

SEMANTIC HISTORY OF *VEDĀNTA* AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF VEDIC LITERATURE AND INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

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Briefly, the thesis of this paper is that *vedānta* originally (i.e. at the time of its first uses as a term referring to a certain type of texts or thinking) did not mean a physical or chronological end of the Vedas, but rather a conclusion and final teaching of the Vedas.

VEDA AND VEDISM IN BUDDHIST TANTRIC LITERATURE

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The Vedic tradition has exercised immense influence on the subsequent religious traditions of India. The followers of the non-Vedic religious traditions refused to acknowledge the authority of the Vedas and criticized the socio-religious system based on that authority. Among those opponents of Vedic tradition were the Buddhists who strongly reacted to the authority of the Vedas. There is mixed feeling about the Vedas and Vedism throughout the Buddhist literature, particularly in the Buddhist *tantric* texts. These texts used Vedic terminology, Vedic concepts, and metaphors based on those concepts, offering their own interpretation in the *tantric* context. The Buddhist *tantric* ritual consisting of *mantra*, *homa* and the six magic rites (*ṣaṭkarmāṇi*) bears similarity with the magic ritual in the Vedic as well as the post-Vedic *tantric* traditions. All this may be termed Vedism. Although influenced by Vedism, the Buddhist *tantric* texts vehemently oppose the Vedic tradition and attempt to establish their supremacy over the latter. The material used for the present paper is taken from the *Hevajra Tantra*, *Samvarodaya Tantra*, *Cakrasamvara Tantra*, *Vasantatilaka Tantra*, *Yoginīsaṃcāra Tantra*, *Nāmasaṃgīti*, *Kālacakra Tantra*, and the commentaries thereon. The paper deals with the following points: (1) the Vedic terminology used for the description of the Buddha and other deities, but interpreted in a different way (Brahmacārī, Snātaka, Brahmavid, Brāhmaṇa, Brahmā, Śīva, Viṣṇu, etc.); (2) the sacrificial terminology used in a different, typically Buddhist *tantric* sense (*sruva*, *bhājana*, *pātrī*, *kuṇḍa*, *caru*, *soma*, *surā*, *yajñopavīta*, etc.); (3) an attempt to show the supremacy of the Buddha over the Veda and the Buddha's *dharma* over the Vedic tradition. Under this last point some verses from the *Kālacakra Tantra* with the commentary *Vimalaprabhā* are taken for discussion.

VEDIC SYMBOLS IN THE *ĀŚVAMEDHIKAPARVAN*: VESTIGAL OR VITAL?

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The 14th and 15th books are amongst two of the most important in the narrative sections of the *Mahābhārata* as they tie up many of the threads first introduced in the *Sabhāparvan*. Of these two the very title of the fourteenth has some Vedic resonances as has been pointed out by other scholars, most recently by Herman Tieken in *WZKSA*. There he argues that “the *Mahābhārata* in its entirety deals with the world of sacrifice, which later provided the motive as well as the idiom of many a story.” In this paper I examine the *Āśvamedhikaparvan* (*Āśp*) in order to assess critically the veracity of this statement and to ask what it might really mean. What would this world of sacrifice be? Is the *Āśp* demonstrating a mainly nostalgic representation of a time long past, but still regarded as necessary by certain elites for its utility in legitimizing the present? Was the narrative line in the *Āśp* intended to be an accurate reflection of how society, especially brahmanical society was operating at a time contemporaneous with the final pre-Gupta revisions of the epic? Finally, to what extent is Vedic symbolism used in this book as a rhetorical device for helping effect a substantial change within normative Hindu culture? I will attempt to answer some of these questions by making reference to chapters 1-16 and 56-96 of the *Āśp*, and then contrasting the content of these chapters with what is found in the rather mysterious *Anugītā*. Sacrificial symbolism is prominent in some chapters of this text, but it is seemingly more concerned with the interior sacrifice rather than the external sacrifice.

MANUSCRIPTS OF SOME UNPUBLISHED *PRAYOGA* TEXTS:

A SHORT SURVEY

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Rituals play a pivotal role in the long history of Vedic culture and civilization. Descriptions of the *śrauta* and *grhya* rituals are mainly available in the Brāhmaṇas, Śrautasūtras, Grhyasūtras, and others. So far as actual performance of such rituals or sacrifices is concerned, there may arise many difficulties, complications, hazards, etc. Priests and sacrificers felt it necessary to compose some texts of applicatory nature, i.e. manuals for righthand knowledge and performance (i.e. *prayogas*, *paddhatis*, etc.). Various types of *prayoga* texts are available either in prose or verse according to different *śākhās* or recessions, written by the ritual practitioners of medieval and later periods. Texts composed in prose are generally called *prayogas* or *paddhatis*: (1) with reference to sacrifices; (2) with reference to priests and sacrificers; and (3) with reference to gloss (*prayogavṛtti*), exposition (*vivarāṇa*, *nirṇaya*, *nirūpaṇa*), etc. pertaining to different *sūtras*. They are generally systematic presentations of the duties and functions of different priests and sacrificers performing numerous types of rituals. There are vast numbers of unpublished manuscripts of these types in different institutions, libraries in India and abroad, and in personal collections. Many of them are also coming to light day by day under the scheme of the National Manuscripts Mission. A short survey of manuscripts of some unpublished *prayoga* texts will be presented in my paper. We know very little about the developments in ritual during the last two millennia since the sources for such a study have not been fully utilized. Two sources, according to Frederick M. Smith (1987) are: (1) *prayogas*, *paddhatis*, *pariśiṣṭas*, and medieval commentaries on the ritual *sūtras*; and (2) observation and documentation of the rituals themselves, which are after all the primary expression of the traditions. So far as the history of Indian religion is concerned we may refer to its character of change and continuity, tradition and innovation. How far these manuals have maintained the old Vedic tradition and incorporated innovation or changes in accordance with the changing condition of Indian society and the concept of religious beliefs and practices of different regions will also be analyzed to some extent.

A NEW REVELATION OF THE VEDIC HYMNS

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The term *saṃskṛtam* means purified, pruned and perfect in terms of its verbal structure and semantic sanctity. The highest level of their quality is seen in the Vedic Sanskrit. The Vedas are the earliest literary monuments in the world. According to Indian tradition they were revealed to ancient seers, when they were in a transcendental state. In this state *ritambharā prajñā* gets kindled and spontaneous revelations of *mantras* take place. Such an event occurred after a gap of thousands of years in the first quarter of the twentieth century. In the year 1917 CE 448 *mantras* were revealed to Maharshi Daivarata of Gokarna, Karnataka state, India, when he was practicing penance at Ramanamaharshi's Ashram. His own preceptor Vasishthaganapathimuni took down those *mantras* and wrote a commentary on them named *Anvayabhāṣyam*.

These *mantras* seen by Daivarata are arranged into 8 *anuvākas*, 50 *sūktas*. The meters employed are only four, while the deities are forty-two. Among these, the hymns ascribed to Sarasvatī are the largest. The *ṛks* have an accent that is a special feature of the Vedic language. The *padapāṭha* of these *ṛks* is also given. There are 299 *mantras* in *jaḡatī* meter, 97 in *triṣṭubh*, 49 in *anuṣṭubh*, and 3 in *gāyatrī*. The statistical survey of the work reveals that the goddess Sarasvatī – identified with *vāk* – is of prime importance. Other deities of Ṛgvedic fame – Indra, Brahmaṇaspati, Āpah, Agni, Savitā, Vāyu, Rudra, Aditi, and Soma – are all there. Puruṣa and Ātman are deities that show the deep influence of the Upaniṣads on Daivarata. The hymns to Bhavavṛtta bear resemblance with the Nāsadiya Sūktam in its very name. The seer of this treatise has always before him the threefold division of the world, the three regions (heaven, mid-region and terrestrial) having the three important gods Āditya or Sūrya, Indra or Vāyu, and Agni respectively. Daivarata's real contribution is the second *anuvāka* having 108 *mantras* addressed to the goddess Sarasvatī identified with *vāk*. Thus about *Chandodarśanam* we have to say that it is no doubt a great work hearkening back to the Ṛgvedic age and acquiring for itself the status of the Neo-Ṛgveda.

SOME NEW EVIDENCES FOR THE RELATION BETWEEN *KṚṆVA* AND *KAṆVA*

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The till-then hypothetical word **kṛṇva* had been proposed as the origin of *kaṇva* by Karl Hoffmann in 1940. An alternative origin of *kaṇva* was suggested and immediately withdrawn by F. B. J. Kuiper in 1950, with renewed arguments in 1991. The controversy was apparently limited to the two scholars, but there seems to have been a silent consensus that *kṛṇva*, even if authentic, grew out of hyper-Sanskritisation of *kaṇva*. Both the scholars presented things more or less *a priori*, mostly depending on general theories or circumstantial evidence. There are two new pieces of evidences for the authenticity and exact meaning of *kṛṇva*, and one indirect piece of evidence for its originality. They are: (1) the reading *kṛṇva* occurring in Orissa manuscript readings of the *Paippalāda Saṃhitā* (already a noted fact but not reckoned by the two above mentioned scholars); and (2) some apparently superfluous material in the Pāṇinian system that can be explained only by Pāṇini's concern for the word *kṛṇva*. As to the originality of the word – i.e. whether the word came into being by way of hyper-Sanskritisation of an indigenous Munda word *kaṇva* as hinted at by Kuiper, or as a proper derivative of the root *kar / kṛ* as maintained by Hoffmann – the new arguments are based on evidences gathered from a little fieldwork among Munda speaking people in and around Santiniketan and from philological sources. Since the last two pieces of evidence are a bit complicated and are being put forward for the first time they will be presented in the full paper. They tilt the balance a little in favor of Hoffmann.

THE LITERARY CONSTRUCTION OF SECRET KNOWLEDGE IN THE EARLY UPANIṢADS

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One of the most alluring characteristics of the Upaniṣads is that they are considered to be esoteric texts, containing secret teachings. Indeed, this is suggested by the term *upaniṣad*, which indicates a teaching that is not transparent, but remains concealed or obscured. Furthermore, this indication of secrecy – of an esoteric meaning that lies beneath the surface – is suggested by the way that the teachings are articulated, with a number of central ideas in the Upaniṣads, such as *ātman*, *brahman*, and *prāṇa*, described in terms of paradox, contradiction, and negation (Brereton 1990). Similar modes of expression – what Bernard Faure (1991) calls the “rhetoric of immediacy” – are employed by Gnostic texts, Mahāyāna Sūtras, Chan/Zen encounter dialogues, as well as a number of so-called mystical texts. One of the central implications of the rhetoric of immediacy is that the ultimate reality is presented as accessible without mediation – that enlightenment, release, truth, or the ultimate reality can be experienced or discovered suddenly, spontaneously, instinctively. The early Upaniṣads, however, despite employing similar rhetoric, do not place emphasis on personal insight, immediate access to the truth, or what we might call a mystical experience. Rather, as I will argue, the language of the teachings is employed to create a mystery: the mystical rhetoric is part of an overall literary strategy that characterizes the teachings as cryptic and opaque, while ultimately placing authority in the teacher and the proper modes of transmission.

THE FUNERAL HYMN OF BṚHADUKTHA

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Sāyaṇa described *Rgveda* 10.56 as a funeral hymn composed by Bṛhaduktha for his son Vājin. Unconvinced by this interpretation, other scholars have generally understood the hymn to be a requiem for a horse. So, according to Oldenberg, the hymn honors a sacrificial horse, and for Geldner, it describes the deification of a well-loved race horse. Already Renou has expressed doubts about such interpretations. Among other considerations, he noted that the second half of the hymn has no direct and certain reference to a horse. He remains uncertain, however, and does not offer an alternative interpretation. In this paper, I argue that 10.56 is indeed a funeral hymn for a human being,

as Sāyaṇa held. That person, however, is not someone named Vājīn. The *vājīn* mentioned in the hymn is a horse, though a metaphorical horse, and it is not the deceased for which the hymn was composed.

YĀJÑAVALKYA AND UDDĀLAKA

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This paper will take as point of departure the relationship between Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, basing itself both on the text proper of the three Kāṇḍas that constitute the Upaniṣad, and on the teacher lineages at their end. An analysis brings to light considerable differences, which are confirmed by further evidence. It becomes clear that the relationship between these two personalities in Kāṇḍa II is very different from their relationship in Kāṇḍa III. It can also be shown that the message of Yājñavalkya in Kāṇḍa II is different from his message in Kāṇḍa I. These and other considerations show that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* is really a collection of three more or less independent texts, which have subsequently been joined. Further evidence makes it possible to formulate a likely hypothesis about the process, which brought these different parts together, and to assign approximate dates to its different phases.

ASPECT AND ACTIONALITY IN EARLY VEDIC:

THE TEMPORAL SEMANTICS OF THE INDICATIVE AORIST AND IMPERFECT

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Within the theory established by Berthold Delbrück (1876, 1888) and refined by scholars like Karl Hoffmann (1967) and Eva Tichy (1997), the early Vedic indicative aorist is regarded as a pure tense category predominantly denoting the immediate past, whereas the so-called imperfect is assumed to denote the remote or non-immediate past. It is generally assumed that there is little or no aspectual difference between these two categories in early Vedic (cf. Tichy 1997). However, both these categories have uses that are not easy to reconcile with an immediate/non-immediate past distinction. Moreover, their interaction with temporal adverbs and other modifiers shows that these temporal remoteness distinctions are not part of their inherent semantic properties, as these distinctions can be deleted in certain contexts. These considerations suggest that an analysis of the early Vedic past tenses in terms of temporal remoteness fails to give a coherent account of the data. The various uses of the early Vedic past tenses rather seem to point at a basic aspectual distinction, the aorist having a basically perfective character and the imperfect having a basically imperfective character (cf. Dahl 2007). In this paper I will show that the basically different aspectual properties of the two early Vedic past tenses give rise to different ranges of pragmatic interpretation, and that the immediate/non-immediate past distinction follows from their basic aspectual properties. More specifically, I will demonstrate that they assume different interpretations when combined with the same event structure types, something which apparently is caused by differences in their aspectual properties. The general reluctance to describe the functional difference between the indicative aorist and imperfect in terms of aspectual properties may be interpreted as a failure to realize that the discourse structure of the text systematically delimits the functional range of temporal and aspectual categories (cf. Smith 2003). Categories with the same or largely similar temporal and aspectual properties would be expected to behave fundamentally different in a non-narrative text like the *Ṛgveda* with its specific conventions and discourse structure and in a narrative text like the Homeric Epos.

THE YĀJUṢA HAUTRA DISPUTE IN EARLY MODERN MAHARASHTRA

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During the 18th and 19th centuries a particular dispute occupied the brahmanical community in Maharashtra. This dispute is generally labeled Yājūṣa Hautra Dispute in the available literature. The dispute hinges on the fact that the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (TS) contains the Hautra *mantras* for sacrifices up to, but not including the Soma sacrifice. The

Vaidika priests who were trained in the Taittirīya branch were naturally capable of themselves performing the function of *hotṛ* for some sacrifices, but not for others. This created a situation where the Ṛgvedins of Maharashtra claimed that they alone should be entitled to the office of *hotṛ* for all sacrifices, while the Taittirīyas claimed that they needed the Ṛgvedins only where the Taittirīya texts did not provide the *mantras* for the *hotṛ*. This dispute is discussed, debated, and variously resolved by different authors of the period. There are also eye-witness reports of actual local conflicts and news reports from various parts of Maharashtra. There was obviously more than ritual function at stake. The dispute also had economic consequences that were noted by some contemporary reports. This paper surveys the available information on this dispute and analyzes this dispute for its wider implications for the construction of the *śākhā* texts and the goals of the *śākhā* communities.

CONCERNING PRAISE IN VEDIC SOURCES

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Vedic *mantras* are traditionally divided into two categories: “praises” (*stuti*) on the one hand, and “prayers” (*āśīs*) on the other. This distinction is first introduced in the *Nirukta* (VII 3) and reminded in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (BD I 7), where an actual definition of the *stuti* is offered. The study of the *āśīs* shows the complex relations between these two “functions” of speech in ritual context (e.g. Gonda 1989), and we are now in a position to better define, by contrast, the role of the *stuti* inside Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas. We can also measure the importance and the implications of the *stuti* by evaluating its impact on the debates recorded in Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya literature interpreting Vedic canon.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND TYPOLOGY OF DVANDVA

COMPOUNDS IN THE ṚGVEDA

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The class of *dvandva* compounds in the *Ṛgveda* is not homogenous. Several types of *dvandvas*, consisting of two coordinate constituents, can be identified: those with (1) both constituents in the dual and declinable, each having its own accent; (2) both constituents in the dual, the first constituent being indeclinable and each constituent having its own accent; (3) both constituents in the dual, the first constituent being indeclinable and the whole compound having only one accent; (4) the first constituent in stem form and the whole compound having only one accent; (5) the first constituent in stem form and the whole compound having one accent and plural endings; and (6) the compound having only one accent and appearing in the collective neuter singular. Most Vedic grammars explain the origin of Vedic *dvandva* compounds as stemming from two frequent grammatical practices used in the Vedas: the use of asyndeton and the use of the elliptic dual. It is generally accepted that different types of *dvandva* compounds represent different stages in their historical development, beginning with types 1 and 2 – the most archaic and frequently used types in the *Ṛgveda* – followed by types 3 and 4, where the whole compound received one accent, and gradually the first constituent occurred in stem form. Types 5 and 6 represent the last stages in the development: they are very rare in the *Ṛgveda* and no theonyms occur in these types of *dvandvas*. This paper will examine two interrelated aspects of the typology and historical development of *dvandvas*. Firstly, it will revisit the typological scheme presented above and provide further evidence for Insler’s interpretation of types 1 and 2 as being two separate words rather than compounds, giving as the main reason for this interpretation the specific nature of theonyms in the *Ṛgveda*. Secondly, it will demonstrate, through the investigation of typology and development of *dvandva* compounds, that they cannot be viewed as a single category. The main focus of this paper will be on the relationship between *dvandva* compounds (especially types 1-4) and other coordinative nominal constructions in the *Ṛgveda*, i.e. asyndeta, elliptic duals, and syntagms constructed with copulative conjunctions. I will examine how different types of *dvandva* compounds alternate with other coordinative nominal constructions. For example, I will show that only older types are attested in tmesis and alternatively occur in the elliptic dual; that the alternative usage of syntactic constructions with coordinative particles displays differences between older and younger types of *dvandvas*; that constructions comprising one constituent in the dual and the other in the singular which, some scholars believe, represent the most archaic stage of development of *dvandvas*, occur in the later layers of the

R̥gveda. The question as to whether the oldest types of *dvandva* compounds should be interpreted as two separate words will be revisited. Through examination of different types of *dvandvas* and the variant usage of their components in other coordinative constructions I will explore whether these compounds are stylistic variants expressing coordination, rather than stages in the historical development of *dvandvas* in Indo-Aryan. I will show that theonyms display specific grammatical and linguistic features: several types of syntagms are used to express a copulative relation between pairs of theonyms, whereas non-theonyms display hardly any such alternations. On the other hand, numeral *dvandvas* follow their own morphological and stylistic patterns (partly inherited from Indo-European), which are different from those of theonyms and other non-theonyms. The examination of typology and historical development of *dvandvas*, and of their relationship with other coordinative constructions (asyndeta, elliptic duals, and syntagms constructed with copulative conjunctions) will demonstrate that *dvandvas* cannot be viewed as a single category, but rather that a distinction has to be made among those comprising theonyms, non-theonyms or numerals.

rites for rain in the Vedic and post-vedic literature

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In ancient times agriculture largely depended on rainfall. As W. Rau emphasized in his *Staat und Gesellschaft*, statements expressing the importance of rain for the people can be found in the Vedic texts, and there are several hymns praying to obtain rain. RV 7.103, a hymn to frogs, is a charm for rain. RV 10.98 is a hymn in which Devāpi prays for rain. The *Atharvaveda* has three hymns praying for rain: AV 4.15, 6.22, and 7.18. There are also a number of rites to obtain rain. The *kārīrīṣi*, which is dealt with by W. Caland in his *Altindische Zauberei*, is one of the best well-known rites for rain. He gives two other *kāmyeṣṭis* for one who wishes rain. There are several *kāmyapaśus* for the *vṛṣṭikāma*, namely KS 13.8 [190,11-14], MS 2.5.7 [57,5-9] and [57,18-58,2], and TS 2.1.7.3-4 and 2.1.8.5. PB 6.10.15-18 is a *kāmyasoma* to secure rainfall. Apart from these independent rites for rain there are in the exegetic texts of the Vedic ritual many places where a ritual variation with a view to securing rainfall is inserted in the course of the ritual prescription of a certain *śrauta* ritual. Some examples are given by A. Hillebrandt in his *Ritual-litteratur*. In these texts there are also exegetic assertions that a certain ritual action results in obtaining rain, e.g. KS 13.12 [193,21] and TS 5.4.1.4. KS 28.6 [161,6], TS 6.5.6.5, and ŚB 3.3.4.11 are cases of the divination of rainfall. KauśS 41.1-7 and 14 and KauśS 127 and ĀgnGS 2.5.10 and 11 are rites for rain described in the *Gr̥hyasūtras*. J. Gonda in his *Vedic Ritual* collects some examples of rites for rain from the *vidhāna* texts. Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* 4.3.10-12 is a rare example of this kind of rite in the treatise on the ancient Indian politics. In the Buddhist *tantric* texts such as the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* and the *Mañjuśrīkalpa* we find several examples of rites for rain. But it seems to be very seldom to come across the rites to be performed for the sake of rain in the *Purāṇas*. It seems as if the brahmans rapidly lose their interest in the rite for rain. In contradiction to the decline of the number of the rites for rain, the number of inauguration ceremonies for a water reservoir increases very much from the time of the *Gr̥hyasūtras* onward in the post-Vedic periods. In this paper I survey the Vedic rites for rain in their various forms and try to find certain ways of thinking underlying them. I also try to find the reasons for the decline of these rites and the popularity of the inauguration ceremonies for a water reservoir in the post-Vedic periods.

THE VEDIC CALENDAR SYSTEMS

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The Vedic authors show awareness and use of several calendar systems. Principally these are (1) the division of the year in 6 seasons, and of each season in 2 months, hence a purely tropical (season-based) division in 12; (2) a solar-lunar calendar with 12 or 13 lunar months; (3) added later, the division of the ecliptic in 27 or 28 daily lunar steps marked by asterisms, which are regrouped into 12 sidereal zones marking 12 months named after the most conspicuous constituent asterism. Even the third, seemingly sidereal system was in fact used as a marker of the parts of the tropical year. The truly sidereal calendar, with time divisions tied to the stars rather than the seasons (e.g. with Makara Saṃkrānti unrelated to winter solstice and moving through the sidereal year at the rate of ca. 1 day in 70 years, now at 14/15 January) was introduced, along with Hellenistic astrology, by Siddhāntic astronomy. The *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* is an elaboration of Vedic calendrical concepts and is, as I will argue, innocent of Babylonian or

Hellenistic influence. The distinction between all these systems has acquired practical importance because of an emerging movement for Hindu calendar reform away from its current Siddhāntic-sidereal basis and back to the Vedic-tropical roots.

THE ALTAR AND THE *LĪṄGA*:

THE ADOPTION AND SUPERSESSION OF VEDIC RITUAL IN MEDIEVAL ŚAIVISM

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This paper will explore the depictions of Vedic rituals in Purāṇic literature, focusing on the medieval Śaivite story traditions. I will first consider narratives that depict the supersession of Vedic altar worship by *līṅga* worship. I will then suggest, however, that these narratives may reflect a more ambivalent relationship between Śaivism and Vedic religion, possibly pointing to internal debates over the proper modes of Śaivite worship. My primary focus will be on the story traditions related to Mahākāla from the Avanti-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa* and from the *Śiva Purāṇa* tradition. In some medieval Śaivite stories, Śiva is clearly celebrated as an outsider to Vedic sacrifice. This is exemplified by the corpus of stories surrounding the Destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice. Śiva's role as Vedic outsider seems, at one level, to also be the focus of story traditions related to Mahākāla found in the Avanti-khaṇḍa. There, for example, Śiva enters a beautiful forest in which Brahmā dwells. The forest (Mahākālavana) is full of sages and ascetics performing Vedic altar rites. Having decapitated Brahmā and carrying his skull in his hand, Śiva makes his way to the center of the forest and lays the skull down on the ground, relieved of his sin of brahman murder. On the very spot the skull is set a *līṅga* appears, suggesting the *līṅga*'s supersession of the Vedic altar worship. Another story of the Avanti-khaṇḍa describes how brahmins worship Śiva at a Vedic altar, only to have skulls appear in place of the central fire. The brahmins discard these skulls as defiling to the altar, but they continue to appear, and the result is a large pile of skulls outside the sacrificial arena. At the end of the story, however, the brahmins discover that the pile of skulls marks the location of a primordial *līṅga*. It is the *līṅga*, not the altar, which is the proper focus of worship. Such stories raise interesting questions regarding the reception and adoption of Vedic practices by medieval Śaivites. Do the stories of the Avanti-khaṇḍa represent an adoption or extension of earlier ideas about Śiva as an outsider to Vedic sacrifice? Or might they reflect a more complex relationship between Vedic and Śaivite ritual in the medieval period? In my view, the image of the altar in these stories proves intriguing in light of our other evidence for Śaivite worshipers who pay homage at Vedic altars. We may find a precedent for this practice, for instance, in the *Mahābhārata*, when Aśvatthāman becomes possessed by Śiva while worshipping at a golden *vedi*. Even Arjuna is known to have worshiped Śiva at an altar (*sthaṇḍila*) in some versions of this epic. In the *Śiva Purāṇa* tradition, we also find cases in which both altar worship and Vedic religion are depicted in positive terms. When read in light of such sources, the possibility arises that tales about the supersession of Vedic altar worship reflect internal Śaivite debates, possibly critiquing Śaivite groups who worship Śiva at an altar rather than through the *līṅga*. My paper will suggest that we find, in medieval Śaivite story traditions, an impulse to embrace Vedic worship as well as an impulse to supersede it. Exploring their dynamic interaction, I will ask whether the supersessionist impulse might reflect an internal Śaivite discourse about the place of Vedic ritual in Śaivite practice. I will further consider whether this discourse is new to the medieval period or is, instead, a development of a more ancient phenomenon, bound up with the historical rise of Śiva and Śaivism itself.

THE THRONE AND BRAHMĀN: *KAUṢĪTAKI-UPANIṢAD 1*

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The first chapter of the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* represents one of the three Upaniṣadic versions of the well-known theory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna*, the two paths followed by a person after his death. Compared with the other two, the version in the KauṣU is nearer to the older versions in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* in that the theory consists of the *devayāna* only, and that the attainment of the final goal depends not on the deeds of the deceased during his lifetime but on his right answer to the questions given by the divine beings on the way. KauṣU 1, however, is unique in its detailed description of the interior of the *brahmaloka* which is the final goal for the deceased in this version. In

the *brahmaloka*, there are rivers, a lake, and a tree, each having its special name. And many nymphs (*apsaras*) welcome him with garlands, ointment, clothes, etc. in their hands. After passing a yard and a fort, the deceased arrives at a palace with the throne inside, where Brahmán receives him. No doubt this chapter of the KauṣU depicts graphically the journey of the deceased to the celestial paradise as his final goal. But only that? The throne in the palace may imply that the present passage is concerned with the enthronement of the deceased in the *brahmaloka*. The masculine Brahmán here must be the lord of the *brahmaloka*, but at the same time he also appears to be a kind of supreme priest officiating at the enthronement. He sits near the throne, and gives the final question and final approval to the deceased who has proceeded to the throne. That is to say, the deceased and Brahmán in the *brahmaloka*'s palace may correspond to the king and the Brahman priest in the worldly enthronement rite. The purpose of the present paper is to explore the possibility of this new interpretation of KauṣU 1 by examining the related passages on the throne and the descriptions of the enthronement in the Vedic royal rituals.

MANUSCRIPTS AND INDIAN KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS: THE PAST CONTEXTUALISING THE FUTURE

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This paper seeks to examine the significance of ancient knowledge systems including the Vedas and Vedic teaching in contemporary life. India has a rich tradition of intellectual inquiry, and knowledge was considered a path to salvation. This can be seen in the respect accorded to the *guru*, the remover of ignorance. In the era of globalization, the traditional schools of teaching the oral tradition of the Vedas have become outmoded, and the new education system based largely on a western model has wrought changes in the manner of oral teaching and learning. In the olden days, the emphasis was on sharing and disseminating knowledge. Probing the roots of the system of knowledge dissemination, this paper also looks at the concept of “intellectual property” which seeks to confine knowledge as privately owned, which was not the case in ancient India. In an attempt to probe how India's knowledge systems may become the foundation for future research, the paper seeks to examine the sharing and dissemination of information through digital technology. It will have a and will be in the context of *Kritisampada*: the National Database of Manuscripts of the National Mission for Manuscripts, India.

THE VEDAS IN THE TANTRAS: LATE BUDDHIST REFLECTIONS ON THE VEDIC TRADITION

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In constructing the history of a religious tradition, it is useful to take into account not only the perspectives of the tradition's advocates, but also the perspectives of observers from other religious traditions. Buddhist material has thus been taken into account by scholars interested in the Vedic tradition. Scholarly attention has largely focused on the Pāli canon, on the presumption that texts in this canon reflect most clearly the perspectives of early Buddhism. On the other hand, later Buddhist materials, such as the *tantric* texts composed during the early medieval period (7th – 13th centuries), have been almost completely ignored as a source of information about the Vedic tradition. This oversight is unfortunate, as *tantric* Buddhist commentaries contain significant material reflecting upon the Vedic tradition. This is largely because *tantric* Buddhist texts and traditions advocated ritual practices, such as the *homa* fire sacrifice, that were adapted from Vedic models. Buddhist authors were aware of this, and constructed apologetic defenses for this appropriation, and constructed alternate myths for the origins of the Vedic tradition. Buddhist authors also turned to the Vedic tradition to legitimate their own ritual practices. While most of these discussions solely reflect Buddhist needs and interests, some do seem to shed light on the contemporary practice of Vedic ritual traditions. As a result, they aid our understanding of early medieval South Asian religious history.

MAHĀBHĀRATA AŚVAMEDHAS

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For about the last ten years, I have been proposing, with reference to various stories, units, and conventions that I and others have discussed in the *Mahābhārata*, and to a lesser extent in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, that a useful method of inquiry into the relation of epic and Vedic sources – one which, I believe, must recognize the historical and cultural gulfs that lie between them – is to register that a principal way by which the epics refer to Veda is by way of allusion, by which I mean *knowing* allusion. I have proposed this all along with one case in mind I have kept silent on, principally because I was not sure the case could be well made, and also because I had not figured out how best to make it. This is the primary case of Vedic allusion I would like to discuss, my working premise being that Vyāsa’s nights with the two Kāśī princesses Ambikā and Ambālikā deserves to be examined for allusions to the *aśvamedha* scene where the *mahiṣī* or chief queen lies with the sacrificial horse. Making the case for the pertinence of such an interpretation, other epic *aśvamedhas* and allusions to them must also be considered, and also the two in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Also pertinent are the *Mahābhārata*’s treatment of *nīyoga*, and, as Stephanie Jamison has shown, the Vedic *pativedana* ritual of “husband-finding.” If it can be shown that such epic usages are matters of knowing allusion, one possible conclusion worth exploring would be that the standard view that the epics’ references to Vedic ritual, and particularly Vedic royal rituals, are distanced by desuetude and confusion about them deserves reconsideration. It may be that when the epics speak of substitutes or equivalents to the *rājasūya*, *aśvamedha*, etc., that these rites may be decreasingly performed in the times the epics are composed. But that would not seem to have diminished the poets’ interest in referring to them in ways that knowingly deepen their epic stories.

A SHORT HISTORY OF VEDIC PREFIX-VERB COMPOUND ACCENTUATION

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The two standard accounts of the accentuation of Vedic finite verbs with multiple prefixes are Pāṇini (c. 400 BCE) and Delbrück (1888), the latter apparently informed by Pāṇini and the evidence of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Both varieties of Late Vedic offer the patterns in [1], with accent alternation between the verb and the immediately preceding prefix, and non-accentuation of any earlier prefixes. By contrast, the *Ṛgveda* has structures such as [2], with accent on more than one prefix or on the leftmost prefix and the verb. Delbrück notes some of these complications. However, his account is incomplete and fails to address the historical developments. I show that at the earliest stage accent variation must have affected only finite verbs (main clause vs. dependent clause), while prefixes retained their accent. The *Ṛgveda* presents an initial step toward the Late Vedic situation, with a great amount of variation, and constructions with prefix *ā* tending to be more innovative. The situation is similar in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa*. The latter, however, offers a few triple-prefix structures [3], with **alternating** accent. Combined with other evidence, these structures suggest that the development toward Late Vedic was initiated by the tendency toward alternating accent within the same morphological domain. I map out further developments and conclude by pointing out the implications, as well as the surprising complication that the early *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* presents the same situation as Late Vedic.

- [1]a. *abhyúddharati* (P 8.1.28 + 8.1.70) — Main Clause accentuation
- b. *abhyuddhárati* (P 8.1.66 + 8.1.70 + 8.1.71) — Dependent Clause accentuation
- [2]a. *úpa prá yantu ...* (RV 1.40.1c)
- b. *yátrābhī saṃnávāmahe* (RV 8.69.5c)
- [3] *tám...prajā́ abhí samāvartante* (TB 1.1.5.4)

Time permitting, I will also briefly consider the accentuation of prefix-verb combinations in the well-known *ehi manye* construction and its Vedic variants. Here, too, Pāṇini’s account closely agrees with the situation in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and hence Delbrück postulates this pattern for all of Vedic, explaining the accent on the verb (rather than the prefix) as indicating a subordination of the second verb to the first. And again, we find a difference between the late Vedic stage of Pāṇini and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* on one hand and earlier stages of the Veda on the other – see [4] vs. [5]. In this case, however, the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* goes with the earlier language, not with Late Vedic.

- [4] *preṭa tad āhariṣyāmo yad asmākaṃ tatreti* (ŚB(M) 9.5.1.19)
[5] *só 'bravīd viṣṇāv ēhīdām āhariṣyāvo yēnāyām idām īti* (TS 2.4.12.3; sim. MS 2.4.3)

These cases, first, confirm the common view that Pāṇini was contemporary with the Late Vedic period and that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* comes closest to the chronological stage reflected in his grammar. Beyond that, they also suggest that closer investigations of the accentuation in earlier Vedic are a major desideratum and can yield interesting new insights.

THE ACCENTUATION OF THE ŚĀTAPATHA BRĀHMAṆA

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In the introduction to his 1975 edition of the *Bhāṣikasūtra*, B. B. Chaubey noted that according to this text the accents of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (ŚB) should be read in such a way that the main sign, the stroke below the character, represents the *anudāṭṭa*. This is what the stroke below a character also represents in other accented texts such as the *Ṛgveda*. However, in Western scholarship it had become generally accepted that the stroke below in the ŚB corresponds with and also represents the *udāṭṭa*. The *anudāṭṭa* reading of the stroke below, on the other hand, matches the practice of ŚB recitation. A thorough investigation of the Western proposals with regard to the ŚB accentuation and the accentuation proposed in the *Bhāṣikasūtra* was undertaken by G. Cardona who published his views in an article in 1989. He is in general agreement with Chaubey and rejects the conclusions regarding the ŚB accentuation. I am not aware of further critical discussions of Chaubey's and Cardona's view, but in the modern practice of quotation (in roman transcription) from the ŚB we see that three distinct methods are followed: (1) the established Western method is followed; (2) the method recommended by Chaubey and Cardona is followed; and (3) the accents are left out altogether. This is not a very satisfactory situation, and in my paper I will reconsider the main arguments. My conclusion will be that the "classical" Western practice is largely justified (though a few modifications are needed) in spite of Chaubey's and Cardona's criticisms, even when there are situations (for instance, if we want to represent the text as recited from a certain period after its composition onwards) where the other method is at its place.

TWO PASSAGES FROM THE VĀDHŪLA-ANVĀKHYĀNA:

EVALUATION OF THE MALAYALAM MSS AGAINST THE VULGATE MADRAS MS

Yasuke Ikari

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The texts of the Vādhūla school of the Yajurveda have been published by W. Caland, M. Sparreboom & J. C. Heesterman, and B. B. Chaubey. Their editions are commonly based upon the secondary Devanagari Ms (*M*) from Madras (GOML). The Malayalam Ms *KL*, which I discovered in the central district of Kerala, turned out to be the original of *M*. Another Malayalam Ms *KA*, found in another Ms collection, has been identified as an older copy of *KL* than *M* and contains less lacunae than the latter. It also helps to reconstruct the original reading. In this report, I illustrate two passages from the text of the *Vādhūla-Anvākhyāna* and show once again that the authentic edition of the Vādhūla texts cannot be produced without new Malayalam Mss.

THE "BRAHMAN'S WIFE" AND THE RITUAL PATNĪ

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In a recent paper at the World Sanskrit Conference in Edinburgh I discussed the Ṛgvedic evidence for the Sacrificer's Wife (*patnī*) of later *śrauta* ritual (the *śrauta* material treated extensively in my book *Sacrificed Wife / Sacrificer's Wife*), and concluded that although the ritual *patnī* is already fully established in *śrauta*

ritual in the early *Black Yajurveda Samhitās*, she is an innovation in late Ṛgvedic ritual. She is absent from most of the *Ṛgveda*, and her introduction into the ritual is signaled in the *Ṛgveda* primarily (although indirectly) by allusions that either support or deplore this radical change in religious practice. This paper will treat further Ṛgvedic evidence for the introduction of the ritual pattern through a consideration of the enigmatic hymn often referred to as “The Brahman’s Wife” (RV 10.109; expanded version in the *Atharvaveda*). I will argue that the supposed abduction and return of the Brahman’s wife by the gods actually refers to the Sacrificer’s Wife’s entry into, activity in, and return from the divine world represented by the ritual and the ritual ground. Parallels with other Ṛgvedic hymns concerned with the introduction of the *patnī* and with *grhya* rituals that serve as models for the *patnī*’s role will also be discussed.

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ĪŚĀ UPANIṢAD: HISTORY OF THE TEXT IN THE LIGHT OF THE UPANIṢADIC PARALLELS

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The *Īśā Upaniṣad* (IU) is a very short text preserved in two traditions: the Kāṇva (K) and the Mādhyamdina (M). The former consists of 18 stanzas, the latter of 17. Stanzas 9-11 of K appear as stanzas 12-14 of M, and stanzas 12-14 of K appear as 9-11 of M. On the other hand, stanza 9 of both K and M appears in the corresponding recensions of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (BAU) 4, 4, while stanza 12 of K and M (and the rest of the IU) does not. There are other parallels between the IU and the BAU, and even the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, that can help to complete the survey of upaniṣadic variants related to the IU. The last 3 stanzas in IU-M, and the last 4 in IU-K, have parallels in BAU 5, which enable us to reconstruct the probable history of the text(s) of the IU. This history is very instructive in several respects: (1) it illustrates the oral composition technique and its repertory of varying formulas; (2) it presents us with a good example of the intertextual relations among the upaniṣadic texts; and (3) it permits us to reconstruct the history of the text in several consecutive phases. This historical reconstruction, on the other hand, helps us in more precisely understanding the messages and contents of the text.

THE PASSAGE THROUGH FIRE: ṚGVEDA 10.16

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In the funerary hymn *Ṛgveda* 10.16 Agni is asked to transfer the deceased and his body to the *pitāras*, to the world in which the pious who reached immortality dwell. In “the place of the *sukṛtāḥ*” the spirit re-joins his former body transformed and restored by the fire. Agni, who transmits the oblations, acts as the intermediary between the immortal world of the gods and the mortals. In this hymn we can distinguish two different forms of Agni. One is the sacrificial Agni, who feeds the gods with the sacrifices of men converted into smoke. Another is the “flesh-eater”

Agni, who burns the corpses. Therefore we can interpret that Agni operates in two ways, which could be also imagined as two paths. One path is called in other texts *devayāna*. It is the same path on which the gods approach sacrifices. However, it is a different path – opened for the first time by Yama, thus becoming king of the deceased – through which he transfers the deceased to the world beyond. This hymn is especially complicated because there are many apparent contradictions. The fire has to burn the corpse, covered for protection with pieces of flesh, without destroying it. He should dissolve part of it into its elements, returning them to their cosmic origins: the eye to the sun, the breath to the air, and the members into the plants, which recalls the cosmic sacrifice of Puruṣa (cf. RV 10.90). Sky, earth, and atmosphere are proposed as three alternative destinations, which led some commentators to interpret this passage as the first reference to the doctrine of *karma*. In this paper I will analyse these two different paths leading to the world of the gods and to the world of the fathers, basing my interpretation on Vedic passages, and describe briefly the later evolution into *pitṛyāna* and *devayāna* as we find them in the Upaniṣads.

TOWARDS A NEW “VEDIC INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS”

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Published in 1912 and several times reprinted, A. A. Macdonell’s and A. B. Keith’s *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* is up to now the most comprehensive collection of data regarding the outer world of the Vedic Aryans. Giving information “on such topics as agriculture, astronomy, burial, caste, clothing, crime, diseases, economic conditions, food and drink, gambling, kingship, law and justice, marriage, morality, occupations, polyandry and polygamy, the position of women, usury, village communities, war, wedding ceremonies, widow burning, witchcraft and many others” it is still of great value to anybody who wants to deal seriously with any aspect of Vedic culture. But its usefulness does not alter the fact that it is for the most part rather outdated. It should and can definitely be thoroughly revised. In my paper I will try to give an idea of my plans for such a thorough revision, which in my opinion should not only be based on the secondary literature published since 1912 but also on a fresh study of the primary texts themselves. Since such a project is rather ambitious, my presentation is meant not only for coming to know what other scholars think about it and expect from it, but also as an invitation to anybody interested to take part in it.

JĪRṆA: REFLECTIONS OF ANDHRA ĀHITĀGNIS ON OLD AGE AND DYING

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This paper, like one presented to the Third Vedic Workshop, proceeds from field data in Konasima, an agriculturally and culturally rich portion of the Godavari River Delta on the Bay of Bengal coast of Andhra Pradesh. From 1980 to the present four generations of ten Veda pandit families have been serially interviewed regarding Vedic *adhyāya*, *śrauta* performance, and *agrahāra* life in general. All belong to the Taittirīya Śākhā and follow Āpastamba first among *sūtras*. By 2000 their long-time lineages of *śrauta* performance appeared to have shut down. Several families that had produced as many as a dozen *āhitāgnis* in the twentieth century were still teaching Veda at the turn of the millennium, but their *agnihotra* continuities were broken with little promise of resumption. Now, however, two of the ten families have generated qualified Veda pandits who are preparing to set fires in *ādhana* and join the meager company of active *āhitāgnis* in Andhra. Four of the *āhitāgnis* first interviewed in 1980 have died; two others are beyond 75. One of the topics pursued over nearly three decades has been *āhitāgni* self-reflection on ageing, that inevitable process of growing old they describe as *jṛṇam* (Telugu, Sanskrit), preferring the metaphor of being digested by time. Discussed here will be textual resources cited by Veda pandits; illness and gradual reduction of ritual performance from bathing to *agnihotra* and *iṣṭis*; tenacity and capitulation regarding *agnihotra* performance; living on without *tretāgni*, after *vicinna*; fear and fearlessness in the face of *mṛtyu*; *mṛtyucakras* and *doṣas* from *navagrahas*; *abhicāra mantras* from AVS to counter unknown enemies and death threats; thoughts on *brāhmamedha* funerals for *āhitāgnis* and on *apara* Brahman funerary specialists; the prior death of wife and co-sacrificer and her *muṣivayanam* ritual.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE WORLD VIEW OF DĪRĠHĀTAMAS

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It is widely known among Vedic scholars that the poems ascribed to Dīrghātamas (RV 1.140 – 1.164) impose a bundle of problems on the interpreter that even exceed the usual difficulties met with the study of the *Ṛgveda*. Reasons for the obscure appearance of these poems are ready at hand. They are remarkable for the use of *hapax legomena*, and frequently leave the interpreter in the dark about the meaning of their content. These problems occur as well with other *Ṛgvedic* poets to a certain degree, but rarely so extremely as in relation to Dīrghātamas. Nevertheless, his hymns offer much of interest because their author is one of the most reflective poets of the *Ṛgveda*. There are quite a lot of Dīrghātamas' verses that express his thoughts on the relationship between poet, cosmos and ritual. Their focus on the mystery of being an individual is most intriguing. Thus, cosmic interactions are related to the poet, who in turn is conceived as the embodiment of mystery. Dīrghātamas deliberately obscured the content of his poems. This becomes clear by corresponding remarks in the poems themselves. One of the issues highlighted by Dīrghātamas' enigmas thus is the creative aspect of poetry-making. The poet himself becomes part of the process of creation. Dīrghātamas' poems can accordingly be understood as an attempt to account for this peculiar ability of the poet by means of structuring enigmas. This paper tries to unfold some of the means that Dīrghātamas used for structuring his enigmas. The paper will investigate passages in which Dīrghātamas speaks of mysteries. In a second step, the importance that Dīrghātamas attaches to the process of giving names will be discussed. I will have a look at his ambiguous use of pronouns, which can be interpreted as an allusion to the connection between the poet and Agni. The results of this analysis can be taken as evidence for the growing self-awareness of the *Ṛgveda* poets displayed in the poems of Dīrghātamas. This in turn will be viewed as one of the determining factors (i.e. in analogy to RV 10.129) for the development of the Upaniṣads. With the approach represented, RV 1.164 becomes subject to another interpretation too. Although the occurrence of riddles, questions and in some cases fitting answers led to its interpretation (at least in part) as an example of a *brahmodya*, the affinities in form and content to the other hymns ascribed to Dīrghātamas point in another direction. RV 1.164 can be seen as a part of an impressive attempt to situate the abilities of the poet in a larger cosmic setting.

LAKṢMĪ: A BRANDED ANIMAL

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Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune and wealth, is an important deity, though not many temples are devoted exclusively to her, and she is found accompanying Viṣṇu in his temples. In present times especially Lakṣmī has become more important due to the prominence of consumerism, which is evident from increasing popularity of the vow of Dhanalakṣmī. Lakṣmī is a very ancient deity. References to her are found in the Vedic literature also. Scholars such as Oldenberg, Gonda, etc. have been curious about the etymology of the word. Oldenberg has stated in German, which can be translated in English as: “The relation of Lakṣmī with *lakṣman* ‘mark’ or ‘symbol’ is obvious...*lakṣman* is the outer disposition: Lakṣmī is that disposition itself, who is or can be denoted by a *lakṣman*.” Gonda is of the opinion, “*Lakṣmī* is an object or a being, the very existence or presence of which means something (auspicious – *puṇyā lakṣmī* or evil *pāpī lakṣmī*); a *lakṣma* is more vaguely a token or mark...which may induce man to infer that there is something auspicious, favorable.” Further he concludes *lakṣmī* to be an object signifying sometimes auspicious sometimes evil. Meyer and Hartman also have put forth their theories, which are somewhat different and difficult to agree with. Dahl, in his work on Lakṣmī has dealt with the topic exhaustively, has taken into consideration all the previous work done regarding it, and has concluded: “Lakṣmī is the goddess of corn, vegetation and fertility...The goddess Lakṣmī became very prominent when the nomadic people finally settled up and depended on agriculture...Like Demeter and Isis, Lakṣmī is contended as the goddess of corn and is adored...” Thus it is clear that all the scholars agree on one point and that is there is a connection between *lakṣmī* and *lakṣman*, “a mark,” whether auspicious or inauspicious. However, nowhere in the literature, especially in the Vedic literature, is the nature of the mark explained. The marks or rather attributes connected with her – i.e. the elephant, lotus, etc. – are from very late iconography, arising possibly out of Buddhist ideology. An attempt has been made in this paper to search for the original nature of *lakṣman* and its connection with *lakṣmī*. For that purpose, all the relevant Vedic passages containing the word *lakṣman* and *lakṣmī* are taken into consideration. Those that were already discussed by

the previous scholars are reconsidered and additionally those that were not taken note of by them are also discussed. It can be safely concluded on the basis of these passages that *lakṣmī* basically means an animal, a branded animal, which has the *lakṣman*, the mark of branding or herding. It is seen from the Vedic Saṃhitās, especially the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, that its extended meaning – i.e. wealth or property – was already in vogue in their times. Later, in the Purāṇas, *lakṣmī* is personified and further deified. Some influence of Graeco-Roman mythology is seen in this development.

ON SHATTERED HEADS AND DAFT ROBBERS: RETHINKING ŚĀKALYA IN BĀU 3

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This paper is a close analysis of why Śākalya is said to have died at the end of his debate with Yājñavalkya in chapter 3 of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. While both Witzel and Insler have published different theories on the origin of the “head-shattering” (*vi √pat*) that causes his death, my concern is neither what the term may have meant nor how it developed, but rather the question I will be concerned with here is: why does Śākalya die at all? Many scholars have pointed out that Śākalya’s death was foreshadowed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* narrative may be simply fulfilling that claim, but such a view makes the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* story simply derivative of a hypotext, rather than coherent in its own right. Further, claims that the threat of death adds tension to the narrative or that it is indicative of the danger of abstract religious debate, while not incorrect, have yet to adequately explain, in my opinion, how this tension formally develops in the narrative, what literary devices lead to such a conclusion, and why such danger need be part of the story in the first place. It is these questions which I will analyze through a close reading of BĀU chapter 3 and a larger discussion of the role that Śākalya plays in the narrative. First, I will analyze one principal theme, death (and related topics such as immortality), and how this theme is tied into the character of Śākalya in his own very timely (for the text) and untimely (for himself) death. His death is so foreshadowed throughout the religious debate that it almost makes it a foregone conclusion. Second, I will formally discuss various literary devices (repetition, parallelism, foreshadowing, etc.) that serve to propel the story forward and bring it towards a dramatic conclusion. There are formal literary elements utilized in this narrative that give us a glimpse at the nature of how upaniṣadic narrative is constructed. In conclusion, I will argue that the scholarly tendency to disassociate doctrine and narrative in the Upaniṣads fundamentally distorts the role of narrative, and that Śākalya’s death is as much about the doctrine discussed as it is part of a story. It is here that I suggest that Śākalya’s death is not odd, a literary exaggeration, or even simply literary creativeness (though it is this, too), but rather that his death is required in the narrative. Śākalya dies because he must. This is how the story makes one of its central doctrinal points. I will further offer a new interpretation of the enigmatic passage where, following his death, Śākalya’s bones are said to be stolen by robbers who mistake them for something else.

FORMATS FOR THE STANDARDIZATION OF VEDIC DOMESTIC RITUAL

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The Gṛhya Sūtra corpus represents the efforts of the Vedic priesthood to systematize a variety of non-*śrauta* ceremonies, mainly rites performed by an individual on his own behalf, without necessary recourse to the services of a priest. The models for this systematization partly mimic the sorts of classification and ritual formatting rules (i.e. *ūha*) that had been developed for the multi-fire rites, but other innovations are introduced as well. In later stages of the elaboration of the Gṛhya system (especially in *pariśiṣṭas*), an ever wider range of performances – including image-worship of Rudra, Viṣṇu, and Gaṇeśa, and votive acts – get rubricated, drawing on older fireless ritual acts such as *baliharaṇa* for precedents. This paper will offer new observations about both the methods and the apparent purposes of such standardization. An effort will be made to generalize about the processes at work, but also to highlight individual instances that might be considered landmarks in the codification of Vedic domestic ritual. Special attention will be given to the *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* and its appendices, the *Vaikhānasa Smārta Sūtra*, and *pariśiṣṭas* of the Maitrāyaṇīyas and Vārāhas; comparison may also be made with the *Kauśika Sūtra* and certain portions of the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*. The paper will conclude by indicating several trajectories within the Gṛhya

literature as a whole: (1) increasing homogenization of format across “schools” became a precursor to a more expansive and generalized conception of Vedic piety; (2) the application of general ritual rules (*paribhāṣā*) to practices not covered by earlier codes allowed the system to expand the parameters of “Vedic” piety; (3) the selection and reapplication (*vinīyoga*) of *mantras* and hymns lent Vedic authority to new theological views.

THE INSTITUTION OF *GOTRA*, THE VEDIC ORAL TRADITIONS, AND THE FORMATION OF THE BRAHMAN SOCIAL GROUP

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My paper argues that the Brahmanical system of *gotra* and *pravara* begins its 3-millennia-long history as the names of the formal institutions of the oral traditions of the Vedic Aryans, creating thereby a teleological sequence between them and their later human agencies, eventually the caste group of Brahmans. What may thus be called the *gotra* narrative displays three distinct phases: an archaic phase of distinct family-based oral collections and respective praxis; a middle phase of the redaction of these individual *gotra*-based collections into the 10-*maṇḍala Ṛgveda*; and the historical phase of the Brahman group as the human agency of the Vedic oral tradition, no longer just of their erstwhile individual *gotra* collections and praxis but that of a pan-*gotra*, pan-Vedic system. The Anukramaṇī *ṛṣi* index of the *Ṛgveda* and the Pravara lists of the Śrauta Sūtras represent the two algorithmic ends of this process, the first linked to the poetic collections or hymns, the second to their human complements, numbering 49 at redaction of the *Ṛgveda*, with 19 forming the first or core stratigraphy of the process, and the two together forming the *gotra* profile of the historical group of Brahmans both in terms of representation and distribution. After an exhaustive discussion of the different aspects of the Vedic oral tradition, I trace this three-phase process for the Bharadvāja Gotra, one of the 19 core collections, in Book 6 of the *Ṛgveda*, its two (of the new 30) secondary *pravara* formations, and finally to its presence in a *gotra* census constructed from epigraphy and field work.

THE PATH TO THE YONDER WORLD

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In the funerary hymns of the Vedic Saṃhitās the path to the Yonder World is referred to as a single path that leads to a celestial kingdom, which is reserved for the dead and is ruled by Yama. This path, however, is not accessible to all the dead, unlike the Greek Hades. Instead, it is only accessible to some chosen men, the “blessed dead” of the *Ṛgveda*. It is moreover guarded by the two dogs of Yama, who forbid entrance to the non-chosen. Hardly anything is mentioned in the Saṃhitās about those who cannot find the path, those for which the path is not accessible, or those who are rejected from it. The idea of a single path differs from the traditional thought of the Upaniṣads, in which the doctrine of the transmigration of the souls and their successive rebirths – followed through in Hinduism and also incorporated into Buddhism and Jainism – is formulated. In the Upaniṣads the destiny of the souls is decided at the beginning of the transit. The souls, according to their merits, are led towards heaven along one of the two paths – either the *devayāna*, the path of the gods, leading through the bright halves of the elements in temporal succession (the day, the crescent’s fortnight...) to Brahmā and to liberation from rebirth, or the *pitṛyāna*, the path of the Fathers, leading through the dark halves of those elements and forcing the souls to return to the world in a new birth. In the Saṃhitās there is no reference at all to the doctrine of the two paths, despite interpretations in this sense of RV 10.88.15, which were dismissed by Geldner in his translation and commentary. However, in the eschatology found in JB I. 18 and I. 46, 49-50 (Bodewitz 1973) a primitive version of the doctrine of the two paths is provided. The itinerary is the same as in the Upaniṣads, leading through the bright and dark halves of the elements of the temporal succession, but in this case those elements belong together in a single path along which the soul covers in succession the dark and shining halves until the month comes to an end. The selection of the souls is carried out at this point, before they reach the sun, which controls the year – the limit of the temporal calculation. Some of them are thus admitted and they transcend the year, so that they may break the temporal limits that constrict human life and reach the world of the gods, where they join the *pitṛas*. The rest, those not admitted, must return back and “die again.” In this version there is a single path, but two different destinies for the souls. The selection is made by stopping the dead and asking them a question whose answer is the key to the destiny of their souls. Apart from the intrinsic

interest of this myth as the link between the single path of the Saṃhitās and the two paths of the Upaniṣads, we shall analyse the evident parallelism between the plotting lines of the narration found in the JB and the description of the transit to the Yonder World as found in the instructions written on the Orphic gold tablets. We shall argue that this is a clear instance of Eastern influence over the Orphic movements, further added to the traditionally accepted Iranian influence.

“THE BRÁHMAN THAT WAS FIRST BORN OF OLD...” AS IT WAS KNOWN BY THE ATHARVAVEDINS

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The employment of *mantras* in the ritual presupposed a selection, the appropriateness of which was argued by traditional as well as modern exegesis. Some of them are self-evident and look like mere reiteration of the ritual injunctions; others require speculative symbolical equations in order to resound with the surrounding context. From this competition on authority some came out more popular than others and became widely used, regardless of the sectarian division into Vedic branches, schools, and learned groups of discussion. One way of using *mantras* in the ritual was by means of quoting only the beginning of it (*pratīka*). This is a proof that the author knew the respective Vedic tradition. Some of the frequently used hymns were assigned by the tradition specific names and were thus recorded in the exegetical works. There are two hymns in the *Atharvaveda* (4.1 and 5.6) having the same first verse, starting with the words *brahma jajñāna* (Whitney’s translation: “The bráhman that was first born of old...”). The verse is quoted in many other texts without significant *variae lectiones*, witnessing it to be very popular and widely accepted as an authoritative ritual speech. The *pratīka* occurs in *Kauśikasūtra* without any explanation as to which of the two should be employed, but the commentator Keśava, for determining the right hymn, quotes also the beginning of the second or even of the third verse, and Dārila mentions the number of the verses. The unedited Atharvavedic *prayoga* text – *Samśkāraratnamālā* (Vaidik Samshodhana Mandala, Pune acc. no. 4290) – employs profusely at the beginning of almost each rite of passage the hymn designated as *brahma jajñāna*. It is not clear which of the two hymns is meant by this *pratīka* because apparently the text does not have a methodology of quoting the *mantras*. A comparative contextual study of the occurrences of this *mantra* in all the Atharvavedic ritual literature known was done, including the information offered by another Atharvavedic unpublished text, an alleged commentary, *Atharvanīyapaddhati*, for which we have used the two MSS which were also used in Bloomfield’s edition of *Kauśikasūtra*, catalogued under accession no. 1495 and 1496 in *Verzeichnisse der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol.V: Verzeichniss der Sanskrit-Prakṛt-Handschriften vol.II*, edited by A. Weber. At the time this text was composed, the Atharvavedic connoisseurs were yet aware of the subtleties of quoting *brahma jajñāna* by *pratīka* and made explicit reference by quoting the beginning of the second and the third verse or by indicating the number of 14 verses for 5.6.

BRIDES OF THE BUDDHA: HOW VEDIC MARITAL CUSTOMS SERVED BUDDHIST ENDS

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Fertile ground for considering the relationship or interaction between the Buddhist and the Vedic (and Brahmanical) tradition lies in the genre of Buddhist narrative literature called *avadāna*. Although usually labeled as non-canonical texts, Huber, Lévi, Schopen, Hahn, and others have demonstrated the very close connection between the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Avadānaśataka*, on the one hand, and the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (that voluminous compendium of monastic texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda order), on the other. Interestingly, at least a few of these texts owe as much to Vedic customs and Brahmanical literature as they do to Buddhist traditions. Consider the following scenario: A young woman arrives at her *svayamvara* (“self-choice” ceremony) to pick a bridegroom from a group of suitors. Her father worries that the rejected suitors will stir up trouble, as indeed they do. This could be taken from the *Mahābhārata* or Kālidāsa’s *Raghuvamśa*, but it actually comes from not one but two stories in the women’s collection in the eighth *varga* of the *Avadānaśataka*, a collection tentatively dated to the 2nd or 3rd century

CE. However, unlike the Vedic and Epic *svayamvara*, these girls' choices will lead not to the marriage so essential to Vedic ritual life, but to its diametric opposite, celibacy as a *bhikṣuṇī* (nun) in the Buddhist order. By comparing the beleaguered fathers, competitive suitors, and marital trappings of these two Buddhist *svayamvaras* with their better-known counterparts in the *Mahābhārata* and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, as well as their Vedic roots via the work of Hanns-Peter Schmidt and Stephanie Jamison, I will explore how the Buddhist redactors subverted this ancient marriage custom to skate up the altar and sidestep it neatly – thus conforming to the central tenets of Buddhism, which regarded the renunciant's celibate life as the best road to salvation, in direct opposition to Brahmanical tradition, which required marriage for sacrificial efficacy and the attainment of heaven.

CONCEPT OF MAN: A HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY IN THE LIGHT OF VEDIC LITERATURE

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The word used in the Vedic literature to mean a human being in its essence is *puruṣa* as against the word *prajā* (which are born), *manuṣya* (a thinking being), *martya* (associated with the idea of mortality) and *nāra* (which might mean one who leads ahead). *Puruṣa* does not in most cases mean the biological or psychic man, but the essence of man or humanity as such. Yāska derives this word so as to mean “he who lies inside” or “permeates the whole interior.” Although this interpretation is found in some Vedic statements too, it has also been interpreted to mean that which is eternal. This shows that the eternal spirit is considered to be the essence of man and this idea becomes further crystallized and systematized in the Upaniṣads. In the Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa literature sometimes *puruṣa* is identified with Prajāpati, who in turn is identified with the sacrifice, *yajña*, and the *saṃvatsara*, whereby the direct identification of *puruṣa* with *yajña* become possible. This means the sacrificer, the sacrifice, and the creator are essentially one and the same. The entire psyche with its faculties of feeling, thinking, resolving, and knowing was studied by the Vedic seers as a part of man, but they found that the real man transcended all these aspects. This aspect of man's evolution (not in the Darwinian sense) is beautifully brought out in the well known discussion of the *pañca kośas* in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*. The concept of man as depicted in Vedic Literature will be discussed in this paper in the light of ritualistic, social, historical, cultural and anthropological studies.

RENDERING THE BODY: BODY LANGUAGE IN THE VEDAS AND EARLY BUDDHIST SUTTAS

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The first half of the proposed paper traces shifts in body language in the primary genres of Vedic literature (Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads) as a way of mapping an emergent ascetic bifurcation of Being. The second half of the paper analyzes body language in the Pāli Sutta collection as a way of demonstrating that, in key ways, this Buddhist discourse renders the body along lines suggested in the Upaniṣads. The approach taken in this paper takes as its starting point the thought that metaphysical claims can often be critiqued by examining the ways in which a given tradition renders the body. Differentiating between what I call the etheric term (*brahman*, *manas*, etc) and the patient term (the term acted upon by the etheric agent), I argue that the ascetic metaphysics of the Upaniṣads and Pāli Suttas is consistent in rendering body and sense as distal terms. This paper draws from dissertation work which included broadly surveying body language in the *Ṛgveda* and *Yajurveda*, in selected Brāhmaṇas, in what are often classified as the early Upaniṣads, and in the Pāli Sutta literature. The results of this survey found that: (1) shifts in genre were paralleled by shifts in preferred body language; and (2) over the breadth of this material, certain body terms and their concepts drop out of use, notably *tanu*, and new terms are coined, notably *kāya*. Of the body terms employed in these texts, only one is used more or less consistently – *rūpa* – while the use of *śarīra* shifts between a restricted sense of “corpse” and its use in the Upaniṣads for body *qua* senseless sheath. I conclude by arguing that a key question about the way in which a human being is “staked in being” (carried by the term *tanu* with its associated sense as “token” or “hostage image”) is modified or deferred through the speculative bifurcation of being in terms of

patient body and etheric agent. I argue that, far from critiquing this modification, the Pāli Suttas sustain it, in a sense, staking mind under its various names and *nirvāṇa* on just such a relation to body.

**CROSSING THE WATERS:
BUDDHIST ADAPTATION OF A VEDIC IDEA**

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To learn more about the fundamental characteristics of Vedic religion, we have to search for the elements of Vedic tradition that have survived beyond it. Some were absorbed in Brahmanism, some in Buddhism. In this paper I propose to reexamine the Vedic idea of crossing the waters (ocean, river, etc.). According to old Vedic beliefs, such an act would release a human being from the difficulties of existence (denoted *inter alia* by such terms as *amhas*, etc.). In the *R̥gveda*, the soteriological background of the idea of rescuing was suggestively conveyed in metaphors (exemplified in this paper by extracts from hymns). Later on the idea of crossing the waters was adopted by Buddhism and aptly used in Buddhist scriptures in series of metaphors that express the idea of salvation. I will also present some lexicographic evidence showing how Vedic metaphors evolved into Buddhist speculations about liberation from the *samsāra*.

**VEDIC GOD PŪṢAN, KARAMBHA, AND WHEELS OF PŪṢAN:
TRANSITION FROM HUNTER GATHERER SOCIETY THROUGH ANIMAL
DOMESTICATION AND EARLY FOOD PRODUCTION**

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Mehrgarh site near Quetta in Baluchistan points to an early food producing community dating back to 8500 – 7000 BCE. As the earlier society transformed from the hunter-gatherer stage to animal domestication stage, the concept of a deity protecting animals, the pathfinder, and protecting from losing the trail evolved, and the ritual of sacrificial offering to the deity also developed. The Vedic god Pūṣan represents the transition from hunter-gatherer stage to the early food producing stage. It is proposed that offerings of gruel or *karambha*, traditionally known to have been made from rice and other puffed grains mixed with curd, represents the very first stage of food preparation. The ingredients of *karambha*, i.e. puffed grains and curd, were both the first processed foods of Vedic society. These were offered to the prominent deity of the day, Pūṣan, who belonged to the pantheon of earlier deities like Aryaman and Bhaga. The awl or goad, a pointed stick traditionally used for disciplining animals, is associated with Pūṣan. His chariot animals, *ajāśva*, and the goad used to control yoked animals points to the introduction of the carriage for transport in the early stages of development. The Mirzapur painting of a wheeled chariot discussed by D. D. Kosambi in his book *Myth and Reality* (1962) with Kṛṣṇa lore can be correlated with Pūṣan's wheels (RV 6.54.3). While Kosambi has dated these paintings to 800 BCE, Rakesh Tiwari, who has extensively worked on the Mirzapur paintings in recent years, is of the opinion that these paintings can be dated back to 800 – 2000 BCE based on the style. There are many similarities in the personality traits of Pūṣan and Kṛṣṇa: both were herdsmen, being offered *karambha* (*dahikālā* as it is called in Marāṭhī language) and both of them wielded a discus with sharp edge as a weapon, the Vedic word *paviḥ* being an indicator of a disc-type missile. Another role of Pūṣan is as the god of initiation for the newly married couple in the family way, the role that extended from the growth of kine / cattle wealth to the growth of family.

WOMEN AND THE VEDA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Somewhere between the extremes of feminist assertions that “Vedic women were oppressed,” and nostalgic assertions that “Vedic women had it made,” recent research has emphasized that there were a variety of contested attitudes toward women and Vedic study in Indian cultural history. My paper will provide an update on that issue from the early 21st century. I will draw upon a database of some eighty interviews of women Sanskritists completed in 2004 from two cities with markedly different views toward the question. In Pune and environs, women can study and recite the Veda, and some even consult in certain *śrauta* and *gr̥hya* environments. In Chennai, it is still quite rare that women are allowed to chant or study Vedic materials, but many are engaged in Sanskrit study. In contrasting these two areas, I will develop a tentative hypothesis about one aspect of the contemporary sociology of Vedic knowledge: in Pune, Vedic knowledge has become part of a larger cultural repertoire that includes women, and as a result, what constitutes “Vedic” has been expanded. In Chennai, women's intellectual spheres remain connected to non-Vedic fields such as *Alaṅkāra Śāstra* and *darśana*, and, as a result, the boundaries of Veda have remained much more strictly defined. Drawing upon my interview data, I will explore the specific mechanisms of how the status of the Veda is maintained in both of these communities – the intellectual moves made by both the women and their teachers – as they think about and represent the Veda in contemporary India.

ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF “HOLINESS” IN THE VEDIC HYMNS

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The Indo-European languages have various words meaning “holy” or “sacred;” see the well-known discussion of some terms by Émile Benveniste in *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*. It remains to be seen which would be the expression of the related notion in the Vedic vocabulary. This paper will explore the meanings of the nouns *dhiṣaṇā-* and *dhiṣṇ(i)ya-* from the evidence of the *Ṛgveda*. There is not yet a general consensus about the interpretation of the feminine noun *dhiṣaṇā-*, which seems to designate vaguely a supernatural force, being sometimes personified as a beneficent goddess. I will try to show that *dhiṣaṇā-* is an abstraction based on a noun referring to the “sacred place” or “sacred sphere.” This sacred sphere is defined as the place endowed with supernatural power; it is the place where the gods and some superior men (the sacrificers and the poets) enter in reciprocal relationship. It is said overtly (RV 1.96.1) that the *dh^o* sets an alliance or friendship between two worlds. From this basic notion, one can explain the various usages of the noun *dh^o*: (1) it is clearly connected with the sacrifice in several instances, and may even designate concretely the sacrificial ground; (2) *dh^o* is the force who gives simultaneous impetus to the actions of the gods, to the working of the poets, and to the worship in general; (3) as being common to gods and men during the time of worship, *dh^o* is conceived as having two sides, hence the common usage in the dual, identified to the duality of the divine and human worlds, or heaven and earth. Besides, the adjective *dhiṣṇ(i)ya-* means basically “relative to the sacred place,” hence “saint” in a specific sense. It is used especially about gods who acts as intermediary between the divine realm and the human world, and about the sacred speech (RV 10.114.9). As substantivized, it refers also to the place of worship. This adjective is derived from the noun **dhiṣ-an-/n-*, which is the basis of the feminine noun *dhiṣaṇā-*. These interpretations fit well with the usages of these nouns in later literature. In particular, the reference to demons or hostile creatures in the *Atharvaveda* and in Nuristani languages can be explained by the ambivalent nature of something sacred, understood also as dangerous and terrible for ordinary human beings.

THE CONCEPT OF UNITED HUMAN FAMILY IN THE VEDAS

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Sanskrit, as is well-known, is not a mere communicative language, but also a great binding force of integration and a perennial source of universal message crossing the barriers of race, culture and nation. It is this universal message

that makes Sanskrit unique among other languages of the world. Vedas are universal and the message conveyed by them is beyond the limits of caste, creed or time. Vedic seers and prophets have indeed spoken of one family on earth on many an occasion. Besides the fragmentary passages that occur in different contexts in the Vedic texts, there are some full-length hymns (*sūktas*): (1) *saṃjñāna sūkta* (RV 10.191); (2) *sāmmanasya sūkta* (AV 3.130); (3) *Śivasamkalpa sūkta* (YV 34). These hymns bear ample testimony to the fact that the Vedic sages (being the seers or *mantradraṣṭāras*) have visualized the entire Universe as a single united human family with the underlying principles of harmony and peaceful co-existence. In the later classics too, the popular dictum – “*vasudhaiva kutumbakam*” – which occurs in several classical texts, is noteworthy in so far as it envisages the idea that the entire universe is a single united human family. An attempt is made in the present paper to show how the concept of “united human family” has been the central nucleus in the Vedic scriptures.

THE KALPA VEDĀṄGA AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE FINAL CONSTITUTION OF VEDIC CHARAṆAS

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The Vedic literature is a global network operating and guiding Man wherever he lives. The Vedic *dharma* has a scientific and very complicated ritual system. The Veda has a language of its own which is peculiarly prone to imagery, vision and flash of insight. The form in which the Vedic *mantras* are clothed is interestingly and suggestively called *chandas*, which signifies “hiding, concealing and mystification” – *chadanat, chadayati* – *chadirūrjane, chad-apavarāṇe*, “empowering” and “covering” respectively. It is also etymologically described as that which evokes delight by its rhythm and structural beauty in versification. A verse generally has some hidden meaning. However in the terms *ūrjana* and *apavarāṇa* we can notice the element of mystic sublimity too. For the Vedas, which are divine revelations, have a unique power acting on the mind and heart and are capable of revealing the great truths of the universe. Hence there has been a continuous attempt to unravel the mystery of the Vedas. As a result we have plenty of traditional religious works based on the Vedas. The Kalpa Vedāṅga, with which I am concerned, forms the connecting link between the Vedic and the post-Vedic literature. It is founded on the Vedic Brāhmaṇa texts, which are ritualistic in orientation. *Kalpa* is a ceremonial directory that gives the details of the *anuṣṭhānakrama* or actual performance of the ritual. The expression *kalpa* means “*kalpyate samarthyate yāgaprayogo 'tra iti,*” texts in which rites and rituals are described. It is in the Brāhmaṇas that one has to look for the *vedāṅga* doctrines in their original and authentic form. Thus Kalpa as a Vedāṅga becomes an important gateway to understand the Vedic tradition, as most of the commentaries interpret the Vedic hymns in the context of *yajña*. Gradually the practical use and influence of the Kalpa Sūtras was such that no one could learn the ceremonies from the hymns and Brāhmaṇas alone without the help of Kalpa Sūtras. Though the *sūtras* were not part of *śruti*, they were made part of *svādhyāya*. Thus they claimed a kind of sacred character along with the Vedas and in course of time became the character of a new charana. This paper attempts to give the salient features of Kalpa Vedāṅga and its role in the formation of new charana. The words *śākhā, carāṇa, pariṣat* and so on, which are often used vaguely by scholars, will be explained.

SYSTEMS OF NOTATING VEDIC ACCENTS IN GRANTHA PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS

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According to A. C. Burnell, in his *Elements of South-Indian Palaeography* (1878): “The different methods used for the different Vedas are all of very recent origin, comparatively; and have arisen in different parts of India much about the same time, and in consequence of the decay of the old way of learning the Vedas by heart. In S[outh] India there is no pretence of a complete or even uniform system, and mss. with accents do not appear to occur before the middle of the sixteenth century.” Hence, in the view of Burnell: “Palaeographically, the notation of the Vedic accents is a subject almost devoid of interest.” Burnell’s negative judgment of the importance of accents in South Indian Vedic manuscripts is perhaps the reason why this subject has subsequently been largely neglected in

handbooks and studies of the South Indian scripts such as Grantha. In his 1974 article devoted to “Systems of Marking Vedic Accents,” Witzel almost entirely neglects South Indian systems of marking accents except for a brief paragraph, which does not go beyond the observations Burnell made in 1878. By now we know that South India has conserved very ancient features of the recitation of Vedic texts which have disappeared elsewhere (cf. Staal 1961 and 1983). This in itself is a sufficient reason to have a closer look at the notation of Vedic accents in this area. We will here focus on systems of accent notation used in Grantha manuscripts of Vedic texts. This is not only necessary in order to have a more complete grasp of the Grantha script so that misreadings and misinterpretations are avoided, but also in order to make better use of available sources that can provide information on the textual form of the Vedas and the tradition of their recitation.

VEDIC ACCENT: UNDERLYING VERSUS SURFACE

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Motivated to reveal the correspondence between Vedic and Greek accent and to establish the accentuation system of Proto-Indo-European, modern scholars have generally described graphic accent marks in Vedic texts as indications of underlying accents. Romanizations of Vedic texts in various Indian scripts that purport to be faithful transcriptions mark only underlying high pitches and independent *svaritas*. In the common system known in the *Śākala Saṃhitā* of the *Ṛgveda*, for instance, a horizontal line below is taken to indicate that a following unmarked syllable has underlying high pitch; it is the high-pitched syllable that is marked in the Roman transcription. In contrast, certain recent scholars have articulated the correspondence between graphic accent marks and surface pitch. Witzel (1975) attempted to identify graphic accent marks with specific tones “on the basis of the general coincidence of symbol and pitch level.” He suggested that close attention to accentual transcription in manuscripts could contribute to the history of Vedic literature and to Indian history generally. Cardona (1993b) demonstrated that the graphic marks that identify accents in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* correspond to the tonal levels accounted for in the *Bhāṣikā Sūtra* and that the rules of the *Bhāṣikā Sūtra* transform the underlying accent to the surface accent so marked. He argued that the surface accent represents dialectal change from the underlying accent. The current paper demonstrates that rules in various *prātiśākhya*s and other linguistic treatises similarly transform underlying accent to surface accent that is accurately represented by graphic symbols in received manuscripts of the Saṃhitās that these *prātiśākhya*s describe. Findings support Witzel’s and Cardona’s arguments concerning the value of accentual details for the linguistic and general history of India.

SIGNIFICANCE OF MUSIC IN VEDIC RECITATION

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Veda is the most ancient literature in the world. The literary compositions in the form of *ṛks*, *yajus* and *sāman* are traditionally known as *mantras*, revealed to the Vedic seers in their state of penance. The four Vedas are the collection of these *mantras*. The *Ṛgveda* is a collection of *ṛks*, i.e. the poetic compositions; the *Yajurveda* is the collection of *yajus mantras*, i.e. prosaic compositions (though poetic compositions are also there); *Sāmaveda* is the collection of *sāmans*, i.e. musical compositions which were sung on *ṛks*. The *Atharvaveda* is the collection of the *mantras* of the seers of the Atharvan and Aṅgīrasa families. These four Vedas were handed down in several recensions, thus forming the first corpus of Vedic literature. It is pertinent to note that all the *mantras* are accented and to be musically recited. *Udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* are the Vedic notes that have a nature of stress as well as pitch. The stress accent are helpful in understanding the meaning while pitch accents decide the *sthāna* and *laya* of a particular *varṇa*. Each word generally contains one *udātta* syllable and is considered to be the most important place in the word because a shift in the place of *udātta* brings about a corresponding change in the meaning of the word. All the Vedas were to be recited in the different notes prevalent in their recensions. In the singing of the *Sāmaveda*, all seven notes of scale – *prathama*, *dvītiya*, *trītiya*, *caturtha*, *mandra*, *atisvara* and *kruṣṭa* – are employed. This is technically known as *sāmagāna*. With the invention and development of the institution of sacrifice, *mantras* began to be employed in various rituals. In the Vedic period correct pronunciation of the *mantras* was meticulously observed at the time of their utterance in the performance of sacrifices and studying of the Vedas. A *mantra* wrongly pronounced in the matter of accent or syllable, or wrongly used in sacrifice could bring disaster to the sacrificer and

the officiating priests. *Mantras* pronounced in a rhythmic manner produce an extraordinary effect on both the enchanter and the listener. So it was necessary that the different notes employed in the recitation of the Vedas should be used only after thoroughly understanding the science of intonations. In this paper an attempt has been made to throw light on the musical aspect of recitation of the Vedas. The points to be discussed are: (1) the three note recitation system; (2) the two note recitation system; (3) the one note recitation system (i.e. Tāna Svāra); (4) the seven note recitation system; (5) the relation between the three and seven note system; (6) the placement of the seven notes on Gātra Vīṇā; and (7) the impact of Vedic seven note system on classical musical notes and their interrelationship.

**TO BE GOOD IT HAS TO BE VAIDIKA:
ON THE GENESIS OF AN IMPORTANT CRITERIUM IN THE
*MĀNAVADHARMAŚĀSTRA***

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In the *Mānavadharmasāstra* the call to a “Vedic” (*vaidika*) life model takes the form of a specific, and rather innovative, adjectival use. Since then, the term *vaidika*, virtually unknown to the authors of the Dharmasūtras, has gained wide assent and notoriety within the Sanskrit brahmanical literature. By using the term *vaidika* as a means of judgment the author of *Mānavadharmasāstra* wants to denote the positive and normative character of a wide number of practices, customs, beliefs and behaviors. In this contribution I will provide exempla in order to show that this particular use of the term *vaidika* is one of the notable novelties of the *Mānavadharmasāstra*.

MANAS, RATHAKĀRA

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A combination of old and new information demonstrates that the speakers of Indo-Aryan who entered the Punjab did not invade or conquer, but trickled across the mountains in small groups. They were tribals, who met other tribals that were already there, leading to battles, alliances and exchanges of information, some of it of a specialized nature. The latter included knowledge of the construction of chariots with spoked wheels. It is demonstrated by the detailed technical vocabulary found in the *Ṛgveda* and other Vedic compositions. The term *rathakāra* makes its first appearance in Yajurveda Brāhmaṇas. Its late explicitness proves little. In the battle of ten chieftains (RV 7.18), *ratha* may be presupposed but the term does not occur. We know that light horse chariots with spoked wheels replaced carts with solid wheels, pulled by oxen, during the first half of the second millennium BCE in many parts of Eurasia. All came from regions further north. India may be anomalous in that chariots were not carried across mountains. They were not created by poets either, though the *Ṛgveda* is concerned with their imagery and symbolic significance. The fact remains that experts were able to make them. My paper is about these people. They were few in number, brought their knowledge with them in their minds, and acquired a high social status – and palatial residences – long before anything like a caste system existed.

VEDIC RITUAL, RĀMĀYAṆA AND MAHĀBHĀRATA

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The archaic epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* belong to the Sūta tradition. The authors of these epics were no experts in the Vedic rituals. In the present paper, some examples of Vedic rituals mentioned in these epics are discussed. I will show that the details of Vedic rituals, particularly the *aśvamedha*, are full of discrepancies. These references appear to not be based on first hand information of the Vedic ritual.

ON ANIMAL VOCALIZATION IN THE *ṚGVEDA* AND THE ORIGINS OF SĀMAVEDIC TRADITIONS

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This paper will examine briefly the vocabulary of animal vocalization in the *Ṛgveda*. This vocabulary is actually quite extensive, but to date it has been little studied. A verb like *mā*-(2), for example, is typically glossed very vaguely as “bellow, roar, bleat,” depending on the animal to whom the vocalization is attributed. Besides horses and cows and goats, other animals are well known in the *Ṛgveda* for making such vocalizations, such as frogs and geese, and, finally, Brahmins as well. These vocalizations are marked by means not only of this verb, but by many others as well. Further scrutiny of this vocabulary, it seems to me, is required. It will be suggested in this paper that animal vocalizations as they are represented in the *Ṛgveda* have played an important role in the development of early recitation traditions within Vedic tradition. They appear to have had their origins in the observation of animal vocalizations made by the Ṛṣis of the *Ṛgveda*, perhaps reflecting the influence of Central Asian shamanism, where the mimicking of animal vocalization is also a prominent feature. Evidence for the origin and evolution of Sāmavedic recitation traditions will be drawn from this Ṛgvedic interest in animal vocalization. Special attention will be given to the late Ṛgvedic hymn cycle attributed to the Ṛgvedic Ṛṣi Dīrghatamas (RV 1.140-164) Certainly one of the most important of all *Ṛgveda* hymn-cycles, in terms of its influence on later Vedic traditions, it contains the first reference in Vedic to the sacred syllable OM̐ as well as clear allusions to animal vocalization as a source of mantra chanting: see its unique use of the pair *hiñ-kṛ*-.

PAIPPALĀDA SAṂHITĀ 11: THE BIG-BELLIED HEAP OF INDRA AND SUCCESS IN AGRICULTURE.

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The paper discusses two compositions about agriculture from *Paippalāda Saṁhitā* (PS) 11. Found neither in AVŚ nor anywhere else, and they have not received much notice, although they provide some interesting additions to our knowledge of popular religious practices of the Vedic period. PS 11.10-11 is about threshing and winnowing, but its focus is the *indrarāṣi-mahodara*, “the big-bellied heap of Indra,” a special pile of grain that may be consumed by brahmins, but becomes poison for non-brahmins. Renou surmised from fragmentary allusions in the RV and AVŚ that there was an early Vedic tradition where Indra was a god of agriculture, and his hypothesis can now be further supported: the function of Indra’s heap appears to have been to remove contamination caused by the forces of evil from the threshing floor. It is an unusual hymn whose text presents many difficulties of reading and interpretation, including a reference to Śunaḥśepa, and some of these problems will be discussed briefly. PS 11.14-15 consists of more conventional requests to Śunāśirā and other deities to make the crops prosper. However, a particularly interesting feature is two stanzas (11.14.3 *anuṣṭubh* and 11.15.4 *triṣṭubh*) with *pāda*-initial repetitions of the word *śunā* (most often the adverb *śunām* “successfully”). A similar, though not identical pair of stanzas are found framing the part of RV 4.57 that Oldenberg argued represents an addition to an original *ṛca* in honor of *kṣétrasya pāti*-. This ‘addition’ can now be seen as a hymn in its own right, and the *Paippalāda* affords other new examples of *śunā*-stanzas (2.22.3 and 19.51.13), which make it clear that such *mantras* always have the same structure and mention the same set of agricultural items even when they are not exact repetitions. RV 10.102.8 contains an allusion to such agricultural spells, which may be understood in the light of Brereton’s interpretation of the Mudgala and Mudgalāni chariot race: the verse-initial exclamation *śunām* and the paraphernalia that accompanies Mudgala (*āṣṭrā*-, *varatrā*-) are helping him to achieve personal fertility. These examples illustrate the contribution that can be made to our understanding even of the RV by the *Paippalāda* material.

HINTS ON THE POSITION OF THE VĀDHŪLAS AMONG THE VEDIC SCHOOLS OF RITUAL

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Since the discovery of the *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra* and the *Vādhūla Anvākyāna* by Caland in the early twentieth century and his pioneering work on these important texts of the ritualistic literature, not much has been said on the place of the Vādhūla school within the framework of the Yajurvedic literature. In his *Fünfte Mitteilung über das Vādhūlasūtra* (1975) Witzel has summed up the little knowledge we had at that time on Vādhūla and his putative pupils, as well as the place of his school within the Taittirīya Śākhā. Thanks to the tremendous effort of manuscript hunting and editorial work of Ikari, new and fundamental material on the Vādhūlas has been made available. We are thus now in a position to make more educated guesses on the history of this school and the influence it received, or exerted, on other branches of the *Yajurveda*. We also have a clearer view on the way its most complete work, the *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra*, has been composed and transmitted. My editorial and translation work on the fifth chapter of the *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra*, dedicated to the subject of the *paśubandha*, compelled me to delve into a comparison of the text of the Vādhūlas with the corresponding sources of the *Yajurveda*. As the place of the independent animal sacrifice in the system of Vedic rituals is somewhat intermediate between the New and Full Moon sacrifices and the Soma sacrifices, I was also obliged to investigate the form these two other sacrifices take in the Vādhūla school. A number of interesting results issued from this enquiry. First and foremost, Caland's intuition that the *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra* was among the oldest works of this type of literature is amply confirmed. Some features of both the ritual procedure and the composition of this Śrauta Sūtra give it a more archaic overtone than the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*. A number of peculiarities of the ritual proceedings laid down in the *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra* also point to a possible influence coming from the Maitrāyaṇīya Śākhā. This is surprising considering the supposed place of birth of the Vādhūla school, as well as the fact that some passages of the *Vādhūla Anvākyāna* bear a close resemblance to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Finally, a comparison of the options laid down in the *paśubandha dvaidha* section of the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* with the course of the animal sacrifice recorded in the Vādhūla school led to some interesting results which are in need of an explanation. The elements unearthed by my investigation of the fifth chapter of the *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra* give, as a matter of fact, only a partial view of the relationship between this work and its peers. It nevertheless sheds new light on the history of this school. It now seems that the statement found in some secondary sources making Āpastamba a student of a pupil of Vādhūla is most doubtful. The strange way into which the text of the *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra* has been, so to speak, frozen after some internal reworking could be indicative of the fact that this school somehow became out of fashion in northwestern India. We would therefore be less surprised to see Mahādeva, in the introduction of his *Vaijayantī* commentary to the *Hiraṇyakeśin Śrautasūtra*, mistakenly casting away the Vādhūla school in Kerala and at the end of the Taittirīya spectrum.

THE BIRTH OF THE AŚVINS IN INDIA AND GREECE

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In her otherwise excellent monograph on the Aśvins, *Die vedischen Zwillingsgötter* (1990), Gabrielle Zeller bases much of her interpretation on the works of James Rendel Harris, and regrets that Indologists do not appreciate “the significance of Harris’ comprehensive material and his conclusions.” The main conclusions of Harris are: (1) all twins have two fathers – they are the children of a mortal woman who has slept with a human and with a god; (2) as a result of having these two fathers, one twin will be mortal, the other will be divine. By looking at the birth of the Aśvins in India, and at their Greek equivalents, the Dioskouroi, I would like to show that Harris distorts his “comprehensive material,” and that his conclusions are quite wrong. Both the myth of Saraṇyu and its brahmanical interpretation make it quite clear that double paternity plays no role in the origin of Aśvins or of twins in general. Likewise, there is no evidence for any difference in status between the Aśvins. Greek speculation on the birth of twins does not consider the possibility of double paternity, and although some myths (including some versions of the birth of the Dioskouroi) do provide heroic twins with a divine father and a human one, we find the same double paternity in the cases of heroes who are not twins. Similarly, some versions of the myth of the Dioskouroi make one of them divine and the other mortal, but this feature is unique to them and to Herakles, and is not shared by any other gods or heroes. So Indologists may safely ignore the theories of Harris, and may rest assured that the

“primitive” thinkers of ancient India (and Greece) were considerably more sensible and sophisticated than some of the wilder theorists of the late nineteenth century.

INDRAHOOD (*INDRIYÁ*) AND THE HUMAN INDRA

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Scharfe (1992) contends that no permanent, fixed position of king or chieftain (*rājan*) exists among gods or humans in the *Ṛgveda*. He then suggests that once the war-god Indra completes his martial responsibilities, his function is dissolved, and this is also true for the god’s instantiation in a human warlord. Following this line of thinking, Oberlies (1998) argues that in early Vedic culture the war-god not only symbolizes martial and political ideals, but, through drinking *sóma*, the Yajamāna (= *rājan*) becomes a “human” (*menschlich*) Indra. The far-reaching conclusions of these scholars certainly warrant merit. However, they are based largely on deductive argumentation and remain, without substantive textual evidence, provocative and speculative at best. Through an examination of the term *indriyá*, this paper seeks to support the thesis that a central purpose of *Ṛgvedic* rituals is the selection of human warlords for specific, martial purposes during seasonal migrations. The term *indriyá* denotes Indra’s unique physical and political power and status, that is his “Indrahood,” and its use highlights the ritual processes whereby a human warlord takes on the responsibilities and persona of the war-god. He becomes a human embodiment of Indra. This paper will thus offer some insights into the status and realities of the individuals who perform and participate in early Vedic rituals. Furthermore, it will suggest that *Ṛgvedic* rituals not only encourage cattle raiding, migratory warfare, and territorial conquest, but also play a substantial role in driving *Āryan* migrations into the Subcontinent, circa 1500-1200 BCE.

SOME MANUSCRIPTS, SOME COLOPHONS AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

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The study of Vedic manuscripts has largely been neglected in the 20th century though there are some meritorious exceptions. Here, some older Vedic manuscripts are highlighted, not for their intrinsic or neglected qualities of representing older and local pronunciation, nor for their variant readings, but for what they can teach us about the cultural history of India, from Kashmir to Gujarat and Vijayanagara.

THE PLURALITY OF UṢAS IN THE *ṚGVEDA*

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The goddess Uṣas is primarily invoked as a singular deity who is the divine embodiment of the physical dawn. She also appears in the dual together with her counterpart Nakta, as well as in the plural; in fact, approximately 30 percent of instances in the *Ṛgveda* are in the plural form. The common interpretation applied to the many dawns has identified them as the separate manifestations of the daily dawn interlinked either in annual cycles or in an indefinite series. However, much greater ambiguity appears to surround the usage of the plural in the text with alternating word plays often occurring between the singular and plural forms of Uṣas. This paper explores alternative ways in which to interpret the plural instances of Uṣas by focusing predominantly upon hymn RV 4.51 along with a few other salient *Ṛgveda* references. The material brings to light the portrayal of the many dawns as a group of deities who together are simultaneously present to the worshippers.