The Development of the Vedic Canon and its Schools: The Social and Political Milieu

(Materials on Vedic Śākhās, 8)

Le problème de la śākhā est au centre des problèmes védiques, ... si l'on réussissait à établir ... la filiation des écoles, on saurait du même coup comment s'est développé l'ensemble du védisme.

Louis Renou Les écoles védiques, 208

- § 0. THE NATURE OF THE VEDIC CANON
- § 1. THE RGVEDA
- § 1.1. The structure of the RV collection
- § 1.2. The historical background
- § 1.3. Two Stages in the collection of the Rgvedic materials
- § 2. COLLECTIONS OF THE MANTRA PERIOD IN THE LANDS OF THE KURU
- § 2.1. The social and political conditions: The Kuru realm
- § 2.2. The texts of the Mantra period
- § 2.3. The Sāmaveda
- § 2.4. The Yajurveda
- § 2.5. The Atharvaveda
- § 2.6. The Rgveda Khila Collection
- § 2.7. The Four Vedas
- § 3. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANON: EARLY YAJURVEDA PROSE AND THE BRĀHMAŅAS
- § 3.1. The Historical Background
- § 3.2. The early Brāhmana style collections of the CarS, MS/KS, TS
- § 3.3. The early Yajurveda Samhitās of the Kuru realm: MS, KS/KpS
- § 4. THE TEXTS OF THE PAÑCĀLA LANDS
- § 4.1. The Taittirīyas and their subschools
- § 4.2. Early Brāhmaṇa texts of the Pañcāla lands: Śāṭyāyani and Jaiminīya texts
- § 5. THE EASTERN TERRITORIES
- § 5.1. The social and political situation
- § 5.2. The eastern fringe area: Kosala
- § 5.3. The Śatapatha Brāhmana of the Kānva school
- § 5.4. Baudhāvana Śrautasūtra
- § 5.5. Kausītaki Brāhmana
- § 6. THE EASTERN CORE AREA: VIDEHA
- § 6.1. The later Aitareya Brāhmana (AB 5-8)
- § 6.2. Śākalya's Rgveda redaction

- § 6.3. Vājasaneyi Samhitā
- § 6.4. Canon formation in the east
- § 6.5. Upanisads
- § 7. THE VEDIC SCHOOLS IN THE LATE VEDIC AND POST-VEDIC PERIOD
- § 8. SUMMARY: Canon, schools and politics

*** *** ***

§ 0. THE NATURE OF THE VEDIC CANON

 A^* detailed list of the texts which make out the Vedic canon does not exist in Vedic or early post-Vedic literature. There are, of course, medieval lists of Vedic texts and schools, such as those contained in the *Prapañcahṛdaya*. In the Vedic period itself, we find incipient lists which stress the particular division of the Vedic texts into three $(tray\bar{\imath})$ or four branches (RV, SV, YV; AV). As will be shown, this division became typical as a result of the Kuru reformation of the Vedic ritual.

Yet a Vedic corpus, as more or less fixed canon, was recognized and quoted by the early grammarians (Pāṇini¹ c. 400 B.C., Patañjali² c. 150 B.C.), and it was detailed in the Pāli canon³ (c. 250 B.C.) which already knew of the complete Vedic corpus.⁴

As is well known, the Vedic canon is not *scripture* in the literal sense: the Vedas were composed orally and they always were and still are, to some extent, *oral literature*. They must be regarded as *tape recordings*, made during the Vedic period and transmitted orally, and usually without the change of a single word.⁵ The strictly oral transmission applies to the prose

^{*} A first, brief version of this paper was read at the Toronto conference on Canon in 1988, organized by D. Oxtoby and J. Chen. A section dealing with canon formation in the East was read at Freiburg, Germany, in December 1996. A book-length version of this paper will appear separately. - For the present topic, see especially L. Renou, *Les écoles védiques et la formation du Veda*, Paris 1947 and N. Tsuji, *Genzon Yajuruweda Bunken / Existent YV literature*, Tokyo 1970.

¹ See P. Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda*, Allahabad 1935, see now J. Bronkhorst, Pāṇini and the Veda reconsidered, *Pāṇinian Studies*, ed. by M. Deshpande and S. Bhate, Ann Arbor 1991, 75-121

² See W. Rau, *Die vedischen Zitate im Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, Stuttgart 1985; Author, On the Archetype of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. *IIJ* 29 (1986), pp. 249-259

³ Of course, the problem of the time of the redaction of the Pāli canon remains. Yet the testimony about Vedic schools, found at inconspicuous places in the Pāli canon, is valuable.

⁴ "The old text of the mantras" (porāṇaṃ mantapadaṃ) MN 2, p.169:95; the Padapāṭha: padaka Brahmins, the three Vedas and their transmitters (DN 1.88, Thag 1248, Thīg 65, Aṅg.N. I p.163,166: 58,59, etc.), and even ancillary texts like etymology, grammar, etc. (DN 2.13, MN 2.91.93, Bv. 38); see Author, Tracing the Vedic dialects. Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes, ed. by Colette Caillat, Paris 1989, pp. 97-264; cf. Hillebrandt, Kleine Schriften p. 309 sqq.

⁵ Strictly speaking, only after the collection and redaction; yet even before redaction, the changes made are minimal (see below §1.3, n.35, 132 on diaskeuasis; but contrast M.

parts of the Vedas as well. These texts were taught and recited on the offering ground.⁶ Exceptions to the strictly oral tradition are rare.⁷ The earliest surviving Vedic⁸ mss., written without accent marks,⁹ come from Nepal (c. 1040 A.D.); however, they have not been studied so far.

The Four Vedas have been transmitted in various $\delta \bar{a}kh\bar{a}s$ or "branches", or as we usually call them, in "schools". The many Vedic schools developed from a very early time onwards, i.e. from the post-Rgvedic period when the Mantra texts such as the AV and YV were composed and collected. A particular school represents the *Brahmin community of a particular area*, tribe, or small kingdom, or rather chieftainship. Each local school followed a particular form of ritual and pronunciation, as opposed to those of the neighboring areas. Thus, the early territory of a Vedic school usually coincides with that of a particular tribe or subtribe. 10

Therefore, *originally there was no canon* of Vedic texts, no Vedic "Scripture", but only a *canon of texts accepted by each school*. Thus, one can say, with L. Renou: to know the development of the schools is to know that of the Veda. This means: *all school texts taken together form the Vedic canon*. ¹¹ It does not mean that *all* of these texts were accepted by *all*

Deshpande, Rgvedic retroflexion, *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India*, ed. by M. M. Deshpande and P. E. Hook, Ann Arbor 1979, p. 246). The situation of individual texts may differ: texts with a small basis of reciters (PS, ŚS, Jaiminīya, Vādhūla, Maitrāyaṇīya, Kaṭha texts) have more deviations due to little control on the medieval written transmission on which our editions are almost exclusively based. For details see Author, *Prolegomena on AV tradition* (forthc.).

- ⁶ MS 1.6.13 refers to the three fires with *imam* and *amum* 'this one', and 'that one', while KS 8.4/KpS 6.9 already substitute the words: *gārhapatya*, *odanapacya* and *āhavanīya* (observed by J. Narten, in her classes, c. 1970). Even the Vedic Sūtras still show the emphatic use of the demonstrative pronoun: "he should do in *that* way", see W. Caland, *Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, Leipzig 1903.
- ⁷ Note the "first" writing down of the Vedas by the Kashmiri Brahmin Vasukra, according to Albiruni, see *Alberuni's India*. *An English ed. ... by Dr. Edward C. Sachau*, p. 126; however, the tradition of PS points to a written archetype of c. 800-1000 A.D., see Author, Die Atharvaveda-Tradition und die Paippalāda-Saṃhitā. *ZDMG*, *Supplementband VI*, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 256-271; cf. also Rau, Zur Textkritik der Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad *ZDMG* 105, 1955, p. *58*, on a possible written archetype of BĀU.
- ⁸ One has perhaps to exclude the Upaniṣads which have a separate tradition in Vedāntic circles, some Dharma texts and several Vedāngas.
- ⁹ Note that Orissa MSS lack accent marks while these are common elsewhere in the Middle Ages.
- ¹⁰ By 150 B.C., however, Patañjali gives a list of schools which clearly is unrealistic in part: There are a surprising 21 schools of the RV, 101 schools of the YV, 1000 of the SV and 9 of the AV
- ¹¹ The question what was excluded from these śākhā collections has not even been asked. An indication is given by H. Falk's investigation into Vedic rituals in the Pāli canon (*BEI* 6, 225-254), which shows that certain rituals did not make it into the canon accepted by the various (surviving) Vedic schools.

Brahmins. A working definition, 12 thus, may be: the Vedic canon consists of the sum of all those texts in Vedic Sanskrit that originated in and were used by the various Vedic schools ($ś\bar{a}kh\bar{a}s$).

Most of these canonical texts were composed by Brahmins for Brahmins. The texts stress proper praxis rather than belief, and one would be justified to speak of orthopraxis rather than orthodoxy. However, the Kuru system of śrauta ritual¹³ comes along with a complete set of mostly unstated (and largely unstudied) presuppositions and beliefs, which are the basis of this authoritative system, an orthodoxy of sorts. The most important among them, perhaps, is the very act of belief in the efficacy of the system itself, by śraddhā. ¹⁴ In this sense, I think, we can speak of a Kuru orthodoxy. Other peoples ¹⁵ of Vedic Northern India did not believe (śrad-dhā) in these tenets of Kuru orthodoxy and therefore did not follow Kuru orthopraxy (the post-Rgvedic śrauta ritual). ¹⁶

¹² In the longer version of this paper (forthc.) this will be discussed at length; also, major questions such as origin and formation, gradual shifts in tradition, additions to and exclusion from an emerging canon, the interpretation of (early) canon, the continuing power of "meaning" of canonical texts, expansion by inclusion of "commentaries", transmission in recitation and writing, etc. will be treated. J.Z. Smith's recently canonized (W. Doniger in Patton 1994, vii) but rather exclusive, sole criteria of closure and interpretation (Smith 1981, repeated by L. Patton et al. 1994) are not sufficient to explain the phenomenon; cf. however, A. &. J. Assmann, *Kanon und Zensur*, 1987.

¹³ See Author, Early Sanskritization, *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies (EJVS)*, vol. 1, issue 4 (Dec. 1995), at: www.shore.net/~india/ejvs = Early Sanskritization. Origins and development of the Kuru State, in: *Recht, Staat und Verwaltung im klassischen Indien. The state, the Law, and Administration in Classical India* edited by B. Kölver, München 1997, pp. 27-52.

¹⁴ See H.W. Köhler, Śrad-dhā- in der vedischen und altbuddhistischen Literatur, Wiesbaden 1973 [= Diss. 1948]; interestingly, śrāddha, the equally all-important rite of feeding one's ancestors in the other world is derived from śraddhā. -- Many other aspects of this belief system are in dire need of study (some of which are forthcoming): $v\bar{a}c$ (RV) and inspiration $(dh\bar{n})$, $r\bar{n}a$ "debt (towards the gods, ancestors, $r\bar{s}is$)", ritual itself $(yaj\bar{n}a)$, food (anna), ucchista (AV), exchange $(pratid\bar{a}na)$. See Author, Macrocosm, Mesocosm, and Microcosm. The persistent nature of 'Hindu' beliefs and symbolical forms, in: IJHS Symposium on Robert Levy's Mesocosm, International Journal of Hindu Studies, ed. by S. Mittal, forthc. 1997.

¹⁵ For example, *horribile dictu*, the Kāśi, who "had lost the sacred fire for 10 generations" ŚB 13.5.4.19, in other words, and in spite of the ŚB tale which attributes this to their defeat by a Bharata king, they *never had* it; another, well-known case is that of the eastern country of the Videha which had to be "sweetened" by Agni/the Brahmins before it was accepted into the fold, ŚB 1.4.1.10 sqq; see below § 3.3., §5.1, and n.284.

 $^{^{16}}$ In a way this echoes the Rgvedic distinction between $\bar{a}rya$ and dasyu. (cf. on dasyu, below n.162, 164, 279, 334, 341.)

§ 1. RV COLLECTION

There is general agreement that Rgveda is the oldest text of the Vedic period. However, why have the hymns been collected *at all* and *how*? This question is rarely put and hardly ever answered.

The hymns were the intellectual property of certain clans; most of the hymns are part of the so-called "family books" (RV 2-8). These clans were not willing to part with their ancestral and secret knowledge. They indicate their "copyright" by a "clan seal": refrains, ¹⁷ poets' own names, openly or disguised. The stage was set early on, for the individual viz. clan-wise preservation of texts, and for the development of a multitude of smaller or larger priestly traditions. But this is exactly what did *not* happen: we only have the RV "collection" (the *Samhitā*), the RV Khila, and the collections belonging to the SV, AV and the YV.

The emergence of the new and uniform "Classical" Vedic *śrauta* ritual provides the clue for this development: ¹⁹ Towards the end of the "RV period" members of the Kuru tribe assembled the ancient Rcs and ordered them in a thoughtfully arranged collection that comes close to our present RV.²⁰

§ 1.1. The Structure of the RV Collection.

According to the investigations of Bergaigne and Oldenberg the RV is structured according to several clear principles best visible in the family books (RV 2-8): (1) the *number of hymns* per book *increases*, (2) the family books begin with a small Saṃhitā addressed to Agni, Indra and other gods, all arranged according to *decreasing total number* of hymns in each deity collection. (3) Inside a deity series the hymns progress from longer to *shorter* ones. The *meter* decides further: Jagatī, Triṣṭubh hymns precede those in Anustubh, Gāyatrī.

Therefore, if one knows, as still is the custom in recitation today, not only the author but also the deity and the meter of a hymn, it can be pinpointed with great accuracy inside the core collection of the RV. This ingenious, complex ordering device originated in a civilization without writing. Whatever deviates from the numerical scheme, must be later than

¹⁷ Such as bṛhád vadema vidáthe suvírāḥ (book 2), dhiyá syāma rathyàḥ sadāsáḥ (4), mádema, śatáhimāḥ suvírāḥ (6), ágne sắ te sumatír bhūtu asmé (3), ghnántam vṛtrắṇi saṃjítaṃ dhánānām (3), yūyám pāta svastíbhiḥ sádā naḥ (7), vidyámeṣáṃ vṛjánaṃ jīrádānum (Agastya, 1).

¹⁸ For example in the allusion to the name of the poet, Vimada, (mentioned in 10.24.4 with his complete name) in the formula *ví vo máde*, see T. Elizarenkova, in this volume and cf. Idem, *Language and style of the Vedic Rṣis*, Albany 1995.

¹⁹ One of the few who has asked this question was A. Hillebrandt, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 534.

²⁰ See Author, The Realm of the Kurus: Origins and Development of the First State in India, *Nihon Minami Ajia Gakkai Zenkoku Taikai*, *Hōkoku Yōshi*, [Summaries of the Congress of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies], Kyoto 1989, pp. 1-4, and in some more detail: Early Sanskritization.

the original collection of the Rgveda. The growth of the Samhitā can be summarized, with Oldenberg, as follows:

1.1-50 | 1.51-191 | 2 - 7 | 8.1 - 66 | 8.67-103 | 9 | 10.1-84|10.85-191. | KHILA

[Vāl.8.49-59]

However, the real contemporary reasons for this pattern have not been discussed so far; an initial attempt will be made below.

§ 1.2. The Historical Background.

As I have pointed out elsewhere²¹ the various "family books" of the RV have a rather clear affiliation with certain tribes and chieftains, which can be summarized as follows.²²

book / clans	poets' geographical area	last prominent Bharata / Pūru king mentioned
2 Gṛtsamāda	NW, Panjab	Divodāsa (Bharata)
3 Viśvāmitra	Pjb., Sarasvatī	Sudās (Bharata)
4 Vāmadeva	ŃW, Panjab	Trasadasyu (Pūru), Divodāsa
5 Atri	NW ->Pjb>Yamunā	Trksi (Pūru)
6 Bharadvāja	NW, Pjb., Sar.;->Gaṅgā	Trkși (Pūru)
7 Vasistha	Pjb., Sar.; ->Yamunā	Sudās (Bharata)
8 Kaṇva &	,	
Āṅgirasa	NW, Panjab	Tṛkṣi (Pūru), etc.

²¹ Author, Rgvedic history: poets, chieftains and polities. In: *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia*, ed. by G. Erdosy, *Indian Philology and South Asian Studies* (ed. by A. Wezler and M. Witzel, vol. 1, Berlin/New York (de Gruyter)), 1995, pp. 307-354. I take this opportunity to apologize for the innumerable printing mistakes in my two papers in that volume; mistakes that seem to indicate that I even lost competence of my mother tongue, German. At my request, the text was rewritten and corrected by the volume editor but my corrections were, for the most part, not carried out. The Volume has now been reprinted, at an affordable rate, by Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi.

²² In the sequel I present mostly conclusions but only a few, certainly not all arguments that lead to them. These will be presented in detail in the long version of this paper, to be included in my forthcoming book on early South Asian history (working title: *Beyond the Flight of the Falcon: The Indianization of the Aryans*). - Cf. now also the somewhat divergent results on RV dialects by H. Scharfe, Bartholomae's Law Revisited or how the Rgveda is dialectically divided, *StII* 20, 351-377.

(extracted from older clan collections)

It is important to note that four of the "Five Peoples" of the RV, the Yadu-Turvaśa and the Anu-Druhyu, do not figure prominently in most of the RV, and if so, the stanzas praising them are composed in standard Rgvedic, not a hypothetical *l*-dialect²³ represented in eastern MIA. Only the newcomers, the Pūru and their original sub-tribe, the Bharata, play a major role; most of the books 2-7 have been composed when the Pūru-Bharatas were about to enter or had just entered the Panjab. Whatever had been composed before must have been recast in Pūru-Bharata style (or has been lost).

In fact, the bulk of the RV represents only 5 or 6 generations of kings (and of the contemporary poets)²⁴ of the Pūru and Bharata tribes. It contains little else *before* and *after* this "snapshot" view of contemporary Rgvedic history, as reported by these contemporary "tape recordings." On the other hand, the whole Rgvedic period may have lasted even up to 700 years, from the infiltration of the Indo-Aryans into the subcontinent, c. 1900 B.C. (at the utmost, the time of collapse of the Indus civilization), up to c. 1200 B.C., the time of the introduction of iron which is first mentioned in the clearly post-Rgvedic hymns of the Atharvaveda.

The initial collection, Oldenberg's core 1.51-8, must have been made shortly after the time of the Bharata victory under Sudās over the Ten Kings' alliance²⁵ but not as late as during the post-Rgvedic Kuru realm. The Kurus appear only once in RV proper in the name of king Kuruśravaṇa and in the Kuntāpa hymns (RVKh 5) that depict the golden age of the Kuru tribe; thus they could not yet have been incorporated into the RV collection. The original collection must have been the result of a strong political effort aiming at the re-alignment of the various factions in the tribes and poets' clans under a post-Sudās Bharata hegemony which included (at least sections of) their former Pūru enemies and some other tribes.

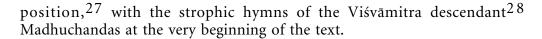
At first, the stylistically divergent Kāṇva collections may have been excluded from the Bharata collection since the Kāṇva poets seem to have sided with the Pūru. Their later inclusion into the "national Bharata-Pūru collection" may have been part of an appeasement policy of the later Bharata chieftains, that may have also been accompanied by intermarriage of the Pūru and Bharata royal houses.²⁶ The Kāṇva frame with strophic hymns (RV 1.1-50, RV 8.1-48/66) that surrounds the family books could have been established by the poets/priests of new Bharata/Pūru lineage as to include the strophic hymns of the pro-Pūru Kāṇva poets in a prominent

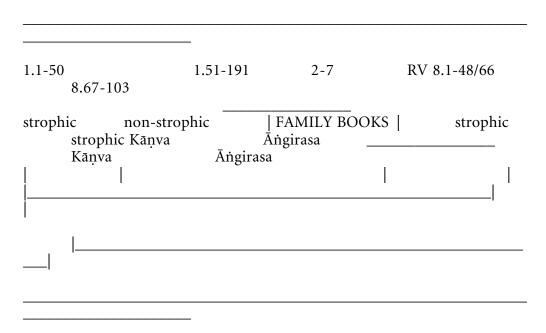
²³ For example eastern *lājā* for *rājā*, with further characteristics such as nom. *buddhe* for western *buddhah/buddho*; see discussion in *Tracing*.

²⁴ See Author, chapter on Rgvedic poets in: Beyond the Flight of the Falcon (forthc.).

²⁵ As Sudās, his grandsons as well as their contemporary, the Pūru king Tṛkṣi, are mentioned, but hardly any later kings.

²⁶ Intermarriage is attested for the Kuru and Pañcāla for example at JB 2.278-9, see *Tracing* p. 236, n.328 and Author, Early Sanskritization.





One has to assume that this split frame of strophic/non-strophic hymns was established only when the redactor(s) who made the final collection wanted to balance book 1 with book 10, both of which contain 191 hymns.

Consequently, we have to distinguish between the collection (and the ancient diaskeussis) of the family books 2-7 and the (re-)arrangement of these materials, accompanied by the addition of the Kāṇva and additional Āṅgirasa materials in books 1-10.

§ 1.3. Two Stages in the collection of the Rgyedic materials.

This second effort to collect RV material is, perhaps, the more interesting one in the present context. It was only under the Kurus that as much traditional verse material as possible was included: not only the sāman-like hymns in book 9 but also that of the "Atharvavedic" spells in book 10, and that of stanzas accompanying some major rites of passage (marriage, death). We must suppose rivalry between various groups of priests which resulted in double or multiple collection of hymns (in SV, AV) in cases where several groups were contending for the monopoly of arranging and carrying out certain rituals and their texts.

²⁷ Actually, even the Āṅgirasa section RV 1.51-- begins with the hymns of Savya Pājra and contains at 1.53.9 the interesting reference to Suśravas fighting a *Twenty Kings' Battle*. This parallel occurrence of the famous Ten King's Battle is suspicious. As names using the element *śrav-as /-aṇa* occur in the later Bharata/Pūru dynasty, the occurrence at RV 1.53-54 may have been intentional.

²⁸ Viśvāmitra, an opponent of Sudās at the time of the Ten Kings' Battle.

265

The contemporaneousness of these efforts is indicated by the data of the late book 10 of RV, the "book of additions." The collection of the new hymns in RV 10 create the impression of a collection of "bits and pieces" of *individual* poetry composed at the time of the later Bharata realm and perhaps even that of the emerging Kuru realm. This book approaches the style of the poetic Mantra texts of YV, SV, AV. We still are in need of a detailed comparison of the hymns in RV 10 that appear in AV, SV, YV as well. 1

Finally, there are some indications of the intentions of the initiator(s) of the final collection of Rcs: books 1 and 10, the outer frame surrounding the older *maṇḍalas*, both have 191 hymns; obviously, the number of hymns in book 10 was modeled after book 1, as to provide a well balanced frame. After what has been said above, it is not surprising that the last hymn is a hymn to unity!³²

To sum up: as has been discussed in detail elsewhere,³³ the new Kuru dynasty of Parikṣit, living in the Holy Land of Kurukṣetra, unified most of the Rgvedic tribes, brought the poets and priests together in the common enterprise of collecting their texts and of "reforming" the ritual. This provided a chance to increase one's status by conscientiously performing one set of Śrauta rituals after the other. It is significant, however, that the Rgveda Khilas, especially the Kuntāpa hymns, were *not* included in the new Kuru Rgveda collection. The Kuntāpa hymns were part of the New Year ritual of the Kuru dynasty, and as such, they were not (yet) regarded as sacred or ancient and hallowed enough to be included: they were "practical", ritualistic poetry for ready use.³⁴

²⁹ Book 10 is clearly the "book of additions." Additions in other parts of the text are incidental and late; Book 10 has the older additions while the various small additions elsewhere in the text of RV are much younger, see Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 265 n.2, p. 253.

³⁰ Note the mentioning of king Kuruśravaṇa Trāsadasyava RV 10.32.9. 10.33.4 (in Kavaṣa Ailūṣa hymns) and, in the RV Anukramaṇī, of the poet of RV 8.76-78, Kurusuti, who, with typical archaization, stresses his use of an "old poem" (8.76.6); it is typical for the late date of his poems that he already knows of a kṣīrapāka odana (consisting of rice? 8.77.10, pakva odana 77.6, puroḷāśa 78.1) and of the boar Emuṣa.

³¹ Cf. below on overlapping hymns and the Ur-YV, SV, AV.

The Unity Hymn 10.191 was added as the "full stop". Interestingly, it exceeds the preceding hymns by one stanza and thus cannot be original in its present form, unless by design. Note also that other, lost RV versions (e.g. Bāṣkala, see Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 132, cf. RVKh 5.1-3; Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 501 sq.) have more hymns, and end with another hymn. Only the Śākala RV (and its predecessor) ends with the <code>samjñānam</code> hymn; cf. Author, IIJ 25 (1983), pp. 238-239. -- The beginning of the text is remarkable too. RV 1.1 is a hymn to Agni Vaiśvānara, 'Agni of all people.' Note that it is Agni Vaiśvānara who precedes Videgha Māthava in his march eastwards (ŚB 1.4.10-18).

³³ Author, Early Sanskritization.

³⁴ One may, of course, also suppose that they were composed only after the collection of the RV materials, as they were the texts of the *post*-Bharata Pārikṣita dynasty. Cf. Author, Saramā and the Panis. Origins of Prosimetric Exchange in Archaic India, in: *Prosimetrum*:

This first complete RV Saṃhitā should not be confused with the text which Śākalya encountered when he composed his Padapāṭha in eastern North India during the late Brāhmaṇa period.³⁵ Rather, there is a gap of several centuries during which the transmission of the collected RV text was affected by some unknown, rather erratic individuals who made some minor, not always consistent changes in the received text. The process is well known as the *orthoepic diaskeuasis* of the RV. There still are traces which the older pre-Śākalya Samhitāpātha has left in our text.³⁶

§ 2. COLLECTIONS OF THE MANTRA PERIOD IN THE LANDS OF THE KURU

§ 2.1. The social and political conditions.

The newly formed Kuru super-tribe and its 'Great Chieftains' first appear in RV 10.32.9, 10.33.4 as Kuruśrávaṇa and in RV Khila 5.10 (= ŚS 20.127), Parikṣit. The many political, social, economical, linguistic and religious changes of this time³⁷ include:

- * Politically, there is a replacement of the fifty-odd Rgvedic (sub-)tribes by the new "super-tribe" of the Kuru and slightly later, by their eastern counterpart, the Pañcāla.
- * The geographical and political center has moved from the greater Panjab to the modern (eastern) Panjab and Haryana,³⁸ and further on into the Upper Doāb of the Yamunā and Gaṅgā. Settlements are predominantly found along the rivers;³⁹ people still move about in semi-nomadic fashion,

Cross-cultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse, ed. by Joseph Harris and Karl Reichl, Cambridge 1997.

³⁵ See Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* for dating our *RV* redaction, as established by Śākalya through his Padapāṭha at the end of the Brāhmaṇa period. Some small changes in the text were made later on, see J. Bronkhorst, The orthoepic diaskeuasis of the Rgveda and the date of Pāṇini, *IIJ* 23, 1981, 83-95; cf. Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften* 3, p. 1979 sq.

³⁶ See Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* and Hillebrandt, *Kleine Schriften* p. 539.

³⁷ See Author, Early Sanskritization.

³⁸ This is obvious in references on the rivers flowing eastwards and westwards (see Author, *Localisation*). The Gandhāri and Āraṭṭa in the NW and their neighbors, the Mahāvṛṣa, are regarded as outsiders, as well as the eastern neighbors of the Kuru-Pañcālas, the Kāśi (in PS) or the Aṅga of NW Bengal (in ŚS). The Eastern and Southern expansion of Vedic culture has just begun at this moment. --- Some economic reasons also play a role in the shift to Haryana, see J. Shaffer, Cultural Change in eastern Panjab, in *Studies in the Archaeology of India and Pakistan*, ed. by J. Jacobson, Delhi 1986; cf. also J. D. Shaffer and D. A. Lichtenstein, The concepts of "cultural tradition" and "paleoethnicity" in South Asian archaeology, in *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia. Language, Material Culture and Ethnicity*, ed. by G. Erdosy, Berlin-New York, 1995, esp. 137 sqq.

³⁹ Cf. G. Erdosy, *Urbanisation in Early Historic India*, Oxford 1988.

with *yoga* "trek" and *kṣema* "peaceful settlement".⁴⁰ This pattern continues well into the Brāhmana period (see § 3.1.)

- * The importance of the new Kuru monarchy is underlined by the number of texts that refer to it and its institutions in the Mantra period: while some "coronation" hymns are already included in the RV,⁴¹ there are the Mantra time collections of 16 hymns in PS 10, of the Rājasūya Mantras in the extant YV Saṃhitās, and, largely unnoticed so far, that of the hymns of ŚS 13 / PS(Or) 18, 15ff. that deal with Rohita, the "red (sun)" as a symbol of royal power.
- * Increasing social stratification with the "official" establishment of the four classes (*varṇa*) in the Puruṣa hymn of the RV (10.90.12) which is visible in all Mantra texts.
- * Economy: almost exclusive reliance on pastoralism with some barley (yava) cultivation in the RV has largely been replaced by extensive rice cultivation with continuing pastoralism in the Mantra period. Now, rice is used even as sacrificial food.
- * The appearance of post-Rgvedic Sanskrit. This probably was due to a new wave of immigrants from across the Indus, which first appeared as the Bharata and later developed into the Kuru.⁴²

However, how did all of these developments come about, by whom were they set into motion, by whom were they carried out, and why in the first place? I have tried to answer these questions in a separate investigation.⁴³ In sum, the great social, political and economic changes necessitated a new, complex ritual structure that strengthened the new Kuru dynasty, the leading (royal, rājanya) Kṣatriyas and the lower nobility, and that provided for some measure of upward mobility ("Sanskritization"). Ritual now became a means to express such upward social movement.⁴⁴ The Kuru realm became the center of Brahmanical culture, with Kurukṣetra as the traditional heartland of Brahmanical orthopraxy. This also necessitated the development and collection of a large body of ritual texts which were assembled according to the new division of labor of the traditional priests into four units: the Rgvedic Hotar, the Sāmavedic Udgātar, the Yajurvedic Adhvaryu and the Atharvavedic Brahman

 $^{^{40}}$ See Wilhelm Rau, Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien nach den Brāhmaṇa-Texten dargestellt, Wiesbaden 1957, and see his contribution to this volume, on the development of the meaning of $gr\bar{a}ma$.

⁴¹ See B. Schlerath, *Das Königtum im Rig- und Atharvaveda*, Wiesbaden 1960.

⁴² See *Tracing*, p. 222 sqq.

⁴³ See Author, The Realm of the Kurus, Kyoto 1989; and Early Sanskritization.

 $^{^{44}}$ It has apparently not been noticed that the *śrauta* ritual is set up in such a way as to satisfy many levels of solemnity and status. For details see Author, Early Sanskritization.

⁴⁵ Substituting the older group of 7 priests in the RV, e.g. RV 8.72, cf. the situation in Iran: *zaotar* with his seven auxiliary priests: *huuanān*, *ātrəuuaxš*, *frabərətar*, *ābərət*, *āsnātar*, *raēθuuiškara*, *sraošāvarəz*, see V. 5.57, Vr. 3.1.

priests.⁴⁶ This is the ultimate reason for the establishment of the four Vedic Samhitās.

All of this took place during a dark period, *the gap* between the RV and the earliest extant YV Saṃhitās (MS, KS). This intervening period is represented by a large body of linguistically distinct texts, the Mantras.⁴⁷ However, the Mantra period as such is often not recognized as a separate textual layer and a linguistic period at all. Yet, it is these texts that record the emergence of the 'Classical' Vedic Śrauta ritual and it is this age that produced so many of the traits of Vedic and Classical India which have been important until today.

§ 2.2. The Texts of the Mantra Period.

... die Literaturgeschichte ... der nächstfolgenden Periode [ist] ganz überwiegend eine Geschichte des Yajurveda; und eine solche ist noch nicht geschrieben und wird nicht so bald geschrieben werden können.

H. Oldenberg, Kl.Schr., 615.

By the late Mantra period the four major Vedic collections (saṃhitā) were in existence: that of the poetical Mantra texts in the RV-Saṃhitā; that of the ritual prose and verse Mantras as well as early (now lost) explanatory texts in an Ur-YV Saṃhitā; that of the melodies sung during the Soma sacrifice in an Ur-SV Saṃhitā; and that of healing charms, of white and black magic, of philosophic and ritual speculation, as well as that of gṛḥya type Mantras in an Ur-AV Saṃhitā.

The Mantra period includes the following texts: RV Khila (RVKh), SV (Rāṇ., Kauth., Jaim.), AV (PS, ŚS), YV (MS, KS, TS, KpS, VS Mantras). As is well known, the Mantras are composed either in verse or they are prose formulas. Though the verse Mantras have often been taken from the RV, they differ remarkably in form from the RV text. This rather liberal treatment of the RV texts is typical for all non-Rgvedic traditions. There are innumerable innovations, corruptions, changes or substitutions of words or whole verse lines, a process usually referred to as *perseveration*. On the other hand, the RV Mantras have come down to us in (almost) pristine form. -- All these post-Rgvedic Mantras are in "Mantra" language which is distinct both from late Rgvedic and from the language of the succeeding YV Samhitā prose as well as that of the still later Brāhmanas.

§ 2.3. The Sāmaveda.

⁴⁶ Which echoes the division of the people into the four classes. The AV priests can, as far as their status is concerned, easily be compared with the Śūdras, as a lower category of Brahmins. This stigma followed them well into medieval and modern Orissa, see G. Pfeffer, *Puris Sasandörfer, Basis einer regionalen Elite.* [Habilitationsschrift] Heidelberg 1975.

⁴⁷ Most of the Mantras in Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance* belong to this period (excluding those from the RV, part of which are found also in SV, YV, AV, though often in a later shape).

Among the post-Rgvedic Saṃhitās, the Sāmaveda (in its Kauthuma/Rāṇāyaṇīya or Jaiminīya versions) is closest to the RV as its texts have been taken almost completely from the RV, except for 75 Mantras. This brought about the problem of ordering the hundreds of melodies used in the Śrauta rituals. We find, in the Brāhmaṇas, and to some extent even in the RV itself, the names of certain melodies, 48 but how could one classify them? They were ordered precisely in the manner we also have been using in popular classifications: A certain melody is indicated by its underlying most popular text, by saying something like "the melody (sāman) of 'God save the queen'".

Consequently, the SV Samhitā consists of two major parts, the four melody collections $(g\bar{a}na)$ and (b) the three verse "books" $(\bar{a}rcika)$. A melody in the $g\bar{a}na$ books corresponds to a verse in the $\bar{a}rcika$ books.

melody books (gāna) verse collections (ārcika)

Grāmegeya gāna Pūrvārcika

Aranyegeya gāna Āranyakasamhitā

Ūha gāna Uttarārcika

Ūhya gāna collection of stobhas⁴⁹

The SV Saṃhitā follows, at least in its first part, the arrangement of the RV quite closely. In the $P\bar{u}rv\bar{a}rcika$, verses addressed to Agni and Indra come first and only then those to Soma, just as in RV 9, the Soma book, come only after the family books which typically begin with Agni and Indra hymns. Further, the verses are arranged according to their meters in descending order. 50

Just as the arrangement of the SV echoes that of the RV, its language, too, is younger. Though the SV contains mostly hymns from the RV, they have not been transmitted in a very accurate manner among the Sāmavedins. Such "floating form" Mantras have been studied by Olden-

⁴⁸ Such as *bṛhat 8.52.9*(?) or both *bṛhat* and *rathantara* at 10.181.

⁴⁹ These consist of single or multiple syllables (mostly without meaning), short words, or even of short sentences like *e, svar jyotih*. They have almost universally been neglected by scholars. Cf. the brief discussion by J. F. Staal, Vedic Mantras, in: H. Alper, *Mantra*, Albany 1989, p. 56, 61 and B. Faddegon, Ritualistic Dadaism, *AO* 5, 1927, 177-195.

⁵⁰ In the Pūrvārcika the first verse of the common unit, the tristich, is used as indicating the melody of the whole tristich (*tṛca*). In the *Uttarārcika*, however, groups of verses have been collected, mostly tristichs, but also *Pragāthās* (strophes of two verses) or strophes of 4, 6, 7, 9, or 10 verses. This collection contains the verses used for melodies sung at the various Śrauta rituals. -- In the *Ūha- and Ūhyagāna* the melodies of the Soma ritual are found which rest on the verses of the *Uttarārcika*. The melodies of the *Ūhagāna* correspond to the verses of the *Uttarārcika* and the *Grāmegeyagāna*, while the melodies of the *Ūhya(rahasya)gāna* correspond to those of the *Āraṇyaka-Saṃhitā* and the *Araṇyegeyagāna*.

berg⁵¹ and Brune.⁵² However, in all post-Rgvedic Samhitās there is decreasing liberty in the treatment of the RV text, especially in the later sections of Mantra time texts.⁵³ Indeed, already the second $\bar{\text{A}}$ rcika of SV has less deviations from $\bar{\text{Rg}}$ yeda⁵⁴ than the first.

While these features are of importance for the history of canon formation, nothing particularly important can be gathered from the SV for the problem of the dark period and its relation to the Kuru realm. However, it can be observed that the teachers of the Kauthuma version have worked together most closely with the Kaṭha school. For example, PB 1 is a collection of Mantras taken from the Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha school. This helps to locate the Kauthumas in the Kuru area, since the Kaṭhas clearly stem from eastern Panjab. However, a close study of the Kauthuma Mantras and their relation to Kaṭha Mantras still is outstanding, as is an investigation into the relationship of the Jaimimīya Mantras and those of surrounding schools.

§ 2.4. The Yajurveda.

While the SV is based on RV Mantras, the earliest sections of the Yajurveda are independent from it: the earliest Mantras in the YV Saṃhitās are in prose and they belong, linguistically, only to the second level of Vedic texts. These are the so-called Black YV (Kṛṣṇa YV) with its Maitrāyaṇī, Kaṭha, Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha and Taittirīya schools, as well as the White YV (Śukla YV) of the Vājasaneyi school, in their Mādhyandina and Kāṇva śākhās.

All YV Saṃhitās share a similar pattern. The Black YV texts are a combination of sections containing the sacrificial formulas (the *yajuṣ* Mantras) and their linguistically later, ritualistic and "theological" explanation (*brāhmaṇa*). Such YV Saṃhitā *brāhmaṇa* sections, while later than the Mantras, belong to the linguistic level 3 (YV prose) and are older than the Brāhmaṇas proper (such as AB, TB, etc.: level 4). The White YV Saṃhitās (VSM, VSK), on the other hand, form a collection of the Mantra sections only.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, pp. 271-369.

⁵² J. Brune, Zur Textkritik der dem Sāmaveda mit dem achten Maṇḍala des Rgveda gemeinsamen Stellen, Kiel 1909, i.e. after the publication of M. Bloomfield, Vedic Concordance, HOS 10, Cambridge Mass., 1906.

⁵³ Prolegomena, p. 335

⁵⁴ See Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 38, 467.

⁵⁵ "Where the rivers flow westwards most copiously", KS 23.8:54.12, where Arrian and Megasthenes (300 B.C.) still locate the Kathaioi (between the Chenab and the Ravi) as well as their sub-school, the *Kambistoloi* (at the confluence of the Panjab rivers), see Author, *Localisation*.

⁵⁶ Basic work on the question of distinguishing the Black and White YV texts has been carried out already by Weber and Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 290 ff. more than a hundred

The Mantras⁵⁷ accompany each action that the Adhvaryu priests carry out during the ritual. However, it has not been asked why there is such profusion of ritual formulae. Unfortunately we have very little material of Yajus type Mantras before the appearance of the YV Samhitās. One cannot expect them among the verses of the RV proper where they are, nevertheless, mentioned occasionally,⁵⁸ and some of them are even referred to as ancient.⁵⁹ The clue for the relative unimportance of the *yajus* in Rgvedic times may be the identification of the Adhvaryu priests with the Aśvins, who are described as latecomers to the Śrauta ritual in a Soma myth.⁶⁰ The Adhvaryus clearly were not as prominent in Rgvedic ritual as they are in the Śrauta ritual. It appears that the yajus have been normalized, added to, and amplified by the inclusion of RV stanzas during the development of the new post-Rgvedic Śrauta ritual with the Adhvaryu priests as its main actors. Such normalization and systematization is also indicated by the use of the same Mantras in different rituals at similar occasions.

The technical question faced by the Adhvaryus, just as by the RV, SV and AV priests, was how to order the rather disparate *yajuṣ* formulae. Frequently, their "authors" are not known at all, and their deities change from Mantra to Mantra. Thus, a different system of ordering was selected: first, by the occurrence of a Mantra in a particular ritual, and secondly, in the order they are actually employed. For each major ritual, thus, a separate small Mantra Saṃhitā had to be developed which, in most cases, is still found as a separate unit in the older YV Samhitās (MS, KS, TS).

Furthermore, the basis for ordering the various ritual Mantra collections is not arbitrary. All rituals have been artificially classified, already in the Ur-YV Saṃhitā, into two types, the *haviṣ* and the *soma* rituals.⁶¹ It is indeed these two Mantra collections that open all YV Saṃhitās: the New and Full Moon (*Dārśapaurṇamāsa*) and the Soma sacrifice (Agniṣṭoma or

years ago. Little has been added in the intervening period. However, see now, Y. Ikari, The Development of Mantras in the Agnicayana Ritual (1). On the treatment of *hautra* mantras, Zinbun 24, 1989, and Y. Ikari, forthc.

⁵⁷ For a characterization of the Mantras and their style, see Oldenberg, *Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa*, Berlin 1917, p. 2 sqq, 11.

⁵⁸ Yajuṣ in RV 5.62.5 (Atri), 8.61.8 (Pragātha Kāṇva etc.), 10.12.3, 10.90.9, 10.106.3 "the first yajuṣ" 10.181.3; Nivid RV 2.36.6 (Hotṛ sits down after [anu] the old/preceding nivid); 6.68.10 (by kīstá); 4.19.7 (in non-ritual context: dialogue); 1.175.6=176.6, 1.89.3 "old nivid" addressed to Bhaga, Mitra, Aditi, Dakṣa, Aryaman, Varuṇa, Soma, Aśvin, (Sarasvatī); 1.96.2 Āyu's old nivid; -- Praiṣa is first attested only in Mantra texts: AV 5.26.4, PS 9.2.5, TS 7.3.11.2, KS 39.8 (with nivid), KSAśv. 3.1, VS, etc.; cf. Horsch, Gāthā- u. Śloka-Literatur, Bern 1966.

⁵⁹ See the "old *nivid*" RV 1.8.3 and Āyu's old *nivid* 1.96.2.

⁶⁰ See Author, On the origin of the literary device of the 'Frame Story' in Old Indian literature. *Hinduismus und Buddhismus*, ed. by H. Falk, Freiburg 1987, p. 380-414

⁶¹ Which also use differing methods of offering: *vapati*, *juhoti* "he (the Adhvaryu) strews/pours".

Adhvara). While these may constitute the oldest core of YV ritual, interestingly, the Brāhmaṇa portions dealing with these two rituals are found only in the later portions of the YV Saṃhitā texts.⁶² It must be asked whether the obvious Adhvaryu program to make these two small Mantra collections the core and paradigm of all Śrauta ritual was the beginning of a systematization of YV Śrauta ritual or whether it did not occur at a preliminary end of early Śrauta development during the Mantra period. In other words, was the Soma/Dārśapaurṇamāsa paradigmatization⁶³ the starting point or did it mark a closure of (early) YV collection activity?

The other small ritual Mantra collections representing the other Śrauta rituals make up the order of arrangement of the YV Saṃhitās. These rituals, such as the Agnihotra or Rājasūya, follow the Dārśapaurṇamāsa and Soma collections in largely the same order. They agree with each other, across the YV schools, in content *and* in arrangement to a great degree which indicates a common origin in a not too distant past. In fact, we can, to some extent, even reconstruct the Ur-YV Saṃhitā, a little studied subject. On the other hand, it is clear that not all Śrauta rituals are of the same age. Several levels can be discerned among the YV Mantra collections.

The oldest of them are the Soma ritual and some other "rites of passage" of the Year, such as the Dārśapaurnamāsa rituals, both of which were codified, in a first attempt, early on in the Mantra period and both of which actually serve as paradigms for all other rituals excluding the Pasubandha. Their ancient and often quite simple prose Mantras represent one of the oldest strata of Srauta development. Oldenberg has investigated the Mantras of these two paradigmatic rituals with regard to the RV verses that have been incorporated into them later on, during the Mantra period, in a version linguistically younger than that of the RV Samhitā. He has also noticed that the number of Rgvedic Mantras is growing in those YV Mantra collections that are not part of the two original paradigms (i.e., Soma, New and Full Moon sacrifices). It is possible that the Adhvaryus faced some pressure from the prominent RV Hotrs and their traditional and prestigious Mantras they tried to mitigate this by including such Mantras that they had picked up or borrowed, though in an inferior or more modern form. This process accelerated during the Mantra period.

Among the YV Mantra collections, therefore, various levels can be discerned, 65 chiefly, as has been noticed already by Oldenberg, the separate

⁶² Is the positioning of these two ritual collections at the beginning of all YV Saṃhitās an artificial, late device? Apparently not, see below and for a more detailed treatment: Author, *The Veda in Kashmir*, forthc.; for the time being, see Author, *Das Kaṭha Āraṇyaka*, Diss. Erlangen 1972, introd.; cf. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, on the small Mantra Saṃhitās dealing with the New and Full Moon sacrifice, the Soma ritual, the Agnicayana, etc. in TS, MS.

⁶³ While at the same time exerting influence on other rituals both in form and in usage of the same/similar Mantras, sometimes even in their order.

⁶⁴ Details forthcoming in Author, *The Veda in Kashmir*, ch. VIII (forthc.).

⁶⁵ Prolegomena, p. 294.

small Mantra Saṃhitās of the (a) the *Dārśapaurṇamāsa/Soma* and related rituals, and (b) the *Cayana* ritual.

Mantra Collections

1.1011111111111111111111111111111111111			
Dārśapaurṇamāsa	Soma	Dārśapaurṇamāsa	Soma
MS: a. 1.1-3.	b. 2.7-13.	MS: a. 3.6f.,	b. 3f.

Brāhmana Collections

1v10. a. 1.1 3,	0. 2.7 13,	1110.	a. 5.01.,	0. 51.
KS: a.1.1-4.13,	b. 15.11f.,	KS:	a. 30.10f.	b. 27f.
TS: a. 1.1-4,	b. 1.2-4	TS:	a. <u>TB</u> 3.2-3	b. 6
VS: a. 1-10,	b. 11-18	ŚB:	a. 1-5	b. 6-10

The collections concerning (c) the Horse Sacrifice (aśvamedha) and the Human Sacrifice (puruṣamedha) and (d) the collection of Yājyānuvākyās⁶⁶ are younger still. They were formed during the zenith period of Brāhmaṇa speculation.⁶⁷ More than half of the YV Mantras are in prose, and the rest is from the RV.⁶⁸ We still are in need of a detailed analysis of the exact sources of all these Rgvedic Mantras in the YV texts. Again, it appears that there are two distinct groups as far as RV influence is concerned.

- 1. VS (Mādhyandina), a late YV text, agrees with RV in its redacted, fixed form, both in its variant readings and the verse sequence of Rgvedic Mantras; VS thus has secondarily taken over the RV form of the Mantras it had inherited from the Ur-YV into its text.⁶⁹ It represents a late redaction of Eastern YV materials.
- 2. The much earlier Black Yajurveda of the West exhibits a less fixed form of the Rgvedic Mantras. Yet, while the various schools agree in a series of common variants, they display much further variation of such common readings among themselves; the same applies to verse sequence. This observation of Oldenberg largely agrees with the diagram of N. Tsuji⁷⁰ and my own which includes also the Carakas.⁷¹ A comparison of RV Mantras

⁶⁶ See Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 357, 459, L. Renou, Les *Yājyānuvākyā* du Yajurveda. *JAOS* 68, 1948, 79-84. See now the discussion by Y. Ikari, *Zinbun* 24, 1989, esp. n.17.

⁶⁷ For a useful collection and discussion, see Bhawe, *Die Yajus' des Aśvamedha*, Stuttgart 1939; Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 342; for the White YV see Caland, *AO* 10, 1932, 126-134.

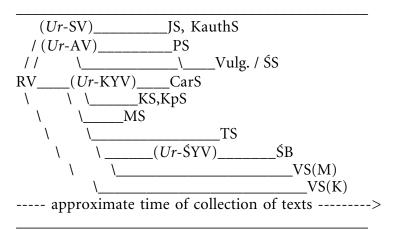
⁶⁸ Having been taken, at a fairly early stage, from the collection of the *bahvṛcas*.

⁶⁹ This agrees with Renou's investigation of the variants of the Kāṇva version of VS, La Vājasaneyisaṃhitā des Kāṇva. *JA* 1948, 21-52, cf. below §6.3 on the influence of Śākalya's RV on the formation of VS. The ŚB Purūravas hymn (ŚB 11.5.1) is of great importance in this regard as it disagrees in the number of stanzas from our Śākalya RV. A careful investigation of the exact form of the VS stanzas that agree with RV has to be undertaken to determine whether there are more such divergences echoed by VSK or VSM.

⁷⁰ Genzon Yajuruweda Bunken, Tokyo 1970, p. 5.

 $^{^{71}}$ See Author, Materialien zu den vedischen Schulen: I. Über die Caraka-Schule. StII 7, 1981, 109-132, StII 8/9, 1982, 171-240.

found in all or most schools of the four Vedas agrees as well.⁷² I would now modify it as follows (only for the Mantras taken from RV!):



As has been pointed out above, the *Dārśapaurṇamāsa* and *Soma* collections (Oldenberg's "*Saṃhitā der Opfer*") is to be situated at the *beginning of the YV corpus*. In these collections verses from RV appear, in most cases, in isolated form. Such *Ur*-YV Saṃhitā verses from the RV were still fairly close in form to a still "unregulated" wording of RV, independent of the more regulated form transmitted by its various poets' clans.⁷³

An Ur-YV, as well as Ur-AV and Ur-SV, can therefore be reconstructed as far as the form of the Mantras is concerned, while the actual contents and the order of these reconstructed texts still are open to discussion. Yet even time and location of the Ur-YV can be discerned: the Kurukṣetra area in post-Rgvedic time, at a location "where the rivers flow east- and westwards". The Kuru tribe is prominently mentioned in the Mantras and their kings are at the height of their power. Clearly, the development which begun in the late RV period has now reached its zenith: All major rituals in their newly developed Śrauta form are collected for the first time, that is as far as their Mantras are concerned. The same, or a nearly identical arrangement, which is close to that of the Caraka school, 74 is found in all the YV texts, something that again points to a common, lost origin.

We therefore have to distinguish two kinds of YV tradition:

⁷² Cf. Author, *Prolegomena on AV tradition* (forthc.); Oldenberg's examples include RV 10.140 which indicates that in this case RV, SV, VS are opposed to TS, MS. Variants show successive stratification of variants; SV has only the older variants. See below, n.107, 129 on the Purusa Sūkta.

⁷³ An investigation into the clans from whom these Mantras were taken will indicate the prominence of particular clans at the time of the Kuru Śrauta reform (see below §2.8). -- Deviations of VS from RV are, for the most part, the residue of the old Yajuṣ Saṃhitā. But the younger portions of Black Yajurveda Saṃhitās show strict compliance with the Rgveda, see Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*.

⁷⁴ See Author, Über die Caraka-Schule.

--- early prose Mantras (yajuṣ), occasionally referred to in the RV but excluded from its text, that were collected in the YV and added to by RV verse loans,

--- an early collection of RV verse Mantras which were transmitted correctly in the RV Saṃhitā, with hardly any change, and on the other hand, the more "popular", less hieratic and strictly non-Rgvedic transmission of the same hymns in the YV, SV, AV Samhitās.

This distinction can only be explained as the work of the priests actively involved in ritual: the Yajurvedic Adhvaryus, the Sāmavedic Udgātṛs and the Atharvavedic Brahmáns. Their respective needs were slightly different: they had to take part, in various degrees, in the construction and development of a sensible ritual out of materials that were available here and there in more or less loose oral traditions. Yet some of the Rgvedic Mantras apparently were so well known to all of them that they could be taken over into all of the four Vedic Saṃhitās; the exact process is not known so far. Why the priests of the SV, YV and AV did not care to preserve these Mantras as correctly as the Rgvedins remains a mystery. I think several forces were at play here:

- the YV is a collection of several small Mantra Samhitās, ordered strictly according to the progress of the various sacrifices; in addition, the complete YV collection as such follows a standard order of rituals, it is not interested in the RV ordering of stanzas.
- there also was a driving force at work which aimed at distinguishing the YV Mantras from those of the RV, YV, SV, and subsequently, from those of the other YV Schools. It remains unclear so far, whether the Yajurvedins deliberately looked for means to arrive at a text completely different from that of the RV. In any case, it is obvious, for example, that they frequently changed, as a minimal measure of camouflage, the order of RV stanzas in their texts.

In addition, the YV texts point to a very active <code>brāhmaṇa-like</code> activity even at the time of Mantra formulation and original collection. These early prose explanations of the ritual in Brāhmaṇa form are lost to us but may be recovered to some extent when we will finally begin to compare the variants of YV legends, etc. more closely (see below § 3). In our present YV Saṃhitās some of them, notably the Brāhmaṇas on the paradigmatic Mantra collection of the New and Full Moon rituals, are late.

§ 2.5. The Atharvaveda.

The case of the AV is different both from SV and YV as it contains materials that are widely different from those of the Rgveda and the ritual-oriented YV-Saṃhitās, e.g. sorcery and healing hymns, and small private rites. Because of its focus on small non-Śrauta rituals, the AV is an irreplaceable source for the material culture, the customs and beliefs, the desires and sorrows of everyday Vedic life. Further, the AV collections include hymns dealing with the two major rites of passage, marriage and

⁷⁵ Cf. Author, Über die Caraka-Schule and K. Hoffmann, Der mantra yán návam áit, MSS 25, 1969, 59-63 = *Aufsätze zur Indo-Iranistik*, Wiesbaden 1975-6, 509-512.

death, and also significant materials on royal rites. Finally, there also is a considerable amount of early speculation on the meaning of the ritual, significantly, still expressed in verse form. This feature, which is parallel to or may have even preceded the prose discussion of the Śrauta ritual in *brāhmaṇa* style, has not yet found proper attention. The attitude of the translators towards these hymns of the AV is, with Whitney, to call them "mystic." It has not been recognized that when Rgvedic *rc* composition (mainly by Āṅgirasa, Kāṇva, poets⁷⁶) composition ended, this tradition was continued by the same Āṅgirasa Brahmins with the speculative hymns of the AV.

Many of the small Atharvavedic sorcery rites may even be older than the RV.⁷⁷ However, they have been preserved in a language that is definitely younger than that of RV 10.⁷⁸ The AV collections also include several hymns taken over from the RV, - and again, as expected, in a linguistically younger form. The individual arrangement of such stanzas differs from that of the RV hymn. Again, the question why such hymns were collected in both in the RV and the AV Saṃhitās remains unanswered so far. In order to attempt an answer, the structure of the AV and PS has to be investigated; an initial study has been made about a hundred years ago by Bloomfield and Whitney.⁷⁹

The first parts of both ŚS (1-5) and PS (1-4) correspond to each other in content though not in the individual order of hymns. PS 5-15 contains other basic sorcery material that is spread out all over ŚS. In ŚS there is a subdivision, ŚS 6-7, which has parallels with PS 19 and 20 only, - a clear sign of interpolation in the emerging ŚS. This is confirmed by the deviation from the standard number of verses per hymn in these two ŚS

⁷⁶ See Author, Rgvedic history: poets, chieftains and polities, *IPSAS* 1, 1995. Cf. M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, Oxford 1897, p. xxix sqq.); likewise, Insler, lecture given at the present conference as "On the Recensions of the Atharva Veda and Atharvan Hymn Composition," to be published elsewhere, about a Ātharvaṇa (= Kāṇva) and Āṅgirasa (= Brahman) background of hymns in PS 2.

⁷⁷ As for example the close resemblance in content and in style (first a story, then sorcery stanza) between the Merseburg sorcery hymns (in Old High German) and in the RV (see Author, Saramā and the Paṇis) as well as the near-identity of expression (PS 4.15, ŚS 4.12) indicate, or as similar resemblances in Hittite ritual texts and in the AV suggest; this does not mean that all such themes or ideas in AV necessarily are restricted to Indo-European speaking peoples; some are of wider occurrence. -- Cf. Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, 3, p. 1948.

⁷⁸ See Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, pp. 271-369, Wackernagel, *Ai.Gr.* I, and the add. of L. Renou, in *Introduction générale*; Renou, *Histoire de la langue Sanskrite*, Lyon-Paris 1956; K. Hoffmann, *Injunktiv*, and *Aufsätze*, passim; see especially, J. Narten, *Die Sprache* 14; cf. also Gonda, *Old Indian*, Leiden 1971 (for which cf. O. v. Hinüber in *OLZ* 1977, 205-207); Author, *WZKS* 24, p.22-24; Author, *Tracing*, n.10.

⁷⁹ M. Bloomfield, The Atharvaveda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa, Strassburg 1899, W. D. Whitney, Atharva-Veda-Saṃhitā, Translated... (HOS 7, 8.) Cambridge, Mass. 1905, Repr. Delhi 1962.

books.⁸⁰ The second section, ŚS 8-12, deals with some major speculative topics. They concern ritual topics such as the *ucchiṣṭa* of the sacrifice, the *brahmacārin*, the Brahmin's cow; but there are also cosmological and cosmogonical hymns such as the one on the Earth, on *Skambha*, on *Kāla*. The third section may be termed a Gṛḥya collection: ŚS 13-18 = PS 18 contain, in slightly different order, the Vivāha (marriage), *Rohita*, *Vrātya*, *Paritta*, *Viṣāsahi*, and *Yama* (burial) hymns.⁸¹ Some of these hymns and stanzas already occur in the RV (such as the marriage and the burial hymns).

It is remarkable, however, that PS generally agrees, as far as the form of individual words is concerned, with RV and not with ŚS. If PS had taken over these hymns from ŚS, it would have conserved them in ŚS form and hardly have 'corrected' them according to the RV.⁸² However, wherever ŚS has genuine deviations from the RV, such as a change of words, new or variant phrasing, or insertion of complete *pādas* and stanzas, PS generally agrees with ŚS (and thus with the Ur-AV); here, it does *not* follow RV. This does not mean that PS has the same text as ŚS. There are genuine differences even in the largely parallel books PS 18 = ŚS 13-18.

In short, one has to surmise that there existed a Mantra time collection of typically Atharvavedic hymns of sorcery and speculation, and even on marriage, death, the *vrātya*. An original proto-AV form for these texts, some of which are also found in RV 10, has to be posited. In fact, such proto-AV hymns must have been taken over into this late RV book from the original 'floating mass' of *Ur*-AV hymns where they were codified as Rgvedic hymns at the time of the collection of the "great appendix", RV 10 . -- Finally there are additional materials (ŚS 19, and the very late addition, ŚS 20, and PS 19-20, see below).

It is clear, thus, that the AV of both versions is divided into four large sections: 83

1. sorcery hymns (black and white magic) AVŚ 1-7, PS 1-15 2. speculative hymns ("mystical") AVŚ 8-12, PS 16-17

⁸⁰ See Author, Die Atharvavedatradition und die Paippalāda-Saṃhitā. *ZDMG*, *Supplementband VI*, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 256-271. Cf. Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, 3, p. 1951 sq.

⁸¹ The Rohita book is "gṛḥya" in so far as it does not deal with official ceremonies such as the royal consecration (*abhiṣeka*) but with the more general, "domestic" concerns of the king; the Vrātya book deals with an "anti-gṛḥya" topic, the Veda student "on leave"; the Paritta book deals with convenient sorcery materials, and the short Viṣāsahi book with splendor.

⁸² For a similar case, see the Kaṭha chapters in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 3.10-12 and Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 1, or the Kapiṣṭhala-(Kaṭha) Saṃhitā materials in Pañcaviṃśa-Br. 1; in these cases the exact form of the source text has been retained, quite contrary to the phonetical peculiarities of the host text. The opposite is true in the case of the(western) Caraka Mantras in ŚB, see Author, Über die Caraka-Schule.

⁸³ As has already been seen, by and large, by Whitney, *Atharva-Veda-Saṃhitā*, Cambridge, Mass. 1905.

3. special topics of <i>grhya</i> and royal ritual	AVŚ 13-18,	PS 18
4. various appendixes	AVŚ 19;	PS19-
	20	2084

As indicated above, the arrangement of PS 1-15 is in diametrical opposition to that of the RV. In the RV the shorter books (2 sqq. with some 40 hymns) come first and the longer ones follow; but in PS (and even ŚS) the longer books with more than 100 hymns come first, and the shortest with only 5-10 hymns come last in the initial collection. Secondly, while the RV starts its sub-collections (on deities) with the longer hymns, in PS each book has hymns with successively increasing numbers of stanzas: from short hymns with 4 stanzas in book 1 to hymns with 19 stanzas in book 15 (similarly in ŚS). The opposition of AV arrangement to RV structure cannot be accidental.⁸⁵

The AV texts, as we have them now, have in all probability been composed/adapted and collected under the Kuru hegemony, -- or, to suggest a name, in the realm of the famous king Parikṣit (see RV-Khil. 5.10 = ŚS 20.127). Book 10 of PS, little studied and less understood, provides further evidence for the time and the aims of the Atharvan collectors. It deals with an early form of the royal consecration rituals as part of a *Sava*, that is an unction ritual inserted into a standard Soma sacrifice. While the Rgveda and Śaunaka Saṃhitās only contain a few simple "installation hymns", ⁸⁶ the priests of the Paippalāda school made an effort to provide the king with a more solemn rite, a *state* ritual.

Another feature of PS, its tendency to use antiquated (hyper-) correct forms, is understandable against this background. The Atharvaveda priests, (Ātharva-[āṅgirasa], Bhārgava) who were barely allowed into proper Vedic ritualism (Śrauta) according to the Vedic texts themselves,⁸⁷ obviously made an effort to be accepted by the nobility and by the Brahmins who represented the *Trayī*, the three other Vedas: *rc, sāman* (2.43.1, 5.22.1, 8.16.9 etc.) and *yajuṣ* (5.62.5, 8.41.8 etc.) are mentioned already in the older parts of the RV. The Atharvavedins did so in giving their hymns a new shape, inserting many stanzas addressed to the gods of Rgvedic and

⁸⁴ However, due to the curious arrangement of the hymns in ŚS 1-7, Whitney could not fully understand the principles underlying the ordering of books 1-7 in ŚS (as opposed to 1-15 in PS). I refer to my earlier analysis, Die Atharvavedatradition und die Paippalāda-Samhitā.

⁸⁵ Interestingly, the clans of the authors of both texts are largely the same: most of them belong, directly or indirectly (by alleged adoption) to the Angiras and the Bhṛgu. The AV was originally called "the (text) of the Atharvans and Angiras" or "the (text) of the Bhṛgu-Angiras". In order to be acceptable as an official śrauta collection (saṃhitā) of the Kuru realm, the old sorcery texts had to be "adopted" or reworked by priests/poets belonging to these famous clans. Note that the Rgvedic poet (brahmán) was replaced by the AV poet/priest (brahmán) who, apart from composing the new speculative hymns of AV, as a priest was largely a silent observer in the new Śrauta ritual; cf. below, §2.8, n.152.

⁸⁶ See B. Schlerath, Das Königtum im Rig- und Atharvaveda.

⁸⁷ For the various versions of the Dadhyañc myth see Author, On the origin... of the 'Frame Story', and cf. below n.105, 148.

279

classical Vedic ritual or joining such verses to the AV stanzas proper. These verses often betray themselves by using the solemn Triṣṭubh or Jagatī meter, differently from the usual Atharvavedic Anuṣṭubh. The early collectors also inserted, wherever possible, Rgvedic forms, so that, many hymns of PS 18 largely agree in form with those also found in RV 10. Some such forms are: Rgvedic kṛṇoti, kṛṇumaḥ, kṛṇu (PS) instead of the Atharvavedic (ŚS) allegro forms, 88 and PS even has Kṛṇva instead of the more popular form Kaṇva, which is found in the Rgveda. In other words, here PS is -- or wants to be -- more archaic than RV itself! Again, this cannot be accidental.

With the help of such 'acceptable' sorcery hymns, the Atharvavedins could gain a position as the fourth main priest at the solemn Śrauta rituals, where they silently watch over the whole procedure and rectify mistakes. The Atharveda bears clear witness to this with another one of its surprising innovations, the first reflections⁸⁹ on the solemn śrauta ritual as such. As has been mentioned, they are still couched in the form of poems, and not yet as Brāhmaṇa type explanations so typical for the Yajurveda Saṃhitās (MS, KS, TS). Hymns such as the one about the ucchiṣṭa, brahmaudana or the brahmacārin are reflections of this tendency .

Finally, PS also deals with some of the most important rites of passage: not only the stanzas of Grhya type rituals which are equally found in SS (13-18), but also the *prose* Mantras of two major rituals of life cycles, marriage and *upanayana*, are found here; in fact, both have been added only in PS(K) 20.41, 43 sqq. This, again, is a clear indication of one of the major interests of the Atharvavedins: to be *purohitas*, house 'chaplains' of royal and noble families. For this purpose they developed, as the first among the Vedic \hat{sakhas} , a set formulas of ritual Mantras for occasions such as marriage and *upanayana*, royal consecration, etc.

If one tries to locate these developments in time and space, it is helpful to note that PS itself indicates that it was composed in the eastern Panjab / Haryana area (just as KS, and the older AB), 90 in other worlds, in Kuru territory. PS, therefore, is a post-Rgvedic text of the Mantra period composed in Kuru land, under the Kuru kings. As briefly indicated above, there are some more indications of the importance that the Kuru kings had for the genesis of this text. Book 18, part 2, (= \$\$ 13, PS 18.15-26) deals with Rohita, the [victorious] "Red [Sun/Dawn]". A closer study of the book leads to the conclusion that it is the victorious, dawn aspect of the sun 91 which is intended here: rāstra and varcas 92 are constantly stressed. There

⁸⁸ See K. Hoffmann, *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*, Wiesbaden, 1975-6, 575-588. For RV influence on PS see also L. Renou, *Les écoles védiques*, p. 66, 69sqq.

⁸⁹ One could add RV hymns in Book 10 such as the one on śraddhā, vāc, etc.

⁹⁰ See Author, *Localisation*, and *Tracing*, p.115.

⁹¹ For this feature, see the development of the Dawn > Sun goddess in Baltic (Latv. *Saule*) and old Japanese myth (*Amaterasu*). Both "reddish" Dawn/Sun Goddesses have taken over the function of the male Sun deity and are described as warrior-like. The dawn, after all, victoriously overcomes the ominous and dangerous forces of night every morning.

⁹² See now Y. Tsuchiyama, Veda.no várcas, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*, Heisei 2 [1990], 67-80.

are clear indications that the king is brought into contact or identified with Rohita. ⁹³ Book 10 of PS, however, which deals with an early form of the Rājasūya, is found only in this Saṃhitā. The appearance of a thematically compact collection of royal hymns in one of the early books of PS is quite extraordinary as the other books usually contain hymns on quite diverse topics. ⁹⁴ An unusual stress on royal ritual, thus, is typical for PS; it clearly surpasses the amount of space intended for the royal *purohita* in ŚS. ⁹⁵

In short, geographical area, time frame, and professional interest of the collectors of PS agree with the emergence of a strong Kuru realm and are indicative of royal influence on the formation of this text. The ultimate redaction of PS, however, took place much later than this.⁹⁶

The Śaunaka Brahmins did not have to face these problems. Their text contains some indications of having been transmitted in a country lying more to the east of Kurukṣetra, namely in the land of the Pañcālas (eastern Uttar Pradesh, up to Kausambi/Allahabad/Kāśi). During its long history of oral tradition in the area, the text further deteriorated by *perseveration* and was finally redacted in this form (at an unknown time and at a so far unknown location) as what we now know as the Vulgate.

We can still proceed further in this analysis. Content and structure of AV and PS led to the assumption that AVŚ 1-5 / PS 1-15 are the oldest part of the collection. However, even the second part, AVŚ 8-12 / PS 16-17 can now be shown to be of considerable age: The mentioning of iron at AVŚ 13.3.7.= PS 16.53.12 and AVŚ 9.5.4 = PS 16.97.3 would indicate a date ad quem for these hymns: they could be as old as the introduction of iron in

⁹³ Incidentally, the connection between this book and the king had been noticed by Bloomfield, *Amer. Journal of Philology* 12, 429 sqq., cf. Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften* 3, p. 1936, but this has been overlooked since. -- Note that in the famous Sunaḥśepa legend of AB Hariścandra's son is called Rohita. In later (epic) mythology, Hariścandra is a representative of the Candravaṃśa line of Ikṣvāku; his son Rohita is named after the sun (which would rather point to Sūryavaṃśa!, -- see Author, Early Sanskritization, p. 40). The Epic myth seems to have been reformulated to support the claim of the originally despised Ikṣvākus (JB 3.168-170:§190, as they had eaten of Asura food!) to a direct descent from the Sun. Further, note that JB 3.94-96:§180 has Tryaruṇa as an Ikṣvāku; cf. also JB 3.237-238: 204, where the Bharata are pursued by the Ikṣvāku across the Sindhu; JUB 4.6.1. For Ikṣvāku myths, cf. Berger, *WZKSO* 3, 1959, 34-82.

 $^{^{94}}$ The reasons remain obscure at this point; otherwise, it is only PS 18 (= \pm S 13-18) that shows specialization on a certain topic.

⁹⁵ Note that the interest of Atharvan priests in royal ritual has continued down to the late Vedic/early medieval AV-Pariśiṣṭa where the Atharvavedin is supposed to be the best purohita.

⁹⁶ It is most clearly indicated by the secondary split of all longer hymns into two PS hymns, of 10 plus 1, 2 etc. additional stanzas. The redactor's hand is also visible in the addition of one or more stanzas at the end of certain hymns that are contradicting the order of arrangement in PS; see Author, Die Atharvaveda-Tradition und die Paippalāda-Samhitā.

the 12th c. B.C.⁹⁷. In both cases, the stanzas mentioning iron⁹⁸ belong to the core of the AV hymns,⁹⁹ which points rather to the Mantra period than to that of the redaction. AVŚ 1-12 / PS 1-17 are as old as the introduction of iron, composed and collected around 1200 B.C.

The age of the grhya type books AV 13-18 / PS 18 has so far remained unclear. As AV 15 / PS 18.27-43 contain some of the oldest prose in Brāhmana style one might assume that at least this book would be of relatively younger age, while AV 14 and PS 18 may be as old as RV 10. PS 18.27-43, the parallel version of the Vrātya book, AV 15, in fact contains at least one form which is typical for the language of TS and the Brāhmanas, i.e. the genitive in -ai of stems in i, \bar{i} , etc. 100 A few forms of this sort also occur in the early parts of AVS. This may be due to the fact that AVS is generally less conservative than PS. If, then, PS 18.27-43 contains such a modern (Brāhmana time) form, this may be indicative of later composition.¹⁰¹ The same conclusion can be reached from an analysis of the ordering of text masses both in SS and PS. As common in Vedic texts, later materials have been added at the end, as a sort of Khila section. For example, as indicated above, both ŚS and PS have added their "grhya" materials (ŚS 13-18, PS 18) only after the two initial consecutive collections of sorcery materials and speculative hymns.

Taking all of the preceding into account, it seems to be the case that AVŚ 1-5, 8-12 = PS 1-15, 16-17 are the two older sections. They form the core of the Atharvaveda texts dealing with sorcery and speculation and can be dated *ad quem* with the introduction of iron (1200 B.C.). In fact, they agree in general with Mantra period language. However, AV 13-18 = PS 18, may be, -- at least in part, -- of a slightly later age, that of the later Saṃhitā period (TS), or even that of some early Brāhmaṇas such as the older parts of AB.

 $^{^{97}}$ They could also be somewhat, though not very much later than that as they preceded the development of the YV prose texts.

⁹⁸ PS 16.53.12 (= AV 11.3.7) śyāmam ayo lohitam ayo 'sya māṃsam (śyāmám áyo 'sya māṃsáni, lóhitam asya lóhitam) 16.53.13 trapu bhasmārjunam asthi (trapu bhāsma) | haritam varnaḥ puṣkalaṃ (puṣkaram) gandhaṃ --- PS 16.97.3 (= AV 9.5.4) anu chya (cchya) śyāmena tvacam etāṃ viśasvī (viśastar) yathāparv asinā mā māsthāḥ (mábhí maṃsthāḥ). The second stanza is interesting as it mentions the knife, asi, but differently from the RV bronze weapon already as a black (iron) one.

⁹⁹ On the core see Author, Die Atharvaveda-Tradition und die Paippalāda-Saṃhitā and Idem, *Prolegomena on AV tradition* (written 1982, forthcoming). This evaluation is now supported by Insler's analysis of the structure of PS/ŚS hymns in AV 2 (lecture given at the present conference, to be published elsewhere). -- In the present case, the stanzas mentioning iron do *not* belong to the additional stanzas of PS/ŚS. Their redaction, however, is later: both hymns have additions to their core and differ among themselves with regard to these additions.

¹⁰⁰ See Author, Tracing, p. 132 sqq.

¹⁰¹ This (so far) isolated piece of evidence is not enough, yet, as proof of a much later, Brāhmaṇa time redaction of this part of the text; the feature is otherwise absent in PS.

Regarding the development of two surviving separate Atharvaveda $\pm \bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ texts (ŚS, PS) the following preliminary 102 remarks can be made. Oldenberg 103 stressed that the verses taken from RV have a "floating form" with great freedom of variation, a freedom which is greatest in ± 5.104 Archaic Rgvedic forms were more and more replaced by younger forms, including features such as the following.

- (1) The already remote RV has frequently been 'quoted' by AV stanzas: whole hymns have been taken over, frequently literally, but often also in deviating form, with certain disagreements even within AV tradition (PS: \$S). Those who transmitted the AV made use of general 'learned' (i.e. priestly) knowledge. The RV clearly enough was not yet "sacred" for them. 105 An investigation of the RV families/poets whose texts were taken over into AV would be quite useful. The opposite tendency is seen in book 10 of the RV where much 'popular' AV material is used: both RV and AV have taken such hymns from the mass of 'floating Mantras' but for different reasons 106
- (2) The AV occupies a special place in the tradition of early Vedic Mantra texts: PS and ŚS frequently agree with each other but disagree with all other Vedic texts in hymns having counterparts in RVKh, SV or YV. 107 This underlines the importance of the lost *Ur*-Atharvaveda, with a body of texts quite separate from that of the early YV *yājñikas* who set up the elaborate system of 'classical' Vedic Śrauta ritual. 108
- (3) Both AV Samhitās are of considerable age. The differences in certain Mantras cannot *a priori* be declared to be earlier or later in one or

¹⁰² A final evaluation will have to wait for a critical edition of the complete text of PS.

¹⁰³ Oldenberg, Prolegomena, p.320.

¹⁰⁴ That means only ŚS, except Book 20; he did not yet use PS.

¹⁰⁵ Note that the original collectors of sorcery materials, the Ātharvaṇa, have a close link to the Adhvaryus of the Dadhyañc myth, see below n.148. Both did not belong to the highest echelons of Rgvedic priests. Further investigation is necessary, cf. however, for the time being, C. Minkowski, *Priesthood in ancient India: a study of the Maitrāvaruṇa priest*. Wien 1992.

¹⁰⁶ See above §1.3 on the Rgvedic tendency to include as much of the various early Vedic texts (SV, AV) as possible; takeover of RV materials into the core of the AV is comparatively rare. -- Note that the admittedly later RV-Anukramaṇī does not know the real authors (or their clan) of AV-like hymns in book 10.

 $^{^{107}}$ Such as the Puruṣa hymn RV 10.90, which we read for comparison in all versions in the four Vedas and their schools at Leiden Univ. in the early Eighties; cf. n.72, 129.

¹⁰⁸ And though PS 16-17= ŚS 8-12 contain early speculation on the ritual; see below. --- These features are of importance if one studies (something that cannot be done here) the relative neglect and even the frequently expressed disdain of the AV in Indian tradition (closely, but often uncritically followed by western scholars, e.g. those of *Authority, Anxiety, and Canon*, ed. by L. Patton, Albany 1994). The fact that the AV was often excluded (thus, the term *trayī*) has clear social and superstitious reasons. The exclusion of AV is, however, not universal: e.g., Patañjali, Mahābh. I, 1.4 Vākyapadīya, or Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's Nyāyamañjari (see Author, *The Veda in Kashmir*, forthc.) who begin the enumeration of the four Vedas with the AV (PS).

283

the other Śākhā. 109 ŚS frequently has a variant inferior to the one preserved in PS; the ŚS reading then seems to be a mere perseveration of the PS. This, however, is a premature conclusion. One would first have to establish --beyond doubt-- the exact form of both texts and the original contents of both versions before one can attempt to solve this question. However, we are still far away even from establishing the original (Ur-PS/ŚS) or even the authentic (archetype) forms of PS and even of the much better known ŚS.110 These investigations must be distinguished, however, from one into the outward form of the hymns of the Ur-AV, as recently proposed by Insler, 111 who follows up on Oldenberg's investigations into the formation of the RV/Śaunaka AV. 112 This kind of formal analysis will only determine which stanzas belong to the Ur-AV, but it cannot readily determine which individual words or forms were present in it. Only a careful comparison of PS, ŚS and of other early Mantra texts will allow us to do so. The AV hymns continued to lead their own life in both the AV traditions, producing the typical school variants now found in PS and \$\$.113 This is comparable to the development of the Mantra variants of the Yajurveda *śākhā*s.

Though the above discussion of AV is preliminary it can be stated with confidence that our task for the next decade(s) will be: (1) A reconstruction of the Ur-AV in its outward form and in its individual wording. This is, of course, possible only after a reconstitution of the PS text; SS, too, is in urgent need of a critical edition. The present editions are impressionistic at best. (2) Based on an edition of the archetype of PS, a careful reconstruction of the original (Ur-)PS. At present we can reconstitute only the archetype of PS (the authentical PS) with confidence. To jump to an immediate reconstruction of the original PS would lead to a very much checkered text with words interlaced from

¹⁰⁹ Indian scholars nowadays generally favor PS, apparently as it seems to have "better" forms, but see further below for RV influences on PS.

¹¹⁰ See, however, the forthcoming Harvard Ph.D. theses of Maria Green (book 17) and Carlos Lopez (books13-15). -- I use the terms "authentic" and "original" here as coined by K. Hoffmann. For a discussion see Author, *WZKS* 24, p.22-24. -- So far we can attempt only to reconstitute the authentic version of PS, that is that of the of the archetype (c. 800-1000 AD). In the case of \$\$S\$ we do not even have the materials in hand for a good critical edition; the reconstruction of a probable Gujarat Archetype is outstanding; see Author, *Prolegomena* (forthc.).

¹¹¹ Lecture at the present workshop (to be published elsewhere); cf. also Insler, lecture at the 1997 AOS conference at Miami.

¹¹² Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*; Idem, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 3, 1993 (=1897/1906), p. 1948 sq, 1951 sq.

¹¹³ The application of Oldenberg's principle of the order of hymns in RV/ŚS helps to decide cases of additions to the original PS as well. But we have to study the archetype and its predecessors in order to decide when certain individual forms appeared in the tradition of PS.

¹¹⁴ See Author, Prolegomena (forthc.).

¹¹⁵ Using the terms coined by Karl Hoffmann.

medieval, Pāṇinean, Brāhmaṇa and, achronically, RV time forms. *Non liquet.* (3) A study of the redactional activities of both PS and ŚS traditions. It should be attempted to fix this, if possible at all, in time and space. (The same applies to all other Vedic Samhitās). (4) New editions of ŚS and PS.

§ 2.6. The RV Khila Collection.

"Khila ist ein Stück unbebautes Land..." Oldenberg, *Kl. Schr.* 3, 1956

The *Khilas* (apocryphal texts) of the RV have been neglected even more than the AV since early this century. 116 These hymns are transmitted here and there as appendices to individual RV hymns; the whole *Vālakhilya* group in book 8 also is of Khila character. 117 Only in Kashmir the Khilas have been transmitted in a separate collection of five Adhyāyas, which was attached as an appendix to the only complete RV manuscript available in Śāradā script.

This collection contains quite diverse materials, including such famous hymns as the Śrīsūkta, RVKh 2.6, Suparṇasūkta 1.3, etc. ¹¹⁸ The bulk of the material is of Rgvedic and Mantra period age. The last section in the Khilas comprises the *Kuntāpas*, the *Praiṣa Adhyāya*, and the *Nivids* which contain much *very* old Yajurveda-like material. ¹¹⁹

Even a brief study of the *Kuntāpa* hymns reveals that they reflect the last stage of Rgvedic poetry. They were meant to accompany the rituals of the Kuru New Year festival, with its typical mixture of traditional solemn and of more popular features. The *Kuntāpas* center around the *Mahāvrata* day and its rites, situated at the "end" of the solar year. ¹²⁰ The poetic forms still follow typical Rgvedic patterns: There is an invitation by the *kāru*

¹¹⁶ Ed. by I. Scheftelowitz, Breslau 1906. There is no translation.

¹¹⁷ They have been inserted in the middle of book 8, out of sequence in the arrangement of the RV; they are divided in Śākalya's Padapāṭha, but, e.g., excluded by Sāyaṇa (see Kashikar, The problem of Galantas in the Rgvedapadapāṭha, *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference 13*, (1946), 1951, p. 44; Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, 3, p. 1972). In the Kashmirian Khila collection they are found at RVKh 3.1-8; cf. further Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen*.

¹¹⁸ The hymns are of various age, and many have various additions, e.g., the Śrīsūkta has Brāhmaṇa time and even later, unaccented additions. The Śrīsūkta was and is so popular that it is even used by Nepalese Buddhists; cf. also Author, *WZKS* 23, 1979, 5-28, *WZKS* 24, 1980, 21-82.

¹¹⁹ Especially the Praiṣas in RVKh 4, with their frequent injunctives; the word *praiṣa* itself, though, has not been preserved in RV and is first found in KS, TS, AV (see above n.58). For a characterization of RVKh see Author, Saramā and the Paṇis. - Differently, Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, 3, 1974 sqq.

¹²⁰ See Author, Saramā and the Paṇis, and compare its modern continuations in Nepal, Author, Macrocosm, Mesocosm, and Microcosm. The persistent nature of 'Hindu' beliefs and symbolical forms. IJHS Symposium on Robert Levy's MESOCOSM, *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, ed. by S. Mittal, 1997.

(herald), a praise of the king and of Indra, distribution of $dak sin \bar{a}$, etc. But they also include short prose Mantras, 121 popular $\dot{s}loka$ -like (Anustubh) riddles with refrains 122 and some stanzas of often unclear import with many obscene passages, 123 whose language puts them squarely into the Mantra period.

These hymns are among the first Mantra texts which mention the Kuru dynasty. 124 Obviously, the kings of the new Kuru tribe still made use of Rgvedic bards and poets (*brahmán*) while a new ritual was emerging around the old solstice festival. Again, it is the Kurus, at the time of their golden age, and their kings (*Kaurava*, *Ruśama*, *Kauravya pati*), who play the main role.

§ 2.7. The Four Vedas.

The question of the circumstances under which and how the different types of texts, the "Four Vedas", came into existence is rarely raised. It is well known that the Rgveda is the oldest text among them and that the Atharvaveda contains very archaic materials on sorcery though in a linguistically younger form. The Sāmaveda and the Mantras of the Yajurveda, however, are supposed to have originated some time after the composition of the Rgveda hymns, and for ritual use only.

It is also well known that various types of Vedic texts existed even during the Rgvedic period, such as verses (rc), melodies (sāman), various sacrificial formulae (yajuṣ, praiṣa, nivid¹²⁵) and even more disparate materials (nārāśaṃsī, raibhī, dānastuti, etc.). The analysis given above, however, indicates that the division of all these early Vedic texts into three viz. four separate groups originated only with the appearance of the post-Rgvedic śrauta ritual. Otherwise it would remain unexplainable that all materials used in ritual were subdivided into four Saṃhitās and not, for example, five or more. ¹²⁶ Indeed, Vedic texts have been transmitted by the four main types of priests (Hotṛ, Udgātṛ, Adhvaryu, Brahman) each of whom use one of the four Vedas each during the śrauta ritual: the hymns of the various Rgvedic poets' clans were collected and recited in the new ritual; the prose Mantras accompanied each of the acts of the ritual; the melodies used during Soma and some other rituals were sung at certain occasions; finally, the traditional sorcery stanzas which were reworked and superficially

¹²¹ bhug ity abhigatam, śar iti abhisthitam, phal ity apakrāntam, RVKh 5.18, cf. also 5.17.

¹²² E.g., *ná vai* (sic) *kumari tát táthā*, *yáthā kumari mányase*, 5.16; cf. further, Author, Saramā and the Paṇis.

¹²³ Especially RVKh 5.15,22.

¹²⁴ For Kaurava, see K. Hoffmann, AzI p. 1 sqq.

¹²⁵ There even is mention of an "old *nivid*" in RV, see above n.58-59. Cf. also Horsch, *Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur*. Bern 1966. Cf. Minkowski in this volume.

¹²⁶ Cf. the Upaniṣadic list in B. Faddegon, The catalogue of sciences in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (VII,1,2), AO 4, 42-54, and Horsch, Die vedische Gāthā- und Ślokaliteratur. Note that most of these "sciences" have effectively been excluded from the Vedic canon, while only a few made it into the list of the six Vedāngas.

made respectable by the same Brahmins who had elaborated the *śrauta* ritual, the Āṅgirasa, served to heal breaches in the proper performance of the ritual. The Āṅgirasas also added their own new hymns to the emerging Ātharvaṇa-Āṅgirasa collection, i.e. the speculative hymns of the second stratum of the AV.

Yet, even the very form the texts have taken is indicative of the division into four types of ritual texts. Hillebrandt¹²⁷ has pointed out that later texts such as the AV may sometimes help in dissolving some long RV hymns which violate the strict principle of the arrangement of hymns in the RV. His observation can be elaborated now that several versions of AV, SV and many of the YV have become available. We should follow up Oldenberg's and, subsequently, Insler's procedure of distilling the original RV and Ur-AV collection by distinguishing between the PS and AVS versions; ¹²⁸ the same, of course, applies to the SV and YV as well.

It will be seen, then, that the various Veda schools, e.g. of the YV, have developed their separate, individual versions of a particular hymn, starting from an Ur-YV version which already differs considerably from that of an Ur-SV, and Ur-AV.¹²⁹

Further, as all the Vedas (originally also the RV) have two or more schools (\hat{sakhas}), these \hat{sakhas} inside each of the four Vedas generally agree more with each other as far as the form of their Mantras is concerned than with any other Veda, for example, in the $sahasra\hat{sirsa}$ purusa hymn. Apart from the RV version, there has been a separate form of this hymn in an Ur-YV Mantra collection, in an Ur-SV melody collection, and in an Ur-AV hymn collection, -- each with its particular variants and its specifically Sāmavedic, Yajurvedic, Atharvavedic variants. All other variants (those not due to the transmission of the hymn in one of the four Vedas) are secondary. That means, they developed only later on, in the various schools of the YV, SV, AV.

Such comparisons between *all* schools have, however, hardly been made. 131 Nevertheless, already Oldenberg was able to conclude, on the basis of the texts available then, that the treatment of ancient Rc materials differs

¹²⁷ Hillebrandt, Kleine Schriften, p. 535.

¹²⁸ See now Insler, lecture during this conference, to be published elsewhere.

¹²⁹ A typical case is that of the Puruṣa hymn RV 10.90 which has many versions in all four Vedas that presume an Ur-version of AV, SV, YV (see above n.70, 105); cf., in general, §2.2, §2.4, §2.8 and notes 59,62,67,72.

¹³⁰ Oldenberg came to a similar conclusion for the YV, *Prolegomena*, p.271 sqq., 297, etc.

¹³¹ Cf. Author, *The Veda in Kashmir* (forthc.), and: *Prolegomena on Atharvaveda Tradition* (forthc.). Oldenberg provided one or two examples only, *Prolegomena*, p. 325 as he thought that "It is not often that a single verse of RV is taken up in YV and SV or in YV and AV at the same time. And the treatment found in each Veda is different." His examples are RV 10.128, TS 4.7.14, AV 5.3.

from Veda to Veda. ¹³² To continue with such research is urgent in order to gain a better picture of early canon formation.

In addition, such observations produce a much greater time-depth for the development of the various post-Rgvedic texts in their various *śākhā*s and it may occasionally also allow to control the RV version.

This RV Saṃhitā, in whatever form it existed during the Mantra period, 133 clearly was highly regarded but was not yet "sacred" or sacrosanct when these adaptations of its text in the various (Ur-)Vedas and their śākhās were made. In fact, the Mantras that were taken by YV, SV, AV protagonists from the various Rgvedic "family" collections 134 formed "a common stock of knowledge of the Vedic priests." 135

The final collection, a first "redaction," and the incipient orthoepic transmission of the RV could have taken place only during the Mantra period (i.e. under the Kuru). Even then, the new RV-Saṃhitā was not immediately accepted by all groups of priests, as, e.g., the shorter Purūravas hymn of ŚB 11.5.1.10 or the separate existence of the Bāṣkala śākhā indicate. 136

Besides Mantra time competition between schools of the same Veda, earlier rivalry between the four Vedas at the time of the emergence of the Śrauta ritual is reflected in the various schemes used for the arrangement of the texts in the RV, SV, and AV in their respective Saṃhitās (Śākalya-RV, AVŚ, PS, Kauthuma/Rāṇāyaṇīya and Jaiminīya SV). Significantly, these schemes are mutually opposed to each other. As has been mentioned, the arrangement of hymns in the Rgveda depends on the *inc*reasing number of stanzas of hymns per book, and inside the various books, on the *de*creasing number of stanzas per hymn. The Atharvaveda, as clearly represented by PS, however, is characterized by a *de*creasing number of hymns per book

¹³² In one case he noticed that the compiler of the Yajus texts utilized the specific Sāman diaskeuasis which deviated from Rgveda tradition, see Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p.327-8, n.3.

¹³³ Most probably both as individual hymn collections of some clans and as a mass of "floating verses", see Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, pp. 271-369; Idem, *Kleine Schriften*, 3, p. 1979 sq.

¹³⁴ If not from an original Bharata RV collection (1.51-8), then from the completely collected RV 1-10? Both floating verses and RV can have existed side by side. It is therefore necessary to check which hymns and from which collections/books were taken into AV, SV, YV. This should be indicative of influence of a particular poets' family. Note also the divergences in ritual at the time, see Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, introduction.

¹³⁵ Cf. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, pp. 271-369: the floating forms of RV verses allow freedom for variations in the early Samhitās while fixed forms predominate in the Brāhmaṇa period.
136 The Purūravas hymn in ŚB 11.5.1.10 is expressively said to have only 15 stanzas while our Śākalya RV has 18 (cf. H. Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, 1912, p. 303). This indicates quite divergent versions of the RV even at the time of the later Brāhmaṇas and of Śākalya; see however, Author, *Tracing*, § 5.1, p. 137 sq. Especially the relationship between the death hymns, marriage hymns in PS and ŚS and their form in RV has to be investigated: is there any special ordering, and how far does it agree with RV?

and an *inc*reasing number of stanzas per hymn in the older books 1-15.¹³⁷ The *Pūrvārcika* of the SV, however, follows the arrangement of the RV¹³⁸ while, on the other hand, the Rgveda's own arrangement of the Sāmans in the Soma book (RV 9) follows the altogether different criterion of length of the meter employed. Two separate groups of Sāman collectors were at work here.

These efforts point to a contemporaneous scheme of collecting all Sāman, Athavarveda and Yajus materials at a point in time when the text of the RV, too, was brought to its present extent which includes book 10.¹³⁹

This effort did not proceed without rivalry between the four groups of priests involved. Such rivalry is actually visible in the mutually opposed principles of arrangements of their texts, as has been discussed above.

¹³⁷ See Author, Die Atharvavedatradition und die Paippalāda-Saṃhitā: hymns per book in PS: book 1: 112 with 4 stanzas per hymn; 2: 91 w. 5; 3: 40 w. 6; 4: 40 w. 7; 5: 40 w. 8; 6: 23 w. 9; 7: 20 w. 10; 8: 20 w. 11; 9: 29(!) w. 12; 10: 16 w. 13; 11: 16 w. 14; 12: 22(!) w. 15; 13: 9 w. 16; 14: 9 w. 17; 15: 2 w. 18 stanzas. The list has to be corrected as the original, longer hymns were split up into units of 10+x stanzas in books 8-20. -- Contrast the somewhat different situation in \$\$ 1-5, or \$\$ 1-7.

 $^{^{138}}$ The verses addressed to Agni, Indra, and Soma follow each other and the hymns inside these groups are arranged in a *decreasing* order of the length of the meters used.

 $^{^{139}}$ Cf. however Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 343 who showed that the Yajuṣ texts knew the Sāmaveda text and respected it.

Veda (YAJURVEDA)	ŖGVEDA	ATHARVAVEDA	SĀMAVEDA
principles of arrangement			
nucleus	b. 2-8	PS 1-15	Pūrvārcika
Dārśapaurṇamās			ŚS 1-5
and Soma Mant books etc.	ras	shorter ->	longer ->
Agnicayana Mar	ntras	longer	shorter
hymn interspersed v	Agni, Indra,	according to	Agni, Indra,
groups Brāhmaṇa sectio	others	no. of stanzas	Soma!
deity		in each book longer >	
Aśvamedha groups Mantras			shorter
in dividual Yājyānuvākyā			longer >
hymns	shorter		
meter	longer > shorter		longer > shorter

§ 2.8. Further questions.

As is evident from the preceding discussion and from this table, certain problems concerning the formation of the four Veda Saṃhitās remain open for the moment. They may be summarized as follows:

- 1. The assembly of the RV Saṃhitā: Can it be determined exactly when and by whom the Sāmans and AV-like Mantras were included in books 9 and 10?
- 2. YV: When exactly, and by whom, was a first collection of YV Mantras (*Ur*-YV) carried out, a collection preceding that of the present Mantra-Saṃhitās of the YV? How old are its antecedents, e.g. RV 1.89.3 speaks of an "old *nivid*" and some Mantras are of Indo-Iranian age (*astu śrauṣat* :: Avest. *sraoṣu astū* Y 56.1, etc.). When was the original collection of Mantras

expanded by inclusion of Mantras from the RV?¹⁴⁰ And what exactly are these excerpts? From which section, books or poets of the RV have they been taken?

- 3. SV: Why and how was the melody collection of the *Ur*-SV established? Obviously, it contains mostly excerpts from RV 8 and 9. Why were mostly hymns from these two books entered into to SV and not strophic hymns from book 1? Was the collection of RV 9 made before the hymns of RV 1 were composed/collected? What exactly is the relation of SV to book 9 and what is the relation of the Kāṇvas to the Sāman collection? Conversely, why was a separate Sāman book (RV 9) added to a Hotṛ collection (RV 1-8) at all?
- 4. AV: What could the old, pre-Ur-AV sorcery stanzas have looked like? A reconstruction based on a comparison of PS and ŚS will allow only to reconstruct their form at the time of the Ur-AV collection, which probably preceded *early* RV influence. Which RV materials and from which books were subsequently entered into AV? This process, obviously, stands apart from the question of the relationship between the marriage and death hymns of book 10 and their correspondences in AV. Apparently, such Atharvan materials (including some stanzas of women's and procreation sorcery) were taken over into RV 10.
- 5. Finally, how does an investigation of these processes help in establishing an internal chronology for the Mantras of all four Vedas, including those parts of the RV that were not originally composed by poets/Hotṛs and for Hotṛ purposes? More than one hundred years after Oldenberg's pioneering effort these and similar questions should be asked again, and answers can now be attempted with more confidence as we have access to a host of new texts (PS, KS/KpS, JS, JB, BŚS, etc.). However, except for the following brief deliberations, space does not allow to go into detail here. 143

What does all of the above mean in terms of social and political history? The political background, that is the succession of Anu-Druhyu/Yadu-Turvaśa, Pūru and of Bharata dominance in the Panjab has been briefly discussed above. Further, we know that Rgvedic ritual was transformed into Śrauta ritual during the late Rgvedic and the Mantra period, and we can discern several stages in this process. For example, the complex Śrauta Soma ritual has its predecessors in RV 1 which 144 is dominated by the late Bharata time Viśvāmitras and their strophic hymns,

¹⁴⁰ Also, further investigation is needed into the relation of the YV to the SV. Oldenberg (see above n.135) has noted that YV knew and respected the form of the SV Sāmans. But which YV, the Ur-YV, the collection of small Mantra-Saṃhitās?

¹⁴¹ And is it *this* collection that influenced the YV (Oldenberg, see above n.135).

¹⁴² For example the RV-like introductory stanzas in PS AV 5.22, PS 12.1 = PSK 13.1, a Takman hymn (a study of the hymn by this author is forthcoming).

¹⁴³ A book length version of this paper has been prepared; it contains a discussion of such items; it will be published separately.

¹⁴⁴ See Insler, talk at Columbia University, at the AOS Meeting at Philadelphia 1996; T. Proferes at the 1997 Miami Conference of the AOS.

291

but *not* by the newly immigrant Vasiṣṭha¹⁴⁵ clan favored by the Bharata king Sudās. Interestingly, the Vaiśvāmitra verses/ritual of RV 1 and the subsequent development of the incipient Śrauta ritual are closely connected with Viśvāmitra's adoption by, and his link with the Bhṛgu/Aṅgiras clans of RV books 2 and 6.

Apparently, the late Rgvedic Bharata successors of Sudās made a deal 146 with the traditional forces and included not only the Vasiṣṭha but also Viśvāmitra and Kāṇva hymns in their RV Saṃhitā. They also continued with the incipient development of the Soma ritual towards its Śrauta form which is first visible in RV 3 and 1. The first complete collection of RV hymns (RV 1-9) combines old hymns (of the Yadu-Turvaśa, Anu-Druhyu tribes), recent Vasiṣṭha ones (of the Bharata strictu senso), recent Viśvāmitra ones, and both old and recent Kāṇva ones (of the Pūru, etc.). The early Śrauta ritual, likewise, included older, even Indo-Iranian materials, especially the new Viśvāmitra materials, and further materials connected with more specifically Śrauta-type developments. A description of the internal development of ritual and texts and of the ensuing priestly competition may then be hazarded as follows.

The Rgvedic (and Avestan) prominence of the Hotṛ (Zaotar) priests continued throughout the Bharata realm. 147 Significantly, it still continued in development of the early, incipient Śrauta ritual represented by the Vaiśvāmitras of RV 1. Their hymns are, after all, hotṛ formulas. At this time, there was still a prominence of the texts of three Vedas (trayī), with ṛc-sāman-yajuṣ text types. With the establishment of the standardized Śrauta ritual under the Kuru, however, and with the new division of priestly work into four branches, and, consequently, with the cessation of Rg composition, the balance shifted to the Adhvaryus.

¹⁴⁵ Vasiṣṭha is described as having moved in from across the Indus, RV 7.33.9; note also that in this hymn Yama, just like the Iranian Yima, not Manu is the first human being. Vasiṣṭha's newcomer status is also obvious by his lack of an Āṅgirasa or Kāṇva pedigree. This is, however, explained away by the tale, apparently concocted by his descendants, RV 7.34.10-14: Vasiṣṭha was procreated by the gods Mitra-Varuṇa and the nymph Urvaśī; he apparently belongs to, or is adopted by the Agastya clan.

¹⁴⁶ Note that, according to post-RV information (Bṛhaddevatā 6.34, Mbh. 1.176.20 sqq., Viṣṇu Pur. 4.4.19 sqq.), the sons of Sudās were killed by the Vasiṣṭhas (TS 7.4.7.1, KB 4.8, PB 4.7.3; cf. Geldner ad RV 3.53.22, 7.104) because they had thrown Śakti, son of Vasiṣṭḥa, into the fire (JB 2.390); indeed, Aṣṭaka, a son of Vasiṣṭḥa's rival Viśvāmitra, even became king (of all Bharatas or a subgroup such as the Tṛtsu?) according to JB 2.218-221:§145, cf. AB 7.17, ŚŚS 15.26; their post-Sudās predominance is indicated by the fact that a Vaiśvāmitra section opens the RV (see above n.28), while its end is marked even by a "Hymn to Unity", RV 10.191. -- But, according to the same JB passage (2.218-221), the Vasiṣṭhas are 'even today' the most eminent (Brahmins).

 $^{^{147}}$ Vasiṣṭḥa as Purohita at 10.150.5, 7.83.4; in at least some of the following cases also as Hotar: 7.18.22; 7.56.18, 7.73.2, 7.85.4.

As has been pointed out above, they are, mythologically speaking, "newcomers" to the Soma ritual 148 though not in reality, of course, as there are old Adhvaryu materials such as the "old *nivid*" (RV 1.89.3). However, their texts have never been included into the RV, apparently because the nonmetrical, prose *yajus* were felt not to be up to the standard of poetical speech as to be included among the *rc* collection. But, on the other hand, why should the Hotrs not have done so? This procedure became prominent, after all, in the YV Saṃhitās. They could easily have added the *yajus* as a special collection after the RV collection of *sāmans* in book 9. Why did they not do so?

This did not occur because a number of new factors became more important now. The somewhat apologetic charter myth 149 of Śrauta ritual, the tale of Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa and the Adhvaryus of the gods, the Aśvin, underscores the upstart character of the new Adhvaryu establishment. Compared to the highly trained *brahmán* poets of the (pre) Rgvedic period who often were Hotṛs (Avest. *zaotar*) at the same time, the Adhvaryus must have appeared as half-literate 'work priests', acolytes of a sort. The same is indicated by the link made in the Dadhyañc myth between the Adhvaryus and the ancient Ātharvaṇa tradition, 150 that is between the primordial Atharvan sacrificers and the protagonists of the new Śrauta ritual. This link alone would be enough to indicate a wish of the Adhvaryu tradition to establish prominence both in the hoary past as well as, by implication, in contemporaneous times.

On the other hand, a new rivalry emerges between the main actors in the new Śrauta ritual, the YV Adhvaryu, and the older Hotr establishment. The representatives of the Hotr tradition now had to compete with the new Śrauta establishment and they obviously tried to incorporate as much of contemporaneous "modern"/fashionable materials as possible: the Atharvan-like hymns of RV 10 and the Sāmans of RV 9. In other words, they tried to accumulate whatever was not covered by the *Ur*-Yajuṣ collection. We know that they did not succeed, ultimately. Priestly work and the Veda were divided into four groups. Still, they could recover to some extent, take over, "reform" and expand the Atharvan collections and make them their own,

¹⁴⁸ As expressed in the little studied charter myth of the Śrauta ritual, the story of Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa, as found in the early YV texts (Author, The case of the shattered head, StII 13/14, 1987, p. 363-415). The Adhvaryus are equated in myth with the Aśvins, the somewhat impure doctors of men and of the sacrifice (note the Adhvaryu-Ātharvaṇa connections,); both Aśvin and Adhvaryus are regarded as late-comers to the ritual. (though the Adhvaryus are well known to the RV.) Note that it is, an Ātharvaṇa, Dadhyañc, who helps the Aśvins (and thus the Adhvaryus!) in their endeavor to learn the secret of the ritual. -- Note also that RV influence of the YV Mantras of the Dārśapaurṇamāsa is negligeable but that is increasingly visible in those of the Soma Mantras, especially in the Graha Mantras.

¹⁴⁹ See Author, The case of the shattered head, note 103.

¹⁵⁰ This link is in need of close investigation as well. Note the close relation between the PS and Kathas during the Mantra and YV Samhitā periods; cf. also above, n.82.

293

even in name, as those of the Śaunaka Saṃhitā and its Kauśika Sūtra indicate. 151

Though their old Hotṛ job was diminished in relevance as they were now restricted to the recitation of certain ṛcs in the ritual, and though their function as composers (brahmán) of new RV hymns had ceased, they still managed to get a hold on the new priestly formations. They continued with their function as the brahmán composers of the speculative hymns of the AV, furthermore their ritual function received another outlet in the function of the brahmán priest who silently watches over the performance of the Śrauta ritual and "cures" eventual mistakes with the recitation of AV Mantras. ¹⁵² In other words, they took over both the new Śrauta form of the Hotṛ and the Brahmán jobs. While the RV was brought to closure, Brahmán poetical activity continued in the AV. ¹⁵³

Thus, the prominence in the AV of the Bhṛgu/Āṅgirasa clans reflects the same background as the re-union in the RV Saṃhitā of older Bhṛgu (book 2) and Āṅgirasa (books 6, also 4) materials, and by śiṣya relation, the addition of more recent Bhṛgu materials (Viśvāmitra as student of Jamadagni Bhārgava) in book 3.¹⁵⁴

As has become clear, the exact nature of the relationship between the Hotrs (mostly Āngirasa) and the rest of the priests 155 (with an apparently close Adhvaryu-Ātharvaṇa link) is in need of close investigation. Who exactly were the early Adhvaryus?

Only during the later Mantra period, the collected RV (1-10) exerted increasing influence on the form of the Mantras of the YV and the other Vedas. Though Oldenberg has studied this development, we now have to ask, again: due to which influences or procedures? How far is this RV influence visible in the hymns taken over into the YV? (For example, it is much more visible in the Soma Mantras, and especially in the *somagrahas*, than in the Dārśapaurnamāsa Mantras).

¹⁵¹ The Gṛtsamāda Śunahotra Śaunaka (of RV 2) are a Bhṛgu clan, by adoption from a Bhāradvāja Āṅgirasa clan; see Author, Rṛgvedic history, p. 316. Consequently a Rṛgvedic Śaunaka reappears as the likely author of AĀ 5 (Arthur B. Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, Oxford 1909, p. 18 sqq.), but the link between the Śaunaka as original Bhāradvāja Āṅgirasa and the Āṅgirasa of the AV is perpetuated by the Śaunaka school of AV. -- On the other hand: Jamadagni Bhārgava is a teacher of Viśvāmitra of RV 3, and Viśvāmitra's ancestor Kauśika has lent his name to the Kauśika Sūtra of the Śaunaka school of AV.

¹⁵² Cf. above n.85, on the Brahmán.

¹⁵³ The same faculty is continued in the various Yajñagāthās, historical stanzas and other poetry contained in MS/KS, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads; for a collection (excluding MS/KS) and a discussion see Horsch, *Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur*; cf. Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, 3, p. 1979 sq.

 $^{^{154}}$ Always as the RV itself views these genealogical relationships. Note the inherent importance of lineage and adoption.

¹⁵⁵ Note the exclusion of the Atris of RV 5, and observe the special role of the Kanvas of books 8 and 1.1-50; there is need to investigate what happened to the Atri traditions (who are despised later on), and to that of other, later on insignificant families.

Finally it has to be underlined, that we must strive for a careful distinction of textual levels. It is important to keep these layers separate as, otherwise, our discussion will suffer. For example, the age of the *gṛhya* type hymns in RV 10 is not necessarily that of other AV Mantras. At the present stage of research I tentatively propose to distinguish the following levels of composition/early collection of Vedic texts.

- 1. Indo-Iranian level: Attested are some prose *yajuṣ*, poetic formulae used in *rc*, continuation of Indo-Iranian poetic composition mostly in Triṣṭubh and Gāyatrī style meters, etc.;
- 2. Pre-Rgvedic level: proto-AV Mantras, specifically Indian verses of *rc* nature, etc.;
- 3. Early Rgvedic level: poetry of the Anu-Druhyu, Yadu-Turvaśa tribes: poets such as Samyu Bārhapatasya 6.45.1, 156 some early Kāṇvas (in book 8); composition of early Sāmans. 157
- 4. Later Rgvedic level: Pūru and Bharata time poetry of Viśvāmitra (book 3), Vasiṣṭha (book 7);
- 5. Late Rgvedic ritual compositions such as in RV 1.1-50 (later Bharata realm); collection of Bharata time RV texts in RV 1.51-8;
- 6. Early Mantra time compositions and their collection in an Ur-SV, Ur-AV, Ur-YV; composition of early Śrauta texts such as the Kuntāpa hymns (Kuru realm); their partial introduction into the late RV (RV 9-10) and separate transmission; the collection of 'all' Rc (bahvṛca text) in RV 1-10 under the Kuru;
- 7. Composition of the speculative hymns of the AV; then, composition and collection of the Grhya type hymns of AV;
- 8. Development and assembly of the present SV, YV and AV Samhitās in their various Śākhās before their redaction.
- 9. Development of early, now lost prose discussion of the Śrauta ritual: Caraka Samhitā (see below), ŚS 18/PS 18.27-43?
- 10. Yajurveda prose texts preserved in MS, KS, TS.

Naturally, this listing is very provisional and is in need of a lot of fine-tuning. For example, what is the exact date of the AV Vrātya book (see above)?

In sum, there are quite a number of questions with regard to the early Vedic canon that have not been asked and others that will emerge from such investigations. Only extensive research along these lines will establish whether the reconstruction presented in the last sections is basically correct or will have to be modified. These are, certainly, some of the more interesting and long neglected questions concerning the emergence of the (early) Vedic canon.

¹⁵⁶ However the Bharadvāja stanza 6.20.12 is also found as an Agastya stanza, 1.174.9. -- In general, see Author, Rgvedic history: poets, chieftains and polities.

¹⁵⁷ Brhat at 8.52.9 . Yet even the *rathantara* is attested late: 10.181.1, 1.164,25

§ 3. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANON: EARLY YAJURVEDA PROSE AND BRĀHMAŅAS

§ 3.1. The Historical Background.

In the preceding investigation of the Mantra period texts, the Kuru region has emerged as the center of Vedic text collection and text formation. To the *trayī* collections the Āngirasa of the AV had added their own new speculative hymns. They represent just one aspect of the ongoing deliberations on the meaning and the secret import of the new *śrauta* ritual. Another one can be found in the prose discussions in early brāhmaṇa style (of the Caraka and others) that have largely been lost and have been replaced by those of KS and MS.¹⁵⁸

The general political, social background of the period represented by the brāhmaṇa style prose texts of MS and KS, and also of TS, 159 is similar to that of the earlier Mantra period. The YV Saṃhitā prose texts indicate that the Kṣatriya and Brahmins 160 form a united 'political' front (brahma-kṣatra) against "the people" ($vi\acute{s}$) and, of course, against the Śūdra and the aboriginal population ($d\bar{a}sa$, $dasyu^{161}$), in order to exploit them, as the texts themselves --composed by Brahmins-- underline with Marxist analysis before its day.

At this time, there were semi-permanent settlements only (*grāma* "trek, wagon train.") Archaeological evidence indicates that some centers existed, mostly as market places. ¹⁶² These, however, are not mentioned in the texts ¹⁶³ and names of settlements are virtually unknown, ¹⁶⁴ except

¹⁵⁸ One would expect that these early Br. would be not so much an investigation into the secrets of the ritual but rather as a justification of the *new* Śrauta ritual. Is this why the *older* Br. on the Soma and New/Full Moon rituals have been lost (or discarded?) -- Note also that some sections of PS, ŚS, especially the Vrātya book, are in the same prose style.

¹⁵⁹ Note, again, that this period is usually not separated in secondary literature from that of the Brāhmaṇas proper (e.g. in Gonda's book of 1975, *A history of Indian literature: I.1. Vedic literature (Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas)*.

¹⁶⁰ See Author, Early Sanskritization.

¹⁶¹ Thus called even in some later Brāhmaṇas text, such as AB 7.18; cf. the nisāda/dasyu JB 2.423: §168 and AB 8.11 (they rob a wealthy man or a caravan in the wilderness); cf. below n.164, 279, 334, 341.

¹⁶² But cf. now F. R. Allchin, *The archaeology of early historic South Asia : the emergence of cities and states*, Cambridge 1995, p. 34, on the post-Indus period (c. 2000-1600 BC) in Haryana and the extreme western *Doab*: post-urban/Cemetery H type pottery, but in some sites with brick buildings; contrast, however, the subsequent period (p. 37; c. 1600-1200 BC) with single-room houses of timber and thatch, followed again by many-room brick houses, etc. (c. 1200-800 BC, Painted Gray Ware culture).

The reason may well be that, differently from the half-nomadic Aryans with their grāmas relocating periodically (W. Rau, in this volume), permanent settlements were (mostly?) inhabited by the aboriginal population or Niṣādas, who are "neither wilderness (aranya) nor grāma." For details see MS 2.9.5, (Niṣāda, among Rudra's names and his

North India in the Middle and late Vedic Period (from A.Parpola 1988)

for the seats of the Kuru lineage in Kurukṣetra, such as Āsandīvant ("having the throne"), or Rohitakakūla. While there was some agriculture, apparently largely executed by low caste, indigenous people, the Vedic chieftains

people, with hunters and other low caste people) =KS 17.13, TS 4.5.4.2, VS 16.27; -- AB 8.11 (as robbers in the wildernis, cf. JB dasyu 2.423:§168, which insists on Ksatriya accompaniment during travel, necessary to keep the Dasyu at bay and turn them "madhu", -- cf. the Videgha tale of "sweetening the East"), KŚS 1.1.12 (also MS 2.2.4, their chief, sthapati, is allowed to offer), PB 16.6.7-9 on temporary residence with the Nisādas who are "given over to the earth:" (asyām eva parīttāḥ), next to jana '(foreign) tribe' PB /other non-Brahmins, JB, and samānajana "one's own people"; KB 25.15 temp. residence in a naisāda settlement (cf. Nala Naiśidha ŚB 2.3.2.1-2), LŚS 8.2.8 (in their village). Note also that Brahmins have always preferred living in the countryside as to better preserve their purity. ¹⁶⁴ Note that *permament* Indo-Aryan villages (*grāma*) are late, see W. Rau in this volume. The alleged Vedic towns are phantoms, such as Paricakrā ŚB 13.5.4.7 (just a place name or temporary settlement) or Kāmpīla(-vāsinī) MS 3.12.20, KSAśv. 4.8, TS 7.4.19.1, VS 23.18, ŚB 13.2.8.3, where *kāmpīla* is nothing but the name of a dress, "dressed in a in K. dress", see K. Hoffmann, AzI, p. 109 (cf. candātaka-vāsinī "(an Apsaras) dressed in golden skirt"); cf. K. Mylius, Ethnologisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift 10, 33-39; 11, 70-72 and contrast JB Nagarin (see below, n.263,386).

habitually robbed their indigenous neighbors (all called Niṣādas?) of their harvest, especially in the east and in the south. 165

The new stratification of society into four classes (*varṇa*, RV 10.90) was superimposed on the extended families of the Vaiśya and lower rank Kṣatriya. Among these, one tried to become the best in the group (*śreṣṭhaḥ svānām*). The Kṣatriyas, hand-in-hand with the Brahmins, tried to establish a dominant position over the *viś* (*viśpati*). 166 This is reflected in the common wish of the nobility to "obtain a settlement" (*grāmakāma*). 167 There already is some specialization: we find carpenters, blacksmiths, or the more elevated profession of chariot maker. 168

The area of the texts is limited to Kurukṣetra and U.P., up to Kausambi and Allahabad; the Kāśis are outsiders (PS 13.1). Both the Kurus and the Pañcālas were divided into several sub-tribes or political units reflecting the amalgamation of several Rgvedic tribes in the formation of the Kuru or the Pañcāla super-tribes. Indeed, JB 3.196 speaks of the Kurus as divided into three groups, and of the Pañcālas as into six (JB 3.156), but the older text, KS 30.2:183,17, knows only of a threefold division. These sub-tribes were in constant competition, and occasional skirmishes ensued, especially with the tribes that had not joined the Kuru-Pañcāla. ¹⁶⁹ The process of Sanskritization of aboriginal tribes continued throughout the Mantra- and Brāhmaṇa periods, for example by making the leader (Niṣāda-sthapati, MS 2.2.4) of a local aboriginal tribe, the Niṣāda "those residing at their proper place"), eligible to perform the solemn *śrauta* ritual.

§ 3.2. The Early Brahmana Style Compositions: CarS, MS, KS, TS.

The early collections of Mantras have been transmitted in the extant Saṃhitās of the Black Yajurveda (MS, KS/KpS, TS), together with their "theological" explanation in *brāhmaṇa* style.¹⁷⁰ However, it is well known

¹⁶⁵ W. Rau, Staat, p. 13 (MS 4.7.9:104.14; KS 26.2:123.17); cf. Heesterman, Contributions to Indian Sociology, NS 15, 1981, p. 258 sqq. (TB 1.8.4.1); for ŚB 5.5.2.3-5 this movement of the Kuru-Pañcālas is already a thing of the past; cf. Brucker, E., Die spätvedische Kulturepoche nach den Quellen der Śrauta-, Gṛḥya- und Dharmasūtras. Der Siedlungsraum, Wiesbaden 1980, p. 83.

¹⁶⁶ See S. Zimmer, viśām páti und viśpati, MSS 44, 291-304.

¹⁶⁷ H. Kulke, Grāmakāma - "das Verlangen nach einem Dorf". Überlegungen zum Beginn frühstaatlicher Entwicklung im vedischen Indien. *Saeculum* 42, 1991, 111-128.

¹⁶⁸ See C. Minkowski, The Rathakāra's Eligibility to Sacrifice, *IIJ* 32, 1989, 177-194.

¹⁶⁹ For example: the Bharata fight with the Satvants (of the area south of the Yamunā, ŚB 13.5.4.21), the Trikarta (JB 2.297-8) with the Kuru; the Mahāvṛṣa with the Kuru, at JB 1.234=§192, the Kunti with the Pañcāla (KS 26.9). In addition, there is danger from continuing immigration from the west, see W. Rau, *Staat*, p. 14 (ŚB 6.7.3.5). See now Author, Early Sanskritization.

¹⁷⁰ For a characterization of these earliest Indian prose texts, see Oldenberg, *Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa*, p. 13 sqq. = *Kl. Schriften* 3, p. 1761 sqq.

that the Mantras precede the Brāhmaṇa sections linguistically¹⁷¹ and on grounds of internal chronology. There are indications that the extant expository prose of the YV Saṃhitās was preceded by still earlier and now lost brāhmaṇa style texts. K. Hoffmann has reconstructed a passage of these lost, pre-YV Saṃhitā texts in Brāhmaṇa style:¹⁷² an early sentence of expository prose was misunderstood as Mantra already when the Taittirīya Saṃhitā was composed, which sheds an interesting light on the considerable period of time that must have intervened between the original formulation of this small Brāhmaṇa and the compilation and composition of an early YV Saṃhitā. Further examples of these lost texts can be found in the few fragments that could be collected from the now lost Caraka Saṃhitā, a forerunner of KS (see below).¹⁷³

A number of observations supports this conclusion. These texts contain a bewildering amount of "sacrificial" myths which we usually regard as pseudo-myths, invented whenever the discussion of the ritual may have required it. However, just as in their later Upaniṣad versions, the old Rgvedic myths simply have been "updated" and used for the purpose of the ritual. ¹⁷⁴ K. Hoffmann's investigations indicate how complicated and well-thought out structure of the Brāhmaṇa style texts actually is. ¹⁷⁵ They are, other than might appear at first sight, ¹⁷⁶ well structured and argue their case in a strictly logical fashion. ¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ See Author, *Tracing*; cf. Early Eastern Iran and the Atharvaveda. *Persica* 9, 1980, pp. 86-128.

¹⁷² K. Hoffmann, Der Mantra yán návam áit, AzI, p. 509 ff.

¹⁷³ See Author, Über die Caraka-Schule. StII 7, 1981, 109-132, StII 8/9, 1982, 171-240.

¹⁷⁴ K. Hoffmann, *AzI* 3, p. 709

¹⁷⁵ See K. Hoffmann, Zur Struktur eines Brāhmaṇa-Abschnittes, *AzI*, p. 509-512, cf. Author, JB palpūlanī. The structure of a Brāhmaṇa tale. *Fel. Vol. B.R. Sharma*, ed. by M. D. Balasubrahmaniam, Tirupati 1986, pp. 189-216.

¹⁷⁶ As it had appeared to early scholars of the 19th and early 20th cent.; but see, contra, K. Hoffmann, Die magische Weltanschauung im Veda. Resümee. Indologentagung 1959 = AzI 3, p. 709 (unfortunately not printed in extenso, but elaborated in his teaching at Erlangen in the Sixties and Seventies; cf. also Arnim Benke, Magie in der Brāhmaṇa-Zeit. M.A. thesis Erlangen 1976, and Author, On Magical thought in the Veda, Leiden 1979); indeed, since the Twenties (Oldenberg, Schayer) a much more differentiated view has taken hold in European Indology. The rather scathing reports on the views of recent Vedic scholarship with regard to Vedic "identifications", as reported by O' Flaherty (Tales of Sex and Violence, Chicago 1985) and B. K. Smith (Reflections on resemblance, ritual, and religion. New York-Oxford 1989), do not take this into account and therefore are beside the point; see now A. Wezler, Zu den sogenannten Identifikationen in den Brāhmaṇas, StII 20, 1996, 485-522, and Author, How to enter the Vedic mind: Strategies in Translating a Brāhmaṇa text., in: Translating, Translations, Translators From India to the West, ed. by E. Garzilli, Cambridge 1996, p. 163-176.

 $^{^{177}}$ If one accepts the basic assumption of "identity" in these texts. See Author, *On Magical Thought in the Veda*, and, Idem, How to enter the Vedic mind.

299

Older, now lost versions of these YV myths are also indicated by the well-known formulae used 178 in all their versions and throughout the four Vedas. The beginning sentence(s) 179 of a particular myth usually are found without variants 180 in all the texts and the closing statements also largely agree with each other. This, too, indicates an old layer of now lost prose stories (traditionally called ' $itih\bar{a}sa$ ') which was significantly different in nature from the expository prose proper (' $arthav\bar{a}da$ ').

Further, many of the homologies in the Brāhmaṇa style, expository prose (of the type svar jyotiḥ, or reto 'gniḥ) appear already as fixed when they first occur, sometimes as early as in the Mantras themselves. ¹⁸¹ Such basic "identifications" made between persons, objects, virtually all entities found in Microcosm, Macrocosm and the intervening and mediating Mesocosm of śrauta ritual (yajña) are first clearly stated in the oldest YV texts (MS, KS) but never explained or further adumbrated. ¹⁸² They must have evolved during the Mantra period and must have been part of the non-mythical prose sections (arthavāda) of the early, lost YV Brāhmaṇa portions.

At least one of these early Mantra and Brāhmaṇa style texts has been shown to have been that of a major, now lost Yajurveda school, the Caraka $ś\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$, which preceded the Kaṭha school and was fairly close to the Maitrāyaṇī $ś\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ as well. Unfortunately we can only reconstruct a few sections of its Mantra and Brāhmaṇa style texts.

These observations allow us to assume the existence of a whole class of early expository prose which preceded MS, KS, TS and was more or less contemporaneous with the collection of the YV Mantras. However, it is surprising that Brāhmaṇa style sections on the "standard rituals", i.e. New and Full Moon (*iṣṭi*) and the Soma (*adhvara*), ¹⁸⁴ are missing in the early parts of MS and KS. That means that precisely those Brāhmaṇa explanations on the two small Mantra Saṃhitās (*iṣṭi*, *adhvara*) that form the paradigm of the *śrauta* rituals are not found in the first parts of our oldest surviving Yajurveda texts. Instead, they are only appended in their last sections. Both in MS and KS these Brāhmana portions are clear additions to the bulk of the

¹⁷⁸ See Tracing, § 5.2, cf. S. Jamison, The ravenous hyenas and the wounded sun. Myth and ritual in ancient India, Ithaca-London 1991, and elsewhere in this volume.

¹⁷⁹ For the most common initial phrases, see Author, *Tracing* §5.2 ("The gods and the Asuras were in contest").

¹⁸⁰ Excepting a few grammatical changes and some additional particles, cf. Author, *Tracing* §5.2.

¹⁸¹ See Author, On Magical Thought in the Veda.

¹⁸² See Author, On Magical Thought in the Veda.

¹⁸³ See Author, Über die Caraka-Schule and Idem, An unknown Yajurveda-Saṃhitā. (Materials on Vedic Śākhās, 6) *IIJ* 27, 1984, 105-106

¹⁸⁴ Why is it *adhvara* "the path", and why *Adhvaryu* 'wishing to find the path': obviously, it is the path to heaven (and to the end of the ritual which is like a jungle, an ocean where one gets lost); cf. M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, s.v., p. 68.

text.¹⁸⁵ Even in a later YV work, TS, where all of this material is conveniently ordered, the Mantras (TS 1.1 *dārśa*; *adhvara* TS 1.2) still are widely separated from the corresponding Brāhmaṇa sections (TB 3.2-3 and TS 6). This throws an interesting light on the composition of MS/KS and on the origin of Brāhmaṇa type texts as such, and some of its features which have been largely overlooked so far.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ E.g. at MS 3.6-4.7; they belong in part to the "appendix", the Khilakāṇḍa. -- The *dārśa* Br. is found at MS 2.5-2.6. In the slightly later YV text, KS, both Br. sections appear in the middle sections of this work: *soma* in ch. 23-29, *dārśa* in ch. 12.10, 30, 31; 20.15; 25.5-7. Note, however, that even with regard to a later Śrauta development, the Agnicayana ritual, the Br. portions are not found together with the Mantras: KS 16-22.

¹⁸⁶ For details see Author, The Veda in Kashmir (forthc.).

§ 3.3. The Early Yajurveda Samhitās of the Kuru realm: MS, KS/KpS.

In addition to the lost Caraka texts, other early YV texts, namely MS and KS, have been composed in the west, mainly in the Kurukṣetra area. 187 It is clear that KS was composed in the eastern Panjab and in Haryana. 188 The homeland of MS appears to have been the southern Kurukṣetra area, perhaps including even some parts of the Matsya territory south of the Yamunā. Both the homelands of KS and MS overlap with the archaeologically attested Painted Gray Ware culture (c. 1200-800 BC). In the south, in MS territory, one can expect interaction with the Niṣāda of, e.g., the Banas culture, see MS 2.9.5 (niṣādasthapati). 189 In these texts, the Kuru realm is found at its height. In fact, the Pañcālas are mentioned only 190 at KS 30.2:183.17, KS 26.9:134.9, VSK 11.3.3=11.6.3 (but not in VSM!).

KS clearly mentions the eastward expansionist tendency of the newly formed Kuru tribe: "they are victorious eastwards", while MS has, in the same passage, and typically for its more southern location "they are victorious southwards" (KS 26.2:123.17 :: MS 4.7.9:104.14). The social background of the period has been extensively described by W. Rau. 191 Yet, as the book has been written in German it has had little impact outside this language area. However, Rau still treats the YV Saṃhitās and the extant Brāhmaṇas as one unit; we therefore have to use his copious materials with some circumspection.

The focus of KS and MS clearly is on the rituals of the "average" *yajamāna*. This is visible in the sections at the beginning of both Saṃhitās KS 4.14 sqq., MS 1.4 sqq., which deal with the rites of the sponsor ("sacrificer"), and the same is further elaborated in the many other chapters of "wish offerings" (*kāmyeṣṭi*, MS 2.1 sqq., KS 11.2 sqq., *kāmyapaśu* MS 2.5 sqq., KS 12.12 sqq.) which reflect the aims in life of a nobleman. ¹⁹² But the two Saṃhitās also deal with the small chieftains and with the Kuru king. His

¹⁸⁷ See Author, *Localisation*.

¹⁸⁸ The text clearly states that in its area "the rivers flow westwards most copiously" (KS 23.8:54.12, see above n.55), possible only in and near the political center of the time, Kurukṣetra.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. KS 17.13, TS 4.5.4.2. AB 8.11 etc. The inclusion of the headman of the Niṣāda reflects the well-known process of upward social movement, called "Sanskritization" by Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, Oxford 1952; J. F. Staal, Sanskrit and Sanskritization, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 22, 1963, 261 sqq.

¹⁹⁰ KS=KpS 46.6, otherwise only in the royal unction: VSK 11.3.3 (not VSM!) eṣa vo kuravo rājaiṣa vaḥ Pañcālā rājā = VSK 11.6.3; note: KS 26.9:134.9: tataḥ Kuntayaḥ Pañcālān abhītya, jinanti = KpS 41.7).

¹⁹¹ Rau, *Staat*. One has to subtract from his work, for the present purpose, all statements obtained from the Brāhmaṇas proper.

¹⁹² See now Kulke, Grāmakāma - "das Verlangen nach einem Dorf", and earlier, W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei, Darstellung der altindischen "Wunschopfer."* Amsterdam 1908.

aims are clearly visible in the development of the Rājasūya ritual which is an elaboration of the simple *abhiṣeka*¹⁹³ of the Mantra period.

The geographical position of KS in Kurukṣetra locates the text in the center of the Kuru realm whose policies are characterized by a number of archaizing and śrautifying tendencies. 194 However, MS tends to be more genuinely and not artificially archaic. 195 Both its language and its textual formulations tend to indicate an older age than that of KS. This is a little studied topic. 196 For example, a section dealing with the three sacred fires 197 has MS indicating them only by pronouns, an old device kept alive up to the Sūtras. 198 At the same instance, KS already gives their names as to be explicit. In another case, MS 4.8.1. has an Anuṣṭubh stanza about the usefulness of study, while the prallel version in KS 30.1 provides a more elaborate context. L. v. Schroeder's study 199 of MS and Pāṇini has a number of items which underline this: words such as spṛdh are archaic and are kept alive in MS while KS has substituted sam-yat. 200

Further, there are shared linguistic innovations which include $khy > k\acute{s}$; CuV > CV; the introduction of the sole usage of: n.pl. $-\bar{a}s$; nom. dual -au; n.pl.ntr. $-\bar{a}ni$; instr.pl. $-ai\dot{h}$; the periphrastic aorist $(-\bar{a}m\ akar,\ etc.)$ a notable retention is that of archaic $[ch/\acute{s}ch]$, which otherwise $> [cch].^{201}$

The same is visible in the largely common structure of both texts extending at least up to Agnicayana section (MS 2.7.1/3.1 sqq., KS 15.11/18.19 sqq.) A general outline is provided by Keith in his translation of TS,²⁰² but he ordered this according to TS which obscures the older close

¹⁹³ Preserved in Kauśika Sūtra 17.1-10 (*ekarāja*- and *laghv-abhiṣeka*). The *abhiṣeka* Mantras of TS/TB specifically mention the Bharata, those of ŚBK the Kuru, but KS/MS and ŚBM are vague and do not have any particular tribe in mind (see Author, Localisation p. 177, 182 n.42; Early Sanskritization, p. 31 n.23) -- For details on the Abhiṣeka see Author, The coronation rituals of Nepal..

 $^{^{194}}$ See Author, Early Sanskritization, EJVS 1.4 and Early Sanskritization. Origins and Development of the Kuru State, München 1997.

¹⁹⁵ Even then, some of its forms are actually more modern than the corresponding ones in, e.g., MS abhí gulbadhānáḥ for abhígur vadhá naḥ, see K. Hoffmann, Das Verbaladjektiv von hvr bei Pāṇini, AzI 3, p. 752.

¹⁹⁶ The Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṃhitā (KpS) is excluded here, as it is virtually identical with KS, though often younger in form and grammar, see the introduction to the edition by Raghu Vira, Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṃhitā, p. iv sqq.; H. Oertel, *Kleine Schriften*, 1994, p. 634 sqq.

¹⁹⁷ Noticed by J. Narten, in her classes at Erlangen, c. 1970.

¹⁹⁸ See Caland, Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana.

¹⁹⁹ Über die Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, ihr Alter, ihr Verhältnis zu den verwandten Śākhā's, ihre sprachliche und historische Bedeutung, *ZDMG* 33, 1879, 180; cf. T.N. Dharmadhikari, *The Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, its ritual and language*. Ph.D. thesis Poona 1969 (unpubl.).

 $^{^{200}}$ For details, see Author, *Tracing*, §5.2, p. 151 sqq.; for KS see A. Weber, Einiges über das Kāṭhakam, *Indische Studien* 3, Berlin 1855.

²⁰¹ For details see *Tracing*, §10.

 $^{^{202}}$ A.B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittiriya Sanhita, Cambridge Mass. 1919, pp. lxviii-lxix.

relationship between MS/KS.²⁰³ For the most part, such observations still have the value of anecdotal information as most of these points have not been stated as such in secondary literature.²⁰⁴

It has to be underlined, however, that the various sections of the YV Saṃhitās are not of the same age. They have grown gradually, and at different rates. It has been noted already that the Agnicayana²⁰⁵ is a later development than the Soma/New and Full Moon ritual, and that the Aśvamedha forms the final, culminating point in the development of the *śrauta* ritual.²⁰⁶ Their respective Mantra and Brāhmaṇa texts thus are expected to be later. Furthermore, it can be seen that, for example, MS 4.9 sqq. is a late addition (even with some *ity eke* quotations)²⁰⁷ and that the Aśvamedha section of KS ("book 5") is late and closely agrees with that of TS.²⁰⁸

§ 4. THE TEXTS OF THE PAÑCĀLA LANDS

The Kuru area of c. 1200 B.C. was the ritual and political center of early, post-Rgvedic Indo-Aryan India. However, with the developing tendency toward expansion eastwards and southwards, the other half of the "classical" Vedic tribal moiety, namely the Pañcāla, soon made their appearance, as is clear from the frequent occurring as a compound, *kurupañcāla*. In later Saṃhitās such as the Taittirīya S. and in the Brāhmaṇas, it is the Pañcālas,²⁰⁹ and especially their king Keśin Dārbhya (Dālbhya) that stand out.²¹⁰ The two royal lineages had intermarried in the past.²¹¹ The two great tribes also exchanged their *vrātyas*,²¹² and

²⁰³ For details see Author, *The Veda in Kashmir*, forthc.

²⁰⁴ Cf. however, N. Tsuji, *Existent YV literature*, who sums up much of the information, however, in Japanese language. More on the structure of MS, KS, TS in the discussion of the Vedic texts from Kashmir, see Author, *The Veda in Kashmir*, ch. VIII, (forthc.)

²⁰⁵ See Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* on the Mantras of the Agnicayana.

²⁰⁶ A. Bhawe, *Die Yajus' des Aśvamedha*, Stuttgart 1939; for the White YV see Caland, *AO* 10, 1932, 126-134.

²⁰⁷ See Author, *Das Katha Āranyaka*, Erlangen 1972.

²⁰⁸ See Bhawe, *Die Yajus' des Aśvamedha*. Note that Bodewitz, *The daily evening and morning offering (Agnihotra) according to the Brāhmaṇas*, Leiden 1976, is of the opinion that even the Agnihotra sections of KS are older than those of MS.

²⁰⁹ Cf. the fight of the Pañcālas with the Kuntis, KS 26.9, see *Tracing*, n.329, and n.113.

²¹⁰ See Author, Notes on Vedic dialects, 1. *Zinbun*, 67, 1991, 31-70; see now P. Koskikallio, *EJVS* 1.3 (Nov. 1995, www. shore.net/~india/EJVS).

²¹¹ JB 2.278-9, cf. H. Falk, *Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel*, Freiburg 1986; see *Tracing* p. 236, n.328 and Author, Early Sanskritization, on the intermarriage of Kuru and Pañcala.

²¹² KS 10.6 Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the Kurus, BŚS 18.26 some young Kurus trek as Vrātyas against the Pañcālas; see Falk, *Bruderschaft*, p. 55 sqq.

generally appear to have been in more or less friendly competition, a feature typical of moieties in other societies as well.²¹³

Why then did the shift from the Kuru to the Pañcāla take place? There are many possible answers, such as an incidental shift of the economic or political center. One can, however, also put the question in another way: why was the composition and compilation of the older YV Saṃhitās in the Kuru area (KS, MS) suddenly halted,²¹⁴ while on the other hand, literary activity was resumed with the somewhat later Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (its older parts AB 1-5), in Kuruksetra and west²¹⁵ of the Ravi river?

The solution is to be found elsewhere. As we know from JB, the Kurukṣetra area, the Kuru realm, was overcome by new immigrants, the Salva. One has to assume that much or all of ritualistic discussion and activity stopped in the area until the AB and the rather late KaṭhaB and the equally late Upaniṣads of the Kaṭha and Maitrāyaṇīya were composed.

Indeed, the Vedic "Panjabis" (Bāhīka) were despised (ŚB 9.3.1.24), while their eastern neighbors, the Mahāvṛṣa, were classified in ŚBK 4.2.3.15 along with the Kuru. These people, who already occur in AV as the westernmost border tribe of orthoprax Vedic India, may be regarded as the center of brahmanical revival after the impact of the Salva invasion. For it is well known that in Alexander's time, the Kaṭhas made a strong comeback: the Kaṭha "tribe" with their capital at Saggala (Śākala, mod. Sial-koṭ) was among his fiercest enemies. The Greek writers quite obviously identified the name of the local Brahmins with that of the inhabitants of the area. A later text, ŚB 10.4.1.10, speaks of the Salva having all four varṇas.

Obviously, after the Salva invasion, the leadership of the Kuru-Pañcālas was taken over by the Pañcāla royal family, and the center of political, cultural and ritual prominence shifted eastwards into Uttar Pradesh²¹⁸. In fact, there are several major, archaeologically prominent centers in the extensive Pañcāla region between the Gaṅgā near Delhi and Kausambi/Allahabad, between the Himalayas and the Yamunā.²¹⁹ The social

²¹³ Such clashes between moieties usually occur in liminal periods, such as New Year, in various parts of S. Asia (such as Bhaktapur, Nepal) to this day, see Author, Macrocosm, Mesocosm, and Microcosm.

²¹⁴ Are the distinctly later parts of KS (such as the Aśvamedha, Prāyaścitta) of the same age as the older section of AB?

²¹⁵ See Author, Localisation.

²¹⁶ Apparently joined by another tribe not included by the Kuru union, e.g. the Trikarta of the Jammu area, JB 2.299 (with female hunters, *vyādhinīḥ*!; Indian Amazons are also known to Classical Greek sources).

²¹⁷ Misunderstood in Arrian etc. as a tribe, cf. his *Kambistoloi, Kathaioi, Maduandinoi*; cf. O. v. Hinüber, Arrian, Anabasis 5.21-22, Indikē 4.4; but compare Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya, on the Kaṭha as a people or tribe, Mahābhāṣya 6.3.52 Kaṭhī Vṛndārikā, Kaṭhavṛndārikā, *kaṭhajātīyā*, *kaṭhadeśīyā*.

²¹⁸ Reflected by BĀU 3.3 which discusses the fate of the disappeared Pārikṣita dynasty -- while ŚB 11.8.4.6 says that the Pañcāla dynasty of the Kaiśina survives until "today".

²¹⁹ See G. Erdosy, *Urbanisation in Early Historic India*; cf. also the 3-5 centers of *kṣatra* domination in Haryana/U.P., e.g. KS 30.2:183,17, JB 3.156, etc.

and economic history of this period, which by and large overlaps with the Painted Gray Ware culture of the beginning of the first millennium B.C., is characterized by further consolidation. The settlements, which are archaeologically indicated at first only along the banks of the rivers, 220 increasingly expand into the interior. 221

Unfortunately, the situation south of the Yamunā is not clear at all: we know only of the Matsya in the Mathura area and of the Satvants.²²² However, the people south of the Yamunā regarded themselves clearly as "colonial" Kuru, who still sent their *vrātya*s northwards to the Kurus.²²³

The prominent Pañcāla chief Keśin Dārbhya is the founder of a whole lineage great chieftains, the *Kaiśina*, who survive into the late Brāhmaṇa period.²²⁴ Interestingly, he is famous for a certain innovation in the ritual. This is the *Kaiśinī dīkṣā*, the consecration ceremony for the Soma sacrifice, which precedes the major parts of the ritual.²²⁵ The legend obviously is an attempt at justification of a contemporary innovation in ritual; it is, typically found in most of the Brāhmaṇa texts of the Pañcāla area (Vādhūla, Kauṣītaki, Jaiminīya/Śāṭyāyani Brāhmaṇa).

While this concerns a supposedly royal intervention, a brahmanical attempt at artificial archaization found in TS can be seen in the same light: the Taittirīyas preserve the old, Rgvedic pronunciation of *súvar* instead of contemporary *svàr*. This is a clear attempt at archaization as they do not carry this out with other words, such as *svasti*. Again, the existence or non-existence of textual (dialect) and ritual peculiarities reflects political reality.

§ 4.1. The Taittirīyas and their subschools.

The Taittirīya ritualists, apparently, felt it necessary to differenciate themselves versus the older Kuru schools of the Kaṭha and Maitrāyaṇīya. They also ordered their texts in a more systematic fashion (cf. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*).²²⁷ This is obvious in the clear separation of the Agnicayana

²²⁰ Attested as late as the Grhyasūtras in the *sīmantonnayana*, see Author, *Localisation*.

²²¹ See G. Erdosy, *Urbanisation in Early Historic India*.

²²² They are already known to the RV; according to later texts they lived south of the Yamunā, see Author, Localisation.

²²³ See notes 213, 240.

²²⁴ SB 11.8.4.6 says that Keśin's descendants continue to survive (see above n.219); Keśin is attested also at KS 30.2, KpS 46.5 and surprisingly, MS 1.4.12, 1.6.5, 2.1.3. The MS passages should belong to the earlier parts of the text; this case thus is in need of further investigation. Do we have to reckon with late sections in MS, KS? -- cf. Author, Notes on Vedic dialects, 1. *Zinbun*, 67, 1991, 40 and see now P. Koskikallio, *EJVS* 1.3 (Nov. 1995).

²²⁵ Beforehand, this *dīkṣā* had not been known, according to VādhB, KB, JB; see Caland, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 447-449; cf. Koskikallio, EJVS 1,3 (1995).

²²⁶ For details see Author, *Tracing*.

The systematic arrangement is carried further especially in its somewhat aberrant versions, such as the $\bar{A}treyi~\hat{S}\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ and the Vaikhānasa school. For details see Weber, Ind. St.

and other later accretions to the TS 5 sqq.: the Agnicayana, Soma Brāhmaṇa, Ahīna, and Sattrāyaṇa sections which begin in MS/KS at about the same position (MS 2.7sqq, KS 15.11sqq) but in a much more disorganized fashion, interspersed with other materials.²²⁸

It is significant that a large number of subschools now developed in the Taittirīya tradition. Most of them are to be aligned with the Pañcāla proper, while at least one, the Baudhāyanīya, must have originated with one of the neighboring tribes: the Āpastambas live on the Yamunā in the Mathura area, the Hiraṇyakeśin east of them on the Ganges, the Bhāradvājas further downstream on the Yamunā, the Vādhūlas still further downstream on the Ganges, while the Baudhāyanīyas come from a border line eastern country, Kosala.²²⁹

It has not been asked *why* so many schools developed. Interestingly, their number corresponds more or less to a passage in JB 3.196 which states that governance (*kṣatra*) is divided into six among the Pañcāla. This difference may even be reflected in local archaeological styles of PGW, a topic which is in need of further investigation.²³⁰ These subdivisions echo the threefold division of the Kuru and may indicate an earlier stage of the taking over of Kuru models into U.P.²³¹

The most interesting territories, however, are those further east. While the Kosala land itself was Kāṇva territory, adhering to the white Yajurveda, one of their priests, Kāṇva Bodhāyana, became a Taittirīya²³² and composed the BŚS. Taittirīya influence is clearly visible here; it will be further discussed below (§ 5.1) However, we know little about the territory of the Ikṣvāku (in E. Uttar Pradesh/Kosala), the Vaṃśa (in the Gaṅgā / Yamunā *Doāb* near Allahabad), of the Kāśi (in the Benares area), and even

^{1, 71; 11, 13; 12, 90; 13, 97;} Keith, *Taittiriya Sanhita*, p. xxxiv, Renou *IIJ* 1, 1957, 8; but contrast the arrangements in the subschools: for Kerala, see Staal, *Nambudiri Veda Recitation*.

A similar argument can be made with regard to the latest additions to the YV Saṃhitās, the Aśvamedha and the Yājyānuvākyās. The Aśvamedha Mantras are added to TS in a number of small sections attached to certain chapters; but in MS they form a single additional block just before the Khilakāṇḍa (book 4); in KS they constitute the clearly additional book 5. -- The Yājyānuvākyās (see Y. Ikari 1989) are added in the same scattered fashion in TS, but again as the compact, last section of the MS Khilakāṇḍa (MS 4.10-12); in KS they are added to the text, just as in TS, at the end of various chapters. The procedure of piece-meal addition of stanzas and Sūktas (also found in the RV Khilas and in the few stanzas of RV not divided by Śākalya's Padapāṭha) is old; it is a way of hiding the fact that this is really an addition and not part of the original text. -- Note that MS 4.10-12 comes even after the Pravargya, which itself seems, according to the testimony of some MSS, a very late, medieval (?) addition. This kind of investigation will be of use in detecting the history of development of texts and rituals; for details see Author, *The Veda in Kashmir* (forthc.)

²²⁹ See Author, *Localisation*, *Tracing*, p. 115.

²³⁰ The older text, KS 30.2:183.17 speaks only of a threefold division, see n. 220.

²³¹ This should end all speculation (R. Thapar) that the name of the Pañcāla is somehow linked to the number "five".

²³² See Caland, Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana.

less about the Satvants and Matsya, south of the Yamunā, and about their respective Vedic schools.²³³

It is precisely during this period of the dominance of Keśin and his lineage that one can detect some Taittirīya influence even upon the Kuru of the west: the Kaṭhas have taken over the Aśvamedha Mantras from TS.²³⁴ This is surprising as the Kaṭha school is the older one and could be expected to have developed such materials; they are found, for example, even in (the later parts of) MS.

§ 4.2. Early Brāhmaṇa texts of the Pañcāla Lands: The Śāṭyāyani and Jaiminīya schools.

The Jaiminīya texts (JB, JUB) seem to be based²³⁵ on an earlier Śāṭyāyani Brāhmaṇa from the Pañcāla area,²³⁶ which is preserved in part in quotations.²³⁷ That the pre-Jaiminīya texts were basically composed in the (Kuru-)Pañcāla area is clear from the prominent role these tribes play in the text. Only some sections of the present JB point to a more southern origin of this version of the Śāṭyāyani/Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, in a quasi-colonial territory, stretching from the Yamunā in the north to the Gulf of Gujarat and to the Vindhya in the south, with the Tharr desert as its western border.²³⁸ The close social connection with the Kuru-Pañcāla can still be seen in the fact that these southerners send out their sons towards the north,²³⁹ into Kuru-Pañcāla territory, and not, as one might think, as a sort of *Jungmännerbund* into the "new lands" of the south beyond the Vindhya, -- areas which were clearly known to the authors of the JB.²⁴⁰

²³³ Cf. Author, *Localisation*.

²³⁴ See Bhawe, *Die Yajus' des Aśvamedha*. Possibly the Kaṭhas took over a Taittirīya text only when they were already located in the east, as Prācya-Kaṭha.

²³⁵ This still is a somewhat moot point, cf. Bodewitz, introd. to *The Jyotistoma Ritual. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,66-364. Introduction, translation and commentary*, Leiden 1990 and Author, The case of the shattered head; see further, M. Fujii, in this volume.

²³⁶ Note the prominence of the (Kuru-)Pañcāla in JB; regarding their eastern border, note their disdain for the Kosala whose crown prince speaks "like the Easterners" (JB 1.338 = \$115, and the contempt for the Ikṣvāku as down-trodden Kṣatriya (See *Tracing*, n.253, 349, 389; cf. JB 3.168-170 = \$190).

²³⁷ Mostly from Sāyaṇa's commentaries, see Bh. K. Ghosh, *Lost Brāhmaṇas*.

²³⁸ First noticed by Caland, *Auswahl* §187, n.8: "where the rivers flow north", further A. Frenz, *Über die Verben im JB*, Marburg 1966, p. VII sqq.; cf. also Author, Regionale und überregionale Faktoren... *Regionale Tradition in Südasien*, ed. by H. Kulke and D. Rothermund, Heidelberg 1986, p. 57 sqq.; *Localisation*, § 4.4.

²³⁹ Apparently as *vrātya* of the *udantya*, JB 1.197: § 74.

²⁴⁰ The Vidarbhas (Nagpur area), who keep the fierce Mācala Sārameya dogs that attack even tigers (a fact also known to classical Greek authors), JB 2.442, cf. Oertel, *JAOS* 19, 100; see Author, Localisation.

JB is interesting in many ways which have not been explored carefully yet.²⁴¹ It belongs, at least with its latest layers, to the same period as the ŚB and VādhB, KB, i.e. to the late Brāhmana period. There are, indeed, many sections, especially in the stories and legends which overlap with other late Brāhmana texts.²⁴² The initial portion is a late appendix.²⁴³ However, JB contains a number of older sections, notably in the traditional mythological stories, 244 or their adaptations, and in the sections that apparently have been taken over from the lost Śatyayani Brahmana. Its language takes an intermediate position.²⁴⁵ Its compilers were living at the crossroads of influences from the eastern Vājasanevi Brāhmana (the later ŚB), the north-western KS and south-western MS, and the central north Indian TS. A number of dialect features agree with this location.²⁴⁶. However, the Jaiminīya Brāhmana is also very interesting from the literary point of view. To use a phrase of K. Hoffmann,²⁴⁷ the JB is the "book of fairy tales" of oldest India, and it has been treated by H. Oertel, ²⁴⁸ as a rich source of contemporary information on old motifs. Many of these are found in a further developed state because JB, as a Sāmaveda Brāhmana, was not required to discuss ritual details at length or to provide an interpretation of the Mantras used.²⁴⁹ Instead, its authors could expand on

²⁴¹ See Author, On the origin ... of the 'Frame Story', A. Parpola, *The Literature and Study of the Jaiminīya SV in retrospect and prospect*, Helsinki 1973; H. Bodewitz, *JB I,1-65*, Leiden 1973, H. Bodewitz, *The Jyotiṣṭoma Ritual*, Leiden 1990, introd., and W. Doniger O'Flaherty, *Sex and Violence*, Chicago 1985, p. 64-73 where the text is (re-)translated in a careless manner, with an attempt to arrive at a psychological (i.e. Freudian) interpretation.

²⁴² Caland has already made certain comparisons between JB and ŚB (Over en uit het JB), and N. Tsuji has followed suit (Genzon Yajuruweda Bunken: Existent Yajurveda Literature, Tokyo 1970), see also H. Oertel, Altindische Parallelen zu abendländischen Erzählungsmotiven. Kleine Schriften, p. 226-237; H. W. Bodewitz, The Jyotiṣṭoma Ritual. Leiden 1990, p. 21 sqq.

²⁴³ Uncharacteristically for a SV Brāhmaṇa it deals, initially, with the Agnihotra, see Bodewitz, *JB I.1-66*, introd., and Bodewitz, *The daily evening and morning offering*. Leiden 1976.

²⁴⁴ See Author, Frame Story; O' Flaherty, *Sex and Violence*, says that she "always loved the JB" - because of its "folktales". However, the JB contains nothing but the more detailed contemporaneous versions of old (RV) myths, myths and pseudo-historical tales from the YV, etc. In how far these *traditional* tales were folk literature or folklore is very much open to question. They can perhaps be compared to the Christian legends of medieval Europe which likewise were reworked by poets and priests (in Latin, not the local languages!)

²⁴⁵ Sometimes even in composition, e.g. the late Agnihotra chapter.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Author, *Tracing*.

²⁴⁷ See Author, *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon*, München 1972, s.v. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa; now in: *Kindlers Neues Literatur Lexikon*. München 1992, vol. 18, 825-827.

²⁴⁸ H. Oertel, Altindische Parallelen zu abendländischen Erzählungsmotiven. *Kleine Schriften*, p. 226-237.

²⁴⁹ Surprisingly, the difference in the literary style of the RV, YV and SV Brāhmaṇas has not been investigated. It must be added that there also are considerable differences within one Veda: while JB tells stories at great length, PB presents mere summaries; the same relation is found between the elaborate MS/KS tales and their rather short versions in TS.

a single item, the name of a Sāman, and could tell any story they knew about, or associated with the name. 250 This, they frequently did, and they also developed the art of story telling by producing the fist complicated frame stories 251 attested in Indian literature.

Additional Brāhmaṇa texts of this period and area are TB, Vādhūla B. and its early Śrautasūtra, ²⁵² which cannot be treated here.

§ 5. THE EASTERN TERRITORIES

§ 5.1. The Social and Political Situation.

We now turn to an overview of the lands and texts east of the Kuru-Pañcāla area. While the post-Rgvedic śrauta ritual spread as Kuru orthopraxy (and orthodoxy)²⁵³ from Kurukṣetra to all of U.P. and southwards along the Chambal river, the areas east of the Kuru-Pañcāla tribal union present a quite different picture even in the late Vedic Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads, and the early Sūtras.

In the late Brāhmaṇa texts, a new center is in ascendancy: the "east", that is the *prācya* area of Pāṇini; in other words, the land of the Kosala and Videha tribes in eastern U.P. (Oudh) and in Bihar north of the Ganges. A short but very cogent summary of this development has already been given by Oldenberg in 1882.²⁵⁴ Though this was written a century ago, not much progress has been made since.²⁵⁵ Instead, stress usually has been laid on the emergence of the first great kingdoms (Kosala, Videha, Kāśi) and the origin of the Magadha empire, but without combining the various aspects of the Vedic and Buddhist evidence.²⁵⁶

Briefness can be regarded, in both cases, as a sign of later redaction. Both PB and TS refer to commonly known tales and only have to summarize them.

- ²⁵⁰ Misunderstood by W. O'Flaherty, *Tales of Sex and Violence*, as representing folklore. However, JB contains the tales of Brahmins told to Brahmins about ritual-related matters; see above n.245.
- ²⁵¹ See Author, On the origin ... of the 'Frame Story' in Old Indian literature.
- ²⁵² See Author, Eine fünfte Mitteilung über das Vādhūla-Sūtra. *StII* 1, 1975, 75-108; a critical edition, based on materials newly discovered by Y. Ikari in Kerala, is now in progress by him in *Zinbun* 1996 sqq.
- ²⁵³ For example the belief in the efficacy of ritual, i.e. śraddhā (see Köhler, Śrad-dhā, 1948).
- ²⁵⁴ Appendix to his book *Buddha*, *sein Leben*, *seine Lehre*; Engl. transl. *Buddha*. *His life*, *his doctrine*, *his order* (Transl. by W. Hoey) London 1882, p. 391-411.
- ²⁵⁵ See, however, Mylius, Geographische Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgegend des Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, *Wiss. Zeit. K. M. Univ. Leipzig*, 14/4, 1969, p.759-61, and notably, several articles by H. Kulke, e.g., The Rājasūya. A paradigm of Early State Formation? in *Ritual, State and History in South Asia*, ed. by A.W. van den Hoek et al., Leiden 1992, p. 188-198, Kulke, Grāmakāma "das Verlangen nach einem Dorf". *Saeculum* 42, 1991, 111-128.
- ²⁵⁶ For, as usual, one has relied too much on the English translation of the *one* clearly eastern text, the Mādhyandina version of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The treatments in Keith, *The Cambridge History of India*. Vol. 1: Ancient India, Cambridge, 1921; R.C. Majumdar

It is clear, however, that the new political center in eastern North India was dominated by the Kosala-Videha peoples; otherwise we only hear of the Kāśi in the Benares area and of the Aṅga living at the bend of the Ganges, on the borders of Bengal. The many tribes well known from the Pāli texts, such as the Sakya, Malla, Vajji, Licchavi, Naya, Kalāma, Buli, Moriya, Vesali, etc. do not (yet) appear in the eastern Vedic texts; Magadha is hardly mentioned at all. For the Māgadha people had for a long time been considered to be outside the pale of Kuru-Pañcāla orthodoxy and orthopraxy.²⁵⁷ This, however, is also in evidence for other tribes in the area, such the Kāśi or Videha.²⁵⁸

Archaeological evidence agrees with this assessment of the contemporary authors of ŚB, JB, AB: the eastern peoples did not take part in the Kuru cultural developments, characterized by the Painted Gray Ware culture (PGW). Instead, they maintained, next to the ubiquitous Black and Red Ware (BRW) and ochre colored pottery (OCP) culture throughout the YV Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa periods. The boundary line between PGW and OCP/BRW lies precisely where the older YV Saṃhitās tell us that the area of the Kuru-Pañcāla, i.e. Kurukṣetra and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doāb, ended: near Kausambi/Allahabad, that is at the border of the land of the Kāśi tribesmen around Benares. They had "lost" the fire ritual and had been regarded as outsiders, just like the Magadhas, ever since the AV.

Linguistic evidence corroborates the archaeological evidence: the dialect features²⁵⁹ of the eastern people can be regarded as being due to the remnants of a first wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants into India (such as the Yadu-Turvaśa, Anu-Druhyu, Ikṣvāku) which has been pushed further east by the late Rgvedic Bharata/Kuru hegemony. Or, in the words of the local text, Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra 18.44:397.9: the Āyava (Kuru-Pañcāla, Kosala-Videha) moved eastwards while the "stay-behind" (Āmāvasava) tribes remained in eastern Afghanistan/Panjab: the Gandhāri, Āraṭṭa, Parśu.260

However, in the Pāli texts the Videha area is described as inhabited by a host of tribes that are mentioned only in part in the Veda. It should be noted that the Pāli texts represent a *later* stage in the historical development

and A.D. Pulsalker, *The History of the Indian People*, Bombay 1951-; Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, vol. 1, Harmondsworth 1966, stress the Buddhist evidence which is centuries later than the late Vedic Br. and Upaniṣads; for a modern update of the underlying linguistic situation, see now C. Caillat, in this volume, especially for the gap between Vedic and Buddhist texts.

²⁵⁷ Only the late KĀ 7.13 has a magadhavāsin Brāhmaṇa.

²⁵⁸ For the Kāśi see a Mantra text, AV 5.22, PS 12.1 = PSK 13.1; for the Ikṣvāku, see JB 3.168-170:§190; for the Videha see the famous Videgha tale, ŚB 1.4.1.10 sqq.; for the Easterners in general, see JB 1.338:§ 115 (degraded speech); for the Easterners as "Asura-like" see ŚB 12.8.1.5, cf. the speech of the Asuras ŚB 3.2.1.23 (*he 'lavo, Tracing* p. 212); for other "outsiders" cf. also *niṣāda/dasyu* JB 2.423: §168 and the *udantya*, JB 1.197: § 74, and ŚB Bāhīka.

²⁵⁹ See Author, *Tracing*, §10.3, cf. n.285.

²⁶⁰ As *Parśavaḥ*, linguistically closely comparable with the name of the Persians (*Parśu*, O.Pers. *Pārsa*); cf. Author, *Tracing*, p. 235.

of the east, something that is usually not taken into account in recent discussions.²⁶¹ The Pāli texts describe the area as characterized by the fully developed town civilization (represented by the archaeologically attested culture of a luxury pottery, the Northern Black Polished Ware, NBP). That means these texts were formulated by and large after the second urbanization of India, with it widely ranging trade relations, had taken hold about 450 BC. However, towns are not mentioned in the extant Vedic literature.²⁶² The Pāli texts also mention fully brahmanized villages in Anga and Magadha where no Brahmin was to go during the Vedic period, and they attest the supremacy of Magadha in the whole of the east, again something post-Vedic. All these features clearly separate the early Upanisads (BĀU, ChU, etc.) from the Pāli texts by a factor of a hundred or more years. 263 Indeed, in the late Vedic texts, Kāśi still is independent, 264 as are the Videha. Since the incorporation of Kāśi by Kosala, and subsequently by Magadha, takes place only during the Buddha's lifetime, the old prose Upanisads must be earlier, a fact supported by the data on the cultural development mentioned above.

Again, Pāṇini (c. 5th cent. B.C.) still knows of the Vṛji (= Pāli Vajji) as a Panjab group (4.2.131, next to the Madra), probably with a tribal organization (gaṇ a). The Mallas, too, were still living in the desert of Rajasthan at the time of JB²⁶⁵ and some of them remained there even in Alexander's time; they are a rather martial group, according to both JB and

²⁶¹ J. Bronkhorst, L'indianisme et les préjuges occidentaux. *Etudes de lettres* 1989/2, 119-136; J. de Jong, *IIJ*, 1995, without critical historical sense in his discussion of Bechert, The date of the Buddha reconsidered, *Ind. Taur.* 10: 29-36 and of *The dating of the historical Buddha, part* 1, ed. by H. Bechert, Göttingen 1991-2. -- See now G. Erdosy, The archaeology of early Buddhism. *Studies on Buddhism in honour of A.K. Warder*, ed. by N.K. Wagle, Toronto 1993. - For dates based on the linguistic facts, see O. v. Hinüber, *Überblick*, p. 38 sqq., C. Caillat, in this volume, and Author, On the origin ... of the 'Frame Story', p. 394 sqq. with n.39, and *Tracing*, p. 215, 139 sqq.

²⁶² Pace, K. Mylius, Gab es Städte im jungvedischen Indien? EAZ 10, 1969, 33-39; Idem, Nochmals zur Problematik der jungvedischen Stadt. EAZ 11, 1970, 70-72; cf. above n.165; the JB, JUB personal name Nagarin, "the one who possesses a town" is a glaring (late?) exception and is in need of further investigation (JB §4, 90, 164, 167, 168; 1.257; JUB 4.40.1-2).

²⁶³ See C. Caillat, in this volume.

²⁶⁴ Unless its king Ajātaśatru is identical with the Magadha king; however, there is another Ajātaśatru, see Author, *Tracing*. Ajātaśatru occurs in ŚB and VādhB as a king of the Kāśis, but also as a king of the Kurus. While the Magadha king Ajātasattu of the Pāli texts is still unknown, Brahmadatta Prāsenajita of Kosala (JB §115) compares with the Kosala king Pasenadi; apparently both names were common in late Vedic as well as at the time of the Buddha.

²⁶⁵ For various movements of tribes and individuals, and, consequently, also of ideas cf. Author, *Tracing*, p.236; see now Jamison and Witzel, *Vedic Hinduism*, forthc. and in more detail, Author, *Beyond the Flight of the Falcon* (forthc.).

Alexander's historians.²⁶⁶ Both the Malla and Vṛji apparently immigrated into the east only after the end of the Vedic period, but well before the time of the Buddha (c. 400 B.C.).²⁶⁷ This must have been one of the last great infiltrations in Vedic times of western peoples into the lower Gaṅgā area.²⁶⁸ More or less about this time the so-called second urbanization began as well ²⁶⁹

Nevertheless, the settlement pattern in the east was not as homogenous as it was in the more western areas where the indigenous population had become Indo-Aryan in language and culture since the Mantra period. Instead, the Kosala-Videha area was one of great mixture of peoples. There were some earlier eastern Indo-Aryan settlers, the local Muṇḍa people and some Tibeto-Burmese elements.²⁷⁰ Then, various types and groups new immigrants entered from the areas further west. These were some brahmanically oriented tribes but also other *non*-orthoprax Indo-Aryan tribes such as the Malla²⁷¹ and Vṛji.²⁷² They immigrated from northwestern India into Bihar which had been already settled by the old, para-Vedic Indo-Aryan tribes such as the Ikṣvāku, Kosala, Kāśi, and Videha.

Many of these tribes, including the Śakya to whom the Buddha belonged, are called *asurya* in ŚB. For it is the Sakya and their neighbors, the Malla, Vajji, etc. who are reported in the Pāli texts as builders of high grave mounds, such as the one built for the Buddha.²⁷³ According to ŚB 12.8.1.5 the "easterners and others(!)" are reported to have round "demonic" graves, some of which may have been excavated at Lauriya in E. Nepal.²⁷⁴ These graves are similar to the *kurgan* type grave mounds of S. Russia and Central Asia. However, the origin of the Śakya is not as clear as that of the

²⁶⁶ Arrian, *Indikē* 6.6.-- At JB §198 they are mentioned as the descendants of Indra's son Kutsa who became wrestlers whose origin is the dust of the Rajasthan desert $(raj\bar{\imath}yo\ rajiy\bar{a}msah)$, see *Tracing*, §10.3.

²⁶⁷ See Bechert, The date of the Buddha reconsidered, *Ind. Taur.* 10: 29-36.

²⁶⁸ It is possible that they were not mentioned in the eastern Vedic texts as they were *asurya*, non-orthoprax people. Still later ones were the Abhīra, Gurjara, etc.

²⁶⁹ According to Erdosy, *Urbanisation in Early Historic India*, in the 5th c. BC. Can one attribute the sudden building of fortifications to the new incursions?

²⁷⁰ See Author, Nepalese Hydronomy: Towards a history of settlement in the Himalayas. *Nepal, Past and Present*, ed. by G. Toffin, Paris 1993, pp. 217-266.

²⁷¹ Note however that some Mallas remain in the northwest in Alexander's time, as Malloi (Arrian, *Anabasis* 5.22.2 sqq., *Indikē* 4.10, 19.8); they live on the lower Akesines, below its confluence with the Hydaspes, Arrian, *Indikē* 6.6. Cf. However, O.v. Hinüber *ad loc*. (on the Mālava).

²⁷² See Pānini 4.2.131.

²⁷³ See now H. Kottkamp, Der Stupa as Repräsentation des Buddhistischen Heilsweges, Wiesbaden 1992.

²⁷⁴ At Lauriya and Piprawa, in E. Nepal, they contained a gold figure of a naked woman --Mother Earth? -- See now Kottkamp, *Der Stupa*, and cf. Caland, De archeologische vondsten in de heuvels van Lauriya. *VMKAW* 4, 11, 1912, 378-385. These graves are now regarded as belonging to the Maurya/Śuṅga period.

Malla and Vṛji. They may very well have been (northern) Iranian, 275 and would then constitute an earlier, apparently the first wave of the later Śaka invasions from Central Asia. 276

Due to the recent immigration of some of the eastern peoples, society was only *in part* newly stratified and aristocratic (Kosala) in the manner of the Kuru-Pañcāla. To a large degree it still was tribal and in part oligarchic (Malla, Śakya, Vaiśālī, etc.), but it certainly was not "republican", as has been repeated by historians ever since 1911.²⁷⁷

In this respect, the later part of AB is of special interest as it clearly reflects the local efforts aiming at the inclusion into the newly established eastern Vedic society of the aboriginal population. The Pulindas (cf. Pāli *Buli*!), Mūtibas etc. are adopted in the exact sense of the word: they are made sons of the famous Rgvedic poet Viśvāmitra, - a person long dead, in fact since Rgvedic times.²⁷⁸ The same scheme is noticeable in the celebrated case of the "immigration" of king Videgha Māthava into Bihar (Videha), along with his priest Gotama Rāhugana, -- another Rgvedic poet!

However, the Videgha legend is the brahmanical version of a tale of "origin" of the Videha kings. It is presented as their justification of rule, through orthoprax Fire (Agni) and with the help of the Brahmins (Gotama), and while bringing "proper" (rice) agriculture.²⁷⁹ In this *Sanskritized* version of tribal history, "king" Videgha comes from the *sacred* river of Northern India, the Sarasvatī, which flows through the *sacred* land of Kurukṣetra. His *purohita*, the well known Ḥṣi Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, links the Videha dynasty with the *sacred time* of the Ḥgveda. Chieftain and Brahmin move eastwards only when they are preceded by Agni Vaiśvānara, the embodiment of ritual fire that is necessary in all *śrauta* rituals. This fire is *not* the wildly burning forest fire (*dāva*) and thus *not* the fire used for primitive slash and burn agriculture, and it clearly is also not the fire used to clear the eastern territories of their dense jungle.²⁸⁰

The motivation for the tale is provided by the ŚB legend with little camouflage: this is *not* a legend of the Indo-Aryan settlement of the east (in early post-Rgvedic) times but it is a tale of Sanskritization, of the arrival of

²⁷⁵ Cf. the traditional Śakya legend about the marriage of the sons of King Okkāka with their own sisters, see Author, *Tracing*, p. 239, n.333; more materials in a forthcoming article. ²⁷⁶ Later attested, at c. 140 B.C., in Sīstān, then in Sindh and Gujarat, and later in the Panjab at 50 B.C.

²⁷⁷ Since Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist India*. London 1911; repeated, e.g., by R. Thapar, *A History of India*, vol. 1, Harmondsworth (Penguin), 1966 repr. 1979.

²⁷⁸ In the AB/ŚŚS legend that is closely connected with the Ikṣvāku royal house of Kosala, the Rṣi Viśvāmitra adopts the local eastern tribes, *dasyu*, "who live in large numbers beyond the borders" (*udantya*), including even the Andhras; cf. JB 1.197: §74, see above n.259; cf. Keith, Rigveda Brahmanas, p. xi; Author, *Tracing*, p. 237.

²⁷⁹ Yet, this must have some historical basis as the ŚB name *Videgha* is older than the name of the *Vaideha* cows in such old YV texts as MS 2.5.3:50.10, KS 13.4:183.17, TS 2.1.4.5; for the substitution of *-gh-* by younger *-h-* see Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Ai. Gramm.* I p. 250 sqq.; cf. also the substitution of *jabhāra* by *jahāra*.

²⁸⁰ As Kulke supposes, see H. Kulke and D. Rothermund, *A history of India*, New York 1986.

Vedic (Kuru-Pañcāla) orthopraxy in the east. Unfortunately, it usually has been misunderstood as an account of the actual migration of the Indo-Aryans towards the east.

The reason for this development is not difficult to see: just as in later times, the local kings wanted to elevate their ritual, social, and political status by inviting famous Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmins into their territory and thus "sweeten" it (ŚB). Apart from the prototypical Videgha, it is Janaka of Videha who stands out as the main protagonist of Kuru-style Vedic civilization in the late Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad periods.²⁸¹ He invited Brahmins from the west to his frequent *brahmodyas* and to be his *śrauta* priests (see §6.2).

The two legends, as well as the frequent testimony of ŚB and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, therefore describe the introduction of orthodoxy and orthopraxy in terms of an *immigration* of famous western (Kuru-Pañcāla) Brahmins such as Śāndilya, etc. as "missionaries" from the west.²⁸²

Another anachronistic case is the appearance at PB 25.10.17 of the Videha king Namin Sāpya, who made a "pilgrimage" back to the sacred land of Kurukṣetra. He is, in reality, a Rgvedic personage (RV 10.48.09). In short, the PB legend is comparable to those about Viśvāmitra's adoption of the eastern aboriginal tribes, and Videgha Māthava's march to Videha. All these persons are well known Rgvedic figures whose names have been used to justify the actions that local chieftains took to introduce Kuru-Pañcāla orthopraxy. ²⁸³

While the Vedic texts regard the settlement of the east by the Kosala and Videha tribes as a fact of the more recent past, the Buddhist texts in Pāli, which are one or two hundred years younger (c. 3rd c. B.C.),²⁸⁴ tell us that this area was inhabited not just by the Kosala-Videhas but by a large number of tribes: The Vedic Pulinda (AB) apparently occur under the name Buli as the western neighbors of the Videha, together with the Malla, Sakya, Moriya, Kalāma and the Vajji confederation which included the Licchavi, Naya, Videha. The important Vedic tribe of the Videha thus only is one and not a particularly prominent member of the Vajji confederation. This may very well mean that only the Videha Sanskritized their social setup, but not other members of the confederation.

In short, it is in this eastern area, and under the conditions of a great admixture of tribes of various origins, that the local chieftains, especially

He is a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Kāśi (different from the later A. of Magadha, see n.265); but he already is a legendary figure (Mahājanaka) in the Pāli texts; similarly at also BĀU 2.1.1 (*Janako, Janakaḥ*), and in the Kāṭhaka section, TB 3.10.9.9.

²⁸² Author, *Tracing*, n.35: Śāndilya's homeland,north of Kāśī.

²⁸³ Note also the clear statement of BŚS 18.44: 397.9 sqq., about the eastward march of the Kuru-Pañcāla, and Kosala-Videha, see above §3.3. Is this another way to include the Kosala-Videha among the orthoprax people such as the Kurus, and to exclude the Panjab tribes (Bāhīka), as ŚB 9.3.1.24 does? Cf. *Tracing* p. 227 and n.66 f.

²⁸⁴ See Author, *Tracing* p. 208 sqq., 221 sq.; see now C. Caillat in this volume; note that these texts represent the fully developed civilization of the second urbanization, and regard settlement of Brahmins in Anga and Magadha as normal while these territories still were off limits in the Veda.

those aspiring for the status of great chieftain ("king"), wanted to establish or cement their position by being *more* orthodox than the rest. They did so by inviting Sārasvata and Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmins. These, in turn, were affected at that time by the Salva invasion of their Kuru homeland, which foreshadowed the move to the east by the Śakya, Vṛji and Malla.

It is important to note that the eastern "kings", both of Kosala and of Videha, adopt *western* schools as their new Vedic śākhās, and not the *central* North Indian (Taittirīya, Śāṭyāyani-Jaiminīya, Kauṣītaki). Thus, the Kosala imported the Kāṇvas and the Taittirīya scholar Bodhāyana,²⁸⁵ while their neighbors, the Videha, brought in the Aitareyins, with their Śākala RV,²⁸⁶ the Kauthumas (Bhallavin?) as Sāmavedins, and the "eastern" Kaṭhas (Prācya-Kaṭha), next to the already present Mādhyandina of the Vājasaneyi school.

In line with Sanskritization as a means of raising the status of local chiefs, the extensive materials in the late Vedic eastern texts regarding the "coronation" (*abhiṣeka*) of kings (AB 8.5)must be considered. More importantly, the *ultimate* royal ritual, the Aśvamedha,²⁸⁷ which establishes the dominance of a powerful king in a circle of surrounding minor ones must be studied in this light. These rituals received their final form and were discussed in an encyclopedic form in ŚB.²⁸⁸ There are several more examples of similar tendencies of Sanskritization, systematization, and canon forming (in BŚS, KB, AB, PB, and the late Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa) which will be described below (§5.3 sqq., esp. §6.4).

The east thus emerges as the *major* center of religious, social and political innovations, long after the establishment of the Kuru dominance and orthopraxy in the Mantra period.

§ 5.2. The eastern fringe area: Kosala.

At this time, Kosala was a fringe area, settled by ousted members of the royal family of the Pūru and Ikṣvāku tribe and their followers. Archaeology indicates that these tribes did not originally belong to the Kuru-Pañcāla with their PGW culture. However, by the time of the later Brāhmaṇas, their chieftains and kings felt the need to import western, Kuru Brahmins. As indicated above, they did not introduce the Pañcāla traditions of their immediate western neighbors but those of their *prati-pratirājans*, as

²⁸⁵ Is the Caraka-Adhvaryu in TB an inhabitant of Kosala? He is the adversary of the Vājasaneyins of Videha and Kosala.

²⁸⁶ It is different from the *original* eastern RV; see above, n.69, 136 on the SB Purūravas hymn with its 15 stanzas instead of RV with 18.

²⁸⁷ Found already in RV 1.162-163; apparently even earlier at 4.38-42, 4.42.8 (note: Daurgaha).

²⁸⁸ Note that in TS/TB the Aśvamedha is added on by way of as an insertion, and that it is added to KS at the very end, as book V (Mantras only); likewise, MS has only the Mantras in a late section of its original collection, just before the Khila book, at 3.6.12-16.

a text of this period 289 calls one's enemy's enemies. This, indeed, is part of a pattern that can be observed throughout the middle ages. 290

Both the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra and the Kāṇva version of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa can be located between the Kuru-Pañcāla area and Videha:²⁹¹ The Kāṇvīya ŚB is from Kosala, while the Baudhayanīyas must have been close neighbors of the Taittirīyas in Pañcāla.²⁹² The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa occupies a similar position: it has some connections with BŚS and, in fact, it may be a Kosala or Kāśi text as well.

It can be seen that the eastern kings imported the western Brahmins, their texts and rituals in order to insure that proper (western) Vedic recitation was taught and proper *śrauta* rituals were executed. The stress on the correct performance of rituals can be detected also in the tendency of ŚB and other texts to present a *complete* collection, with "theological" discussion, of *all* the *śrauta* (and, for the first time, some *grhya*) materials (see §5.3 sqq.).

In addition, "hybrid" texts, that is texts combining the listing all the complete Mantras of *śrauta* rituals with the new medium of the elaborate, descriptive Sūtra style,²⁹³ now developed on the fringe between the "east" and the central Pañcāla area. This should be understood as the effort of some local Brahmins aiming at a complete, step-by-step description of the ritual -- an effort that took place at precisely this late moment in the Vedic period.

§ 5.3. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Kāṇva school.

As could be expected from the preceding section, the main Kosala YV text, the Kāṇvīya Brāhmaṇa (ŚBK), often participates in *western* linguistic developments, while on the basis of geographical location, one would expect eastern forms such as found in the closely related ŚBM.²⁹⁴ Cases in point are the gen. fem. in -ai, the use of -!- for -d-, etc. However, while ŚBM and ŚBK are ultimately based on the western, Kuru-Pañcāla model of *śrauta* ritual, they are opposed to the strictly western form of the ritual and its texts (such as in MS, KS, TS).²⁹⁵ This can be observed also in the form

²⁸⁹ Vādhūla Brāhmana 3.69 = W. Caland, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 355, on *pratirājan*.

²⁹⁰ See Author, Regionale und überregionale Faktoren.

²⁹¹ See Author, Localisation.

²⁹² See Author, Localisation; at BŚS 2.3 the Sadasya priest should be a Kauṣītaka *gotra* Brahmin.

²⁹³ It still is remarkably different from the later, very much abbreviated Sūtras of Pāṇini and others. On the Vedic (and other) Sūtras, see Renou, Sur le genre du sūtra dans la littérature sanskrite, *JA* 1963, 165-216.

²⁹⁴ See Author, *Tracing*.

²⁹⁵ Though the Śāṇḍilya portion (ŚBM 6-10, ŚBK 7-12), i.e. the discussion of the Agnicayana, is of a more western origin than the rest of the text, as has been known since A. Weber.

of the Vājasaneyi Mantras which split off from the older layer of YV Mantras at a fairly early period.²⁹⁶

However, the original version of the White YV Brāhmaṇa ("ŚB") is lost, a point to which little attention has been paid since Caland²⁹⁷ listed many Vājasaneyin quotations in the Āpastamba Śrautasūtra that he could not trace in both surviving versions of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ŚBK, ŚBM). While both ŚB versions could even be later than ĀpŚS it is more likely that the Āpastambins still had access to the *now* lost *original* version of the *Vājasaneyi Brāhmaṇa.

We might regard the present ŚB consisting of the two parts represented by the eastern 'Yājñavalkya' section (ŚBM 1-5 = ŚBK 1-7) vs. the western 'Śāṇḍilya' section (ŚBM 6-10 = ŚBK 8-12) as a close descendant of the *original* version.²⁹⁸ However, this combined version (which includes, as an addition ŚBM 11-14= ŚBK 13-17) has again come down in the western (Kosala) Kāṇva and the eastern (Videha) Mādhyandina versions. Both schools have revised the lost older text independently, and have then influenced each other subsequently.

ŚBK has not *always* retained older, western forms in its text: cases of substitution of eastern forms, for example more perfects for imperfects as compared to ŚBM;²⁹⁹ furthermore, VSK and ŚBK have a number of forms which really are no longer Vedic but already post-Vedic.³⁰⁰ There even are some curious spellings³⁰¹ which might suggest a very early *written* text for this Vedic school, something that would be completely unusual for early Veda tradition.³⁰² All of this may point to a very late final redaction of ŚBK, an assumption that agrees with the use of certain names in the Vaṃśas.³⁰³ The redactional changes in ŚBK were perhaps carried out only³⁰⁴ during the Śuṅga period or under the Kāṇva dynasty in the first century B.C. This would, at the same time, explain the name of the Kānva

²⁹⁶ See Renou, La Vājasaneyisamhitā des Kānva. *JA* 1948, 21-52, Tsuji, *Existent YV Literature*, Tokyo 1970, and Author, Über die Caraka-Schule.

²⁹⁷ See Caland, Kleine Schriften, p. 102 sqq; cf. also Caland, AO 10, 132 sq.

²⁹⁸ But how to understand the Āraṇyaka/Upaniṣad-like chapter ŚB 10, apparently an early Śāṇḍilya Up.? Or was it taken over *en bloc* into the *Vāj. Br. with chapters 6-9?

²⁹⁹ See *Tracing* p. 149.

³⁰⁰ See Author, *Tracing*, §6.6, p. 182 sqq.: late Vedic/class. Skt. verb forms such as *dugdhe*, *duhate*, *śete*, declension of *śīrṣan*; such forms also occur in VSK and PB; similarly Renou, *JA* 1948 p.38, on late forms in VSK; VSK is, on the other hand, heavily influenced by the RV in the form of its Mantras.

³⁰¹ See Author, *Tracing*, p. 172, n.190, see Renou, *JA* 1948, p.38: *tanakmi* VSK, etc.

³⁰² But cf. the situation of PS (above, n.7), see Author, *Tracing*, p. 172, n.190, 196, and note W. Rau on a possible archetype of BĀU, *ZDMG* 105, 1955, p. *58*. Also, note the accents in this school: *udātta* is pronounced as *low* tone, marked by a "anudātta" stroke below the syllable, see below n.361.

³⁰³ Especially the use of compounds in *-putra*, see Author, *Tracing*.

³⁰⁴ See Author, *Tracing*, p. 172, n.196.

 $school.^{305}$ The whole question is in need of a further detailed investigation. 306

§ 5.4. Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.

Kāṇva Bodhāyana, the author of one of the earliest Sūtra of the *śrauta* ritual, also stems from Kosala, as his language and the close connection with Kauṣītaki priests indicate.³⁰⁷ While his name reveals that he originally was a Kāṇva³⁰⁸ his Sūtra clearly follows the Mantras and the rituals of the central North Indian Taittirīya school of the Black YV, a surprising fact after what has been said above about the western orientation of Kosala texts.

This sheds some light on the age of the original, lost Vājasaneyi Brāhmaṇa as well: an original Vājasaneyin text (perhaps, at that time, already a first Kāṇva compilation) could have been in existence by the time Bodhāyana composed the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra. On the other hand, BŚS is among the *oldest* Śrautasūtras, if not the oldest of all. This opens up a long vista of textual development: Kṛṣṇa YV texts -- early (lost) *Śukla YV texts --*Vājasaneyi Br. -- Kāṇva ŚB -- BaudhŚS -- <later Sūtras: Āpastamba, etc. > --*Vājasaneyi Br. quotations in ĀpŚS -- revision and final redaction of Kāṇva ŚB. The exact stratification still has to be worked out by a close comparison of the Baudhāyanīya and Vājasaneyi texts.

Bodhāyana's Śrautasūtra is the first attempt to re-arrange the *śrauta* ritual in the shape of a "handbook".³⁰⁹ This new, all-encompassing and very detailed Sūtra text differs substantially from the preceding types of texts. Now, one no longer had to learn a "book" of theological *expositions* and explanations by heart.³¹⁰

³⁰⁵ Note that the Maitrāyaṇīya, too, seem to have received their name from/because of the patronage of the local *Maitraka* dynasty of Gujarat. Their older name was *Kalāpaka* (e.g. in Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya). The Kaṭha may have taken theirs from the Kaṭha/Kathaioi tribe of the Panjab; cf. however, Author, Zu den Namen einiger vedischer Schulen. *StII* 10, 1983/85, 231-237.

³⁰⁶ One would have liked to see some discussion of such topics (and, of the general topic of this paper) in literary histories such as J. Gonda's *Vedic literature (Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas)* 1975, which unfortunately in many respects is rather a step back with regard to the work of Weber, Caland, or Renou. We still need a comprehensive history which includes also extensive and general information such as the number of Mantras in a text, etc., - matters that have been allowed to gradually slip from active memory since Weber's pioneering history of Indian literature.

³⁰⁷ See B\$\$ 2.3 on a Kauṣītaka (*gotra*) Sadasya; cf. Author, Localisation, and Idem, The case of the shattered head.

³⁰⁸ As has been pointed out by Caland, Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana.

Next to the short Sūtra dealing with the *mahāvrata* ritual, preserved in AĀ 4 and composed by Śaunaka, which may be of the same age as BŚS; see Keith, tr. $A\bar{A}$, p. 19 sq.

³¹⁰ As was the case until the development of BŚS even in texts with a similar wide range of topics, such as ŚB. The older procedure was quite sufficient as the actual performance of the rites already was known to the participating priests after their long years in "*yajña* school" with its (mock?) ritual performances; see above, n.6.

Instead, BŚS describes ritual by ritual *in extenso*, and step by step, in a procedure that skips over the erratic and miscellaneous discussions in the expository prose of the Yajurveda Saṃhitās and in the various Brāhmaṇas.³¹¹ Other than the later Sūtras (such as KŚS), BŚS is very elaborate and detailed and describes every minute detail of the ritual in extenso.

BŚS does not yet make extensive use of the typical technique of the later Sūtras (and of the Brāhmaṇas) i.e. of referring to Mantras by *pratīka* only. It also makes only limited use of referring to the various prototypes (*prakṛti*) of the rituals, such as the Iṣṭi and the Soma rituals, and treating all other rituals as deviations and elaborations of these prototypes. The elaborate framing device of the later Sūtras is *not* used as widely as later on.³¹² Yet even the redactor or collector of a neighboring, and in many ways contemporary text such as ŚB makes use of this device when explicitly stating that a certain ritual will be explained later on.³¹³

Why should anybody create such a voluminous text, when both the *prakṛti* system and the equally effective *pratīka* tool had been in use already for centuries? The answer lies in the particular nature of Bodhāyana's undertaking. First of all, he assimilated the texts of a *neighboring* school, the Taittirīya, and not, as it had been the custom in Kosala and Videha, that of a *distant* western school such as the Kaṭha. Since the Taittirīya texts were not known in his area, he had to start from scratch: Bodhāyana describes all the rituals of the Taittirīyas, following the Saṃhitā and even the late 15 TĀ 1 (Āruṇaketuka fire) very closely.

³¹¹ The few chapters in actual Brāhmaṇa style (esp. ch. 18) deal with specialized rituals that apparently were believed to be in need of Brāhmaṇa style justification and explanation. VādhB (Anvākhyāna), on the contrary, provides additional materials on common Br. topics.

³¹² Cf. L. Renou, Sur le genre du sūtra dans la littérature sanskrite, *JA* 1963, 180.

³¹³ Divākīrtya in ŚBM 4.1.5. refers to the Pravargya in ŚBM 14.1.1.17-24.

³¹⁴ The device of importation was still very much in use during the Middle Ages, see Author, Regionale und überregionale Faktoren.

³¹⁵ Which already has Purāṇic hell names, etc., see Author, Jav. apāxəδra, MSS 30, 1972, pp. 163-191. -- Incidentally, it has not been asked how canon formation inside each school worked in such cases. TB 3.10-12 and TĀ 1 are called the aṣṭau kāṭhakāni by tradition; they indeed have been taken over from the largely lost Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa. This is a feature met with in other texts (PB 1 < KpS, KaṭhAśv. < TS, etc.), but how and when could the Āruṇaketuka section have been taken over into TĀ and into BŚS? TS-TB-TĀ are so unstable in their final arrangement (see the Ātreyi Śākhā Anukramaṇī and Staal, Nambudiri Veda Recitation), so that BŚS would vouch for a relatively old period of takeover, before the closure of their canon to develop their own ritual based on the Kaṭha/TĀ text. On the other hand, the compositional history of BŚS is not well known (see Caland, Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana). It is sufficient to underline that the takeover into both schools is significant here: the text was old enough, or the redaction of both texts was fairly late, say in the Śuṅga or Kāṇva period, to which VS perhaps points as well (see Tracing, p. 172, n.196, and below, n.390, 397). In general, the question of final redaction of the various texts is an urgent task for Vedic research.

³¹⁶ See Author, The Veda in Kashmir (forthc.).

Mantra texts *in extenso*, as they differed considerably from his local Śukla Yajurveda texts found in the eastern territories of Kosala and Kāśi. Following the Saṃhitā also entailed certain repetitions and inconsistencies with regard to the *prakṛti* system (Caland, *Über das rituele Sūtra des Baudhāyana*).

Re-creating western texts in "modern" eastern fashion can also be witnessed in the formulation and composition of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa whose homeland roughly covers the same area as that of the BŚS.

§ 5.5. Kausītaki Brāhmana

The Kauṣītaki school seems to have a close relation with the Ikṣvāku dynasty, as is evident if we take the Śunaḥśepa story seriously. This famous tale about the childless Ikṣvāku king Hariścandra has been transmitted in AB 7, and in a Brāhmaṇa section of the Śrautasūtra³¹⁷ of the Kauṣītaki school, the Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra.

The Ikṣvāku lineage can be located somewhere in eastern Uttar Pradesh³¹⁸ (JB 4.168-70, PS 7.10.9).³¹⁹ The despised and down-trodden Ikṣvāku of this area, in fact, may go back all the way to those once mentioned in the RV (10.60.4) and may have descended from the royal family of the Pūru tribe (ŚB 13.5.4.5). In a historical tale JB 3.238sqq:§204 portrays them as pursuing the Bharatas from the western side of the Indus into northern India. After their defeat in the Ten Kings' Battle, some section of them moved eastwards.³²⁰

The relative date of KB is indicated by the Keśin story:³²¹ It may have been influenced by the fully developed TS-TB-TĀ-Vādhūla Brāhmaṇa³²² or even the lost Vājasaneyi Brāhmaṇa (the later ŚB). In this case the overlap in contents, language and style with the later, i.e. eastern parts of AB (6-8, see below §6.1) would not be surprising. As has been

³¹⁷ Note that the AB version, too, is found only in the younger part of the text (AB 5-8), in $pa\tilde{n}cik\bar{a}$ 7; for details see above, n.93.

³¹⁸ Cf. JB 3.168-170:§190 (they had eaten of Asura food and are "down-trodden Kṣatriya"), see n.93.

Where: aikṣvāka, kāśya, śāvasa, mātsya; Also Vādh. Mantrapāṭha, see Author, Early Eastern Iran and the AV; cf. *Tracing*, n.253, 349, 389. - By contrast, the Ikṣvāku lineage is well known in the Rāmāyaṇa, as the royal family of Ayodhyā in the Kosala realm, and still earlier, in the Pāli texts, as the lineage of the Buddha, DN 3.1.15 sqq. (descending from Okkāka).

³²⁰ Other Pūru obviously stayed behind, in the Panjab, where Alexander encountered them, between the Chenab and Jhelam, under their king Poros. This must represent *Paurava*, see O. v. Hinüber, *Arrian, Indikē* 5.3, with note p. 1102; (another, "evil" Poros lives further west; note the *several* kings called Paurava in Mbh.). Much later, the lineage is also found in Andhra. Cf. the similar case of the Licchavi and Malla in Buddha's time Bihar, and, from 467A.D. onwards, in Nepal.

³²¹ KB 7.4, JB 2.53: §124, VādhB 4.36 = W. Caland, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 147 sqq.

³²² The so-called *Anvākhyāna*s of the Vādhūla school, which refer even to TB, have finally to be distinguished from the Vādhūla Śrautasūtra; for details see Author, Eine fünfte Mitteilung, *StII* 1, p. 75 sqq. -- Y. Ikari has now (spring 1997) discovered a more complete version of it in Kerala.

proposed earlier,³²³the late Brāhmaṇa period saw the emergence of a S.E. Koine (covering Kosala, Videha and the area south of the Yamunā), of the emerging kingdoms: Kosala, Kāśi, Videha, Cedi(?) and later on Magadha. the Koine texts would include: ŚBK, BŚS, VādhB, KB, ŚāṭyB; AB 6-8, ŚBM; JB.

KB clearly is a reformulation, in an order copied from YV Saṃhitā texts, of an older Rgvedic Brāhmaṇa such as that of the Aitareyin which centers on the Soma sacrifices. Its exact relation to AB and some lost RV Brāhmaṇas remains open. 324 It is clear, however, that KB has proceeded in an cumulative fashion which also is met with in other late Brāhmaṇa texts: Just as JB has added a long (and late) chapter on the Agnihotra in initial position, KB has added the Agnihotra and other rather basic as well as some important sacrifices at the beginning of its texts. The same procedure is seen in PB 1, or GB 1.1-2. Apparently, it was *en vogue* in late Brāhmaṇa time to place add-ons at the beginning of texts. 325 The motive for all these additions is clear: one tried to be as complete and inclusivistic as necessary. Imitation of such "complete" texts as BŚS, ŚBK, and the ambition to achieve comprehensiveness are obvious.

We have seen, above, that the Ikṣvākus of Kosala were looked down upon by the Kuru-Pañcālas, and tried to compete with the (Kuru-)Pañcāla of the more western areas in having a "complete" text: at first, perhaps, a complete YV text, the Kāṇva version of ŚB, then even the earliest Śrautasūtra, BaudhŚS, and finally also a complete Rgveda Brāhmaṇa, the Kauṣītaki Br. The same pattern is visible in the lands further east, in Videha (N. Bihar).

§ 6. THE EASTERN CORE AREA: VIDEHA

Videha, the easternmost Vedic country (N. Bihar), is described as ruled by the great king Janaka who is in favor of Kuru orthopraxy. His name seems to be a generic one, just as certain titles occurring in other cultures (Caesar, Inca, etc.). The Buddhist texts call him Mahājanaka, which reminds of their name for the Kosala king, Mahākosala "the great Kosala." 326 It may very well be that the Videhas are so prominent in late

³²³ See Author, Notes on Vedic dialects, 1. *Zinbun, Annals of the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University*, 67 (1991) Kyoto 1991, 31-70.

³²⁴ One thought that both Kauṣītaki and Paingya go back to the same sub-school, and differed from the Aitareya school, see Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*. Cambridge, Mass. 1920, Introd. p. 25. -- The relationship between the Kauṣītaki and the Śāṅkhāyana schools, too, has to be investigated. Though both names are often used indiscriminately, there is a genuine Kauṣītaki GS in Kerala (see ed. T. R. Cintāmaṇi 1944) where the Kauṣītaki are prominent, see Author, Regionale und überregionale Faktoren.

 $^{^{325}}$ A feature which can be first observed in the RV where the Āṅgirasa section 1.51-191 is placed in front of the old family books 2-7(-8).

 $^{^{326}}$ A generic name, just as Pāṇini teaches it for Kamboja, the king of the *Kamboja* in S.E. Afghanistan from whom Cambyses may have got his (nick)name, $Ka^mb\bar{u}jiya$. Cf. also

Brāhmaṇa and early Upaniṣad texts as they were the only tribe among the local Vesali, Moriya, Sakya, Malla, Licchavi, Naya, Kalāma, Buli, Vajji, and even the Kāśi that had begun to take over Kuru orthopraxy.

This situation is best described in the famous dialogue between Yājñavalkya and his opponents at Janaka's court (BĀU 3)³²⁷ where he faces the representatives of the Rgvedic and Black YV schools: Aśvala, the Hotr priest of Janaka, represents the Āśvalāyana school, Kahola Kauṣītaki is the reputed author of the Kauṣītaki Br. and Ār.; Vidagdha Śākalya is the author of the Padapāṭha of the RV; Uddālaka Āruṇi is a famous representative of the rival YV school of the Western peoples. He is a Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmin and has traveled in the Madra land (Panjab); Gārgī, too, seems to have western connections. ³²⁸

From this list³²⁹ it is clear that the participants, perhaps with the exception of Śākalya and Yājñavalkya, are representatives of the western, Kuru-Pañcāla traditions who compete with each other at the court of Janaka. It is important to note that Yājñavalkya defeats all of his opponents and establishes the prominence, actually retained until today, of the Vājasaneyins in (E.) North India.

Thus, the more important schools and texts of Videha at this time are the Vājasaneyin, the Aitareyin, the Śākalya Rgvedin. (Note that the SV and AV schools are not mentioned here). 330 Of these, some sections of AB and ŚB are most important in the present context.

§ 6.1. The later Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (AB 5-8).

The first five chapters of the early Rgvedic Brāhmaṇa, Aitareya Br. 1-5, were composed in the west: in the Panjab, even west of the Sarasvatī. 331 The later part of AB, with $pancikas(!)^{332}$ 6-8, however, shows great

Poros (< *Paurava) whom Alexander met on the Hydaspes; he was the king of the remnants of the Pūru tribe of the Rgveda; further Videha / Videgha Māthava, Gr. Abisares for Abhisāra (preserved in Rājataraṅginī), Gr. Taxiles of Taxila, see Arrian 5.8.2 sqq.

³²⁷ For a characterization see Author, The case of the shattered head, and cf. J. Brereton in this volume.

³²⁸ Gārgī is a member of the Gārga clan who occur, as the Gārgāḥ Prāvareyāḥ, already at KS 13.12 (see *StII* 10, p. 232). See Author, The case of the shattered head, n.86.

329 Aśvala, the Hotṛ of King Janaka, Kahola Kauṣītakeya, Uddālaka Āruṇi, Vidagdha Śākalya, Gārgī Vācaknavī. Aśvala represents the RV in its Āśvalāyana school (AB, AĀ ĀśvŚS); note that Āśvalāyana is the reputed author of AĀ 4 (while Śaunaka is the one of AĀ 5, see Keith, tr. AĀ, p. 19 sq.). Kahola Kauṣītaki is the reputed author KB, KĀ (and ŚŚS). Uddālaka Āruṇi is a Yajurvedin, a Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmin, who has traveled as far west as the Panjab (Madra). Śākalya belongs to the Aitareyin and is the author of the RV Padapāṭha. Further: section 2: Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyani (who also traveled in Madra), Uṣasta Cākrāyaṇa.

³³⁰ For details see Author, The case of the shattered head.

³³¹ An area overlapping with, or close to that of the Kaṭha school, (i.e. Eastern Panjab and W. Kuruksetra), see Author, Localisation.

³³² This, together with the Prākṛt-like names of the three major books of KS (*iṭhimikā*, *madhyamikā*, *orimikā*), may be an indication of the relatively early date of the names given

familiarity with the east and the south-east of Northern India.³³³ Indeed, some features of the language of AB 6-8 indicate³³⁴ that the Aitareyins, at a certain point in Brāhmaṇa time, had moved towards the east, to Videha and perhaps even to Magadha.

This later part of AB prominently deals with royal rituals:³³⁵ the large sections 7.14-34 and 8 treat the royal consecration and the role of the royal priest (*purohita*). Stressing royal ritual might astonish in a RV Brāhmaṇa that is supposed to concentrate on the recitations of the Hotr, but this feature agrees well with the efforts of the local kings to enhance their status in the eyes of their more "advanced" western neighbors.³³⁶

It is in these eastern areas that the first larger, soon to be centralized states evolve, with prominent figures such as the kings (Mahā)janaka of Videha or Mahākosala.³³⁷ It is thought that in this period³³⁸ major clearance of the jungle areas took place, facilitated by increased use of iron tools. The new land facilitated an expansion of rice cultivation with an automatic surplus in production which allowed lavish spending on large sacrifices and *brahmodya* discussions such as those of Janaka. The post-Vedic Magadha realm represents a further development along this course.

Another aspect of eastern political developments, indeed of social maneuvering, can be seen in the historical legend told at AB 7.18 which tells of the adoption by Viśvāmitra of various aboriginal Kosala, Videha, and of some Magadha tribes: these are the Pundra, Śabara, Pulinda (Pāli: *Buli*),

to portions of the Vedic texts. (On the topic in general see Renou, Les divisions dans les textes sanskrits. *IIJ* 1, 1957, 1-32).

333 Even of the area SE of the Vindhya, that was inhabited by "foreign" people (dasyu) such as the Andhra, AB 7.18. -- Is this indicative of a comparatively late redaction of AB 6-8, made under the early Magadha kingdom which had closer ties with the iron producing tribes of Chhota Nagpur? But, a Magadha kingdom is nowhere mentioned in the Vedic texts, and it is only in the late KĀ (ŚĀ) that a magadhavāsin brāhmaṇa occurs while the Pāli texts already know of large Brahmin settlements in Magadha and Aṅga. It may very well be the case that the Vedic texts intentionally did not mention the emerging kingdom of Magadha (note also the opposition of the Mahābhārata bards towards Jārasandha of Magadha); the area was, after all, one where Brahmins were not supposed to venture without losing their ritual purity (see R. Salomon, on the injunction against crossing the Karmaṇāśā River, Adyar Libr. Bull. 42, 1978, p. 31-60).-- Cf. Author, The case of the shattered head, n.89.

- 334 See Author, Tracing.
- ³³⁵ They have no clear parallel in KB and are treated only in ŚāṅkhŚS, which includes even some Br. sections (such as the Śunaḥśepa legend, ŚŚS 15.17-27).
- ³³⁶ Cf. the role of the Hotṛ Aśvala of the Aitareyin at king Janaka's court, see Author, The case of the shattered head.
- ³³⁷ Interestingly, at AB 8.14, the great chieftains of the easterners are called *samrāj* while those of the central Kuru-Pañcāla retain the rather traditional, small state title *rājan*.
- ³³⁸ See Kulke, The Rājasūya. A paradigm of Early State Formation?; R. S. Sharma, *Origin of State in India*, Bombay 1989; however, see now Allchin, F. Raymond. *The archaeology of early historic South Asia : the emergence of cities and states.* Cambridge 1995, p. 119 sqq.

Mūtiba (Mūcīpa ŚŚS), Andhra.³³⁹ Note that, even now, all of them are called *dasyu*.³⁴⁰ Apparently even during late Vedic time, all those not participating in Ārya civilization were regarded as "enemy" or at least as "Other". The "adoption" by Viśvāmitra is intended to take away this stigma.

In addition to the aspects of eastern text formation, already mentioned in connection with BSS, KB and SBK, the early composition of a brief, actual Sūtra text of the Rgvedins is remarkable. This is Aitareya Āranyaka 4, which deals with the mahāvrata ritual. It was probably composed in response to the general trend exhibited by BŚS to reformulate Vedic ritual in a comprehensive but accessible format. Differently from BSS, however, AĀ 4-5 has been composed in an extremely brief Sūtra style -which opens the question how old this text really is. Its inclusion into AĀ could vouchsafe for an early date.³⁴¹ On the other hand, all the Āraṇyakas are "catch all" devices, or less charitably, "trash bag" texts that were to be added to the canon / corpus of a particular school. 342 AA 4 would then have been added only after the Aitareya Upanisad: AB 1-5, AB 6-8, AĀ 1-2.3 (which deals with recitation), AĀ 2.4-3 = the Upanisad, the Mahānāmnī Sūtra of Āśvalāyana in AĀ 4, and 5 Śaunaka's Mahāvrata Sūtra. --Therefore, can the brief Sūtras of AĀ be later additions to the corpus, too early to be included into the Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra?343 This question, as many others mentioned before, still are subject to further investigation.

§ 6.2. Śākalya's Ŗgveda Redaction.

The arrival of the Aitareyin in the east automatically meant the introduction of the Aitareya form of the RV.³⁴⁴ Since only one school of the RV survives today it is difficult to determine exactly which form it might have had at the time. AB quotations generally agree with our present

^{339 &}quot;Who live in large numbers beyond the borders." ta ete 'ndhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ Śabarāḥ Pulindā Mūtibā ity udantyā bahavo bhavanti Vaiśvāmitrā dasyūnām bhūyiṣṭhāḥ. Cf. Author, Tracing, p. 237, n.124.

³⁴⁰ Note the same designation (dasyu), at JB 2.423§168, when speaking of the Niṣāda aboriginals in the wilderness of Madhya Pradesh/Rajasthan.

³⁴¹ Another brief Sūtra-like section is the description of the *avāntaradīkṣā* in KaṭhĀ and corresponding portions of TĀ 5.

The inclusion of many Upaniṣads into the Āraṇyakas of their respective schools is typical, see Author, An unknown Upaniṣad of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda: The Kaṭha-Śikṣā-Upaniṣad. *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, 1, 1977, pp. 139-155; cf. however, M. Fujii, in this volume.

Its inclusion may also be due to its topic: the RV Āraṇyakas primarily deal with the *mahāvrata* ritual while parts of AĀ deal with the difficulties and secrets of recitation; even the Up.s often include such texts, see TU 1, the Sīkṣā = KaṭhSiU.

³⁴⁴ For details on other RV schools, such as the Bāṣkala, see Scheftelowitz, *Apokryphen*, Introd., Renou, Les *écoles védiques* p. 18 sqq.; cf. Bronkhorst, The orthoepic diaskeuasis of the Rgveda and the date of Pāṇini, *IIJ* 23, 1981, 92.

Śākala śākhā form, 345 except for some small redactional details. Indeed, the Śākala appear in the older part of AB itself, at AB 3.43, as one of the clans belonging to the Aitareya school, 346 and so does their clansman, Śākalya, the famous author of the Padapāṭha, in AĀ 3.2.1.6. In the Brāhmaṇa texts, he appears as the "clever" (vidagdha) Śākalya (ŚB 11.6.3.3, BĀU 3.9.1), in connection with Yājñavalkya and Janaka of Videha, and some other well known representatives of various śākhās. He clearly is a person of the late Vedic period of eastern India.

Indeed, the Padapāṭha of Śākalya has several marks of its eastern origin which form an overlay of the older, western features of Śākalya's language.³⁴⁷ If we assume, then, a "Śākala" RV, imported by the time of the later AB/ŚB into the east, it is surprising to note that at the only explicit quotation where the structure and wording of the eastern RV Saṃhitā can actually be checked from non-Rgvedic sources, at ŚB 11.5.1.10, the RV text known to ŚB clearly differs from that of our Vulgate (Śākala śākhā).

Regarded from the point of view of the Aitareyin (and probably, also that of their patrons, the inviting kings such as Janaka), this eastern RV must have been rejected by Śākalya *cum suis* as unsuitable: instead, he³⁴⁸ introduced a western form of the text and composed the Padapāṭha to give a correct shape to its text. The Padapāṭha may look like a complete innovation. However, the extant text of the Avesta, especially of the Gāthās, is nothing but the Padapāṭha of a lost Avesta "Saṃhitā" text; and there are a few more similarities in Iranian tradition which seem to indicate an old Indo-Iranian tradition of dealing with texts.³⁴⁹ Could a rudimentary Padapāṭha have existed before Śākalya? Did Śākalya follow an Aitareya-Śākala family tradition in composing a Padapāṭha, or was he a real innovator?³⁵⁰

³⁴⁵ Minor redactional features notwithstanding. For example, the persistence of -iy-, -uv- in RV quotes found in Brāhmaṇa texts such as AB 3.12 where ukthaṃ vācīndrāya [vāci indrāya] is counted as 7 syllables, and ukthaṃ vācīndrāya [vāci indrāya] devebhyaḥ [devebhiyaḥ] as having 11; see Oldenberg, Prolegomena, p. 373-376 and Keith, Rgveda Brāhmaṇas, p. 43 for details; cf. J. Bronkhorst, The orthoepic diaskeuasis, IIJ 23, 83-95.

 $^{^{346}}$ They point out the closed form of the ritual, which is seen as a closed circle, a snake biting its own tail, AB 3.43; cf. JB 1.258 on the similar image of a rolled-up dog, see J. Brereton in this volume. Further, Sakala, the author of a Sāman, JB 3.93; Sakala Gaupāyana IB \$92.

³⁴⁷ Such as the fem. gen. -ai, etc., see Author, *Tracing*. Cf. Cardona, in this volume.

³⁴⁸ Or, perhaps, already before him, his (sub-)school, the Śakala group of Rgvedins, AB 3.43.

³⁴⁹ Cf. Witzel, in J. Bronkhorst, Some Observations on the Padapāṭha of the Rgveda, *IIJ* 24, 1982, 185. - For Iran note: our Avesta text is a Padapāṭha with a few *sandhis* kept, but with the typical RV-Pp. separation of *-bhis, -bhyas, -bhyām, -su* (sometimes interpreted as *-dəbiš*, etc.); a Brāhmaṇa-like text which explains some Mantras is found at Y 19.9 sqq., a Śrautasūtra-like text in the Nirangistān, a Dharmasūtra in Vīdēvdāδ, and an Avestan Nighantu in the Farhang-ī-ōim.

³⁵⁰ In passing, it has to be noted that the reconstruction of the Saṃhitāpāṭha from the Padapāṭha is a later development. The earliest evidence is found in AĀ 3.2.6; for a discussion see M. Deshpande, Rgvedic retroflexion, p. 247 sqq.

Śākalya prepared the Padapāṭha after determining the order of *all* RV hymns, including the additional *tṛcas* and other sections added to the original collection that had been made under the early Kuru kings. However, he also effectively excluded certain portions,³⁵¹ for example, the *Vālakhilya* hymns, RV 8.49-59. As the Purūravas hymn indicates, his RV text differed materially from the eastern Rgveda, and it also differs from that of the Bāskala.

It probably was the rejection of the eastern RV, 352 which led Śākalya to the formulation of the "correct" wording of the Rgveda, as laid down in his Padapāṭha. Though this seems nothing but the RV Saṃhitā without the euphonic combinations caused by *sandhi*, it is more than that. It is the first grammatical analysis of the text and it insures, at the same time, its proper pronunciation (especially when systematically constructed via the reverse scheme, Padapāṭha > Saṃhitāpaṭha, or > Kramapāṭha). Also, the Padapāṭha automatically determines the exact contents of the Saṃhitā text: it states which *sūktas* or parts thereof belong to the text and which *khila* sections do not (such as the Vālakhilya in RVKh 4, the Kuntāpa in RVKh 5, or the Śrī Sūkta at RVKh 2.6).

The result of Śākalya's efforts thus is a clear case of *canon formation*: From now on, the RV text was fixed once and for all, with all its phonetical details, though, it is true, Śākalya's text still had to face some competition by the Bāṣkala and Māṇḍukeya schools that subsequently disappeared.³⁵³ Even the RV-Prātiśākhya still refers to a Śaiśirīya school and its phonetical peculiarities.

§ 6.3. Vājasaneyi Samhitā.

The discussion of the RV redaction facilitates taking another look³⁵⁴ at the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā. Oldenberg and Renou have noted its dependence on the already redacted RV, and Caland thought that it was only secondarily extracted from ŚB.³⁵⁵ Obviously, they wanted to have a Saṃhitā text like that of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda with its several small ritual Saṃhitās, which are intermingled but still clearly separated from the

³⁵¹ For example the late verse on Tryambaka, RV 7.49.12. The others are: 10.20.1, 121.10, 190.1-3. See C. G. Kashikar, The problem of Galantas in the Rgvedapadapāṭha, *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference 13*, (1946), 1951, p. 44

³⁵² Instigated probably by the "barbaric" eastern accentuation with its two tones only; cf., above, on the son of a king of Kosala who speaks "like the Easterners" JB 1.338 : §115, among other features, probably also with a low tone where a westerner expected a rising tone, see below on VS, §6.3. This may have sounded as "funny" to a Kuru-Pañcāla as Alemannic (Alsace, Baden, Swabia, Switzerland) low tone in stressed syllables does to a speaker of other German dialects or of standard High German.

³⁵³ At first from the schools of Śākaṭāyana and Gārgya, reported in the 5th(?) century by Pāṇini, at the other end of Northern India, in Gandhāra.

³⁵⁴ Cf. above § 2.4.

³⁵⁵ Caland, AO 10, 132 sq.

expository *brāhmaṇa* style sections of the early Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda Samhitās.³⁵⁶

Yet, perhaps, this was not the only motivation, or even the most important one. The Taittirīya (and especially the Maitrāyanīya), after all, lived far away, beyond the western borders of Kosala. The Vajasaneyin rather wanted to have a Samhitā just like the well-redacted, well-preserved and well-recited RV of the Aitareyin and Śākala schools, or the SV of the PB schools (or even like the AV). For, when they selected their Mantras from ŚB, they did something strange -- something that has intrigued scholars ever since, beginning with the author and the commentator of the Mīmāmsā Sūtra, Jaimini and Śabara. 357 It is well-known that the ŚB texts differ from all other Vedic texts in a peculiar tonal pattern: a two level svara accentuation, the bhāsika accent. It is made visible in the manuscripts by the only sign used, the understroke. According to Bhāsika Sūtra, echoed by modern recitation,³⁵⁸ such underlined syllables have a low pitch, Anudatta quality. As has been pointed out in Tracing, 359 modern recitation, just as the early testimony of Sabara, indicate that the Bhāsika low tone coincides in most but not in all cases with the udātta (rising) tone in the other, mostly western/central Vedic schools.³⁶⁰

One can hardly imagine the modern recitation to be the direct effect of manuscripts, written with accents marks at the time of Śabara. It rather must reflect an old tradition that is, indeed, explained in the late Vedic or post-Vedic Bhāṣika Sūtra. The exact mechanism of the Eastern dialect's substitution of a low tone for an originally rising tone of the more western Vedic dialects cannot be described here in detail.³⁶¹ It is important to note, however, that K. Hoffmann's and subsequently, P. Kiparsky's, interpretation of writing the bhāsika tones (and, likewise, a retransfor-

³⁵⁶ This, incidentally, turns the legend of the divinely inspired origin of the Sukla Yajurveda text by Yājñavalkya upside down (ŚB, last sentence); cf. Caland, AO 10, 132 sq.

³⁵⁷ Mīm.Sūtra and Bhāsya ad 12.3.20--24.

³⁵⁸ This feature has been paid little attention to by philologists, as, indeed, is the case for most of contemporary Veda recitation. Notable exceptions, besides a few stray articles, are J. F. Staal, *Nambudiri Veda Recitation*, 's Gravenhage 1961 and W. Howard, *Samavedic chant*. New Haven 1977; Idem, *Veda recitation in Varanasi*, Delhi 1986.

³⁵⁹ *Tracing, passim*, see: p. 101, and n.5, 20, 230, 317, 334, 355. The paper promised there (n.319: "On Late Vedic pitch accent") has not yet been published.

³⁶⁰ If one understands, as proposed by K. Hoffmann, *AzI 132 sq.*, the function of the horizontal stroke to represent a *svarita* in the following syllable, or, with P. Kiparsky, The Vedic and Pāṇinian accent system, 1982, the underline stroke as marking "the end of a span of non-High tones", (therefore, with basically the same results as in Hoffmann's system; cf. also D. Maue 1976, C. Perez-Coffie 1994). For another interpretation, based on the reverse rules (VS > ŚB) of the late Vedic(?) Bhāṣika Sūtra (by Kātyāyana, according to Y. Mīmāṃsaka 1985, 44 n.1), see now G. Cardona, The bhāṣika accentuation system, *StII* 18, 1993, 1-40.

³⁶¹ For details see Cardona, *StII* 18, 1993, p.13 sq. However, his theory of Svarita levelling (to ŚB high tone) still does not cogently explain the raising of the low tone, Anudātta, to ŚB high tone. See Author, Late Vedic pitch accent: ŚB Bhāṣika Tones, Jaimini, and modern recitation, forthc.

mation of modern ŚB *recitation*) results in virtually the same accentuation that we know from the western Vedic texts of all schools,³⁶² -- something that indicates, ultimately, a single origin of both tonal systems.

On the other hand, the reverse is not conceivable: the Vājasaneyins could not easily transform their two tone³⁶³ bhāṣika style texts (in ŚB, BĀU), without any glitches, into the three or four tone³⁶⁴ western system with which VS is now found both in the MSS and in recitation. Certain difficult details, such as the combination of successive udāttas or svaritas, should then show divergences from the established (western) norms, -- unless this conversion was made by native speakers of the three/four tone system -- that is by western Brahmins.

Obviously, when the western texts were introduced into the east (AB, the Śākala RV, the eastern Kaṭha texts, and PB/BhallaviB), the ŚB collection³⁶⁵ was looked into by one of the many imported Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmins, a sort of *Veda-Vyāsa*, -- perhaps Yājñavalkya himself, who quite uncharacteristically is said to directly "have received the Mantras from the Sun" and not from his teacher(s). He excerpted the Mantras pertaining to the great śrauta rituals and re-arranged them as VS 1-25. Then, various *khila* sections and the Pravargya Mantras (VS 36-39) were added, as well as some other texts such as the Śivasaṃkalpa Up. (VS 34, RVKh 4.11), and, at the last moment, and probably only during the final redaction, the Īśa Up. (VS 40). The text of VS has since been learnt, and later on, it has also been written down with Kuru-Pañcāla accentuation.

We may even speculate upon the geographical origin of the author of this change. If we can rely on the early North Indian VSM MSS. preserved in Nepal (1428 A.D., and even earlier) and some fragments from northern India, ³⁶⁶ earlier VS accentuation followed the Maitrāyaṇī style closely. In fact it uses the same accentuation system as this western school which was found in the middle ages only in Gujarat and N. Maharasthra. ³⁶⁷ The Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmin responsible for the Maitrāyaṇī style *svaras* of VSM therefore may have been a Maitrāyaṇīya. The time

³⁶² It remains to be explained why the first of two successive *udāttas* became, in ŚB, a high tone (not underlined), followed by a low tone (underlined).

³⁶³ Where low tone (underlined) = mostly original *udātta*; and high tone [actually, *rising* tone!] (not underlined) = mostly original *anudātta* or *svarita*.

³⁶⁴ That is: anudātta, udātta, svarita, kampa(na) which are, most probably, the "higher" (uttarāhi/uttarāhai) speech of the Kuru, Mahāvṛṣa and Pañcāla, mentioned at ŚBM 3.2.3.15 (Kurus, Pañcālas) and ŚBK 4.2.3.15 (Kurus, Mahāvṛṣas), see Author, *Tracing*, e.g. §1 with n.5

³⁶⁵ The Mādhyandina parts 1-5, 6-10, 11-13 and 14.1-3 and 14.4-8 (viz. their corresponding Kāṇva sections), see Caland, *Kleine Schriften*, p. XXIV.

³⁶⁶ See Author, On some unknown systems of marking the Vedic accents. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 12, 1974, pp. 472-508. See cover page of this volume.

³⁶⁷ It is unlikely to have influenced the North Indian (*devanāgarī*) writers whose MSS were brought to Nepal. The present RV/TS style accent marks of VS were introduced only later in this millennium.

frame for this influence would be that of (certain later parts) of ŚB which have many overlaps with the texts of MS, notably in the late Aśvamedha³⁶⁸ ritual; more likely, however, the conversion was carried out during the final compilation.³⁶⁹

Another hint is provided by the number of chapters in VSM and VSK: both have a preference for 40 chapters which is earlier found in the complete version of RV (Adhyāya division), KS, AB. 370 Still another indication for the date, at least for the Kāṇva version of VS, is provided by sound changes such as g > k (cf. above). 371 This would point to a strong Prākritic influence at c. 150 B.C./50 B.C. If true, this would be another good case of intentional canon formation in a period of transition, perhaps instituted as a reaction to Maurya time Buddhism, by the conservative Śuṅga (Puṣyamitra) and the Brahmin Kāṇva dynasties of eastern North India. 372

§ 6.4. Canon Formation in the East.

Summing up the above investigations, what clearly emerges is that the east was an area of large scale importation, collection and compilation of texts, and, even more importantly, an area of *canon formation*. The local chieftains and the rulers of the emerging larger kingdoms (Mahākosala, Mahājanaka) and their -- mostly imported -- Brahmins aimed at a collection of all Vedic materials that had developed since the inception of the *śrauta* ritual in the Mantra period. Normally, such movements ensue when a decline of tradition sets in and when one feels that a collection and fixation of the "proper" texts is needed.³⁷³ Or they occur in situations of

³⁶⁸ Note that it was treated twice in SB where is has been taken over from TB, KS or MS, see Caland, *Kleine Schriften*, p. XIV.

³⁶⁹ In an earlier period of ŚB, when the western Caraka-Adhvaryu texts were taken over into ŚB, they were transformed into Vājasaneyin style texts with all the peculiarities of their respective schools (ŚBM, ŚBK) including the *bhāṣika* accentuation, see Author, Über die Caraka-Schule, *Tracing*, p. 232, n.325.

³⁷⁰ And for a section of ŚB, cf. A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*. Paris 1949-; cf. Keith, *TS transl.*, p. lxxix, Renou, *IIJ* 1, 10 on the 40 chapters of AB, apparently also known to Pānini.

³⁷¹ See above, n.302, Author, *Tracing*, n.190: *tanakmi* VSK : *tanacmi* VSM, *yunagmi* VSK : *yunajmi* VSM.

³⁷² See *Tracing*, p. 172 n.196. - Note also the contemporaneous fashion of providing not only one's father's name but also that of one's mother (if one's father had more than one wife) by supplying names ending in *-putra*. Examples are the Vaṃśas of BĀU, ŚB, the Maurya practice, names in the Mathura inscriptions, Śātavāhana names, and even those of the early Guptas (*licchavīputra*).

³⁷³ Cf. for example the collection of the remnants of the Avesta at c. 900 A.D. in E. Iran, the Rcaka handbooks of medieval Kashmir under Muslim rule, or the medieval extracts from the Vedic Saṃhitās made for the study of only portions of the texts by *ekadeśādhyāyins*.

large-scale social and religious change, as for example at the end of the Rgvedic period and the establishment of the Kuru realm.³⁷⁴

In the present case the local eastern kings felt looked down upon by their western Pañcāla neighbors (like the Ikṣvāku chieftains at JB 3.168-70 and the Kosala prince at JB 1.338: §115). They wanted to move up on the social scale of "acceptable" princes and began to "sweeten" (i.e. Sanskritize) their territories, not unlike their medieval successors successfully proceeded in the outlying areas of the subcontinent.³⁷⁵ They employed methods which echo those first used by the early Kuru kings, who apparently were in a similar predicament.³⁷⁶ Sanskritization now took place by the overt importation of Kuru-Pañcāla norms, that is of ritual orthopraxy, of orthodoxy (belief, *śraddhā*, in the efficacy of the ritual), and of the Brahmins who embodied these norms.

Large masses of texts were imported into the east and were made use of in rituals and in public brahmanical discussions. Whatever may have been in use in the east as Vedic ritual (perhaps an early form of the Śukla Yajurveda and the eastern Rgveda mentioned in ŚB) was now reshaped according to Kuru-Pañcāla norms. The clash of older and newly imported texts and schools brought about the perceived need to codify texts and rituals.

Thus, the arrival of the Aitareyins in the east set off an innovative trend, quite similar to the one established by the introduction from the west of the Śāṇḍilyas (ŚB 6-10), and of the Kāṇvas.³⁷⁷ Similar observations have been made above for Kosala where "complete" Brāhmaṇas such as the Kāṇva ŚB and the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa were compiled and where a first "complete" handbook of the *śrauta* ritual (BŚS) was composed.

It is thus in these eastern territories of Northern India that a thorough re-organization of the *brāhmaṇa* style texts was carried out (ŚB), including a rethinking of many of the earlier YV "theological" positions. Also, the Sūtra genre as such evolved, with the very systematic, but still very elaborate Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra that was largely composed in late *brāhmaṇa* language. Finally, in the Aitareya school the first *shorter* Sūtra (AĀ 4) was developed.

In this climate of shake-up and "reform" the Brahmins aimed at --- a unified body of texts, including all rituals in a systematic order, either in Brāhmaṇa or in Sūtra form: (KB, VādhB, ŚB, BŚS, VādhB, AĀ 4, also AB 6-8; even JB 1.1-66; PB 1.);

³⁷⁴ Such socio-political factors have not been discussed by J.Z. Smith, Sacred Persistence: Toward a Redescription of Canon, and his followers, the authors of *Authority, Anxiety and Canon* (ed. by L. Patton) who takes a simple phenomenological outlook; see, however, A. & J. Assmann, *Kanon und Zensur*, München 1987 for the various factors influencing canon formation, including the present one.

³⁷⁵ See Author, Regionale und überregionale Faktoren.

³⁷⁶ See Author, Early Sanskritization.

³⁷⁷ The Kauthuma (PB), (Kapiṣṭhala-)Kaṭha (KaṭhB, Prācya-Kaṭha?) seem to have followed suit. Unfortunately we do not know the exact time of these Brahmanical movements during the late Brāhmana period.

--- correct pronunciation of the Mantra texts (Śākalya RV, the new VS, Taitt.Up. 1; note also the late texts, AĀ, KĀ);

-- fixing the extent of texts (RV, without Vālakhilya hymns, RVKhila collection; adding the Aśvamedha sections in TS, KS, the royal rituals in AB 5-8, etc.).³⁷⁸

In other words, the Eastern territories of the late Vedic period saw the establishment of the Vedic canon of all Śruti texts. Little was added subsequently. The coining of the term Śruti and the development of eponymous Rṣis took place at this time. Vaiśampāyana, the supposed "author/arranger" of the YV, or such "Rṣis" as Kaṭha and Tittiri make their entry only now, for example in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (K. 4.3.107, T. 4.3.102, V. 4.3.104); Vaiśampāyana also appears in the very late addition to the Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa, the Āruṇaketuka section (preserved as TĀ 1).³⁷⁹ It may even be the case that the very concept of a *vedavyāsa*, "the arranger of the Veda" was developed (or elaborated) at this time. Extra-ordinary teachers such as Yājñavalkya whom ŚB reports as having received his Mantras directly from the Sun may have generated or furthered such a concept.

Little has been added to the Śruti texts after this new "revelation". We find additions only in "strategical", open slots, such as at the end of texts (VS $40 = \bar{1}$ sa Up., at the end of TĀ: Mahānārāyaṇa Up., near the end of JUB: Kena Up.), or as AV Ups. (with a redaction of AVŚ at this time?), 380 and, perhaps most surprisingly, as Khila hymns at various locations *inside* the body of the RV.

It probably was at this time that a line was drawn, and certain texts were declared as *composed* by (contemporary) human authors (*smṛti*), and not as *heard* by Rṣis (*śruti*). Note also Pāṇini on older and contemporary texts: he does not include the Brāhmaṇa sections of TS³⁸¹ but already knows of an eponymous Rṣi Tittiri and of the precise form of some TS Mantras.³⁸²

§ 6.5. Upanisads.

³⁷⁸ Some of these tendencies must have been known to Pāṇini: the eastern grammarians (Prācya), or Śākaṭāyana, Gārgya, Śākalya whom he quotes as he probably could not avoid to mention his "colleagues". However, he strenuously avoids to use or quote eastern Vedic texts, even those of the Taittirīyas (though he knows of Tittiri). His actual knowledge of central and eastern texts is in urgent need of a thorough investigation. For some details see now J. Bronkhorst, Pāṇini and the Veda reconsidered. *Pāṇinian Studies*, ed. by M. Deshpande and S. Bhate, Ann Arbor 1991.

³⁷⁹ See Author, Jav. *apāxəδra*, MSS 30, 1972, 163-191.

³⁸⁰ See Br. forms of gen. fem. -ai at AV 3.25.6, 4.5.6 (not in PS!), see *Tracing* p. 135.

³⁸¹ See now J.Bronkhorst, Pānini and the Veda reconsidered, p. 97.

³⁸² J.Bronkhorst, Pāṇini and the Veda reconsidered, p. 89; cf. earlier/later teachers/Ḥṣis in VādhB 3.39 (Āruni, Vājasaneya!) and ĀpDhS 1.5.5.

Finally, we briefly turn to the Upaniṣads.³⁸³ They are a intensified continuation of Brāhmaṇa speculation, in a "new" style.³⁸⁴ The early Upaniṣads are fascinating because of their quasi-Socratic dialogue form, which includes severe questioning, and admission of lack of or claims of knowledge, from all participants. They are thus much more "lively" than the Brāhmaṇa style texts and generally discuss all questions pertaining to the nature of the sacrifice, the universe, human beings and the fate of the soul. The openness of this sort of discussion and its public form might surprise, but the social, political and general cultural background, as described above, was in favor of an open exchange of views.

The stage was set by the political developments and the emergence of large eastern kingdoms with their increasing stratification of society and, not visible in the brahmanical texts, the beginning of the second urbanization³⁸⁵ of India. The social upheaval that all these developments brought about formed the backdrop of our texts. In addition, the area was characterized by older and newly immigrating tribes, various types of social systems, etc.; it was a real melting pot.

The eastern region thus supplied the ideal ferment for the meeting of ideas and the development of new concepts. Just as the break-up of the old tribal society of the Rgveda saw strikingly new developments in ritual and the emergence of the brahmanical pre-scientific science of homologies (bandhu), the new stratified and partly aristocratic, partly oligarchic society³⁸⁶ of the east witnessed the emergence of many of the typically Upanisadic ideas.

By the time of the Buddha (c. 400 B.C.), wandering teachers of all sorts were normal appearances in the towns and villages of the east (Dīghanikāya 2). We get a glimpse of the earlier state of this phenomenon when Yājñavalkya leaves home (BĀU 4.5.15). If we may trust the BĀU and ŚB accounts of Uddālaka's travels in the Panjab, he reached both the western and the eastern ends of Vedic India in his travels. In fact, the geographical horizon of the early Upaniṣads stretches from Gandhāra to Aṅga.³⁸⁷

The collection by the various schools of the diverse dicta of Upaniṣadic teachers and discussants is little discussed. W. Ruben wanted to establish some seven generations of teachers.³⁸⁸ It remains unclear, in how far various teachings were actually exchanged between schools or shared by

³⁸³ The following section is, to some extent, based on S. Jamison and M. Witzel, *Vedic Hinduism*, forthc.

³⁸⁴ The *brahmodya*s are, of course, much older, see Author, The case of the shattered head; see now J. Brereton, Yājñavalkya's curse, *IIJ* 20, 1996, 47-57.

³⁸⁵ The Vedic texts hardly, if ever, speak about towns (*pace* Mylius, above. n.165,263); Brahmins prefer to live in the countryside where they can preserve their ritual purity. The word for "town" (*nagara*) occurs a few times only in late Vedic texts, (but cf. also: *Nagarin* in JB §4, 90, 164, 167, 168; 1.257; JUB 4.40.1-2, see above n.263.)

³⁸⁶ Not a "republican" as is always alleged and has, in fact, been copied by historians ever since Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist India*, 1911.

³⁸⁷ See Author, Localisation.

³⁸⁸ W. Ruben, *Die Philosophen der Upanischaden*, Bern 1947.

them.³⁸⁹ BĀU, a text composed of, at least, three major strata, is indicative of how certain sections could be appropriated by two neighboring traditions, that of the Yājñavalkya and the Śāṇḍilya Vājasaneyins: BĀU 1-2:: BĀU 3-4,³⁹⁰ shows how various tales and dialogues were assembled into a new framework. Surprisingly, even an almost identical passage is repeated within the span of one or two pages of text (BĀU 3.3 and 3.7).³⁹¹ The attribution of various important or interesting text passages to famous teachers such as Yājñavalkya is another feature that has to be taken into account when studying these texts.³⁹²

What, then, brought about an Upaniṣad collection, say, in the Taittirīya tradition? It should not be overlooked that the last sections of the Upaniṣads are, just as the Āraṇyaka in general, "catch-alls" of other items not dealt with earlier. Especially, the items dealing with the end of Vedic study and the behavior of the Vedic student after his release (as snātaka) are of importance. They occur in such late sections as ŚB 11-13, BĀU 6 and TU 1.393 P. Thieme³⁹⁴ has cogently explained the *prima facie* strange accumulation in an Upaniṣad of rules about proper behavior, begetting sons etc. in the last section of BĀU as the final teachings of a Vedic teacher to his student, -- in fact, similar to those of TU 1, the Śīkṣā Upaniṣad. They form a "dharmasūtra *in nuce*".395

In short, the Upanisads form the (mostly) secret teaching at the end of Vedic study of each school. It should not be overlooked that the teaching connected with initiation and membership in adult society has precisely these features among many ancient and modern peoples and tribes. Some of the more esoteric teachings were restricted to a few, mostly specially trained priests. It is not surprising then, that some of the ancient Indo-Iranian and Indo-European thought appears only in, and not before the Upanisads.

§ 7. THE VEDIC SCHOOLS IN THE LATE VEDIC AND POST-VEDIC PERIOD

³⁸⁹ In secondary literature we frequently find such general statements such as "this passage has been taken over from...", but we do not yet know the rationale of this process. Investigations on school and canon formation, including the geographical position of the schools, may aid the development of this aspect of Upaniṣad studies. However, see now the study by L. Schmithausen, Zur Textgeschichte der *pañcāgnividyā*. *WZKS* 38, 1994, 43-60.

³⁹⁰ See also J. Brereton, in this volume.

³⁹¹ See Author, On the origin ... of the 'Frame Story', and now Brereton, in this volume.

³⁹² See Author, On the origin ... of the 'Frame Story'; Fišer, Yājñavalkya in the Śruti tradition of the Veda, *AO*, 1984, p. 56-87.

³⁹³ See Author, An unknown Upanisad of the Krsna Yajurveda.

³⁹⁴ Unpublished lecture on receiving the Kyoto Prize in 1988, cf. P. Thieme, *Kleine Schriften II*, Stuttgart 1995, p. V.

 $^{^{395}}$ Author, Die Kaṭha-Śikṣā-Upaniṣad und ihr Verhältnis zur Śīkṣāvallī der Taittirīya-Upaniṣad.

We now have reached the end of the Vedic period, though this is a rather undefined borderline. Many texts overlap with post-Vedic ones, whether this means Dharma texts or even Vedic literature itself (as for example the rather late Vaikhānasa Sūtras). Already Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (introduction) clearly distinguishes *laukika* and *vaidika* speech.

The dispersal of Vedic schools now becomes even more important in order to understand the development of the Vedic canon in its later stage. As pointed out above, during the late Vedic period, the spread of the western schools to the east was of great importance.

It was in the east that their texts received their final redaction, apparently after the Maurya period, at 150 B.C. under the Śuṅga dynasty, which is characterized by a brahmanical revival.³⁹⁶ Some of the redactions may have been established at c. 50 B.C. under the Kānva dynasty.

Further, there is a large amount of agreement (§5) in themes, topics, and legends that characterize the texts of the southeastern area (of the S.E. Koine); apparently, some mutual borrowing must have taken place among the schools involved. The older pattern of a close neighborhood and a borrowing pattern among the schools of the Kuru area (MS/KS), and later on, the Kuru-Pañcāla region (KS/TS), is now replaced by a south-eastern area of close communication.

The area south of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doāb* is little studied. It must have been part of the homeland of the Pāli texts,³⁹⁷ a literary language based on a western Middle Indo-Aryan dialect. The Buddhist texts know of the more eastern schools (Assalāyana, etc.) but they also mention the Tittirīya Adhvaryus,³⁹⁸ who lived in neighboring Kosala. Or the names may have been added when the canon was compiled in areas to the west of Kosala-Videha in the area between Mathura, the *Maduandinoi* territory south of Benares, and the coast of Gujarat.³⁹⁹ The Rāmāyaṇa still knows of Taittirīyas at the mythical capital of Rāma at Ayodhyā, in Kosala, -- that is in Baudhāyanīya territory. The later Pāli texts, the Jātakas, even contain a Taittirīya quotation.⁴⁰⁰ More study of the Pāli texts is necessary.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁶ Note the (Aśvamedha) ritual performed by Puṣyamitra, Mahābhāṣya 1.1.68:177.10 Puṣyamitrasabhā, Candraguptasabhā; 3.1.26:34.11-6 Puṣyamitro yajate,... yājayate... P. karoti; 3.2.123:123.3 ihādhīmaha, iha vasāmaḥ,... iha Puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ. -- For dates cf. above n.306, 316.

³⁹⁷ For the "homeland" of Pāli, see O. v. Hinüber, *Überblick*, p. 38, cf. Author, On the origin ... of the 'Frame Story', n.39.

³⁹⁸ See Author, *Tracing*, p. 246: DN 1.237.10-18 Addharīya (=ādhvaryava, adhvaryu-, YV), Tittirīya (Taittirīya).

³⁹⁹ Cf. the language of Asoka's Girnar inscription, see C. Caillat, Some idiosyncrasies of language and style in Asoka's rock edicts at Girnar, *Hinduismus und Buddhismus*, Fs. U. Schneider, ed. by H. Falk. Freiburg, p. 87-100.

⁴⁰⁰ The quote from TS 1.1.9.1, quoted in Jātaka VI,212,11*, see O. v. Hinüber, *Überblick*, p.131 § 275; as Jātaka prose is late (c. 5th cent. A.D.); the quotation may reflect a much later situation when the Taittirīya were settled in the south; for Dravidianized forms, see *iru-veda* SnA 447, see *Tracing*, n.344, cf. O. v. Hinüber, *Überblick*, § 126.

⁴⁰¹ A start has been made by H. Falk, Vedische Opfer im Pali-Kanon, *BEI* 6, 1988, 225-254.

By the end of the Vedic period, the western schools in the Kuru area and its southern extension seem to have recuperated from the onslaught of middle and late Vedic immigration from the west (Salva, Malla, Vṛji, Y(a)ugandhara; note the Salvas in ĀpGS/ĀpMp (Yugandhara, opposite / near the Matsyas on the Yamunā, etc.). This is visible in the testimony of Megasthenes (c. 300 B.C.) who reports the *Kambistoloi* at the confluence of the Panjab rivers and the *Kathaioi* in the eastern Punjab, on the Ravi, where they also occur as fierce enemies of Alexander. Obviously the early Greek writers have mistaken these schools for local tribes. 402

Now, the western schools produced new texts, after a gap in the Brāhmaṇa/Āraṇyaka period: There are the Śrautasūtras of the Kaṭha, 403 and of the Mānava and Vārāha subschools of the Maitrāyaṇīya. They were probably composed in their respective (new) homelands.

The Kaṭha texts may have (at least partly?) been compiled in the east among the Prācya Kaṭha. ⁴⁰⁴ These or the western (Kapiṣṭhala-)Kaṭha were responsible for influencing the later Taittirīya as is visible in TB/TĀ, and especially frequent in ĀpŚS. ⁴⁰⁵

The Maitrāyaṇīya Sūtra texts probably were compiled and redacted already in the "south", that is in their new home in Gujarat were they are attested in the early medieval copper plate inscriptions and where they survive until today.

The Taittirīyas have developed more Sūtras than any other school, as they covered all of the central (Pañcāla) area and then spread southwards towards, and ultimately, across the Vindhya, only to settle in South India where they survive to this very day in large numbers, so that in South India, "every house cat knows the Yajurveda".

§ 8. SUMMARY: CANON, SCHOOLS AND POLITICS

Louis Renou correctly observed that to know the development of the Vedic Schools, means to know the development of the Canon (Les écoles védiques, p. 208). What emerges in such an investigation is a clear-cut congruence of the levels of linguistic development (with the peculiar dialect features exhibited by certain groups of texts), the internal chronology of text levels in the various schools, the interrelation of these schools, and the general trend of political development in Northern India. An earlier Panjab

⁴⁰² The same may also be the case with the Brahmins in the Indus area (*Brakhmanoi*, in Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.16.5, cf. 4.7.4, 7.2.2); the *Sudrakai/Oxudrakai* between the Ravi and Chenab, however, do not represent the Śūdras, but the Kṣudraka, see O.v. Hinüber, *Arrian*, *Indikē*, 4.9 with p.1101.

 $^{^{403}}$ Mostly lost, but extent in a few fragments and in quotations in the medieval commentary of Devayājñika on KŚS; see Author, *The Veda in Kashmir*, forthc.

 $^{^{404}}$ The many quotations identified by Caland in his translation of the $\bar{\text{ApSS}}$ may be due to them, but they can also stem from the western Kaṭha as MŚS still borrows from the Kaṭha school: the two \hat{sakha} s must have shared a territory bordering each other.

⁴⁰⁵ See Caland's innumerable notes in his translation.

center (RV) was succeeded by a Kurukṣetra center of a new, unified, political and cultural power (the Kurus, with PS; KS/MS, AB). Again, after the decline of the Kurus, the Pañcāla realm takes over (TS/TB, VādhB, Śāṭy; KB?), and the end of the Vedic period witnesses the increasing importance of the eastern areas (Kosala: ŚBK, BŚS, KB/ŚŚS, AVŚ, and Videha: ŚBM, AB 5-8, Śākalya RV, PB) as well as the "southern" area between the Yamunā/Gaṅgā and the Vindhya (JB, later Mādhyandina).

It is clear that all the schools, as for example the Kaṭha branch of the Black Yajurveda, had originally been of local character. The Kaṭhas represented the particular form of Yajurveda tradition as practiced in Kurukṣetra; it went into temporary decline when the Kurus were overcome by the Salvas and thus there is no *old* Kaṭha Br.; and it only recovered towards the end of the Vedic period, partly in eastern India. This originally strictly local character of the Śākhās explains the similarities and mutual influences between neighboring schools, namely, from early on KS/MS; later KS > TS, TB, TĀ; finally TSAśv. > KS. It is only in comparatively late texts (e.g. ĀpŚS) that a catholic view is found which tries to incorporate the opinions of all contemporary Vedic schools and sub-schools when discussing a particular topic of ritual.

The process of final compilation of the texts of a $\pm \bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ and the subsequent final redaction of its canon is still open to discussion; in most cases, both the relative or absolute time are unknown. Some suggestions have been made with regard to the RV ($\pm \bar{a}k$), AB, PB, VS, $\pm \bar{b}$ -- all of which point to the east of Northern India as the area of redaction. The reasons for these events again can be seen in the political and social circumstances surrounding the movement of many Vedic schools into the east. The pressure exerted by the need for a "fashionable", socially approved "style" of government, if not an inward and outward justification of rule, in the emerging kingdoms with their increasingly stratified societies and their multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-racial populations, brought about the importation of the stabilizing and successful Kuru-Pañcāla orthodoxy.

In other words, the process of Sanskritization of the newly brahmanized territories of Kosala, Videha and later on, of Magadha, was carried out by the well-tested alliance of the Kṣatriyas and Brahmins (brahmakṣatra). They required authoritative texts for the performance of the all-important śrauta rituals and brought about the emergence of comprehensive Brāhmaṇa and Śrautasūtra compilations (BŚS, ŚB, AB, KB) as well as the fixation of special texts such as the Śākala RV, VS which were meant for the proper recitation of the Mantras. All of this taken together resulted in canon formation in the schools of the Śākala/Aitareya, Kauthuma, Vājasaneyin, and in the subsequent formulation of similar bodies of texts in the Taittirīya schools, the Jaiminīyas, etc.

The further spread and post-Vedic development of the schools is a question of ancient and medieval history which has to be explored by an extensive study of the Pāli texts, the thousands of Prākṛt inscriptions, and the medieval copper plate grants, all of which cannot be carried out here. It is this spread that resulted in the present distribution of two major groups of texts, the Mādhyandina Vājasaneyin of the Śukla Yajurveda in the North

and the Taittirīya Kṛṣṇa Yajurvedins in the South; both are aligned with the Śākalya Ḥgveda and the Kauthuma Sāmaveda. The other schools only survive at the rim, in isolated or inaccessible tracts or border regions: the Kaṭha in Kashmir, the Maitrāyaṇī in Gujarat and N. Maharasthra, the Vādhūla and Jaiminīya in Kerala, the Śaunaka in Saurashtra, the Paippalādin in Orissa. The history of all such minor schools remains a desideratum of Vedic scholarship. 406

⁴⁰⁶ Some examples are available for certain areas: J. F. Staal, Nambudiri Veda Recitation, 's Gravenhage 1961; P. Niyogi. Brahmanic Settlements in Different Subdivisions of Ancient Bengal, Calcutta 1967; W. Howard. Samavedic chant. New Haven 1977; M.G.S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat. A History of the Nambudiri Community of Kerala. Agni. The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar, ed. by J.F. Staal, Berkeley 1983, vol. II, p. 256-278 [cf. also p. 279-310]; Author, Die mündliche Tradition der Paippalädins von Orissa. Festgabe für K. Hoffmann, I. = MSS 44, 1985, pp. 259-287; Author, Regionale und überregionale Faktoren in der Entwicklung vedischer Brahmanengruppen im Mittelalter. (Materialien zu den vedischen Schulen, 5). Regionale Tradition in Südasien (= Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 104), ed. by H. Kulke, D. Rothermund, Heidelberg 1986, pp. 37-76; W. Howard, Veda recitation in Varanasi, Delhi 1986.

Abbreviations

AĀ Aitareya Āraṇyaka
AB Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
AVPrāt Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya
ĀpŚS Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
ĀŚS Āśvalāyana Śrauta Śūtra

AV Atharvaveda Samhitā (Śaunaka)

BĀU Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad BŚS Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra JB Jaiminīya Brāhmana

JUB Jaiminīya Upanisad-Brāhmana

KĀ Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka
KB Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa
KpS Kapisthala-Katha Samhitā

KS Katha Samhitā

LŚS Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra MS Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā PB Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa RVPrāt Rgveda Prātiśākhya. RV Rgveda Samhitā

S Sūtra

ŚB Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

ŚBK Śatapatha Brāhmana, Kānva recension

ŚBM Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina recension

ŚŚS Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra

SV Sāmaveda Saṃhitā
TĀ Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
TB Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
TS Taittirīya Saṃhitā
YH Yasna Haptaŋhāiti

Yt Yašt

YV Yajurveda Samhitā

V Vīdēvδāt

Localisation = Author, On the localisation of Vedic texts and schools. *India* and the Ancient world. History, Trade and Culture before A.D. 650. ed. by G. Pollet, Leuven 1987, pp. 173-213.

Tracing = Author, Tracing the Vedic dialects. in: Colette Caillat, Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes, ed. by Colette Caillat. Paris1989, p. 97-264.

Early Sanskritization = Author, Early Sanskritization. Origins and development of the Kuru State. Recht, Staat und Verwaltung im klassischen Indien. The state, the Law, and Administration in Classical India ed. by B. Kölver. München 1997, pp. 27-52.

AO Acta Orientalia

AzI Karl Hoffmann, Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik

EJVS Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies

IIJ Indo-Iranian Journal JA Journal Asiatique

MSS Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft

OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung

SBBAW Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der

Wissenschaften

StII Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik

SUNY State University of New York

VKAW NR Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Weten-

schappen, Nieuwe reeks

VMKAW Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van

Wetenschappen

WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes WZKS Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens WZKSO Zeitschrift zur Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens

ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

Bibliography

- Albiruni = Alberuni's India. An account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, customs, laws and astrology of India about A.D. 1030. An English ed., with notes and indices by Dr. Edward C. Sachau. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1888.
- Allchin, F. Raymond. *The archaeology of early historic South Asia : the emergence of cities and states*, [with contributions from G. Erdosy et al.] Cambridge, New York : Cambridge University Press 1995.
- Alper, Harvey P. (ed.) *Mantra*. Albany: State University of New York Press 1989.
- Arrian, Indikē, see Hinüber, Oskar v.
- Assmann, Aleida & Jan (eds.). *Kanon und Zensur*. (Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation, 2) München: Fink 1987
- Bechert, Heinz. The date of the Buddha reconsidered. *Indologica Taurinensia* 10, 1982, 29-36.
- ----, (ed.) The dating of the historical Buddha / Die Datierung des historischen Buddha, part 1 (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung IV, 1-2). Göttingen : Vandenhoek und Ruprecht 1991-2.
- Benke, Arnim. Magie in der Brāhmana-Zeit. M.A. thesis Erlangen 1976
- Berger, Hermann. Deutung einiger alter Stammesnamen der Bhil aus der vorarischen Mythologie des Epos und der Purāṇa. WZKSO 3, 1959, 34-82.
- Bhawe, Shrikrishna. *Die Yajus' des Aśvamedha*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer 1939
- Bloomfield, Maurice. Hymns of the Atharvaveda, together with extracts from the ritual books and the commentaries translated by Maurice Bloomfield. (SBE 42). Oxford: Clarendon Press 1897
- ----, The Atharvaveda and the Gopatha-Brāhmana. Strassburg 1899

- ----, Contributions to the interpretation of the Veda. Fourth series. *American Journal of Philology*, 12, 414-443
- ----, Vedic Concordance. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard Oriental Series 1906
- Bodewitz, H. W. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I, 1-65. Translation and commentary with a study of the Agnihotra and Prāṇāgnihotra. Leiden 1973
- ----, The daily evening and morning offering (Agnihotra) according to the Brāhmanas. Leiden 1976
- ----, The Jyotistoma Ritual. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,66-364. Introduction, translation and commentary, Leiden 1990

Brereton, Joel. Yājñavalkya's curse, *IIJ* 20, 1996, 47-57. Bronkhorst, Johannes.

- ----, The orthoepic diaskeuasis of the Rgveda and the date of Pāṇini, IIJ 23, 1981, 83-95
- ----, L'indianisme et les préjuges occidentaux. *Etudes de lettres* 1989/2, 119-136
- ----, Some Observations on the Padapāṭha of the Rgveda, IIJ 24, 1982, 181-189
- ----, Pāṇini and the Veda reconsidered. *Pāṇinian Studies. Professor S. D. Joshi Felicitation Volume*, ed. by Madhav M. Deshpande and Saroja Bhate. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 37, 1991, 75-121.
- Brucker, E. Die spätvedische Kulturepoche nach den Quellen der Śrauta-, Gṛhya- und Dharmasūtras. Der Siedlungsraum. Wiesbaden 1980.
- Brune, Johannes. Zur Textkritik der dem Sāmaveda mit dem achten Maṇḍala des Rgveda gemeinsamen Stellen. Kiel: Jansen 1909.
- Caillat, Colette (ed.). Dialectes dans les littératures indo- aryennes. Actes du Colloque International, organisée par UA 1058 sous les auspices du C.N.R.S avec le soutien du Collège de France, de la Fondation Hugot du Collège de France, de l'Université de Paris III, du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris (Fondation Hugot) 16-18 Septembre 1986. Paris : Collège de France, Institut de Civilisation Indienne 1989.
- ----, Some idiosyncrasies of language and style in Asoka's rock edicts at Girnar, *Hinduismus und Buddhismus*, *Festschrift U. Schneider*, ed. by H. Falk. Freiburg, p. 87-100.
- Caland, Willem. Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana. Leipzig: Brockhaus 1903.
- ----, Altindische Zauberei. Darstellung der altindischen "Wunschopfer". Amsterdam: J. Muller 1908.
- ----, De archeologische vondsten in de heuvels van Lauriya. *VMKAW* 4, 11, 1912, 378-385.
- ----, Over en uit het Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa. VMKAW 5, 1 1915.
- ----, Das Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl. Text, Übersetzung, Indices. VKAW NR 19, 4. [Reprint Wiesbaden 1970].
- ----, A note on Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, AO 10, 1932, 126-134.
- ----, Kleine Schriften, ed. by Michael Witzel. Stuttgart: F. Steiner 1990.
- Cardona, George. The *Bhāṣika* Accentuation System. *Studien zur Indologie* und Iranistik 18, 1993, 1-40.

- Deshpande, Madhav. Rgvedic retroflexion. Aryan and Non-Aryan in India, ed. by Madhav M. Deshande and P.E. Hook. Ann Arbor 1979.
- Cintāmaṇi, Ti. Rā. (ed.), Kauṣītaki Gṛhyasūtrāṇi, Bhavatrātakṛtavivaraṇa-yutāni, Madrapurīyaviśvavidyālaya 1944.
- Dharmadhikari, T. N. *The Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, its ritual and language. Ph.D. thesis, Poona 1969
- Elizarenkova, Tatyana J. Language and style of the Vedic Rsis, Albany: SUNY Press 1995.
- Erdosy, George. *Urbanisation in Early Historic India*. Oxford : British Archaeological Reports. 1988.
- ----, The archaeology of early Buddhism. *Studies in Buddhism in Honour of A.K. Warder*, ed. by N.K. Wagle and F. Watanabe. Toronto 1993, p. 40-56.
- Faddegon, Barend. The catalogue of sciences in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (VII,1,2), AO 4, 42-54.
- ----, Ritualistic Dadaism, AO 5, 1927, 177-195.
- Falk, Harry. Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel, Freiburg 1986.
- ----, Vedische Opfer im Pali-Kanon, Bulletin des études indiennes 6, 1988, 225-254.
- Fišer, Ivo. Yājñavalkya in the Śruti tradition of the Veda. AO, 1984, p. 56-87 Frenz, A. Über die Verben im Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa. Diss. Marburg 1966 Ghosh, Batakrishna. Collection of the fragments of lost Brāhmaṇas. Calcutta 1947.
- Gonda, Jan. Old Indian. Leiden 1971.
- ----, A history of Indian literature I.1. Vedic literature (Saṃhitās and Brāhmanas) Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz 1975
- Heesterman, Jan C. Householder and Wanderer. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, NS 15, 1981, 251-27.
- ----, The inner conflict of tradition. Essays in Indian ritual, kingship, and society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1985.
- ----, The broken world of sacrifice: an essay in ancient Indian ritual. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1993.
- Hillebrandt, Alfred. Kleine Schriften, ed. by Rahul P. Das. Stuttgart 1987.
- Hinüber, Oskar von. *Arrian = Arrian. Der Alexanderzug; Indische Geschichte:* griechisch und deutsch / Arrian herausgegeben und übersetzt von Gerhard Wirth und Oskar von Hinüber. München: Artemis Verlag 1985.
- ----, Überblick = Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1986.
- Hoffmann, Karl. Der Injunktiv im Veda. Eine synchronische Funktionsuntersuchung. Heidelberg: Carl Winter 1967.
- ----, *AzI = Aufsätze zur Indo-Iranistik*. vols. 1-2, ed. by Johanna Narten. Wiesbaden 1975-6.
- ----, Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik vol. 3. ed., by S. Glauch, R. Plath, S. Ziegler. Wiesbaden 1992.
- ----, Review of: Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik* (1896-1954): *AzI*, p. *132 sq.*, [transl. M. Witzel, in: On some unknown

- systems of marking the Vedic accents, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, 12, 1974, p. 475, n. 17].
- ----, Der Mantra yán návam áit, AzI, p. 509-512.
- ----, Die Komposition eines Brāhmaṇa-Abschnittes (MS I 10,14-16), *Mélanges à la mémoire de Louis Renou*. Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation indienne, fasc. 28. Paris: Editions E. de Boccard. Paris 1968, p. 367-380 = *AzI* 207-220.
- ----, Die magische Weltanschauung im Veda. Resümee. *Indologentagung* 1959. *Verhandlungen der Indologischen Arbeitstagung in Essen-Bredeney*, 13.-15. *Juli* 1959, ed. by E. Waldschmidt, p. 232 = AzI 3, p. 709.
- Horsch, Paul. *Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur*. Bern: Francke 1966. Howard, Wayne. *Samavedic chant*. New Haven 1977.
- ----, Veda recitation in Varanasi, Delhi 1986.
- Ikari, Yasuke. The Development of Mantras in the Agnicayana Ritual (1). On the treatment of *hautra* mantras, *Zinbun*, 24, 1989.
- ----, Vādhūla Śrautasūtra 1.1-1.4 [Agnyādheya, Punarādheya] A New Critical Edition of the Vādhūla Śrautasūtra, I -. Zinbun: Annals of the Institute for Research in Humanities Kyoto University, 30, 1995, 1--127;
- ----, Vādhūla Śrautasūtra 1.5-1.6 [Agnihotra, Agnyupasthāna] A New Critical Edition of the Vādhūla Śrautasūtra, II -. *Zinbun: Annals of the Institute for Research in Humanities Kyoto University*, 31, 1996, 1-65.
- Jamison, Stephanie. The ravenous hyenas and the wounded sun. Myth and ritual in ancient India. Ithaca-London 1991.
- ----, and Witzel, M. *Vedic Hinduism*. *The Study of Hinduism*, ed. by Arvind Sharma. University of South Carolina Press, forthc.
- Kashikar, C. G. The problem of Galantas in the Rgvedapadapāṭha, Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference 13, (1946), 1951, 39-46.
- Keith, Arthur B. *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. Oxford : Clarendon Press 1909 ----, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittiriya Sanhita*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard Oriental Series 1919.
- ----, Rigveda Brāhmaṇas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Oriental Series 1920
- ----, Ancient India. The Cambridge History of India, ed. by E.G. Rapson. Volume 1. Cambridge 1921.
- Kiparsky, P., The Vedic and Pāṇinian accent system [= Lecture II, in:] Paul Kiparsky, Some theoretical problems in Pāṇini's grammar, Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 1982.
- Köhler, Hans W. Śrad-dhā- in der vedischen und altbuddhistischen Literatur. ed. by Klaus L. Janert. Wiesbaden 1973 [= Diss. 1948].
- Koskikallio, Petteri. Baka Dalbhya: a Complex Character in Vedic Ritual Texts, Epics, and Purāṇas . *EJVS* 1.3, Nov. 1995 (www. shore.net/~india/EJVS).

- Kottkamp, Heino. Der Stupa as Repräsentation des Buddhistischen Heilsweges. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung architektonischer Symbolik. Wiesbaden 1992.
- Kulke, Hermann. Grāmakāma "das Verlangen nach einem Dorf". Überlegungen zum Beginn frühstaatlicher Entwicklung im vedischen Indien. *Saeculum* 42, 1991, 111-128.
- ----, The Rājasūya. A paradigm of Early State Formation? *Ritual, State and History in South Asia. Essays in honour of J.C. Heesterman*, ed. by A. W. van den Hoek, D. H. A. Kolff, M. S. Oort. Leiden: Brill 1992, p. 188-198.
- Majumdar, R. C. and Pulsalker, A. D. *The History of the Indian People*, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan 1951 sqq.
- Maue, Dieter. Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad I. Versuch einer kritischen Ausgabe nach akzentuierten Handschriften der Kāṇva-Rezension mit einer Einleitung und Anmerkungen. [Diss.] Giessen 1976.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred. Kurzgefaβtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. Heidelberg: Carl Winter 1956-1976.
- ----, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen. Heidelberg: Carl Winter 1986-.
- Mīmāṃsaka, Yudhiṣṭhira. Vaidika vāṅmaya meṃ prayukta vividha svarāṅgana prakāra, Sonipat: R. L. Kapur Trust 1985.
- Minard, Armand. *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*. Paris: Belles Lettres 1949, 1956.
- Minkowski, Christopher Z. *Priesthood in ancient India : a study of the Maitrāvaruṇa priest.* Vienna: Sammlung de Nobili, Institut für Indologie der Universität Wien 1992.
- ----, The Rathakāra's Eligibility to Sacrifice. IIJ 32, 1989, 177-194
- Mylius, Klaus. Geographische Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgegend des Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, 14/4, 1969, 759-61.
- ----, Gab es Städte im jungvedischen Indien? *Ethnologisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 10, 1969, 33-39.
- ----, Nochmals zur Problematik der jungvedischen Stadt. Ethnologisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift 11, 1970, 70-72.
- Narayanan, M. G. S and Veluthat, Kesavan. A History of the Nambudiri Community of Kerala. *Agni. The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, ed. by J.F. Staal, Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press 1983, vol. II, p. 256-278.
- Narten, Johanna. Das altindische Verb in der Sprachwissenschaft. *Die Sprache* 14, 1968, 113-134 = *Kleine Schriften*. ed. by Marcos Albino and Mathias Fritz. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert 1995, p. 75-96.
- Niyogi, Puspa. Brahmanic Settlements in Different Subdivisions of Ancient Bengal. Calcutta: Indian Studies Past and Present 1967.
- Oertel, Hanns. Zur Kapiṣṭhala-Katha-Saṃhitā. SBBAW München 1934, Heft 6 = Kleine Schriften, p. 634-772.
- ----, Altindische Parallelen zu abendländischen Erzählungsmotiven. Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte 8, 1908, 113-124 = Kleine Schriften p. 226-237.

- ----, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. by Heinrich Hettrich and Thomas Oberlies. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 1994.
- O' Flaherty, Wendy Doniger. Tales of Sex and Violence. Folklore, Sacrifice and Danger in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa. Chicago 1985.
- Oldenberg, Hermann. *Buddha*, *sein Leben*, *seine Lehre*. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz 1881 = *Buddha*. *His life*, *his doctrine*, *his order* (W. Hoey, transl.) London 1882.
- ----, Über das geographische Verhältnis der vedischen und buddhistischen Kultur = *Buddha*, sein Leben, seine Lehre. [Exkurs] 1881, p. 399-418 = *Kleine Schriften* 3, p. 1848-1867.
- ----, Rgveda-Samhitā und Sāmavedārcika. Nebst Bemerkungen über die Zerlegung der Rgveda-Hymnen in Teilhymnen und Strophen sowie über einige andere Fragen. *ZDMG* 38, 1884, 438-480 = *Kleine Schriften*, 513-554.
- ----, Die Hymnen des Rigveda, Band I. Metrische und textgechichtliche Prolegomena, Berlin 1888.
- ----, Rgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten. Siebentes bis Zehntes Buch. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1912.
- ----, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der prosaisch-poetischen Erzählung. Berlin 1917. (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. N.F. 16) = Kleine Schriften 3, p. 1747-1847.
- ----, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. by Klaus L. Janert. Wiesbaden : Franz Steiner 1967 [repr. 1987].
- ----, *Kleine Schriften*. 3, ed. by Hanns-Peter Schmidt. Stuttgart : Franz Steiner 1993.
- Parpola, Asko. The Literature and Study of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda in retrospect and prospect, *Studia Orientalia* 43:6, 1973, 1-33.
- Patton, Laurie L. (ed.) Authority, Anxiety, and Canon, Albany: SUNY Press 1994.
- Perez-Coffie, Carlos. Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad II. Critical edition of the second chapter of the Kāṇva recension according to accented manuscripts, Diss. Harvard 1994.
- G. Pfeffer, *Puris Sasandörfer, Basis einer regionalen Elite.* [Habilitationsschrift] Heidelberg 1975.
- Raghu Vira, Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā. A text of the Black Yajurveda. Critically edited for the first time. Lahore 1932 [Repr. Delhi 1968].
- Rau, Wilhelm. Zur Textkritik der Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad *ZDMG* 105, 1955, p. *58*.
- ----, Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien nach den Brāhmaṇa-Texten dargestellt. Wiesbaden 1957.
- ----, *Die vedischen Zitate im Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden 1985.
- Renou, Louis. Les ecoles védiques et la formation du Veda. Paris: Imprimerie nationale 1947.
- ----, La Vājasaneyisamhitā des Kānva. JA 1948, 21-52.

- ----, Words and word-forms particular to the Kāṇvasaṃhitā. *Vāk* 4, 1954, 131-136.
- ----, Les Yājyānuvākyā du Yajurveda. JAOS 68, 1948, 79-84.
- ----, *Introduction générale*, in: Wackernagel, Jakob. *Altindische Grammatik*, Bd. 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1957, p. 1-125.
- ----, Histoire de la langue Sanskrite. Lyon-Paris 1956.
- ----, Les divisions dans les textes sanskrits. IIJ 1, 1957, 1-32.
- ----, Sur le genre du sūtra dans la littérature sanskrite, JA 1963, 165-216.
- Rhys Davies, T. W. Buddhist India. London: T. Fisher Unwin 1911.
- Ruben, Walter. Die Philosophen der Upanischaden. Bern: A. Francke 1947.
- Salomon, Richard. The Three Cursed Rivers of the East, and their Significance for the Historical Geography of Ancient India. *Adyar Library Bulletin* 42, 1978, 31-60.
- Scharfe, Helmut. Bartholomae's Law Revisited or how the Rgveda is dialectically divided, *StII* 20, 1996, 351-377.
- Schlerath, Bernfried. Das Königtum im Rig- und Atharvaveda: ein Beitrag zur indogermanischen Kulturgeschichte. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner 1960.
- Scheftelowitz, I. *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda*, Breslau 1906 [repr. Hildesheim 1966].
- Schroeder, L. von. Über die Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, ihr Alter, ihr Verhältnis zu den verwandten Śākhā's ihre sprachliche und historische Bedeutung, ZDMG 33, 1879, 177-207.
- Sharma, R. S. Origin of State in India, Bombay: University of Bombay 1989
- Smith, Brian K. Reflections on resemblance, ritual, and religion. New York-Oxford 1989.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. Sacred Persistence: Toward a Redescription of Canon, [chapter 3 of:] *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1982, p. 36-52.
- Srinivas, Mysore Narasimhachar. Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1952.
- Staal, J. F. Nambudiri Veda Recitation. 's Gravenhage: Mouton 1961
- ----, Sanskrit and Sanskritization, Journal of Asian Studies 22, 1963, 261-275
- ----, Vedic Mantras. Mantra, ed. by H. P. Alper, p. 48-95.
- ----, (ed.) *Agni. The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press 1983.
- Thapar, Romila. *A History of India*, vol. 1, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1966 [repr. 1979].
- Thieme, Paul. Pānini and the Veda. Allahabad 1935.
- ----, *Kleine Schriften II*, ed. by Renate Söhnen-Thieme. Stuttgart 1995: F. Steiner.
- Tsuji, Naoshiro. Genzon Yajuruweda Bunken / Existent YV literature. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko 1970.
- Wackernagel, Jakob. *Altindische Grammatik*, Bd. 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1957.

- Weber, Albrecht. The history of Indian literature. Translated from the Second German Edition by John Mann and Theodor Zachariae. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner 1878/1914.
- ----, Einiges über das Kāṭhakam, Indische Studien 3, 1855, 451-479.
- Wezler, Albrecht. Zu den sogenannten Identifikationen in den Brāhmaṇas. Veda-Vyākaraṇa-Vyākhyāna. Festschrift Paul Thieme zum 90. Geburtstag am 18.März 1995 dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen, ed. by Hanns-Peter Schmidt and Albrecht Wezler = StII 20, 1996, 485-522.
- Whitney, William D. Atharva-Veda-Saṃhitā. Translated into English with a critical and exegetical commentary by William Dwight Whitney, revised and edited by Charles Rockwell Lanman. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard Oriental Series 1905 [Repr. Delhi 1962].
- Witzel, Michael. Jav. apāxəδra. Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 30, 1972, 163-191.
- ----, Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa. Kindlers Literatur Lexikon, München 1972.
- ----, Das Katha Āraņyaka. Diss. Erlangen 1972. [Teildruck Erlangen 1974].
- ----, On some unknown systems of marking the Vedic accents.

 Vishvabandhu Commemoration Volume = Vishveshvaranand
 Indological Journal 12, 1974, 472-508.
- ----, An unknown Upaniṣad of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda: The Kaṭha-Śikṣā-Upaniṣad. *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 1, 1977, 139-155.
- ----, Eine fünfte Mitteilung über das Vādhūla-Sūtra. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 1, 1975, 75-108.
- ----, On Magical thought in the Veda. Leiden: Universitaire Pers 1979.
- ----, Early Eastern Iran and the Atharvaveda. Persica 9, 1980, 86-128.
- ----, Die Kaṭha-Śikṣā-Upaniṣad und ihr Verhältnis zur Śīkṣāvallī der Taittirīya-Upaniṣad. *WZKS* 23, 1979, 5-28; *WZKS* 24, 1980, 21-80.
- ----, Materialien zu den vedischen Schulen: I. Über die Caraka-Schule. *StII 7*, 1981, 109-132, *StII* 8/9, 1982, 171-240.
- ----, Anunāsika in medieval Veda tradition. (Materials on Vedic Śākhās 3) *IIJ* 25, 1983, 180.
- ----, An unknown Yajurveda-Saṃhitā. (Materials on Vedic Śākhās, 6) *IIJ* 27, 1984, 105-106.
- ----,The Rgveda-Samhitā as known to AV-Par. 46 (Materials on Vedic Śākhās 4) *III* 25,1983,. 238-239.
- ----, Die mündliche Tradition der Paippalādins von Orissa. *Festgabe für K. Hoffmann*, I. = *MSS* 44 (1985), pp. 259-287.
- ----, Regionale und überregionale Faktoren in der Entwicklung vedischer Brahmanengruppen im Mittelalter. (Materialien zu den ved. Schulen, 5). Regionale Tradition in Südasien, ed. by H. Kulke and D. Rothermund. (= Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 104), Heidelberg 1986, 37-76.
- ----, Zu den Namen einiger vedischer Schulen. (Mat. zu den ved. Schulen, 2). *StII* 10, 1983/85, 231-237.
- ----, Die Atharvaveda-Tradition und die Paippalāda-Samhitā. *ZDMG*, *Supplementband VI*, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 256-271.

- ----, JB palpūlanī. The structure of a Brāhmaṇa tale. *Fel. Vol. B. R. Sharma*, ed. by M. D. Balasubrahmaniam, Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha 1986, pp. 189-216.
- ----, On the Archetype of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. IIJ 29, 1986, 249-259.
- ----, The coronation rituals of Nepal, with special reference to the coronation of King Birendra in 1975. Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley. Proceedings of an International Conference in Lübeck, June 1985, ed. by Niels Gutschow and Axel Michaels. St. Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag 1987, pp. 417-467.
- ----, On the localisation of Vedic texts and schools (Materials on Vedic śākhās, 7). *India and the Ancient world. History, Trade and Culture before A.D. 650. P.H.L. Eggermont Jubilee Volume*, ed. by G. Pollet. Leuven 1987, p. 173-213.
- ----, On the origin of the literary device of the 'Frame Story' in Old Indian literature. *Hinduismus und Buddhismus, Festschrift für U. Schneider*, ed. by H. Falk. Freiburg 1987, p. 380-414.
- ----, The case of the shattered head. Festschrift für W. Rau, StII 13/14, 1987, 363-415.
- ----, *Tracing* the Vedic dialects. *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes*, ed. by Colette Caillat. Paris 1989, p. 97-264.
- ----, The Realm of the Kurus: Origins and Development of the First State in India, *Nihon Minami Ajia Gakkai Zenkoku Taikai*, *Hōkoku Yōshi*, [Summaries of the Congress of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies], Kyoto 1989, p. 1-4.
- ----, Notes on Vedic dialects, 1. Zinbun, Annals of the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 67, 1991, 31-70.
- ----, Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa. *Kindlers Neues Literatur Lexikon*, ed. by Walter Jens. München: Kindler 1992, vol. 18, 825-827.
- ----, Nepalese Hydronomy: Towards a history of settlement in the Himalayas. *Nepal, Past and Present. [Proceedings of the Franco-German Conference. Arc-et-Senans, June 1990]*, ed. by G. Toffin. Paris: CNRS Editions 1993, p.217-266.
- ----, Early Indian history: Linguistic and textual parameters. *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia*, ed. by G. Erdosy (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, ed. by A. Wezler and M. Witzel, vol. 1). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1995, p. 85-125.
- ----, Rgvedic history: poets, chieftains and polities. *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia*, ed. by G. Erdosy. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 1995, p. 307-354.
- ----, Early Sanskritization, *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies (EJVS)*, vol. 1, issue 4 (Dec. 1995) [www.shore.net/~india/ejvs].
- ---- How to enter the Vedic mind? Strategies in Translating a Brāhmaṇa text. *Translating, Translations, Translators From India to the West* ed. by E. Garzilli (Harvard Oriental Series, Opera Minora, 1) Cambridge: *Harvard Oriental Series* 1996, p.163-176.
- ----, Early Sanskritization. Origins and development of the Kuru State.

 Recht, Staat und Verwaltung im klassischen Indien. The state, the

- Law, and Administration in Classical India, ed by B. Kölver. München: R. Oldenbourg 1997, p. 27-52.
- ----, Saramā and the Paṇis. Origins of Prosimetric Exchange in Archaic India. *Prosimetrum: Crosscultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse*, ed. by Joseph Harris and Karl Reichl. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer 1997.
- ----, Macrocosm, Mesocosm, and Microcosm. The persistent nature of 'Hindu' beliefs and symbolical forms. *IJHS Symposium on Robert Levy's MESOCOSM, International Journal of Hindu Studies*, ed. by in S. Mittal, forthc. 1997.
- ----, Late Vedic pitch accent: ŚB Bhāṣika tones, Jaimini, and modern recitation, (forthc.).
- ----, Rgvedic poets. In: Beyond the Flight of the Falcon. The Indianization of the Indo-Aryans. (working title, in progress).
- ----, Prolegomena on AV tradition (forthc.).
- ----, The Veda in Kashmir (forthc.).
- Zimmer, S. viśām páti und viśpati. Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 44, 1985, 291-304.