their creation. Based on the epigraphic sources as *terminus ante quem* the year 634 is taken,¹ because from this year the records from the archeological site in Aihole, created at the time of the ruler Pulakeśin of the II dynasty Cālukya, are dated. The record celebrates Ravikīrti, probably a poet from Pulakeśin's court, pointing out that his works are equivalent to Kālidāsa's and Bhāravi's. The other epigraphic sources contain excerpts from the works attributed to Kālidāsa, which are quoted by other writers: epithets to the rulers from the classical epic *Raghuvamśa* "The Raghu Dynasty" (*Mahākūṭa Pillar*) and the verses from two khaṇḍakāvya: *Meghadūta* "The Cloud Messenger" and *Ṛtusamhāra* "A Short Description of the Seasons of the Year" (column from Mandasora of the province Yaśodharmana).² Ramulu & Ramalu (1991: 657) highlight the argument for dating Kālidāsa's life is based on the content of one of the works of Kālidāsa, *Ṛtusamhāra*, and they conclude that the author probably lived between 365 and 473 at the time of the reign of kings from the Gupta dynasty. During the period of the reign of the Gupta dynasty, the year was divided into six seasons, and in the epigraphic monuments from the time before Gupta, during the reign of all the greater dynasties (Maurya, Śuṅga, Kuṣāni, Śaka and Śātavāhana), only three seasons are mentioned. However, in *Ṛtusamhāra*, six seasons are described ("summer" *grīṣma*, "the raining season" *varṣa*, "autumn" *śarad*, "the early winter" *hemānta*, "winter" *śiśira* and "spring" *vasanta*), which points to the fact that the time of the author's life was within the period of the reign of the Gupta dynasty. However, the value of that argument weakens, taking into consideration the fact that Kālidāsa's authorship of *Ṛtusamhāra* is often disputed. That work differs from the rest of Kālidāsa's works by its style, and in the poetic handbook in which the quality poetic skill exemplifies Kālidāsa's verses, there are no quotes from *Ṛtusamhāra* (Katičić 1973: 262–267). Certain constituents which are found in works more reliably attributed to Kālidāsa, contribute to the understanding of his work as of an important contribution to the cultural development of the Gupta Kingdom. The reasons for putting the poet into the Golden Age of the Early Medieval India, Ingalls (1967: 17–26) states in great detail, silently accepting the premise that science and culture develop in favorable historical moments.³ The Golden Age is the period between 319/320 and 467, when first the fragmented territories under the reign of various non-Indian dynasties of Bactrian Greeks, Persians and Scythians subjugated and united under the scepter of one Indian dynasty, which then created favorable circumstances in these territories for development and maintenance of general prosperity. In this period of stability and peace, rulers Candragupta II (380–413 AD), Kumāragupta (415–455

¹ Along with year 634, sometimes year 635 is stated (Koldrzak 2014: 24–25).

² Ramulu & Ramalu 1991: 656–657.

³ Robins (1976: 3–7) emphasizes the importance of interpretation of the development of scientific ideas in the general historical and cultural context, by denying the possibility of the development of ideas from the theoretical vacuum.

AD) and Skandagupta (455– ca. 467 AD) have tried to renew the customs of their predecessors by participating in, among other things, the development of various traditional scientific disciplines: grammar, poetry, math, logic and astronomy. After the conquest of the northern territories of the Indian subcontinent, King Candragupta II moved his capital from the east, from Pataliputra, westwards to the city of Ujjayinī in Malawi⁴ which is described in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* in detail. Since the names of many Sanskrit dramatists (Viśākhadatta, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka and Śyāmilaka) are associated with the same settlement, it is possible that Ujjayinī was one of the centers of classical Indian theatre. A more exact determination of the period in which Kālidāsa lived is also possible to give by pointing to his patron. The proof pointing in the direction of Candragupta II being Kālidāsa's patron could be the epic *Kumārasambhava* "The Birth of Kumāra". It is possible that this epic was composed upon the occasion of birth of Kumāragupta, the king's son and the throne's successor. Kālidāsa is supposed to already have been a famous poet at the time of the epic composition in order to have been entrusted with such an important task. Based on the demonstrated arguments, it is possible to claim that Kālidāsa most probably lived and created in the second half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth centuries.

1.2. On the composition and languages of the drama corpus

The works of Kālidāsa include two classical epics *Kumārasambhava* "The birth of Kumāra" and *Raghuvamśa* "The Raghu Dynasty", one or two *sandēśakāvya*: *Meghadūta* and perhaps *Rtusamhāra* and three more plays. Out of these three plays, two are *nāṭakas* – romantic-heroic plays with elevated mythological characters – *Abhijñānaśākuntala* "The Recognition of Śankuntala" in 7 acts, and *Vikramorvaśīya* "Urvaśī Won by Valour" in five acts, and one is *prakaraṇa* – a historical play with real historical characters – *Mālavikāgnimitra* "Mālavikā and Agnimitra". All these plays are characterized by multilingualism; the plays are written in classical Sanskrit and three literary Prakrit languages (Śaurasenī, Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī). This paper uses three plays for the corpus material because the Prakrit languages are used exclusively to characterize typical dramatic heroes. The plays usually use two diachronically different languages: the orderly or cultivated language *saṃskṛtā bhāṣā* and the raw, natural (common) language *prākṛtā bhāṣā*. The assumption is that the paragraphs in common or natural language given to the stock characters who use the common language will contain a greater number of phraseological units because such units are more represented in the conversational style and they have an expressive value. The oldest and most renowned work for the theatre theory description is Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It is a work that is attributed to one author, Bharata, but is

⁴ Lienhard 1984: 115.

probably a result of the work of more authors from different periods.⁵ For this paper, chapters that contain instructions on language use (*vāgabhinaya*) and dramatic characters are of special interest. The most important dramatic characters are the main hero *nāyaka* or *netr* and the main heroine *nāyikā*, who are elevated characters by their special deeds and courageous and proud demeanor. The main hero in chosen dramas is always accompanied by a *vidūṣaka*. As a type character, *vidūṣaka* was assigned an important role in the plot and a lot of paragraphs of text in Kālidāsa's dramas. This character's function in the dramatic text is to make the audience laugh using travesty⁶. One of the means for achieving the typicality of characters is the language or the language variety in which they speak. The handbook for authors of theatre pieces contains the criteria of using a language or a language variety, the dramatic characters talk differently based on their sex, class, age, psycho-physical state, religious views, and geographical origin. In spite of the fact that *nāyaka* or *nāyikā* of all classes can in exceptional situations speak in Sanskrit or one of the Prakrits, it is usually the custom that the respected and well-mannered heroes talk in Sanskrit, and all female characters use the common tongue, unless they have a divine origin and are not in the heavens or married to mortals. Learned women and women of a higher station can use Sanskrit in some circumstances. According to the geographic criterium seven spoken Prakrits (*bhāṣā*) are determined in *Nāṭyaśāstra*, out of which each carries the name of one province. Māgadhī is spoken by eunuchs who usually guard the king's harem, and Ardhamāgadhī is spoken by the servants and princes. Vidūṣaka speaks the Prācyā, and Āvantī is spoken by thieves. The female characters use Śaurasenī, the soldiers and gamblers are supposed to use the Bāhlīkā, and Dākṣiṇātyi is spoken by the Khasa people. Besides the seven *bhāṣā languages*, *Nāṭyaśāstra* also states seven *vibhāṣā*, literally translated as the sub-languages, i.e., the linguistic stylizations typical for certain dramatic characters.⁷ The *vibhāṣā* do not differ from *bhāṣā* on a phonological, morphological and a syntactical level, but they differ by the stylistic register and the content. Thus, for example, Śākārī is the manner of speaking of the stock character *śakāra*, the depraved and violent king's brother-in-law who often talks to other heroes using swear words and offenses. Regardless of the handbook's recommendations, the language situation in the preserved texts of plays does not reflect them. In these three plays which constitute the corpus for tracing phraseological units, only three Prakrit languages are found, and one of them, Māhārāṣṭrī, is not mentioned in *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In Māhārāṣṭrī the oldest preserved anthology of lyrical poetry was composed, *Sattasāī*, "Seven hundred songs" from the 1st century⁸, and in the poetical handbook *Kāvyādarśa* "Mirror of poetry" by Daṇḍin it is stated

⁵ Katičić 1973: 273.

⁶ Gönc Moačanin 1996: 55–56.

⁷ NŚ XVII.

⁸ Ježić 2011: 4.

that the Prakrit language is known as the most distinguished.⁹ In *Abhijñānaśākuntala* there are five muktakas written in *Māhārāṣṭrī*, and in the other two plays there are no textual paragraphs in *Māhārāṣṭrī*. Since this seems to be a Prakrit of a high poetic standing, almost equal to Sanskrit, it is used to create an atmosphere of the seasons, love yearning and the description of the anthropomorphic lamenting nature. Mostly the female characters, including the main heroine and her guardians or friends, and the *vidūṣaka* use Śaurasenī in all contexts. Because of that, Śaurasenī can be considered as the least specialized variety for the linguistic characterization. In the prose paragraphs Śaurasenī is the most used Prakrit. Māgadhī is mostly intended for the negative characterization of dramatic characters. It was spoken in the Magadha province in the northern Bihar, and it was used as a spoken language during the time of the powerful Maurya Empire (4th - 2nd century BC). After the ruler from the Maurya dynasty had been overthrown, the empire started losing power and reputation, which can be the reason for the negative perception of that language in the later centuries.¹⁰ Māgadhī is commonly spoken by the heroes of the lower classes, fishermen, guards, miners and a stock character *śakāra*.¹¹ Vibhāṣā *śākārī* or *śakāra*'s manner of speaking in almost all plays is mostly the Māgadhī Prakrit.¹²

2. Theoretical frame

2.1. The various approaches to defining phrasemes

Phraseme is a basic unit of phraseology, a linguistic branch that has started its individual development in the Soviet Union, in the 1950s, and is theoretically formed by a sequence of scientific articles of academic V. V. Vinogradov. This first phraseological school of Vinogradov, set as its most important goals the determination of lexical and syntactic criteria for distinguishing phrasemes as separate linguistic units from the free collocations and the classification of phrasemes according to the criteria of structural organization or the meaning of one of components that enters the composition of the phraseme.¹³ A similar tendency is reflected in the handbooks of Croatian phraseologists (Menac, 2007; Fink-Arsovski 2002). In the works of Antica Menac, the four criteria for determination of the phraseologization of a certain collocation are mentioned: 1) the meaning of the phraseme is not equal to the sum of meanings of all its constituents; 2) phrasemes mostly have a stable order of words; 3) a fixed structure is characteristic for phrasemes; 4) the smallest scope of

⁹ KD II. 34.

¹⁰ Bhate 2012: 137–138.

¹¹ Gönc Močanin 1996: 55–56.

¹² Bhate 2012: 138.

¹³ Телия 1996: 9–16.

the phraseme means one lexical word and one grammatical word, and the largest scope is not defined.¹⁴ Fink-Arsovski (2002: 6–7) traces the similar characteristics of phraseological units: 1) composition made of at least two constituents; 2) reproductivity; 3) the execution of a syntactic function as part of the sentence structure; 4) the imagery which is reflected in the semantic residual; 5) the change of meaning of all or part of constituents with the semantic bleaching, expression and connotative meaning. Since phrasemes are linguistic units that depend on other linguistic units, their number is not defined nor stable, an important step in the contemporary phraseological research is to define the criteria for the selection of phrasemes. With time, the grammatical-structural criteria have lost importance mostly due to the inclusion of typologically different languages into phraseological research. In 70s and 80s phrasemes have started to be studied in the context of language use and the transfer of the culturally specific determinants. Nowadays, the two relevant basic approaches to the study of phrasemes based on the earlier tendencies are the cognitive linguistic one and the linguocultural one. The linguocultural approach to phraseology started in the 90s of the past century with V. N. Telija's school, and the works of N. Telija, and V. A. Maslova, V. V. Vorob'ëv and J. S. Stepanov. Lingoculturology has developed from the tradition of ethnolinguistics, whose leading representatives are N. I. Tolstoj and the members of the Tartu-Moscow Semiotic School, V. N. Toporov and V. V. Ivanov, who, having included the knowledge of the comparative Indoeuropeistics, started reconstructing the myths, customs and the complete model of the world in the Indo-European antiquity. Unlike ethnolinguistics which puts focus on the traces of folk customs and beliefs, linguoculturology expands its domain of studying, so that it includes synchronic linguistic studies, and it develops its own terminological apparatus.¹⁵ The importance of culture as an indispensable constituent in the linguistic scientific efforts is of extreme importance in the works of Russian phraseologists as well, who accept and add to some of the basic cognitive linguistics principles.

2.2. *Types of phraseme motivation*

In the framework of the cognitive linguistics approach to phraseology, the most significant Russian representatives are A. N. Baranov and D. O. Dobrovol'skij¹⁶ whose theoretical approach will serve as the theoretical framework in this paper as well. In the article *Idioms: Motivation and etymology* (2010) the causes of phraseme motivation are questioned and the question on the extent to which synchronic or etymological motivation of the figurative constituents of a phraseme affect the limitations

¹⁴ Those phraseme characteristics are present in various Antica Menac's works (1972, 1994, 2007). Learn more about this in: Hrnjak (2017: 11).

¹⁵ More on the history of linguo-culturology development can be found in: Barčot (2017: 44–68).

¹⁶ Hrnjak 2017: 27.

of language use is asked. The causes of motivation will here serve as classification criteria and phraseme recognition. The motivation of phrasemes is taken as a classification criterium because almost all phrasemes' meaning is motivational and because motivation is crucial for understanding the meaning of the phraseme itself. Except for that, types of motivation make it possible to determine which phrasemes are culturally specific and which are the result of general cognitive mechanisms. As a theoretical frame by which the different motivations are analyzed, the authors take the Conventional Figurative Language Theory. The central point of the theory is the idea that figurative lexical units differ from the non-figurative ones by their meaning because their content does not consist only of the lexical meaning of the conventional figurative unit, but also of the linguistically significant traces of the background image. They have developed a phraseological theory within that theoretical framework, the main postulate of which is that idioms are a sub-group of phrasal lexemes.¹⁷ Baranov and Dobrovol'skij determine idioms or phrasemes in the most narrow sense using these three characteristics: 1) syntagmaticity 2) set phrases (collocations) 3) idiomaticity. The last criterion of idiomaticity is additionally interpreted as a sum of several factors: a) if the standard meaning change occurs by means of one of the cognitive mechanisms, it has to contain the element of the unexpected in order to be considered idiomatic; b) the non-transparent constituent of idioms is the key in naming; c) non-standardization of the elementary comparison. The prototypical idiom is interpreted on two different conceptual levels: the primary level, i.e., the level of literal meaning and the secondary level, i.e., the level of a figurative meaning. The figurative constituent of the phraseme is a bridge which connects those two levels. Motivation as part of the internal form makes possible the interpretation of the background mental image by relating the meaning conventionally assigned to the phraseme. The term motivation counters arbitrariness and motivation does not denote the necessity of knowing the phraseme origin, but the possibility of interpretation of phraseme meaning available to speakers due to their conceptual system and world knowledge. There are two basic types of it: the metaphorically motivated type and the symbolically based type. Those two types can be affected by the third type – intertextuality. The metaphorical type of motivation is interpreted by two mutually connected levels. The first is the level of the conceptual metaphor or the abstract metaphorical model developed in 1980 by Georg Lakoff and Mark Johnson and the second one is the basic categorization level contained in the lexical structure of the phraseme. Even though conceptual metaphor often plays an important role in the motivation of the phraseme meaning, Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen pointed out in 2005 in their article *Cognitive theory of metaphor and idiom analysis* that conceptual metaphors are not the only source of motivation. The comparison of conceptual metaphors in Japanese and European culture points to the fact that conceptual metaphors are often not completely

¹⁷ Hrnjak 2017: 13.

universal nor inherent to the general human psychological system, but that they are culturally specific instead. Except for that, they also highlight that analyzing various phrasemes by the means of abstract metaphorical models reduces their differences in meaning and use. For the description of phraseme characteristics inherited from mental imagery, they consider the primary level of conceptualization more important, as it contains the traces of the imagery of the umbrella conceptual metaphor. In the cases when for a certain phraseme a conceptual metaphor cannot be found, and its meaning is the result of a metaphoric transfer, the phraseme is described using a theoretical framework of the cognitive model of phraseme meaning, also developed by Baranov and Dobrovol'skij. The phraseme is motivated by an excerpt of world knowledge in some framework. Significant elements of key importance for lexicalized meaning are the constituent elements of that frame. If, for example, phraseme 'pour / add oil on the fire' is taken into consideration, the parts of the conceptual framework within which the phraseme is analyzed are: the pan, the preparation of food and boiling; despite not being a part of the lexical structure of the phraseme. The motivation of phrasemes is based on relating the source framework of splashing oil during cooking and the target framework of escalation of such an occurrence. The cases of motivation which are explained by cognitive metaphors and cognitive modeling of phraseme meaning the authors named *frame based metaphors*. The other type of motivation, the one based on symbolism, presupposes the expansion of culturally relevant knowledge to one of the phraseme constituents, but not to the entire phraseme. The difference between the metaphorical motivation and the symbolically based motivation is in the fact that the metaphorical motivation includes a kind of similarity between the concept coded in the phraseme and the concept marked by that phraseme, whereas the symbolically based motivation includes certain cultural conventions and assumptions which do not necessarily match the experiential and psychological facts. Intertextuality as a motivational factor is understood by Baranov and Dobrovol'skij as the relationship between the conventional figurative unit and text as its historical-cultural source. In spite of the clear criteria of the division of types of phraseme motivation, it is necessary to mention that sometimes it is difficult to indisputably determine what is culturally specific in a language and what is a universal human experience. A great number of phraseological units contains components which can be traced in earlier textual sources and such phrasemes to the greatest extent contain data on the culture in which they have been formed. However, very often the speakers of a language are not aware of the exact textual sources from which the phrasemes stem, in that sense intertextuality is not considered to be a direct motivational factor. Phrasemes whose constituents have a textual origin are considered to be motivated because the speakers understand their metaphorical or symbolic core, i.e., they interpret the concept in the lexical structure of a phraseme which is based on a metaphor or on the cultural symbols preserved by written sources. A good example

of a phraseme that stems from the texts from the antiquity and with time has gained a metaphorical meaning in Hindi is कल्पवृक्ष होना 'to be a tree which grants all wishes'. The tree of wishes is mentioned in many works of Indian literature (in the epic *Mahābhārata*, in Kālidāsa's works *Ābhijñānaśākuntala*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Meghadūta* etc.) as one of the plants and decorations in the kingdom of one of the heaven's regents, most usually Indra.¹⁸ The tree was described as a material object in a mythical space, however, in Hindi it is used metaphorically, as a phraseme, to describe some other object of extra-linguistic reality: भारत में दूरदर्शन इलेक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया का कल्पवृक्ष है। (hiTenTen13). In India, *Dūrdarśan* is the tree that grants the wishes of electronic media.

3. Goals and methodology

The goals of this paper are 1) having selected the criteria applicable for tracing phraseological units, to describe the structure, meaning and motivation of phrasemes in the drama corpus of Kālidāsa; 2) to determine the language in which the phrasemes are used; 3) to determine which of the phrasemes, witnessed in the examined corpus have remained preserved in the same or somewhat changed form in Hindi, modern Indo-Aryan language with the greatest number of users. Among various described criteria for finding phrasemes, less importance is assigned to the structural criteria, especially the criteria related to the scope of the phraseme and the greater importance will be given to the transparency of phraseme motivation, idiomaticity. The factor of comparison not being standardized is especially important for distinguishing between the comparative collocation and phraseme with a comparative structure. The comparative collocations are especially numerous in the examined corpus, and it is important to decipher which characteristics make it possible to distinguish between the poetic device of comparison, the comparative collocations, and comparative phrasemes. As the key characteristics of comparative phrasemes, fixed structure, and the presence of one of the factors of idiomaticity are considered. A collocation is considered fixed if it occurs in the other works of classical Indian literature or if it has remained preserved in Hindi in a similar form. To research the preservation of phrasemes in Hindi, the bilingual Hindi-English and Hindi-Russian dictionaries, The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary, Хинди-русский словарь в двух томах and the electronic corpus Hindi Web 2013 (hiTenTen13) are examined.

¹⁸ Monier-Williams 1964: 262.

4. The phonological characteristics of Prakrits

In order to be able to classify phrasemes by the languages in which they are spoken, a short overview of basic phonological changes and differences relating the Old Indo-Aryan system will be presented. This short overview is not intended to describe in detail all alternations from the Old Indo-Aryan to the Middle Indo-Aryan, but only those necessary to distinguish between particular literary Prakrit languages one from the other and in relation to the forms in the classical Sanskrit in the researched corpus which consists of three Kālidāsa's plays. First, the mutually shared characteristics of the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects are stated, then the particularities of the literary Prakrit languages used in plays are described. The alternations will be written down using a special notation that mostly follows the recording suggested and described in Marković (2018: 33), and it is also applied in Bubenik's manual (1996). The general scheme of phonological changes of phonemes is noted in the following manner:

$$X \rightarrow Y / W _ Z$$

Such a record needs to be understood as: X becomes Y when between W and Z. In case when the surrounding sounds do not affect the alternation, it is not noted. Sometimes a reflection of the first phoneme can be diverse, the newly created phonemes are marked by the logical disjunction symbol $\vee$. The same symbol is used to note the different phonetic environments which can affect the change process. Most sound changes concern the phonemes which share the same place of articulation, so symbols that represent groups linked together by the same characteristic will be used to take note of the changes. The individual sounds will always be marked, so that the phoneme inside of the round brackets represents the unit subjected to change, and the symbol preceding the bracket marks the group to which it belongs. The consonant groups are noted without a symbol indicating that they belong to a certain group based on their place of articulation. The markings for consonant groups are created according to the first letter with which their Sanskrit name begins, the classification is based on the description of the voice system presented in Horga and Ježić (1989). The simple vowels include a group of 9 simple vowels V (vivṛta - vowels = $\{V_h, V_d\}$), from which four are long V_d (dīrgha - long = $\{\bar{a}, \bar{i}, \bar{u}, \bar{r}\}$) and five are short vowels V_h (hrasva - short = $\{a, i, u, r, l\}$). Other than the single vowels, there are also short diphthongs (*e* and *o*) and the long ones (*ai*, *au*). There are 35 consonants, of which 25 are plosives or occlusives, and they differ from one another by the aspiration, voicing and place of articulation, S (spṛṣṭa - plosives = $\{k, t, m, d, o\}$). According to the place of articulation, consonants are classified as gutturals - k (kaṇṭhya - guttural = $\{k, kh, g, gh\}$), palatals - t (tālavya - palatal = $\{c, ch, j, jh\}$), retroflexes - m (mūrdhanya - retroflex = $\{ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh\}$), dentals - d (dantya - dental = $\{t, th, d, dh\}$), labials - o (oṣṭhya - labial = $\{p, ph, b, bh\}$). The nasals are in a separate group, N (nāsikya - nasals = $\{\tilde{n}, \tilde{ṇ}, \tilde{n}, n, m\}$). The other consonants are

fricatives, which are divided into syllabic consonants or semi-vowels, A (antaḥsthā – semi-vowels = {y, r, l, v}), aspirates or sibilants, U (uṣman – fricatives = {ś, ṣ, s, h}) and the after-vowels following vowels (the voiceless aspirated, visarga ḥ, and an indeterminate nasal, anusvāra ṁ).¹⁹ In case it is necessary to mark some other characteristic, it is noted with a subscript. For voiced sounds the subscript used is _z, for voiceless the subscript _h, and for aspirated _h. If the symbol for a group of sounds is noted without any subscript, it means that it encompasses all phonemes which share the same place of articulation. The sounds which are subject to such a change and their changed forms are noted as neat pairs within curly brackets. The square brackets denote optionality, phonemes or groups of phonemes. Inside of them they may show, but do not have to show in the structure of the morphological character. The position inside of the character's structure is noted exclusively as a condition and not as a record of the rule itself. Asterisk (*) signifies that the element marked by it can be repeatedly used in an infinite amount.

4.1. The mutual characteristics of Middle-Aryan

Vowels

1) Loss of syllabic liquids

The retroflex and dental Old Indo-Aryan vowels /ɾ/ and /l/ are lost in the Prakrits, and their loss results in different consequences. Dental consonant turns into a dental semi-vowel or disappears. The retroflex vowel /ɾ/ has several possible reflections in various dialects. In some cases, /ɾ/ has been completely lost and there is a vowel /i/ instead or /a/ or the consonantal r with the vowel /i/. In this process, /ɾ/ is changed into /a/ in the western dialects, and /ɾ/ u /i/ in the eastern.²⁰ If there is an /ɾ/ behind a labial or short or long /u/, /ɾ/ becomes /u/.

Records:²¹

$$V(l) \rightarrow A(l) \vee \emptyset$$

$$V(\mathfrak{r}) \rightarrow V(i) \vee V(a) \vee ri$$

$$V(\mathfrak{r}) \rightarrow V(u) / _ \{V(u, \bar{u}) \vee V(o)\}$$

Examples: OIA kṛta > Pāli kata; OIA ṛṣi > Pāli isi; OIA saṃvṛta > śaur. saṃvuttā.

2) The rule of two morae

In the Prakrit languages, many limitations of the syllable structure occur. According to the rule of mora, the long vowel (consisting of two morae) is preserved only in the open syllable, which is the reason of closed syllables disappearing most usually in

¹⁹ Horga & Ježić 1989: 1–3.

²⁰ Jauk Pinhak 1973: 69.

²¹ Bubenik 1996: 33–34.

the following three ways: 1) syllable shortening, 2) simplification of the consonant group 3) svarabhakti.²²

Records:

$$1) V_d \rightarrow V_h/C_C$$

$$2) C \rightarrow \emptyset / CV_d_V$$

$$3) \emptyset \rightarrow V/C_C$$

3) Monophthongization of a diphthong

A monophthongization occurred in all Prakṛtis:²³

Record:

$$\{ai, au\} \rightarrow V(\{\bar{e}, \bar{o}\})$$

Example: OIA vaidya > Pāli vejja.

4) Shortening of vowels

Other than that, a long vowel is often shortened before one consonant, which results in the doubling of consonants, if the morphological form in Old Indo-Arian had an accent on the last syllable.

Record:

$$V_d C \rightarrow V_h CC, \text{ condition: } [CV]^*C \vee \emptyset$$

Example: OIA evá > māh. ěvva.

Consonants

A) Single consonants

1) Consonant dropping or loss in intervocalic position

i) In the position between two vowels, voiced and voiceless velar consonants, palatal consonants and dental consonants are usually reduced to a null phoneme or are doubled.

Record:

$$\{k, t, m\} \rightarrow \emptyset \vee \{kk, tt, mm\} / V_V$$

Example: OIA hr̥daye > māh. hiaa.

ii) Labial voiced and voiceless plosives, as well as the labial semi-vowel sometimes disappear in an intervocalic position, and a palatal semi-vowel always disappears in that position.

Record:

$$\{o, A(v)\} \rightarrow \emptyset / V_V$$

Example: sti: iva > śaur. viva > via.

²² Jauk Pinhak 1973: 69.

²³ Bubenik 1996: 25–26.

iii) If labial voiceless aspirated consonant *p* is not lost, it crosses into the labial semi-vowel *v*: Example: OIA *vepate* > śaur. *vevai*.

iiii) Aspirated voiced and voiceless velars, dental and labial plosives in intervocalic position are reduced to voiced fricatives.

Record:

$$\{k_h, d_h, o_h\} \rightarrow U(h) / V_V$$

Example: sti: *mukhe* > māg. *muhe*.

2) Limits of consonant groups at the beginning of a vowel

At the beginning of a word there can be only one vowel in Prakrits, except if the word starts with consonant groups *ṇh*, *mh* and at the beginning of the second word within a compound. A palatal semi-vowel at the beginning of a word transforms into a palatal voiced plosive, and the palatal nasal is cerebralized.

Record:

$$\{A(y), N(n)\} \rightarrow \{S(j), N(ṇ)\}, \text{ condition: } j/nV[CV]^*$$

Example: OIA *yama* > māg. *jama*.

The initial consonant of the second constituent part of a compound acts as if it is in the middle of the word, unless it is a labial, voiceless, aspirated plosive /*ph*/, it is not dropped and replaced by some other consonant, OIA > *bahuphala* > śaur. *bahuphalas*.²⁴

3) Limitations of consonant groups in the middle of words

i) Svarabhakti

The consonant groups in OIA are for the most part not preserved in the Middle-Indian dialects, especially in the middle of the morphological characters. The consonant groups have mostly been affected by two processes: assimilation and excrescence or *svarabhakti*. *Svarabhakti* is the phonological process by which vowels (most often the palatal and labial vowels /*a*/, /*i*/, /*u*/) are inserted between two consonants out of which one is either a nasal or a semi-vowel.²⁵

Records:

$$CN \rightarrow CV(a \vee i \vee u)N$$

$$CA \rightarrow C V(a \vee i \vee u)A$$

Example: OIA *tvāra* > śaur. *tuvara*.

If the voice is a palatal semi-vowel, it becomes a palatal vowel.

Record:

$$CA(y) \rightarrow CV(i)$$

Example: OIA *praviśya* > māg. *paviśia*.

²⁴ Woolner 1917: 10–16.

²⁵ Bubenik (1996: 36) states a generic record of *svarabhakti*: $\emptyset \rightarrow V/C_C$.

ii) Dental consonants become palatal:

Record:

$$d \rightarrow k \vee t$$

Examples: OIA tiṣṭhati > śaur. ciṭṭhadi, OIA na > śaur. ṇa²⁶

B) Consonant groups

If consonants in the middle of words have remained preserved in the Middle-Aryan, only the following consonant groups are possible: 1) double consonants 2) a plosive following a nasal with the same place of articulation 3) a plosive and the liquid consonant r and 4) a plosive and a sibilant. The assimilation processes have led to such division of consonant groups.²⁷

Assimilation

During the consonant assimilation, the general rule is that between the same consonants, the linearly second one prevails, i.e., the first vowel becomes equivalent to the second one, and between the hierarchical unequal consonants the stronger one always prevails. The strongest on the strength scale during assimilation are plosives, followed by nasals and the last strength-wise are semi-vowels and fricatives. $S > N > A \wedge U$

1) *Retroflex semi-vowel /r/ is assimilated when preceding any plosive.*

Record:

$$A(r)S \rightarrow SS$$

Examples: OIA varta > śaur. vatta, OIA nirma > śaur. nimma / OIA patra > śaur. patta.

2) *Any nasal following a plosive, is also assimilated and becomes a plosive.*

Record:

$$SN \rightarrow SS$$

Examples: OIA lagnam > śaur. laggam / OIA śaknami > śaur. sakkuṇomi / OIA ātmano > śaur. attaṇo

3) *Palatal semi-vowel y preceding a plosive is usually assimilated.*

Record:

$$A(y)S \rightarrow SS$$

Example: OIA ālekhy > śaur. ālekkha.

²⁶ Woolner 1917: 15.

²⁷ Bubenik 1996: 38.

4) *By the impact of strength during assimilation, the dental fricative s is stronger than the palatal semi-vowel.*

Record:

$$U(s)A(y) \rightarrow U(s)U(s)$$

Examples: OIA asya > śaur. assa, OIA rahasyam > śaur. rahassam.

5) *In the combination of nasals and semi-vowels, the semi-vowel is assimilated.*

Record:

$$AN \rightarrow NN$$

Example: OIA kīrna > śaur. kīṇṇa.

6) *The consonant group which consists of the voiced fricative and the labial semi-vowel /hv/ becomes either bbh or h: OIA jihvām > śaur. jīham.*

7) *The assimilation of a plosive and a fricative.*

When in some consonant group, a fricative is positioned first, it is assimilated, and the plosive is aspirated.

Record:

$$US \rightarrow SS_h$$

Example: OIA hastam > śaur. hattham.

8) *The assimilation of a plosive and a semi-vowel.*

If a dental consonant occurs alongside a palatal semi-vowel y, the dental consonant is palatalized before assimilation.²⁸

Records:

$$dA(y) \rightarrow tA(y)$$

$$tA(y) \rightarrow tt$$

Example: OIA mṛtyu > māg. miccu.

4.2. The special characteristics of Māgadhī and Śaurasenī

Śaurasenī is considered to be a Prakrit language that was spoken in Madhyadeśa; Śūrasena is the name of the region near Mathura. Except for drama texts, there are no other preserved written monuments. Its basic distinguishing characteristics are the following.

²⁸ Woolner 1917: 17–23.

1) *Palatal, retroflex and dental fricative from OIA are merged into one dental.*

Record:

$$\text{In} \rightarrow \text{s}$$

Example: OIA *nirāśo* > śaur. *ṇirāso*.

2) *Intervocalic voiceless aspirated and unaspirated dental and retroflex consonants /t, t̥, th, ṭh/ are voiced.*

Record:

$$t_b \rightarrow d_z / V_V$$

Example: OIA *bhavatu* > śaur. *bhodu*.

3) *All plosives, except for voiced aspirated and unaspirated dentals are lost in the intervocalic position.*

Record:

$$S \cap d_z \rightarrow \emptyset / V_V$$

Example: OIA *tilodakam* > śaur. *tilodaam*.

4) *Prothesis.*

In Śaurasenī, sometimes at the beginning of words created by shortening of the long vowel preceding one consonant in case of the word having an accent on the last syllable in Old Indo-Aryan, the epenthetic *l* is added.

Record:

$$V_h \rightarrow jV_h, \text{ condition } V_h[CV]^*$$

Example: pṛkr. *ēvva* > śaur. *jevva*.

Another case of prothesis is the addition of the labial semi-vowel at the beginning of an article, if it begins with the sound /i/: OIA *iva* > śaur. > *viva*.

5) *Voiced, aspirated, dental plosive becomes a voiced fricative in the root of the verb √BHŪ, 1. and its derived forms: OIA bhūta > śaur. bhūdo.*

Māgadhī can be studied as a stylized literary variety based on the dialects of eastern India. Its peculiarities in comparison with other Prakrit languages are the following.

1) *All three fricatives from OIA are merged into one palatal.*

Record:

$$\text{In} \rightarrow \acute{s}$$

Example: OIA *sadanam* > māḡ. *śadanam*

2) Dental and retroflex semi-vowels /r/ and /r/ from OIA are articulated as the dental /l/.

Record:

$$A(r, l) \rightarrow l$$

Example: OIA rājā > māg. lājā

3) All plosives in an intervocalic position are lost.

Record:

$$S \rightarrow \emptyset / V_V$$

Example: OIA bhaviṣyati > māg. bhaviśśadi.²⁹

5. Phrasemes – meaning and motivation

In the chosen corpus a total of 22 phrasemes have been found, from which some appear multiple times. For every phraseme first its dictionary form, i.e., the constituents of which a phraseme is composed of, then a chapter and a verse and an abbreviation for the plays in which they are found are stated. Afterwards, the phraseme forms used in the text with the language in which the phrasemes are marked. Their literal and metaphorical meaning is stated after analyzing the language and describing its structure. In case a phraseme with the same or altered constituents exists in Hindi, it is also noted here, as well as an example of its use in a sentence, excerpted from the corpus Hindi Web 2013 (hiTenTen13) and translated into English. This example is followed by a description of the motivation of a phraseme according to the classification invented by Baranov and Dobrovol'ski (2010). The order of entries is determined by motivation and the structure of a phraseme, phrasemes with a metaphorical or metonymic motivation are mentioned first, then the phrasemes with a symbolically based motivation and the last described group consists of comparative phrasemes. Among the metaphorical and metonymical phrasemes first somatic phrasemes are stated, then the phrasemes whose main constituent is a mental organ, and afterwards follow the other phrasemes whose constituents cannot be united by a general shared meaning. The comparative phrasemes can have a structure with two or three parts. The phrasemes made of three constituents have a general structure: A + B + C, in which the A-part represents the object which is compared (comparandum), the B-part stands for a comparative conjunction and the C-part is a constituent to which something is compared (*tertium comparationis*). In the structure with two parts the A-part is missing, i.e., the constituents to which something is compared. In Sanskrit poetic handbook *Kāvyaḍarśa* "Mirror of poetry", authored by Daṇḍin, the comparison upamā as a poetic figure defined by the similarities between two

²⁹ Bubenik 1996: 11–16.

phenomena or objects. Afterwards, the similarities which make the comparison possible, and the comparative conjunctions and adverbs are stated: *iva*, *vat*, *vā*, *yathā*, *samāna*, etc.³⁰ Other than the comparative conjunctions and adverbs, the comparison is often stated with a kind of attributive-determinative compound *karmadhāraya*. In such compounds, the first lexeme determines the second as an attribute, apposition or, in the case of a noun and adjective compound, a simile.³¹ In the corpus, comparison or simile as a poetic figure usually appears in the last verse and the objects being compared are always extended by attributes or entire sentences which additionally describe the causes of similarities of seemingly unrelated objects. The aim of using simile as a poetic device is to surprise and impress the recipient of a text, unlike the phrasemes which have a more moderate expressive impression.

5.1. *Metaphorically or metonymically motivated phrasemes*

A) Somatic phrasemes

1. HEART | *hṛdayam* √KR, 8.

The phraseme occurs three times in Śāk. 1. 22., 2. 3. and 6. 23.

skr. *hṛdaya kṛtvā* > śaur. *hiae karia*

The phraseme appears in Sanskrit and Śaurasenī and it is a collocation by structure and by its main constituent a verbal phraseme.

Meaning: To take something to one's heart, to closely or seriously consider or accept an idea or a feeling, to adopt or live in accordance with some values.

Hindi: हृदय में करना.

An example of use:

एक बार जिसकी भी दृढ़ कल्पना अपने हृदय में कर लेता था, फिर कोई भी शक्ति उसे उस मार्ग से हटा नहीं पाती थी | (hiTenTen13). Translation: Once taking anyone's hard belief to his heart, no force will put him off his path.

The heart token represents an abstract concept, a thought, belief or a decision. The constituent HEART is conceptualized in the phraseme as a space of the spiritual state of an individual. After a certain thought, idea or decision is brought into this space, it becomes a part of the man's behavior. The motivation for this phraseme is metaphorical and it matches the conceptual metaphor INTENSITY IS CLOSENESS.

2. HEART | *hṛdayam* √CUR, 10.

The phraseme is found in Vikram 3. 139. and 3. 63.

skr. *hṛdaya coraḥ* > śaur. *hiae coro*.

³⁰ KD II, 14–65.

³¹ Andrijačić 2019: 197–198.

The phraseme appears in Sanskrit and Śaurasenī and it is a collocation by structure and by its main constituent a verbal phraseme.

Meaning: To steal one's heart, to gain one's affection.

Hindi: दिल / हृदय चुराना.

An example of use:

तुमने मेरी बेटी का दिल चुराया है और उसको रोती छोड़ कर भाग खड़े हुये हो। (hiTenTen13). Translation: You stole my daughter's heart and you are ready to run away and leave her in tears.

The motivation of the phraseme is metonymical, the heart stands for the feeling of being in love or enamored. The conceptual metaphor superior to this phraseme is HEART IS A VALUABLE OBJECT.³²

3. ULCER | gaṇḍasyopari piṇḍakaḥ saṃ√VR 5., 9.

The phraseme was found in Śāk. 2. 1. 2.

śaur. gaṇḍassa ubari piṇḍiā saṃvuttā.

It was used in Śaurasenī and has the structure of a sentence.

Meaning: There is an ulcer on the pimple, a smaller misfortune turned into a greater one, the original state has deteriorated.

The phraseme has no equivalent in Hindi.

The phraseme appears in prakaraṇa, historical drama³³, *Mudrārākṣasa* whose author is Viśākhadatta who is often considered to be the contemporary of Kālidāsa³⁴ or to have lived before Kālidāsa.³⁵ It is a phraseme whose motivation stems from the world knowledge, the source framework is the outbreak of a larger swelling on a smaller one and it is related to the target framework of a smaller misfortune creating a bigger one.

4. TONGUE | jihvām √RAKṢ 1.

The phraseme is found in Vikr. 2. 1.

śaur. ṇa sakkuṇomi jaṇāiṇṇe attāṇo jīhaṃ rakkhiduṃ

By the structural criteria, it belongs to the group of idiomatic phrasemes, verb phrasemes and in the play, it was written in Śaurasenī.

³² Novoselec 2019: 142.

³³ Monier-Williams 1961: 61.

³⁴ Katičić 1973: 284.

³⁵ Ježić 2011: 44.

Meaning: To hold your tongue among people, to remain silent, keep quiet, abstain from talking in certain situations.

Hindi: जिह्वा पर संयम रखना – to hold your tongue; control your speech.

An example of use:

बातचीत करते समय किसी के साथ उग्रतापूर्ण भाषा का प्रयोग न हो जाए, इसके लिए जिह्वा पर संयम रखिएगा। (hiTenTen13). Translation: In order to avoid using violent speech in discussion with anyone, it is important to control your tongue.

The phraseme by its structure and meaning resembles the Croatian phraseme ‘hold one’s tongue in one’s teeth’, for which in the Phraseological Dictionary of the Russian Language it is stated that it belongs to the general Slavic Language Repository. The constituent TONGUE metonymically stands for the speech process in Slavic and Indian phrasemes.³⁶ Due to the very transparent motivation of phrasemes in which a material body organ denotes an action performed using it, its representation in different languages is not unexpected.

5. HAND | *hastam* √GAM, 1.

The phraseme was written in Vikr. 2. 178.

śaur. *hattham* gado.

In drama it was noted in Śaurasenī, and by its structure it is a collocation of words with a verb as the main syntactic constituent.

Meaning: to come into one’s hands, to get under one’s authority, to gain something.

Hindi: हाथ में आना / जाना.

An example of use:

एक बार पैसा हाथ में आ जाए तो किसान को तीन ही काम सूझते थे --एक लड़की की शादी करना --दूसरा घर बनाना --और तीसरा लड़ाई झगडा कर कोर्ट कचहरी के चक्कर लगाना । *ek bār paisā hāth mē ā jāe to kisān ko tīn hī kām sūjhte the – ek laḍkī kī śādī karnā – dūsra ghar banānā – aur tīsra laḍāi jhagaḍā kar koṛṭ kacaharī ke cakkar lagānā* (hiTenTen13). Translation: Once a peasant gets money, he thinks about three things: the first is to marry off his daughter, the second is to build a house and the third is to go to courts after starting a fight.

Opašić and Spicijarić Paškvan (2011: 63) claim that the meaning of the constituent HAND “authority” in the matching Croatian and Italian phraseme is related to its symbolical motivation in the Biblical and Christian tradition. If such an interpretation is accepted, the phraseme may be considered as symbolically motivated. However, the experiential knowledge of the human species acknowledges the fact that

³⁶ BΦCP 2006: 171–172.

hands are used for the act of holding, reaching and thus controlling a certain object. Other than that, a phraseme may be motivated by holding a symbol of authority, a scepter or some other object. Since a phraseme of a similar structure and matching meaning exists outside of the Judeo-Christian circle, it is possible to claim that it is metonymically motivated and that the constituent HAND stands for authority.

6. EAR | karṇapatham $\bar{A}\sqrt{Y}\bar{A}$, 2.
 The phraseme is found in Śāk 6. 4.
 skr. karṇapatham nāyātam

The phraseme structure is a collocation, a verb phraseme, in the corpus noted in Sanskrit.

Meaning: To reach one's ears; to hear.
 Hindi: कर्णगोचर होना – to be within the earshot.

An example of use: चक्की का घुर-घुर शब्द कर्णगोचर हो रहा था. (hiTenTen13).
 Translation: The sound of the mill was reaching his ears.

The ability to listen is conceptualized as a result of sounds reaching the space for movement linked to one's ear. Sounds move towards such a conceptualization following a certain path that leads to the ear. The background image phraseme does not contain any cultural specificities and is a motivation of metaphorical nature.

7. EAR | karnam $\sqrt{D}\bar{A}$, 3.
 In all dramas the phraseme appears more than ten times.
 skt. karṇam dātva

The language in which the phraseme appears in the corpus is Sanskrit, it is a collocation by its structure and its main constituent syntactically is a verb.

Meaning: Give ear to, prick up one's ears.
 Hindi: कर्ण देना.

An example of use: शेखर ने कान देकर सुना, कोलाहल बढ़ रहा है और उधर ही आ रहा है। (hiTenTen13). Translation: Having pricked his ears, Śekhar heard the noise getting louder and nearer.

The constituent EAR is conceptualized as an object which is given or presented. The meaning of the verb to give becomes close to the meaning of put in effort, and the constituent EAR metonymically stands for the sense of hearing.

B) Non- somatic phrasemes

8. MIND | manasi √VRT, 1

The phraseme is found in Śāk 2. 10. written in Sanskrit.

skr. me manasi vartate

By its structure it is a collocation, a verb phraseme.

Meaning: To think about something, to go through one's mind, one's mind running in circles.

Hindi: दिमाग में आना.

An example of use:

आज ये शब्द दिमाग में आते ही उसका मुंह कड़वाहट से भर जाता है। (hiTenTen13).

Translation: As soon as she thought of those words, her mouth started filling with bitterness.

The thinking processes as actions of consciousness in the names of philosophical Brahmanic and Hindi systems of sāmkhya and yoga are imagined as turns of the wheel. In *Yogasūtra*, the aim of yoga or bondage is to stop the rotations of the content of consciousness or awareness. The non-restricted turns lead to the realization of the truth, and the restricted ones to reaching the object by the mechanisms of thought without anchoring in it.³⁷ The similar vision of thought as the one turning in one sensing organ is found in this phraseme as well. The thinking process is conceptualized as an alternating sequencing of twists of one substance in some space. The motivation of this phraseme is metaphorically motivated in any case, but it is also possible that it is a culturally conditioned motivation, because in other texts of the same culture the conceptual metaphor MIND IS A WHEEL can be traced.

9. INTELLIGENCE | mṛtpiṇḍabuddhinā gṛhītam, GRAH 9.

The phraseme was found in Śāk 6. 8. in Śaurasenī, it is a collocation, a verbal phraseme.

śaur. mippīṇḍabuddhiṇā gahidaṃ

Meaning: To be perceived by someone whose sense is a lump of clay, to consider someone a fool, an idiot.

There is no equivalent in Hindi.

The phraseme is metaphorically motivated, the capacities of an individual's mind are brought into a relationship with a lump of clay. The resemblance between weak intelligence and a lump of clay is unclear. As a lump of clay does not necessarily contain any other substance, it can be related to the uniform content in which there is no space for thoughts.

³⁷ Ježić 2016: 152–157.

10. CONSCIOUSNESS | prakṛtisthaḥ saṃ√VRT 1.

The phraseme is found in Śāk 2. 5. and 4. 4. 48. in Śaurasenī, it is a collocation of words by its structure, and its main element syntactically is a verb.

śaur. paidittho saṃvutto

Meaning: To come to a place of one's (own) nature, temperament, to come to oneself, to return to your consciousness.

Hindi: प्रकृतिस्थ हो जाना.

An example of use:

बड़ी देर बाद प्रकृतिस्थ होते हैं वे। (hiTenTen13). Translation: A long time after that they have returned to consciousness.

The state of unconsciousness is depicted as separation from the natural state and a crossing into another state, the state of unconsciousness. That separation in the case of losing consciousness is bridged by a return from the unconscious state into the natural state. In such a conceptualization a person is not their own consciousness or unconsciousness, but a third entity that can cross from one state into another.

11. FLY | nirmakṣikam √KR, 8.

The phraseme is found twice in Śāk 2. 7. and 6. 7. in Śaurasenī, it is a collocation, a verbal phraseme.

śaur. kidaṃ ṇimmacchiam.

Meaning: To get rid of the flies, to move away from a bore, to go to a secluded place.

A similar phraseme was not found in Hindi.

The phraseme is motivated by the experiential knowledge of fly behavior. Bores resemble flies as it is difficult to get rid of them and, in spite of trying, they do not stop interacting with others, the same way flies often come back after being chased away. The conceptual metaphor which represents the base of the phraseme is BORING PEOPLE ARE LIKE FLIES.

12. SCAVENGER PREY | gr̥dhrabalir √BHŪ, 1.

The phraseme was found in Śāk 6. 1. 15. in Māgadhī, its syntactically main constituent is a verb, and it is a collocation by its structure.

māg. giddhavalī bhaviśśaśi

Meaning: To become the food of scavengers, to get killed.

There is no equivalent in Hindi.

In the text of the drama Śāk. 6.1. 15, the phraseme is expressed as a guard's threat to a fisherman for doubt of having stolen a precious ring: "You will become food for scavengers or you will see the face of a dog". A similar custom can be traced in the first verses of Homer's *Iliad*: "Whose limbs, unburied on the naked shore, / Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore" (Pope 1919(1715): 33). The body of the wrongdoers who suffered capital punishment will not be burned according to the custom, but they will instead become food for scavengers or dogs. However, in the text of the drama there are no clues that something like that could really happen, instead, this expression points to the possibility of death. Motivation can, from one aspect, be culturally specific, but in that case the question is what culture it belongs to, and can it be characteristic of all cultures which had learned about the nutrition habits of scavenger birds and considered their burials and burning of the deceased with the accompanying rites more appropriate than leaving the body to animals.

13. FRUIT | bahuphalas √BHŪ, 1.

The phraseme was written in Vikr. 3. 123 in Śaurasenī it is a verbal phraseme, a collocation by its structure.

śaur. bahuphalo bhodu

Meaning: To be with a myriad of fruits, to achieve / gain good results.

Hindi: फल देना.

An example of use:

मां अपने भक्तों को उनकी साधना के अनुसार फल देती है। (hiTenTen13). Translation: The mother gives her devotees fruits in accordance with their deeds.

Similar to Croatian phrasemes to bear fruit and to yield fruit, fruit of any tree represents the result and the consequence of one's effort or actions. The phraseme is metonymically motivated, and it is not culturally specific.

14. DUST | na pādarajasā tulya

The phraseme was found in Mālav. 1. 12. 5. in Sanskrit, it is a collocation of words by its structure, and its main element syntactically is a verb.

skr. na pādarajasā tulya

Meaning: To not be equal to dust under one's feet, to be worthless.

Hindi: किसी के पैर की धूल होना - to be the dust under someone's feet; to be unimportant and worthless.

An example of use:

मैं तो कुछ नहीं हूं, आपके पैर की धूल हूं। (hiTenTen13). Translation: I am nothing, I am the dust under your feet.

The importance of something or someone is compared to another object which stands for something which is not precious or valuable. In this phraseme, dust is used as

there is an abundance of it and thus it does not represent something rare. The phrase-me is metonymically motivated, and it does not contain culturally specific elements.

15. A DEER'S THIRST | mṛgaṭṛṣṇikāyā NIR√VṚT, 1.

The phraseme was written in Vikr. 2. 13., in Śaurasenī, it is a collocation, a verbal phraseme.

śaur. miatiṇhiādo ṇivvatteduṃ

Meaning: To put away from deer's thirst; to move away from the Fata Morgana; to stop being in a delusion.

Hindi: मृगतृष्णा – a deer's thirst. मृगजलस्थान – a completely incredible event or a place.

An example of use:

समझ लिया की वह लड़का अब एक मृगतृष्णा से ज्यादा कुछ नहीं है। (hiTenTen13).

Translation: Understand that this boy is now no more than an illusion (a deer's thirst).

The phraseme is motivated by the knowledge of deer behavior. Deer constantly need water for drinking and wallowing, so they usually settle in areas near rivers and migrate during the yearly cycle to areas rich in food and water. Chitals, originating from the tropical areas, Pakistan, Laos, Burma, Cambodia, Thailand, when defending themselves from predators often rush into the water.³⁸ It is possible that the name for the Fata Morgana is motivated by the supposition that deer also suffer from the same optical phenomenon and that it can trick them when running from other beasts. Also, in the Biblical psalm 42:1. a deer is compared to the human soul as it is described as an animal yearning for water: "As a doe longs / for running streams, / so longs my soul / for you, my God" (Jones 1966: 824). It is possible that certain behavior of deer and does when looking for water has to some extent been known to the speakers from those communities in which the Bible and the old Indian texts were created, so the deer's or doe's thirst could stand for immense thirst, i.e., yearning for anything.

5.2. Phrasemes with symbolically-based motivation

16. WATER MIXED WITH SESAME | tilodakam√SIC, 6

The phraseme was found in Śāk 3. 10. in Śaurasenī, it is a collocation, a verbal phraseme.

śaur. siñcadha me tilodaam

Meaning: To sprinkle with water mixed with sesame, to perform burial rites, to bury someone

Hindi: तिलांजलि देना, तिलांजलि -a handful of water mixed with sesame seeds

³⁸ Janicki et. al. 2007: 17–33.

which is offered as a sacrifice to the souls of ancestors during the burial rite, to bid farewell to someone forever.

An example of use:

तो क्या हमें अपने जज्बातों की तिलांजलि दे देनी चाहिए? (hiTenTen13). Translation: Should we really bury our feelings?

The phraseme is culturally specific, it reflects part of the long tradition of executing burial rites in honor of ancestors. As part of the monthly burial rite for ancestors (piṇḍapitṛyajña)³⁹ water mixed with sesame seeds is presented as an offering to ancestors, along with lumps of rice and milk. Sprinkle with water mixed with sesame is a phraseme that represents a euphemism for someone's death. As other phrasemes which describe death in the corpus it is expressed in an imperative verb mood, but unlike the other two phrasemes, it is spoken out by a woman in the Śāurasenī and it is the only one which expresses death euphemistically and is not addressed as a threat to the other, but as a threat to the companions of Śakuntala, so that they can say goodbye to her forever, unless the king pays her attention and thus alleviates the sorrow caused by lovesick yearning.

17. YAMA'S CITY | yamaśadaṇaṃ pra√VIŚ, 6.

The phraseme was found in Śāk 6. 1. 17 in māgadhi, it is a collocation of words by its structure, and its main element syntactically is a verb.

māg. jamaśadaṇaṃ pavīśia

Meaning: To enter Yama's dwelling-place, to die.

यमलोक / यमपुरी जाना – to go to Yama's world or to Yama's city; go to the other world; die.

An example of use:

या तो तुम मेरा काम करो या यमलोकजाने के लिये तैयार हो जाओ। (hiTenTen13). Translation: You are either going to do me a service or prepare to go to the other world!

Yama is a deity which in the Vedas rules the souls of the deceased ancestors in the heavens and the path to heaven is guarded by four-eyed striped dogs. In the post Vedic mythology, the deity is a judge to the deceased and sometimes has an adjective *dharmarāja*, the king of justice and it corresponds to Greek Hades, its dwelling place no longer being in the heavens, but in the underworld which is also called his city⁴⁰. The motivation of phrasemes is symbolically grounded, phraseme is possible to understand only with knowledge of the mythological status of the element YAMA.

³⁹ Ježić 1999: 38, 71, Monier-Williams 1961: 111.

⁴⁰ Monier-Williams 1964: 846.

5.3. Comparative phrasemes

18. A drop of dew | viralatṛṇāgralagnam ivāvaśyāya salilam √STHĀ, 1.

The phraseme was written in Śaurasenī in Vikr. 2. 3.

śaur. viralatṛṇaggaḷaggam via osāsalilam ciraṃ tassim rahassam ṇa ciṭṭhadi

Meaning: To sit as a drop of dew on the top of the blade of grass; to loosely hold onto something.

A phraseme of a similar structure and meaning was not found in Hindi.

The phraseme was motivated by the background picture of a blade of grass in the morning, with a drop of dew hanging upon it, before falling off into the grass.

19. A DROP OF WATER | bhisinīpatragataṃ salilam iva √VIP, 1.

The phraseme was found in Mālav. 5.6. 3. written in Śaurasenī.

śaur. bhisinīpattagadaṃ salilam via vevai

Meaning: To shake as a drop of water on a lotus leaf, to severely shake.

There is no similar phraseme by structure in Hindi.

The image of a drop of water shivering on a lotus flower leaf served as the phraseme motivation.

20. LOTUS STEMS | kamalanālāyamānair aṅgaiḥ √BHŪ, 1.

The phraseme occurs in Vikr. 2. 120. in Śaurasenī, it is a collocation, a verbal phraseme.

śaur. kamalanālāamāṇehim

Meaning: To have limbs as tense as the lotus stems; to shiver.

To have limbs tense as the lotus' stems, the body is the lotus, the stems are hairs, to shiver.

A phraseme of a similar structure and meaning was not found in Hindi.

In this phraseme limbs are conceptualized as weak as lotus stalks. The phraseme is metaphorically motivated, its meaning is interpreted using knowledge about the resemblance between weak limbs and soft and flexible lotus stalks.

21. PICTURE | ālikhita iva √BHŪ, 1.

The phraseme in Sanskrit, Śāk. 1 5. and in a somewhat alternated form in Śaurasenī in Vikr. 1. 30.

śaur. citranyastam ivācalam

Meaning: To look like a picture or as if painted, to stand motionless.

A phraseme or similar meaning or structure was not found in Hindi.

The difference between phrasemes from Śāk. and Vikr. is that in the first drama, the adjective painted appears, and in the second one as an adjectival noun, the painted, i.e., a picture. The phraseme also appears in a similar shape, along with an additional component MONKEY in Vikr. 2. 3. in Śaurasenī: *to stand as still as a painted monkey*.

22. A POT | vipaṇikandur ivodarābhyantaram √DAH, 1.

The phraseme is noted in Mālav. 2. 13. 1. in Śaurasenī.

śaur. vivipāṇikandū via uarabbhandaram ḍajjhai

Meaning: To burn from the inside as a pot in the market.

A phraseme or similar meaning or structure was not found in Hindi.

The motivation of the phraseme is metaphorical. The background picture can be interpreted using conceptual metaphor which is found in many other languages: ANGER IS A HOT LIQUID IN A POT which stems from the common understanding of anger, and it was created by connecting two conceptual metaphors ANGER IS HEAT and BODY IS A POT FOR FEELINGS. The source domain HEAT OF THE LIQUID IN A POT is related to the target domain ANGER.⁴¹

6. Conclusion

Most phrasemes were noted in Śaurasenī, 14 out of 22 phrasemes, then in Sanskrit, four phrasemes, two phrasemes have appeared in Sanskrit and in Śaurasenī, and only two in Māgadhi. It is important to note that most of the text in the drama corpus is not written in Śaurasenī, but in Sanskrit. In drama mostly all female characters and the *vidūṣaka*, to whom the largest number of phrasemes is attributed, speak in the literary Prakrit Śaurasenī, as well as the main hero the king, but only in the state of madness. Expressive and humorous phrasemes (3, 9, 11, 21, 22) are spoken by the *vidūṣaka* and their role is the characterization of this character as the ludicrous one. The other phrasemes in Śaurasenī are spoken by women and such phrasemes are usually more neutral, and when they are not, they describe the consequences of being in love. The guards, brother-in-law and the heroes of the lower military rank in the prelude to the sixth act in the drama *Ābhijñānaśākuntala* speak in Māgadhi. Their speech is characterized by extreme cruelty and irony and phrasemes spoken by them (12, 17) represent death threats. The male heroes of higher rank speak phrasemes in Sanskrit (1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 14), most usually stylistically very neutral phrasemes which are composed of somatisms. The recommendations for language use from the dramatic art handbook *Nāṭyaśāstra* mostly match the state in the drama, how-

⁴¹ Kövecses 1986: 11–17.

ever, out of many stated languages, a smaller number appears in the texts than is recommended in the handbook, only four of them. Slightly more than half of the phrasemes, 13 of them, have been found in a similar form in Hindi. Phrasemes with symbolically based motivation have shown to be diachronically most stable, because they were all found in Hindi, having experienced the smallest changes in their composition. Among phrasemes of which a constituent is a somatism, only one was found in dictionaries and the corpus of Hindi, which points to the fact that they are less diachronically stable than the symbolically based phrasemes. However, not a single phraseme with a comparative structure was preserved in Hindi. Phrasemes with a comparative structure thus make for a group of phrasemes that is subjected to changes the most and least stable. Motivation, meaning and the structure of phrasemes have shown to be relevant factors of diachronic stability, it can be assumed that culturally specific phraseological units will be preserved for a longer period in language and that phrasemes with a comparative structure are the least stable ones.

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List of abbreviations:

- NŚ = Nāṭyaśāstra
 KD = Kāvyādarśa
 OIA = Old Indo-Aryan
 Skt. = Sanskrit
 Māh. = Māhārāṣṭrī
 Māg. = Māgadhī
 Śaur. = Śaurasenī
 Śāk. = Abhijñānaśākuntalam
 Vikr. = Vikramōrvaśīyam
 Mālav. = Mālavikāgnimitram

Sažetak

Ovaj je rad podijeljen u šest dijelova. U uvodu su navedeni osnovni podaci o korpusu klasičnih indijskih drama, njihovim autorima, mjestu i vremenu nastanka te osobitosti u jezičnoj uporabi. Slijedi prikaz teorijskog okvira koji definira kriterije za

isključenje frazeoloških jedinica, distribuciju njihove motivacije i pokušaj rješavanja potencijalnih problema s prepoznavanjem frazema u korpusu, uzimajući u obzir osobitosti staroindoarijskoga i srednjoindoarijskoga te nužnost razlikovanja pjesničkih usporedbi i frazema s komparativnom strukturom. Četvrti dio sadrži pregled ključnih fonoloških promjena potrebnih za određivanje pripadnosti frazema određenom jeziku u kazališnoj predstavi. U petom dijelu rada navodi se značenje i motiviranost frazema koji su kategorizirani u tri podskupine prema kriteriju motivacije i strukture. Osim frazema u klasičnim indijskim dramama, navedeni su frazemi slične ili ekvivalentne strukture u hindskom jeziku, kao i primjeri upotrebe koji su izvučeni iz korpusa. Na temelju podataka o očuvanju strukture i značenja frazema u jeziku koji se razvio iz jedne od varijanti srednjoindoarijskog, u zaključku se ističu čimbenici koji mogu utjecati na predviđanje dijakronijske stabilnosti frazeoloških jedinica.

Romani adverbs in comparative-historical perspective*

Abstract

Romani is a New Indo-Aryan language that has spread throughout the world. Its grammatical structure and well-preserved lexicon clearly show its Indian origin and way of development from Old Indo-Aryan to New Indo-Aryan, but also intense contact with many languages throughout its journey to Europe, which has resulted in numerous loanwords, significant structural changes, and typological shift from a postpositional to a prepositional language. On the one hand, in comparison with the New Indo-Aryan languages that have never left the Indian subcontinent and developed a highly analytical grammar structure, Romani has preserved its synthetic grammatical system and remained quite close to Old Indo-Aryan, which makes it one of the more conservative Indian languages in this point of view. On the other hand, regarding its acquisition of numerous loanwords, new morphological elements, and typological change, Romani is more distant from its ancestor languages than any of the New Indo-Aryan languages. This makes Romani a unique language, not only in the context of Indo-Aryan but in the world in general. This paper aims to show this phenomenon within the context of analysis of Romani adverbs.

1. Introduction

Romani is a New Indo-Aryan (NIA) language that has left the Indian subcontinent during its early stage and spread throughout the world. The first records of the Roma arriving in Europe date back to the 13th century, although we have reason to believe that they must have left the Indian subcontinent before the 7th century. Their language has been a highly reliable source of knowledge of their migrations, i.e. the migration routes and the time periods during which they occurred, which enabled researchers to reconstruct

* This paper is based on my dissertation “Postanak i ustroj romskoga u okviru povijesti indoarijskih jezika” (“Genesis and structure of Romani in historical context of Indo-Aryan languages”), which I have written under the guidance of prof. Mislav Ježić, and defended in April 2022. This paper had been submitted before the dissertation was completed.

their early history to some extent. The Roma's departure from the Indian subcontinent was not the beginning of the migration – they had been migrating within the subcontinent before that. The first migration that we know of, thanks to their language, is the migration from the central part of the Indian subcontinent to its north-western part, which must have taken place before the 5th/6th century (Bakker & Monrad 2011).

The migrations have not only brought many changes to all the segments of language but have also set its structural development on a new course. This is the reason why Romani, regarding its grammatical system, shares some conservative features with other Indo-Aryan languages, especially Old Indo-Aryan (OIA), while at the same time there are significant differences between Romani and other Indo-Aryan languages, which makes it also in some point of view distant from them (see Friedman 1991a, 1991b). This phenomenon is visible in almost all parts of the language, including the adverbs.

2. Development of Romani and its position in the Indo-Aryan language family

Romani is an Indo-Aryan language, which means that it belongs to the Indo-Iranian subfamily of the Indo-European languages. The development of the Indo-Aryan languages consists of three stages: Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) (~ 1500 – 600 BC), Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) (~ 600 BC – 1000 AD), and New Indo-Aryan (NIA) (since the first centuries of the 2nd millennium) (Beníšek 2020: 13–14). In comparison to other NIA languages, Romani is unique for leaving the Indian subcontinent during the MIA period, whose result is a partly different structural development from that of other NIA languages (see Friedman 1991a, 1991b).

The earliest known migration of the Roma must have been their migration from the central part of the Indian subcontinent towards the north-western part. That is shown in the Romani phonological system, where Romani shares its chronologically earliest sound changes with other central NIA languages, while its later sound changes correspond with those in the languages of the North-West. Based on the chronology of the sound changes, Romani must have left Central India before the 5th/6th century (Turner 1926: 149–159). Since the morphological structure of Romani is mostly synthetic, as it is in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, it is sure that Romani must have left North-Western India before the NIA stage, which means before 1000 AD (but must have been even before the 7th century, see further) (Bakker & Monrad 2011). The main phonological changes from OIA to Romani are following (Turner 1926: 149–171; 1927: 227; 1962–1966: 356, 637; Courthiade 2013: 9; Ježić & Katavić 2016: 23, 30–31):

1. change from syllabic consonant to vowel: $r > i, u$;
2. aspiration of sibilant after k : $kʂ > kkh > kh$;

3. aspiration of sibilant in front of *m* and metathesis: $C_s + m > mh$;
4. labialization of *v* following a dental consonant: $tv > tp$; $dv > db$;
5. palatalisation of *y*: $y > dž$;
6. labiodentalization of *m*: $m > v$;
7. voicing of voiceless consonant in intervocalic position: $VC_{[V-]}V > VC_{[V+]}V$;
8. fricativization of aspirated consonant in intervocalic position: $VC_hV > VhV > V\emptyset V$;
9. labiodentalization of *p*: $p > v$;
10. change of syllable into single vowel: $ava > o$;
11. velarisation of dental consonants: $t, d > l$;
12. voicing of voiceless consonants preceding a nasal consonant: $C_{[V-]}C_m > C_{[V+]}C_m$;
13. devoicing of voiced aspirated consonants: $C_{h[V+]} > C_{h[V-]}$;
14. vowel shift (and vowel shortening): $a > e$; $\bar{a} > a$;
15. velarisation of retroflex consonants: $C_{rr} > rr$;
16. de-retroflexing of consonant cluster ηd : $\eta d > nd, nrr, nr, rn, r, ndr$.

The Romani lexicon contains numerous Persian loanwords, with no trace of Arabic influence, which means that the Roma must have migrated through Persia before its Islamisation and the Arabisation of the Persian language. Therefore, the Roma must have left North-West India as well as Persia before the 7th century. Numerous Armenian loanwords in Romani show that the Roma migrated through Armenia. Their conservative phonological structure shows that it must have been before the 10th century, that is before the Armenian sound change of fricativization of *l* into *l* /*ɣ*/ occurred. Another layer of loanwords in Romani consists of Middle Age Greek loanwords, which show that the language contact must have occurred in Byzantium between the 10th and 13th century. After that period, the Roma have spread through Europe (and other parts of the world), where different European languages have influenced different Romani dialects, especially their lexicon and phonology (Bakker & Monrad 2011).

3. Adverbs in Romani and other Indo-Aryan languages

3.I. Origin and structure

Romani adverbs have been formed in many ways. Some of them are older and inherited from Sanskrit, including different case forms of nouns; some of them are younger forms, formed by the morphological rules of Romani, while some are simply loanwords from different contact languages.

One of the older forms of adverbs are of course the pronominal adverbs, which also have the highest number of different dialectal variants (see section 3.II.1.).

There are also simple adverbs inherited from Sanskrit, such as *dur* “far (away)” (< OIA *dūra*), *but* “much, many” (< OIA *bahutva*), *korkorro* “alone” (< OIA *ekalla*), *avri* “out, outside” (< OIA *bahis*), etc. (see Boretzky & Igla 1994: 15, 39, 80, 148; Katavić 2022: 168).

Furthermore, there are remains of the OIA locative and ablative nominal case forms, which end in *-e* and *-āt*, e.g. *khere* “in the house”, *kheral* “from the house”, while younger adverbs with the same meanings are formed by the Romani suffixes *-te* and *-tar*, which are used for the same case forms, as in *rigate* “on the side, aside”, *rigatar* “laterally” (= *rigal*) (see section 3.II.2.) (see Boretzky & Igla 1994: 158, 244; Beames 1872/1966a: 183; 1875/1966b: 299; Katavić 2022: 169; cf. Courthiade 2016: 198–202; Oslon 2018: 229–230).

Adverbs borrowed from contact languages are for example *samo* “just” (< Slav. *samo*), *stalno* “steady” (< Slav. *stalno*), *uglavno* “mainly” (< Slav. *uglavnom*), *te-hara* “tomorrow” (< Gr. *ταχιά*), (*v*)*orta* “straight” (< Gr. *ὀρθά*), *dumu(l)t* “long since, long ago” (< Rum. *demult*), etc. (Boretzky & Igla 1994: 69, 202, 254, 264–265, 277, 291). In some cases, there are even loan prefixes that are used combined with Romani adverbs or those borrowed from other languages. Some of the prefixes are *iz-* and *od-*, borrowed from Slavic, with the meaning “from”, such as in *izdural/odural* “from distance” and *otpašal* “at close range” (see Katavić 2022: 169; Boretzky & Igla 1994: 126, 202). In these cases the Romani adverbs *dural* and *pašal* already have the ablative meaning, that is carried in their ending which is *-al*, actually making the prefix redundant.

As already mentioned above, younger forms of Romani adverbs are derived according to the Romani morphological system, that is to say by using Romani suffixes. Such adverbs are mostly derived from adjectives, but also verbs, forming the gerund (see Boretzky & Igla 1994; Katavić 2022: 174–176). Even in Sanskrit, adverbs are very often derived from different case forms of adjectives and nouns, especially the locative and ablative, whose remains, as shown above, have survived in Romani (Whitney 1879/1960: 363; cf. Andrijanić 2019: 185). Of course, also Hindi has inherited Sanskrit adverbs, but they often appear combined with postpositions, especially while expressing the ablative meaning. For example, the Hindi adverb *ūpar* “above, up” is derived from the Sanskrit adverb *upari*, just as the Romani *upre*. But unlike Romani, which has the adverb form *upral* “from above”, Hindi has no particular adverb with that meaning but combines the adverb *ūpar* “above” with the postposition *se*, which gives it the ablative meaning (see Matišić 1996: 46; Katavić 2022: 172).

3.II. Derivation

3.II.1 Adverbs derived from pronouns (pronominal adverbs)

Just as in Indo-Aryan (and other) languages, in Romani there are sets of pronouns that express close or remote distance, interrogation, indefiniteness, etc., to which the ad-

verbs correlate. As it is the case with demonstrative pronouns, Romani adverbs with the dominant phoneme *-a-* express nearness, while those with the dominant phoneme *-o-* express remoteness (see Sampson 1968: 171–172; Matras 1994/1995: 50–51; Katavić 2022: 169–170; cf. Beames 1875/1966b: 346; Courthiade 2009: 121–123; Tálós 1999: 237). Thus, dialectal variants of the local pronominal adverb “here” are *kate*, *kathe*, *khate*, *akate*, *katk(h)a*, *atkha* and others, while those of “there” are *kote*, *kothe*, *khote*, *okote*, *kotka*, *otkha*, etc. (Boretzky, Igla 1994: 383; Tálós 1999: 237; cf. Boretzky 1993: 53; 2003: 75–76; Tcherenkov 1999: 163). There is a similar principle in Hindi, where the initial consonant *y-* (or *i-*) denotes nearness, and the initial *v-* (or *u-*) remoteness, as in the pronouns *yah* “this” and *vah* “that”, from which the adverbs *yahã* “here” and *vahã* “there” are derived (see Matišić 1996: 29–30, 34–35).

In Romani, local adverbs that express the direction of movement often end in *-rig(a)*. In fact, they are compounds containing the noun *rig* “side, direction” (Katavić 2022: 170). Therefore, dialectal variants with the meaning “here, this way” are for example *karig*, *kariga*, *akariga* in the Bugurdži dialect, and *akari* and *ad(a)ri* in Arli, while “there, that way” is *korig*, *koriga*, *okoriga* and *odoriga* in Bugurdži, but *odori* and *okori* in Arli (Boretzky & Igla 1994: 383; cf. Boretzky 2003: 76; Rašić 2008: 368). In Hindi, the adverbs *yahã* “here” and *vahã* “there” are used in this way too, but also *idhar* “here” and *udhar* “there” (see Matišić 1996: 34).

Local adverbs with the ablative meaning that express the direction of movement, i.e. starting point, source or origin, contain the suffixes *-t(h)ar* or *-al*, which shows that they are actually ablative nominal case forms. The adverbs with the meaning “from here” are *katar*, *akatar*, *atar*, *khatar*, *katkar*, and *adaringal* (*rigal* is the ablative form of *rig* “side, direction”!), while the adverbs meaning “from there” are for example *kotar*, *okotar*, *otar*, *othar*, *odoringal* and *okoringatar* (Boretzky & Igla 1994: 384; cf. Tcherenkov 1999: 163; Boretzky 2003: 76; Rašić 2008: 368). An interesting fact is that the latter two forms contain both types of the ablative case form of *rig*, which are *ri(n)gal* and *ri(n)gatar*. As it has been said, the ending *-al* has developed from the Sanskrit ablative ending *-āt*, while *-tar* is the modern Romani agglutinative ablative case ending (see Katavić 2022: 168–169). In Hindi, this kind of adverbs is formed by adding the ablative postposition *se* to the general local adverb. Thus, “from here” and “from there” is in Hindi *yahã se* (or *idhar se*) and *vahã se* (or *udhar se*) (see Matišić 1996: 97).

Interrogative and relational adverbs (which are the same) have the initial phoneme *k-*, such as *kana* “when”, *kaj* “where”, *katar* “where from” and *kabor* “how many, how much”, or *s-*, which appears only in *sar* “how” and *soske/sostar/soste* “why” (see Boretzky 1993: 48; cf. Boretzky & Igla 1994). According to Boretzky and Igla (1994: 131–132, 134), the adverb *kana* originates from MIA *khana* and OIA *kṣaṇa* “moment”, *kaj* from MIA *kahī* and OIA *kasmin* (which is the OIA L. sg. form of *kas* “who?” and *kim* “what?”), while the etymology of *katar* and *ka-*

*bor*¹ is unknown. They suggest that the etymology of *sar* could be MIA **sarao* and OIA **saratram* “according to” (Boretzky & Igla 1994: 255).² The interrogatives *soske*, *sostar*, and *soste* are in fact Romani case forms of the interrogative pronoun *so* “what?”. *Soske* is its dative form (“for what?”), *sostar* its ablative (“from what?”) and *soste* its locative (“in what?”) (Matras 2002: 113). The Hindi interrogative adverbs contain the initial phoneme *k-* too, but have no etymology with those in Romani in common (see Turner 1962–1966).

Indefinite and negative adverbs contain affixes that appear in indefinite and negative pronouns, which are borrowed from contact languages. Thus, the indefinite affixes are: *ne-* (< Slav. *ne-*), as in *nesar* “somehow”, *nekatar* “from somewhere”; *vare-* (< Rum. *oare-*), as in *varesar* “somehow”, *varekana* “sometime(s)”; *fije-* (< Rum. *fie-*), as in *fijesar* “anyhow”, *fijekana* “anytime”, *fijekaj* “anywhere”; *i-* (< Slav. *i-*), as in *isar* “anyhow”, *ikana* “anytime”; *ma-* (< Slav. *ma*), as in *masar* “anyhow”, *makana* “anytime”, *makaj* “anywhere”, and *-god* (< Slav. *god*), as in *kajgod* “anywhere”, *kanagod* “anytime” (Matras 2002: 115; Boretzky & Igla 1994: 91, 120, 124, 132, 134, 173, 178, 196, 297; cf. Boretzky 2003: 49; Boretzky & Igla 1994: 390–391). Negative adverbs are the Slavic loanwords *nikad* “never” and *nigde* “nowhere”, but also those formed by using the Slavic negative prefix *ni-*, as in *nisar* “by no means”, *nikana* “never” and *nikatar* “from nowhere” (Boretzky 1993: 49; Boretzky & Igla 1994: 197, 390).

In Hindi, the formation of indefinite and negative adverbs is completely different. Both are derived from interrogative adverbs, but by using suffixes and particles. The indefinite adverb is formed by adding the suffix *-hī*, sometimes combined with the particle *bhī* “any”, to the interrogative adverb, e.g. *kab* “when?” > *kabhī* “sometime(s)”, *kabhī bhī* “anytime”; *kahā* “where?” > *kahī* “somewhere”, *kahī bhī* “anywhere”. The negative adverb is formed by adding the negative particle *nahī* “no, not” to the indefinite adverb, for example, *kabhī nahī* “never”, *kahī nahī* “nowhere” (see Matšić 1996: 35; McGregor 2002: 167–168, 184).

3.II.2. Adverbs derived from nouns

1) Case forms

As it is in Sanskrit, many adverbs in Romani are derived from nominal case forms. In Sanskrit there are, among others, adverbs derived using the locative and ablative case endings *-e* and *-āt*, such as *pārsve* “near”, *agre* “forward”, *dūre* “far away”, *dūrāt* “from far away”, *nīcāt* “from below” (Beames 1872/1966a: 183; 1875/1966b: 299; Whitney 1879/1960: 363; cf. Bloch 1965: 172–174; Andrijačić 2019: 185). Such adverbs exist in Romani too, and end in *-e* and *-al*, e.g. *upre* “above”, *tele*

¹ Boretzky and Igla (1994: 131) mention *kā* + OIA *bhara* as a possible etymology.

² Unfortunately no such forms can be found in the dictionaries, only OIA *sāra* “course, motion” and its derived forms (Turner 1962–66: 771; cf. Monier-Williams 2002: 1208).

“down”, *paše* “near”, *khere* “in the house”, *ivende* “in winter”, *divese* “in the daytime”, *upral* “from above”, *telal* “from below”, *pašal* “at close range”, *dural* “from far away”, *mujal* “in front”, *kheral* “from the house”, etc. (see Beames 1872/1966a: 183; 1875/1966b: 299; Boretzky & Igla 1994: 384; Katavić 2022: 172). But in Romani there are also younger adverbs that are in the locative and ablative case forms too, but formed by the Romani agglutinative endings *-te* and *-tar*, such as *darate* “in fear”, *daratar* “of fear” (*dar* “fear”), *trušate* “in thirst”, *trušatar* “of thirst” (*truš* “thirst”), *teharinate* “in the morning”, *teharinatar* “from the morning” (*teharin* “morning”), *rakjate* “at night” (*rači/rati* “night”), *jekhatar* “suddenly” (*jekh* “one”), etc. (see Boretzky & Igla 1994; Wagner 2012: 207–208; Katavić 2022: 172).

In Hindi, most of them contain postpositions. For example, Romani *divese* “in the daytime” is *din ko* or *din mẽ* in Hindi (*din* “day”; *ko* “at, on”; *mẽ* “in”). The Romani adverbs *upral* and *dural* are in Hindi *ūpar se* and *dūr se* (*se* “from”). Also, *rakjate* would be *rāt ko* or *rāt mẽ* (*rāt* “night”), and *teharinatar* would be *subah se* in Hindi (*subah* “morning”) (see Katavić 2022: 172; Matišić 1996: 46–47).

In Sanskrit, adverbs are also very often derived from nouns or adjectives in the instrumental case form, e.g. *kṣaṇena* “in a moment” (*kṣaṇa* “moment”), *viśeṣeṇa* “especially” (*viśeṣa* “special”) (Whitney 1879/1960: 362; cf. Andrijačić 2019: 185). It is the same in Romani, but with the ending *-sa*, for example, *dromesa* “by the way” (*drom* “way, road”), *rakjasa* “at night” (*rači/rati* “night”), *zorasa* “by force” (*zor* “force”), etc. (see Sampson 1926/1968: 218; Boretzky & Igla 1994: 383; Katavić 2022: 172). It is similar in Hindi, though not quite the same. *Rakjasa* “at night” would be *rāt ko* in Hindi (not **rāt se*), but Romani *zorasa* and *dromesa* would be *zor se* and *rāste se* in Hindi (*zor* “force”, *rāstā* “road”) (see Matišić 1996: 96–97; Katavić 2022: 172).

Although very rare, the dative case form is used as an adverb as well. One Sanskrit example is *cirāya* “for a long time” (*cira* “long”) (Whitney 1879/1960: 363). The examples in Romani are *bršenge* “for years” (*brš* “year”) and *baxtake* “luckily” (*baxt* “luck”) (see Sampson 1968: 217; Katavić 2022: 172).

2) Complex adverbs

In Romani, there are a large number of adverbs that are actually different types of words joined together. Very often they contain demonstrative pronouns, prepositions and nouns, building a more or less transparent structure. They are often a combination of a Romani word and a loanword or even two loanwords from different languages. Here are some examples (see Boretzky & Igla 1994; Katavić 2022: 173; cf. Sampson 1926/1968: 219; Boretzky 2003: 77; Demir & Durmiš 2012: 91):

- *akana* “now” < *av* + *kana* < MIA *amu* + *khaṇa* < OIA *amu* “this” + *kṣaṇa* “moment”;
- *avdives* “today” < *av* + *dives* < MIA *amu* + *divasa* < OIA *amu* “this” + *divasa* “day”;

- *arat* “tonight” < *av* + *rat* < MIA *amu* + *ratti* < OIA *amu* “this” + *rātrī* “night”;
- *abrš* “this year” < *av* + *brš* < MIA *amu* + **varṣa* < OIA *amu* “this” + *varṣa* “year”;
- *džiakana* “so far” < *dži* “till” (without etymology) + *akana* “now” (see above);
- *telemujesa* “upside down” < *tele* “down” + *muj* “face” (I. sg. *mujesa*);
- *uprešeresā* “upright” < *upre* “up, above” + *šero* “head” (I. sg. *šeresā*);
- *averthan* “elsewhere” < *aver* “other” + *than* “place” < MIA *avara* + *thāṇa* < OIA *apara* + *sthāna*;
- *averthara* “the day after tomorrow” < *aver* “other” (OIA *appara*) + *tehara* “tomorrow” (Gr. *ταχία*);
- *prekodrom* “across” < *preko* (Slav. *preko* “over, beyond”) + *drom* “road” (Gr. *δρόμος*).

Quantitative adjectives such as *jekhdrom* “once”, *dujdrom* “twice”, *trindrom* “three times”, etc. are compounds formed by the numerals and the noun *drom* “time, times” (Boretzky 1993: 52).

3.II.3. Adverbs derived from adjectives

A large number of modal adverbs are derived from adjectives by using the suffix *-es* or *-e(h)*, such as *pačivale(s)* “honestly” (*pačivalo* “honest”), *lačhe(s)* “well” (*lačho* “good”), *manušvale(s)* “humanly” (*manušvalo* “human”) (Sampson 1926/1968: 217; cf. Katavić 2022: 174; Courthiade 2009: 121; Boretzky & Iglā 1994: 383; Tcherenkov 1999: 138, 163; Rašić 2008: 368; Wagner 2012: 206; Oslon 2018: 231). These adverbs can also be changed according to the adjectival comparison: *polačhe(s)* “better”, *majlačhe(s)* “best”, *majzural(s)* “strongest”, etc. (Kepeski & Jusuf 1980: 132–133; Oslon 2018: 235; cf. Demir & Durmiš 2012: 91).

The suffix *-e(s)* is the accusative (i.e. oblique) case form ending of masculine nouns, that is to say these adverbs are adjectives in the accusative case, which is not uncommon in Indo-Aryan languages (see Sampson 1926/1968: 217). Also in Sanskrit, adverbs are most often derived from nouns or adjectives in the accusative case form, e.g. *sukham* “happily” (*sukha* “happiness”), *kāmam* “willingly” (*kāma* “wish”), *satyam* “truly” (*satya* “true”), etc. (Whitney 1879/1960: 361; cf. Andrijačić 2019: 184). Hindi adverbs are also formed from adjectives in the oblique case, which is the form ending in *-e* (sometimes followed by the postposition *se*, which denotes the instrumental case, especially if the adjective is invariant), e.g. *dhīre (se)* “slowly”, *jaldī se* “quickly”, *muškil se* “hardly” (Matišić 1996: 47; Katavić 2022: 174).³

³ For a more extensive description see Wagner 2012: 271–286.

3.II.4. Adverbs derived from verbs (*gerund*)

Romani has one type of verbal adverb, the so-called *gerund*, which denotes an action being done along to another action. In Romani, it is formed from the verb base by adding the suffix *-indo* or *-ando*, which in different dialects can end in *-s*, *-r* or *-j* (*-indos* / *-indoj* / *-indor*, etc.) (Boretzky & Igla 1994: 411; cf. Kepeski & Jusuf 1980: 122–125; Courthiade 2009: 118; Tcherenkov 1999: 162; Demir, Đurić & Demir 2010: 113; Demir & Durmiš 2012: 83; Oslon 2018: 232). It can also end in *-es* (*-indes/-andes*), probably due to analogy with modal adverbs in *-es* (Boretzky 2003: 74). The examples given by Boretzky and Igla (1994: 411) are *phirindo* “walking” and *asando* “laughing”, whose forms in the Kalderaši dialect are *phirindos* and *asandos*, and in Arli *phirindoj/phirindor* and *asandoj/asandor* (Boretzky & Igla 1994: 411; cf. Boretzky 1993: 82).

However, Boretzky (1993: 82; 2003: 74) points out that in Romani the use of the verbal adverb is not very common and that some speakers are even unfamiliar with it. According to Wagner’s research on the North-Western Lovari dialect, its derivation is quite limited, that is to say the speakers of North-West Lovari use *gerunds* that are derived only from particular verbs. Some of them are, for example, *rojindos* “crying”, *sovindos* “sleeping” and *bešindos* “sitting”, while for example **kerindos* “doing”, **phenindos* “speaking” and **asandos* “laughing” are not present in this dialect (Wagner 2012: 208). Since in other dialects the latter examples are confirmed, it can be assumed that the amount of verbal adverbs differs from dialect to dialect, as well as the choice of verbs they are derived from (Katavić 2022: 175).

Besides an action being done along to another action, the *gerund* can also express the absence of a particular action, by using the negative prefix *bi-* “un-, not”, such as in *bidžanindo* “unknowingly, unintentionally” (*džanindo* “knowingly, intentionally”) (Uhlik 1961: 212). In Hindi this is expressed by adding the postposition (*ke*) *binā* “without” to the verbal adverb derived from the passive participle (ending in *-e*), e.g. *jāne binā* “unknowingly” (*jān^anā* “know”) (see Matišić 1996: 123). Besides the synthetic way of forming the *gerund*, there is also the analytical formation by using the present simple together with the particle *tuj*, which has derived from the Albanian particle *tue*, *tye*, e.g. *aven tuj džilaben* “they come singing” (Boretzky & Igla 1994: 284).

The Romani *gerund* has developed from the Sanskrit present active participle, that is ending in *-ant* (MIA *-anta*) (Sampson 1926/1968: 79–80; cf. Bubenik 1996: 122–123, 125; Chatterji 1926/1975: 653–654, 999–1002). Other forms derived from this participle can be found in the languages of the Indian subcontinent too. These are primarily present participles, such as the MIA *māranta* “beating”, which is *mārindo* in Sindhi, *māranto* in Garhvali, *mār^adā* in Punjabi and *mār^atā* in Hindi. In Romani it is the verbal adverb *marindo* “beating” (Sampson 1926/1968: 79–80; Bubenik 1996: 122–123, 125; cf. Grierson 1906/1969: 55). According to Bloch (1965: 260), after the participle ceased to appear in front of the noun and lost its adjectival function, its form has frozen and become an adverb.

Hindi has the gerund too, which is formed by the (simple or complex) present participle ending in *-e* (Matišić 1996: 119, 122).⁴ Thus, the gerund that is derived from the present participle *mār^atā/-ī* “beating” will be *mār^ate hue* “beating” (cf. Matišić 1996: 119, 122–123). Similarly, as in Hindi, the present participle in Bengali ends in *-anta*, and the gerund in *-ante* (Chatterji 1926/1975: 999–1002). Since the Hindi and Bengali gerund is formed by the present participle, while their present participle has derived from the Sanskrit present active participle, just as the Romani gerund, it can be said that the Romani, Hindi, and Bengali gerunds are congruent and have the same origin (Katavić 2022: 175).

The sound changes that have occurred on the final vowel of the OIA and MIA present active participle, leading to the formation of the Hindi present participle and the Romani gerund, must have been the same that have occurred in the Sanskrit masculine nouns and adjectives ending in *-a* that have become those in Hindi ending in *-ā* and those in Romani ending in *-o* (Katavić 2022: 175–176). These sound changes, as shown in the historical grammar of Hindi by Oberlies (2005: 5, 35), are the following: OIA *-akāḥ/-akam* > MIA *-ao/-aam* > Ap. *-au/-aū* > Hin. *-ā* (cf. Rom. *-o*; see Katavić 2022: 51, 175–176). An additional sound change that has occurred in Hindi is the loss of the nasal consonant *-n-* in front of the dental sound *-t-* (OIA *-ant(akāḥ)* > Hin. *-atā*), while in Romani it is preserved and has led to voicing of the dental sound (OIA *-ant(akāḥ)* > Rom. *-ando*). The voicing of a dental voiceless consonant that is following a nasal consonant, in this case *-nt->-nd-*, is a sound change that is common among the languages in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, and Romani (cf. OIA *danta* “tooth” > Hin. Mar. Guj. *dāṭ*; Sindh. *dandu*; Punj. Rom. *dand*) (Turner 1926: 165–166; cf. Katavić 2022: 35). This is the reason why also gerunds in Sindhi contain the suffix *-ande/-inde* (see Masica 1991: 323; Katavić 2022: 176).

Comparison of the OIA present active participle with Romani and Hindi verbal adverbs (see Katavić 2022: 176; Boretzky & Igla 1994; McGregor 2002; Monier-Williams 2002; Turner 1962–66: 191, 510)

OIA	Romani	Hindi
<i>ud√ḍī</i> “fly”, <i>uḍḍīyant</i>	<i>ujrindo</i> “hastily” (lit. “flying”)	<i>ur^ate (hue)</i>
<i>(upa)√viś</i> “to sit down” (* <i>(upa)viśant</i>)	<i>bešindo</i> “sitting”	<i>(baiṭhe (hue))</i>
<i>(√kṣip</i> “to throw”, <i>kṣipta</i> “thrown”?)	<i>xutindo</i> “hopping, jumping”	—
<i>√jñā</i> “know”, <i>jñānant</i>	<i>džanindo</i> “knowing(ly)”	<i>jān^ate (hue)</i>
<i>√dṛś</i> “see, consider” (<i>paśyant</i>)	<i>dikhindo</i> “considering” (lit. “seeing”)	<i>dekh^ate (hue)</i>
<i>√nakṣ</i> “approach”, <i>nakṣant</i>	<i>nakhindo</i> “in passing”	—

⁴ Just as adjectives in the oblique case forming modal adverbs, as described in the previous section.

√ <i>naś</i> “run away”, <i>naśyant</i>	<i>naśindo</i> “running”	–
(√ <i>spr?</i> > * <i>phirati</i>), * <i>phirant</i>	<i>phirindo</i> “walking, on foot”	<i>phir^ate</i> (hue)
√ <i>mṛ</i> “die”, <i>marant</i>	<i>merindo</i> “dying”	<i>mar^ate</i> (hue)
√ <i>yā</i> “go”, <i>yānt</i>	<i>džando</i> “going”	<i>jāte</i> (hue)
√ <i>rud</i> “cry”, <i>rudant/rodant</i>	<i>rovindo</i> “crying”	<i>rote</i> (hue)
√ <i>svap</i> “sleep” (* <i>supant</i>)	<i>sovindo</i> “sleeping”	<i>sote</i> (hue)
√ <i>has</i> “laugh”, <i>hasant</i>	<i>asando</i> “laughing”	<i>hās^ate</i> (hue)

Looking at the comparison, one can see that most NIA verbal adverbs phonologically match with the OIA present active participles and that those that do not are in this case Rom. *xutindo*, Rom. *dikhindo*, Hin. *dekh^ate*, Rom. *rovindo* and Hin. *rote*. One of the reasons behind it is the fact that the present stem of the OIA verb √*dṛś* isn’t formed by its original verbal root but from the root √*paś* “see”, while both Hindi and Romani forms are derived by analogy to other gerunds simply by adding *-indo* respectively *-te* to their NIA verbal stem *dikh-* respectively *dekh-*. The same refers to Rom. *xutindo*, which is derived directly from the Romani verb *xutel⁵* by the same analogy, as well as Rom. *rovindo* from rovel “cry” and Hin. *rote* from *ronā* “cry”.

Two more cases of the same analogical derivation are also Rom. *bešindo*, *sovindo*, and Hin. *sote*, which are derived from NIA verbal stems because their OIA present active participles do not exist due to them being stative verbs. Even in Hindi the verbal adverb of *baiṭh^anā* “sit” is *baiṭhe*, derived from the passive participle *baiṭhā*, and is not **baiṭh^ate* (cf. Matišić 1996: 123). Interestingly, some of the Romani gerunds have even lost their original literal meaning, such as *ujrindo* “hastily” and *dikhindo* “considering”, also *bidikhindo* “without considering”, which are derived from *urjal* “fly” and *dikhel* “see” (see Boretzky & Igla 1994: 27, 71, 291, 293).

4. Conclusion

The phonology of the Romani language shows its migration inside the Indian subcontinent, the morphology its early departure from the Indian subcontinent, and the lexicon its entire journey towards Europe. All of this also visible if one were to look at its adverbs alone.

One of the earlier sound changes, which confirm the affiliation of Romani to the group of central NIA languages, is *m* > *v*, that has happened in temporal adverbs with initial *a(v)-* (< OIA/MIA *amu* “this”; e.g. OIA *amudivasa* > Rom. *avdives* “today”). Later sound changes show a significant influence of the north-western Indo-Aryan

⁵ It might be possible that the verb has originated by deriving from the OIA passive participle *kṣipta* ‘thrown’, which is MIA *khitta* (cf. Boretzky & Igla 1994: 119; Turner 1962–66: 191).

languages, two of which are the sound change $t > l$, visible in local adverbs that have originated from OIA ablative case forms (OIA $-āt > \text{Rom. } -al$; e.g. OIA $dūrāt > \text{Rom. } dural$ “from far away”), and $nt > nd$, that has happened during the development of the OIA present active participle into the Romani verbal adverb (OIA $-ant(akah) > \text{Rom. } -indo$; e.g. $hasant > \text{Rom. } asando$ “laughing”). These are some of the features that make Romani one of the more conservative NIA languages, especially when compared to Hindi, whose phonological changes include much more sound loss and where traces of OIA case forms are not much preserved.

Another conservative feature of Romani is its synthetic morphological structure that is visible even in its adverb formation. Unlike Hindi, where adverbs are often formed by using postpositions (e.g. se , ko , $mē$), Romani adverbs are often formed by using case endings (e.g. $-te$, $-tar$, $-sa$). This is the result of the early departure of the Romani language from the Indian subcontinent, in the period of the very beginning of the restructuring process of the NIA morphological system. While the NIA languages of the Indian subcontinent have developed a very much analytical grammar system that includes a whole system of simple and complex postpositions, Romani has typologically changed by becoming a prepositional language but has remained mainly synthetic, forming a flective-agglutinative case system that is very often used for the derivation of other kinds of words, including adverbs.

Another feature that segregates Romani from other NIA languages is its peculiar lexicon, which contains a significant number of loanwords and borrowed affixes that are highly adapted to the language. Many of them make up a big part of the Romani adverbial system, such as the adjectival comparison prefixes $po-$ and $maj-$ that appear in modal adverbs, the borrowed adverbs, and the borrowed adjectives and nouns used for the derivation of adverbs. All this shows how conservative on the one hand, and how far changed on the other hand, as well as how unique and rich, the Romani language is.

Abbreviations

- Ap. = Apabhramśa
- cf. = compare (*conferre*)
- e.g. = for example (*exempli gratia*)
- Gr. = Greek
- Guj. = Gujarati
- Hin. = Hindi
- I. = instrumental
- i.e. = in other words (*id est*)
- L. = locative
- lit. = literally

Mar. = Marathi
 MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan
 NIA = New Indo-Aryan
 OIA = Old Indo-Aryan
 Punj. = Punjabi
 Rom. = Romani
 Rum. = Romanian
 sg. = singular
 Sindh. = Sindhi
 Slav. = Slavic

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Sažetak

Romski je novoindoarijski jezik koji se proširio po cijelom svijetu. Njegova gramatička struktura i dobro očuvan leksik jasno pokazuju njegovo indijsko podrijetlo i način razvoja od staroindoarijskog do novoindoarijskog, kao i intenzivan kontakt s mnogim jezicima tijekom njegova putovanja u Europu, što je dovelo do velikoga brojna posuđenica, značajnih strukturnih promjena kao i do tipološkoga pomaka s postpozicijskog na prijedložni jezik. S jedne strane, u usporedbi s novim indoarijskim jezicima koji nikada nisu napustili indijski potkontinent i razvili visoko analitičku gramatičku strukturu, romski je sačuvao svoj sintetički gramatički sustav i ostao prilično blizak staroindoarijskom, što ga čini jednim od konzervativnijih indijskih jezika s ovog gledišta. S druge strane, s obzirom na usvajanje brojnih posuđenica, novih morfoloških elemenata i tipoloških promjena, romski je udaljeniji od jezika svojih predaka nego bilo koji od novoindoarijskih jezika. To romski jezik čini jedinstvenim, ne samo u kontekstu indoarijskog, već i u svijetu općenito. Cilj je ovog rada prikazati ovaj fenomen u kontekstu analize romskih priloga.

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