

*The* 8<sup>*th*</sup> *International*  
*V E D I C*  
*Workshop*

**PROGRAM**  
and  
**ABSTRACTS**

18-22 September 2023  
Campus Condorcet  
Paris-Aubervilliers  
INHA, Paris

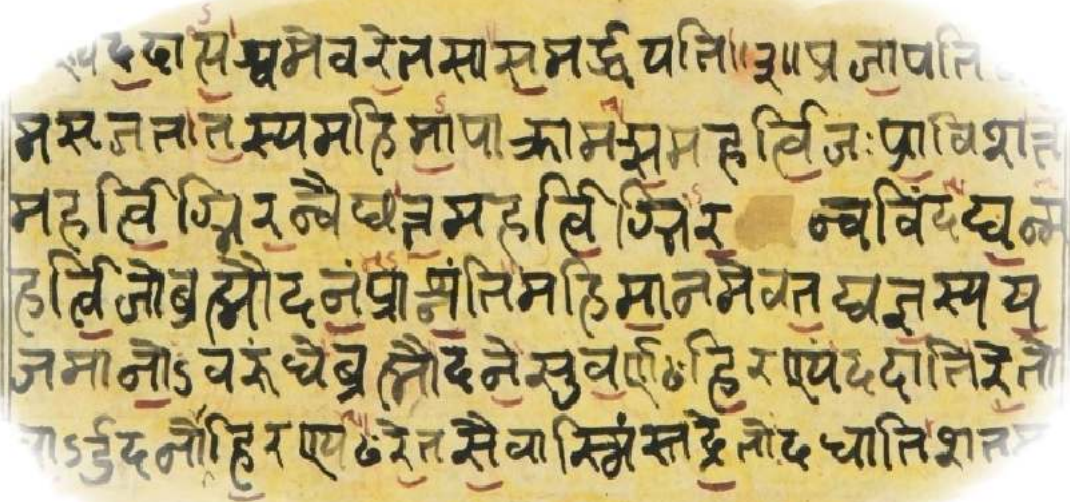
Événement coorganisé avec l'appui généreux des institutions et unités suivantes





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# PROGRAM



## Monday 18 September

### *Morning*

Campus Condorcet, Centre de Colloques  
Salle 100

8h30-9h30 Registration & Welcome to the participants  
*Café d'Accueil* in Faculty Club

9h30-11h00 *Ouverture*

- Vedic Inauguration (*Vaidikamaṅgalam*)  
Dr. S.A.S. SARMA (EFEO, Pondicherry)

- Welcome Addresses  
H.E. Jawed ASHRAF, Ambassador of India to France  
Prof. Jean-Michel VERDIER, President of the EPHE

- Opening the IVW: Jan HOUBEN and Silvia D'INTINO

Hon. Prof. Charles MALAMOUD (EPHE, Paris): “Philologie védique en France avant la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle”

*coffee break*  
Faculty Club

11h30 – 12h30 *Key Note Address:*

Prof. Dr. Mislav JEŽIĆ (Zagreb University): “Is there mythology in the Vedas? How to interpret the Vedic *brahmans* / *mantras*?”

*lunch*

## Monday 18 September

### *Afternoon*

Campus Condorcet, Centre de Colloques  
Salle 50

THEME: Vedic tradition and transmission

Chair: Maria-Piera Candotti

14h30 Johannes BRONKHORST (Université de Lausanne): “Pāṇini and Vedic memorization”

15h00 Junichi OZONO (Hiroshima University): “The sacred literature in Pāṇini’s grammar”

15h30 Thennilapuram MAHADEVAN (Howard University, Washington D.C.): “From Veda to Itihāsa: the Śravas Epic of India”

*coffee break*  
Faculty Club

Chair: Tiziana Pontillo

16h30 Frank KÖHLER (University of Tübingen): “Two Rigvedic Hymns (10.114 and 10.130) on the establishment of ritual”

17h00 Dominik HAAS (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna): “There Was No Repetitive Recitation of Mantras in Vedic Ritual”

### *Evening*

*Reception by the Indian Ambassador to France*



## Tuesday 19 September

Campus Condorcet  
Salle 50

### *Morning*

PANEL: Tradition of the Atharvaveda (org. by Shrikant Bahulkar)

Chair: Leonid Kulikov

9h00 Shrikant BAHULKAR (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune): “The tradition of the Atharvaveda in Gujarat”

9h30 Mau DAS GUPTA (University of Calcutta): “A Study of AVŚ 5.11, a Dialogue Hymn from the Atharvaveda”

10h00 Julieta ROTARU (INALCO, Paris): “Towards a methodology of employing the *paribhāṣās* in the Kauśika Sūtra: the rites of ‘Consuming the Saps’ (*rasakarman*)”

*coffee break*

11h00 Carmen SPIERS (Leiden University): “The Fate of Ṛgvedic Similes in the Atharvaveda: Intertextuality and Changing Material Realities”

THEME: Yajurvedic texts and rituals

Chair: Georges-Jean Pinault

11h30-12h Kyoko AMANO (Kyoto University): “The Concept of *rūpa-samādhi-* and the Linguistic Layers in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā”

12h00 Isabelle DUPÉRON (EPHE, Paris): “Some late *agnicayana* materials in the Īśā Upaniṣad 15-18”

*lunch*

## Tuesday 19 September

Campus Condorcet

Salle 50

### *Afternoon*

Yajurvedic texts and rituals (ctd.)

Chair: Johannes Bronkhorst

14h30 Yasuke IKARI (Kyoto University): “On the Double Structure of the Ritual Arrangement of the Agnicayana”

15h15 Chizei ŌSHIMA (Tokyo University): “On some Modifications of the Iṣṭi in the Agniṣṭoma”

15h45 Naoko NISHIMURA (Tohoku University, Sendai): “Mantra tradition in the Yajurveda Schools: some peculiarities about the Pravara”

*coffee break*

16h45 S.A.S. SARMA (EFEO, Pondicherry): “Comprehensive Insights into Sanyāsadīkṣā Rituals: Exploring Baudhāyanacaṭaṅṅu, a Malayalam Domestic Ritual Manual, and Namputiri Monastery Practices in Kerala”

## Wednesday 20 September

Campus Condorcet  
Salle 50

### *Morning*

PANEL: Vedic Ritual: Comparative aspects of philology, text traditions, religious and cultural history (org. by Jan Houben and Velizar Sadovski)

Chair: Velizar Sadovski

9h00 Kristen DE JOSEPH (Leiden University): “How to be a Paippalādin: The dual paths of householder and *vrātya* in the Paippalāda Mahatkāṇḍa (PS 18)”

9h30 Jan HOUBEN (EPHE, Paris): “Un oiseau bavard dans le Veda: sa fonction dans le rituel ṛgvédique – A talkative bird in the Veda: its function in Ṛgvedic ritual”

10h00 Laura MASSETTI (University of Naples): “Fashioners of Poetic Drinks: Once Again on the Ṛbhus’ Work in the Rigveda”

*coffee break*

PANEL: Vedic Ritual: Comparative aspects (ctd.)

Chair: Philippe Swennen

11h00 Tiziana PONTILLO (University of Cagliari) — Maria-Piera CANDOTTI (Pisa University): “Focusing on when and how ‘the Brahmins won’: the case of *dākṣiṇā-* in reformed and non-reformed Vedic sources”

11h30 Velizar SADOVSKI (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna): “Vedic-Avestan parallels in ritual poetry and practice”

*lunch*

## Wednesday 20 September

Campus Condorcet

Salle 50

### *Afternoon*

PANEL: Vedic Ritual: comparative aspects (ctd.)

Chair: Jan Houben

14h00 Paola Maria ROSSI (Milan University): “The Vedic *pravargya* rite as *vidátha* ‘ritual distribution’: traces of *vrātya* culture”

14h30 Philippe SWENNEN (Université de Liège): “La porte orientale de la *śālā*”

THEME: Vedic linguistics

Chair: Eijirō Dōyama

15h00 Georges-Jean PINAULT (EPHE, Paris): “Reconsidering the meaning and etymology of Vedic *krātu-*”

*coffee break*

Vedic linguistics (ctd.)

16h00 Asko PARPOLA (Helsinki University): “Etymology of Sanskrit *pínāka-* ‘Rudra’s bow’, and the background of the Rudra cult”

16h30 Valentina FERRERO (University of Cagliari): “When do directions start to be designated as pronouns?”

## Thursday 21 September

INHA  
Auditorium J. Lichtenstein

### *Morning*

THEME: Vedic Exegesis  
Chair: Cezary Galewicz

9h30 Silvia D'INTINO (CNRS, Paris): “Notes on the *Mudgalavṛtti*, a late commentary on the Ṛgveda”

10h00 Christophe VIELLE (UCL, Louvain): “The commentary of the *Puruṣasūkta* ascribed to Śaunaka”

10h30 Ilya COMET (UCL, Louvain): “Classifying Vedic mantras: a (growing?) trend among *vedabhāṣyakāras*”

*coffee break*  
Salle Aby Warburg

THEME Inscriptions, manuscripts, transmission of the Veda  
Chair: Christophe Vielle

11h30 Saraju RATH (Leiden): “Vedic Brahmin settlements in epigraphical records: ‘Bengal’ and Assam”

12h00 Cezary GALEWICZ (Jagiellonian University, Kraków): “On *vedādhikāra*, and Ways out of the Crisis of the Lost Veda”

*lunch*

## Thursday 21 September

### *Afternoon*

Bibliothèque Nationale de France  
Salle des Conférences

Inscriptions, manuscripts, transmission of the Veda (ctd.)

Chair: Christophe Vielle

14h30 Hugo DAVID (EFEO, Paris): “Vedic manuscripts from private collections in Kerala – an outline of recent research in Thrissur and its region”

15h00 Thennilapuram MAHADEVAN (Howard University, Washington D.C.): “The ‘oral’ writing and its pedagogy in the Veda in Kerala (with video-recordings from recent Vedic field studies)”

15h30 Jérôme PETIT (BNF – EPHE, Paris) “How Vedic Manuscripts came to Paris”

\* Some Vedic manuscripts kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale (showcases in the Conference room)

## Friday 22 September 2023

Campus Condorcet  
Salle 50

### *Morning*

THEME: The Vedas, linguistics and digital humanities

Chair: Jan Houben

9h00 Oliver HELFWIG (University of Zurich): “Dating the Vedic Corpus”

Vedic linguistics (ctd.)

9h45 Chengzhi ZHANG (University of California, Los Angeles): “ $\sqrt{dviṣ}$ - ‘hate’ and denominal radical s-extension in Indo-Iranian”

*coffee break*

11h00 Beatrice GRIECO (Siena University): “On some ‘unrecognized’ auxiliaries in Vedic. The use of  $\bar{a}s$ - ‘sit’,  $vas$ - ‘dwell’ and  $upa-\acute{s}\bar{i}$ - ‘lie near’ in Vedas and Brāhmaṇas”

11h30 Pascal COENEN (Köln University): “Rigvedic  $bád$  : a presentative particle”

*lunch*

## Friday 22 September 2023

Campus Condorcet  
Salle 50

### *Afternoon*

THEME Vedic mythology

Chair: Mislav Ježić

14h00 Eijirō DŌYAMA (Osaka University): “Who killed Viśvarūpa? Trita Āptya as a protégé and a scapegoat of Indra”

14h30 Leonid KULIKOV (UCL, Louvain/ Ghent University): “Gandharva and his dance: The etymology of Vedic *nṛt* in a comparative-mythological perspective”

15h00 Dwaita HAZRA GOSWAMI (Hamburg): Gandharvas and their relatives in the Vedas and beyond: Vedic heritage and further developments

*coffee break*

16h-17h Closing Session

General Conclusion, Publication of Proceedings, Perspectives for the International Vedic Workshop

### *Evening*

*Conference Dinner*



# ABSTRACTS



Kyoko AMANO (Kyoto University)

The Concept of *rūpa-samṛddhi-* and the Linguistic Layers in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā"

The concept of *rūpa-samṛddhi-* is well known due to its reference in Nirukta 1.16, which cites Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa 1.4. This concept is based on the notion that "every ritual act should be accompanied by a suitable ṛc and yajus-formula",\* and indicates that 'appropriateness of the ritual form' leads to 'the accomplishment of sacrifice'.

While the compound *rūpa-samṛddhi-* does not appear in the oldest layers of the brāhmaṇa texts, such as Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (MS) and Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā (KS), the idea that the rūpá- in a ritual should be suitable for the purpose of the ritual can be observed. By examining the usage of the words *rūpá-*, meaning 'appearance', and *sám-ardh*, meaning 'fully equip, success', in the MS, the KS, and the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā (TS), the process by which the concept of *rūpasám ddhi-* is formed becomes clear.

The TS, which is thought to have been compiled at a later stage of the development of the ideology than the MS and KS, uses the words *rūpasámṛddha-* and *rūpasámṛddhi-*. The examination of *rūpá-* and *sám-ardh* also clarifies the linguistic layers in the texts, the process of their compilation and the relationship between them.

\* P. D. Navathe. "Āgnāvaiṣṇavam Havih, Nirukta 7.8". ABORI vol. 65, no. 1/4 (1984), 144.

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Shrikant BAHULKAR (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune)

The Tradition of the Atharvaveda in Gujarat

It is a well-known fact that Gujarat has been a major centre of the traditional study of the Atharvaveda, particularly, its Śaunaka Śākhā (AVŚ). In the ancient and medieval periods, there existed two Śākhā of the Atharvaveda in Gujarat, namely, the Paippalāda, the most ancient and prominent Śākhā, and the Śaunaka, a comparatively late Śākhā of the Atharvaveda. In the course of time, the Atharvavedins from Gujarat migrated to other parts of India, such as Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, and so on. There was good interaction between the Atharvavedins in Gujarat and elsewhere. In the course of time, the Paippalāda Śākhā became almost extinct and the followers of that Śākhā began to study the Śaunaka. Later on, the Śaunaka Śākhā too suffered a setback. The Atharvavedins turned to other Vedas and began to perform priesthood according to those Śākhās, particularly, the Mādhyandina Śākhā of the Śukla Yajurveda which had a prominent tradition in Gujarat. In recent decades, there has been a kind of revival of the traditional study of the Atharvaveda, with the encouragement of the Kanchi Kamakoti Math of Shri Shankaracharya, the Government of India, and private institutes. In the process of this revival, there have been attempts of reviving the tradition of not only the Śaunaka but the Paippalāda Śākhā as well. The present paper discusses these vicissitudes in respect of the tradition of the Atharvaveda in Gujarat on the basis of literary and inscriptional evidence, as well as the surveys in Gujarat, including the recent one conducted by the author of this paper.

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Johannes BRONKHORST (Université de Lausanne)  
Pāṇini and Vedic memorization

Vedic memorization is frequently invoked in explaining how Pāṇini composed his grammar. Few scholars have tried to explain how Pāṇini supposedly used it. Among the exceptions we must count Frits Staal (1986: 36-37/284-285) and Michael Witzel (2011: 516, 521-522). However, questions could be raised with respect to their suggestions, and a recent article by Vincenzo Vergiani (2019) rejects them wholesale. Is there a solution to this disagreement? The present paper will try to find one.

#### References:

- Bronkhorst, Johannes (1982): "Some observations on the Padapāṭha of the Ṛgveda." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 24, 181-189.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes (2002): "Literacy and rationality in ancient India." *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 56(4), 797-831.
- Staal, Frits (1986): *The Fidelity of Oral Tradition and the Origins of Science*. Amsterdam / Oxford / New York: North-Holland Publishing Company. (Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 49, No. 8, pp. 251-288/3-40.)
- Vergiani, Vincenzo (2019): "Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī: A turning point in Indian intellectual history." *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 42(3-4): 11-25.  
<https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.41288>.
- Witzel, Michael (2011): "Gandhāra and the formation of the Vedic and Zoroastrian canons". *Proceedings of the International Symposium. The Book. Romania. Europa. Etudes euro- et afro-asiatiques*. Bucharest: Biblioteca Bucureștilor. Pp. 490-532.  
<http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:9887626>

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Pascal COENEN (Köln University)  
Rigvedic *bád*: A presentative particle

The rare particle *bád* is attested only 10 times in the Rigveda. Several scholars regard it as an asseverative particle with a meaning like 'verily' or 'truly' (cf. Grassmann, 1873:897). Others consider it to be an interjection comparable to English 'lo!' (cf. Geldner, 1907–1909:I, 120). Based on these two assumptions, I propose that a more precise way to capture the functions of *bád* is to analyze it as a presentative, i.e. an element comparable to Latin *ecce* or French *voilà*, which are used to draw attention to a person or object that is visible in the speech situation. I will argue that whenever *bád* is used, the proposition with which it occurs describes something that is visible or audible during the recitation of the hymn, or something that is visible to the addressees in a situation in which the poet visualizes them. Syntactically, *bád* is only attested with full clauses and not with single nominal expressions. Drawing from the literature on presentatives in other languages, I will furthermore shed light on some distributional peculiarities of the particle which have not been accounted for before. First, there is one case in which *bád* occurs clause-internally whereas in the 9 other cases it occupies the initial position. I will argue that with the non-initial *bád* the connection between what is

perceivable in the speech situation and the content of the proposition is less direct than when *bád* occupies the initial position. Second, in 4 cases of initial *bád*, the particle co-occurs with the adverb *itthā* ‘so’ whereas there are 5 cases in which it does not. In all 4 cases, *bád itthā* is followed by a referential nominal (once intervened by a vocative, which is no proper part of the proposition) which denotes the object or place to which the attention is drawn. When *itthā* is missing, *bád* is not followed by such a nominal. Instead, it seems that the attention is drawn to the situation as a whole rather than to a specific object that is visible in the speech situation. I therefore conclude that *bád* and *bád itthā* constitute two different subtypes of clause presentatives (cf. Kouwenberg, 2012:36).

In addition to *bád*, the Rigveda contains one instance of the related form *baḷā*, which occurs adjacent to the verb *kr-* ‘do’ and appears to exhibit an instrumental ending. Following Hoffmann (1956), the collocation *baḷā kr-* has a literal meaning like ‘to mark with *bád*’ (‘mit *bád* versehen’) and accordingly can be translated as ‘ascertain’. I will argue that Hoffmann’s interpretation is compatible with the analysis that I propose for *bád*.

## References

- Geldner, Karl F., 1907–1909. *Der Rigveda in Auswahl* (2 vols.). Druck und Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart.
- Grassmann, Hermann, 1873. *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*. F.A. Brockhaus, Hoffmann, Karl, 1956. *Altindische Präverbien auf -ā*. Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 1, 54–60.
- Kouwenberg, Norbertus J.C., 2012. *Spatial Deixis in Akkadian: Demonstrative Pronouns, Presentative Particles and Locational Adverbs*. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 102(1), 17–75.

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Ilya COMET (Université Catholique de Louvain)  
Classifying Vedic mantras: a (growing?) trend among *vedabhāṣyakāras*

The Nirukta-samuccaya, a little-known treatise of Vedic exegesis ascribed to Vararuci and a unique testimony to the aliveness of a “nairukta” tradition, provides an interesting typology of Vedic mantras with 31 categories. This kind of typology, however, is far from isolated: beside the traditional fivefold division of Mīmāṃsā, we also encounter comparable classifications in Yāska’s Nirukta, in the Brhad-devatā, and in the works of Vedic commentators like Skandasvāmin (already well studied by d’Intino) and Uvaṭa, with a number of items ranging from 5 to 36 and possibly more.

The present paper undertakes a close examination of the various typologies available and their relationships. It suggests that there was indeed a trend among Vedic commentators to enlarge existing lists, but also that from the very start, there have been two standpoints: the ritualistic one of Mīmāṃsā, and another one, which was concerned with the meaning proper of mantras. This second standpoint, more open to interpretation and innovation, was (first?) adopted by Yāska and carried forward by others. Tracing its appearance, adoption and development can yield valuable information about the streams of thought – other than Mīmāṃsā – that

existed in the quite understudied milieu of early Vedic exegesis. In that way, it is useful in refining our historical overview of the Vedic exegetical tradition(s) that existed in ancient India.

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Mau DAS GUPTA (University of Calcutta)

A Study of the AVŚ 5.11, a Dialogue Hymn from the Atharvaveda

AVŚ 5.11 (AVP 8.1) is perhaps the only dialogue hymn appearing in the Atharvaveda (Gonda 1975: HIL, I, I 200, 303). This difficult dialogue (Renou JA 243: 421) portrays a cryptic conversation between the sage Atharvan and his divine teacher Varuṇa, who strikes up the dialogue in a rather critical mood; as apparently, he wants to take back the cow, he had given earlier to Atharvan. The cow in question is vāc “speech” (cf. ṚV 7.87.4), probably a mystic formula or knowledge, of which Atharvan became proud, and to teach him a lesson Varuṇa wants to take it back from him, but finally gives up his intention as his disciple succeeds in winning back his trust. Further reference to this legend can be found in AVŚ 7.104.1. It speaks of the legend that Varuṇa gave a spotted milch cow, well-milking, with a constant calf to Atharvan. It reminds one of the later stories of Vasiṣṭha’s kāmadhenu, the simile of a wish-fulfilling cow probably indicates the efficacious prayer of Vasiṣṭha, which empowered him to obtain whatever he asked for.

The present paper will attempt to estimate AVŚ 5.11 as a rare dialogue hymn of the Atharvaveda. The dialogues of the speakers are often intermingled and difficult to understand as they deal chiefly with cryptic matters. This paper will try to understand the utterance of Varuṇa: ékaṁ rájasa enā paró anyád ásty enā pará ékena durṇásam cid arvāk in the verse 6, located exactly in the central position of the hymn (cf. the hypothesis of Jamison 2002: 237-49) carrying the enigma or key message of the omphalos-structured hymn.

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Hugo DAVID (EFEO)

Vedic manuscripts from private collections in Kerala – an outline of recent research in Thrissur and its region

The importance of Kerala’s private manuscript collections for Vedic studies has often been remarked, as well as their sometimes advanced state of deterioration. Yet, in spite of sporadic initiatives, efforts to survey and preserve them are still in their infancy. Since 2018, with the support of Arcadia and the British Library, a team of scholars hosted by the École française d’Extrême-Orient and led by C.M. Neelakandhan, S.A.S. Sarma and myself have been studying and digitising the important collection of palm-leaf manuscripts kept at the Vadakke Madham Brahmaswam in Thrissur, one of four monasteries belonging to the Keralan order of Śaṅkara and one of the most venerable institutions of Vedic learning and teaching in the state. Not all eight hundred bundles kept in Thrissur belong to the Vedic domain, but a good number of them preserve Vedic texts, little-known commentaries and technical works on Vedic phonetics, mnemonics and interpretation. In this presentation, I will first of all give an overview of recent findings in Thrissur, and then situate them in the history of Vedic learning in Kerala as we know it. I will then give an outline of a new five-years research project called DiPiKA, “Digital Preservation of Kerala Archives” (EFEO/VRC/University of Hamburg, also

funded by Arcadia). Based in the newly founded Kerala Manuscript Preservation Centre in Thrissur, the project aims at coordinating initiatives in the field of digital preservation of Kerala manuscripts, with the goal of producing a fresh survey of private manuscript collections in Central Kerala (the preceding survey dates back to 1937) and of promoting free online access to these documents to scholars worldwide through systematic cataloguing and digitisation.

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Kristen DE JOSEPH, Leiden University

“How to be a Paippalādin: The dual paths of householder and vrātya in the Paippalāda Mahatkāṇḍa (PS 18)”

The two extant recensions of the Atharvaveda, the Śaunaka-Saṁhitā (ŚS) and the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS), can differ strikingly in their internal structure. For example, ŚS kāṇḍas 14, 13, 15, 16, 17 and 18 are all consolidated into PS 18, the so-called Mahatkāṇḍa. Most AV kāṇḍas betray some unity of theme, and we might expect to discern the same in PS 18. In fact, the kāṇḍa is bookended by the samskaras or rites de passage that circumscribe the life of the adult devotee, from the vivāha that inducts him into the office of sacrificer, to the antyeṣṭi that ends his term as such. Recent research has drawn attention to the royal character of both of these PS samskaras. Yet the remaining content appears miscellaneous in nature, consisting of praise poetry, vrātya content and charms. In this paper, I look for the common thread of this kāṇḍa, exploring the idea of reading the PS Mahatkāṇḍa as a conspectus of the life and character of the adult householder on the model of the king. The kāṇḍa is thus unified by its mission to promote an idealized construct of the king and queen, their union and their priorities—with a privileged position allocated to the path of unorthodoxy, as embodied by the vrātya.

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Silvia D’INTINO, CNRS, Paris

Notes on the Mudgalavṛtti, a late commentary on the Ṛgveda

Beside Sāyaṇa (14th century), the exegetical tradition on the Ṛksaṁhitā counts five traditional exegetes (1): Skandasvāmin (7th century), Nārāyaṇa (whose commentary is lost) and Udgītha, probably Skandasvāmin’s contemporaries, who completed his work, Veṅkaṭamādhava (12th century), and Mudgala, a late commentator (after Sāyaṇa) who authored a vṛtti published on the basis of manuscripts gathered for the VVRI Edition. It is a fragmentary text, covering ṚS I 1 to I 121, 15 (all manuscripts) and ṚS V 9, 1 to VI 9, 6 (attested in a single manuscript).

After the publication of the Sāyaṇa-Ṛgbhāṣya (along with the text of the Ṛksaṁhitā in Max Müller’s edition (2)), the Mudgalavṛtti did not receive the attention of scholars, as the Sāyaṇabhāṣya was considered the most advanced point in the history of Vedic exegesis, whereas Mudgala’s work was regarded as just a (brief) summary of Sāyaṇa’s gloss (it is presented as such by Vishva Bandhu and the team of VVRI editors).

Mudgala is difficult to date, yet he is probably not so close to his predecessor. In this paper we have a closer look at Mudgala’s commentary and present a few elements of his vṛtti in relation to the Sāyaṇabhāṣya.

(1)

VISHVA BANDHU (gen. ed.), in collaboration with BH. DEV, A. NĀTH, K.S.RĀMASWĀMI ŚĀSTRĪ et P. DATTA, *R̥gveda, with the Padapāṭha and the available portions of the bhāṣya-s by Skandasyāmin and Udgīta, the Vyākhyā by Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Mudgala's Vṛtti based on Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya*, 7 vols, Hoshiarpur, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute (VVRI), 1963-1966.

(2)

For the first edition, F. MAX MÜLLER, *Rig-Veda-Sanhita. The sacred hymns of the Brahmans together with the commentary of Sāyaṇācharya*, 6 vols, London, 1849-1874.

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Eijirō DOYAMA, University of Osaka

Who killed Viśvarūpa? – Trita Āptya as a protégé and a scapegoat of Indra

Trita Āptya is a mysterious figure in the Rigveda (RV). He often shares his heroic deeds with Indra. In the slaughter of the three-headed monster, Viśvarūpa (Tvaṣṭar's son), it is sometimes Indra who killed this (X 8,9), while Trita is an Indra's protégé who offers him Soma. At other times, however, Trita takes up arms in person to kill this monster with help of Indra (e.g., RV II 11,19, X 8,8). Interestingly, the slaughter of Viśvarūpa is often followed by the release of his cows (X 8,8–9) that reminds us of the so-called Vala-myth of Indra. Even the slaughter of Vṛtra, which Indra is almost exclusively famous for, is attributed to Trita once in the RV (I 187,1). In Vedic prose, Indra is fixed as the Vṛtra-slayer, but who killed Viśvarūpa varies from text to text or is only expressed with unclear phrasing. Of special attention is Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa I 2,3, where Trita is made scapegoat for Indra's crime of killing Viśvarūpa, cf. M. Bloomfield, JAOS 16 (1896): 119–123.

Apart from being such a monster-slayer, Trita plays other important roles in the RV. Namely, he is referred to as the finder of Agni who escaped from the gods (e.g., X 46,3), while this is usually done by the gods themselves. Trita is also described once in the RV as the one who should take on himself crimes, sins and nightmares of others (gods and humans). Such an unfavorable role of Trita becomes much more popular in Vedic prose and underlies his position of scapegoat of the gods. Furthermore, the famous Sūkta I 105 "Trita in the Well", though its interpretation is still controversial, is a unique and isolated story in the RV, but recurs with more details in the Mahābhārata.

All these facts bring us to one fundamental question: Who is Trita? What is his historical (Indo-Iranian) background, what is his role in Vedic mythology, and how did his role change as time went on? Answering all these questions is not easy. In this paper, I focus on Trita's role and his relationship with Indra in Viśvarūpa's myth and attempt to explore where the double heroism of the myth comes from, how this developed through Vedic literature, and how the development is related to Trita's other roles mentioned above.

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Isabelle DUPÉRON, GREI, EPHE-PSL, Paris

Some late *agnicayana* materials in the Īśā Upaniṣad 15-18

The four last stanzas of the Īśā Upaniṣad are of a puzzling nature : they contain prayers addressed to the Sun, Fire, or to the Will-power (kratu) which has accomplished (ritual ?) acts in the past. This is at first sight surprising in an Upanishadic context, but one of these prayers also features the *mahāvākya* "so'ham asmi" (I am He). According to the Indian tradition (e.g.



Śaṅkara) these prayers are to be uttered at the time of death. I plan to show that some light can be shed on the origin and function of these stanzas, by first noticing that a slightly different version of the same *mahāvākya* can already be found in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa III.10.11.1 (of Kāṭha origin): in a chapter dedicated to the rite of the Sāvitra kind of modified agnicayana, this formula is said to be known by the dead sacrificer initiated to the doctrine of the Sāvitra (solar) fire, when his body is burnt on the funeral pyre. The solar Fire then leads him to heaven. The themes of this TB passage are the same as those found in the Īśā Upaniṣad last stanzas. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether the stanzas directly come from the Kāṭha / Taittirīya tradition of the Sāvitra *agnicayana* : they identify the self of the dead sacrificer with the Puruṣa in the Sun, while this Puruṣa is not mentioned at all in the TB III.10. The Puruṣa appears in the Vājasaneyā speculations of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X concerning *agnicayana* – where we can also find the idea that the post-mortem destination depends on the *kratu* of the man just leaving his earthly existence. If we assume that the Īśā Upaniṣad borrowed in fine some late *agnicayana* materials (which also circulated separately, as shown by the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad V, 15), this of course leads us to the question as to what function these materials were supposed to have in the context of the Upaniṣadic text as a whole.

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Valentina FERRERO (University of Cagliari)

When do directions start to be designated as pronouns?

Fresh evidence from the Vedas

Pāṇini teaches the *sarvanāman* (“pronoun”) designation for the word-forms beginning with *sarva-* ‘all’ in rule A 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*. However, he immediately adds an optionality for such a designation in *sūtra* A 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā diksamāse bahuvrīhau* [#27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*]: “The word-forms *sarva-* etc. are marginally designated as *sarvanāman* when they occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound signifying direction”. It is evident that the only terms of the *sarvādi* list that can denote a direction are those listed in A 1.1.34 *pūrvaparāvaradakṣiṇottarāparādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asaṃjñāyām*. Nevertheless, the words quoted by Pāṇini in his grammar are only some of the several directions used in the four Vedic Saṃhitās, where it is possible to find *uttara-*, *pūrva-*, *dakṣiṇa-* / *adhara-*, and *apara-*. All of them indicate a direction, even if these terms are less used than their counterparts, i.e., *udañc-* ‘north’, *prañc-* ‘east’, *nyañc-* ‘south’, and *apāñc-* / *pratyañc-* ‘west’.

First of all, a survey of the most ancient Vedic sources has been realised, looking in particular at the Saṃhitās, namely *Ṛgveda*, *Śaunaka Atharvaveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Taittirīya* and *Vājasaneyī Yajurveda Saṃhitā*. In addition, the commentary of Sāyaṇa has been carefully read, when available, in order to maintain a close eye to the later technical application of Pāṇini’s rules to these works. It is worthy to note that the identification of the instances of direction was based on a lexical inquiry which focused initially on the several volumes of *A Vedic Word Concordance* by Viśvabandhu Śāstrī (1897-1973), considering examples from the Saṃhitās up to the Vedāṅgas, that have been fundamental to establish the limits of the project; subsequently, this initial research has been integrated with all the occurrences that has been found in the main Digital Corpora and, finally, the work has been supplemented with an extensive reading of the reference translations of the Vedic text.

The idea behind this research is a fresh inquiry into all the instances of direction that can be found in the Vedas to demonstrate that, since the words quoted by A 1.1.34 were already present in these texts, this cannot be considered only as the lexical choice of Pāṇini in the repertoire of directions available during the composition of his grammar. What is more intriguing is that these directions, i.e., *uttara-*, *pūrva-*, *dakṣiṇa-* / *adhara-*, and *apara-*, were already inflected like pronouns in the Veda: there are indeed many occurrences of *pūrve* (nom. pl. in *Śīt* – A 7.1.17 *jaśaḥ śī*) and a few instances of *uttarasmāt* and *uttarasmin* (abl. sg. and loc. sg. – A 7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ smātsminau*). The present investigation aims to understand if Pāṇini’s grammar is a reliable source for the study of the Vedic language, in particular as far as the pronominal system is concerned.

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Cezary Galewicz, Jagiellonian University  
On *vedādhikāra* -- And Ways out of the Crisis of the Lost Veda

The year of 1781 happens to mark two distant and seemingly unconnected events. First takes place on the Malabar Coast, in the far south of the Indian Subcontinent. This date features in a colophon of a local chronicle named Vellayūṭe Caritram. The chronicle contains a personal narrative on the dramatic circumstances of the loss of the rights for teaching and performing the Veda by a local community of brahmins as a result of a conflict with a ruler of the region. Deprived of this basic and defining brahmanic right, the community soon falters in its performing capacities and literally loses its Veda and identity. However, the autobiographical narrative by Atiri envisions a way out of the crisis for the community to regain both.

Just about the same time, in the far north, Colonel Antoine Polier manages to convince one of the Indian princes to arrange for procuring the texts of “complete Vedas” deemed by many at the time to have been lost for good. A bulk of inscribed oblong folios that emerges as a result bears conspicuous traces of the nature of this arrangement. The whole of the Veda in one unbound bundle hardly resembles a book as Polier must have expected it to do. With no clear hints to its actual contents for a person without necessary knowledge the pile of folios needs to be put in order and properly arranged. On his request, a brahmana born moonshee gives it a shape of eleven volumes to be seen today in BL archive of the former British Museum collection. While today the silk wrapping gave way to a tight leather binding, the marks of the arrangement left by the moonshee’s hand in Persian remain.

The paper explores the historically situated meanings and consequences of the concept of *vedādhikāra* – the right and competence for the study of the Veda – with respect to both cases while looking back to the origin of the concept itself. Additionally, it revisits once again the changing understanding of Vedic textuality in its material form.

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Beatrice GRIECO (Siena University)  
On some “unrecognized” auxiliaries in Vedic.  
The use of *ās-* ‘sit’, *vas-* ‘dwell’ and *upa-śī-* ‘lie near’ in Vedas and Brāhmaṇas

In his *Altindische Syntax*, Delbrück (1888) briefly notes the use of a set of *Hilfsverben* in combination with the participle and/or the gerund. This set includes *i-* ‘go’, *car-* ‘move’, *ās-* ‘sit’ and *sthā-* ‘stand’, which generally express a “continuous action” (*die Dauer der*

*Handlung*). Delbrück himself provides two cases about the *Hilfsverb* *ās-* ‘sit’: one from the *Ṛgveda* (RV 10.71.11), and the other from a later Vedic prose texts (TS 7.4.10.1).

This paper addresses the scarcely-addressed periphrasis formed with *ās-* ‘sit’ plus participle (PTCP) or gerund. In particular, I will investigate its diachronic development with an in-depth account since the most ancient text, the *Ṛgveda*, to the Late Vedic period, here represented by the *Brāhmaṇas* prose texts (*Aitareyabrāhmaṇa*, *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (*Mādhyandina* recension), *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, *Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa*, *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*). I will show that the *Ṛgveda* attests just four cases of periphrases with *ās-*, even though these are not yet clearly periphrastic. See the following case:

(1) *prajābhyah puṣṭīm vibhājanta āsate rayīm iva pṛsthām prabhāvanta āyaté*

‘They [=the priests] **sit, apportioning** prosperity to their children [=their fires], apportioning, like wealth, the back (of the fire?) as it arches forth to him [=the soma?] who comes’ (RV 2.13.4ab, tr. Jamison & Brereton 2014)

In the Vedic prose, one deals with a different situation. Here, we find the first unambiguous occurrences in which *ās-* clearly functions as an iterative auxiliary. Some cases are attested even in the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* (2), but a wider number of examples (17 cases) is found in the *Brāhmaṇas* (3).

(2) *té parāpātam āsata yātra-yatra ākāmayanta*

‘these (wings) **kept flying** everywhere they wanted’ (MS 1.10.13.3)

(3) *annaṃ prāṇe juhōti [...] sa eṣo ’nakāmamāra imān hi prāṇān abhivardhayamānas teṣu juhvad āste*

‘he **offers** it – it is food – in breath, and he (becomes) one who does not die against his will, for **he continually strengthens** his vital breaths here (in his body) as **he makes offering** in them’ (JB 1.2.1-2, tr. Brereton 1991: 11)

Finally, I will show that, in Vedic, the class of posture verbs that express an iterative nuance also includes other verbal roots, but this use has never been noticed by the Western Sanskrit grammarians. Indeed, the construction in (3) also occurs with *vas-* ‘dwell’ with the same auxiliary function (ex. 4), and this specific use is attested in five passages; moreover, one case from the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* presents *upa-śī-* ‘lie near’ in the meaning of ‘continue x (x=PTCP)’, as in (5).

(4) *arāṇyor agnī samārohyodanī udavasāya nirmāthya juhvad vaset tātā ha ná kāṃ canā paricakṣāṃ karōti navāvasānā u asyābhitorātrām hutām bhavati*

‘having lifted the two fires on the two churning-sticks, let him betake himself northwards, and, having churned out (the fire), **let him remain offering**; for in this way he passes no censure on any one, and towards night offering is made by him at his new resting-place’ (SB 12.4.3.10b, tr. Eggeling 1882-1900)

(5) *sā prātaḥsavana ālabdhaḥ*

*ā trīyasavanāchrapyāmāṇa úpaśete sárvasminnevaítádyajñe rásam dadhāti sárvaṃ yajñam rásena práśajati*

‘Having been slain at the morning feast, **it continues being cooked till the evening feast**; whereby he puts flavour (juice) into the whole sacrifice, imbues it with flavour’ (SB 4.2.5.13b, tr. Eggeling 1882-1900)

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Dominik HAAS (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)  
There Was No Repetitive Recitation of Mantras in Vedic Ritual”

Both scholars and non-specialists consider repetitiveness to be a key feature of the concept of mantra. It is commonly assumed that repetitive mantra recitation has been practiced since the Vedic period. In my presentation, I will address the question to what extent this assumption is correct. Since there is no single Vedic word to express continuous, repetitive recitation, cases of mantra repetition in early Vedic and Śrauta ritual are hard to find. In fact, outside of the Sāmavedic chants there only seem to be few indications of continuous repetition. One of the few examples appears to be the Traiyambaka-Homa. The performers of this ritual – the householder and his entire family – are supposed to circle a fire while slapping their thighs and uttering the mantra Ṛgveda VII 59.12. While the texts do not specify that they should repeat this mantra continuously, given the rhythmic activity, this seems plausible. But is mantra repetition in this somewhat unorthodox ritual comparable to the “normal” mantra recitation of the Vedic priests, or is it more akin to singing? Can it be considered a precursor of the repetitive practices known from Hinduism and other South Asian religions?

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Dwaita HAZRA GOSWAMI (Hamburg)

Gandharvas and their relatives in the Vedas and beyond: Vedic heritage and further developments

Introduction:

Gandharvas, together with their spouses apsaras as well as some other related mythological creatures such as kinnaras, belong to the most fascinating semi-divine beings which capture our interest. They are present almost everywhere in sculptures, paintings, undoubtedly constituting a part of the storytelling culture of ancient and modern India. Their evolution from Vedic era to post-Vedic literature, mainly in the purāṇa literature, poses a few questions in

view of differences in perspective of how they have been perceived in the Vedic era and in the post- Vedic age.

Quite regrettably, these issues are not sufficiently studied in Vedic scholarship, receiving so far relatively little attention from Sanskritists. The goal of this research is a systematic analysis of relationships between these demigods and demons, with particular attention to modern Indian myths and religious practices.

Brief overview:

Gandharvas are only rarely mentioned in the Ṛgveda (20 times) as well as in the Atharvaveda. Avesta contains references to a creature (dragon?) Gaṇdarəβa who lived in the sea of white Haoma (Soma).

In the Vedas Apsaras are depicted as the companions of the Gandharvas and often described as river nymphs. The association of the Gandharvas (as well as Apsaras) with water is well-known. Atharvaveda (AVP 12.8.4 ≈ AVŚ 4.37.10) mentioned them as the eaters of aquatic plant avakā, while the daughter of a Gandharva, Yamī, has an association with river Yamunā.

The lustful Gandharvas and the Apsaras are beautiful but dangerous in several respects. This is particularly clear from the Atharvavedic stanza AVŚ 4.37.11 ≈ AVP 12.8.6. The sexually aggressive character requires to make a Gandharva impotent, rather than to kill this creature. In later Vedic period we find the story of Droṇa being born because his father lost control on seeing an apsara; the famous queen Śakuntalā was born to an apsara sent to seduce the great sage Viśvāmitra. Yet even though seduction skills are still present, not much harmfulness is mentioned in later texts, and we can hardly find negative connotations associated with them in later Vedic period.

Some characteristics of the Gandharvas and Apsaras are associated with trees, animals, or deformed beings. They are said to live on trees, such as banyan and sacred fig. The closely associated kiṁnaras are depicted as half birds – half humans. Their female counterparts kiṁnarīs have the head, torso, and arms of a woman and the wings, tail, and feet of a swan. This can be compared with the hybrid nature of the centaurs (lower body and legs of a horse and upper body of a human). Gandharvas are described as shape shifters, cf. the spell against Gandharvas and Apsaras AVŚ 4.37 = AVP 12.7–8. śvévaikaḥ kapír ivaikaḥ ' kumārāḥ sarvakeśakāḥ / priyó dṛśá iva bhūtvā ' gandharvāḥ sacate strīyas

One (appears) as a dog, another as an ape, yet another, becoming like a young man having all (kinds of) hair, pleasant for seeing, a Gandharva runs after women. (AVŚ 4.37.11abcd ≈ AVP 12.8.6).

In later Vedic period these demigods are often cursed by the sages for their facetious nature to be born on earth as trees, animals, or deformed beings. They get freedom from that curse only by the grace of some gods.

It is interesting to look at some minor deities in Vedas who also have demonic characteristics or some of the features of Gandharva and Apsaras.

These include Araṇyānī : RV 10.146 describes her as being elusive, fond of quiet glades in the jungle, and fearless of remote places. The forest goddess araṇyānī wanders so far from the

fringe of civilisation without becoming afraid or lonely. She wears anklets with bells, and though seldom seen, she can be heard by the tinkling of her anklets. Though she is depicted as forest goddess, her mysterious nature somehow indicates Apsara like qualities.

Nirṛti is another Hindu goddess, personifying death, decay, and sorrows. In some Hindu scriptures, Nirṛti is associated with adharma. In later Hinduism, Nirṛti and Nirṛta is also a male god, who is regarded as a dikpāla ("guardian of the directions") of the southwest direction. Nirṛti is mentioned in the hymns of the Ṛgveda, mostly to seek protection from her or imploring for her during a possible departure (Ṛgveda -10.59)

Urvaśī is the only apsara to be specially named in the Ṛgveda. In a dialogue between her and her husband Purūravas (Ṛgveda 10.95), Purūravas requests Urvaśī not to leave him. The legend of Urvaśī is retold and expanded in many later Hindu scriptures, including the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇam, Bṛhaddevatā, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Harivamśa, Vāyu-purāṇa, Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Matsya purāṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Devī- bhāgavata purāṇa, Padma purāṇa and Skanda purāṇa.

Tārksya is described as a horse with the epithet áriṣṭa-nemi "with intact wheel-rims" (RV 1.89.6, RV 10.178.1), but is alternatively taken to be a bird (RV 5.51) and later identified with Garuḍa (Mahābhārata, Harivamśa). Garuḍa's father (Bhāgavata purāṇa 6.6.2, 21) is mentioned among the offspring of kaśyapa in Mahābhārata (crit.ed. Poona 1.2548, 4830 and 12468) Furthermore, the hymn RV 10.178 is ascribed to Tārksya Ariṣṭanemi.

According to canonical genealogy, Yama and his twin sister named Yamī are born to the solar deity Vivasvat and Saraṇyū. Yama's Old Iranian cognate is the Avestan Yima, son of Vivahat. Most of the Yama's appearances are in the first and tenth book. Yama is closely associated with Agni in the Rigveda. In the dialogue between the first two humans Yama and Yamī (RV 10.10), Yamī tries to seduce her twin brother Yama to have sex with her. Yamī makes a variety of arguments, including continuing the humankind; that Tvaṣṭṛ created them as a couple in the womb; and those other gods (in particular, Dyáuṣ and Pṛthvī) also had incestual relations. Yama argues that their blood relationship makes their sexual relations impossible, emphasizing that Mitrā-Vāruṇā are strict in their ordinances, and that they have spies everywhere. Later Yama becomes a major deity in Hindu tradition.

Research objectives:

1. A study of the minor deities and demons depicted in Vedas and post mantra literature.
2. A comparative study of their status in other Indo-European mythologies (Avestan, Greek mythology etc.)
3. An analytical study of the source and development of minor deities and demons within the ancient Indian tradition.

Study of the text corpus: Primary sources:

Primary Vedic sources include Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda, and Vedic prose (Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads). The post-Vedic literature i.e., Purāṇas, Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata will be considered.

For the post-Vedic period, dramatical works, and narrative stories from classical Sanskrit literature written in will be studied. Demigods and demons depicted in ancient Indian temple architecture and paintings will also be considered.

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Oliver HELLWIG, University of Zurich  
 Dating the Vedic corpus

This talk discusses how quantitative methods can help us to get new insights into the history of the Vedic corpus. Starting with a discussion of non-chronological influence factors and methods for detecting them, the presentation moves forward to a Bayesian approach that derives a chronological structure from the development of linguistic features. In addition, it sketches how the latest advances in Natural Language Processing can be utilized for the question at hand.

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Jan HOUBEN, GREI, EPHE-PSL, Paris  
 Un oiseau bavard dans le Veda : sa fonction dans le rituel ṛgvédique –  
 A talkative bird in the Veda: its function in Rgvedic ritual

As is well known, in the Ṛgveda and other Vedic texts Soma is the name of a plant, a juice extracted from this plant, a drink prepared from this juice and an important Vedic god. The theory that Soma was a strong halucinogen had been proposed and has been upheld since 1969, the year Gordon Wasson published his book *Soma: Divine Mushroom of Immortality*. For Wasson, the hymn Ṛgveda 8.48 was of little interest, because it contains no evidence in favor of his theory of the halucinogenic Soma. However, it is one of the rare hymns dedicated to Soma which refers throughout to the effects that people experience from the consumption of Soma, some of which are also known to result from the Haoma according to the Avesta (cp. Houben 2003). The hymns of Ṛgveda book IX, entirely devoted to Soma, are always devoted more specifically to the “Soma which purifies itself” (*sóma pávamāna*), the Soma plant which is subjected to ritual procedures of pressing and purification.

However, in our study of Ṛgveda 8.48, to be published elsewhere (see, partly, however my résumé de conférences in the *Annuaire 153* of EPHE-SHP), it turned out that the references to the effects of the consumption of Soma are even more suitable to “ephedra” (a species of the genus *Ephedra*) than what had been accepted until now. Notably, there are frequent references in this hymn and elsewhere in the Ṛgveda to the Soma's ability to give or find *váriveras-*, 'free space' or 'great expanse'. According to our interpretation, this experience of ‘free space’ corresponds to a well-known physiological effect of the consumption of "ephedra": the bronchodilator effect, which traditional Chinese medicine and modern research confirm as an important and well-established effect of consuming "ephedra". Other terms are in the same semantic field, such as the adjective *uruṣyú-* in stanza 5 of Ṛgveda 8.48, where it applies to Soma and means 'seeking a large space'.

Another characteristic of Soma which emerges from Ṛgveda 8.48 and other places in the Ṛgveda is that its consumption is linked to rules of conduct, *vratá*. These *vratá* or observances are important in medieval and modern popular Hinduism, but the Ṛgveda already knows *vratá* for those preparing for and performing rituals such as the Soma ritual and the Pravargya. Briefly, Ṛgveda 8.48 tells us more about the *vratá* linked to the consumption of Soma: *mā no*



*nidrā īsata mótá jálpiḥ* (8.48.14b, Louis Renou's translation suits perfectly: « Que le sommeil ne s'empare pas de nous, ni la parole-futile ! »). The prescriptions for the Soma ritual in classical Vedic ritual according to the Śrauta sūtra contain explicit and very detailed rules which show that the priest and his wife must, among other things, restrict their speech and their sleep during the period of consecration (*dīkṣā*) and during the whole ritual.

The information provided by Ṛgveda 8.48 sheds an unexpected, new light on hymn 10.119, which we will explore in this paper. Our fresh study of this hymn sheds, in turn, an entirely new light on the function of its performance in the Soma ritual, and on the etymology and meaning of the word traditionally used to characterize this hymn, *laba*, which was no longer properly understood, from Sāyaṇa till modern times.

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Yasuke IKARI, Prof. em. of Kyoto University, Kobe  
On the Double Structure of the Ritual Arrangement of the Agnicayana

The most characteristic feature of the Agnicayana ritual is in its double structure of the ritual arrangement. In addition to the usual description of the ritual centering upon the sacrificer, the patron of the ritual, this rite puts a special focus on the birth of the ritual fire of Agni Vaiśvānara that represents the huge altar of bricks which most characterizes this Agnicayana ritual itself. In this presentation, I shall pick up several topics from its ritual procedure and discuss them for shedding light on this unique ritual. 1) Double feature of the *dīkṣā* rite, 2) Double feature of the rite of *viṣṇukrama*, 3) The composition of the *abhiṣeka* rite, and 4) The ritual procedures portraying the process of the birth of Agni Vaiśvānara.

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Mislav JEŽIĆ  
Is there mythology in the Vedas? How to interpret the Vedic *brahman* / *mantras*?

It is common to talk about Vedic mythology, as we talk about Greek mythology. If by this the telling of myths as stories is meant, is there any such thing in the Vedas, especially in the *Ṛksamhitā*? Vedic poets (*kavi*, *ṛṣi*) expressed their insights (*dhī*) into the hidden truth (*ṛta*, *satya*) in poetic formulations (*brahman*, *mantra*) which are regularly enigmatic. Stanzas in Ṛgvedic poems are seemingly often unrelated. They don't tell stories. The celestials that are celebrated are not anthropomorphic, and if some features of physical appearance are mentioned, it should be checked whether they can be taken literally or what they really mean. The deities do not have genealogies, and if family relationships are mentioned, one should think about what they mean and check whether they cannot be defined elsewhere in a completely different way. How to interpret the apparent inconsistencies in the formulations about the celestials that are praised? What is actually praised in the Vedic hymns? How to interpret, that is, decipher their meaning? On the other hand, in the post-Vedic epic texts, for example the *Purāṇas*, the visible forms of the deities are described apparently much more

consistently (*mūrti*), they have their own iconography. Their genealogies (*vaṃśa*) are presented. Stories are told about them. These stories are much more like Greek myths, as we know them, than Vedic formulations. Here we find a mythology similar to the one we know from Greek lore. In Indian tradition, we find both preserved: hieratic poetry in the Vedas – which we can call mythical, but probably not mythological – and aristocratic poetry in epic literature, stories that we can perceive as mythology. Greek tradition has preserved aristocratic epic poetry, but not the original hieratic religious poetry. The mythology we find in it no longer preserves the original form of expression of religious poetry, it no longer requires deciphering the insights expressed, but memorizing the stories told. Therefore, the Vedic *brahmans* or *mantras* should be listened to or read differently and one must explore what they mean, but they can therefore help us equally to explore the original meaning of religious motifs and contents as reworked in epic poetry, both in Indian and in Greek tradition in a number of cases when they are related or analogous. The paper will illustrate such relationships between sacred, hieratic, and epic, aristocratic poetry, which are essential for their appropriate interpretation, and, theoretically, for understanding the relationship between the concepts of myth and mythology.

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Frank KÖHLER, Tübingen Universität  
Two Rigvedic Hymns (10.114 and 10.130) on the establishment of ritual

The Rigveda (= RV) is known to contain primarily hymns that have their place within the Vedic rituals: during the performance of the various ritual acts, the gods are praised in these hymns and in return asked for the fulfillment of various wishes. Surprisingly, however, the RV also contains such hymns that reflect on the foundations of this ritualism and, in particular, the poetry used in it. These hymns, which are found primarily in the 10th book, can therefore be understood as initial commentaries of the RV; they clarify how the rigvedic poets understood their own actions. This talk will compare two of these hymns, RV 10.114 and 10.130. Particular emphasis will be placed on how the poet of 10.114 simultaneously emphasizes and illustrates the visionary qualities of Vedic poetry, whereas the poet of RV 10.130 foregrounds its aspect of imitation and continuity.

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Leonid KULIKOV, Ghent / Louvain-la-Neuve  
Gandharva and his dance:  
The etymology of Vedic *nṛt* in a comparative-mythological perspective

Gandharva is one of the most enigmatic characters in the Vedic and, in general, Indo-Iranian mythological pantheon. Although the name of this creature has no reliable Indo-European etymology, being probably based on a non-Indo-European loan-word (a Wanderwort, presumably also underlying Gr. κένταυρος), the very character of this sexually aggressive shapeshifter may have a number of parallels in other Indo-European mythologies. Of particular interest is evidence from the most ancient Vedic texts, Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda. There is a considerable difference between the Vedic Gandharva(s) and post-Vedic

gandharvas. In the earliest Vedic period, particularly in the Ṛgveda, this is still one single (demi-)god (rather than a group of divine creatures, as in the epics), with some intricate connections with the asuras, but occupying his own particular position within the pantheon (Kuiper 1996).

Taking into account possible relationships between gandharvas and the first humans, the twins Yama and Yamī (according to RV 10.10.4, born to a gandharva and an apsaras), one may assume an intricate connection of Gandharva(s) with the archaic Indo-European myth about the primordial incest of the twins and thus, eventually possible relation with some Old Norse gods (foremost, with the Vanir), presumably involved into incestual relations. A comparison with the relevant features of such Old Norse gods as Njörðr and Freyja may be of particular importance for better understanding of the character of the Gandharva's dance mentioned in the Atharvaveda. This comparative analysis may, eventually, shed some light on the etymology of the Vedic verbal root nṛt 'to dance', attested in the context of a sexually explicit mantra in the spell against gandharvas (AVŚaun. 4.37.7 ≈ AVPaipp. 12.7.9).

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Thennilapuram MAHADEVAN, Howard University, Washington D.C.  
From Veda to Itihāsa: the Śravas Epic of India”

I seek to return in this paper to our oldest chestnut, A. Kuhn's 1852 śravas-kleos comparandum that perhaps founds our field. Both terms mean the fame of a warrior prince but with contrary ideological outcomes that shape the two epics of the \*Indo-European sub-continent, kleos, the Greek and śravas the Indic. In broad terms this has been working knowledge in respective studies: both seek to see human wars as an ameliorative measure to relieve Earth of its excess population, perhaps a reflex of the visible Neolithic phenomenon. A God's Plan, dios boule in Homer and devakārya (or surakārya) in the Mahābhārata is the ex machina in both, with a charismatic princess as an efficient agent. Greg Nagy has provided a complete account of its workings for the Iliad in terms of a kleos ideology; my paper raises the question, is there a similar śravas ideology?

A starting point is Jamison-Brereton's key discovery that the domains of the two cognate items of the Kuhn paradigm are different, even opposite. Both address the fame of the prince, kleos that of the warrior-prince's aristeā in the battlefield; śravas, his gifts to his singer in the peace of the ritual field, with the implicit assumption that the latter's songs, brahman (mantras or “sacred formulations”) are the real cause of the victory in battle and the ensuing peace. This domain shift lays the foundation of the śravas ideology, most clearly embodied in the brahma-kṣatra grid of first, the Vedic and later, the epic-Hindu statecraft.

Discussion:

- i. The numerous dānastuti's of the ṚV define the domain shift.
- ii. The Rāṣṭrabhṛt episode of the Agnicayana telescopes the śravas nation.
- iii. The long duration Sattra Ritual collects together Hiltebeitel's “inter-generational committee”.

- iv. The innovative karmāntara breaks provide a setting (the “Demodocus episodes”) for telling stories later sequenced by “Vyāsa” over three years, followed by First Textualization.
- v. Mantras beget the śravas milieu as well as their weapons.
- vi. Raw flesh and calls of predatory animals greet the non-śravas heroes’ birth.
- vii. Śravas ideology creates the norm of the varṇāśrama dharma.
- viii. Sanskritization provides the evangelical means from non-śravas to śravas norm.

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Thennilapuram MAHADEVAN, Howard University, Washington D.C.

The ‘oral’ writing and its pedagogy in the Veda in Kerala (with video-recordings from recent Vedic field studies)

My attempt with these Video exhibits is to show that a Ṛk is *sui generis*, an oral artefact, going through a precise pitch process of high, standard, low (udātta, svarita, and anudātta. All Ṛks, (all 10,442 Ṛks of the Śākala Samhitā (Macdonnell 1991), are, again, *sui generis*, 8 8 8 (GĀ) or 11 11 11 11 (TR) or 12 12 12 12 (JG) syllables or their permutation and combination. An ṚV reciter can recite orally a Ṛk only if has mastered the clear pitch sequence, namely the udātta-svarita-anudatta. I have experimented on the problem by giving out a printed version of a Ṛk, in the relevant alphabet: a novice or even moderately advanced reciter fumbles right way: he is a wreck soon. The pedagogy of the mouth-to ear supplants any ability for the Ṛgveda reciter to recalibrate the vision to auditory faculties.

My secondary aim is to show that right from the \*PIE moment, there seems to have been a need to re-recite the primary Ṛk into what is called in tradition padapāda, word for word recitation, un-associating the lexemes or words of a Ṛk from each other, indeed de-sam̐dhi-ing, as an isolated word unit, as its naked but grammatical morphs. This deconstruction occurs in the pedagogical Paideia institutions so that whole isolated group of individuals get collected, a rude beginning of the Brahman, a Vedic reciter.

I am also interested in vindicating the Vedic oral tradition against the standard Lachmann tradition in the west, time-tested praxis of a Critical Edition of a historical text of the classical world. As we know, although a Western classical text can only be presented with marginal notes, the ṚV needs not one marginal note, at a length of 10,442 Ṛks—as testified by Max Muller (1848) and our own HOS 50 (1994), from our most celebrated universities, Harvard and Berkeley, homes of Witzel and Staal. However, the empirical fact is that the oral tradition of the ṚV beats the HOS 50 in so many little editorial details that the dismissal of scientifically maintained oral tradition as unreliable is bogus. I provide below three exhibits, directly and indirectly related to this.

Exhibit 1: The HOS misses mentioning vṛṣogaṇa, but not Naras (9.97. [7-9]. [A little hard to catch this in the tape]. A more egregious oversight occurs at HOS ṚV: 9, 67 (an Oldenberg [190 =201] key hymn): 9.67. 27; and 31-32 missing in HOS 50.

Exhibit 2: Oral pedagogy: The svaram fixing of an adult initiate. A novice would have all this down pat. See Staal 1961.

Exhibit 3: The high IE Udātta: the entire pitch sequence of the Ṛk verse. (Staal EJVS 2022).

Exhibit 4: The ultimate oral technology, the ratha vikṛti. I will be handing out the algebra behind this.

Laura MASSETTI, Università di Napoli L' Orientale / Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies  
Fashioners of Poetic Drinks: Once Again on the Ṛbhus' Work in the R̥gveda

In this paper I expand on J. Brereton's hypothesis that the Ṛbhus' inventions "encode the acts of the soma ritual, and, more especially, the acts of the third soma pressing" (Brereton 2012:131). For this reason, the Ṛbhus also came to be connected with the fashioning (TAKṢ) of the ritual formulation, cf.

RV 10.80.7a

agnáye bráhma ṛbhávas tatakṣuḥ

For Agni did the Ṛbhus fashion their formulation. (transl. Jamison – Brereton 2014)

More specifically, I focus on the use of the root TAKṢ in the RV hymns to the Ṛbhus and the ring compositions built by means of this root in the R̥gveda. I argue that structural patterns realized through the repetitions of TAKṢ-verbal forms are often linked to the theme of immortality achieved through ritual and poetry. The same structures and phraseological expressions are indeed found in a hymn to the Aśvins (cf. Massetti forthc.), gods who were originally excluded from the soma ritual and became a part of it after fashioning (TAKṢ) old Cyavāna young again (among others cf. JBr. 3.120–129, MS 4.6.1 and TS 4.4.9).

Finally, I identify parallels for the phraseology [to FASHION – POETIC DRINK], namely:

- Old Norse kennings of the type drykkju dverga (e.g. Gísla saga Súrssonar 39), which designate 'poetry' and reflect [DRINK – of the \*t̥xerk-FIGURES] (as per Ginevra 2020:74);
- The ring composition of Pindar's Nemean Three, cf.

Ring-begin: N. 3.4 meligārúōn téktones kómōn

Fashioners of honey-voiced revels

or (alternative transl.) fashioners of revels (sung with) voices which taste like honey.

Ring-end: N. 3.76–9 egò tóde toi pémpō memigménon méli

... póm' aoídimon

I send you this song-drink, mixed with honey.

In conclusion, the comparative analysis prompts that (1) the Ṛbhus' myth is likely to have been connected to ritual actions; (2) the same myth underlies compact (Old Norse kennings) or 'distracted' (Greek ring compositions) metapoetic phraseological usages of the linguistic cognates of Indo-European (IE) tetk- 'to fashion' (Vedic TAKṢ, Greek téktōn) and/or synonymous lexemes (IE \*t̥xerk- 'to forge'); (3) ring compositions built by means of words derived from the IE root tetk- are an inherited IE poetic structural device.

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Naoko NISHIMURA, Tohoku University, Sendai  
Mantra tradition in the Yajurveda Schools: some peculiarities about the Pravara

This paper aims to shed a new light on the gradual codification of the Vedic texts along with the development and systematization of the rituals, focussing on the Pravara, the rite for choosing the priest, in the Yajurveda Schools.

The basic rituals of the Veda include the rite for choosing the priest. Every Śrautasūtra prescribes that the names of the sacrificer's father, grandfather, and great grandfather are recited during the Pravara. However, some points are rather obscure, e.g. what relevance the ancestors of the sacrificer has to the choosing of the priest, and the reason why the names of sacrificer's ancestors are recited.

The situation of the tradition of the Pravara is not clearly understood before the discussions in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda Schools. Although the Black Yajurveda Schools also refer to this rite in their brāhmaṇa chapters, their discussions are so fragmentary that its process is not able to be described in detail. Considering that the Black Yajurveda Schools have more conservative tradition than that of the White ones, it might be inferred that the Pravara had not been developed and systematized at the time the Black Yajurveda-Saṁhitās were codified.

It is noteworthy that the mantras for the Pravara quoted in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa have few parallel passages in the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā which is the text of the mantra collection in the White Yajurveda Schools. Furthermore, their parallel passages are found in the mantra chapter of the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa (III 5,3.4: Hautra), and also quoted in the brāhmaṇa chapter of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā (II 5,9: Hautra). This suggests that the Pravara might not have been developed and systematized even at the time the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā was codified. In addition, comparison of their traditions provides the information about the process of the development and systematization of the Pravara and the codification of the Yajurvedic texts.

This paper discusses the information brought by examination of the quotation and distribution of mantras transversing the Yajurveda Schools.

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Junichi OZONO, Hiroshima University  
The sacred literature in Pāṇini's grammar

As is well known, Pāṇini teaches not only ordinary usage (*bhāṣā-*), which should be used by śiṣṭas, but also Vedic usage (*chandas-*), regional peculiarities, ritual usage (*yajñakarma-*), etc. It has been hitherto discussed what texts are regarded as the sacred literature (*chandas-*) in Pāṇini's grammar. The word *chandas-* (< *chand* 'appear') is usually used in the meaning 'meter', 'a metrical text', 'stanza'. In Pāṇini's grammar, however, the term *chandas-* refers to prose texts of Yajurveda Saṁhitās ("Saṁhitā prose") as well as metrical texts such as RV (cf. Thieme 1935: 68, Ozono 2011: 239), which is perhaps based on the tradition of

*svādhyāyā-* 'learning a Vedic text by heart', 'repeated recitation of Vedic texts'. According to Kāśikā on Pāṇ. I 2,35, Vedic texts handed down with three-tone system (*trivarya-*) can be recited in monotone (*ekaśruti-*) in the self-study (*svādhyāyā-*). It is noteworthy that the word *chāndas-* is used in the meaning 'sacred literature' or 'a Vedic text' in ŚB XI 572ff. and TĀ II 11,8. In SB XI 572ff., *chāndas-* apparently includes the texts called *vākovākya-*, *gāthā-*, *kūmvvā-* in addition to *ṛc-*, *yájus-*, *sāman-*. In the proposed paper, I will examine the word *chandas-* used in Vedic texts and Pāṇini's grammar, the *svādhyāyā-* section (ŚB, TĀ, KāthB in Kāthaka-Saṁkalāṇa: Svādhyāya Brāhmaṇa), statements on the notion of *chandas-* by Pāṇinian grammarians, and would like to offer a perspective to elucidate the sacred literature (*chandas-*) in Pāṇini's grammar.

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Chizei ŌSHIMA, Tokyo University  
On some Modifications of the Iṣṭi in the Agniṣṭoma

The Iṣṭi sacrifice, as is generally known, is not only performed independently but also included and multiplied in the Soma sacrifice. In most cases, it is modified in some way (according to the Prakṛti, Darśapūrṇamāsau). Thereupon I will make a presentation of the modification of the Iṣṭi performed in the Agniṣṭoma, especially the Dīkṣaṇīyā-Iṣṭi.

As to the Dīkṣaṇīyā-Iṣṭi modified in some respects of rituals, it is noteworthy that the Prastotṛ chants the solo Sāman immediately before the primary offering. In the Agniṣṭoma, Sāmavedins will be in the limelight by chanting the Stotras at the pressing day. For all that, the Prastotṛ supposed to sing the solo Sāman here and there at the preliminary days.

In the Darśapūrṇamāsau, apart from the Yajamāna and Patnī, Adhvaryu, Brahman, Hotṛ, and Āgnīdhra are the officiants without any Sāmavedin. On the other hand, the Dīkṣaṇīyā-Iṣṭi has the solo Sāman chanting by the Prastotṛ as mentioned above, which the Lāṭyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra I 6, 19—22 (=Drāhyāyana-ŚrSū II 2, 22—25) describes directly. Meanwhile the Lāṭyāyana-ŚrSū I 6, 15—18 (=Drāhyāyana-ŚrSū II 2, 16—19) and the Jaiminīya-ŚrSū I 24 shows that it was open to debate whether the solo Sāman chanting should be occurred. Therefore, in spite of its apparent settlement, it was still considered to be problematic whether he was able to chant the solo Sāman easily. It suggests that the solo Sāman chanting was introduced in the era of the compilation of the Sāmaveda-ŚrSūs. Furthermore, Agnisvāmin, the later commentator, developed the issue. He, denoting that it was never mentioned in the Śruti, elaborated on this point in order to invest the chanting with its orthodoxy. We can recognize from it that the Sāmavedins tried to create a new environment for them to actively participate in the rituals (other than the Pravargya) at the preliminary days.

Investigating the ŚrSūs of the Ṛgvedic and Yajurvedic schools, it is not absolutely seen there, nor in the Brāhmaṇas. They only describe distinct modifications according to each point of view based on their own functions.

The Tārṣya Sāman, which is chanted in the D-iṣṭi, is composed of a hymn from ṚV X 178,1. The question now arises: Why did they adopt it into the lyric although its contents bore little relevance to the theological significance of the Dīkṣā? From what has been said above, one possibility is to assume that Sāmavedins, leaving theological arguments behind, intended to enhance the ritualistic social status of theirs. Another possibility is that as a result, it was introduced as to throw new luster on the entire sacrifice. In my presentation, I will discuss them with the texts examined in depth and show a video of the Tārṣya Sāman in the D-iṣṭi, recorded in 2020.

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Asko PARPOLA, Helsinki University

Etymology of Sanskrit *pīnāka*- ‘Rudra’s bow’, and the background of the Rudra cult”

On the internet discussion forum “Indology” (indology@list.indology.info), Harry Spier on the 14th of February, 2023 asked about the meaning of the Sanskrit word *pīnāka*-, which according to some lexicographers denotes Śiva’s trident. I looked up the current view about the etymology of *pīnāka*- in Manfred Mayrhofer’s *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen*, Bd. II, 1996, p. 132. According to Mayrhofer, *pīnāka*- n. means ‘staff’ (Stab, Stock), and ‘bow’ (of Rudra/Śiva), and is attested since the Atharvaveda and Yajurveda. Mayrhofer was of the opinion that the word has not been convincingly explained, but an etymological connection with Greek *pīnaks* m.

‘wooden board, writing tablet, painting, etc’ and Russian pen’ (gen. *pnja*) ‘stump’ of a tree (H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bd. II, 1970, p. 539 with literature) remains possible. In a reply to Harry Spier, I related Mayrhofer’s views and then presented my own etymology for the word: I derive *pīnāka*- from the prefix *pi* = *api* ‘upon’ + *nāka*- m. ‘heavenly vault, sky’, yielding ‘what is upon the sky’ = ‘rainbow’ seen upon the sky and understood as the bow of Rudra/Śiva. For *pi* = *api*, cf. *pi-dhāna*- n. ‘cover’ = *api-dhāna*- n. ‘cover’ in Vedic texts; Mayrhofer, op. cit., Bd. I, 1992, p. 86 s.v. *api*; and Bernhard Kölver, *Verschiffene Präfixe im Altindischen*, Wiesbaden 1976. Here I add a few considerations in support of this etymology, and then discuss the opposition between Indra and Rudra.

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Jérôme Petit, BNF – GREI, EPHE-PSL, Paris

How Vedic Manuscripts came to Paris

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Georges-Jean Pinault, GREI, EPHE-PSL, Paris

Reconsidering the meaning and etymology of Vedic *krātu*-.

According to the standard dictionaries of Sanskrit and Vedic, *krātu*-, masc., had a wide array of meanings, and its etymology remains uncertain. See for instance the glosses given by Monier-Williams (1899: 319a) for the *Samhitā* of the Ṛgveda (RV): ‘plan, design, intention, resolution, determination, purpose; desire, will; power, ability; deliberation, consultation; intelligence, understanding; inspiration, enlightenment’. This noun is cognate with Avestan *xratu*-, masc., the meaning of which is better circumscribed, pointing to an “intellectual” or



“volitional” meaning: ‘Wille, Absicht, Plan, Abschluss’ (Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1904: 535, basically followed by more recent translations of the Avesta). On the other hand, the alleged etymological connection with the adjective Gk. *kratús* (Hom.+) ‘strong, powerful’ has oriented the interpretation of the Vedic meaning in the direction of ‘intellectual or mental power’, or simply ‘power’ in general, which would be further specified according to the contexts, according to the German translation of the RV by K.F. Geldner (1951), and to the second etymological dictionary of Mayrhofer (1986-2001): ‘Kraft, magische Kraft, Siegeskraft, Herrscherkraft, Willenskraft, Geisteskraft, Energie’. This can be supported by the resort to the interpretation of the Greek adjective, which belong to a large lexical family, as based on a Proto-Indo-European substantive referring to ‘power, force’. This remains however somewhat circular. One should admit that the morphological analysis of the Vedic (and Avestan) noun is not self-evident, since it does not comply with the recorded pattern of derivation of -tu-stems or of -u-stems, and it may be tempting to look for an older derivational pattern which held for Proto-Indo-European. The most recent English translation of the RV (by S.W. Jamison and J.P. Brereton, 2014) gives a rather consistent rendering of Ved. *krātu-* by ‘resolve, will, purpose, intention’, basically in accordance with the Avestan meaning. It is commendable to set up the most specific original semantic definition, instead of resorting to the vague notion of ‘force’ or ‘power’. There is not any common phraseology reflected by the Vedic and Homeric uses. The paper will first review the evidence of Ancient Vedic, and discuss the options of translations which are reflected in all standard translations of the RV. The interpretations of the derivatives and compounds based on this word will be also reviewed. Second, the various etymological approaches will be discussed in order to test their compatibility with the basic meaning which can be ascertained for the Vedic word and its Avestan cognate. Finally, one will argue for a plausible derivation of the word in question from a well-known root, still attested in Vedic, so that the derivational prehistory of this Indo-Iranian noun will appear in a new light.

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Focusing on when and how ‘the Brahmins won’: the case of *dákṣiṇā-* in reformed and non-reformed Vedic sources

For some years now some eminent Scholars have been arguing that the officiant-patron distinction and the “orthodox” sacrificial arena might have been realized for the first time by the bearers of the Yajurveda culture (Amato 2016: 35 – see also Witzel 1997: 271; Parpola 2015:

146). Concurrently, since 2007 onwards, Bronkhorst has in many ways proved that not all ancient Indian institutions necessarily descended from the “Brahmanical” mainstream. It is thus crucial to identify to what extent the non-mainstream trends contributed to the construction of the (Yajur)vedic canon in order to clearly single out the later Brahmanical innovations. *sattras*, just to mention one example, must have been originally proper to a Vedic, non-Brahmanical culture, even though this institution finally came to be incorporated within the inclusivist Brahmanical program in the later *Śrautasūtras*. For instance, KS 24.9 and TS 7.2.10.1 tell a sort of foundational myth of the reformed sacrificial pattern: the months/seasons prompted Prajāpati to perform a sacrifice (*ayājayan*). At the end of the latter version Prajāpati gives each of the seasons something which appears to be very similar to a

priestly gift given by the sacrificer. Nonetheless, this action might have also been a distribution among members of a brotherhood in the *sattra*. The plural causative form *ayājayan* might have conveyed “the more general meaning ‘someone makes someone hold/perform a sacrifice’”, which Amano (2014: 1068) already singled out in MS 2.4.8 interpreting it as the action of a community (in our case represented by the seasons) that asks a leader for sacrificing.

In particular, what is commonly considered as an original and evergreen institution, i.e. the *dákṣiṇā* as priestly gift, has recently been resized in its chronological scope in Candotti, Neri and Pontillo 2020 and 2021. Indeed the ṚV/AV occurrences of *dákṣiṇā* have been re-interpreted as the sacrificer’s “magnificence” both in an abstract sense “as the successful leader’s auspicious condition”, and in a more material one “as the outcome of such a condition”, i.e. the ritual substance which allows a community to perform a sacrifice.

In line with our preceding research on *dákṣiṇā*, on the basis of a close comparison between some selected occurrences of the term in Yajurvedic sources, we are proposing to reflect again on the assumed Brahmins’ action of “re-inventing themselves” described by Bronkhorst 2016 as a reaction to the emergence of new cultural competitors coming from the Magadha area in the Maurya age. We aim to show how a similar, but not fully overlapping undertaking was carried out by the late Vedic priests, who worked on the Yajurvedic texts through philologically inspired minor adjustments and interpretations. Their work was targeted at carving out a proto-Brahmanical identity that sharply excluded the most undermining trends, namely those that turned into heterodox traditions. In this way they transposed some features of very ancient cultural constructs such as the original *dákṣiṇā* itself to a new cultural milieu, a reform process already pointed out by Heesterman (since 1962 onward). Sometimes the texts show a full awareness of the change in progress, e.g. in KS 23.6, where the presumably earlier *dákṣiṇā* as “offering to the gods” (i.e. the best that a patron could offer as a sacrifice) is already explicitly associated to a sort of its double, i.e. the offering to the men (*devebhyo vā anyā dakṣiṇā nīyante manuṣyebhyo ’nyās*) – cf. the later ŚBM 4.3.4.4. More often the slow evolution of the concept of *dákṣiṇā* must be grasped through the analysis of every detail of the different versions of the same rite or prayer. For example, through the comparison of the several Yajurvedic versions of the same *mantra jūr asi dhṛtā manasā juṣṭā viṣṇave. tasyās te satyasavasah prasave tanvo yantram aśīya svāhā* (MS 1.2.4 ~ VSM 4.17-18, KS 24.3, TS 1.2.3.6) we are able to see at work a thought-provoking progressive editing process of the handed-down texts.

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Vedic Brahmin settlements in epigraphical records: ‘Bengal’ and Assam

Epigraphical records since early BCE reveal several aspects of the cultural and social history of ancient India. The early inscriptions and copper plates shed a precious light on the Brahmin settlements in every state of India. The flourishing of Brahmanic culture is attested in the Brahmins’ migrations from one area to another in connection with their Vedic learnings and ritual practices required by royal patrons. Their *sākhās*, *gotras*, *pravaras* and *anupravaras* were also of importance. As they are documented in these sources, several periods and regions are covered for the reconstruction of a cultural, social and intellectual history of Brahmins in India.

In continuation of my contributions to earlier International project work on these early documents, my current focus will be on the two areas (states) of India and adjacent areas: ‘Bengal’, that is, current West-Bengal and Bangladesh, and Assam, corresponding to the core area of ancient Kāmarūpa.

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The Vedic *pravargya* rite as *vidātha* ‘ritual distribution’: traces of *vrātya* culture

The Vedic *pravargya* rite is designated as *vidātha* in two important attestations: the former in st. 21 of the famous Rigvedic riddle hymn 1. 164, and the latter in st. 4 of the Atharvavedic *gharmasūkta* (Ś 7.73 ≈ P 20.12). As for the meaning of the term *vidātha*, it has been debated by the foremost Vedic scholars, as it is well known; however, by Thieme’s studies (1949) and after Kuiper’s conclusions (1974), the scholars basically agree with the meaning of ‘distribution’, especially ‘distribution of wealth’ (Kuiper 1974: 132). Nonetheless, a survey of the Rigvedic and Atharvavedic occurrences points out different connotations implied by the term *vidātha*, in relation to different contexts. In actual fact, although it is frequently concerned with a ritual context, especially the somic liturgy, and even cosmic aspects may be involved, nevertheless the warrior connotation is relevant, since the distribution of wealth is correlated to the warrior god Indra. Similarly, the competitive context is referred to, since distributions of prizes are specifically entailed for contests between champions (*śūrasāti-*), horse-races, verbal duels. Finally, it is associated with Lordship: sharing of wealth and glory identifies the leader.

It is reasonable that the different connotations conveyed by the same term may be also due to different stages of the Vedic cultural development, crossing the textual sources: from the pre-Kuru clan-based society, associated with a certain model of chieftainship, to the Kuru realm,

characterized by the cosmic model of sovereignty. However, the term *vidátha* may refer to a *vrātya* practice as well: in actual fact the *vrātya* sphere appears to preserve a similar idea of sharing and sodality, as alluded also by the term *bhāgá* ‘portion’, frequently combined with the *vidátha*. Moreover, the *vidátha* ceremony is celebrated on occasion of forms of *sattra* rituals, which might be ascribable to the *vrātya milieu* (Falk 1986). Lastly, as is well known, the *gharma*-pot is defined *mahāvīra*, ‘great hero’, which is recursively identified with the sun, and evoked by means of the phrase *makhasya śiras* ‘the head of the *makha*’: the term *makha*, denoting a warrior figure, occurs also in the Rigvedic collection in relation to Indra and Indra’s *gaṇá*-troop (RV 1.6.8; 10.171.2). Moreover, the figure of *mahāvīra* ‘great hero’ is associable with the Rudraic *milieu* ((af Edholm 2021): in actual fact in RV 4.3.7 Rudra himself is *súmakha*, and in the *Kaṭhāranyaka* he is identified with the Mahāvīra pot and the Sun (Witzel 2004) Therefore, the classical *pravargya* ritual appears to hold traces of *vrātya* culture. This paper aims to explore such an issue and the correlated implications.

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Towards a methodology of employing the *paribhāṣās* in the Kauśika Sūtra: the rites of ‘Consuming the Saps’ (*rasakarman*)

The Kauśikasūtra (KauśS) is a major ritual text of the Atharvavedins, appropriately called Saṃhitāvidhi. Bloomfield considered that the KauśS was compiled from different materials with evidently individual characters and that the redactor(s) did not try or failed in unifying the text (1889). One of the effects of these inconsistent revisions would be that the *paribhāṣās* could be applied strictly to some passages and loosely or not at all to others. This is the fourth, in an ongoing study on the employment of the metarules in the KauśS: Rotaru (2008) 2010, and the others Rotaru 2016 and Rotaru 2018.

The *paribhāṣā* at KauśS 21.21 mentions a verse from the Atharvaveda (AV 5.2.3) by its designation *rasaprāśanī*, a recitation of which is to accompany a peculiar rite of consuming the “saps” (*rasakarmāṇi*), mentioned in the next sūtra, i. e. KauśS 21.22. The commentator Keśava and probably following him Caland (1900) understand that the rite is but a peculiar category of prosperity rite in which the substances (curds, ghee and hydromel) mentioned in another *paribhāṣā*, KauśS 8.19, and called “saps” (*rasa*) are used, for being consumed separately or mixed with other kinds of food. Conversely, this peculiar rite is known in latter Ātharvaṇic ritual, and is mentioned in the Vaitāna Sūtra, the śrauta manual of the Atharvavedins. Following an analysis of the significances of the compound *pra-aś* (Delbrück 1888, cf. Minard 1956: II 313ff.; Renou 1953: 117, cf. Mylius 1995: 100), which in the KauśS seems to be used as a tool for disambiguation (Rotaru 2008), the obscure rite called “*rasakarman*” is reconstructed from its limited description in the medieval commentaries to KauśS, *Dārīlabhāṣya* and Keśava’s *Kauśikapaddhati*. Besides the elucidation of the idiosyncratic ritual, the paper deals with the textual intricacies of the KauśS: its original composition and diaskeuasis, textual divisions of the surrounding context, the *mantrādhikāra* and *phalādhikāra* methods used by Kauśika in arranging the subjects of the sūtra text, etc.

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Vedic-Avestan parallels in ritual poetry and practice, II

The massive presence of litanies in Indo-Iranian sacred poetry is one of the core characteristics of both the Vedic (GONDA 1983a, 1983b, SADOVSKI 2017) and the Avestan (SCHLERATH 1968: II, XIVf.; COLPE 1986: 381f., most recently CANTERA 2020) liturgical forms. In the Veda, complex litanies are contained in the YV. liturgies, e.g. in the Śatarudrīya liturgy containing litanies to the “one hundred names/forms of Rudra (to repeat 11 × 11 × 11 times every morning/midday/evening; cf., more recently, SADOVSKI in PANAINO – SADOVSKI 2007: 41–47) or multipartite litanies, e.g. in the 34 stereotypical oblations to Soma in ŚB 12,6,1 (cf. GONDA 1983b) and in to the main gods of the Vedic pantheon in rituals, such as the one of house building, that emulate primordial creation acts (GONDA 1983a, SADOVSKI 2017: 728ff.) and in many other rituals (e.g., HOUBEN 2000a, 2000b etc. [*pravargya*]-]. SADOVSKI 2009 and 2012a [healing and cursing (esp.: binding) ritual litanies, respectively]).

A series of parallels to these and other Vedic liturgies, for what concerns both the lexicon and the formulaic apparatus employed in them, as well as the structure of the individual subroutines and their connection into the whole composition of the macroliturgies, is delivered in the Avestan ‘Long Liturgy’ (on this concept, cf. CANTERA 2009, 2014; KELLENS 2006–

2011; REDARD – KELLENS 2013). Zaraθuštra and his adepts might have been religious dissidents, however they show all characteristics of dissidents *within* a pre-given ideological and social framework, here: the one of the inherited Indo-Iranian ritual paradigms. It is this field of tension between common heritage and cultic innovation that we have to keep in mind when analyzing, first intrinsically and then in comparison, litanies, ritual modules and entire liturgical complexes of the Vedic and Avestan ritual poetry on the quest of individual key concepts and their combinations in major structures that illustrate the possibilities of reconstruction of ritual poetry and ritual pragmatics of an earlier, Indo-Iranian period.

The present paper will take start from a series of concepts of the ritual *Realienkunde* that appear, on the one hand, in the liturgical contexts of the Rig- and Athravavedic Āprī rituals and in the Ṛtuyāja liturgies of the Veda, and, on the other hand, in the liturgies of the Avestan Yasna (with or without intercalations with the Young Avestan Vīsprad), esp. in a list of Y. 2. The second part will give a new perspective about the opening procedures of Vedic and Avestan sacrificial liturgies: among others, on the pre-sacrificial *samkalpa*- rituals of the Yajurvedic and later sacrificial traditions (in expanding beyond and partially correcting what has been said in two relevant contributions to the edited volume REDARD – FERRER-LOSILLA – MOEIN – SWENNEN 2020 as well as by the author at the German *Orientalistentag* in Berlin 2022). The third part will focus on parallels between the concluding rites of several Vedic rituals in synchronic and diachronic comparison with the “*liquidation du sacrifice (Y 62 à 72)*” at the end of the Avestan Yasna edited by Redard – Kellens 2013. A series of conclusions will be drawn, including an excursus on apparent and real resemblances between the animal sacrifice in Indian and Iranian, as analysed by Haag, Schwab, Caland, Hillebrand, Oldenberg, as well as, in recent times, esp. since 2009, by Oberlies, Tremblay, Kellens, Swennen, Cantera and the present author.

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Comprehensive Insights into Sanyāsadīkṣā Rituals: Exploring Baudhāyanacaṭaṅṅu, a Malayalam Domestic Ritual Manual, and Namputiri Monastery Practices in Kerala

Kerala's significant contribution to Vedic Literature is widely acknowledged, and extensive research has been conducted in this domain. However, further in-depth investigation is still needed regarding the works written in Malayalam. Among these, the 'Caṭaṅṅu' or ritual manuals written in Malayalam, the vernacular language of Kerala, provide comprehensive instructions for conducting domestic (gṛhya) and Vedic sacrificial (śrauta) rituals. These manuals serve as valuable resources, enabling us to comprehend not only the transformation of ancient Sanskrit rules into Malayalam but also to gain insights into the contemporary practice of these rituals in Kerala. Among such gṛhya manuals, the Kṛṣṇayajurvedīya Baudhāyana-caṭaṅṅu, Pakaliyaṃ-caṭaṅṅu, Kauṣītaka-caṭaṅṅu, Jaiminīya-caṭaṅṅu, and the Bādhūlakaccaṭaṅṅu continue to be employed as authoritative references for conducting domestic rituals by the Namputiri brahmins of Kerala. In these manuals we also find ritual prescriptions that are modified based on the customs followed by the Namputiri brahmins of Kerala.

Among these *caṭaṅṅu* manuals, the Baudhāyana-*caṭaṅṅu*, also known as 'Kriyāratnamālā', includes a detailed description of the rituals pertaining to the procedure of becoming a *sanyāsin* (ascetic). But this procedure is not included in the other *caṭaṅṅu* manuals. The Baudhāyana-*caṭaṅṅu* manual also includes the prescriptions for the 'sanyāsisamṣkāra', the last rites prescribed for a *sanyāsin*.

Sanskrit sources such as the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (II.10.11-30), the Baudhāyanagr̥hyaśeṣasūtra (IV.16), and the Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (IX, 6-8), the nibandha texts such as the Nirṇayasindhu (III. Uttarār̥dha, pp. 628-632) and Dharmasindhu (1986: 387-394), the procedure for becoming a *sannyāsin* is prescribed that have similarities as well as variations in the ritual procedures prescribed in the *caṭaṅṅu* manual.

However, the *sanyāsadīkṣā* rituals in the well-known Namputiri monasteries (*maṭhas*) of Kerala are conducted according to hand-written vernacular manuals preserved within the monasteries. These manuals might have been prepared based on the prescriptions outlined in the Baudhāyanacaṭaṅṅu manual. We also know of a *Sanyāsapaddhati* text in Sanskrit, consisting of thirty-four verses, referred to by the *maṭhas* for conducting the *sanyāsadīkṣā* ritual. This manual even prescribes the deviations of rituals to be performed for the different branches of the Vedic tradition.

The present paper will discuss the procedures described in detail in the Baudhāyana-*caṭaṅṅu* regarding the *sanyāsadīkṣā*. It will also compare the current ritual practices followed in the Thrissur *maṭhas* of Namputiris with the manual used by the *maṭhas* for the initiation ceremony. Additionally, other known manuals related to the procedures of *sanyāsadīkṣā*, especially those available in the manuscript collection of the Vaṭakke *maṭham*, a namputiri monastery (that also serves as a Vedic school) in Thrissur such as the *Sanyāsakalpa* with its Malayalam commentary, *Yatyācārasaṅgraha* with its Malayalam commentary, *Keralīyayatikhanaavidhi*, and *Samādhividhi* with its commentary in Sanskrit, will also be discussed. Furthermore, the well-known Śaivasanyāsapaddhati of Sivagrayogi, dating back to the 16th cent AD, will be compared with the procedures mentioned in the manuals of Kerala on *sanyāsadīkṣā*.

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La porte orientale de la *śālā*.

On lit au début de l'*agniṣṭoma* de Caland et Henry, au §12, que le *yajamāna* doit entrer dans la hutte *prācīnavamśa* par sa porte orientale. Cette innocente information surprend les auteurs et leur inspire une brève note : « Sans doute pour neutraliser le caractère omineux de l'ouest et du sud. La raison d'être de cette manœuvre manque de clarté. » Tel est le genre de problème auquel on peut se heurter lorsque l'on essaie d'interpréter les données liturgiques sans passer par les *brāhmaṇa*. On commencera par vérifier que la réponse est simple : le sacrifiant, qui s'apprête à simuler une vie intra-utérine, entre dans la matrice par l'orifice par lequel il sortira au moment de simuler sa nouvelle naissance. C'est donc une métaphore sexuelle si l'on veut, biologique en tout cas. Ceci posé, on vérifiera la permanence de ces données dans d'autres passages évoquant le thème de la matrice, et l'on s'interrogera surtout sur la suite du parcours cérémoniel de sacrifiant. Avancé toujours vers l'est, essaie-t-il d'ores et déjà de renaître dans une dimension surnaturelle ?

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The Fate of Ṛgvedic Similes in the Atharvaveda: Intertextuality and Changing Material Realities

Similes found in the hymns of the Atharvaveda are sometimes paralleled by similes in the Ṛgveda. However, they are not always used in the same context and some are even reworked to the point that verse concordances don't catch them. Instead of considering such passages as simple corruptions of Ṛgvedic borrowings, we might interpret them as reworkings which reflect a changing experience of the material realities — boats, pumpkins, or the Sindhu river for example — mentioned in the similes. This phenomenon will be explored through textual examples, tracing the fate of some similes even beyond the Saṁhitā stage, and attention will be paid to their syntax as well.

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The commentary of the *Puruṣasūkta* ascribed to Śaunaka

Uv(v)āṭa (11th c.), commenting on the *Puruṣasūkta* as included in the *Vājasaneyīsaṁhitā* (ch. 31), reproduces an earlier commentary upon the hymn which he ascribes to Śaunaka. By examining the data about this Vedic *ācārya* (whose portrait was already sketched by Patton 2011) as provided by the (12th c.? Kerala) commentator Ṣaḍguruśiṣya in the introduction of his *Vedārthadīpikā*, one can infer that Śaunaka was at first a Ṛgvedin scholar, alleged re-arranger of the ṚV 2nd maṇḍala, author of a Ṛk-prātiśākhya and several metrical Anukramaṇī (the devatā one, expanded later on, becoming the present Bṛhad-devatā; Tokunaga), 'nearly' founder of his own Ṛgvedic ritual school by composing a (too) long *Sūtra* (said to have been replaced with a better one by his disciple Āśvalāyana, except the fragmentarily preserved *Gṛhya-*; cf. the 5th book, = the 4th one in Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's version, of the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*, in *sūtra* style, attributed either to Āśvalāyana, as by the latter, or to Śaunaka by Sāyaṇa; Khare), and showing 'magical' (pre-'Tantric'; Bhat) interests with the authorship of the *Ṛgvidhāna* (see also the edited metrical *Śaunakīya*, similarly concerned with the ritual efficiency of ṚV recitations). This last work could be the link with the (second, viz. another, different, or the same 'transformed?') Atharvavedin Śaunaka, arranger of an Atharva recension bearing his name, author of the *Atharva-prātiśākhya* entitled *Śaunakīyā caturādhyāyikā*, and to whom are also attributed the *Carāṇa-vyūha* (AV-*Pariśiṣṭa* no. 49, for which a Paippalāda distinct recension exists) and various teachings in the AV-*Pariśiṣṭas* (no. 19b, 25, 30, 52, 58b, 62, 68 etc.). Śaunaka's *Puruṣasūkta-bhāṣya* as transmitted by Uvāṭa could constitute the earliest preserved traditional commentary of a whole *sūkta*, after Yāska's *bhāṣya* on individual *mantras* in the *Nirukta*. We will here assess the possibility of a tentative dating around the 4th-3th c. BC, corresponding to the relative dating suggested for (the 'historical') Śaunaka by Macdonell and Keith, that is between Yāska and Kātyāyana. Two problems remain: the source of this *Puruṣasūkta-bhāṣya* (is it an autonomous work, such as are commonly found in manuscripts for this most popular *sūkta*, or was it part of a larger VS commentary), and the fact that the version of the hymn commented upon is specific to the *Vājasaneyī* (with six additional verses and a few textual variants), whereas one would have expected Śaunaka to use the ṚV, if not the even more different AV, version of the hymn. Finally, as for its contents, Śaunaka's commentary testifies to an early form of Vedāntic

ascetism, stressing the inner form of the sacrifice, the *ātma-yajña*, proper to the yogin and leading to *mokṣa*.

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 √ *dviṣ-* ‘hate’ and denominal radical *s*-extension in Indo-Iranian

The connection between Skt. √ *dviṣ-* ‘hate’ (cf. OAv. *dābaēš-* ‘id.’) and Gk. δέιδω ‘fear’ (<< \**δε-δφοι-*) which is ostensibly derived from an “*s*-less” version of the same root has been made since Walde-Pokorny (1926-30: 816f.) and is generally accepted, albeit in vague terms, in modern scholarship (EDG *s.v.*, EWAia *s.v.* *DVES-*; with reservation LIV<sup>2</sup> *s.v.* ?\**dueis-*; cf. Dunkel 1981: 229f., Insler 1975: 199). The origin(s) of the *s*-enlargement in Skt. *dviṣ-* and its morphological and semantic relations with the base root \**duei-*, however, have not been explored in detail beyond the descriptive term “*s*-extension” *vel sim*. A recent contribution by Cohen in a paper that deals with *s*-extensions across Indo-European (2017: 117-33) suggests that *-s-* originates from a univerbation of earlier compounds based on \**steh2-* and marks telicity, but this works poorly for some of the Indo-Iranian data including *dviṣ-* which is patently atelic. Another attack on the problem by Lubotsky (2018: 227-35) discusses several groups of Sanskrit roots that show *-s-* and *-d-* extensions, but he remains agnostic towards the origins of these formations. In this paper I will aim to achieve two goals: (1) explain the semantic connection between *dviṣ-* ‘hate’ and the base root \**duei-* ‘two; doubt’ by a close examination of the relevant RV passages and (2) offer an alternative denominal explanation of the *s*-extension in *dviṣ-* based on an old feminine *s*-stem and discuss the possible role of root contamination.

In a similar way that Gk. δέιδω ‘fear’ etc. (<\**duei-*) has been shown to be linked with \**duei-* ‘two, double’ (e.g. Skt. *dvīs*, Gk. δίς, OLat. *dvi-*, etc.) via a semantic intermediate stage δουή ‘doubt, perplexity’ in *II.9.229-30* (Benveniste 1954: 254f., 1966: 294f.), I submit that Ved. √ *dviṣ-* ‘hate’ can also find its base root in the Vedic cognate of Gk. δουή, namely *dvayá-* adj. ‘twofold’, n. ‘duplicity, falsehood’ (on cognancy cf. Wackernagel 1914: 119ff.). In its usage in RV one finds a strong connotation of the word *dvayá-* with enemies and hostility, as can be seen, e.g. in 1.147.4a-b (transl. from J-B.):

*yó no agne árarivāṃ aghāyúr arātīvā  
 marcáyati dvayéna*

“O Agni, the ungenerous one wishing us ill and full of hostility who harms us by his duplicity”

The portrayal of a hateful hostile is more elaborated in 5.3.7 where *yó no marcáyati dvayéna* (d) “he who harms us with *dvaya*” is opposed to *yó na āgo abhy éno bhárāti* (a) “he who will bring us injury and calamity”. Similarly, in various passages the word *dvayāvín-* ‘duplicitous’, a possessive derivative of *dvayá-*, has been characterized as or juxtaposed to “wicked” (*agháśamsasya* 1.42.4b), “enemies” (*árātayas* 2.23.5b), “destructive” (*dhvarásah* 2.23.5c), etc. Hence, the semantic development from *dvayá-* to *dviṣ-* is highly plausible and follows a natural path of ‘twofold, double’ => ‘duplicitous, false, deceitful’ => ‘hostile, inimical’ => ‘to be hostile, hate’, not unsimilar to the Greek development of δουή ‘doubt’ => ‘to be in doubt, be perplexed’ => δέιδω ‘to fear, be anxious’ (and further perhaps Arm. *erku* ‘two’ => *erkncim* ‘I fear’, *erkiwl* ‘fear’, etc., cf. GEW *s.v.* δέιδω).

Morphologically, the *s*-extended formations are only securely attested in Indo-Iranian (Arm. *erknci-* and Lat. *dīrus* being highly contested and problematic on their own, see, e.g. Klingenschmitt 1982: 78f., Rix 2005: 569). Conversely, the base root without the *s*-enlargement has traces left in OAv. *duuaēθā* ‘hostile’ (Y. 32.16b, 48.9b, see Insler *loc.cit.*; cf. Bartholomae 1904: 763) and to that one may add the Vedic *hapax ádvayantam* ‘not duplicitous, truthful’ in 3.29.5 if it is to be analyzed as a participial form of a root √ *dvi-* ‘be

duplicitous, be deceitful; be hostile?'. Therefore, the *s*-extension (to this particular root) must be an Indo-Iranian innovation. I will further show that  $\sqrt{dvi\bar{s}}$ - indeed has a very marginal existence in RV as a verb: only 5 occurrences in 3 hymns (*dvēṣṭi* 3x, *dviśmās* 2x) in the entire RV corpus in its finite forms and only one of them is found in the family books. In contrast, the root noun *dviś* f. 'hatred, hostility; enemy' has a much more prolific profile, attested 40x in RV and over half (21x) of the tokens are from book 2 to 7.

I therefore argue that instead of searching for the origins of the *s*-extension in the verbal realm, the genesis of  $\sqrt{dvi\bar{s}}$ - is rather denominal based on an old amphikinetic *s*-stem feminine noun *\*duēi-os-/\*dui-s-* of the same type as *\*h2éus-os-/\*h2us-s-* 'dawn' (cf. Lesb. nom. αὔωσ/Ved. gen. *uśás*, etc.), whence the weak stem *\*duis-* is generalized in Indo-Iranian as Ved. *dviś* and possibly in OAv. *daibiš-uuant-* 'enemy'. The strong stem is not retrievable in Indo-Iranian but traces of it might be sought in Gk. δέος which structurally reflects *\*duēi-os-* and is remodelled into a neuter *s*-stem there. Thus, the chain of development in Indo-Iranian is as follows:

- (1) *\*duēi-/duoi-* 'twofold; (be) duplicitous, deceitful' (Ved. *dvayá-*,  $\sqrt{dvi}$  in *advayantam*, etc.)
- (2) *\*duēi-os-/\*dui-s-* 'duplicity, double-dealing; hostility' (Gk. δέος, Ved. *dviś*)
- (3) Generalization of *\*duis-* => Ved. *dviś* 'enemy; hatred'
- (4) Original root extended with *-s-* due to prominence of the root noun => Ved.  $\sqrt{dvi\bar{s}}$ - 'hate'

This type of root extension based on old feminine *s*-stem without noticeable change in the meaning is exactly paralleled by  $\sqrt{bhī}$ - 'fear' and  $\sqrt{bhī\bar{s}}$ - 'id.' (also  $\sqrt{bhya\bar{s}}$ - 'id.'), the latter of which has been shown by Gotō (1987:

224f., 225fn478) to be derived from *bhiyás-/instr. bhīṣa* (cf. also EWAia s.v. *BHAY<sup>I</sup>*). It is plausible that in addition to *bhīṣa* (a low frequency word attested 3x in RV) the *s*-extension in  $\sqrt{bhī\bar{s}}$ - may have also benefitted from contamination with  $\sqrt{dvi\bar{s}}$ -. Another likely source of root contamination within Indo-Iranian is Ved.  $\sqrt{tvi\bar{s}}$ - 'to be violently agitated, troubled, excited', cf. YAv. *θwaēša-* 'fear, anxiety'. Despite possibly having a similar set of amphikinetic *s*-stems in Ved. f. *tviś* and YAv. n. *θwayah-*,  $\sqrt{tvi\bar{s}}$ - must have already been extended with *-s-* (if indeed connected with Ir. *\*tvi-*, cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *?\*tuei-*) in the parent language as *\*tueis-* given Gk. σειω 'shake', σεισμός 'shock', etc. But it is highly probable that it may have facilitated, in addition to the effect of the *s*-stem nouns, the *s*-extension in  $\sqrt{dvi\bar{s}}$  and  $\sqrt{bhī\bar{s}}$  given the close semantics ('be agitated, tremble' ~ 'fear' ~ 'hate') and root shapes (*Ci-*), in a similar way that it has been proposed that PIE *\*kert-* 'turn' may represent an analogical extension of *\*ker-* after *\*uert-* 'turn' (Güntert 1914 *apud* Kocharov and Shatskov 2018: 222).

#### Abbreviations:

EDG = Beekes, Robert S.P. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*.

Leiden: Brill.

EWAia = Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1986-2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (3 vols.)

Heidelberg: Winter. GEW = Frisk, Hjalmar. 2017. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.

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LIV<sup>2</sup> = Rix, Helmut. 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstämmebildungen*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

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