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Kosalan Philosophy in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta*

by

Lauren Michelle Bausch

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

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in

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and the Designated Emphasis

in

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Abstract

Kosalan Philosophy in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta*

by

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University of California, Berkeley

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This dissertation traces regional philosophy in religious texts, namely the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta*. Receiving the Vedas in the East, Yājñavalkya and the Vājasaneyins enlivened earlier Vedic concepts and augmented Vedic propensities for asceticism. The region of Kosala flourished during the lifetime of Śākyamuni Buddha, and as a result, the Kāṇva School formed an important part of the cultural milieu in which the historical Buddha lived. The *Suttanipāta* depicts the Buddha as knowledgeable in Vedic practices and lore and as interacting with brāhmaṇas, arguably both before and after a separate Buddhist identity formed. Considering this background, the relationship between late Vedic and early Buddhist thought must be reassessed. Because value is acquired and erased when concepts circulate, the Buddha's teaching in the *Suttanipāta* can be considered a philosophical project to create new concepts and to translate practices that respond to a changing milieu.

Through a close analysis of Yājñavalkya's interpretation of the *agnihotra* and Sāvitrī *ṛk* as related to cognitive processes, this study uncovers the metaphysical meaning of philosophical concepts, such as *svàr*, *vā́ja*, *dhī́*, and *prajā́*, etc. In particular, the dissertation demonstrates that Yājñavalkya's concept of *karma* (rite) in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* implies what is called karmic retribution. Vedic concepts for the unmanifest govern the idea of karmic retribution and the goal of becoming cognizant of the inflow of unmanifest energy in conscious cognition. The Buddha again revitalizes these concepts when teaching a brāhmaṇa audience in the *Suttanipāta*. The Buddhist concepts of *upadhi*, *āsava*, crossing over to the far shore, and the serpent shedding his skin enliven earlier Vedic philosophy, which was expressed in systems of conceptual metaphors. In this way, Kosalan philosophy in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta* advances theories of causality and two modes of knowing—one karmically conditioned by past actions (*saṃjñā/saññā*), and the other a direct knowing (*prajñāna/paññā*) unmediated by karmic retribution.

dedicated to my parents

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Abbreviations

A	Aṅguttara Nikāya
AB	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
ABORI	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
AV	Atharvaveda
BĀU	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
CN	Cūḷaniddesa
CU	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
D	Dīgha Nikāya
DhP	Dhammapada
JB	Jaimanīya Brāhmaṇa
JOCBS	Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies
JUB	Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa
KS	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā
KŚS	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
M	Majjhima Nikāya
MBh	Mahābhārata
MN	Mahāniddesa
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
MW	Monier Williams Dictionary
PTSD	Pali Text Society Dictionary
ṚV	Ṛgveda
S	Saṃyutta Nikāya
ŚāṅkhB	Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
ŚBK	Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
ŚBM	Mādhyandina Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
Sn	Suttanipāta
TB	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
VS	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā
VSK	Kāṇva Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā
VādhS	Vādhūla Sūtra
VP	Viṣṇu Purāṇa
YV	Yajurveda

Introduction

There was never a unitary Vedic tradition against which Buddhism reacted. Vedic religiosity was a dynamic aggregate, alive with regional variation. Vedic schools made differing contributions to ritual practice and philosophy, and we can recover them. This study investigates continuity and rupture in discrete exchanges between late Vedic and early Buddhist religious communities through two texts that arise and remain largely based in Kosala. The *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* features particular elements that influenced Buddhist concepts, but are not found in other Vedic texts. While this school boasts the first Upaniṣad, it lacks the Sūtra texts that became common to other Vedic schools in the last few centuries before the Common Era. The *Suttanipāta* depicts the Buddha as particularly knowledgeable about Vedic practices. The earliest layer of this collection, moreover, does not distinguish a separate Buddhist identity apart from Vedic *munis*.

Even in religion, shifts in the value of philosophical concepts inescapably occur with usage.[1] For this reason, terms must be translated according to context, with care not to apply anachronistic interpretations from classical Sanskrit that disregard the original sense. The systematicity of Vedic textuality provides a map for the reconstruction of a Vedic philosophical code, if the data set is responsibly prepared—with attention to shifts in the conceptual register—and the reader has competency. This task requires recognizing that Brāhmaṇa texts express philosophical concepts through metaphor and then, as Jacques Derrida urges in "White Mythology," uncovering the original sense in these metaphors.[2] Arguably, the Buddha knew the Vedic code specified by the Kāṇvas and critiqued their concepts to enliven the philosophies the ancient sages lived. With the idea of philosophical critique in mind, this dissertation establishes that Kosalan philosophy grappled with understanding cause and effect and differentiated karmically-conditioned knowing from direct knowing.

I present the argument in the following seven chapters plus a conclusion. Chapter one establishes the Brāhmaṇa texts as philosophy. Focusing on transmission and place, the West received the Vedas and other Asian texts in the nineteenth century, prompting new projects to explain the influx of foreign ideas in relation to western religion, history, and philosophy. The work of Friedrich Max Müller and Ralph Waldo Emerson at this time shows that the task of philosophy to create concepts occurs even in ordinary language. Like the Brāhmaṇas, their work has not been recognized as philosophy, even though both critique Kant using concepts that enliven terms from Indian tradition. In a similar way, this chapter contends that when Yājñavalkya received the Vedas, he articulated a regional philosophy that has not been recognized as such by western Indologists.

Chapter two investigates the historical context of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta* in the Kosala region. It argues that the Vedic tradition recorded by the Kāṇva School formed part of the cultural background of the historical Buddha. The Kāṇvas carried on Yājñavalkya's teachings in a region that comprised part of both *āryāvarta* and Greater Magadha. Located on the margins of both, Kosala was an important center for

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[1] Jacques Derrida, "White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy," in *Margins of Philosophy*. Trans. Alan Bass. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
[2] Ibid.

munis, including Vedic ones. The *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta* are compilations which contain layers from different time periods. Despite comprising earlier material, the final redactions of both texts occurred during the Śuṅga dynasty in the second or first century BCE. This suggests a local response to a significant shift of power from the east back to the Madhyadeśa, which upheld a more orthodox Vedism than Yājñavalkya's in Kosala-Videha.

Chapter three reevaluates the relationship between the Brāhmaṇas—here meaning both the genre of Vedic literature (Brāhmaṇa) as well as the Vedic priests (brāhmaṇa)—and the Buddha. It provides a literature review of previous scholarship to date and looks at how the *Suttanipāta* in particular offers an atypical account of brāhmaṇas in Pāli texts. Concepts and practices borrowed from Vedic tradition that have been studied by other scholars are examined in light of the task to reformulate and enliven concepts implicit in critique. The chapter suggests that the Kosalan brāhmaṇas, including the Kāṇvas, form the bulk of the audience of brāhmaṇas and *munis* addressed in this collection.

Chapter four contains three sections. Part A introduces Vedic concepts expressed as metaphors. Like Jurewicz, I employ Johnson and Lakoff's theory of metaphor to unpack the explanatory connections (*bandhu*) in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. These metaphors form a coherent system of Vedic thought, which when understood, help to make better sense of early Buddhist philosophical frameworks. Part B shows how the *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* of the Kāṇvas relates to other Vedic schools' *agnihotrabrāhmaṇas* and identifies their particular contribution. The results of this comparison justify the exclusive focus on the Kāṇva School in Kosala in this dissertation. Part C examines the exegeses of two Vedic practices— offering the *agnihotra* and reciting the Sāvitrī *ṛk*—articulated in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. It argues that the Kāṇva's metaphorical interpretation of both of these practices establishes Vedic mechanisms for causality and trains the Vedic seer to be mindful of what arises in his mind. This causal interpretation of Vedic ritual may be seen as an early articulation of the concept of *karma*.

Chapter five shows that the metaphorical system of concepts in the Kāṇva text informed some of the Buddha's teachings on causality. Since Sakyamuni himself praised both the *agnihotra* and the Sāvitrī in the *Suttanipāta*, this chapter traces two important terms that he employs, namely *upadhi* and *āsava*, back to their Vedic metaphorical system. Initially these Buddhist concepts built on outworn Vedic metaphorical domains, to which old meaning was lost and new meaning was added. Over time, the entire concept was replaced by a Buddhist one. Uncovering the Vedic sense critiqued in Buddhist discourse advances our understanding of the Kosalan theory of causation as it relates to cognition.

Chapter six explores metaphors for spiritual transformation in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta* to show how closely their soteriological frameworks were related. It traces the metaphors in each text for crossing over, the snake shedding its skin, and the boat, and offers philological insight on the terms *loka* and *svàr*. These concepts have been instrumental throughout much of Indian thought, but due to the rigor of philosophical critique within different schools, the meaning has not been constant. For this reason, understanding these concepts in the context of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta* during first millennium BCE is crucial to understanding the philosophy expounded therein.

Chapter seven formulates the second principle of Kosalan philosophy highlighted in this dissertation, namely two distinct modes of knowing. The chapter starts by exploring Yājñavalkya's salt analogy in the *Kāṇva Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, in which *prajñāna* is contrasted with *saṃjñā* in an emerging, not yet fixed reconceptualization of the term *ātman*. Then it looks at how the corresponding concepts *paññā* and *saññā* are used in the *Suttanipāta*. The chapter argues that *prajñāna* and *paññā* as articulated in the salt analogy of the Kāṇva recension and in the *Suttanipāta* refer to a mode of direct knowing (*pra+√jñā*) that is not mediated by past *karma*, whereas *saṃjñā* or *saññā* refers to a mode of composite knowing (*sam+√jñā*) that perceives reality in conjunction with karmic retribution.

All of the translations from the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (including the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*) and the *Suttanipāta* are my own. The *Śatapatha* is a text in late Vedic Sanskrit, while the *Suttanipāta* is in Pāli. I follow the critical edition of the Kāṇva recension edited by G.W. Pimplapure, the Pali Text Society version of the *Suttanipāta* edited by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, and the metrically restored edition of the *Ṛgveda* edited by Barend van Nooten and Gary Holland. I have tried to translate some of the passages from the associated commentaries, the *Ṛgveda*, and the *Mahābhārata* as well. Other Vedic and Pāli texts are usually quoted from other scholars' translations. To mark that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* is part of the *Śatapatha*, I list that it comes from *kāṇḍa* seventeen of the Kāṇva recension in the references (*BĀU* 17.4.5.1, for example). Note that the *bhāṣika* accent of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is marked with an understroke, following, as recommended by George Cardona, the marking of accents in manuscripts.

Chapter One
Receiving the Vedas

The Vedas traveled East and West.[3] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* tells the story of Māthava Videgha and his priest Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, both from the Sarasvatī heartland, who settled in the eastern region of Kosala-Videha.[4] In that place, Yājñavalkya received the Vedas and expounded a cognitive interpretation of the ritual, eventually leaving home to lead an ascetic life. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, translations of Indian texts and essays printed in Calcutta circulated in Europe before traveling across the Atlantic to Boston.[5] Orientalists, intellectuals, and literary circles alike found themselves captivated and enraptured by what Raymond Schwab called the "oriental renaissance" and Thomas Trautmann styled "Indomania."[6] During this time, Friedrich Max Müller and Ralph Waldo Emerson received the Vedas in the West. A brilliant German scholar of Sanskrit, Müller completed a textual edition and translation of the *Ṛgveda* not in Germany, but in England. In New England, Emerson read translations of Indian texts, like Yājñavalkya, with a spirit of independence from established religious tradition. Both Müller and Emerson studied comparative religion with their own questions and adapted concepts from Vedic tradition to respond to the philosophical problems they faced. Their readings show that the disciplinary way of studying Indian texts is an open question and, arguably, the places in which these texts circulate lead to new reading practices. How Müller and Emerson received the Vedas, as religion and philosophy respectively, illustrates how place affects interpretive inclinations when receiving a text. These examples foreground how Yājñavalkya received earlier Vedic tradition, articulating a regional philosophy, and how the Indologists, in turn, can receive his *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

There is no Sanskrit equivalent term in revealed texts (*śruti*) for what is known in the West as "religion."[7] Ritual hymns and practices in ancient India were collectively referred to as *veda* or knowledge. This knowledge was not just religious, in the sense of exalting the divine, but also philosophical, in the sense of asking metaphysical questions and determining the limitations of what can be known. The wise poets (*kaví*) of the *Ṛgveda* were seers (*draṣṭṛ*) of the highest degree. Brian Smith explains that for these metaphysicians, the ritual offering was not just an exchange between gods and humans or a symbolic representation of reality, but an activity to actualize and construct reality.[8] For the early Vedic philosophers-cum-ritualists, the labor of *karma* (ritual act) was a constructive

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[3] This chapter is in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Designated Emphasis in Critical Theory.
[4] *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*ŚBK*) 2.3.4.8-14. This account will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.
[5] Elamanamadathil V. Francis, *Emerson and Hindu Scriptures*. (Cochin: Academic Publications, 1972), 37.
[6] Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East 1680-1880*. Transl. by Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking. Forward by Edward Said. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Thomas Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
[7] In post-*śruti* texts, such as the Epics and Sūtra literature, the term *dharma* functions to uphold the moral, legal, and righteous aspects of religion, but it falls short of capturing the full range of the English term religion, such as revelation or spiritual experience.
[8] Brian K. Smith, *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual, and Religion.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 50-51.

activity that scientifically created the human being and reality as they saw it.[9] In the same way, philosophy in India was an activity, the seeing (*darśana*) of the seers (*draṣṭṛ*), a seeing that could potentially expand to include a greater and greater scope.[10] According to this understanding, thinking about philosophy did not differ from how the philosophers saw and experienced every day life.[11]

Religion is so closely associated with philosophy that sometimes the boundaries are blurred. Stanley Cavell contends, "When philosophical questions—whether god or the world exists, whether we are asleep or dreaming that we are awake—arise, they cannot be put aside. They are urgent."[12] Describing the modern relationship between religion and philosophy in Europe, Cavell clarifies:

> Marx's remark calls to mind the centuries in which European philosophy was establishing its modern basis by quarreling with religion, posing a threat to religion whether it appeared to attack it (say as in Hume) or to defend it (say, as in Kant), because the price religion pays for philosophy's defense is a further dependence on philosophy's terms; and the philosophical is as jealous of its autonomy (call this "Reason") as the religious is (call this "faith").[13]

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) was particularly interested in the relationship between philosophy and theology, a topic addressed in *The Conflict of the Faculties*. In the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant acknowledges that reason faces questions that it cannot answer: "Human reason has this peculiar fate that in one species of its knowledge it is burdened by questions which, as prescribed by the very nature of reason itself, it is not able to ignore, but which, as transcending all its powers, it is also not able to answer."[14] Kant claims that metaphysics is limited such that the concept of god cannot be thought, meaning represented or proven. In this way, he attacks traditional arguments for the existence of god and rejects central doctrines of Christian faith. In *Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason*, however, Kant presents a philosophy of religion. He defines religion as morality, looking upon moral duties as divine commands.[15] Considering his entire oeuvre, Lawrence Pasternack argues that Kant, who grew up in a Lutheran Pietist household, meant to save religion, much like Martin Luther who claimed that because reason is limited to experience, things invisible lay beyond its scope.[16]

In *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion,* Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900) cautioned that Kant merely says what religion ought to be, but his definition cannot be taken

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[9] Ibid., 46.

[10] Post-Vedic systems of philosophy advocated certain *pramāṇas* or valid means of knowledge.

[11] R.N. Dandekar, "Profound Influence," *Indian Literature* 31, no. 4 (Sept.-Oct. 1988): 33-37, 34.

[12] Stanley Cavell, *Emerson's Transcendental Etudes*. Ed. David. Justin Hodge. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 26.

[13] Ibid., 44.

[14] *Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*. Unabridged Edition. Trans. Norman Kemp Smith. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1929), 7.

[15] Immanuel Kant, *Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason*. Trans. Allen Wood and George di Giovanni. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 153 (6:154).

[16] Lawrence R. Pasternack, *Kant on Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason*. (New York: Routledge, 2014), 18.

as final or wholly representative of the term at different periods in the history of the world.[17] After showing how the word religion has a long history, Müller observed that religion in ordinary language signifies the object, power, and manifestation of belief.[18] Despite attempting his own definition of religion as the faculty that enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names, the philologist recognized that it is impossible to give a definition of religion applicable to everything that has been called religion in the past because, like all concepts, the word religion is passing through a historical evolution.[19] He observed that the first problems of philosophy were suggested by religion: how do people exist, believe, and perceive—that is to say form concepts?[20] Like Kant, whom he studied in Germany and translated in England, Müller asked, "what cannot be supplied to us by our senses or established by our reason?"[21] In his view, "religion and the origin of religious ideas had formed the subject of deep and anxious thought at the very beginning of what we call the history of philosophy."[22]

The influx of foreign ideas into Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to numerous projects to articulate, in addition to the science of religion, a world history and philosophy that would include what lay beyond Europe. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) and Frederick von Schlegel (1772-1829) lectured on the *Philosophy of History* at the universities of Berlin and Vienna, respectively.[23] In Paris, Victor Cousin (1792-1867) gave a series of lectures in 1828-1829 that culminated in the publication of *Cours de l'histoire de la philosophie* (note the reversal).[24] Cousin explored how philosophy changed over time and place, including in early India and Greece. Hegel,

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[17] F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion: As Illustrated by the Religions of India*. Preface by Jerom Murch. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882), 15, 18-19.

[18] Müller cites a few examples in the history of the word, saying, "Cicero derived *religio* from *re-legere*, to gather up again, to take up, to consider, to ponder—opposed to *nec-ligere*, to neglect; while others derived it from *re-ligiare*, to fasten, to hold back. I believe myself that Cicero's etymology is the right one; but if *religio* meant originally attention, regard, reverence, it is quite clear that it did not continue long to retain that simple meaning…" Müller also records the definitions of religion according to prominent philosophers, including Hegel, who believed that religion ought to be perfect freedom, the Divine Spirit becoming conscious of himself through the finite spirit. Ibid., 9-12, 20.

[19] In his lectures on the science of religion (1873), Müller defined religion as: "Religion is a mental faculty or disposition which, independent of, nay, in spite of sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names and under varying disguises." Ibid., 21-23.

[20] Ibid., 1, 7-8.

[21] Ibid., 8.

[22] Ibid., 6.

[23] Hegel wrote in his introduction, "Philosophy has been obliged to defend the domain of religion against the attacks of several theological systems. In the Christian religion God has revealed Himself—that is, he has given us to understand what He is; so that He is no longer a concealed or secret existence. And this possibility of knowing Him, thus afforded us, renders such knowledge a duty." Gerog Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*. Trans. J. Sibree. (London: The Colonial Press, 1900 (first published 1833-1836)), 15; Frederick von Schlegel, *The Philosophy of History in a Course of Lectures*. Trans. James Baron Robertson, Esq. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1846 (first published 1828)).

[24] M. Victor Cousin, *Course of the History of Modern Philosophy,* Vol. 1. Trans. O.W. Wight. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1877). Deussen later published *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie* (1894-1917), in which equal space is given to Indian and European philosophy. This text culminates in the philosophy of his teacher, Schopenhauer. See Wilhelm Halbfass, "India and the Comparative Method," *Philosophy East and West* 35, no. 1 (Jan. 1985): 3-15, 9.

Schlegel, and Cousin used philosophy to evaluate inherited concepts in the face of an overwhelming bombardment of knowledge from globalization.

More recently, Deleuze and Guattari define philosophy as "the discipline that involves *creating* concepts…The object of philosophy is to create concepts that are always new."[25] Philosophers create concepts in response to problems that necessarily change or for problems are badly understood or formulated.[26] Deleuze and Guattari draw their inspiration from Nietzsche, who declared:

> [Philosophers] must no longer accept concepts as a gift, nor merely purify and polish them, but first *make* and *create* them, present them and make them convincing. Hitherto one has generally trusted one's concepts as if they were a wonderful dowry from some sort of wonderland.[27]

In addition to making concepts, the philosopher must approach concepts—which have a history (Deleuze), a genealogy (Nietzsche), an archaeology (Foucault), like a palimpsest (Derrida)—with a degree of skepticism, lest the concepts be appropriated uncritically. Deleuze and Guattari assert, "To criticize is only to establish that a concept vanishes when it is thrust into a new milieu, losing some of its components, or acquiring others that transform it."[28] How concepts are understood changes overtime, as does the ability of concepts to maintain a critical edge that functions to prevent the passive appropriation of their signified. Philosophical concepts are constantly reconfigured to keep them vital, for which reason Deleuze and Guattari say, "Concepts are really monsters that are reborn from their fragments."[29]

To illustrate this point, Deleuze and Guattari provide an example about how Kant engages with earlier philosophers:

> Kant therefore 'criticizes' Descartes for having said, "I am a thinking substance,' because nothing warrants such a claim of the 'I.' Kant demands the introduction of a new component into the cogito, the one Descartes repressed—time…The fact that Kant 'criticizes' Descartes means only that he sets up a plane and constructs a problem that could not be occupied or completed by the Catesian cogito. Descartes created the cogito as a concept, but by expelling time as a *form of anteriority*…Kant reintroduces time into the cogito, but it is a completely different time from that of Platonic anteriority.[30]

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[25] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* Trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Graham Burchell. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 5.

[26] Ibid., 16, 28.

[27] Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power.* Trans. Walter Kaufmann and R.J. Hollingdale. (New York, 1967) 220-221 (§409); Deleuze and Guattari, 5.

[28] Deleuze and Guattari, 28. Similarly, Whitehead wrote, "I hold that philosophy is the critic of abstractions. Its function is the double one, first of harmonizing them by assigning to them their right relative status as abstractions, and secondly of completing them by direct comparison with more concrete intuitions of the universe, and thereby promoting the formation of more complete schemes of thought. It is in respect to this comparison that the testimony of great poets is of such importance." Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World.* (New York: The Free Press, 1925), 87.

[29] Deleuze and Guattari, 140.

[30] Ibid., 31-32.

Concepts are central to the project of philosophy. Kant defined the limits of concepts, describing in what way and by what right reason arrives at such concepts.[31] In doing so, he responded to Hume, Descartes, and Locke.[32] Hume recognized that concepts should have an *a priori* origin, but he could not explain how the understanding must think concepts. For Descartes, clear and distinct ideas must be objectively valid because God would not constitute him to conceive of things that are false. Locke posited that all concepts are derived from experience, but then used concepts to prove the existence of God, which transcends all limits of experience. Just as philosophers create concepts according to the demand of the changing milieu, the format of their wisdom changes.

Not every philosophical discourse takes the form of logical argumentation, or is even called philosophy. In India, the *Ṛgveda* consists of poetry, while the Brāhmaṇas express prose exegeses and the Upaniṣads advance conceptual arguments. And yet, each stage of philosophical expression creates concepts based on previous ones. The point is that philosophy can and does take different forms, whether in sacred, technical, or ordinary, everyday language.[33] Cavell maintains that the emphasis on the ordinariness of human speech recurs in philosophy from the time of Socrates, as if the technical language of philosophy threatens to "banish" it.[34] In this way, ordinary, sacred, and poetic language sustains the task of philosophy, even when it does not purport to do so. To illustrate the idea that philosophy—the construction of concepts in response to ever-changing conditions—has been expressed in different formats, let us examine two examples of how receiving the Vedas in the comparative religion boom of the nineteenth century broadened the West's toolbox of concepts, thus furthering the *raison d'être* of philosophy.

The first example concerns Müller, who in addition to being one of the first to translate the *Ṛgveda* into English (as mentioned on page one), was also an early translator of the *Critique of Pure Reason.* As a German scholar at Oxford University, Müller felt the need to translate Kant's philosophy for Anglo students, an activity that led him to question to Kant's system. In his 1881 "Translator's Preface," Müller reflected, "The two friends, the Rig-Veda and Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, may seem very different, and yet my life would have been incomplete without the one as without the other."[35] Müller wrote in the same preface, "And while in the Veda we may study the childhood, we may study in Kant's Critique of Pure Reason the perfect manhood of the Aryan mind."[36] He saw Kant's critique as another "Aryan heirloom," one that replaces "the first unfolding of the human mind" with the ideals of reason.[37] He wrote on the comparative science of religion, comparative

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[31] *Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*. Trans. Norman Kemp Smith, 32 (*CPR* Bxxxv).

[32] Ibid., 127, 667 (*CPR* B127; A854/B882); A.J. Mandt, "Fichte, Kant's Legacy, and the Meaning of Modern Philosophy," in *The Review of Metaphysics* 50, no. 3 (Mar., 1997): 591-633: 604. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20130073. Accessed 09/04/2015.

[33] Cavell, *Emerson's Transcendental Etudes*, 21.

[34] Ibid., 23.

[35] F. Max Müller, "Translator's Preface," in *Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason.* Second Edition, Revised. Trans. F. Max Müller. (New York: The MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1922), lxxvii.

[36] Ibid., lxxvii-lxxviii. Müller's idea of philosophical evolution evinces an orientalist view.

[37] Ibid., lxxix.

theology, and comparative mythology, but he never spoke of "comparative philosophy."[38] For this reason, Müller read the Vedas as religion, but this did not prevent him from using the Vedas to solve a problem he found in Kant's philosophy.

In 1878, Müller began a lecture series on the historical religions of the world.[39] He wrote in a letter to Mr. Protap Chunder Mozumdar (3 August 1881):

> the problem which I wished to discuss in my *Hibbert Lectures*, and to illustrate through the history of religion in India, was the *possibility of religion in the light of modern science*. I might define my object even more accurately by saying that it was a reconsideration of the problem, left unsolved by Kant in his *Critique of Pure Reason*, after a full analysis of the powers and limits of their application, 'Can we have any knowledge of the Transcendent or Supernatural?' In Europe all true philosophy must reckon with Kant. Though his greatest work, the *Critique of Pure Reason*, was published just one hundred years ago, no step in advance has been made since with regard to determining the limits, i.e. the true powers, of human knowledge....No one has been able to show that Kant was wrong when he showed that what we call knowledge has for its material nothing but what is supplied by the senses. It is we who digest that material, it is we who change impressions into percepts, percepts into concepts, and concepts into ideals; but even in our most abstract concepts the material is always sensuous, just as our very life-blood is made up of the food which comes to us from without…My chief object in my Hibbert Lectures was to show that we have a perfect right to make one step beyond Kant, namely to show that our senses bring us into actual contact with the infinite, and that in that sensation of the infinite lies the living germ of all religion.[40]

Müller states that from the beginning of history man has tried to define the infinite—all that transcends sense and reason—which revealed itself to Vedic poets.[41] For Vedic people, he observed, the invisible was in the sun, and moreover, the term *deva*, which originally meant bright, conveyed a sense of the intangible in the Vedic hymns.[42] Every finite perception and every act of touch, hearing, or sight makes contact with both a visible and an invisible universe, not as a lucid consciousness of the highest concepts, but as a seed.[43] In his words,

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[38] According to Halbfass, the term "comparative philosophy" did not become popular in the west until after the publication of P. Masson-Oursel's book *La philosophie compare* in 1923. See Halbfass, 4. Müller's own religious affiliations were of consequence at Oxford, where he was not appointed Boden chair of Sanskrit because, it is believed, he was not Anglican. Tokomo Masuzawa explains, "With the excesses of the French Revolution and the waves of Reform since the 1830s threatening to undermine the very idea of one Nation under God, one sovereign, and one Church, the Anglican traditionalists were aggressively on the defensive." Tokomo Masuzawa, "Our Master's Voice: F. Max Müller after a Hundred Years of Solitude," in *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 15, no. 4 (2003): 305-328, 321-322.

[39] The lecture at Westminster Abbey was so popular that Müller delivered it twice.

[40] Müller, *Biographical Essays.* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1884), 160-162.

[41] Müller, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, 27, 50.

[42] Müller discusses the Sanskrit root $\sqrt{div}$ ("to shine") and how the adjective *deva* originally meant "bright," but came to mean "god" just like Latin *deus*. He writes, "Etymologically this word devatā corresponds exactly to our word deity, but in the hymns themselves devatā never occurs in that sense." Müller notes that the commentaries say that *devatā* means whatever or whoever is addressed in the hymn, but to translate *deva* as god in the Ṛgveda would be to commit an anachronism of a thousand years. Ibid., 4-5, 186, 201-214.

[43] Ibid., 46-47.

"All we maintain is that the germ or possibility, the Not-yet of that idea, lies hidden in the earliest sensuous perceptions, and that as reason is evolved from what is finite, so faith is evolved from what, from the very beginning, is infinite in the perceptions of our senses."[44] While the perception of the infinite always underlies all sensual perception, Müller acknowledged that it may be buried "beneath the fragments of our finite knowledge."[45] As a result of studying comparative religions, Müller used Vedic "religion" to respond to and advance Kant's philosophy.

The second example concerns Ralph Waldo Emerson, who exchanged letters with Müller and met him at Oxford University in 1873. Emerson had read a few of Müller's books and had great respect for the philologist's knowledge of Indian thought.[46] Both men are known for their study of comparative religion. However, Emerson's location in New England provided an intellectual and religious freedom not only to receive the Vedas as an authentic source of wisdom on par with the Christian Bible, but also to "read" the texts in a different way.

In receiving Indian texts like the *Ṛgveda*, *Bhagavadgītā*, and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Emerson read them both as religion and as philosophy.[47] This reading clearly influenced Emerson's understanding of philosophy as "defining," meaning "the account which the human mind gives to itself of the constitution of the world," speaking or thinking of which always includes unity and variety, oneness and otherness.[48] Drawing on Thoreau's idea that reading is a process of being read and interpreting oneself, such that to become a reader was to become a seer, Cavell calls Emerson's alternative philosophy "reading" or "philosophical interpretation."[49] However, the "reading" is not necessarily reading books of philosophy, but whatever lies before you.[50] On one hand, Emerson advocated exploring one's own mind when he began his seminal *Nature* saying: "Why should we not have a poetry and philosophy of insight and not of tradition, and a religion by revelation to us, and not the

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[44] Ibid., 32.

[45] Ibid., 52.

[46] Emerson owned at least four of Müller's books. See Dale Riepe, "Emerson and Indian Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 28, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1967): 115-122, 122.

[47] Emerson refers to the idealism of Viasa (Vyāsa), like that of Berkeley, as "philosophy." See *Nature* in *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays and Lectures*. (New York: The Library of America, 1983) 38. Emerson speaks of "Braminical philosophy," referring to the philosophy of the brāhmaṇas. See "Literature," in *CW* 5, 249. In his journal he reflected, "I know what step Berkeley took, & recognize the same in the Hindoo books." See Robert C. Gordon, *Emerson and the Light of India: An Intellectual History*. (New Delhi: National Book Trust, India, 2007), 110. According to Gordon, "If one were to reprint all of Emerson's Indian philosophical excerpts from 1840 forward, they would comprise a considerable small volume." In his journals, he quoted ideas about *māyā*, *karma*, and reincarnation. See pages 93-95.

[48] Emerson, "Plato; or, the Philosopher," in *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays and Lectures*, 637. Corroborating that Emerson drew from Indian concepts when formulating this definition, he writes on the next page, "In all nations, there are minds which incline to dwell in the conception of the fundamental Unity. The raptures of prayer and ecstasy of devotion lose all being in one Being. This tendency finds its highest expression in the religious writings of the East, and chiefly, in the Indian Scriptures, in the Vedas, the Bhagavat Geeta, and the Vishnu Purana. Those writings contain little else than this idea, and they rise to pure and sublime strains in celebrating it." See page 638.

[49] Cavell, 45-47.

[50] Ibid., 50.

history of theirs?"[51] Emerson ends "The American Scholar" by saying that the days of listening to "the courtly muses of Europe" are over; man must find in his own experience "the whole of Reason" slumbering in himself.[52] In "Intellect," he again makes the point, "The Bacon, the Spinoza, the Hume, Schelling, Kant, or whosoever propounds to you a philosophy of the mind, is only a more or less awkward translator of things in your consciousness, which you have your own way of seeing, perhaps dominating."[53]

On the other hand, the "Bibles of the world" lay at Emerson's fingertips in the nineteenth century. Like his father, he received with great enthusiasm and respect the classical books from India, Persia, and China.[54] Not only were Christian dogmas to be found in Plato and Hegel in Proclus, but reading other "Bibles" in the world led Emerson to conclude that Christianity was not the sole revelation.[55] He found the same principles and equal "depths moral and intellectual" in India and China.[56] Emerson wrote,

> What divines had assumed as the distinctive revelations of Christianity, theologic criticism has matched by exact parallelisms from the Stoics and poets of Greece and Rome. Later, when Confucius and the Indian scriptures were made known, no claim to monopoly of ethical wisdom could be thought of.[57]

Emerson lends equal authority to the wisdom of classical sacred texts, regardless of their geographical origin. In his essay "Books," he praises the "Bibles of the world," saying:

> I might as well not have begun as to leave out a class of books which are the best: I mean the Bibles of the world, or the sacred books of each nation, which express for each the supreme result of their experience. After the Hebrew and Greek scriptures, which constitute the sacred books of Christendom, these are, the Desatir of the Persians, and the Zoroastrian Oracles; the Vedas and Laws of Menu; the Upanishads, the Vishnu Purana, the Bhagvat Geeta, of the Hindus; the books of the Buddhists; the Chinese Classic, of four books, containing the wisdom of Confucius and Mencius… These are Scriptures which the missionary might well carry over prairie, desert and ocean, to Siberia, Japan, Timbuctoo. Yet he will find that the spirit which is in them journeys faster than he, and greets him on his arrival,--was there already long before him…Is there any geography in these things? We call them Asiatic…[58]

Emerson is convinced that wisdom is not limited to any particular place, although the concepts that give expression to it may vary. In addition, he lists books from many disciplines—philosophy, religion, literature, and poetry—as effective vehicles for

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[51] Emerson, *Nature*, in *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays and Lectures*, 7.
[52] Emerson, "The American Scholar," in *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays and Lectures*, 70.
[53] Emerson, "Intellect," in *CW* 2, 344-345.
[54] Gordon, 2.
[55] Emerson, "Quotation and Originality," in *CW* 8, 180. Emerson speaks of Bibles in the plural in this passage as well as in "Books," in *CW* 7, 218-20 and in "Goethe; Or, The Writer," in *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays and Lectures*, 750, 761. He speaks of scriptures in the plural in "Progress of Culture," in *CW* 8, 214. Note that Müller also called the "sacred writings of the Brahmans," by which he meant the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, "the real bible of the ancient faith of the Vedic Rishis." See Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion: Four Lectures Delivered at the Royal Institution in February and May, 1870*. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882), 57.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Emerson, "Quotation and Originality," in *CW* 8, 182.
[58] "Books," in *CW* 7, 218-20. See also Carpenter, 18-19.

conveying the truth, such that wisdom is not limited to one format.[59] In "Poetry and Imagination," Emerson described how philosophy and Bibles, literature and poetry deal with Nature through words, "for it is a few oracles spoken by perceiving men that are the texts on which religions and states are founded."[60] Such visionary men use words to convey what they perceive and how they perceive it. Their words become the concepts of religion and philosophy in an open canon to which any thinking person can add. In fact, Emerson believed, "We too must write Bibles, to unite again the heavenly and the earthly world."[61] Studying comparative religion influenced his writing.

Emerson's transcendentalist project builds on Kant's system, but in the critical, creative method of philosophy. In *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant maintained, "Concepts are based on the spontaneity of thought, sensible intuitions on the receptivity of the impressions."[62] In contrast, Emerson describes how the mind too is subject to an empiricism that receives "divine overflowings."[63] He wrote in *Nature*,

> A man conversing in earnest, if he watch his intellectual processes, will find that a material image, more or less luminous, arises in his mind, contemporaneous with every thought, which furnishes the vestment of the thought…It is the blending of experience with the present action of the mind.[64]

Emerson calls this "an instantaneous in-streaming causing power."[65] According to Cavell, "Emerson's most explicit reversal of Kant lies in his picturing of the intellectual hemisphere of knowledge as passive or receptive and the intuitive or instinctual as active or spontaneous."[66] Emerson provides an alternative to Kant's system when he speaks of the receptivity of the conceptual, of knowledge.

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[59] Emerson wrote, "Socrates, the Indian teachers of the Maia, the Bibles of the nations, Shakspeare (sic), Milton, Hafiz, Ossian, the Welsh Bards;—these all deal with Nature and history as means and symbols, and not as ends…" See Emerson, "Poetry and Imagination," in *CW* 8, 38.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Emerson, "Goethe; Or, The Writer," in *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays and Lectures*, 761.

[62] *CPR* A68/B93.

[63] Emerson wrote, "I conceive of a man as always spoken to from behind, and unable to turn his head and see the speaker. In all the millions who have heard the voice, none ever saw the face. As children in their play run behind each other, and seize one by the ears and make him walk before them, so is the spirit of our unseen pilot. That well-known voice speaks in all languages, governs all men, and none ever caught a glimpse of its form. If the man will exactly obey it, it will adopt him, so that he shall not any longer separate it from himself in his thought, he shall seem to be it, he shall be it. If he listen with insatiable ears, richer and greater wisdom is taught him, the sound swells to a ravishing music, he is borne away as with a flood, he becomes careless of his flood and of his house, he is the fool of ideas, and leads a heavenly life. But if his eye is set on the things to be done, and not on the truth that is still taught, and for the sake of which the things are to be done, then the voice grows faint, and at last is but a humming in his ears. His health and greatness consist in his being the channel through which heaven flows to earth, in short, in the fullness in which an ecstatical state takes place in him. It is pitiful to be an artist, when, by forbearings to be artists, we might be vessels filled with the divine overflowings, enriched by the circulations of omniscience and omnipresence. Are there not moments in the history of heaven when the human race was not counted by individuals, but was only the Influenced, was God in distribution, God rushing into multiform benefit?" Emerson, "The Method of Nature," in *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays and Lectures*, 124-125.

[64] Emerson, *Nature*, in *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays and Lectures*, 23.

[65] Ibid. 47.

[66] Cavell, *Emerson's Transcendental Etudes*, 13.

In a manner similar to Müller, Emerson draws on the conceptual register of Indian texts to critique Kant's philosophy. In Indian thought, the mind comprises one of the *six* senses, all of which receive an inflow of what is called karmic retribution. He draws on Indian religion when defining the term "Transcendentalist," which Kant had introduced into philosophical discourse. Emerson maintains:

> The oriental mind has always tended to this largeness. Buddhism is an expression of it. The Buddhist who thanks no man, who says, 'do not flatter your benefactors,' but who, in his conviction that every good deed can by no possibility escape its reward, will not deceive the benefactor by pretending that he has done more than he should, is a Transcendentalist.[67]

Here Emerson indirectly refers to the Indian concept of *karma*, which elsewhere he calls "compensation," an idea he seems to have learned as a young boy from his father.[68] Cavell identified other key concepts in Emerson, such as "condition." In his words,

> "Condition" is a key word of Emerson's "Fate," as it is of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, as both texts are centrally about limitation. In the *Critique*: 'Concepts of objects in general thus underlie all empirical knowledge as its a priori conditions.'[69] I am taking it that Emerson is turning the *Critique* upon itself and asking: What are the conditions in human thinking underlying the concept of condition, the sense that our existence is, so to speak, had on condition?[70]

Emerson builds on the idea of condition, in particular, using the concept of "dictation," which set conditions on knowledge in all of language. According to Cavell, "It is as if in Emerson's writing…Kant's pride in what he called his Copernican Revolution for philosophy, understanding the behavior of the world by understanding the behavior of our concepts of the world, is to be radicalized, so that not just twelve categories of the understanding are to be deduced, but every word in the language."[71] By enlivening the concepts "transcendental" and "condition" with new meaning and adding to these "compensation," "dictation," and "illusion," Emerson uses Indian concepts to respond to Kant.[72]

Despite his contribution to philosophical thought, Emerson and his transcendentalism have a troubled relationship to academic disciplines. Christians contemporary to him were ever wary of his religion. Today his works are generally regarded as "literature," rather than philosophy or religion. Whereas even British periodicals in the nineteenth century

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[67] Ibid., 197.

[68] Emerson, "Compensation," in *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays and Lectures*, 285.

[69] Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, A93/B126.

[70] Cavell continues, "(Descartes pivotally interpreted an intuition of conditionally, or limitation, or finitude, as the dependence of human nature on the fact and on the idea of God, from which followed a proof of God's existence. Nietzsche reinterpreted such an interpretation of dependence as an excuse for our passiveness, or self-punishment, our fear of autonomy, hence as a cover for our vengefulness, from which follows the killing of God.)" *Emerson's Transcendental Etudes*, 70.

[71] Ibid.

[72] In his intellectual history of Emerson, Gordon describes how Emerson got confused by Swedenborg and was set straight by the Indian concept of *māyā* or illusion. Emerson focused on *māyā* and the metaphysical relationship between the manifest and the unmanifest. According to Gordon, he turned to Platonic tradition and Indian scriptures to fix his metaphysical problems in *Nature*. See Gordon, 129, 94.

ridiculed Emerson's philosophy as "a misty philosophy devoid of logic,"[73] Cavell recognized Emerson's writing as philosophical. According to Cavell, philosophy has had an interest in repressing Emerson and Thoreau.[74] In Emerson's philosophy, empiricism is no longer limited by concepts.[75] Instead, concepts are limited by an enlarged empiricism that incorporates the invisible world.[76] As a result, language and knowledge are seen as receptive. Emerson's philosophical alternative of reading or philosophical interpretation (referred to above) focuses on self interpretation and does not necessarily have arguments or build a system.[77] Philosophy for Emerson resembles literature, expressed in ordinary language.[78] For this reason, Emerson has not always been accepted as a philosopher, even though his work influenced continental philosophers, like Friedrich Nietzsche and Martin Heidegger, and American ones, like William James and John Dewey.[79] Ironically, even though he lacked authority as a conventional philosopher, Emerson's philosophical interpretation recognized and made use of Indian philosophical concepts. A similar case may be made for Müller, who is not usually considered a philosopher, even though he also carries out the work of philosophy.

While Müller received the Vedas as religion and Emerson received them as philosophy, both used the concepts they provided to respond to Kant and to philosophical questions in general. Consequently, the study of comparative religion in the nineteenth century enabled the emergence of a particular form of modern philosophy. In addition to Indian thought inspiring Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, as is well known, Indian concepts animated new concepts in the work of Müller and Emerson, who take up philosophical questions in the guise of the science of religion and literature. Müller posited an empiricism conditioned by the infinite (connected to Müller's understanding of the Sanskrit term *deva*), resulting in the theory that all perception is conditioned by potential energy. Emerson proposed that knowledge is conditioned by the invisible, and as a result, all language is conditioned by dictation or compensation (connected to *karma*). On the basis of these cases, it may be said that what emerges as modern philosophy depends more on the subcontinental than has been previously recognized. Philosophers in the nineteenth century drew from metaphysical concepts operative in Indian religious texts.

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[73] William J. Sowder, "Emerson's Rationalist Champions: A Study in British Periodicals," *The New England Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (Jun., 1964): 147-170, 147.

[74] Cavell suggests this is perhaps because "they propose, and embody, a mode of thinking, a mode of conceptual accuracy, as thorough as anything imagined within established philosophy, but invisible to that philosophy because based on an idea of rigor foreign to its establishment." See page 45.

[75] Ibid., 12.

[76] In *Nature*, Emerson metaphorically speaks of light as the source for all vision. The sun illuminates the eye, rendering nature visible, but it can also shine into the heart. For one "whose inward and outward senses are still truly adjusted to each other…His intercourse with heaven and earth becomes part of his daily food" (10). The light of nature flows into the mind, where its presence is forgotten, as "the exertions of a power which exists not in time or space, but an instantaneous in-streaming causing power" (47). These gleams flashing across the mind belong to no one but God and make visible but the terminus of the invisible world (25). Emerson, *Nature*, in *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays and Lectures*, 10, 47, 25.

[77] Cavell, *Emerson's Transcendental Etudes*, 14.

[78] Ibid., 4.

[79] Ibid., 2.

In the ancient past, the Indian concepts themselves required a philosophical makeover from time to time to renew the vitality of the concepts and prevent them from losing their critical edge. Especially in periods of religious decadence, when religious practices become divorced from concepts, philosophy reanimates the concepts to spiritualize the practices.[80] The Vedic texts that came after the *Ṛgveda*, namely the Brāhmaṇas, were received in nineteenth century Europe not as philosophy, but as religion. As prose exegetical literature comprised of narrative myths and explanatory connections (*bandhu*), the Brāhmaṇas built on earlier Vedic concepts to explain the cognitive process through ritual. For this reason, the Brāhmaṇas should be recognized as both religion and philosophy.

Like the works of Müller and Emerson, Brāhmaṇa texts have a philosophical dimension, which has not been fully appreciated, and a troubled relationship to academic disciplines. In a manner not unlike Emerson, the Brāhmaṇas employ ordinary language rather than technical language, engage in philosophical interpretation rather than argumentation, formulate myths rather than a system, emphasize philosophy as an activity rather than a discourse, and refer to the sacred through the profane. As in Emerson, the exegesis on ritual practice encodes a Vedic empiricism that is broad enough to include the unmanifest. The oscillations in concepts from the poetry of the *Ṛgveda*, which contained both philosophical and ritual elements, to the prose of the Brāhmaṇas, to the arguments of the Upaniṣads and beyond maintain the vitality of Vedic philosophy. As illustrated above, this tradition of change to keep philosophy alive occurs in the history of philosophy, both East and West.

Not recognizing the philosophical dimension of the Brāhmaṇas, Indologists depreciated these earliest of Vedic commentaries. Even Müller claimed that the authors of the Brāhmaṇas had completely misunderstood the original intention of the Vedic hymns in a violent break with tradition.[81] Since as literary productions, he wrote, the Brāhmaṇas are "disappointing," absurd, and "shallow," he opined, "These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots, and the raving of madmen."[82] Oldenberg highly respected Indian philosophy in general, but concerning the Brāhmaṇas, he opined that their interpretation of the Vedas "had to fail" because the original meaning of the rites "lay far beyond the field of view of those theologians."[83] Keith determined, "The value of the Brāhmaṇas as a source of philosophy is difficult to determine with accuracy."[84] He believed that the priests' imagination ran "riot" and lacks "clear-cut ideas." According to him, the

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[80] There exists a tension between the revitalized concepts and the traditional ones, but changes in time, mood, culture, etc. require, as Robert Cummings Neville has stated, a philosophy of religion, as "the critic of abstractions regarding religion." Neville explains that narratives in religious texts are another form of abstraction from the categories and concepts of a philosophical system or law code. Robert Cummings Neville, "Religions, Philosophies, and Philosophy of Religion," *International Journal for the Philosophy of Religion* 3, no. 1/3. (Dec., 1995): 165-181, 178, 171.

[81] F. Max Müller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature: So far as It Illustrates the Primitive Religion of the Brahmans*. Second Edition. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1860), 432-433.

[82] Ibid., 389. Interestingly, the *English Review* also called Emerson a "mighty phrasemonger" and "sad twaddle." See Sowder, 148.

[83] Hermann Oldenberg, *The Religion of the Veda*. Trans. Shridhar B. Shrotri. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, Pvt. Ltd., 1988), 12.

[84] Arthur Berriedale Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads.* Vol. 1. Harvard Oriental Series Vol. 31. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), 440.

Brāhmaṇas made "little progress" toward developing a real philosophy.[85] Frauwallner found proper philosophical ideas at the end of the *Ṛgveda*, but noted, "The liturgical *Brāhmaṇa* texts had originally nothing to do with philosophy."[86] In his view, the Upaniṣads launch "a new sector of human thought" unconnected with the Brāhmaṇas.[87] Eggeling wrote at the beginning of the introduction to his colossal translation of the (Mādhyandina) *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*:

> In the whole range of literature few works are probably less calculated to excite the interest of any outside the very limited number of specialists, than the ancient theological writings of the Hindus, known by the name of Brâhma*n*as. For wearisome prolixity of exposition, characterised by dogmatic assertion and a flimsy symbolism rather than by serious reasoning, these works are perhaps not equalled anywhere; unless, indeed, it be by the speculative vapourings of the Gnostics, than which, in the opinion of the learned translators of Irenæus, "nothing more absurd has probably ever been imagined by rational beings."[88]

Another Vedic specialist, Renou, described the explanations given in the Brāhmaṇas as "arbitrary" and claimed that the hidden connections that they establish cannot be accepted.[89] Such attitudes have led to a relegation of these texts to almost a second class position, especially when compared to the *Ṛgveda* and the Upaniṣads. This dissertation will show that the early European evaluations of Brāhmaṇa literature are deceiving. Not only do the Brāhmaṇas articulate philosophy, but they continue, as Joanna Jurewicz has argued, a consistent thread of Vedic thought from the *Ṛgveda* through the Upaniṣads.[90]

According to Thite, orientalists translated the Upaniṣads before the Brāhmaṇas.[91] They were impressed with philosophical monism, but were not as interested in the ritual and religion of the Brāhmaṇas. Only highly scholarly people, like Caland, Weber, and Oldenberg, relatively later, could read the Brāhmaṇas and point out some ideas. Tull concurs, "The task of interpreting the Brāhmaṇas, with their bulk and esoteric subject matter, was a formidable one to the Western scholar uninitiated in the intricacies of the Vedic

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[85] Ibid., 442.

[86] Erich Frauwallner: *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1. Trans. V.M. Bedekar. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd.), 28, 30.

[87] Ibid., 73.

[88] Julius Eggeling, "Introduction" to *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: According to the Text of the Mādhyandina School*, Part 1. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 12. Trans. Julius Eggeling. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882) ix.

[89] Frits Staal, *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*. Vol. 1. (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), 3; Renou (1953), 16.

[90] Arguing against the general premise that the earliest testimony of philosophy in India is found in the Upaniṣads, Jurewicz maintains, "[I]n the Ṛgveda we can already find efforts to create metaphysical theories and language appropriate to convey them. What is more, these efforts lay an indispensable foundation for later Indian philosophy." Kumar, Kuiper, and Tull also find continuity in Vedic texts from the *Ṛgveda* up to the Upaniṣads. Joanna Jurewicz, "The Cow' Body as the Source Domain of Philosophical Metaphors in the Ṛgveda: The Case of 'Udder' (*ū́dhar*)." *Koninklijke Brill NV* (2014), 98-99. doi 10.1163/9789004274297_007; Shashiprabha Kumar, "Vedic Yajña: From Ritual to Spiritual," in *Self, Society and Value: Reflections on Indian Thought*, 59-75. (Delhi: Vidyanidhi Prakashan, 2005), 59; F.B.J. Kuiper, "Cosmogony and Conception: A Query," in *History of Religions* 10, no. 2 (Nov., 1970): 91-138, 98. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1061905. Accessed 30/9/2014; Herman W. Tull, *The Vedic Origins of Karma: Cosmos as Man in Ancient Indian Myth and Ritual.* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), 3.

[91] G.U. Thite, Professor Emeritus, University of Pune. Personal Tutorial, Pune, 2013.

sacrifice."[92] Scholars, Tull asserts, provided critical editions of the texts and justified not examining them by adhering to the view that the Upaniṣads reflect a renaissance of Ṛgvedic thought.[93] This suggests that the Brāhmaṇas represented a dark age characterized by spiritual degeneration. Some specialists were influenced by traditional commentators, like Sāyaṇa, who were obsessed with the *adhiyajña* or external ritual sense of the Vedas. While Renou acknowledged medieval commentaries on Brāhmaṇas, he considered the Brāhmaṇas "a dead literature, which has not been continued."[94]

In contrast, Sylvain Lévi argued, "les sorciers, les magiciens ou les chamanes de ces tribus ont su analyser leur système…ils sont les véritables pères de la philosophie hindoue."[95] And noting the deprecatory attitude of scholars toward the Brāhmaṇas, Michael Witzel defended the explanations of the secret meaning behind the sacrificial acts, mantras, and materials.[96] Reading the Brāhmaṇas requires knowledge of concepts in the *Ṛgveda* and ritual offerings, in addition to close attention to how the philosophical concepts therein, despite being expressed in ordinary language, enliven earlier concepts and establish the grounds for later ones.

Unlike the Brāhmaṇas, Pāli literature, including the *Suttanipāta*, has by and large been considered philosophical.[97] For example, Frauwallner wrote *Die Philosophie des Buddhismus* and Keith wrote *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*. Gombrich voices the position of most scholars when he says that the Buddha was presenting a philosophically coherent doctrine.[98] Many scholars, including Bapat, Jayawickrama, Katre, Gómez, Premasiri, and Vetter have written about philosophy in the *Suttanipāta* in particular.[99] Bapat claimed that the *Suttanipāta* contains the philosophical teachings of the Buddha.[100] Moreover, Jayawickrama and Gómez stressed that many *suttas* (discourses) in this compilation, especially from the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, specifically deal with the Buddha's attitude toward philosophical speculation. Katre translated *diṭṭhi* as philosophy, while Jayawickrama said that *diṭṭhi* encompasses all philosophical views and speculations,

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[92] Herman W. Tull, *The Vedic Origins of Karma: Cosmos as Man in Ancient Indian Myth and Ritual.* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), 17.

[93] Ibid., 19.

[94] Louis Renou, *Vedic India*. Trans. Philip Spratt. (Calcutta: Susil Gupta (India) Private Limited, 1957), 25. Renou finds a more systematic form of theological explanation in Mīmāṃsā, which he calls "the true inheritor of the thought of the Brahmanas." See page 26.

[95] Sylvian Levi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas.* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), 10.

[96] Michael Witzel, *On Magical Thought in the Veda.* Inaugural Lecture. (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1979).

[97] Schayer notes a controversy about the philosophical character of early Buddhism, citing de la Vallée Poussin's *Le dogme et la philosophie du Bouddhisme.* See Stanislaw Schayer, "Precanonical Buddhism," *Archiv Orientalni* 7 (1935, pp. 121-132), 122.

[98] Richard Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings.* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1996), 27.

[99] Gómez and Premasiri elaborate on teachings in the *Suttanipāta* concerning silence and the psychological origin of conflict, respectively. See Luis Gómez, "Proto-Mādhyamika in the Pāli Canon," in *Philosophy East and West* 26, no. 2. (Apr. 1976): 137-165, 140. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1398186. Accessed 2/5/2012; P.D. Premasiri, "The Philosophy in the Aṭṭhakavagga," *The Wheel Publication,* no. 182 (1972), republished in *Collected Wheel Publications* 13. (2012):1-26.

[100] Bapat names the "Vijaya," "Salla," "Kāma," and "Dvayaṭanupassanā" *suttas* (discourses) as ones that treat "philosophic matter." P.V. Bapat, *The Sutta-nipāta: One of Oldest Canonical Books of the Buddhism*. (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1990 (originally published in 1924), xv and xvii.

standing in contrast to *dassana* (insight).[101] According to the *Suttanipāta*, a *muni* (sage) has cast off all, even philosophical, views (*diṭṭhi*).[102]

The *Suttanipāta* emphasizes the task of the student to understand how his or her views and cognitive experience arise in consciousness in the first place. Gombrich has explained that to instruct students, the Buddha used concepts, which sometimes he adapted from Vedic thought.[103] Although there are many Brāhmaṇa texts, only one will be closely studied here. This dissertation shows that the shifts in the conceptual register from the *Ṛgveda* to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (including its *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*) to the *Suttanipāta* do not reflect a negative reaction to earlier texts (or even to Brāhmaṇism) so much as the philosophical imperative to enliven concepts. This is especially clear in what Jayawickrama delineated as the earliest strata of the *Suttanipāta*, which does not distinguish between Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist *munis*.[104]

The *Suttanipāta* records an early philosophy of mind, one that builds on earlier Vedic concepts with which the Buddha would have been familiar in the Kosala region. On the margins of both the Vedic world and the ascetic frontier, Kosala was home to the Kāṇva School. Focusing on this region shows that transporting Vedic thought and ritual east required enlivening concepts and translating practices. For this reason, the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* can be understood as philosophical critique and religion, like the philosophy of Müller and Emerson. To criticize, as Deleuze and Guattari have said, is to show that a concept loses some of its components and acquires others when thrust into a new milieu.[105]

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[101] N.A. Jayawickrama, "The Suttanipāta: Five Suttas of Popular Character" in *University of Ceylon Review* 7, no. 4. (1949): 249-268, 261.

[102] N.A. Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Suttanipāta Illustrating its Gradual Growth.* (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1947), 268.

[103] Richard Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought* (London: Equinox, 2009).

[104] Ibid., 306. See the next chapter for details. This suggests that some of the earliest followers of the Buddha did not originally have a separate "Buddhist" identity, like the followers of Jesus, but after the some time a "Buddhist" identity may have formed separate from other religious traditions as did a "Christian" identity separate from Jewish tradition.

[105] Deleuze and Guattari, 28.

Chapter Two
The Historical Context of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta*

This chapter explores the historical relationship between late Vedic religion and early Buddhism through a regional lens. The *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta* are compilations, parts of which correspond to the region of Kosala. Kosala thrived on the edge of both the Vedic world and Greater Magadha, where it formed an important center during the lifetimes of the Vedic sage Yājñavalkya as well as Sakyamuni Buddha. This chapter argues that the Yājñavalkya sections of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* enlivened earlier Vedic thought in the East in a way different from orthodox tradition in Kuru-Pañcāla, what will henceforth be called the Madhyadeśa. By the time of the Buddha, Kosala was one of the premier political kingdoms, together with Magadha. After the fall of the Mauryan empire, however, power shifted back to Madhyadeśa under the Śuṅga dynasty. Just as James Fitzgerald argues that the *Mahābhārata* in the West developed as a brāhmaṇa-inspired response to a perceived crisis of eastern religious developments, the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Suttanipāta* in the east underwent a final redaction during the Śuṅga rule.[106] The chapter contends that the Buddha grew up in this particular Vedic milieu in Kosala, which included the Kāṇva school and Vedic *munis* (sages).

In his book *Buddhism in the Shadow of Brahmanism*, Johannes Bronkhorst located Vedic Brāhmaṇism in the West, arguing that Vedism and did not form the background of the Buddha's preaching.[107] In his view, Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism confronted each other after an initial period of relative independence. Specifically, he contends, "While the Brahmins of the second century BCE looked upon the eastern Ganges Valley as more or less foreign territory, the Brahmins of the second or third century CE looked upon it as *their* land."[108] Bronkhorst understands a region to be brāhmaṇized "when its population, or its rulers, accept Brahmins as the by right most eminent members of society."[109] This theory distinguishes Vedic asceticism from the asceticism of Greater Magadha and discounts the numerous brāhmaṇas that brāhmaṇical and Pāli sources document as having dwelled in the eastern region.[110] In contrast to Bronkhorst, Alexander Wynne asserted that an unorthodox Vedic tradition within Kosala-Videha—located within the orb of the Magadhan region—was a haven for ascetic and speculative traditions, possibly going as far back as the late *Ṛgveda*.[111]

Recent efforts in Vedic studies, building on the work of Weber, Keith, and Caland, and most recently advanced by Witzel, locate the texts of the Vedic corpus according to

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[106] James L. Fitzgerald, "Introduction" to *The Book of Peace* in *The Mahābhārata*, Volume 7. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), 122.

[107] Johannes Bronkhorst, *Buddhism in the Shadow of Brahmanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 11, 27, 155.

[108] Johannes Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha: Studies in the Culture of Early India* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2.

[109] Bronkhorst, *Buddhism in the Shadow of Brahmanism*, 52; *Greater Magadha*, 2.

[110] In addition to Yājñavalkya in Videha, Oldenberg cited descriptions of eastern lands being "full of Brahmanas" in Pāli texts as evidence of early Brāhmaṇical speculation in the East. Hermann Oldenberg, *The Doctrine of the Upaniṣads and of The Early Buddhism*. Trans. Shridhar B. Shrotri (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1991), 185-186.

[111] Alexander Wynne, review of Johannes Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha: Studies in the Culture of Early India*. Published on H-Buddhism (July 2011), 3.

region.[112] Thanks to this valuable scholarship, the Vedic tradition can be appreciated for its regional variations.[113] Of particular concern to this dissertation is one of the Vājasaneyin Schools, meaning the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina Schools of the Śukla Yajurveda.[114] While a major portion of the *Mādhyandina Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is located in Videha, Witzel has localized the final redaction of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in Kosala.[115] Joel Brereton agrees that during the middle and late Vedic period, the Kāṇva school was situated in Kosala, what is today eastern Uttar Pradesh.[116] Janaka's kingdom of Videha thrived during the lifetime of Yājñavalkya, but had declined by the time of the historical Buddha; at this time Kosala became a prominent kingdom under King Prasenajit alongside its neighbor, Magadha.

In the "Pabbajjāsutta" of the *Suttanipāta*, Gotama Buddha explains his personal background to Magadhan King Bimbisāra, telling him that he hails from a principality situated among the Kosalans:

> King, straight ahead is a principality endowed with wealth and vigor from the slope of the Himālayas situated (*niketin*) among the Kosalans. They are indeed Ādicca by lineage and Sākiya[117] by birth. From that family I have gone forth, king, not yearning for sense desires.[118]

According to *buddhavacana*, then, Gotama Buddha grew up in Kosala. The Kosala region in which Gotama Buddha first lived and later taught comprised myriad ascetic groups, including Vedic *munis*. These brāhmaṇas inhabited the margins of *āryāvarta* and their asceticism and ritual offerings are described to some extent in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. In Kosala, it appears that there was no gap in the encounter between Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism; in fact some of the earliest recorded *suttas* are addressed specifically to brāhmaṇas. As will be shown below, Bronkhorst's caveat that for a region to be

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[112] Michael Witzel, "On the Localisation of Vedic Texts and Schools (Materials on Vedic Śākhās, 7)," in *India and the Ancient World. History, Trade and Culture before A.D. 650. P.H.L. Eggermont Jubilee Volume.* Ed. G. Pollet (Leuven: Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 25, 1987).

[113] According to Fujii, (re-)studying Vedic texts as geographically separate *śākhās* has been producing substantial results. Masato Fujii, "On the Formulation and Transmission of the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa," in *Inside the Texts Beyond the Texts: New Approaches to the Study of the Veda. Proceedings of the International Vedic Workshop, Harvard University, June 1989* (Cambridge: Dept. of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, 1997), 89.

[114] According to Keith, however, the Kāṇva recension is in some respects the older one. Arthur Berriedale Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads.* Vol. 2. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), 499 note 5; Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 239.

[115] Witzel, "On the Localisation," 199.

[116] Joel Brereton, "The Composition of the Maitreyī Dialogue in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126, no. 3 (Jul.-Sep., 2006): 323-345, 323-324. http://jstor.org/stable/20064512. Accessed 22/10/2011.

[117] Bhikkhu Sujato and Bhikkhu Brahmali confirm textual evidence in the Pāli canon that Sakya was a small republic subject to Kosala (MN 89.19/MĀ 213/EĀ 38.10/T 1451/P 1035). See "The Authenticity of the Early Buddhist Texts," 93.

[118] "*ujuṃ janapado rāja, Himavantassa passato | dhanaviriyena sampanno Kosalesu niketino ǁ Sn* 422 ǁ *"Ādiccā nāma gottena, Sākiyā nāma jātiyā | tamhā kulā pabbajito'mhi rāja, na kāme abhipatthayaṃ ǁ Sn* 423 ǁ In the *itihāsa-purāṇa* tradition and early Buddhist sources, the Buddha's family is also called Ikṣvāku and Sūryavaṃśa. See Romilar Thapar, "Antecedents and Religious Sanctions," in *Cultural Pasts: Essays in Early Indian History*. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 176.

brāhmaṇized, the brāhmaṇas must be accepted as the highest members of society is not applicable in Kosala-Videha, where a social hierarchy was not yet fixed. The following pages describe the history of Kosala-Videha and its practices that not only influenced the teachings found in the *Suttanipāta*, but also prompted the anti-*muni* rhetoric and restricted category of *śiṣṭa* brāhmaṇas introduced into orthodox Vedism in the Madhyadeśa.

Section I: Brāhmaṇism in the East

The Vājasaneyins specify their descent from the Kuru-Pañcāla tribes, suggesting that their Vedic ancestry may have been subject to doubt over time. This is understood through an account recorded in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that tells the story of how King Māthava Videgha founded Videha.[119] He left the banks of the Sarasvatī River in eastern Punjab and

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[119] *ŚBK* 2.3.4.8-14: *ghṛtācyeti videgho(dyo) ha māthavo 'gniṃ vaiśvānaraṃ mukhe babhāra tasya ha gotamo rāhūgaṇa ṛṣiḥ purohita āsa tasmai ha smāmantryamāṇo na pratiśṛṇoti taṃ u gotamo rāhūgaṇa ṛgbhir hvayituṃ dadhre vītihotraṃ tvā kave dyumantaṁ samidhīmahi | agne bṛhantam adhvare videgheti ‖ ŚBK 2.3.4.8 ‖*

2.3.4.8. "With what is besmeared with ghee."[119] Videgha Māthava carried Agni Vaiśvānara in his mouth. The ṛṣi Gotama Rāhūgaṇa was his purohita. Being addressed, he [Māthava] did not respond to him. Gotama Rāhūgaṇa decided to invoke him with ṛcs, "O poet, O Agni, O Videgha let us kindle you who are big, shining, and whose enjoyment is the act of offering in the sacrifice (*adhvare*)!"

sa ha na pratiśuśrāvod agne śucayas tava śukrā bhrājanta īrate | tava jyotīṃṣy arcayo videgheti ‖9‖

2.3.4.9. He indeed did not respond. [The priest chanted,] "O Agni, your shining, resplendent, gleaming, light, your flames rise up, Videgha."

sa ha naiva pratiśuśrāva taṃ tvā ghṛtasna īmaha iti haivābhivyājahāra tato 'syāgnir mukhād ujjajvāla taṃ na śaśāka dhārayituṃ so 'sya mukhān niṣpede sa imāṃ pṛthivīṃ prāpādo ha tarhy āsa videgho māthavaḥ sarasvatyāṃ sa imāṃ pṛthivīṃ dahann abhīyāya ‖10‖

2.3.4.10. He still did not respond to him. He [the priest] no sooner uttered, "O [you] one bathed in ghee! We resort to you," then Agni blazed up from his mouth. He was unable to hold him back. He [Agni] issued from his mouth and reached this earth. Then Māthava Videgha was at the Sarasvatī River. He [Agni] went along burning this earth.

taṃ paścād anvīyatur videghaś ca māthavo gotamaś ca rāhūgaṇaḥ sa imāḥ sarvā nadīr atidadāha sadānīrety uttarād girer nirdhāvati (sa) tāṃ haiva nātidadāha tasmād dha sma tāṃ purā brāhmaṇā na taranty anatidagdhāgninā vaiśvānareṇeti ‖11‖

2.3.4.11. Māthava Videgha and Gotama Rāhūgaṇa went after him. He blazed across all these rivers. The "Sadānīra River" springs from the northern mountain. Only that one he did not blaze across. Because of this, earlier, brāhmaṇas did not cross her, [thinking,] "She has not been blazed across by Agni Vaiśvānara."

tata u vā etarhi bahavaḥ prāñco brāhmaṇās tad dha tad akṣetrataram ivāsa srāmataram ivāsvaditaṃ hy agninā vaiśvānareṇāsa ‖12‖

2.3.4.12. Now verily there are many brāhmaṇas to the east of it. That indeed used to be more destitute of fields as it were, more diseased as it were because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaiśvānara.

tad u vā etarhi kṣetraram ivāsrāmataram iva brāhmaṇā u hy enad yajñair asiṣvadant sā ha sāpi jaghanye naidāghe saṃkopayati tāvakṣītān atidagdhā hy agninā vaiśvānareṇa ‖13‖

2.3.4.13. Now, verily, that has cultivated fields as it were and is not diseased as it were for brāhmaṇas have tasted it through *yajñas*. That [river] even becomes agitated in the last part (*jaghanye*) of the hot season. She is not diminished because she has not been blazed over by Agni Vaiśvānara.

sa hovāca kvāhaṃ bhavānīti taṃ hovācāta eva te prāgbhuvanam iti saivaitarhi kosalavidehānāṃ maryādā kurupañcālais te hy ubhaye māthavāḥ ‖14‖

2.3.4.14. He {Māthava Videgha} said, "Where should I be?" He told him, "To your place to the east of this." Now that is the boundary of the Kosalas and the Videhas with the Kurus and Pañcālas, for both of them are descendants of Māthava.

proceeded east up to the Sadānīra River in the middle Gaṅgā valley.[120] While still on the Sarasvatī, his priest (*purohita*), the Āṅgirasa ṛṣi Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, addressed him, but he did not respond because he was holding Agni Vaiśvānara in his mouth. Gotama chanted *ṛks* to no avail, but when he mentioned, "bathed in ghee," Agni shot forth from his mouth and scorched the earth. Videgha Māthava and his priest, then at the Sarasvatī river, followed Agni who scorched the rivers up to the Sadānīra. For some time they did not cross that river, since Agni Vaiśvānara had not burned her, but the story tells that *now there are many brāhmaṇas to the east of the Sadānīra* (2.3.4.12), an area previously uninhabitable and difficult to access, but made inhabitable and easier to access through *yajña*. Agni told Videgha Māthava that he should remain in the region east of the river bordering the Kosala-Videhas with the Kuru-Pāñcālas.[121] The Kosalas and Videhas are specifically identified as the descendants of Māthava, who was a native of the Sarasvatī heartland of the Kuru-Pāñcālas.

The central point of the story is that fire came out of the king's mouth when the word "ghee" was uttered. Ghee is good for kindling and by adding ghee to the fire, vigor (*vīrya*) is increased.[122] The story also indicates, however, that by the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, there were brāhmaṇas living in the Kosala-Videha region, who claimed to hail from the lineage of brāhmaṇas living in proximity to the Sarasvatī River in the Kuru and Pāñcāla regions. They would not have had to clarify their lineage unless their Vedic genealogy had been called into question. When Vedic people moved east, they gave rise to emerging kingdoms in the east that shifted the power away from the Kuru-Pāñcālas and Madras.

This passage has been cited numerous times in connection with historical claims. Thapar interprets Agni issuing forth from the mouth of Videgha Māthava to mean that the migration brought the sacrificial ritual and the Indo-Āryan language to the eastern region.[123] The name of Videha has been associated with the name of King Videgha Māthava.[124] Diwakar suggests that before the period associated with the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Āryan groups had not settled beyond the Sadānīra, but during the Brāhmaṇa period, they moved further east.[125] Witzel understands that King Videgha came from the Sarasvatī River, which flowed through Kurukṣetra, thus linking the Videha dynasty with "sacred time" of the

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See also ŚBM 1.4.1.10ff.

[120] Romila Thapar, *The Past Before Us: Historical Traditions of Early North India*. (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2013), 137.

[121] Interestingly, Eggeling's translation of the Mādhyandina recension (*ŚBM* 1.4.1.17) states that the Sadānīra River is in between Kosala and Videha, but in the Kāṇva, the river separates both Kosala and Videha from Kuru and Pāñcāla. Witzel comments on these two readings, advocating the latter, in footnote 78, "Localisation," 195.

[122] *ŚBK* 2.3.4.16.

[123] Thapar, *The Past Before Us*, 138; Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State: Social Formations in the Mid-First Millennium B.C. in the Ganga Valley*. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, reprinted 2013), 70.

[124] Today Videha forms the western part of north Bihar. See Bhandarkar, "Aryan Immigration into Eastern India," 104.

[125] R.R. Diwakar, *Bihar Through the Ages*. (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1958), 92.

Ṛgveda.[126] For him, this represents the arrival of Vedic (Kuru-Pañcāla) orthopraxy in the East, not an actual migration of Indo-Āryans toward the east.[127] In his words, "While the movement of some clans and their King Videgha from the River Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra to the East may coincide with the 'ritual settlement' of Kosala(-Videha), this is not to be confused with the wholesale movement of Vedic Śākhās, like that of the Kāṇva, Śāṇḍilya, and the Aitareyin eastwards, to Kosala and Videha."[128] The passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, as well as another migration story in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (18.44), indicates that there were Vedic people in the East.[129]

The Vedic group in the east differed from other Vedic groups because it further developed ascetic propensities already existent in Vedic tradition and was less concerned with social stratification, which at this time had not yet been set in stone. The last *kāṇḍa* (large section) of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, mentions both *munis* and begging for alms. Earlier, the *Ṛgveda* had introduced *munis*: the "raging minds" of the Maruts' troop are compared to a raving *muni* in stanza 7.56.8 and there is a late *munisūkta* or hymn dedicated to *munis* (10.136).[130] This ascetic strand is continued in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, when Yājñavalkya refers to Brāhmaṇical *munis*.[131] According to Thite, the *ṛṣis* were householders connected with the Veda and ritual, whereas *munis* were ascetics.[132] *Ṛṣis* were worldly ritualists who uttered hymns based on spiritual revelation, whereas *munis* were vegetarian and unmarried, usually celibate spiritualists who dwelled in the forest. Santosh Kumar Śukla associates *munis* with the Purāṇa genre of literature in contrast to the Vedic studies of the *ṛṣis*.[133] The term *purāṇa* is attested in both the

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[126] Michael Witzel, "The Development of the Vedic Canon and its Schools: The Social and Political Milieu," in *Inside the Texts, Beyond the Texts*. Ed. Michael Witzel, 257-348. (Cambridge: Harvard Oriental Series, Opera Minora 2, 1997), 313.

[127] Ibid., 314.

[128] Michael Witzel, "Tracing the Vedic Dialects" in *Dialectes dans les litteratures Indo-Aryennes.* Ed. Caillat, 97-265. (Paris: Publications de L'Institut de Civilisation Indienne 55, 1989), 237.

[129] *BŚS* 18.44 states, "She [Urvaśī] gave birth to Āyu and Amāvasu. She said, "Rear these two, who will reach a complete life. Āyu went forth (*pra+√ vraj*) east. These Kuru-Pañcālas and Kāśi-Videhas belonged to him. This is the going forth of Āyu.[129] Amāvasu [went forth] westward (*pratyaṅ*). These Gāndhāris, Sparśus, and Arāṭṭas belonged to him. This is [the going forth] of Amāvasu." *sāyuṃ cāmāvasuṃ ca janayāṃ cakāra | sā hovācemau bibhṛtemau sarvam āyur eṣyata iti | prāṅ āyuḥ pravavrāja | tasyaite kurupañcālāḥ kāśividehā iti | etad āyavaṃ | pravrājaṃ pratyaṅ amāvasus tasyaite gāndhāraya sparśavo 'rāṭṭā ity etad āmāvasavam ‖* See *The Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* Vol. 3. Ed. and Trans. C.G. Kahikar. (Delhi: IGNCA and Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 2003), 1235. For a summary of the debate over this passage, see Vishal Agarwal, "On Perceiving Aryan Migrations in Vedic Ritual Texts," in *Purātattva* 36.   (2005-2006): 155-165, 155-158.

[130] *śubhró vaḥ śúṣmaḥ krúdhmī mánāṃsi dhúnir múnir 'va śárdhasya dhṛṣṇóḥ ‖ RV 7.56.8 ‖* Ṛgvedic passages are taken from *Rig Veda: A Metrically Restored Text with an Introduction and Notes*. Ed. Barend van Nooten and Gary Holland. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994). See also Jamison and Brereton, Vol. 2, page 949; Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*. Vol. 2, 402.

[131] *BĀU* 17.3.5.1, 17.4.4.22. See details below.

[132] I am grateful to Professor Thite for explaining the difference between *ṛṣis* and *munis* during our daily meetings in Pune in 2013.

[133] Santosh Kumar Shukla, Assistant Professor in the Special Centre for Sanskrit Studies. Lecture at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi on 28/6/2013. I am grateful to Prof. Shukla for this lecture, which inspired me to think more carefully about how Purāṇic studies fit into the historical developments in the East.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka and *Chāndogya Upaniṣads*.[134] In addition, the *Mahābhārata* records that the *purāṇa* was known and taught by Yājñavalkya.[135] The practice of begging for alms (*bhikṣā*) was associated with the Vedic student (*brahmacārī*). According to P.V. Kane, "The idea that a brahmacārī must beg for his food and offer fuel-sticks every day was so ingrained in ancient times that the Baud. Dh. S. [Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra] I.2.54 and Manu II.187 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S 28.52) prescribe that if for seven days continuously a brahmacārī who was not ill failed to offer fuel-sticks and to beg for food he violated his vow and to undergo the same penance as was prescribed for a brahmacārī having sexual intercourse."[136] The *Atharvaveda*, too, mentions alms along with the *brahmacārī*.[137] Brāhmaṇas who chose to live as a *brahmacārī* for life would have been unmarried, ascetic mendicants. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* refers to *bhikṣusūtrá* or codes of conduct for mendicants proclaimed by Pārāśarya and Karmandin, which according to Shastri and Olivelle, Pāṇini considered to have been Brāhmaṇical works.[138] In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Yājñavalkya describes brāhmaṇas who beg for alms (*bhikṣācaryaṃ caranti*).[139] In addition to a strong adherence to ascetic practice, the east was less concerned with social stratification.

Although the Epics and Purāṇas contain a considerable amount of material in their own right, they supplement particular figures and events mentioned in the Vedas. For example, in *Ṛgveda* 8.9.10, the seer Śaśakarṇa Kāṇva invokes the presence of the Aśvins in the manner of Dīrghatamas. In 1.146.3, Agni preserved "the blind Mamateya from affliction," who is none other than Dīrghatamas, the son of Mamati.[140] Dīrghatamas is a well-known visionary whose revelations are included in book eight of the *Ṛgveda*. According to the Brāhmaṇas, the *ṛṣi* Kaṇva had a son by a *śūdra* mother who walked through fire to prove his status.[141] The *Mahābhārata* recounts that Dīrghatamas was set adrift in the Gaṅgā up to the eastern kingdom of Aṅga.[142] He lived in the East and married a

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[134] …*yad ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvāṅgirasa itihāsaḥ purāṇam vidyā upaniṣadaḥ ślokāḥ sūtrāṇy…|* *BĀU* 17.2.4.10 │ 17.4.1.2 │ 17.4.5.11 │ According to *ŚBM* 13.4.3.13, the Purāṇa is the Veda (*purāṇaṃ vedaḥ*). See also *ŚBM* 11.5.6.8, 11.5.7.9, 13.4.3.13, 14.6.10.6. In *CU* 7.1.2 Nārada reports that he learned many *vidyās*, including the fifth, the *itihāsapurāṇa*. See Vishuddhanand Pathak, *History of Kośala up to the Rise of the Mauryas*. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1963), 18-19.

[135] In the *Mahābhārata*, Yājñavalkya is said to have learned the Purāṇa from Lomaharṣa and Romaharṣaṇa: *tathaiva lomaharṣāc ca purāṇam avadhāritam │ upadhāritaṃ tathā vāpi purāṇaṃ romaharṣaṇāt ‖ MBh* 12.306.21 ‖

[136] The Gṛhaysūtras describe the *bhikṣā* or begging for food practices of the *brahmacārī* (initiated student). Pandurang Vaman Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra: Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law*. Vol. 2, Part 1. Third edition. (Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1997 (first published 1941), 308-311.

[137] *AV* 11.5.9.

[138] p*árāśaryaśīlālibhyām bhikṣunaṭasūtráyoḥ │ Aṣṭādhyāyī* 4.3.110 │ *karmandakṛśáśvātíniḥ │* 4.3.111 │ Patrick Olivelle, "Introduction" to *Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads: Hindu Scriptures on Asceticism and Renunciation*. Trans. Patrick Olivelle. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 13; Ajay Mitra Shastri, "The Bhikṣusūtra of Pārāśarya," Journal of the Asiatic Society, 14, nos. 2-4 (Calcutta: 1972: 52-59 issued May 1975).

[139] *BĀU* 17.3.5.1, 17.4.4.22.

[140] *dīrghátamā māmateyó │ RV* 1.158.6 │

[141] Thapar takes this from Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*, Vol. 1, 336 and references the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 2.8.1, the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 14.6.6, and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 3.233-5. See Thapar, *The Past Before Us*, 91-92.

[142] *MBh* 2.19.1ff; F.E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Pvt. Ltd, 1922, republished 1962), 220.

śūdra woman named Auśīnarī, by whom he had sons, regained his sight, and assumed the name Gautama or Gotama.[143] He and his *śūdra*-born sons went to Girivraja in Magadha where they practiced austerities. In this way, brāhmaṇical sources connect the Kāṇva clan with the East and with mixing *varṇas*, the social categories derived from the late hymn of the *Ṛgveda* known as the "Puruṣa Sūkta."[144]

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, terms one might associate with *varṇa* most often refer to various inherent powers and to the *devas* associated with these powers. According to one myth,

> Saying, "Bhūr," Prajāpati created the *brahman*. Uttering, "Bhuvaḥ," he created the *kṣatra* and uttering, "Svaḥ," he crated the *viś*. As far as there are *brahma*, *kṣatra*, and *viś*, there is this [*jagat*]."[145]

Commenting on the Mādhyandina recension, Sāyaṇa interprets *brahma* as the brāhmaṇa class, but this meaning is not compatible with its usual usage in the *Śatapatha*.[146] In the Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍas* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, brahman power (*brahma*) is identified with Agni, Bṛhaspati, and Mitra.[147] Royal power (*kṣatra*) is identified with Indra, Varuṇa, and Soma.[148] Abundant power (*viś*) is identified with the Maruts and Viśvadevas.[149] While the Maruts, abundant power, are inherently powerful (*svatavas*), royal power is stronger.[150] As abundant power, the Maruts sport about Indra, but, as royal power, he restrains the Maruts.[151] Indra, royal power, is identified with vigor (*vīrya*), whereas the Viśvadevas, abundant power, are food.[152] According to the *Śatapatha*, the Viśvadevas are rays of light (*raśmi*)[153] and everything (*sarvam*).[154] The *kṣatriyas* in turn are the eaters of this food (*annāda*).[155]

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[143] According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (99.27ff), the *Matsya Purāṇa* (48.24ff), and the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi-Parvan, 104.33ff), the eastern figures Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma, and Kaliṅga were named after the sons of the *asura* king Bali, begotten on his queen by the Sage Dīrghatamas. See D.R. Bhandarkar, "Aryan Immigration into Eastern India," in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* XII, Part II. (1931): 103-116, 114.

[144] *brāhmaṇò 'sya múkham āsīd bāhū́ rājaníyaḥ kṛtáḥ | ūrū́ tád asya yád vaíśyaḥ padbhyā́ṃ śūdró ajāyata | ṚV* 10.90.12 |

[145] *bhūr iti vai prajāpatir brahmājanayad bhuva iti kṣatraṃ̇ svar iti viśam etāvad vā idaṃ yāvad brahma kṣatraṃ viṭ … | ŚBK 1.1.4.12 |*

[146] Sāyaṇa's gloss on the corresponding *ŚBM* passage: *brahma brāhmaṇajātiḥ, kṣatram' kṣatriyajātiḥ |* 367.

[147] Agni is *brahman* at *ŚBK* 1.5.3.8, 7.2.4.25; Bṛhaspati is *brahman ŚBK* 4.9.1.12; Mitra is *brahman* at *ŚBK* 5.1.4.1.

[148] Indra is *kṣatra* at *ŚBK* 1.3.2.6, 1.5.1.25, 4.9.1.13, 6.1.3.4, 7.2.4.26; Varuṇa is *kṣatra* at *ŚBK* 1.5.1.4, 1.5.1.30, 1.5.1.32, 5.1.4.1; Soma is *kṣatra* at *ŚBK* 4.3.2.7, 4.4.1.8, 4.9.3.2, 7.2.4.6, 7.3.3.14.

[149] Maruts are *viś* at *ŚBK* 1.4.3.10, 1.5.1.4, 1.5.1.22, 1.5.1.25, 4.9.1.15, 6.1.3.4; the Viśvadevas are *viś* at *ŚBK* 4.9.1.14; herbs are *viś* at 4.3.2.7; and the *soma* pressing stones are *viś* at 4.9.3.2. The *viś* are said to be *deva-viś* and abundance (*devaviśaṃ bhūmo vai viḍ…*) at 4.9.1.15.

[150] *ŚBK* 1.4.3.12, 6.1.3.4.

[151] *ŚBK* 1.5.2.19, 1.5.1.25.

[152] *ŚBK* 4.9.1.13-14. *ŚBK* 1.3.2.6 states, "Where those two, Indra and Agni, remain victorious, the Viśvadevas followed. Indra and Agni are verily *kṣatras* and the Viśvdevas are *viś*. Verily, where the *kṣatra* conquers, verily there he causes the *viś* to partake in a share. Then he gives the Viśvadevas a share of that." *tau ha yatrendrāgnī ujjigivāṃ̇sau tasthatus tad dha viśve devā anv ājagmuḥ kṣatram vā indrāgnī viśo viśve devā yatra vai kṣatram ujjayaty anvābhaktā vai tatra viṭ tad etad viśvān devān vābhajant || ŚBK 1.3.2.6 ||*

[153] *ŚBK* 4.9.2.7, 5.3.2.23-24.

[154] *ŚBK* 4.9.1.12.

[155] *ŚBK* 4.9.1.14.

In an explanation of the Maitrāvaruṇa scoop in the *soma yāga*, both *brahman* power and royal power are said to belong to oneself (*ātman*).[156] Mitra is *brahman* power, which is identified with the will (*kratu*) or the mental procedure that precedes action.[157] Varuṇa is royal power (*kṣatra*), the physical skill (*dakṣa*) or means by which the will is accomplished.[158] The one who conceives is the *brāhma*, while the actual doer (*kartṛ*) is the *kṣatriya*.[159] Originally, the two powers were separate. *Brahman* power could remain with royal power, but royal power could not stand without *brahman* power. Then royal power united the two, and as a result, a kṣatriya should not be without a brāhmaṇa.[160] According to this interpretation, when royal power—which is one's own vigor and physical skill—unites with *brahman* power—the conceiving, mental capacity, then the *viś*—the rays of light on which one feeds—prospers. In another passage, Agni is *brahman* power and Indra is royal power, so by offering on the twelve potsherds dedicated to Indra and Agni, he takes hold of those two and unites them.[161] While these powers are connected to social stratification, the philosophical aspect is more important in the text.

This is not to say that the Vājasaneyins did not speak of *varṇa* categories. The *Śatapatha* states that only a brāhmaṇa is to consume the milk that remains in the pot after the *agnihotra* offering.[162] In the *kāṇḍa* on the Vājapeya ritual, *brahman* power is identified with the brāhmaṇa and the royal power with the *kṣatriya*.[163] In this *kāṇḍa*, a brāhmaṇa performing the offering should invoke Bṛhaspati as *brahman* power, but a *kṣatriya* should invoke Indra as royal power.[164] In the *kāṇḍa* on the Rājasūya ceremony, the king is identified with Indra because he is both a *yajamāna* and a *kṣatriya*.[165] Whereas the *śūdra* category is hardly mentioned at all,[166] a *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* is allowed to be called a brāhmaṇa when consecrated for the ritual. In the *soma* sacrifice, "Then even if a brāhmaṇa is

[156] *ŚBK* 5.1.4.1. At *ŚBK* 1.5.3.8, Mitra is again identified with *brahman* power and *ṛta*, while Varuṇa is said to be life (*āyuḥ*) and the year (*saṃvatsaro*).

[157] *mitra eva kratur… brahmaiva mitraḥ* | *ŚBK* 5.1.4.1 | In this *kārikā*, the *Satapata* defines *kratu* as, "When he contemplates with his mind, "Let this be for me. Let me do this." That is *kratu*." *sa yad abhigacchati manasādo me syād adaḥ kurvīyeti sa kratur* |

[158] *kratur varuṇo dakṣas* | Ibid. |

[159] '*bhigantaiva brāhma kartā kṣatriyas* | Ibid. |

[160] *ŚBK* 5.1.4.2.

[161] *aindrāgno dvādaśakapāla etena ha vā enaṃ jaghnur brahmāgniḥ kṣatram indro brahma caivaitatkṣatraṃ ca saṃrabhya te sayujau kṛtvā tābhyāṃ haivainam jaghnur brahma caivaitat kṣatram ca sayujau karoti tasmād brahma ca kṣatram ca sayujau* || *ŚBK* 1.5.3.8 ||

[162] *nābrāhmaṇaḥ pibed agnau hy adhiśrayanti tasmān nābrāhmaṇaḥ pibet* | *ŚBM* 2.3.1.39; *ya eva kaś ca piben na tv abrāhmaṇo 'gnau hy enad adhiśrayanti* | *ŚBK* 1.3.1.28. Both recensions also specify that a brāhmaṇa should offer. *KŚS* 4.14.11 states that only a brāhmaṇa can drink it—not a kṣatriya or a vaiśya. See P.E. Dumont, *L'Agnihotra: Description de l'agnihtora dans le ritual védique*. (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1939), 14.

[163] *ŚBK* 6.1.1.8.

[164] *sa brahmārohati rathacakraṃ devasya vayaṃ savituḥ save satyasavasaḥ* | *bṛhaspater uttamaṃ nākaṃ ruhemeti yadi brāhmaṇo yajeta brahma hi bṛhaspatir brahma hi brāhmaṇo yady u kṣatriyo yajeta devasya vayaṃ savituḥ save satyasavasaḥ indrasyottamaṃ nākaṃ ruhemeti kṣatraṃ hīndraḥ kṣatram u hi kṣatriyaḥ* || *ŚBK* 6.2.1.2 || *bṛhaspateṣ tvā sāmrājyenābhiṣiñcāmīti brūyād yadi brāhmaṇo yajeta brahma hi bṛhaspatir brahma hi brāhmaṇa indrasya tvā sāmrājyenābhiṣiñcāmīti brūyād yadi kṣatriyo yajeta kṣatraṃ hīndraḥ kṣatram u hi kṣatriyaḥ* || *ŚBK* 6.2.3.8 ||

[165] *ŚBK* 7.2.4.2, 7.2.4.20, 7.3.3.4, 7.3.3.7. In 7.3.3.7, Arjuna is said to be the secret name of Indra.

[166] *ŚBK* 7.5.1.4.

consecrated or a *rājanya* (*kṣatriya*) or a *vaiśya*, they call him "a brāhmaṇa" only. For then he is born a brāhmaṇa."[167] According to a myth that glorifies the *brahmā* priest office, which was new to the *yajña*, the *devas* feared an attack from the *asura-rakṣasas* in the South.[168] They moved to the north to a place free from fear and danger (*abhaye 'nāṣṭre*) and asked Indra to protect the southern side in exchange for becoming a *brahmā* priest. For this reason, Indra officiates as the *brāhmaṇācchaṁsin*.[169] In the Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍas* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *varṇa* categories are recognized but not yet fixed. That the Vājasaneyins did not go out of their way to enforce social stratification may have upset the more orthodox brāhmaṇas to their west. Perhaps because leniency for *varṇa* mixing was more permissible in the East, orthodox ritualists disfavored eastern adherents, whose ascetic tradition was at odds with neighboring customs.

Section II: The East During the Time of Yājñavalkya and Gotama

King Janaka ruled the small but prominent kingdom of Videha when Yājñavalkya composed, edited, and compiled his sections of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, incorporating Vedic *ṛṣi* and *muni* traditions in a unique *bhāṣika*-accented compilation.[170] Janaka is believed to have lived two centuries after Parīkṣit, who according to Purāṇic tradition lived in the fourteenth century BCE.[171] This would place Janaka in the twelfth century BCE, or alternatively, in the seventh century BCE.[172] Witzel states that with the exception of Śākalya and Yājñavalkya, those who compete at Janaka's court are representatives of western, Kuru-Pañcāla traditions.[173] The *brahmodyas* or as Oldenberg styles them, "tournaments of

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[167] … *chandobhyas tasmād yady apy abrāhmaṇo dīkṣate rājanyo vā vaiśyo vā brāhmaṇa ity evainam āhur etarhi hi brahmaṇo jāyate*… *ŚBK* 4.2.1.27 |

[168] *ŚBK* 5.7.6.1-3.

[169] Literally the one who recites from the Brāhmaṇa, assistant of the *hotṛ* called the *prastotṛ*, the one who instructs.

[170] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* follows the *bhāṣika* accentuation system, which marks only the low-pitched *anudātta* syllables with horizontal understrokes. Following Sanskrit manuscript orthography, I mark the accents with an understroke. See George Cardona, "The bhāṣika accentuation system," in *Studien zur Indologie und iranistik*, Vol. 18. Ed. Georg Buddruss, Oskar von Hinüber, Hanns-Peter Schmidt, Albrecht Wezler, and Michael Witzel. (Reinbek: Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 1993, pp. 1-40). Some scholars consider portions of these *kāṇḍas* to be very old and maybe recast and expounded by Yājñavalkya rather than composed by him. See Shrava, 27; Müller, *A History*, 360.

[171] Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, Po*litical History of Ancient India: From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty*. Fifth Edition. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1950), 52.

[172] Ibid.

[173] For example, Uddālaka Āruṇi was from the Kuru-Pañcāla kingdom and Proti Kauśāmbeya was understood by Harisvāmin in his commentary on the *ŚB* to be a native of Kauśāmbī. According to the Purāṇas, Nicakṣu, a Paurava king, moved his government from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbī (near Allahabad). Thapar also describes how after the Gaṅgā flooded in the Kuru capital of Hastināpura, the inhabitants migrated to Kauśāmbī. Hastināpura was reoccupied in the mid-first millennium, but did not regain status equal to other towns in the middle Gaṅgā valley. Śākalya is referenced at *ŚBM* 11.6.3.3, *BĀU* 3.9.1. Witzel elaborates, "Aśvala, the Hotṛ priest of Janaka [*BĀU* 17.3.1.2], represents the Āśvalāyana school, Kahola Kauṣītaki is the reputed author of the Kauṣītaki Br. and Ār. …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." See "The Development of the Vedic Canon," 322; Yogendra Mishra, *History of*

arguments," held at Janaka Vaideha's court provide evidence for a Vedic center in the East.[174] The western brāhmaṇas recorded to be in the East during Janaka's time may have been sojourning in order to participate in a *yajña* or may have relocated there possibly due to river-hydraulic and climate changes. Witzel makes clear that by defeating his western opponents, Yājñavalkya established the standing of the Vājasaneyins in the eastern part of north India.[175] The *kāṇḍas* attributed to Yājñavalkya in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* date to the reign of King Janaka of Videha, where the Mādhyandina branch was located.

After Janaka, when the Vajjis surpassed the Videhas, Kosala emerged as a major center of political power and *muni* religious activity. While it is well known that Pāli texts list Kosala among the sixteen principalities (*janapadas*), this region was also associated with a particular Vedic school.[176] Situated to the east of the Taittirīyas in Pañcāla, Kosala was the home of the Kāṇvas, offshoots of the Aṅgirasas. Earlier Kāṇvas composed the first sixty-six hymns of book eight of the *Ṛgveda*, which does not begin with hymns to Agni as is standard in other books. Holland has noted the unusual variety of stanzas in less common meters, such as Atijagatī and Śakvarī.[177] Perhaps for this reason, the Kāṇvas are known as singers in the *Ṛgveda*.[178] Moreover, book eight contributed to a large portion of the *Sāmaveda*. In addition, Thapar maintains that the Kāṇvas, together with the Bhṛgus, kept narratives of the past.[179] And thanks to Yājñavalkya, who distanced himself from the neighboring Taittirīyas in Pañcāla to found the Vājasaneyin School, later Kāṇvas were the heirs to a Vedic tradition that prioritized *muni* philosophy, while at the same time combining it with *ṛṣi* ritualism and revelation.

As one of two main authorities in the *Śatapatha Brahmaṇa*, Yājñavalkya has been studied by scholars like Renou, Tsuji, Horsch, Fišer, Brereton, Witzel, and Lindquist. Fišer and Witzel described the personal language of Yājñavalkya, citing examples of words in the sage's quotations that are not attested elsewhere in the Brāhmaṇas.[180] Witzel identified him

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Videha: From the Earliest Times up to the Foundation of the Gupta Empire A.D. 319. (Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1981), 130; Thapar, *From Lineage to State*, 96.

[174] Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha: His Life, His Doctrine, His Order.* Trans. William Hoey. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1882), 398; Mishra, 139.

[175] Witzel, "The Development of the Vedic Canon," 322.

[176] The sixteen principalities (*janapadas*) listed in Pāli texts are: Aṅga, Magadha, the Vajji confederacy, and the Mallas in the middle of the Ganges Valley; Kāśī, Kosala, and Vatsa to the west; Kuru, Pañcāla, Matsya, and Śūrasena further west; Kamboja and Gandhāra in the north-west; Avanti and Cedi in western and central India; and Assaka in the Deccan. Avanti's capital lay in Ujjain, Vatsa's in Kauśāmbī, Kosala's in Śrāvastī, and Magadha's in Rājagṛha. These cities were connected by trade routes. See Thapar, *Early India*, 138, 141.

[177] According to Holland, the dominant meter is the Gāyatrī (735 stanzas). See Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland, "Maṇḍala 8," in *Rig Veda: A Metrically Restored Text with an Introduction and Notes.* Ed. Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 634-645.

[178] Many references in book eight of the *RV* associate the Kāṇvas with singing: make like Kaṇva beautiful songs (8.6.11), the Kāṇvas sing forth praise (8.7.32), remember Kaṇva first among all singers (8.9.3), and the Kāṇvas speak with song (8.32.1).

[179] Ibid., 92, 100.

[180] Consider, for example, *vṛkṣya* ('fruit of the trees'). Fišer points out that Barku Vārṣṇa used to say to eat beans, but Yājñavalkya says to eat only what grows in the forest (*tasmād āraṇyam evāśnīyāt*). Ivo Fišer, "Yājñavalkya in the Śruti Tradition of the Veda," in *Acta Orientalia* XLV. (1984): 55-87, 64 (*ŚBM* 1.1.1.10); Michael Witzel, "Yājñavalkya as ritualist and philosopher, and his personal language." Talk given in Kyoto November 30, 2000. January 5, 2003. Emailed to me by the author. §5-6.

as a ritualist, debater, and Upaniṣadic thinker and mystic.[181] He demonstrates how innovative Yājñavalkya was in Vedic tradition, introducing new terms and even the theory of *karma*.[182] Yājñavalkya's new compounds cited by Witzel include *advaita* (*BĀU* 4.3.32), *svayám-jyotiḥ* (4.3.10, 14) and *antár-jyotiḥ*, *vijñāna-māya* (4.3.7), and *jāgarita-deśa*, the waking state (4.3.14). Witzel further notes terms Yājñavalkya used in a new way, such as *hitā*, which normally means put or placed, but for Yājñavalkya refers to the channels or capillary arteries attached to the heart (4.3.20). Witzel argues that *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 17.4.3 in particular expresses the "very *personal* language of Yājñavalkya," who emerges as a "provocative thinker and innovator."[183]   In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Yājñavalkya taught that the priests (*ṛtvij*) were the ground for offering to the devas (*devayajana*).[184] In this way, he emphasized the body of the wise men (*vidvāṃso*) as the locus for ritual exchange. According to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Yājñavalkya directly received the *yajus* formulas from the sun (*āditya*).[185]

In the section in which Yājñavalkya instructs Janaka, the *Mahābhārata* also records how the sage received the *yajus* formulas from Sūrya, who sent Sarasvatī to enter Yājñavalkya's body and cause it to burn with the energy of the goddess. Sūrya explained that the sage would come to know all the wisdom of the Vedas through an inward light. Yājñavalkya recalls, "Then seated in rapt attention, I duly offered a respectful welcome (*arghya*) to Sarasvatī and the foremost of those who heat. Then the entire *Śatapatha* was composed together with the secret parts, compendiums (*sasaṃgraha*), and appendices with utmost joy" (*MBh* 12.306.15-16).[186] Having received the *yajus* formulae, Yājñavalkya then learned the *purāṇa* from Lomaharṣa and then the *purāṇa* held by Romaharṣaṇa.[187] Yājñavalkya continues, "Keeping before me this seed (*bīja*) and the goddess Sarasvatī, with the help of Sūrya, O king [Janaka], I began to form my Śatapatha Veda, never before brought about…" (22-23).[188] According to this passage, Yājñavalkya was not only a *ṛṣi*, the

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[181] Witzel, "Yājñavalkya," §2.
[182] Ibid., §4.5.
[183] Ibid., §6-7.
[184] …*ṛtvijas tu ha vāva devayajanaṃ* … | *ŚBK* 4.1.1.3 | Yājñavalkya also speaks of how his eyes were impaired, but became sound through ritual action: "Then, he anoints his two eyes [with ghee]. Yājñavalkya said, 'My two wounded eyes are sound (*praśān*).'[184] It was indeed like a fraudulent die. Whatever impure secretion of the eyes was like pus (*pūya*) there, in this way he makes that unwounded." *athāsvākṣiṇī ānakty arur vā akṣiṇī praśān mameti hovāca yājñavalkyo durakṣa iva hāsa tasya yā dūṣīkā yathā pūya evaṃ tad anarur evaine tat karoty* | *ŚBK* 4.1.3.9 |
[185] "These *śukla yajus* formulas from the sun were explained by Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya." *ādityānīmāni śuklāni yajūṃṣi vājasaneyena yājñavalkyenākhyayante* || *BĀU* 17.6.5.3 ||
[186] *Mahābhārata* 12.306.15-16. *tato 'ham arghyaṃ vidhivat sarasvatyai nyavedayam* | *tapatāṃ ca variṣṭhāya niṣannas tatparāyaṇaḥ* || 15 || *tataḥ śatapathaṃ kṛtsnaṃ sarahasyaṃ sasaṃgraham* | *cakre sapariśeṣaṃ ca harṣeṇa parameṇa ha* || 16 ||
[187] *MBh* 12.306.21. *tathaiva lomaharṣāc ca purāṇam avadhāritam* | *upadhāritaṃ tathā vāpi purāṇaṃ romaharṣaṇāt* || 21 ||
[188] *MBh* 12.306.22-23. *bījam etat puraskṛtya devīṃ caiva sarasvatīm* | *sūryasya cānubhāvena pravṛtto 'haṃ narādhipa* || 22 || *kartuṃ śatapathaṃ vedam apūrvaṃ kāritaṃ ca me* | *yathābhilaṣitaṃ mārgaṃ tathā tac copapāditam* || 23 || See also Shrava, 23.

worthy recipient of direct revelation, but he was also a *muni* who studied the burgeoning ascetic, philosophical, and Purāṇic tradition.[189]

In this account, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is described as having secret parts (*sarahasya*) and appendices or supplements (*sapariśeṣa*), which seem to have been incorporated with unrestricted access to all Vedic adherents only at a later time. That Yājñavalkya gave esoteric teachings in secret is explicitly mentioned in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (17.3.2.13). When Ārtabhāga asks about where man exists after he dies, Yājñavalkya takes his hand and tells him that they will go away from the assembly to talk in private. Separate from the others, Yājñavalkya tells him about the doctrine of *karma*. In this way, there are clues from the tradition that not all the teachings were passed down openly to all students. If some doctrines were kept secret, it is possible that some teachings left by Yājñavalkya circulated in special circles, only to be incorporated into the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* at a later time. In particular, *kāṇḍas* 13-16 contain Yājñavalkya's teachings, but Eggeling considered some of these to be a later addition that existed separately at one stage.[190]

But was Yājñavalkya responsible for all the *kāṇḍas* attributed to him? According to Renou, "The sudden development in Yājñavalkya's thought strikingly contrasts with the dry and infrequent liturgical remarks attributed to the same theologian in the Brāhmaṇa."[191] Nevertheless, Renou states that Yājñavalkya's roles as a ritualist and a philosopher are connected through shared themes.[192] Throughout the Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍas* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Yājñavalkya speaks authoritatively, giving his opinion about ritual and what is most desirable for a brāhmaṇa.[193] No evidence in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* suggests that there were multiple Yājñavalkya teachers, despite the range of philosophical instruction. Following Renou, Witzel has suggested that Yājñavalkya may be categorized as ritualist, discussant, and philosopher, but even these overlap, rendering it impossible to "compartmentalize" him according to a split in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[194]

The Purāṇas, on the other hand, mention numerous Yājñavalkyas.[195] It is possible that the man who, according to tradition was the authority on ritual and the founder of the *Śukla Yajurveda* branch, took on a literary persona larger than his historical activities.[196] Laurie Patton has argued, "an author does not create a text so much as a textual tradition

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[189] Vālmīki, who tells his epic story set in Kosala, is also called both *ṛṣi* (*Rāmāyaṇa* 1.2.12, 1.3.29) and a *muni* (1.1.7, 1.2.19, 37, and 41). I am grateful to Naina Dayal for pointing this out. Leslie provides ample evidence that Vālmīki is described as a *mahāmuni, munipuṃgava, maharṣi, ṛṣisattama,* etc. See Julia Leslie, *Authority and Meaning in Indian Religions: Hinduism and Case of Vālmīki.* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2003), 97-99.

[190] Julius Eggeling, "Introduction," in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* Vol. 1. (Delhi, 1963), 29.

[191] My translation of: "Cet essor soudain de la pensée de Yājñavalkya fait un contraste saisissant avec les sèches et rares remarques liturgiques attribuées au même docteur dans le Br." Louis Renou, "Les Relations du Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa avec la Bṛhadāraṇyaopaniṣad et la personalite de Yājñavalkya," *Indian Culture* XIV, no. 4 (April-June 1948): 75-89, 80.

[192] Ibid., 80, 88.

[193] *ŚBK* 1.3.1.13, 1.3.2.1, 2.8.4.10, 4.1.1.3, 4.1.12.12, 5.2.1.5, 5.8.1.9-11, etc.

[194] Witzel, "Yājñavalkya," §2.

[195] Partiger and Mishra discuss the many Yājñavalkyas in Indian history.

[196] Gonda, *Vedic Literature,* 327, 353. Yājñavalkya is mentioned 108 times in the *BĀU*.

creates a sense of authorial capacity, an authorial imaginaire."[197] Taking Śaunaka as her example, she illustrates how the idea of a stable author is not to be trusted, even though the idea of the author is not absent in early India. The author, Patton asserts,

> is even more present than we might imagine—involving, as it does, a set of authorial capacities as much as an author himself…Śaunaka is a significant illustration of Velcheru Narayana Rao's basic idea (2008) that in ancient India, texts produce authors as much as authors produce texts.[198]

In a similar way, Yājñavalkya may have composed the statements and sections attributed to him, or tradition may have used his authoritative persona to bolster the *kāṇḍas* believed to have been added later. In Bronkhorst's view, for instance, statements attributed to Yājñavalkya in the Yājñavalkya-kāṇḍa of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* were in reality composed more recently.[199] Steven Lindquist has concluded that there is simply not enough evidence to determine conclusively either way.[200]

And yet, Renou and Witzel convincingly show that the Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍas* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as well as many of the esoteric sections in which he features may be attributed to the same Yājñavalkya. The interpretations and explanations in these sections feature a hermeneutic consistency, especially regarding causation. The differences in vocabulary and style may be due to the particular circles in which those sections were taught and passed down.

Yājñavalkya is the first *ṛṣi* recorded in Vedic literature to inform one of his wives that he was going forth.[201] According to *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4.5.1, Yājñavalkya was about to take up another mode of life (*vṛtta*),[202] so he told Maitreyī, "Listen, I am about to go forth (*pra*+√ *vraj*) from this place…"[203] On the basis of the parallel episode in 2.4.1, which substitutes the verb to go away (*ud*+√ *yā*) for *pra*+√ *vraj*, Brereton has argued that the verb is used in a "non-technical sense and as a euphemism for death."[204] While Brereton asserted that elsewhere in the *Śatapatha* and Upaniṣads *pra*+√ *vraj* is used in a non-technical sense, Edgerton translates *pra*+√ *vraj* here in a technical sense, as going forth.[205] After abandoning the householder life (*yājñavalkyo vijahāra*), Yājñavalkya taught and modeled the Vedic

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[197] Laurie Patton, "Traces of Śaunaka: A Literary Assessment," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 79, no. 1. (2011): 113-135, 113.

[198] Ibid., 131.

[199] Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 237.

[200] Steven E. Lindquist, "One Yājñavalkya…Two? On the (Questionable) Historicity of a Literary Figure," in *Religion and Identity in South Asia and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Patrick Olivelle.* Ed. Steven E. Lindquist, 69-82. (New York: Anthem Press, 2011).

[201] *BĀU* 17.2.4.1ff and 17.4.5.1ff. See Witzel, "Yājñavalkya," §2. Thieme points out that observing a life of celibacy was apparently not uncommon for married Ṛgvedic seers, such as Agastya and his wife Lopāmudrā (*RV* 1.179). See Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 82.

[202] *atha ha yājñavalkyo 'nyad vṛttam upākariṣyan* ‖ *BĀU* 17.4.5.1 ‖

[203] *maitreyīti hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ | pravrajiṣyan vā are 'ham asmāt sthānād asmi | BĀU* 17.4.5.2 |

[204] *maitreyīti hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ -- udyāsyan vā are 'ham asmāt sthānād asmi | BĀU* 17.2.4.1 | Brereton, "The Composition of the Maitreyī Dialogue," 331.

[205] Edgerton translates, "Maitreyī, behold, I am going to depart from this place as a wandering ascetic." In addition, Bronkhorst points out that the Jaina canon has a tendency to use the related term *parivrājaka* to refer to Brahmins. See Franklin Edgerton, *The Beginnings of Indian Philosophy: Selections from the Rig Veda, Atharva Veda, Upaniṣads, and Mahābhārata.* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1965), 166; Johannes Bronkhorst, *The Two Sources of Indian Asceticism.* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1993), 88.

muni ideal.[206] The visionary sage describes the brāhmaṇas who go around begging for alms (*bhikṣācara*), giving up the desire for wealth, etc.[207] In this passage, Yājñavalkya characterizes brāhmaṇa *munis* as those mendicants who go forth (*pravrājino … pravrajanti*), here used unmistakably in a technical sense:

> Through reciting the Vedas, through the *yajña*, through giving (*dāna*), through inexhaustible asceticism (*tapas*), brāhmaṇas desire to know *this*. Having known just *this*, one becomes a sage (*muni*). Seeking this very conditioned space, mendicants (*pravrājin*) go forth (*pra+√ vraj*).[208] Earlier knowers of this verily did not desire offspring, [thinking,] "What is the use of offspring? What will we do with them? We have this *ātman*, [which is] this world." Giving up the desire for children, the desire for wealth, and the desire for worlds, they then indeed wandered begging for alms (*bhikṣācaryaṃ caranti*).[209]

Given that it is consistent with his teachings in the Upaniṣad, it is fair to think, along with Edgerton and Witzel, that Yājñavalkya meant that he was going forth in a technical sense to become a renunciant when he told Maitreyī, "*pravrajiṣyan vā are 'ham asmāt sthānād asmi.*"[210] Both a *ṛṣi* and a *muni*, Yājñavalkya embodied the *brāhmaṇa* par excellence of Kosala-Videha. His unique vision in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* united the ritualism of the *ṛṣis* with the philosophical speculation of the *munis*.

The Purāṇas account for how Yājñavalkya split off from his first Vedic teacher to form his new school, the Vājasaneyins.[211] According to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 3.5.1ff, after failing to attend an assembly, Vaiśampāyana accidentally killed a brahman child and asked his students to perform an atonement for him. When Yājñavalkya refused, Vaiśampāyana asked him to regurgitate all that he had learned.[212] Yājñavalkya vomited the *yajus* formulae and the other students picked it up in the form of partridges (*tittiri*), a reference to Yājñavalkya leaving a Black Yajurvedic school, the Taittirīyas. Yājñavalkya then addressed the sun (Vivasvant) who appeared as a *vājin* (horse) and granted him his wish, giving rise to the White Yajurveda or the *vājins,* a reference to the Vājasaneyin School. This episode depicts Yājñavalkya parting ways with the Madhyadeśa orthodoxy.

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[206] For Yājñavalkya's teaching on what it means to be a *muni*, see *BĀU* 17.3.5.1, 17.4.4.22.

[207] *BĀU* 17.3.5.1.

[208] Compare with the Pāli *pabbajja* in the *Suttanipāta*.

[209] …*tam etaṃ vedānuvacanena brāhmaṇā vividiṣanti yajñena dānena tapasānāśakena | etam eva viditvā munir bhavati | etam eva pravrājino lokam icchantaḥ pravrajanti | etad dha sma vai tat pūrve vidvāṃsaḥ prajāṃ na kāmayante kiṃ prajayā kariṣyāmo eṣāṃ no 'yam ātmā 'yaṃ loka iti te ha sma putraiṣaṇāyāś ca vittaiṣaṇāyāś ca lokaiṣaṇāyāś ca vyutthāyātha bhikṣācaryaṃ caranti | ŚBK* 17.4.4.22 | The cognate construction in Sanskrit literally reads they wandered the wandeirng for alms.

[210] *BĀU* 17.4.5.2. Bronkhorst notes that *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* deals with a related term, *parivrāja*, in sūtras 2.21.7-16, which state that the *parivrāja* is a wandering *muni* who obtains his support of life moving about in villages. See *Greater Magadha*, 86.

[211] Steven Lindquist analyzed additional Purāṇic accounts of Yājñavalkya in his paper at the 225th American Oriental Society meeting, New Orleans, March 13-16, 2015. I look forward to his forthcoming monograph on Yājñavalkya.

[212] G.U. Thite, "Yājñavalkya: A Satyr," in *Amṛtamandākinī: Dr. G.B. Palsule Felicitation Volume*. (Pune: Abhayakumār Gaṅgādhar Pāṭhak,1996, pp.150-154), 153. The late, unedited Chārdi Brāhmaṇa (in epic-purāṇa style Skt/south Indian epic piece) reflects the Purāṇic idea that Yājñavalkya vomited the Veda and Tittiri picked up the bloody vomit. See Witzel, "Yājñavalkya," §9.

Yājñavalkya's integrated *ṛṣi* and *muni* tradition, which was passed down through the Kāṇva School, formed the cultural milieu in Kosala, the region where Gotama Buddha was born and raised. Vedic texts regard the settlement of Kosala and Videha as recent,[213] whereas during the lifetime of the Buddha, Videha was controlled by the Vajji (Skt. *Vṛji*) confederation, whose principal constituents were the Lichchhavis.[214] Witzel makes the case that there was a time gap between the late Vedic texts and the time of the Buddha.[215] The late Vedic texts, including the earliest Upaniṣads, were composed when the Vedic language was still widely spoken.[216] Even though it is possible that he drew from much older material in composing the first seven kāṇḍas of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the Yājñavalkya sections of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* correspond to the time of Janaka. But the king of Videha is only remembered as a distant, legendary figure in the Pāli texts. In turn, late Vedic texts do not mention any Bauddhas, the Magadhan king Bimbisāra or the Kosalan king Prasenajit, who were contemporaries of the Buddha. Even though the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* does not know Prasenajit, the text mentions Para Hairaṇyanābha Kausalya and his father Aṭnāra.[217] According to Raychaudhuri, the Purāṇas make Hiraṇyanābha, king of Kosala, an ancestor of Prasenajit, but they are not sure about his position in the dynastic list.[218] Witzel observes that the formation of both Vedic and Buddhist texts developed gradually, so their chronology cannot be tied to one point in time. But one thing is certain: the political influence of Videha declined after Janaka, at which point the most powerful kingdoms became Kosala and Magadha.

The Bārhadrathas are believed to have ruled Magadha until the seventh century BCE, followed by the Pradyotas and the Śiśunāgas.[219] One of the successors of Śiśunāga was King Bimbisāra, under whose leadership Magadha rose in prominence in the sixth century BCE. Bimbisāra built Rājagṛha and allied himself by marriage with Kosala and Vaiśālī.[220] He maintained diplomatic relations with Pauṣkarasarin (Pukkusati), the king of Gāndhāra whose capital was Takṣaśilā. He is claimed by both Buddhists and Jains. Bimbisāra's eldest son was Ajataśatru, who is said to have killed his father for the throne and then

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[213] Witzel, "The Development of the Vedic Canon," 314.

[214] The Vajji confederation continued to be a strong force during the lifetime of the Buddha. It is reported that whereas Gotama spent no rainy seasons in Videha, Mahāvīra spent six rainy seasons there. See Romila Thapar, *Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300*. (London: Allen Lane of Penguin Books, 2002), 149; Mishra, 240.

[215] Witzel specifices a gap of at least 100 years passed between *BAU* (c. 500 BCE) and Pāli texts (c. 400 BCE). Michael Witzel, "Moving Targets? Text, language, archaeology and history in the Late Vedic and early Buddhist periods." *Indo-Iranian Journal 52*. (Leiden: Brill, 2009, pp. 287-310).

[216] Ibid., 289. Witzel notes that the Buddha and later Pāṇini would call this living Vedic language "*chandas*" (metrical). The Buddha said not to propagate his teachings in *chandas* language. See K.R. Norman, *chandasi aropetam*, in *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung*. Ed. H. Bechert. (Göttingen, 1980).

[217] Ibid.; *ŚBM* 13.5.4.4.

[218] Hairaṇyanābha, Prasenajit, and Śuddhodana are Kosalan kings known from Vedic and early Buddhist texts. Raychaudhuri, 102-104.

[219] The Pradyota dynasty was in Avanti. See Raychaudhuri, 115, 220. According to Sankar, from c. 1409 to 686. See K.G. Sankar, "Some Problems of Indian Chronology," in *ABORI* 12, Part 4. (1931): 301-361; Diwakar, 97.

[220] He married Kosaladevī, the sister of Kosalan King Prasenajit—whose dowry was a village in Kāśī, Chellanā, the daughter of the Lichchhavi chief Chetaka, and Kṣemā, the daughter of the king of Madra in central Panjab.

warred against the Kosalas and the Lichchhavis. He spent his almost thirty years in power in the beginning of the fifth century BCE attacking and annexing Videha, Vaiśālī, Kāśī and part of Kosala. His sixteen-year campaign against the Vajji confederation and their disintegration marks the end of the *gaṇa-saṅgha* system or the confederacy of clans in the middle-Gaṅgā valley.[221] Gotama Buddha began to preach when Bimbisāra was on the throne and died after his son Ajātaśatru reigned for seven or eight years.

Prasenajit (Pāli: Pasenadi) was the king of Kosala and a contemporary of Gotama Buddha. His sister, Kosaladevī, married King Bimbisāra. Prasenajit's first queen, Mallikā, became a follower of the Buddha. King Prasenajit is said to have met with the Buddha at his capital of Śrāvastī. Despite Prasenajit's generous support to Gotama, because the Nikāyas record him giving villages to brāhmaṇas, Pathak suggests that the Kosalan king remained a follower of the Vedic religion.[222] The proceeds of the village Ukkaṭṭhā were given to the brāhmaṇa Pokkharasāti (*D* 1.3.2), Opāsāda to Caṅkī (*M* 2.45.1), Sālavaṭikā to Lohicca (Skt. Lauhitya) (*D* 1.12.1), and Setabyā to Pāyāsi (*D* 2.10.1).[223] When Prasenajit first met the Buddha (*S* 3.1.1), he doubted the Buddha's superiority over other teachers.[224] Not to mention that the Kosalan king performed a great sacrifice, which suggests that Prasenajit must have had a family priest to maintain his sacred fires.[225] Otherwise, Prasenajit would not have been eligible to be the *yajamāna* in other *śrauta yajñas*. Pathak argues, "It may be concluded that Prasenajita was a follower of the Vedic religion but he limited it to his own personal self."[226] On the other hand, the brāhmaṇa Caṅkī mentions that Prasenajit has gone for refuge under Gotama (*M* 95.2).[227] The portrayal of King Prasenajit as a Vedic adherent open to the teachings of Gotama presents an interesting overlap of the Vedic tradition and the followers of the Buddha in Kosala.

Kosala was one of the bases of early Buddhism, but the region was also associated with Vedic, Jain, and Ājīvika traditions, as well as from the beginning, Nāga, Yakṣa, and tree worship.[228] And yet Pathak points out, "It appears that the majority of the people of Kośala were adherents of the Vedic religion."[229] According to von Hinüber, nine of the fourteen brahman villages mentioned in the Theravāda-Tipiṭaka are situated in Kosala, four

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[221] Thapar, *From Lineage to State*, 114-115.
[222] Pathak, 227.
[223] Ibid., 227; Ryūtarō Tsuchida, "Two Categories of Brahmins in the Early Buddhist Period," in *Memoirs of the Research Department of Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library), The Toyo Bunko* no. 49. (1991): 51-95, 55-57. Tsuchida provides a table of *brāhmaṇagāma-s* and *brahmadeyya-s* mentioned in the Nikāyas.
[224] Purāṇa, Kassapa, Pakudha Kacchāyana, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, Sañjaya Velaṭṭhi, Pakudha Kacchāyana, and Ajita Kesakambali.
[225] *S* 1.75-76 forms part of a larger subsection (*Kosalasaṃyutta*) in which King Pasenadi of Kosala converses with the Buddha. See *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya.* Trans. Bhikkhu Bodhi. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000), 171-172; Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism*, 81.
[226] Pathak, 229.
[227] *Gotamaṃ rājā Pasenadi Kosalo saputtadāro pāṇehi saraṇaṃ gato*. See *Majjhima-Nikaya, Suttantas 77-106*, Vol. 2. Ed. by Robert Chalmers. (London: Pali Text Society, 1896), 167. Input by the Dhammakaya Foundation, Thailand, 1989-1996.
[228] Most importantly the *aśvattha*, meaning the *ficus religiosa* or pipal tree. See Pathak, 416.
[229] Pathak, 416; Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The Religions of India.* (Boston: Ginn & Company, Publishers, 1895), 300-301.

in Magadha, and one in Malla.[230] This makes sense, considering that Kosala was home of the Kāṇva *śākhā*, situated on the edge of what Bronkhorst calls Greater Magadha.

As mentioned above, the Buddha himself says that he hails from a principality situated among the Kosalans.[231] He grew up in Kapilavastu at the time when Kosala, Magadha, and the Vajji confederation were at their zenith.[232] Tradition holds that at age twenty-nine, Gotama left Kapilavastu and became a religious wanderer. He practiced mortifications and studied under two brāhmaṇa teachers[233] before finding the middle way and becoming awakened under the bodhi tree. He taught the "Turning the Wheel of the Dharma" discourse in Sārnāth a few weeks later. Gotama Buddha often visited Kapilavastu (his native Śākya town) and Vaiśālī, but spent a great deal of time in Śrāvastī, the capital of Kosala.[234] In addition to Śrāvastī, where he is reputed to have spent twenty-five rainy seasons, he spent monsoon retreats in Rajagṛha, Kauśāmbī, Vaiśālī, and Vārāṇasī.[235] He traveled to Mathurā once and to the Doāb several times, but never stayed there long—his usual residences were found west of a line between Śrāvastī and Kauśāmbī.[236]

Prasenajit frequently visited Jetavana to discuss his administrative affairs with the Buddha. During one of his absences, his son Virūḍhaka seized the throne of Kosala.[237] Having gone to Rājagṛha to seek the aid of his nephew, Ajātaśatru, Prasenajit allegedly died outside the city gates. Virūḍhaka (Pāli Viḍūḍabha), who in Kṣemendra's account has a *purohita*, then campaigned against the Śākyas to avenge their act of giving a mixed-*varṇa* princess, his mother, to wed his father.[238] Three times the Buddha convinced him to turn back, but finally he massacred the entire Śākya clan in Kapilavastu.[239] It might be said that the decline of Kosala as a great power had already started when, after releasing Ajātaśatru from prison, Prasenajit gave the Kāśī village to Ajātaśatru along with his daughter in

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[230] Oskar von Hinüber, "Hoary Past and Hazy Memory: On the History of Early Buddhist Texts," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 29, no. 2, (2008): 193-210, 200.

[231] *Sn* 422-423. Prasenajita also indicates that the Buddha was a Kosalan like himself (*Bhagavā pi Kosalako aham pi Kosalako*) in *M* 89.2. See PTS edition, Vol. 2, page 124; Alexander Wynne, *The Origin of Buddhist Meditation.* (London: Routledge, 2007), 12; Pathak, 29.

[232] King Bimbisāra, King Prasenajit of Kosala, King Candapaddota of Avanti, and King Udayana of Vatsa were his contemporaries. See Jugal Kishore Bauddh, *Rajagraha: Historical Capital of Magadha*. 2nd Ed. (New Delhi: Samyak Prakashan, 2009), 27.

[233] Alexander Wynne, *The Origin of Buddhist Meditation.* (London: Routledge, 2007). Wynne's work will be discussed further in the next chapter.

[234] Étienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era*. Trans. Sara Webb-Boin. (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1988), 20.

[235] Archaeological excavations in Śrāvastī/Sāvatthī go back to the middle of the sixth century BCE, and to around 500 BE in Vesālī. See Herbert Härtel, "Archaeological Research on Ancient Buddhist Sites," in *When did the Buddha Live?: The Controversy on the Dating of the Historical Buddha.* (Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica. Sri Satguru, 1995), 148-149; Bhikkhu Sujato and Bhikkhu Brahmali, "The Authenticity of the Early Buddhist Texts," 122.

[236] Lamotte, 338.

[237] See "Bhaddasāla Jātaka," no. 465 in *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births,* Vol. 4. Trans. W.H.D. Rouse. Ed. E.B. Cowell. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1994 (first published 1895), 95-96.

[238] For a detailed discussion of Virūḍhaka and the massacre of the Śākyas, see Phyllis Granoff, "Karma, Curse, or Divine Illusion: The Destruction of the Buddha's Clan and the Slaughter of the Yādavas," in *Epic and Argument in Sanskrit Literary History*. Ed. Sheldon Pollock. (New Delhi: Manohar, 2010), 82.

[239] He, along with most of his army, drowned afterward in their riverside camp. See Lamotte, 12.

marriage.[240] Sumitra, fourth from Viḍūḍabha, was the last independent sovereign of Kosala. Kosalan territories thereafter formed part of the Magadhan empire.[241]

The political history of pre-Nanda India (before fourth century BCE) consisted of dynasties. The region of Kosala included states like the Śākyas, Moriyas, Koliyas, Kuśīnagar, and Kāśī.[242] Kosala stretched from the Vārāṇasī district in the south to the Nepalese teraï, occupied by the Śākyas, in the north.[243] The sub-Himālayan Śākyan *gaṇa*, which tradition claims descended from either Ikṣvāku or one of his progeny, had an autonomous administration.[244] Inhabiting forest tracts, they named their capital, Kapilavastu, after the famous brāhmaṇa sage, Kapila.[245] Lamotte described the Śākyas as "a clan of uncertain origin but which had to a certain degree been subjected to brāhmaṇical influence."[246] The early hagiographical account in the "Nālaka Sutta" characterizes the *devas* rejoicing and a seer rushing to Suddhodana's abode on account of the birth of Gotama. After being received by a matted-hair seer called Kaṇhasiri (*jaṭī kaṇhasirivhayo isi*), Asita, who is called a master of the marks of a great man and of Vedic mantras (*lakkhaṇamantapāragū*), foretold of the prince's awakening and said, "his *brahmacariya* will be widely famed."[247] Kaṇhasiri and Asita may reflect the kinds of brāhmaṇas present in the Śākya realm in Kosala when Gotama was born.

The Buddha identifies the Vedic *gotra* of the Śākyas as the sun (Pāli *ādicca*, Skt. *āditya*).[248] This *gotra* points to the relation of his family to the solar lineage belonging to Vivasvān, another Āditya and the progenitor of Manu, Ikṣvāku's father.[249] Moreover, the oldest sections of the *Suttanipāta*, including the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, *Pārāyaṇavagga*, and the "Khaggavisāṇa Sutta," call the Buddha *ādiccabandhu* (kinsman of the sun).[250] That Gotama was considered to be the kinsman of the sun (*ādiccabandhu*) suggests an overt gesture to connect him to the great sage of eastern Brāhmaṇical tradition, Yājñavalkya, who received direct transmission from the sun (Vivasvat, Āditya, Sūrya).[251] The sun is a highly potent metaphor in the Vedas, so one who knows the sun denotes a great visionary and thus points to a very respectable status.

Gotama's relation to the solar lineage in the earliest recorded Buddhist literary tradition is consonant with Mauryan and Śuṅga art. The old, stone railing around the Mahābodhi temple in Bodhgaya depicts an image of the sun god riding on a one-wheeled

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[240] According to Basham, Kosala was already in decline during the time of Prasenajit. See A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that Was India*, Third Revised Edition. (New Delhi: Rupa & Co., 1967, reprinted 2003), 46.
[241] Pathak, 235.
[242] Pāli Buddhist texts describe Kosala-Videha as inhabited by many tribes: Pulinda/Buli, Malla, Sakya, Moriya, Kalāma. The Vajji confederation comprised the Licchavi, Naya, and Videha. See Witzel, "The Development of the Vedic Canon," 314.
[243] Lamotte, 11.
[244] Pathak, 40.
[245] Ibid., 249, 54-55. Kapila is the founder of Sāṃkya philosophy.
[246] Lamotte, 15.
[247] Sn 689-690 and 693 (*vitthārik'assa bhavissati brahmacariyaṃ*).
[248] *Sn* 423. See footnote 13.
[249] Pathak, 251.
[250] Sn 54, 540, 915, 1128. Ādityabandhu (Skt.) also occurs in the *Mahāvastu* at 1.282, 2.35, 2.232, 2.306, 3.401.
[251] Another way to translate Gotama's epithet is "one who has the connection of the sun" (*ādiccabandhu*).

chariot drawn by four horses, two going to the left and two to the right. Kumar and Kumar describe the image:

> On each side of the God is a female figure with bows and arrows representing Usha and Pratyusha dispelling the evils of darkness. The raised hoofs of the horses, the expression of restless energy, power, and fastness are realistically brought out, and the prostate wounded represent the victory of light over darkness, of good over evil.[252]

The stunning Śuṅga era relief of Sūrya at Bhājā illustrates Sūrya seated in a chariot between his two wives. The chariot tramples the body of a demon, which Osmund Bopearachchi has astutely identified as the night.[253] In Vedic thought, the night represents not knowing what lies beyond the ordinary consciousness. The night is like a womb that conceals the embryo about to be born. This means when the mind produces an experience, it is stored in an embryonic state, waiting to be taken up again into the light of consciousness. This embryonic energy from past actions is seen as potentially harmful because it shrinks a man's conditioned space. The relief portrays the sun driving away the darkness. These two images of Sūrya at early Buddhist sites are an implicit tribute to Ādiccabandhu's solar lineage and tacit Vedic heritage.[254]

The name Gotama, meaning "one who has the most light," refers to a Vedic *gotra* belonging to the Aṅgirasas. The *ṛṣi* who composed hymns in the latter part of Ṛgvedic book eight, Dīrghatamas, assumed the name Gautama after he regained his sight.[255] The *purohita* of Videgha Māthava was also named Gotama Rāhūgaṇa in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. This shows that the name Gotama is associated with eastern Vedic tradition. Tsuchida remarks that brāhmaṇas addressed the Buddha by his "gotta-name" to converse with him on equal footing.[256] Norman suggests that since Gotama is not a kṣatriya name, it may have been borrowed from the family *purohita's gotra* name.[257] As the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *itihāsa-purāṇa* lore show, however, *varṇa* observance was not yet fixed in the East, where the terms often represented inner powers rather than mere social categories.

Section III: Brāhmaṇism in the Madhyadeśa During the Śuṅga Dynasty

Although his capital was based in the east, Mahāpadma Nanda (c. 364-334 BCE) extended the boundaries of the Magadhan empire in all directions. Chandragupta Maurya

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[252] Rajiv Kumar and Anil Kumar, "A Unique Sūrya Carving on Aśokan Railings at Bodhgaya," in *ABORI* XCI (2010): 87-89, 87.

[253] Osmund Bopearachchi, Director of Research at CNRS, École Normale Supérieure. Visiting Professor, University of California at Berkeley. Conversation, February 9, 2015. Professor Bopearachchi reminded me that on the other side of a doorway from the relief of Sūrya is Indra riding Airāvata.

[254] Sharma also reports a terracotta fragmentary Śurya in his chariot from the Śuṅga period found in Kauśāmbī. Sinha, 154; G.R. Sharma, *History to Prehistory: Archaeology of the Ganga Valley and the Vindhyas.* (Allahabad: Dept. of Ancient History, Culture, and Archaeology, University of Allahabad, 1980), 46-47.

[255] Pargiter, 220.

[256] For the brāhmaṇas who confess *upāsaka*-hood and call him Gotama, Tsuchida says this "may be interpreted that they are withholding themselves psychologically from complete surrender to the new religious world manifested by the Buddha." See page 78.

[257] K.R. Norman, *A Philological Approach to Buddhism.* (Lancaster: Pali Text Society, 2006), 30. Norman cites Brough, 1953, page 5, note 3.

initially fought the Greek outposts left by Alexander along the Indus River before overthrowing the Nanda king and occupying territories in Pakistan and Afghanistan.[258] After ruling for twenty-four years, Candragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusāra, whom the Purāṇas say reigned for twenty-five years.[259] His son, Aśoka, ascended the throne in 273 BCE and was coroneted four years later.[260] He expanded the Mauryan empire even more, which disintegrated not long after his death.

Before becoming an imperial power (c. 187-75 BCE), at least a dozen sovereigns of the Śuṅga dynasty ruled in Ahicchatra, the capital of Pañcāla, where various coins issued to rulers with the name "–mitra" have been found.[261] B.C. Law maintains that the Śuṅgas were feudatories of the Mauryas in Vidiśā before assuming the Magadhan throne, so both Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra belonged to Madhyadeśa.[262] After taking over the Mauryan Empire, the brāhmaṇa Puṣyamitra (187-151 BCE) ruled from Pāṭaliputra a territory that would have included the provinces of Kosala, Vidiśā, and Magadha.[263] According to the Ayodhyā inscription, Puṣyamitra performed the *aśvamedha* twice, corroborating that he was a Brāhmaṇical ruler.[264] The first Śuṅga king is remembered for "reviving" Vedic customs and persecuting Śākya *bhikṣus*, in sharp contrast to kings from the east, like Prasenajit and Bimbisāra. According to Basham, however, the stories of his persecution of Buddhists are probably exaggerated.[265] The prosperity of Pāṭaliputra was temporarily set back in first half of the second century BCE after it was stormed by the Indo-Bactrians.[266] In response, Puṣyamitra invaded Śākala, the capital of the Bactrian-Greeks, and died c. 151 BCE.[267]

Puṣyamitra's son, Agnimitra, ruled Vidiśā as viceroy and probably remained there after his father died.[268] Upon his death, Puṣyamitra's north Indian empire seems to have split into a number of petty principalities for his son, Agnimitra, and other kings.[269] Some scholars hold that Vidiśā, a center for ivory trade, served as the capital of later Śuṅga kings

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[258] Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*. Fourth Edition. (London: Routledge, 2004), 61; Sircar, 6.

[259] Sankar gives the chronology Mauryan rulers. See page 356.

[260] In one edict, he uses "*rājā* of Magadha." See Romila Thapar, "The Mauryan Empire in Early India," in *Readings in Early Indian History*. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 231.

[261] Lamotte, 359.

[262] Bimala Churn Law, *Historial Geography of Ancient India*. With a Preface by Louis Renou. (Paris: Société Asiatique de Paris, 1954), 340.

[263] See Kulke and Rothermund, 68.

[264] Sankar, 359; Diwakar, 202; Binod Chandra Sinha, *History of the Śuṅga Dynasty.* (Varanasi: Bharatiya Publishing House, 1977), 62, 76; Raychaudhuri, 370, 388-389.

[265] Basham, 57.

[266] A.S. Altekar and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations: 1951-1955*. (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959, reprint 2005), 9.

[267] Diwakar, 202.

[268] In act five of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram,* King Agnimitra is located in Vidiśā. His father, Puṣpamitra is said to be the general, probably because he served as the *senāpati* of the Mauryas before he ruled his own empire. See Kālidāsa, *Mālavikā and Agnimitra.* Trans. Dániel Balogh and Eszter Somogyi. (New York: Clay Sanskrit Library, 2009), 188; M.R. Kale, *Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitram.* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1999), xxviii; Sinha, 69, 159. Bronkhorst suggests that Puṣyamitra settled in Vidiśa. See *Greater Magadha,* 3.

[269] Chattopadhyaya, 24, 38-39.

and became the premier city in central India.[270] Puri posits that Agnimitra and his brother Vasujyeṣṭha ruled concurrently in Vidiśā and Pāṭaliputra, respectively.[271] Vasumitra, the fourth Śuṅga king, may have united the two seats of power, but a later successor, Bhāgavata, is associated with two inscriptions in in Vidiśā. A short distance from Vidiśā lies Sāñcī, whose *stūpas* and carvings benefited from the prosperous trade of the Śuṅgas.

A contemporary of King Puṣyamitra was the grammarian Patañjali (c. 150 BCE), who drew his examples from events and figures during his time.[272] Even though Patañjali is familiar with Pāṭaliputra and eastern Vedic tradition, he seems to favor Madhyadeśa. In fact, as Bronkhorst explains, he excludes much of the East when he draws the boundaries for *āryāvarta* in the *Mahābhāṣya*.[273] In this passage, Patañjali limits *āryāvarta* to the area east of where the Sarasvatī can be seen and west of the Kālaka forest, near Prayāga (modern day Allahabad).[274] This area includes Kuru, Pañcāla, Kosala and Kāśī, but not further east.[275] It is doubtful that Patañjali lived in Pāṭaliputra, given that he excludes Magadha from his *āryāvarta*. Patañjali seems to have been closely associated with the Madhyadeśa, where he probably enjoyed the patronage of the Śuṅgas in Vidiśā.[276]

Patañjali's commentary, however, uses terms and ideas also found in Buddhist texts. First, *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 5.1.115 states, "Asceticism, learning, the [right] womb, these make a brāhmaṇa; he who lacks asceticism and learning is a brāhmaṇa by birth alone."[277] The Buddha is earlier quoted in the "Vasalasutta" as saying, "not by birth is one a brāhmaṇa…"[278] Is Patañjali's statement a coincidence or a response? Second, Patañjali refers to pupils (*māṇavaka*) belonging to different schools marked by their staff (*daṇḍa*) and gives the examples *kāṇvāḥ daṇḍamāṇavāḥ, dākṣāḥ daṇḍamāṇavāḥ*.[279] Puri explains that the *daṇḍa* "or staff was the common mark of pupilage, indicating the school to which the pupils

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[270] Raychaudhuri, 397.

[271] B.N. Puri, *India in the Time of Patañjali.* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1968), 42.

[272] R.G. Bhandarkar posits that Patañjali lived during the reign of Puṣpamitra and probably wrote the third chapter of the *Mahābhāṣya* between 144-142 BCE. See Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, "On the Date of Patañjali and the King in Whose Reign He Lived (1872)," in *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians.* Ed. J.F. Staal, 78-81. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1972), 81.

[273] In his commentary of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.4.10.

[274] *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 2.4.10 and 6. 3.109: *kaḥ punar āryāvartaḥ | prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād … |* See Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 1.

[275] *kāśikosalīyā iti | Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 4.1.54, Kielhorn's edition, vol. 2, page 223, line 13.

[276] Sircar notes that Patañjali's main geographical references form a sort of triangle from Pāṭaliputra to the Punjab to lower Narmadā about the Māhiṣmatī, but "the geographical horizon of the *Mahābhāṣya* sets itself harmoniously around the Gonarda-Vidiśā region as the centre." Raychaudhuri contends that the traditional birthplace of Patañjali is held to be Gonarda, and according to Kielhorn, Patañjali quotes a grammarian named Gonardīya four times. According to the *Suttanipāta*, Gonaddha was located in between Ujjenī and Vedisa (*Sn* 1011). See Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 267; Franz Kielhorn, "Notes on the Mahabhashya: 2. Gonikaputra and Gonardiya," in *The Indian Antiquary*15. (March 1886): 80-84, 82-83; Raychaudhuri 397.

[277] *tapaḥ śrutaṃ ca yoniś cety etad brāhmaṇakārakam | tapaḥ śrutābhyāṃ yo hīno jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ ǁ* Puri, 199; Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 5.1.115, p. 363.14-15.

[278] *na jaccā vasalo hoti, na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo | kammunā vasalo hoti, kammunā hoti brāhmaṇo ǁ Sn* 136 and 142 ǁ

[279] Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 4.2.104, Kielhorn's edition, vol. 2, page 297, line 5.

belonged."[280] The term *māṇava* in the late introductory passages (*nidāna*) of the *Suttanipāta* similarly refers to young brāhmaṇas. These parallels suggest Buddhism and the Brāhmaṇism of the Madhyadeśa were familiar with each other during Patañjali's time. But what kind of Brāhmaṇism?

While an Vedic tradition with a more ascetic emphasis flourished in the East, a different expression of Vedic tradition emerged in the Madhyadeśa. Olivelle proposes that the earliest technical literature (*śāstra*) devoted to *dharma* cannot be earlier than the second half of the fourth century BCE.[281] Wezler defines *dharma* in the Dharmaśāstra tradition as the "codification of custom," which intensified as a brāhmaṇical response to Aśoka, Buddhism, and the *muni* traditions.[282] The two early Dharmasūtras ascribed to the ancient seers Āpastamba and Gautama, which predate Patañjali, describe the original four *āśramas* as four permanent modes of life chosen by a young adult when he finished his Vedic studentship: permanent studentship, marriage and the household life, the ascetic forest hermit, or wandering mendicant.[283] Even though the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* describes the *parivrāja* (wanderer) and *vānaprastha* (forest dweller), the text claims that the way of life of the *parivrāja* is against scripture (2.21.15) and prefers the householder (*gṛhastha*) option.[284] While Gautama recognizes the Vedic mendicant tradition, he declares the householder *āśrama* to be the only one that he considers valid.[285] Similarly, the Gṛhyasūtras, which begin with marriage and the establishment of a household with a new ritual fire, promote marriage. Perhaps because the Kāṇva *śākhā* advocated ascetic *muni* practices, it has no Gṛhyasūtra. In contrast, the authors of Dharmasūtras and Gṛhyasūtras favored the married, householder over an celibate, ascetic lifestyle.

Olivelle asserts that in addition to the Veda, Brāhmaṇical scholars at this time found an alternative source of authority for *dharma*, namely the practices (*ācāra*) of authoritative brāhmaṇas.[286] Seeking to delimit acceptable practices, most likely against asceticism, the Dharmasūtras drew ideological and geographical boundaries around authoritative brāhmaṇas.[287] The *dharmasūtrakāras* after Āpastamba and Gautama promoted the category of *śiṣṭa* (educated) brahmans as a restricted community of the learned and virtuous. Olivelle

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[280] According to Puri, pupils in Pātañjali's commentary were known according to their skills and personalities, such as a fiery boy (*agnirmāṇavaka* on Pāṇ. 8.1.12), a talkative one (*śabdakāryaṃ māṇavaka*, on Pāṇ. 1.1.1), or a wicked pupil (*māṇavaka jaṭilakābhirūpa,* on Pāṇ. 1.2.32). Puri, 138, 144; *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 8.1.12, Kielhorn's edition, vol. 3, page 368, line 17; on Pāṇini 1.1.1, vol. 1, page 1, line 13; on Pāṇini1.2.32, vol. 1, page 209, line 20.

[281] Patrick Olivelle, "Explorations in the Early History of the Dharmaśāstra," in in *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE.* Edited by Patrick Olivelle, 169-190*.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 169.

[282] Ibid., 171-172; Deshpande, 220.

[283] Olivelle, "Explorations," 179. See also Patrick Olivelle, "Introduction" to *Dharmasūtras: The Law Codes of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Vasiṣṭha*. Trans. Patrick Olivelle. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), xxxiii; Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 86. See also Johannes Bronkhorst's thorough study on the *āśramas* in *The Two Sources of Indian Asceticism.* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1998).

[284] Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 86.

[285] Olivelle, "Explorations," 180. See the *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, chapter four. For examples of Vedic asceticism in the *Baudhāyana* and *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtras*, see Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 79-93.

[286] Ibid., 173; *Gautama Dharmasūtra* 1.1-2.

[287] Ibid., 177;

draws ample examples from the literature to illustrate his point: "Baudhāyana (*BDh* 1.1.4) gives *śiṣṭāgama* (the conventions of *śiṣṭas*) and Vasiṣṭha (*VaDh* 1.5) *śiṣṭācāra* (conduct of *śiṣṭas*) as a third source of dharma, after the Veda and smṛti."[288] In addition, a connection between *śiṣṭa* and *dharmapramāṇa* (sources of *dharma*) appeared for the first time in *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* 1.1.5-6 and *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* 1.6.[289] In grammar commentaries also, Patañjali looks to the *śiṣṭas* regarding speaking correct Sanskrit.[290] Olivelle concludes, "Both in grammar and in *dharma*, then, *śiṣṭas* come to be viewed as individuals setting the standard and whom others should look up to if they want to learn correct Sanskrit and proper *dharma.*"[291]

Familiar with Vedic asceticism, Āpastamba and Gautama say nothing of any geographical limit for the community of *śiṣṭas*, but Patañjali, Baudāyana, and Vasiṣṭha define an almost identical geographical area: "The region east of where the Sarasvatī disappears, west of the Kālaka forest, south of the Himālayas, and north of the Vindhya mountains is the land of the Āryas."[292] Patañjali defines *śiṣṭa* in terms of one's place of residence and conduct (*ācāra*), both of which can only be found within "*āryāvarta*."[293] Patañjali's *āryāvarta* as the home of the *śiṣṭas* excludes not only the birthplace of Pāṇini in the northwest, but also Prācya on the periphery.[294] Beyond any doubt there was a long established Vedic tradition both in the Northwest and in the East, so the exclusion of these regions was not on account of lacking bona fide brāhmaṇas with their fires kindled. Instead, a restricted territory seems to have been drawn for two reasons: first, to promote the specific kind of Vedism favored in the Madhyadeśa—the version of the marriage-householder who performs ritual offerings—and second, to sever ties both with the Bactrian-Greeks in the Northwest, at whose hands Puṣyamitra died, and with the *muni* traditions in the East. Deshpande calls this shift a neo-Vedic movement to delimit *āryāvarta* under the Śuṅgas.[295] Whereas the *Suttanipāta* shows that most of the brāhmaṇas in Kosala-Videha interacted relatively favorably with the Buddha, those in the west positioned themselves against the ascetic traditions, purposefully and restrictedly defining their own authoritative teachers, geographical limits, and expressions of *dharma*.

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[288] Ibid., 180.
[289] Ibid., 181.
[290] *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 6.3.109.
[291] Olivelle, "Explorations," 181.
[292] *kaḥ punar āryāvartaḥ | prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam uttareṇa pāriyātram.* Patañjali on Pāṇini 2.4.10; 6.3.109; *prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam udak pāriyātram etad āryāvartam | BDh* 1.2.9; *prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād udak pāriyātrād dakṣiṇena himavataḥ uttareṇa vindhyasya…etad āryāvartam ity ācakṣasate | VaDh* 1.8-12. See Olivelle, "Explorations," 181; Madhav M. Deshpande, "Changing Perspectives in the Sanskrit Grammatical Tradition and the Changing Political Configurations of Ancient India," in Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE. Ed. Patrick Olivelle, 215-225. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 219.
[293] *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 6.3.109; Olivelle, "Explorations," 181.
[294] Udīcya, Saurāṣṭra, and Kāmboja are also excluded. See Deshpande, 220.
[295] Deshpande, 220.

Falk asserts that local dynasties in the Śuṅga period defined their ancestry through the mother's lineage.[296] He lists epigraphic evidence to bolster his theory, and translates the inscriptions, including one from a local king: "Bhāgabhadra, son of a [Kevala Aṅgirasa] Kautsī mother, the savior."[297] According to Falk, the Śuṅga pillar inscription at Bharhut records:

> This gate was made by Dhanabhūti, son of a mother from the [Bhṛgu] Vātsa *gotra* and of Āgaraju [Aṅgāradyut], himself the son of a mother from the Gaupta *gotra* and of king (*rājā*) Viśvadeva, himself son of a mother from the [Bhāradvāja] Gārga *gotra*.[298]

The inscription near Ayodhyā speaks of six generations since its founder, Puṣyamitra: "This memorial for his father Phalgudeva was caused to be made by the legitimate king Dhana (?deva?), overlord of Kosala, son of a mother from the [Viśvāmitra] Kauśika *gotra*, sixth [in generation] from the general Puṣyamitra, who had performed the Aśvamedha twice."[299] A Kāṇva inscription in Sanskrit reads, "adherent of the Lord (*bhagavat*), belonging to the gotra of the Gājāyanas, son of a mother from the Pārāśara gotra, performer of an Aśvamedha."[300] Falk concludes that kings of Brāhmaṇical dynasties refer to their brāhmaṇa mothers to appease traditional ritualists, as if a ruler without a brāhmaṇa mother was "substandard."[301] Matthew Milligan collected dozens of matronymics from Buddhist inscriptions at Sāñcī during the Śuṅga period, showing that the practice of listing matrilineal descent was common among Buddhists in this period too.[302] The trend to identify matrilineal descent among Śuṅga and Kāṇva rulers suggests a heightened concern with social stratification.

Because the third *vaṃśa*, unlike the first two, at the end of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* lists a matrilineal lineage, the third section of the text (*kāṇḍas* 5-6) or its appendage to the text as a whole may date to the Śuṅga period in last two centuries before the Common Era.[303] During this time, a relative of Puṣyamitra is believed to have governed

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[296] Harry Falk, "The Tidal Waves of Indian History," in *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE.* Ed. Patrick Olivelle, 145-166. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 148-150. The translations of inscriptions cited in this paragraph are Falk's.

[297] *kosīputra bhāgabhadra trātāra* ⎪ Ibid.

[298] *raño gāgīputasa visadevasa pauteṇa gotīputasa āgarajusa puteṇa vāchīputena dhanabhūtinā kāritaṃ toraṇaṃ* ⎪ Falk, 149.

[299] *kosalādhipena dviraśvamedhayājinaḥ senāpateḥ puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena kauśikīputrena dhana (?devena?) dharmarājñā pituḥ phalgudevasya ketanaṃ kāritaṃ* ⎪ Falk, 149.

[300] *bhāgavatena gājāyanena pārāśarīputreṇa sarvatātena aśvamedhayājinā* ⎪ Falk, 149. Another inscription describes, "[This cave] was caused to be made by Āṣāḍhasena, son of a mother from the [Bhṛgu] Vaihidara *gotra* and of the king, adherent of the Lord, himself son of a mother from the [Vaisiṣṭha] Traivarṇa *gotra* and of Vaṃgapāla, king of Adhichattrā, himself son of a mother of the [Bhṛgu] Śaunakāyana *gotra*." *adhichattrāyā rāño śonakāyanīpūtrasya vaṃgapālasya putrasya rāño tevaṇīputtrasya bhāgavatasya putreṇa vaihidārīputreṇa āṣāḍhasenena kāritaṃ* ⎪ Falk, 150.

[301] Falk, 151-152.

[302] Matthew Milligan, "Buddhist Monks and Ancestral Mothers: Metronymics in Early Indian Epigraphy," a paper presented at the 225th meeting of the American Oriental Society in New Orleans, March 14, 2015.

[303] *atha vaṃśaḥ* ⎪ *pautimāṣīputraḥ kātyāyanīputrāt* ⎪ *kātyāyanīputro gautamīputrāt* ⎪ *gautamīputro bhāradvājīputrāt* ⎪ *bhāradvājīputraḥ pārāśarīputrāt* ⎪ *pārāśarīputra aupasvastīputrāt* ⎪ *aupasvastīputraḥ pārāśarīputrāt* ⎪ *pārāśarīputraḥ kātyāyanīputrāt…* *BĀU* 17.6.5.1 .

Kosala as viceroy.[304] Witzel suggests c. 150 BCE as a possible date for the final redaction of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[305] Renou proposes that the third *vaṃśa* belongs to the entire Brāhmaṇa, including the Upaniṣad but excluding the Śāṇḍilya *kāṇḍas* on the *agnicayana* sacrifice, which were made or completed after the Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍas*.[306] In Caland's opinion, also, the Śāṇḍilya *kāṇḍas* originally did not form part of the Kāṇva Brāhmaṇa.[307] As mentioned above, the *Śatapatha*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* all agree that Yājñavalkya received a direct transmission from the sun—according to the latter after parting ways with his teacher Vaiśampāyana. The insertion of Pañcāla brāhmaṇa Uddālaka Āruṇi as Yājñavalkya's teacher in this *vaṃśa* and again in the sixth book appears to be an attempt of the final redactors to assert the authority of the Madhyadeśa orthodoxy.[308] The rest of the Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍas* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* knows nothing of Yājñavalkya studying under Uddālaka, whom he is said to defeat in the *brahmodya* at Janaka's court. Bronkhorst notes that this is the only time Yājñavalkya is mentioned in the sixth book of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*,[309] which introduces new topics not consonant with Yājñavalkya's teachings. For example, when Śvetaketu Āruṇeya fails to answer the questions of King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, his father, Gautama (i.e. Uddālaka Āruṇi) approaches the king for instruction.[310] The King teaches him about two paths: the path through the flame to the *devaloka* and the *brahmaloka*, from which there is no turning back (*āvṛtti*) to worldly existence again and the path through smoke to the *pitṛloka*, from which there is rebirth.[311] In addition, the bizarre sexual instructions associated with Uddālaka Āruṇi are not at all in accord with Yājñavalkya going forth to lead the life of a wandering mendicant.[312] Rather than the Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍa* being a reaction to stories centered around Uddālaka as Bronkhorst suggests, I argue that the sixth *kāṇḍa* was a late addition to the text intended to establish the ritual authority of the Madhyadeśa orthodoxy over the most famous and authoritative brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyin School.[313]

Even though many of its *suttas* are among the earliest recorded teachings of Gotama, the *Suttanipāta* collection as a whole was probably compiled sometime during the last two centuries before the Common Era—certainly after Aśoka, and probably around the same time as the final redaction of the *Śatapatha*. The name *Suttanipāta* is not mentioned until later works like the *Milinda Pañha*.[314] Law suggests that the anthology was not collected

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[304] Raychaudhuri, 371.

[305] Witzel, "Yājñavalkya," §10.

[306] The Śāṇḍilya *kāṇḍas* are *ŚBK* 8-12 and *ŚBM* 6-10. The Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍas* are *ŚBK* 1-7 and 13-17 and *ŚBM* 1-5 and 11-14. Louis Renou, "Les Relations du Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa avec la Bṛhadāraṇyaopaniṣad et la personalite de Yājñavalkya," *Indian Culture* XIV, no. 4 (April-June 1948), 75-89: 76; Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 225.

[307] W. Caland, *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the Kāṇva Recension*. (Lahore: Motilal Banarsidas, 1926), 105.

[308] Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya is mentioned as the pupil (*antevāsin*) of Uddālaka Āruṇi at *BĀU* 17.6.3.7.

[309] Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 226.

[310] *BĀU* 17.6.2.1ff.

[311] *BĀU* 17.6.2.15-16.

[312] *BĀU* 17.6.4.

[313] Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 120.

[314] N.A. Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta Illustrating its Gradual Growth*. (London: PhD Thesis at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, 1947), 142, 15.

before the second century BCE.[315] If it is accepted that the *Suttanipāta* was compiled during the Śuṅga period, then perhaps its arrangement was to preserve this dispensation in the face of major social and political changes resulting from the Brāhmaṇical rule of the Śuṅgas. In this way, the final redactions of the *Śatapatha* and the *Suttanipāta* occurred in response to the jostling of political power away from the East during the Śuṅga period. Fitzgerald similarly argues that the Śuṅga revolution contributed to the development of the *Mahābhārata*, reflecting a Brāhmaṇical reaction to social and religious changes under the empires at Pāṭaliputra from 300 to 100 BCE.[316]

So long as the kingdoms of Videha and Kosala were prosperous under Kings Janaka and Prasenajit, the Vājasaneyins thrived, finding royal support for their form of Vedic tradition. However, after the decline of the Kosalan kingdom, the loss of royal patronage led to major changes. With support from the Śuṅga dynasty, Madhyadeśa orthodoxy did strike back, asserting the primacy of their Pañcāla brāhmaṇa Uddālaka Āruṇi over Yājñavalkya in the final redaction of their Brāhmaṇa and, after initially tolerating the ascetic *āśramas* in the early Dharmasūtras, restricting the kind of brāhmaṇas and the geographical area considered properly Vedic in the later ones. Despite their earlier push to promote orthodox Vedism, the Śuṅga and Kāṇva royal dynasties eventually turned to the Bhāgavata religion in the last two centuries of before the Common Era. The Śuṅga and Kāṇva vassals, Lamotte maintains, generally remained Buddhists.[317]

Section IV: Kosala

The adherents of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta* share roughly the same geographical region of Kosala. Large cities are absent in both and the language bears some relationship.[318] Witzel points out that shared features in late Vedic and the Middle-Indo-Āryan of the early Buddhist texts suggest that both were used by people interacting with each other on a daily basis.[319] Kosala had a particular "*imaginaire*," which Patton defines as "a series of tropes and figures about which the public has general knowledge and would have basic associations."[320]

Geographical references in the *Suttanipāta* locate most of its suttas in or around Kosala and Magadha. Explicit verses and the *nidānas*, the prose passages added later to contextualize certain suttas, mention the locations Sāvatthī in Kosala,[321] Sāvatthī in the Eastern Grove ("Dvayatānupassanā Sutta"), and Sāvatthī at Jetavana Grove ("Vasala Sutta," "Maṅgala Sutta," "Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta," "Dhammika Sutta," "Subhāsita Sutta," and

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[315] Bimala Churn Law, "Chronology of the Pāli Canon," *ABORI* 12, no. 2 (1931):171-201, 198.

[316] James L. Fitzgerald, "Introduction" to *The Book of Peace* in *The Mahābhārata*, Volume 7. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), 122; James L. Fitzgerald, "Mahābhārata," in *The Hindu World.* Ed. by Sushil Mittal and Gene Thursby. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 54, 72.

[317] The Mahāyānists were particularly influenced by Hindu theism. The Buddha is the brother of Nārāyana in the *Lotus Sūtra*. See Lamotte, 357, 392, 398.

[318] This will be discussed in the next chapter. Witzel, "Moving Targets?" 297; von Hinüber, "Hoary Past," 197.

[319] Witzel, "Moving Targets?" 295.

[320] Laurie L. Patton, "*Ṛṣis* Imagined Across Difference: Some Possibilities for the Study of Conceptual Metaphor in Early India," *The Journal of Hindu Studies* 1 (2008): 49-76, 54, 68.

[321] *Sn* 996.

"Kokālika Sutta"). The *nidāna* of the "Kokālika Sutta" features the illustration of a "Kosalan" cart of sesame. As stated earlier, Gotama tells Bimbisāra that he comes from the slope of the Himālayas among the Kosalans, and he is again said to have lived among the Kosalans on the bank of the Sundarikā River in the *nidāna* of the "Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta." As told in the *Pārāyanavagga's* "Vatthugāthā," Bāvarī is a brāhmaṇa ascetic from Śrāvastī who retired to Dakṣiṇāpatha on the banks of the Godāvarī where the Andhaka kings Assaka and Aḷaka made a hermitage available to him.[322] Bāvarī sends his students to question the Buddha, whom they meet at the Magadhan Pāsāṇaka *caitya* in the "Pārāyanatthutigāthā" (verses in praise of going to the far shore). Gotama is said to have been at Rājagaha in the *Pabbhajjāsutta,* at Rājagaha's Bamboo Grove (*veḷuvana*) in the "Sabhiya Sutta," at Āḷavi, modern Gayā, in "Sūciloma Sutta," and at Āḷaviya in "Nigrodhakappa Sutta." He dwelled among the Aṅguttarāpas (in Aṅga) in the "Sela Sutta" and in the dense jungle of Icchānaṅgala among wealthy brāhmaṇas in the *nidāna* of the "Vāseṭṭha Sutta." Gotama visited Dhaniya on the bank of the Mahī River, which Mishra locates in the city of Dammakoṇḍa in Videha.[323] These references suggest that Kosala was an important setting for the teachings expounded in the *Suttanipāta*.

Lamotte explains that Buddhist propagators made use of popular themes and drew from a "rich repository of discourses" at their disposal, but their teachings did not constitute the entire Buddhist doctrine.[324] Instead, missionaries adapted their message to their own capacities as instructors and to the whims of their audience. In Kosala, where Gotama spent a significant amount of time, his followers propagated discourses appropriate to their audience of *munis*. The Kosalan teachings that became incorporated in the *Suttanipāta* reflects Gotama's close relationship with the Vedic *muni* tradition. A large portion of the *Suttanipāta* addresses a *muni* audience, which was practically indistinguishable from the Kosalan Vedic *muni* tradition during the lifetime of Gotama, but whose later doctrinal and sectarian ideas reflect an emergent Buddhist identity at odds with orthodox Vedism in the Madhyadeśa.

As in the case of Yājñavalkya, there is no way to know for certain whether the Buddha actually said what he is reported to have said in the Pāli discourses. Jayawickrama acknowledges an early nucleus of a floating tradition in the *Suttanipāta* before several redactions of the compilation.[325] De Vries contends that Buddhist texts may contain "what the monastic elite who composed the and transmitted the texts found relevant to present to their audience and preserve."[326] While the possibility exists that literary communities who were knowledgeable in Vedic thought presented him in a certain light or put words in his mouth, this hypothesis cannot be proven either. Given that all that remains are the texts themselves, the texts constitute an unrivaled source of information about the historical Buddha or at least how various literary communities represented him. This dissertation presents Sakyamuni as he is portrayed in the *Suttanipāta*.

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[322] Neumann posits that Bāverī is a representative of the White Yajurveda, since reference is made to a Bādārī in the *Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra* 1.7. See Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta*, 287.

[323] Mishra, 239.

[324] Lamotte, 308.

[325] Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Suttanipāta*, I, 32, 304.

[326] Fedde De Vries, "Real, Rejected, and Reinterpreted Rituals: Contextualizing Early Buddhist-Brahmin Relations," (BA thesis, Leiden University, 2011 (revised 2012)), 14-15.

In conclusion, Yājñavalkya of Videha, both a *ṛṣi* and a *muni*, reformulated ancient Vedic tradition. After the time of Janaka and Yājñavalkya, the once prominent kingdom of Videha declined and Kosala emerged as the one of two political powers in the East. Adherents of the Kāṇva School of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* lived in Kosala and constituted one of the many *muni* traditions in that region. They were heirs to some of Yājñavalkya's esoteric teachings, the secret sections alluded to in the *Mahābhārata*. On the other hand, the eastern *muni*-influenced tradition of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* developed on the margins of the Madhyadeśa Vedic orthodoxy, from which it differed socially and philosophically.[327]

Sakyamuni grew up in the Kosala region amid this particular Vedic milieu. The *Suttanipāta* reflects his Vedic heritage and demonstrates that brāhmaṇa *munis* comprised many of his students. In particular, Jayawickrama has shown that whereas the early stratum of the *Suttanipāta* is nonsectarian and promotes the generic *muni's* life of solitude, the later stratum clearly promotes a Buddhist identity and an emerging sectarian doctrine. Jayawickrama categorizes the *suttas* in the *Suttanipāta* into three layers: "unsectarian" (general Indian, Brāhmaṇic and Upaniṣadic teachings), "sectarian" (Buddhist), and "popular Buddhism," including the *suttas* on the life of the Buddha.[328] In his view, the oldest sections of the *Suttanipāta* consist of the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, the *pucchās* of the *Pārāyanavagga*, and the ballads in praise of the muni-ideal (mostly in the *Uragavagga*).[329] The subsequent phase encompasses didactic poems in the first three *vaggas* and the two opening suttas of the *Mahāvagga*, the older dialogues in the *Mahāvagga*, the dialogue-ballads of the *Uragavagga* and the *yakkha*-ballads.[330] Four of the five suttas of popular character, the "Cunda," and "Kokāliya" *suttas* appear slightly younger, but still pre-Aśokan. For Jayawickrama, the youngest are the "Ratana," "Vijaya," and "Dvayatānupassanā." Composed even later were the *vatthu-gāthās* (except those of the "Rāhula Sutta") and the prose introductions (*nidāna*).[331] The narrative prose passages are much younger than the verses and probably date only to the time of the arrangement of the *Suttanipāta* as a separate work.[332] More recently, Nakatani analyzed the *Suttanipāta* and similarly concluded that the text contains three layers.[333]

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[327] Wynne describes "a small but influential school within the region of Videha-Kosala." He says, "Situated in non-Vedic territory, at a time of great social change, the Brahmanic thinkers of this circle would have developed their ideas in isolation from the Vedic mainstream." See his review of Bronkhorst's *Greater Magadha*, page 3.

[328] Jayawickrama describes an early nucleus of floating material, several intermediate redactions incorporating *suttas* of popular Buddhism, dialogues, ethics, and the life of the Buddha, etc., and a "final redaction made for the purpose of propagating the Buddhist faith through its ecclesiastical representative, the Saṅgha." See Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta,* 306

[329] Ibid., 302. Pande also accepts that the early stratum comprised the *Aṭṭhakavagga* and the *Pārāyanavagga* (except the *Vatthugāthās*). In his opinion, *suttas* 1-3, 5, 12, 22, and 24 also appear early and perhaps belong roughly to the same stratum. See Govind Chandra Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism.* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1957, reprinted 2006), 65.

[330] Ibid., 302.

[331] Ibid., 303.

[332] Jayawickrama, 24-27.

[333] 1) the *Aṭṭhakavagga* and the *Pārāyanavagga*, 2) the verses of the first three *vaggas*, and 3) the prose portion and a few introductory verses. Hideaki Nakatani, "Buddha's scheme for forming noble-minded generalists in society," in *Social Science Information* 50(1). (2011): 81-103.

Bronkhorst is correct to emphasize that Greater Magadha formed the locus of philosophical change in the last few centuries of the Common Era. He further makes a good point when he says that the East was not yet brāhmaṇized because the people did not accept brāhmaṇas "as the by right most eminent members of society."[334] However, taking into consideration the regional developments pertaining to the Kāṇva School, the role of Vedic thought in these changes merits a reevaluation. Brāhmaṇas were not regarded as the highest in the East because the Vājasaneyin tradition in Kosala-Videha gave more credence to *brahma*, *kṣatra*, and *viś* as inherent powers rather than as social distinctions. This is not to say that *varṇa* was not acknowledged, but rather that such concepts did not yet constitute a fixed social hierarchy as they did during the Śuṅga period. In addition, the *Ṛgveda* and *Mahābhārata* mention *varṇa*-mixing among sages associated with the eastern tradition. This, along with the ascetic leanings of eastern brāhmaṇas, in turn produced a tension between the Vājasaneyins and the Vedic orthodoxy in the Madhyadeśa, the latter of whom found it necessary to codify such distinctions in their *sūtra* and grammar texts. Following Yājñavalkya's *muni* proclivities, the Kāṇvas never bothered. As power shifted from the East back to the West during the Śuṅga dynasty, giving rise to new definitions of authority and a specifically delimited *āryāvarta*, the final compilation and redaction of both the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta* occurred. Was it to preserve the eastern traditions in the face of this shift of power to the west? We can only speculate.

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[334] Bronkhorst, *Buddhism in the Shadow of Brahmanism*, 52.

Chapter Three
Brāhmaṇas and the Buddha

While comparisons between early Buddhist texts and the Vedic world tend to start with the Upaniṣads, there is good reason to base them in the Brāhmaṇas too.[335] In describing the worldview of the Brāhmaṇas, Oldenberg states that not only was Upaniṣadic thought founded on this doctrine, but Buddhist thought emerged from it as well. Through the doctrine established in the Brāhmaṇas, Oldenberg asserts, "It seems that from a distance one hears the approaching steps of the Buddha."[336] Chapter two argued that Vājasaneyin brāhmaṇas belonging to the Kāṇva School had settled in the Kosala area during the time that the historical Buddha lived. Witzel provides ample evidence that the pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic corpus was known to the Pāli texts in general.[337] Even though Brāhmaṇa texts are not mentioned by name in the *Suttanipāta*, Katre suggests that they were known because the term *mantra* occurs many times (Pāli *manta, mantapāragū, mantabhāṇī, mantabandhu*).[338] Coomaraswamy opines, "The more superficially one studies Buddhism, the more it seems to differ from the Brahmanism in which it originated; the more profound our study, the more difficult it becomes to distinguish Buddhism from Brahmanism, or to say in what respects, if any, Buddhism is really unorthodox."[339] Other scholars do not go so far, but in their own way address the relationship between Vedic and Buddhist thought. Such experts include Jayawickrama, Jurewicz, Tsuchida, Rhys Davids, Norman, Gombrich, Wynne, Freiberger, and Shults.[340] This chapter argues that the Buddha depicted in the *Suttanipāta* was familiar with the doctrine of and interacted with adherents from late Vedic tradition, particularly the

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[335] See the discussion in Pratap Chandra, "Was Early Buddhism Influenced by the Upanisads?" *Philosophy East and West* 21, no. 3 (Jul. 1971): 317-324), 317-319. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1398359. Accessed 9/11/2014.

[336] "Während andre Richtungen, die von den Brāhmanas ausgehen, der entstehenden positiven Wissenschaft entgegenführen, hat sich hier aus jener dürftigen Vorstellungswelt der Weg zu Höhen religiös-philosophischen Denkens geöffnet, und in der Ferne meint man, leise und doch durch Indien, durch die Welt wiederhallend, die herannahenden Schritte des Buddha zu hören." Hermann Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmana-Texte.* (Göttingen : Bandenhoect & Ruprecht, 1919), 244-245.

[337] Michael Witzel, "Tracing the Vedic Dialects" in *Dialectes dans les litteratures Indo-Aryennes.* Ed. Caillat, (Paris: Publications de L'Institut de Civilisation Indienne 55, 1989, 97-265), 245-246. Witzel writes, "The Pāli Texts, indeed, know the complete Vedic corpus: the three Vedas and their transmitters (*tiṇṇaṃ vedānaṃ pāragū*, DN I 88, 5; *tevijja* Th 1248, Thī 65; *mantadhara* AN I 163, 10; 166, 19, etc.), and even the various ancillary texts like etymology, grammar, etc. (DN I 88, 5 sq.; MN II 133, 15 sq., 147, 12 sqq.; Bv 38). The Vedic texts apparently had already been redacted and collected: 'the old text of the mantras...' (*porāṇaṃ mantapadaṃ itīhītiha paraṃparāya piṭakasampadāya* MN II 169, 12 sq.); apparently the collection of *mantras* is called *piṭaka* in analogy to the Buddhist texts…"

[338] *Sn* 140, 249, 251, 302, 306, 690, 850, 976, 997, 1000, 1004, 1018; SM Katre, *Early Buddhist Ballads and their Relation to Older Upanishadic Literature.* (PhD diss., London University, 1931), 48.

[339] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism.* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1943; reprinted Mountain View: Golden Elixer Press, 2011), 57.

[340] See in particular Brett Shults, "On the Buddha's Use of Some Brahmanical Motifs in Pali Texts," *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies* 6. (2014): 106-140; K.R. Norman, "Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism: Brahmanical Terms in a Buddhist Guise," *The Buddhist Forum,* Vol. 2. Ed. Tadeusz Skorupski, 193-218. (New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1992).

Kāṇvas in Kosala, and builds on previous scholarship concerning shared concepts and motifs.

Müller had observed that the Buddha was once a pupil of brāhmaṇas, was proficient in Brāhmaṇic lore, and taught many brāhmaṇa pupils.[341] Christian Lindtner sees Buddhism as reformed Brāhmaṇism,[342] but another trend in Buddhist studies, advanced by Norman, suggests that the Pāli texts depict a Brāhmaṇical orthodoxy at odds with *śramaṇas* and, further, that the *śramaṇa* religion grew up in opposition to brāhmaṇas.[343] Tsuchida attempts to correct the view that "the Buddha had no respect at all for the priestly class and its religious tradition" by suggesting that brāhmaṇas in Pāli texts were depicted positively as having certain qualities: immaculateness at birth, erudition, beauty, moral habits, and wisdom.[344] Every passage enumerating the qualities of an ideal brāhmaṇa (outside the *Suttanipāta*) refers to his Vedic erudition as what distinguishes him from other people.[345] While Tsuchida is no doubt correct when he advocates that scholars reconsider the notion that Buddhism was anti-brāhmaṇical, evidence from the *Suttanipāta*—which relates a contemporary Vedic ascetic movement and describes the brāhmaṇa on equal terms with the *muni* or *bhikkhu*—perhaps warrants that scholars go even further. In this collection, the earliest *suttas* do not distinguish a separate Buddhist identity.[346]

Tsuchida cautions against "the oversimplified or even erroneous notion" of Brāhmaṇism as incompatible with Buddhism, calling to mind that the theory and practice of orthodox *śrauta*-ritualism was in the hands of a relatively small group of specialists forming only part of the brāhmaṇa population.[347] The Kāṇva School in Kosala, in particular, did not have a *śrauta-* or a *gṛhya-sūtra*.[348] In fact, Witzel describes how Bodhāyana, originally a Kāṇva from Kosala, followed the *mantras* and the rituals of the Taittirīya School of the *Black Yajurveda* when he authored one of the earliest, if not the oldest *śrauta* text, the

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[341] F. Max Müller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature: So far as It Illustrates the Primitive Religion of the Brahmans*. Second Edition. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1860), 261.

[342] Christian Lindtner, "From Brahmanism to Buddhism," *Asian Philosophy* 9, no. 1 (1999): 5-37), 5.

[343] K.R. Norman, *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*. (Lancaster: Pali Text Society, 2006), 48, 53. This view departs from Rhys Davids, who contends that Buddhist teachings are consonant with the internal religious teaching of the brāhmaṇas, but opposed external observances. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, "The Relations between Early Buddhism and Brahmanism," *Indian Historical Quarterly* X, no. 2. (June, 1934): 274-287, 276.

[344] Ryūtarō Tsuchida, "Two Categories of Brahmins in the Early Buddhist Period," *Memoirs of the Research Department of Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library),* no. 49. (1991): 51-95, 62-65.

[345] Ibid., 64. Tsuchida provides the following references to erudition as a quality of a proper brāhmaṇa: "Ambaṭṭha (DN 1.3.3), Soṇadaṇḍa (DN 1.4.4), Aṅgaka (DN 1.4.12), Kūṭadanta (DN 1.5.8), Brahmāyu (MN 2.41.1), Assalāyana (MN 2.43.1), Caṅkī (MN 2.45.3), Uttara (MN 2.41.2), Saṅgārava (MN 2.50.1), Sela (MN 2.42.2), Kāpaṭika (MN 2.45.5).

[346] The reader may recall from the previous chapter that Jayawickrama categorizes the suttas of the *Suttanipāta* into three stages: unsectarian (general Indian, Brāhmaṇic and Upaniṣadic teachings), sectarian (Buddhist), and popular Buddhism (including hagiographies). See *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta*, 306.

[347] Tsuchida, 52.

[348] Thite has argued that the *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra* is based mainly on the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in the Mādhyandina recension, which Witzel locates in Videha, but sometimes the *KŚS* applies the formulae found in the Kāṇva recension. See Ganesh Thite, "Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra and the Kaṇva Tradition," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 21. (1979): 171-179; Witzel, "The Development of the Vedic Canon and its Schools," 317.

Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.[349] To me, this suggests that his fellow Kosalan brāhmaṇas did not see a need to develop a *śrauta* manual, preferring to follow the ritual and esoteric practices bequeathed to them by Yājñavalkya (and perhaps Śāṇḍilya). Rather than develop a *śrauta-*, *gṛhya-* or *dharma-sūtra*, Kosala contented itself with the ritual as explained in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which included an earlier, if not the earliest Upaniṣad, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[350] That there were many brāhmaṇas in Kosala where the Buddha spent a great deal of time cannot be denied, but brāhmaṇas in Kosala were different from other brāhmaṇas.

In Pāli texts, the term *brāhmaṇa* remained in Sanskrit and was not given a Middle Indic form. In his study on the categories of brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Pāli Nikāyas, Tsuchida categorizes brāhmaṇas into two groups: one, wealthy Vedic masters living in villages and towns (*brāhmaṇamahāsāla*) and two, ascetics with matted hair (*jaṭila*).[351] Interestingly in the *Suttanipāta*, *brāhmaṇamahāsāla* and *jaṭila* only occur in the *nidāna*, the explanatory prose passages added at a later stage of the compilation's history, of two *suttas* in the case of the former and one in the case of the latter.[352] They were not used as a critical category in any verse of the *Suttanipāta*. In comparison, examining *jaṭila-s* in the Pāli Vinaya, Maes found that the brāhmaṇas functioning as the dialectical other are so close to the Buddhists in ideology and practice that the Buddhists positioned themselves against them.[353] Aside from wealthy householders, Tsuchida explains, "The general picture of Brahmins which emerges from these accounts is not one of sacrificial priests but one of scholars—or, in some cases, students—of exceptional erudition."[354]

Both Tsuchida and Freiberger demonstrate that the concepts of brāhmaṇa and ritual offering (*yañña*) depicted in Pāli texts defy stereotypes and straightforward categorization. Calling attention to the prevalence of ritual practice in the region where the Buddha lived and taught, Freiberger provides evidence for Pāli texts attempting either to reject outright or to fit sacrifice (*yañña/yajña*) into the Buddhist doctrinal system in a number of different ways.[355] De Vries provides further evidence that the Buddhists redefined Vedic ritual in

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[349] Witzel noticed that the language of the *BŚS* is closer to the Taittirīyas in Pañcāla. Witzel, "The Development of the Vedic Canon and its Schools," 316-8.

[350] Bruce M. Sullivan, *Historical Dictionary of Hinduism*, (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1997), 49; Patrick Olivelle, "Introduction," in *The Earliest Upaniṣads: Annotated Text and Translation*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 12-13.

[351] Tsuchida, 53. See also the work of Gokhale, who lists four categories of brāhmaṇas. Balkrishna Govind Gokhale, "Early Buddhism and the Brahmanas" in *Studies in History of Buddhism*. Ed. A.K. Narain, 67-80. (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Coorporation, 1980).

[352] *Brāhmaṇamahāsāla* occurs six times in the prose passages of the "Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta" and the "Vāseṭṭha Sutta." *Jaṭila* occurs twenty-four times, but only in the prose passages of the "Sela Sutta," where it always qualifys Keṇiya.

[353] Claire Maes, "Ideological Other, Householder Other, Religious Other. An examination of the brāhmaṇa as the early Buddhist *bhikkhu's dialectical other* in the Pāli Vinaya." A paper presented at the International Association of Buddhist Scholars, Vienna, August 18-23, 2014. Maes builds on the theory of Jonathan Smith, "Differential Equations: On Constructing the 'Other'" in *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion*, 230-250. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, 2004).

[354] Tsuchida, 72.

[355] Oliver Freiberger, "The Ideal Sacrifice. Patterns of Reinterpreting Brahmin Sacrifice in Buddhist Texts," *Bulletin d'Etudies Indiennes*, no. 16. (1998): 39-49.

ethical and spiritual terms.[356] The *Suttanipāta* in particular exhibits notable concern with proper ritual offering (*yañña* and √*yaj*).[357] The *brāhmaṇa* hermit-ritualists to whom Tsuchida refers from the *Suttanipāta* are Bāvarī, an exemplary *yajamāna* and an expert in the *mahāyañña*, and Keṇiya, the matted haired ascetic.[358] In general, the brāhmaṇas described in the *Suttanipāta* are not limited to Tsuchida's categories.

　　Understanding how brāhmaṇas are represented in the eastern Vājasaneyin tradition helps to explain why the brāhmaṇas in the *Suttanipāta* are depicted differently. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, which constitutes the last *kāṇḍa* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Yājñavalkya establishes the qualifications of a brāhmaṇa again and again in ways that seem heterodox. He defines a brāhmaṇa as one who desires to know, who becomes a *muni* and goes forth (*pra+*√*vraj*), giving up desire:

> Brāhmaṇas desire to know this [*ātman*] by means of reciting the Vedas, the ritual offering (*yajña*), giving (*dāna*), and untiring asceticism (*tapas*). Knowing this, one becomes a sage (*muni*). Seeking this very conditioned space, mendicants (*pravrājin*) go forth (*pra+*√*vraj*).[359] Earlier knowers of this verily did not desire offspring (*prajā*), [thinking,] "What is the use of offspring? What will we do with them? We have this *ātman*, this conditioned space." Giving up the desire for children, the desire for wealth, and the desire for conditioned spaces, they then indeed wandered begging for alms (*bhikṣācaryaṃ caranti*).[360]

Yājñavalkya further explains, "Having given up *amauna* and *mauna*, then one would be a brāhmaṇa."[361] In this passage, the term *mauna* could refer either to sagehood or to silence; *amauna* would be its opposite. He goes so far as to say that to be a real brāhmaṇa, one must know the imperishable. In his words,

> Gārgī, without knowing the imperishable in this world, whosoever performs offerings, offers, or practices austerities [even] for many thousands of years, that

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[356] Vries, "Real, Rejected, and Reinterpreted Rituals," 29-38, 43.

[357] The verses in which *yañña* occurs include: *Sn* 249, 295, 295, 308, 458, 461, 482, 483, 484, 505, 506, 509, 568, 977, 978, 979, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1047. Various forms of the verb √*yaj* also occur in many *suttas*. Krishan argues that the Buddha repudiated only animal sacrifice (*paśughātayañña*, *paśubali*, and *paśubandha*), not other ritual offerings (*yañña*), but those who joined the order as *bhikṣus*, were enjoined to abstain from all *yajñas*. The only evidence he offers for the latter is Vinayapiṭaka Mahāvagga 1.22.4 and Bhūridatta Jātaka (no. 543). See Y. Krishan, "To What Extent Buddhism Repudiated Vedic Religion," *East and West* 43, no. 1/4 (December 1993): 237-240. http://www.jstor.org/stable/29757093. Accessed 17/08/2013.

[358] Tsuchida, 80-82. Note that Bāvarī is never called a *jaṭila* in the *Suttanipāta*.

[359] Compare with the Pāli *pabbajja* in the *Suttanipāta*.

[360] … *tam etaṃ vedānuvacanena brāhmaṇā vividiṣanti yajñena dānena tapasā'nāśakena | etam eva viditvā munir bhavati | etam eva pravrājino lokam icchantaḥ pravrajanti | etad dha sma vai tat pūrve vidvāṁsaḥ prajāṁ na kāmayante kiṃ prajayā kariṣyāmo eṣāṁ no 'yam ātmā 'yaṃ loka iti te ha sma putraiṣaṇāyāś ca vittaiṣaṇāyāś ca lokaiṣaṇāyāś ca vyutthāyātha bhikṣācaryaṃ caranti | … BĀU* 17.4.4.22 ‖ A parallel passage reads, "So, verily having known this ātman, giving up desiring/seeking sons, desiring wealth, and desiring conditioned spaces, brāhmaṇas lead the life of begging for alms (*bhikṣācara*). For, the desire for sons is the desire for wealth. The desire for wealth is the desire for conditioned spaces. For, both are just desires (*eṣana*)." *etaṃ vai taṃ ātmānaṃ viditvā brāhmaṇāḥ putraiṣaṇāyāś ca vittaiṣaṇāyāś ca lokaiṣaṇāyāś ca vyutthāyātha bhikṣācaryaṃ caranti | yā hy eva putraiṣaṇā sā vittaiṣaṇā yā vittaiṣaṇā sā lokaiṣaṇā | ubhe hy ete eṣaṇe eva bhavataḥ … BĀU* 17.3.5.1 |

[361] …*bālyaṃ ca pāṇḍityaṃ ca nirvidyātha muniḥ | amaunaṃ ca maunaṃ ca nirvidyātha brāhmaṇaḥ… BĀU* 17.3.5.1 |

which he has is only limited (*antavat*).[362] Whosoever, not knowing the imperishable, Gārgī, departs from this world, is pitiable. Now, whosoever, Gārgī, knowing the imperishable departs from this world, he is a brāhmaṇa.[363]

In addition, Yājñavalkya says that a person who is not besmeared by bad *karma*, who has crossed over all evil, and who is free from dust and doubt, becomes a brāhmaṇa (*brāhmaṇo bhavati*) and reaches the *brahmaloka*.[364] Birth is never mentioned as a condition of class; instead, a brāhmaṇa shares the space of *brahman* (*brahmaloka*), which elsewhere the sage describes as the highest bliss.[365] Yājñavalkya does not understand a brāhmaṇa in the same way as the term is defined in orthodox Vedic tradition; his discussion of the category in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* seems at odds with the concept of a brāhmaṇa in other Vedic texts.

The *Suttanipāta's* critique on the brāhmaṇa and ritual efficacy seems to have presupposed Yājñavalkya's unique interpretation of these terms.[366] The Bhagavan defines a brāhmaṇa in this way:

A *brāhmaṇa*[367] is one who goes beyond the limits.[368] Knowing and seeing, nothing is firmly grasped by that one.[369] Not affected by attachments nor stuck on detachment, for him, nothing is firmly grasped as the highest.[370]

A brāhmaṇa has gone to the far shore[371] and does not resort to mental constructing.[372] When standing on firm ground, the brāhmaṇa is a sage (*muni*).[373] A brāhmaṇa is not led by anything and is beyond disputation.[374] In addition, he does not make things up in his mind:

A brāhmaṇa does not resort to mentally constructing, having carefully discriminated. Not following views, not even bound to knowledge, and understanding ordinary conventions, he remains equanimous. Others grasp.[375]

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[362] perishable, transitory

[363] *yo vā etad akṣaram gārgy aviditvā'smiṃl loke juhoti yajate tapas tapyate bahūni varṣasahasrāṇy antavad evāsya tad bhavati yo vā etad akṣaram gārgy aviditvāsmāl lokāt praiti sa kṛpaṇo atha ya etad akṣaraṃ gārgi viditvāsmāl lokāt praiti sa brāhmaṇaḥ ‖ BĀU 17.3.8.10 ‖*

[364] *…nainaṃ pāpmā tarati ǀ sarvaṃ pāpmānaṃ tarati ǀ nainaṃ pāpmā tapati ǀ sarvaṃ pāpmānaṃ tapati ǀ vipāpo virajo 'vicikitso brāhmaṇo bhavati ǀ eṣa brahmalokaḥ samrāṭ ǀ iti hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ… ‖ BĀU 17.4.4.23 ‖*

[365] *BĀU* 17.4.3.33.

[366] I anticipate that Nathan McGovern's PhD thesis has the full story on this issue, but I have not yet had access to his study.

[367] *MN*: brāhmaṇa is one who has given up seven things: "*brāhmaṇoti sattannaṃ dhammānaṃ bāhitattā brāhmaṇo ǀ*"

[368] *MN*: four kinds of kilesa: "*catasso sīmāyo — sakkāyadiṭṭhi, vicikicchā, sīlabbataparāmāso, diṭṭhānusayo, vicikicchānusayo, tadekaṭṭhā ca kilesā — ayaṃ paṭhamā sīmā. oḷārikaṃ kāmarāgasaññojanaṃ, paṭighasaññojanaṃ, oḷāriko kāmarāgānusayo, paṭighānusayo, tadekaṭṭhā ca kilesā — ayaṃ dutiyā sīmā. anusahagataṃ kāmarāgasaññojanaṃ, paṭighasaññojanaṃ, anusahagato kāmarāgānusayo, paṭighānusayo, tadekaṭṭhā ca kilesā — ayaṃ tatiyā sīmā. rūparāgo arūparāgo māno uddhaccaṃ avijjā, mānānusayo bhavarāgānusayo avijjānusayo, tadekaṭṭhā ca kilesā — ayaṃ catutthā sīmā. yato ca catūhi ariyamaggehi imā catasso sīmāyo atikkanto hoti samatikkanto vītivatto, so vuccati sīmātigo ǀ*"

[369] *MN*: an arhat whose *āsavas* have been exhausted. "*tassāti arahato khīṇāsavassa ǀ*"

[370] *sīmātigo brāhmaṇo tassa n'atthi, ñatvā va disvā va samuggahītaṃ ǀ na rāgarāgī na virāgaratto, tassīdha n'atthī param uggahītan ti ‖ Sn 795 ‖*

[371] *Sn* 803.

[372] *Sn* 911.

[373] *Sn* 946.

[374] *Sn* 907.

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In the *Pārāyanavagga*, chapter five of the *Suttanipāta*, knowing for an accomplished brāhmaṇa means knowing that what arises comes out of nothing and that finding pleasure in experience is a fetter.[376] In describing the brāhmaṇa ideal, an *arahat* is identified with a proper brāhmaṇa.[377] At the same time that the Buddha acknowledges and praises the brāhmaṇa ideal, however, he explains that many brāhmaṇas, having become corrupt, no longer live in accord with the ancient tradition of making offerings.[378]

The Buddha defines who a brāhmaṇa is on multiple occasions.[379] In the "Vasala Sutta" (*Sn* 1.7), the Buddha famously states that one becomes a brāhmaṇa not by birth, but by actions (*kamma*).[380] He illustrates his point by saying that Mātaṅga, a low caste man, reached the *brahmaloka*.[381] This example reflects what Yājñavalkya says in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* about a person not smeared by bad *karma* becoming a brāhmaṇa and reaching the *brahmaloka*.[382] In the "Vāseṭṭha Sutta" (*Sn* 3.9), Bhāradvāja opines that one is a brāhmaṇa from birth, but Vāseṭṭha thinks that one becomes a brāhmaṇa on the basis of virtue and practice. They ask the Buddha to explain a brāhmaṇa and his description spans thirty verses.[383] A brāhmaṇa has no possessions, is free from grasping, has cut off all fetters, has overcome clinging, is detached, endures insults, is patient and strong, is not angry, observes vows, is virtuous and trained, does not cling to desires, realizes here itself the exhaustion of his *dukkha*, has wisdom, knows the way, is non-violent, has no expectations or storehouses (*ālaya*), has reached and is immersed in the undying, has gone beyond merit and demerit, finds no pleasure in conditioned becoming, has crossed over and gone to the far shore, is free from doubting, has eliminated thirst and gone forth, is awakened (*buddha*), knows his former lives, and has reached the exhaustion of birth. The Buddha's idea of what a brāhmaṇa seems to have been influenced by Yājñavalkya's idea of a brāhmaṇa crossing over evil and knowing the imperishable. In this *sutta* too, Gotama repeats that one becomes a brāhmaṇa not by birth, but by actions—specifically asceticism, brahmacariya, restraint, and control.[384] These examples show that both Yājñavalkya and Gotama consider a brāhmaṇa to be one who: crosses over, gives up desire, is not sullied by bad *karma*, is free from doubting, practices asceticism, and abides in the *brahmaloka*. Like

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[375] *na brāhmaṇo kappam upeti saṅkhaṃ na diṭṭhisārī na pi ñāṇabandhu | ñatvā ca so sammutiyo puthujjā, upekkhatī uggahaṇanta-m-aññe ‖ Sn 911 ‖*

[376] "*ākiñcaññasambhavaṃ ñatvā, nandī saṃyojanaṃ iti | evam evaṃ abhiññāya, tato tattha vipassati | etaṃ ñāṇaṃ tathaṃ tassa, brāhmaṇassa vusīmato" ti ‖ Sn 1115 ‖*

[377] *khīṇāsavaṃ arahan taṃ, tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ | Sn 644 |*

[378] See the "Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta" and the "Puṇṇakamāṇava Pucchā."

[379] When Sabhiya the wandering ascetic (*paribbājaka*) asks who is a brāhmaṇa, the Buddha responds, "Having warded off all wrongdoing, without impurities, well-composed, steadfast, going beyond *saṃsāra*, that one who is perfected and not attached, such a one is called a brāhmaṇa (*brahmā*)." "*bāhetvā sabbapāpakāni sabhiyati bhagavā vimalo sādhusamāhito ṭhitatto | saṃsāram aticca kevalī so, asito tādi pavuccate (sa) brahmā ‖ Sn 519 ‖*

[380] "*…na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo | … kammunā hoti brāhmaṇo | Sn 136 |* Also, "*na jaccā brāhmaṇo hoti, na jaccā hoti abrāhmaṇo | kammunā brāhmaṇo hoti, kammunā hoti abrāhmaṇo ‖ Sn 650 ‖*

[381] *Sn* 139. See also 508-509.

[382] *BĀU* 4.4.23. See footnote 359.

[383] Sn 620-647, 650, 655.

[384] *tapena brahmacariyena, saṃyamena damena ca | etena brāhmaṇo hoti, etaṃ brāhmaṇam uttamaṃ ‖ Sn 655 ‖*

Yājñavalkya, who states that without knowing the imperishable, performing offerings and austerities is limited, Gotama calls into question the efficacy of such offerings.[385]

In the "Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta" (*Sn* 3.4), the Buddha denies being a brāhmaṇa or any other *varṇa* category, but then four verses later states that he should not be not considered a brāhmaṇa, showing off his knowledge of the Sāvittī (Skt. Sāvitrī *mantra*).[386] The Buddha says, "For if you say you are a brāhmaṇa and you say that I am not a brāhmaṇa, I will ask you about the Sāvitti, consisting of the three quarters and twenty-four syllables."[387] Emphasizing that he has learned of one of the most important Vedic *mantras*, traditionally taught after a year of Vedic studentship, again reinforces Gotama's understanding of Vedic tradition and his implicit relationship to it.[388] Brett Shults shows that while the description of the Sāvittī having three quarters and twenty-four syllables is perfectly in line with Brāhmaṇa texts, it finds no parallel in any Pāli text outside the *Suttanipāta*, except commentaries.[389] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* records an early description of the *upanayana* rite, which P.V. Kane explains literally meant "leading" or "taking near" the *brahmacārī* (student) to his *ācārya* (teacher) for instruction.[390] According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, a *brahmacārī* was to be taught the Sāvitrī in the *gāyatrī* meter only.[391] The *ācārya* bears the student in his womb by placing his right hand on the student; on the third night the student is born as a *brāhmaṇa* along with the Sāvitrī.[392] The *Śatapatha* does not mention any rules for initiation based on *varṇa*. By showing that he knows the Sāvittī in the *gāyatrī* meter (three *padas* with eight syllables each), the Buddha indicates that he learned the verse appropriate to Vedic initiation and was reborn as a brāhmaṇa. Though the Buddha never directly identifies himself as a brāhmaṇa, in hinting that he knows the Sāvitrī in the *gāyatrī* meter, he implies that he is familiar with very specific brāhmaṇical practices.

According to Apte, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, Aitareya Brāhmaṇā,* and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* know *Ṛgveda* 3.62.10 "only as *one of the many verses* sacred to Savitṛ and do not attach any importance to it as the sāvitrī par excellence—which seems to

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[385] See, for example, *Sn* 1080.

[386] "Not a brāhmaṇa, nor a prince, nor a *vessāyana* (merchant or farmer), nor anyone am I. Recognizing the lineage (*gotra*) of ordinary people, possessing nothing, I go about in the world thinking. "*na brāhmaṇo no'mhi na rājaputto, na vessāyano uda koci no'mhi | gottaṃ pariññāya puthujjanānaṃ, akiñcano manta carāmi loke || Sn* 455 || Buddhaghosa lengthens the final 'a' and reads it as a gerund, "having thought means having known: *mantā jānitvā |*"

[387] "…*brāhmaṇo (hi) ce tvaṃ brūsi, mañ ca brūsi abrāhmaṇaṃ | taṃ taṃ Sāvittiṃ pucchāmi tipadaṃ catuvīsatakkharaṃ || Sn* 457 ||

[388] *smaitāṃ purā saṃvatsare 'nvāhuḥ | ŚBK* 13.5.4.6 | Although the *Śatapatha* says that originally the *mantra* was taught after a year of studentship, *ŚBK* 13.5.4.7-12 allows the Sāvitrī to be imparted after six months, on the twenty-fourth day, on the twelfth day, sixth day, third day, or at once.

[389] Brett Shults, "On the Buddha's use of Some Brahmanical Motifs in Pali Texts," *Journal for the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies* 6. (2014): 106-140, 114-118. Shults references *KB* 12.4.13, *JUB* 1.17.2, and *JB* 3.6.11-12. See also *ŚBK* 3.2.6.1 (*gāyatrīm tripadīm*).

[390] Pandurang Vaman Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra: Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law.* Vol. 2, Part 1. Third edition. (Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1997 (first published 1941), 268.

[391] *gāyatrīm eva sāvitrīm anubrūyāt | ŚBK* 13.5.4.13 | See also *ŚBM* 11.5.4.13.

[392] *ācāryo garbhī bhavati hastam ādhāya dakṣiṇam tṛtīyasyāṁ sa jāyate sāvitrayā saha brāhmaṇā iti | ŚBK* 13.5.4.12 | See also *ŚBM* 11.5.4.12. The idea of the teacher taking the student as an embryo to be reborn on the third night is also found in the *Atharvaveda: ācārya upanayamāno brahmacāriṇam kṛṇute garbhamantaḥ | taṃ rātrīs tisra udare bibharti taṃ jātaṃ draṣṭum abhisaṃyanti devāḥ | AV* 11.5.3 |

be a later development."[393] In his view, it is the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that employs the *gāyatrī Sāvitrī* in the rite of initiation. During the period after the *Śatapatha*, not everyone was privy to the *gāyatrī* verse. Kane and Smith describe how Sūtra literature distinguishes between different Sāvitrī *mantras* depending on the *varṇa* of the student.[394] Some Gṛhyasūtras prescribe the same verse for all students; according to other *Dharma-* and *Gṛhya-sūtras*, *kṣatriyas* are to learn the Sāvitrī in the *triṣṭubh* meter (four *padas* of eleven syllables each), while *vaiśyas* are to learn it in the *jagatī* meter (four *padas* of twelve syllables each).[395] The Buddha's claim to have learned the *gāyatrī* Sāvitrī corresponds to the description of the initiation rite given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

In *Śatapatha* 13.5.4.1, when a prospective student approaches his teacher, whom he approaches as if *brahman* himself, he says, "I have come for *brahmacarya* (studentship)."[396] In the verses of the *Suttanipāta*, when a student wishes to take the Buddha as his teacher, he asks to practice *brahmacariya* under him. For example, Dhaniya asks on behalf of his wife and himself, "May we practice *brahmacariya* under the Sugata."[397] Similarly, Sela asks on behalf of his three-hundred brāhmaṇa students and himself, "May we practice *brahmacariya* under you, Bhagavan."[398] It is only in the later introductory prose sections that the Pāli stock phrase is introduced, "I go to the Venerable Gotama as a refuge, and to the *dhamma* and the *saṅgha* of bhikkhus, that I might be allowed to go forth into the homeless life (*pabbajja*) in the presence of Venerable Gotama and be ordained as a monk (*upasampada*)."[399] The verse requests to study under the Buddha follow closely the Vedic custom in the *Śatapatha*, in contrast to the later *nidāna* passages, which reflect a separate Buddhist identity.

The Bhagavan is addressed by brāhmaṇas in the *Suttanipāta* as one of their own. Speaking of the Buddha in the *Pārāyanavagga*, the young brāhmaṇa Dhotaka remarks that

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[393] V.M. Apte, "Ṛg-veda Mantras in their Ritual Setting in the Gṛhya Sūtras," *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* 1, no. 1. (1939): 14-44, 34.

[394] Kane, 302-303; Smith, *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual, and Religion*, 94-95, 99 (footnote 98).

[395] Kane explains, "Here again there is a difference. According to the commentators on the Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41.20), the verse 'adabdhebhiḥ savitā' (Kāṭhakam IV.10) and the verse 'Viśvā rūpāṇi' (Kāṭhakam XVI.8) are recited as the Sāvitrī for a kṣatriya and a vaiśya respectively; while the commentator on the Śaṅ. gṛ. (II.5.4-6) says that the Triṣṭubh which is to be taught as the Sāvitrī to the kṣatriya students is 'ā kṛṣṇena rajasā' (Ṛg. I.35.2) and the Jagatī Sāvitrī for the vaiśya is 'Hiraṇyapāṇiḥ savitā' (Ṛg. I.35.9) or 'haṃsaḥ śuciṣad' (Ṛg. IV.40.5). According to the Vārāhagṛhya (5) 'devo yāti savitā' [Ṛg. I.35.3] and 'yuñjate manaḥ' (Ṛg. V.81.1) are the Triṣṭubh and Jagatī meant as Sāvitrī for the kṣatriya and vaiśya respectively. According to Śatapatha quoted in the Madanapārijāta (p. 23) the verse 'Deva savitaḥ' (Tai. S. I.7.7.1, Kāṭhakam XIII.14) is the Sāvitrī for the kṣatriya. According to Medhātithi on Manu II.38 'ā kṛṣṇena' (Ṛg. I.35.2) and 'viśvā rūpāṇi' (Kāṭhakam XVI.8) are the two Sāvitrīs respectively for the kṣatriya and vaiśya. That all these rules about the Sāvitrī being in the Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī metres for the three varṇas respectively are probably very ancient follows from the text 'gāyatryā brāhmaṇamasṛjata tṛṣṭubhā rājanyam &c'…The Āśv. gṛ., Āp. gṛ., and some other sūtras are entirely silent on the point, while Pār. gṛ. II.3 allows an option viz. all varṇas may learn the Gāyatrī or the Sāvitrī verses in the Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī respectively." See Kane, 302-303.

[396] *brahmacaryam āgām ity āha | ŚBK 13.5.4.1 |*

[397] *brahmacariyaṃ Sugate carāmase | Sn 32 |*

[398] *brahmacariyaṃ carissāma Bhagavā tava santike | Sn 566 |*

[399] *evam evam bhotā Gotamena anekapariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Esāhaṃ bhavantaṃ Gotamaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammañ ca bhikkhusaṃghañ ca, labheyyāhaṃ bhoto Gotamassa santike pabbajjaṃ, labheyyaṃ upasampadan" ti.* See prose section at the end of the "Kasibhāradvāja" and the "Sundarikabhāradvāja" *suttas*.

he sees a "brāhmaṇa" in front of him.[400] The ascetic brāhmaṇas address the Bhagavan with great respect, calling him a seer (*isi*),[401] great seer (*mahesi*),[402] best of seers (*isisattama*),[403] and divine seer (*devīsi*).[404] Four times he is addressed as Sakka, the king of the Vedic *devas*, and once as Brahmā.[405] He is directly called a *muni* four times and a *samaṇa* once.[406] As stated in the previous chapter, the Buddha is called Gotama, one with the most light, and *ādiccabandhu,* which could be translated as the kinsman of the sun (Pāli Ādicca, Skt. Āditya) or as one who has the [secret] connection with the sun.[407] This epithet connects him to and perhaps even positioned him to be on par with the revered Vedic visionary in the east, Yājñavalkya, who was taught by the sun. It is also notable that King Okkāka (Ikṣvāku) is mentioned in *Suttanipāta* 302, further substantiating the Buddha's familiarity with the Brāhmaṇical Sūryavaṃśa in Kosala. The Buddha is described as shining like Ādicca.[408] In the *Suttanipāta,* brāhmaṇas did not necessarily see the Buddha as one whose teaching was at odds with their tradition. This was not always the case, as the "Vasala Sutta" illustrates, but is the norm in the *Suttanipāta*.

   Wynne establishes that the Buddha adapted meditation practices from his Brāhmaṇical teachers to instruct brāhmaṇa interlocutors in the *Pārāyanavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*. He identifies two teachers as historical figures who taught the Bodhisatta meditative states that were not claimed to be original discoveries of the Bodhisatta.[409] Of particular interest is that the Bodhisatta studied in Kosala with a Brāhmaṇical teacher named Aḷāra Kālāma, who taught him the sphere of nothingness (*ākiñcaññāyatana*).[410] In Magadha, the Bodhisatta learned about the sphere of neither perception nor non-perception (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*) from Uddaka Rāmaputta, who Wynne argues was familiar with the teachings of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[411] However, Wynne suggests that it was not this teacher, but his father, Rāma, who had realized this state. Aḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta taught meditative practices of early Brāhmaṇism, "the goal of which," Wynne articulates, "was thought to be a nondual state of meditation identical to the unmanifest state of brahman."[412] According to him, these Brāhmaṇical teachers thought that their meditative

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[400] "*passām'ahaṃ … brāhmaṇam*" | *Sn* 1063 |

[401] *Sn* 1025, 1126.

[402] *Sn* 172-7, 915, 1054, 1057, 1061, 1067.

[403] *Sn* 356.

[404] *Sn* 1116.

[405] *Sn* 1069, 1090 (all-seeing Sakka), 1113, 1119, (*brahmā*) 1065.

[406] The Buddha is called a *muni* in *Sn* 700, 1052, 1075, and 1083; he is addressed as *samaṇa* in Sn 868.

[407] Sn 54, 540, 915, 1128. For the latter option, see Parpola's treatment of *bandhu* in Asko Parpola, in *Religious Symbols and their Functions: Based on Papers read at the Symposium on Religious Symbols and their Functions held at Abo on the 28th-30th of August 1978*. Ed. Haralds Biezais, 139-153. (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1978). Gombrich observes that the Buddha is called an Aṅgirasa several times in the Pāli Canon, such as Vin. 1.25. See Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought*, 71, 113.

[408] *majjhe samaṇasaṃghassa, ādicco va virocasi* | *Sn* 550 | See also *Sn* 1097. Regarding the description of the Buddha as shining like the sun in *AN* 3.239, Gombrich suggests that this looks like a "takeover bid." See Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought*, 113.

[409] Alexander Wynne, *The Origin of Buddhist Meditation*. (London: Routledge, 2007), 12. See in particular the "Ariyapariyesana Sutta" (*M* 1.160).

[410] Ibid., 14-15; *M* 1.164.10.

[411] *M* 1.165; Wynne, 49.

[412] Wynne, 108. The term *avyaktam* is a designation of *brahman* in *MBh* 12.228.15.

attainments were liberating, but they are considered by Buddhists to lead to rebirth in those spheres.[413] His two former teachers were advanced enough for the Buddha to consider them as his first potential students, but they both passed away soon after his awakening. Wynne shows how the "Questions of Upasīva" (*Sn* 5.7) illustrate the Buddha's familiarity with early Brāhmaṇical meditation, because he recommends a revised version of Āḷāra Kālāma's practice.[414] Wynne clarifies, "The Buddha is represented as someone with a new teaching, one that he was able to introduce to Upasīva using the old terminology and metaphors."[415] In this way, Wynne provides further proof that the Buddha interacted with and studied under ascetic brāhmaṇa teachers in Kosala, whose ideas reappear when the Buddha teaches his own brāhmaṇa students.

In addition to Brāhmaṇical meditation, the *Suttanipāta* depicts the Buddha as knowledgeable in Vedic ritual practices. In the "Sela Sutta" (*Sn* 3.7), after eating, the Bhagavan thanks the matted-hair ascetic Keṇiya with two stanzas. He says, "The *aggihutta* is the foremost of ritual offerings (*yañña*). The Sāvittī foremost of meters..."[416] This verse indicates that the Buddha is familiar with the *aggihutta* (Skt. *agnihotra*) ritual and the Gāyatrī mantra, which (as will be shown in chapter five) he uses when teaching brāhmaṇas. Bodewitz notes that Pāli texts refer to the importance of the *agnihotra*.[417] With regard to this passage, Shults cites the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, which claims the *trirātra* sacrifice to be the best of sacrifices (*paramas trirātro yajñānām*) and the *anuṣṭubh* to be the best of meters (*paramā…chandasāṃ*) (*TS* 5.4.12.1).[418] This is the second time the Buddha speaks of the Sāvittī verse in the *Suttanipāta*.[419] The first time, as mentioned above, occurs when the Bhagavan teaches the Kosalan brāhmaṇa Bhāradvāja of Sundarikā about proper ritual offering (*yañña*) and recipients. Interestingly, the *nidāna* of the "Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta" explains that Bhāradvāja had just offered the *aggihutta* and went out in search for a brāhmaṇa to partake of the remains of the offering. In the previous chapter, it was stated that the Vājasaneyins allowed only a brāhmaṇa to consume what is not offered in the two libations of the *agnihotra* ritual.[420] The Buddha also teaches the young brāhmaṇa Māgha about proper ritual offering (*yañña*) and the presentation of oblations (*habya*) to individuals

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[413] Ibid., 21. He writes, "[T]he phrase 'observing nothingness, possessing mindfulness' (*ākiñcaññaṃ pekkhamāno satimā*) in v. 1070 seems to refer to a practice that allows an awareness of objects, and is not an anticipation of a liberation to be achieved later on." See page 90.

[414] Ibid., 72.

[415] Ibid., 106.

[416] *aggihuttamukhā yaññā, Sāvittī chandaso mukhaṃ* | *Sn* 568 |

[417] H.W. Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Moring Offering (Agnihotra) According to the Brāhmaṇas*. (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 5.

[418] Shults also mentions that a similar poem is found in the one or more manuscripts of, but not in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. It begins with the words, "*agnihotramukhā vedā gāyatrī chandasāṃ mukham*" and ends as a praise to Keśava. He speculates that both the *Mahābhārata* and Pāli versions "are derived from forms of praise occurring in Bramanical [oral] texts." See Shults, 119.

[419] *Sn* 457.

[420] *nābrāhmaṇaḥ pibedagnau hyadhiśrayanti tasmānnābrāhmaṇaḥ pibet* | *ŚBM* 2.3.1.39; *ya eva kaś ca piben na tv abrāhmaṇo 'gnau hy enad adhiśrayanti* | *ŚBK* 1.3.1.28; *KŚS* 4.14.11 states that only a brāhmaṇa can drink it—not a *kṣatriya* or a *vaiśya*. See Dumont, *L'Agnihotra*, 14.

worthy because of their virtue and clear-sightedness.[421] The Buddha knew about Brāhmaṇical ideas and practices, to which he referred when teaching.

The Bhagavan mentions specific Vedic sacrifices in the "Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta" (*Sn* 2.7). This *sutta* describes how old Kosalan brāhmaṇas approached the Bhagavan to ask about the whether the brāhmaṇas these days live in accord with the good conduct of ancient brāhmaṇas. The Buddha responds by describing ancient day seers devoted to austerities (*tapassin*), who had for their wealth self-study (*sajjhāya*, Skt. *svādhyāya*). They practiced brahmacariya for eighty-four years and performed offerings (*yañña*) properly. But they took a change for the worse when they coveted material wealth. They convinced King Okkāka (Ikṣvāku) to sacrifice the *assamedha*, *purisamedha*, *samāpāsa*, *vājapeyya*, and *niraggaḷa*.[422] Three of these offerings are well known and attested in the brāhmaṇas, namely the *aśvamedha*, the *puruṣamedha*, and the *vājapeya*.

The *samāpāsa* and *niraggaḷa* sacrifices are not so straightforward. Thite has summarized the research on both terms as follows. Kosambi identified the *sammāpāsa* with the *śamyāprāsa* where a wooden peg (*śamyā*) is thrown.[423] Bopat agreed on the basis of the commentary on *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.[424] Thite explains,

> According to this commentary Śammāpāsa is 'throwing of a *śamyā* (a peg of *śamī* wood) which is part of a sacrificial session and then the sacrifice itself is called *śamyāprāsa* (*Sammāpāsa*). From the place where the river Sarasvatī disappeared the performers go up the river bed up to its source and from the place where a sacrifice is performed, they throw each day the *Samma* (*śamyā*) and wherever it falls, an altar is prepared there and sacrifice is performed there.[425]

The Pāli commentary is in agreement with *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* 25.10.4, which refers to the *adhvaryu* (Yajurvedic priest) throwing pegs in a sacrificial session on the Sarasvatī River and establishing the Gārhapatya fire where it alights. Thite adds that in a list of sacrifices found in the Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* (II.237), *somaprāsa* is found in place of *sammāpāsa*, which should also be considered as a possible variant. According to this reading, Thite states that *sammāpāsa* could refer to the *agniṣṭoma* or to throwing the soma in a *sattra* (sacrificial session), which is another type of soma sacrifice.

Thite explains that the term *niraggaḷa* (Skt. *nirargala*, BHS *nirargaḍa* or *nirgaḍa*) appears to mean "unbarred, unobstructed, etc." and could be an adjective of some particular sacrifice or the name of one.[426] Kane guessed that the Nirargala referred to the *viśvajit*.[427] According to Bapat, Pāli commentaries describe the *niraggaḷa* as the *sarvamedha*, a variety of horse sacrifice consisting of nine subsidiary sacrifices culminating in the *viśvajit*

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[421] Sn 487-509.

[422] *Sn* 303.

[423] See *ĀŚS* 3.10.9, *KŚS* 15.9.9, *ṢaḍB* 11.10; *TMB* 25.13.2.

[424] *sammam etha pāsantī ti sammāpāso.* | *divase divase yugacchiggale pavesanadaṇḍaka-saṅkhātam sammam khipitvā tassa patitokāse vediṁ katvā saṁhārimehi yūpādīhi sarassatinadiyā nimmuggokāsato pabhuti paṭilomam gacchantena yajitabbassa satra-yāgassa etaṁ abhivacanam* | See G.U. Thite, "Samāpāsa," *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 18, nos. 1-4. (Feb. 1971): 69-71, 70.

[425] Ibid.

[426] G.U. Thite, "Additions to the Study of the Niraggaḷa, etc." *ABORI* 53, nos. 1-4. (1972): 195-199, 195.

[427] P.V. Kane, "The Puṇḍarika and Other Sacrifices," *ABORI* 10, no. 4. (1930).

atirātra.[428] Falk agrees that the *niraggaḷa* is the *sarvamedha*.[429] Kosambi believed that it was a later form of the *aśvamedha* that included letting the horse wander free for a year in addition to the simple killing of a horse.[430] Thite points out that *nirargala* not infrequently appears as an adjective of *aśvamedha* in the *Mahābhārata*.[431] He further shows that *nirargala* often qualifies an unobstructed sacrifice in general in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. In the *śrauta* context, it means without any limit, which is how the Buddha describes his sacrifices when he gives his own limbs to beggars in the *Lalitavistara* (I.318). In *Majjhimanikāya* 1.139, a monk who eliminates the five fetters that bind him to the near shore is said to be *niraggaḷa*.[432] According to Thite, depending on the context *niraggaḷa* can: 1) mean unbarred and stand for a rite in the *sarvamedha* sacrifice, 2) be an adjective qualifying either *aśvamedha* or *sarvamedha*, and 3) be used as an adjective meaning without any limit.[433] Thite opined that Sanskrit and Pāli authors and commentators seem unaware of the technical *śrauta* sense of *nirargala*, while Falk contends that the point of contact between Vedic and Buddhist followers remained superficial and limited to a low level of Brāhmaṇism.[434] However, that the *Suttanipāta* does not know the technical *śrauta* sense may have been because there was no *śrauta* text belonging to the Kāṇva School in Kosala.

The term *brāhmaṇa* occurs two hundred times in the *Suttanipāta*, which not infrequently portrays brāhmaṇas in a favorable, friendly light.[435] Katre observed, "The general tone of the *Sn* is that of respect and deep regard for the brāhmaṇas."[436] He goes on to say, "The brāhmaṇas, in short, were held in high esteem in this ancient community. Spiritually they represented the most advanced men and so were in a position to benefit quickly from the doctrines of the Buddha."[437] Rhys Davids pointed out that eight of the ten or eleven disciples of the Buddha were brāhmaṇas.[438]

In the "Sela Sutta," Keṇiya, whom the *nidāna* explains is a matted-haired ascetic devoted to the brāhmaṇas, elicits the help of his brāhmaṇa friends and family to prepare a meal for Gotama and his *saṅgha*. Sela, the brāhmaṇa to whom Keṇiya had been devoted, comes to his student's hermitage and asks whether a marriage or great ritual offering is

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[428] Thite, "Additions to the study of the Niraggaḷa" 196; Bapat, "Sammāpāsa and other allied sacrifices in Pali literature," JUPHS I (1953), 82.

[429] Harry Falk, "Vedische Opfer im Pali-Kanon," *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 6, (1988): 225–254, 233.

[430] *ṚV* 1.162.3; D.D. Kosambi, "The Sanskrit Equivalents of Two Pali Words" *ABORI* 32, (1951-1952), 54.

[431] Thite, "Additions to the study of the Niraggaḷa" 196; *MBh* 7.app.1.8.416-417 (*aśvamedhair…nirargalair*) and 451-452 (*nirargalaṁ…aśvamedhaśataṁ*); *MBh* 12.29.53 (*daśāśvamedhāñ…nirargalān*); *MBh* 3.275.69 (*daśāśvamedhān…nirargalān*).

[432] Thite, "Additions to the study of the Niraggaḷa," 198-199.

[433] Ibid., 199.

[434] Falk, "Vedische Opfer im Pali-Kanon," 226.

[435] The term *bhikkhu* occurs twenty percent less than the term brāhmaṇa in the *Suttanipāta*. See Katre, 35; N.A. Jayawickrama, "Uraga Sutta," in *University of Ceylon Review* 7, no. 1. (1949): 28-35, 34; C.A.F. Rhys Davids, "The Relations between Early Buddhism and Brahmanism," in *Indian Historical Quarterly* 10, no. 2. Ed. Narendra Nath Law. (June, 1934): 274-287, 279.

[436] Katre, 35.

[437] Tsuchida mentions that the Buddha, after awakening, began his teaching career by returning to former brāhmaṇa teachers Āḷāra and Uddaka because "they were both 'learned, experienced, wise and for a long time…had little dust in their eyes' (*paṇḍito vyatto medhāvīdīgharattaṁ apparajakkhajātiko*)." See page 87.

[438] Sāriputta, Moggaliāna, Koṭṭhita, Kaccāna, Kassapa, and Sāriputta's brothers, Cunda and Revata. See C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 276, 280.

being arranged, or whether King Bimbisāra of Magadha has been invited along with his army. Keṇiya tells his teacher that he is preparing a meal for Gotama and his *saṅgha* because of the Buddha's outstanding reputation. Sela does not repudiate his student, but rather, hearing that Gotama is awakened (*buddha*), sets out to meet and praise the Buddha. The Bhagavan tells Sela, "As one who has become *brahman*, the incomparable crusher of Māra's army, having subdued all foes, with nothing to fear from anywhere, I rejoice."[439] Sela asks that he and his students practice *brahmacariya* (studentship) under the Bhagavan and he is allowed to go forth into homelessness (*pabajja*) under his guidance. The tone of this episode, in which Keṇiya's brāhmaṇa teacher not only does not criticize his pupil for supporting the Buddha, but himself becomes the Buddha's student, markedly differs from the Keṇiya episode in the Vinaya (PTS Vin I 245ff).[440] Maes confirms that in the Vinaya, no mention is made of Keṇiya's teacher, nor of his friends and family helping him to prepare the meal offering.[441] The account in the *Suttanipāta*, in which a brāhamṇa's teacher becomes the disciple of the Buddha, differs from episodes in which brāhmaṇas lose face for approaching the Buddha.[442]

Though figures from other ascetic traditions are mentioned in other Pāli texts, the *Suttanipāta* provides the names of other sects' teachers only in the prose portion of the "Sabhiya Sutta" (*Sn* 3.6). The *nidāna* states that the wandering ascetic (*paribbājaka*) Sabhiya approached Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambala, Pakudha Kaccāna, Sañcaya Belaṭṭhaputta, and Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta for further instruction.[443] Pūraṇa Kassapa and Makkhali Gosāla were Ājīvikas.[444] Sabhiya's questions demonstrate familiarity with Vedic and other ascetic traditions. Here the Bhagavan does not give importance to which sect he belongs, and the vocabulary used is sometimes Vedic. For example, he says, "Having investigated all knowledges (*vedas*), whether they belong to the samaṇas or to the brāhmaṇas, one free from passion toward all sensations, who has gone beyond all knowledge, that one is a master of knowledge (*vedagū*)."[445] In addition to the "Sabhiya Sutta," adherents of the Ājīvikas and Jains (*nigaṇṭha*) are mentioned in "Dhammika Sutta."[446] Apart from these references, brāhmaṇas, *munis*, *bhikkhus*, and general *samaṇas* take center stage in this collection.

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[439] *Brahmabhūto atitulo, Mārasenappamaddano | sabbāmitte vasīkatvā, modāmi akutobhayo" ‖ Sn 561 ‖*

[440] I am grateful to Claire Maes of Ghent University for bringing this version to my attention in her paper, (new title) "Ideological Other, Householder Other, Religious Other. An examination of the brāhmaṇa as the early Buddhist *bhikkhu's dialectical other* in the Pāli Vinaya." Tsuchida references another variant, *Apadāna* 40.2.208-303.

[441] The Vinaya version emphasizes what drinks the bhikkhus are allowed to drink.

[442] Tsuchida provides other references to *suttas* in which brāhmaṇas loose face for approaching the Buddha, such as the "Caṅkī Sutta" (*M* 2.45), the "Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta" (*D* 1.4) and the "Kūṭadanta Sutta" (*D* 1.5). See page 54-55; Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought*,188.

[443] *pūraṇo kassapo makkhaligosālo ajito kesakambalo pakudho kaccāno sañcayo belaṭṭhaputto nigaṇṭho nāṭaputto, te upasaṅkamitvā te pañhe pucchati | Nidāna* to the "Sabhiya Sutta," sixth discourse in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Suttanipāta |*

[444] A.L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas.* (London: Luza, 1951), 107.

[445] *"Vedāni viceyya kevalāni, sabhiyā ti Bhagavā samaṇānaṃ yāni p'atthi brāhmaṇānaṃ | sabbavedanāsu vītarāgo, sabbaṃ vedam aticca vedagū so ‖ Sn 529 ‖*

[446] *Sn* 381.

The brāhmaṇas depicted in the *Suttanipāta* are the ascetic-*muni* type, ritual performers, and once a farmer.[447] When Bāvarī's sixteen young brāhmaṇa students approach the Buddha in the *Pārāyanavagga*, Jayawickrama opines that their questions are "far too brilliant to be those of an insignificant disciple of a brahmin from the less-known and least-brahmanised zone of the Dakkiṇāpatha which even during the time of the compilation of the Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra was considered unfit for Brahmins (Baudh. V.15 vide sec. 42)."[448] In his view, because their questions reflect the monistic principles of the Upaniṣads, such brāhmaṇas as Ajita seem to be initiates into an Upaniṣadic school.[449] Since only Puṇṇaka asks the Buddha about the efficacy of sacrifice, Jayawickrama considers it possible that the other students had philosophical training from other samaṇa sects, like the Ājīvikas.[450] Wynne contends, however, "The Brahmin Upasīva betrays an awareness of the philosophy of early Brahminic meditation, which must be a tradition of which he had first hand knowledge. To him the Buddha teaches an adapted form of the meditative exercise of Āḷāra Kālāma," who lived in Kosala.[451] As told in the *Vatthugāthā* of the *Pārāyanavagga*, Bāvarī hails from a city of the Kosalans, but moved to the south.[452] Jayawickrama noted that Theragāthā 1.20 mentions one of Bāvarī's disciples, Ajita, whom the commentary refers to as the son of the assessor (*agghāpaniya*) of the king of Kosala.[453] Thus it seems likely that the questions of the young brāhmaṇas reflect Kosalan brāhmaṇa-muni teachings.

As Gombrich asserts, the Buddha taught an audience that already had a set of preconceptions.[454] "In order to make himself understood," Gombrich states, "the Buddha had to talk in terms with which his audiences were already familiar."[455] He explains that many members of the Sangha continued to use terms from their former traditions, which the Buddha incorporated when teaching them, "meeting them half way" so to speak.[456] This vocabulary made its way into the language used in teaching Dhamma, even after the Buddha died. Gombrich observes that the Buddha "was trying to convey to a wide range of people with different inclinations and varying presuppositions, so he had to express his message in many different ways."[457] It seems that Vedic tradition, and the Vājasaneyin School of Kosala-Videha in particular, is representative of the audience depicted in the *Suttanipāta*. It has been demonstrated by Gombrich that the Buddha knew and responded to the

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[447] To have a brāhmaṇa farmer further suggests that *varṇa* was not fixed in the east. See the "Kasibhāradvāja Sutta" (*Sn* 1.4).

[448] Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta*, 289.

[449] Ibid. Tsuchida also comments on the highly philosophical nature of Bāvarī's students' questions. See page 86.

[450] Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta*, 296.

[451] Wynne, 106.

[452] *Sn* 976; Tsuchida, 80.

[453] N.A. Jayawickrama, "The Suttanipāta: Pucchās of the Pārāyana Vagga," in *University of Ceylon Review* 9, no. 1. (1951): 61-68, 61. Jayawickrama cites the commentarial passage ThI A 1.78.

[454] Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought*, 16; Tsuchida 66. Tsuchida confirms that some monks of brāhmaṇa background were members of the early *saṅgha*, but he questions how many would have received an orthodox Vedic education.

[455] Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought*, 60.

[456] Gombrich, How Buddhism Began, 19.

[457] Ibid., 18.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, which belongs to this school.[458] In his words, "The central teachings of the Buddha came as a response to the central teachings of the old Upaniṣads, notably the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. On some points, which he perhaps took for granted, he was in agreement with the Upaniṣadic doctrine; on other points he criticized it."[459] The Buddha's approach to teaching his students according to their own presuppositions adopted what is called in Buddhism *upāya-kauśalya* or skill in means.[460]

The presence of brāhmaṇas in the areas the Buddha lived and taught is corroborated by ample evidence of Vedic vocabulary and grammar found in the *Suttanipāta*. In the introduction to his translation of the *Suttanipāta*, Fausböll studied old Vedic forms of substantives and plural verbs in the text.[461] In addition to these, Jayawickrama notes that in *Suttanipāta* 185, *mittāni ganthati* preserves the neuter gender of *mitta*, even though it is masculine in Pāli.[462] The term *sussūsā* in the next verse is instrumental singular Vedic rather than a contraction of the Pāli *sussūsāya*. The Vedic particle *u*, common in both the *Ṛgveda* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, occurs no less than twenty-five times in the *Suttanipāta*.[463] The Vedic particle *vai*, in Pāli *ve*, also occurs.[464] Given this evidence, Jayawickrama asserts, "It is very significant that all the old forms in these [Aṭṭhaka] suttas point to some Vedic dialect of Pāli rather than to the standard Canonical Pāli."[465]

Scholars—such as Jayawickrama, Katre, Pande, Norman, Gombrich, Freiberger, and Shults—have pointed out specific practices, vocabulary, and ideas common between the Vedic and Buddhist traditions. Gombrich has written extensively on the fire metaphor, explaining how *upādāna* refers to grasping as well as to what fuels cognition in relation to Vedic ritual.[466] Shults provides an excellent and detailed digest of Brāhmaṇical motifs in Pāli literature, including *nāmarūpa*, the *agnihotra*, and, as discussed above, the Sāvitrī verse. He observes that in an early *agnihotra-brāhmaṇa* (*Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* 6.2), Prajāpati pours the oblation into the water and the plants, as is recommended in the "Sundarika Sutta"

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[458] Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought*, 80, 193.

[459] Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began*, 31.

[460] Ibid., 17.

[461] For example, Fausböll cites fuller plural forms: *samūhatāse*, *paccayāse*, *paṇḍitāse*, or *carāmase*, *sikkhisāmase*; shorter plurals and instrumental singular of nouns: *vinicchayā*, *lakkhaṇā* for *vinicchayāni*, *lakkhaṇāni*; shorter instrument plurals: *mantā*, *pariññā*, *lābhakamyā* for *mantāya*, *pariṇṇāya*, *lābhakamyāya*; Vedic infinitives: *vippahātave*, *uṇṇametave*, *saṃpayātave*; contracted forms: *santyā*, *duggaccā*, *tiṭhyā*, *sammuccā*, *thiyo*; protracted forms: *ātumānaṃ suvāmi*, *suvānā*; and archaic forms: *sagghasi* for *sakkhistasi*. See V. Fausböll, "Introduction to the Sutta-Nipāta: A Collection of Discourses," in *Sacred Books of the East* 10, part 2. Ed. F. Max Müller. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1962 (first published by Oxford University Press, 1881), xi; P.V. Bapat, "Introduction," in *The Sutta-Nipāta.* Ed. P.V. Bapat. (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1924 (reprinted 1990)), xxviii

[462] He also mentions archaic forms as *jaññā* Sn. 775b, *pāvā* 782bd, and *pava* 789d. Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta*, 203, 276-277; Jayawickrama, "Some Suttas from the Aṭṭhaka Vagga," 250-251.

[463] N.A. Jayawickrama, "The Khaggavisāna Sutta," *University of Ceylon Review* 7, no. 2. (1949): 119-128, 125.

[464] See *Sn* 207, 209, 210, 215.

[465] Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta*, 276.

[466] See the "Metaphor, Allegory, Satire" chapter in Richard F. Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings.* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1996).

(*Saṃyutta Nikāya* 1.167-170).[467] *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* 6.2 presents a creation account based on the *agnihotra*, in which Prajāpati pours the oblation into numerous places, not only into the plants and water. To clarify, not just in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* account, but also in the prose portion of the "Kasibhāradvāja Sutta" (*Sn* 1.4), the Buddha tells the brāhmaṇa to throw away his rice pudding not on the plants, but rather "where there is *little* vegetation or into water that has no animate beings."[468] The brāhmaṇa in the *Suttanipāta* version is, oddly enough, said to be a farmer. Another account of the *agnihotra* offering is found in the "Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta." In this *sutta*, the Bhagavan refuses the *pūraḷāsa* (Skt. *puroḍāśa*), but does not say anything about disposing the offering. These *suttas* feature the *agnihotra* ritual, which will be discussed in detail in chapter four. In addition, Shults posits that a verse advocating giving up fire made from wood and kindling only the inner light (*ajjhatta joti*) represents "a Buddhist version of an attempt to interiorize the fire sacrifice."[469] This idea echoes late Vedic texts. Shults wisely concludes, "it is at least possible that the composer of the *Sundarika Sutta* was aware of interiorization within the Brahmanical community. For the *Sundarika Sutta* appears to build on what Brahmanical experts had started."[470]

        In addition to Shults, Pande and Norman have significantly advanced the understanding of terms shared between Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism. Pande argues that the Buddha reinterpreted Vedic terms, including *brāhmaṇa*, *vasala*, *yañña*, *aggi*, *vedagū*, *arahant*, and *āhāro*.[471] Similarly, Norman writes,

> Buddhism owes much, especially in terminology, to Brahmanical Hinduism and much of the Buddha's preaching would have been unintelligible to those who had no knowledge of Brahmanical teaching. Although some of the technical terms of Buddhism are exclusive to that religion, e.g. *paṭisaṃbhidā*, much Buddhist terminology is, in form, identical with that of Brahmanism. At the same time it must be recognized that, although the Buddha took over some of the terminology of Brahmanical Hinduism, he gave it a Buddhist sense.[472]

Norman accounts for numerous common terms—some taken over, some used in a new sense, and others rejected—such as *āhāra* (food), *amata*, *brahman*, *brahma-cariya*, *brahma-vihāra*, *kamma*, *nhātaka*, and *puñña*, etc.[473] A close study of the eastern Vedic texts show that the Buddha may have used some Vedic terms in their original sense. However, over time Buddhist tradition forgot the Vedic context, as Gombrich has already argued.

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[467] Shults, 121-122; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Moring Offering (Agnihotra)*, 30. Whereas the passage from the *KS* is part of a creation myth, later *agnihotra-brāhmaṇas* advise that in the event that the fire being churned fails to be produced, the offering should be made into the hand of a brāhmaṇa, *kuśa* grass or water. This version would be appropriate for a brāhmaṇa in the Buddhist *suttas* who wants to make an offering, but cannot kindle his fires, literally or metaphorically. See Bodewitz, 136-137; *TB* 3.7.3.1-5 and *ṢaḍvB.* 4.1.12.

[468] *tena hi tvaṃ, brāhmaṇa, taṃ pāyasaṃ appaharite vā chaḍḍehi appāṇake vā udake opilāpehī" ti* | *Nidāna* of the "Kasibhāradvāja Sutta" (*Sn* 1.4) |

[469] Shults, 123; *S* i.169.

[470] Ibid., 125.

[471] Govind Chandra Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1957, reprinted 2006), 64.

[472] Norman, "Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism," 193.

[473] Ibid., 194-199.

Norman states that the Buddha took over the term *āhāra* and provided it with a new sense. The term *āhāra* literally means to take in and secondarily refers to food. It is found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, where it indicates a more subtle food (*praviviktāhāratara*) flowing through the arteries from the heart.[474] The non-brāhmaṇical sense Norman refers to is a list of the four types of sustenance, but especially mental volitions (*manosañcetanā*), found in the *Dīgha Nikāya*.[475] Here the Buddha defines *āhāra* as solid food, sense impressions, mental volitions, and consciousness. While sometimes the *Suttanipāta* speaks of *āhāra* in the sense of solid food, the term is also used in the sense of an internal nourishment, specifically what is taken up in the mind, as in the Upaniṣad. For example, the "Dvayatānupassanā Sutta" teaches, "Whatever *dukkha* arises, all that is conditioned by *āhāra*."[476] Therefore, "Knowing this *dukkha* to be a harmful consequence conditioned by *āhāra*, having known all nourishings (*āhāra*) accurately, one does not hang onto *āhāra*."[477]

In addition, Norman believes that the Buddha took over the term *brahman* with a new Buddhist sense. In Vedic, *bráhman* means unmanifest power that manifests as sacred speech (*bráhman*).[478] Gonda explains that *bráhman* refers at the same time to *mantra*,[479] something that causes increase (*vardhanam*) and strengthening,[480] and "a sustaining principle, as a basis, support, or firm and ultimate ground of existence."[481] Thieme and Brereton prefer to translate the term as formulation, either poetic or ritual, which makes the priest a formulator.[482] The term *bráhman* does the impossible: the inspired speech bespeaks the principle that cannot be expressed in words. In the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (3.2.5.1-3), *brahman* is the incipient power, out of which all that exists emerged.[483] Even after

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[474] *BĀU* 17.4.2.3.

[475] Norman quotes *Dīgha Nikāya* III 228, 3-5 in footnote 6: *cattāro āhārā: kabaliṅkāro āhāro oḷāriko vā sukhumo vā, phasso dutiyo, mano sañcetanā tatiyā, viññāṇaṃ catutthaṃ.* Norman, "Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism," 194.

[476] *yaṃ kiñci dukkhaṃ sambhoti, sabbaṃ āhārapaccayā* | *Sn 747* |

[477] *"etam ādīnavaṃ ñatvā, 'dukkhaṃ āhārapaccayā'* | *sabbāhāraṃ pariññāya, sabbāhāram anissito* ‖ *Sn 748* |

[478] Brereton points out that when the accent is on the second vowel (*brahmán*), it refers to a priest. See Joel Brereton, "Bráhman, Brahmán, and Sacrificer," in *The Vedas: Texts, Langauge & Ritual: Proceedings of the Third Interantional Vedic Workshop, Leiden 2002*. Ed. Arlo Griffiths and Jan E.M. Houben, 325-344. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2004), 325.

[479] Gonda, *Mantra Interpretation*, 166.

[480] Jan Gonda, *Notes on Brahman*. (Utrecht: J.L. Beyers, 1950), 40. See *ṚV* 2.12.14. Gonda states that in the Brāhmaṇas *brahman* refers to a potency, fire, speech, uncreated, non-existence (*asat*) wishing to be, *vīryam*, what holds heaven and earth, a brāhman, etc.

[481] Ibid., 43. In AV 10.7-8, *brahman* is represented as *skambha* (prop, support, fulcrum, pillar) that sustains existence.

[482] Brereton, "Bráhman, Brahmán, and Sacrificer," 326.

[483] "In the beginning, verily [all] this was *brahman*. Then he desired. How indeed could I procreate?" Then he toiled. He performed asceticism. Then he emitted/created *devatās*. Having emitted those *devatās*, he caused them to ascend to their respective worlds. He caused Agni to ascend to this world. He caused the one who blows to ascend to the intermediate space. He caused the sun (*sūrya*) to go to the sky (*div*). Then he caused the other deities to go to ascend to the other higher worlds. Like that, he caused the *devatās* verily to ascend to these worlds. In the same way, he placed them in those worlds. *Brahman* went around the utmost limit indeed. Therefore he who knows this, or not, says, "*Brahman* is higher/above (*ŚBK* 3.2.5.1)." Then indeed *brahman* observed, "How can I get down to these worlds? By what means can I make these worlds continuous?" Then, with these two, he came down through name and form. This much is this—name and form. About whomsoever one speaks, that is its name. About whose name it is, that is the form…(2). These are the

creating the *devatās* and placing them in their respective conditioned spaces, *brahman* remained beyond. To get down to those worlds and to make them continuous, *brahman* created name (*nāma*) and form (*rūpa*), which are called two *brahmans*, two immense powers (*abhva*). Form (*rūpa*) is the same as the mind (*manas*), by which all form is known. And name (*nāma*) is the same as speech (*vāc*). In this way, what *brahman* produced is a partite form of itself with an analogous generative potential. Elsewhere, too, the *Śatapatha* identifies *brahman* with *vāc*,[484] out of which all this arises.[485] And while only one quarter of *vāc* is intelligible, "wise *brāhmaṇas* know all four: the three deposited in secret that do not move and the fourth that men speak."[486]

Norman states, "there seems to be no occurrence in Pāli of the uncompounded neuter word *brahma* in the sense of the Upaniṣadic *brahman*, but the word *brahma* is used in compounds apparently in the sense of 'excellent, perfect.'"[487] In describing the good character of Brāhmaṇas of old, the Buddha said that they guarded *brahman*, their hidden treasure.[488] Here the *Suttanipāta* could speak of *brahma* as referring to an incipient power, a self-existent, self-aware, potentiality that has the capacity to grow. The young brāhmaṇa Māgha asks the Bhagavan how to reach the *brahmaloka* and the Buddha tells him how to

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two *brahmans*—the two great, immense powers (*abhva*). He who knows these two *brahmans*, namely the two great, immense powers, he goes to (i.e. becomes?) (√*gam*) the same great, immense power (*abhva*). These two *brahmans* are the two great *yakṣas*. He who knows these two *brahmans*, the two great *yakṣas*, he goes to that same great *yakṣa*. When he goes to the supreme stage, then they say that he has attained the great, immense power—the great *yakṣa*. When the *devas* attain these two *brahmans*, then they were immortals. Before that indeed, they were mortals. Mind is the same as form (*rūpa*), for he knows form through the mind, [thinking,] "this is form." For the sake of mind, verily, he sprinkles/offers the first sprinkling of ghee oblation (*āghāra*) by which he obtains form. Speech (*vāc*) is the same as name (*nāma*), for by speech he utters a name. To speech he offers the subsequent sprinkling of ghee, by which he obtains *nāma*. Those devas, having obtained these two *brahmans*, they won immortality. They won the same worldliness as *brahman*. He who attains these two *brahmans*, he reaches a complete life in this world. He wins inexhaustable immortality in that world. He wins the same worldliness as the *devas* and *brahman* (3)." *brahma ha vā idam agra āsa tad akāmata kathaṃ nu prajāyeyeti tad aśrāmyat tat tapo atapyata tad devatā asṛjata tā devatāḥ sṛṣṭvā yathālokaṃ vyārohayāṃ cakārāgnim evāsiṃl loke yo 'yam pavate tam antarikṣe divy eva sūryam tata ūrdhvā ya itare lokās teṣv itarā devatās tad yathā ha vā eṣu lokeṣv imā devatā evaṃ ha geṣu lokeṣu tā devatās tad dha brahma parārdham eva parīyāya tasmād yaś caitad veda yaś ca na brahmottaram ity evācakṣate ‖ ŚBK 3.2.5.1 ‖tad dhekṣāṃ cakre brahma kathaṃ nv imāṃl lokān pratyaveyāṃ kena nv imāṃl lokānt saṃtanuyāṃ iti tad etābhyāṃ dvābhyāṃ pratyaveyāya nāmna ca rūpeṇa caitāvadvā idaṃ nāma caiva rūpaṃ ca sa yasyāha nāmāsti tan nāma yasyo nu nāmāsti tad rūpam… ŚBK 3.2.5.2 | te hete brahmaṇī mahatī abhve sa yo haite brahmaṇī mahatī abhve veda mahad dhaivābhvaṃ gacchati te haite brahmaṇī mahatī yakṣe sa yo haite brahmaṇī mahatī yakṣe veda mahad dhaiva yakṣaṃ gacchati yado vai paramatāṃ gacchaty athāhur mahad vavābhvaṃ(rmahaddhevābhvaṃ) prāpto mahad yakṣam iti yado vai devā ete brahmaṇī āpnuvann athāmṛtā āsur martyā haiva tataḥ purā babhūvur mano vai rūpaṃ manasā hi rūpaṃ vededam idaṃ rūpam iti manase vai pūrvam āghāram āghārayati tena rūpam āpnoti vāg vai nāma vācā hi nāmābhivyāharati vāce vā uttaram āghāram āghārayati tena nāmāpnoti te devā ete brahmaṇī āptvāmṛtatvam ajayan brahmaṇaḥ salokatām ajayant sa ya evam ete brahmaṇī āpnoti sarvam u haivāsmiṃl loka āyur ety akṣīyam amuṣmiṃl loke 'mṛtatvaṃ jayati devānāṃ brahmaṇaḥ salokatāṃ jayati ‖ 3.2.5.3 ‖* See also Oldenberg, *The Doctrine of the Upaniṣads and of the Early Buddhism*, 41-43.

[484] *ŚBK* 1.1.4.10.

[485] *vāco vā idaṃ sarvaṃ prabhavati | ŚBK 2.3.1.14 |*

[486] *vidur brāhmaṇā ye manīṣiṇaḥ | guhā trīṇi nihitā neṅgayanti turīyaṃ vāco manuṣyā vadantīti ‖ ŚBK* 5.1.3.11 here references *RV* 1.164-165 ‖

[487] Norman, "Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism," 195.

[488] *brahmaṃ nidhim apālayuṃ | Sn 285 |*

offer in the proper way.[489] The Bhagavan speaks to Sabhiya of the *brahma*-field (*brahmakhetta*) and the *brahma*-storeroom (*brahmakosa*).[490] When speaking to Sela, the Buddha calls himself *brahmabhūto* twice.[491] Norman is no doubt correct that over time *brahma* was understood in a Buddhist context as "excellent, perfect," but this may not have been the Bhagavan's original sense when speaking to a brāhmaṇa audience in the *Suttanipāta*.

In terms of contemporary practices, Jayatilleke, Katre, and Premasiri have observed that the *kathojja* (debate) referred to in Pāli texts corresponds to the *brahmodya* of Vedic sources.[492] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* defines the *brahmodya* as a *vākovākya*, statements and counterstatements, through which everything is gained.[493] After debating in the ritual context of the *soma yajña*, the priests sit in silence until the sun sets.[494] In this case, the *yajña* is speech (*vāc*), which the priests milk to extract the essence. Vedic sources illustrate numerous accounts of sages who, when defeated in debate, accept the victor as their guru.[495] In accord with Vedic practice, people who come to question the Buddha, seeing his superior wisdom, often become his pupils or practice *brahmacarya* under him.

A number of Vedic kennings for wise men are used in the *Suttanipāta*, including *dhīra* and *vedagū*. The term *dhīra* occurs thirty-one times and means one who possesses *dhīh*, i.e. a wise person.[496] Gonda explains that in Vedic thought *dhīra-* often means "possessing, having received, being characterized by the 'Daseinsmacht' *dhīh*, ... 'wise', having insight into and knowledge of things, connections, phenomena which are hidden from ordinary men."[497] Given the importance of *dhí* (visions) to Vedic seers, one who possesses visions was considered worthy of respect. The Vedic significance of *dhí* will be discussed in detail in the third part of chapter four. The term *vedagū* occurs seventeen times,

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[489] *Sn* 508-509.

[490] *Sn* 524-525.

[491] *Sn* 560, 563. Lindtner clarifies that the Buddha identifies himself with *brahman* (neuter) and not Brahmā (masculine): "He—Brahmā—is *not* the one Tathāgatha has in mind when he refers to himself as *brahmabhūta*." Lindtner, "From Brahmanism to Buddhism," 17. See also Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Foreward to *2500 Years of Buddhism*; ed. P.V. Bapat. (Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, The Publication Division, 1956, 1959), p. xi; Chandra, "Was Early Buddhism Influenced by the Upanisads?" 320.

[492] *Sn* 825, 828. Thapar refers to *D* 1.27; 1.55, which describes *kutūhala-sālas* or places for relaxation and debate in the Middle Gaṅgā Valley. I am grateful to Prof. Premasiri for pointing out the Jayatilleke reference. See KN Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*. (London: Geroge Allen & Unwin Ltd.), 231; Katre, 43; See Thapar, *From Lineage to State*, 153-154.

[493] *ŚBK* 5.8.3.17-18. *sa yad vākovākyaṃ brahmodyaṃ vadanti sarvaṃ vā eta āpnuvanti sarvam avarundhate* | 5.8.3.18 |

[494] *ŚBK* 5.8.3.19.

[495] Śauceya Prācīnayogya came to Uddālaka Āruṇi for a disputation about the *agnihotra*. Receiving appropriate answers, he became a student under Uddālaka Āruṇi (*ŚBM* 11.5.3.1-13 and *GB* 1.3.11-14). Uddālaka Āruṇi became the pupil of Citra Gāṅgyāyani (Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad 1.1) and requests to become to pupil of Svaidāyana Śaunaka (*ŚBM* 11.4.1.9). See Yogendra *Mishra, History of Videha: From the Earliest Times up to the Foundation of the Gupta Empire A.D. 319.* (Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1981), 164, 171.

[496] *Sn* 45, 46, 211-19 (refrain, the wise know a sage to be…), 235, 250, 317, 349, 371, 380, 531, 581, 591, 709, 719, 775, 778, 838, 877, 890, 913, 964, 1009, 1052.

[497] Jan Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1984 (first published in 1963), 210.

occasionally in contexts where it could mean one who has mastered the Vedas.[498] Take, for example, the ritual context of verse 508: "Those *vedagū* devoted to meditation and mindful, who have attained full awakening, and are a refuge for many: among them a brāhmaṇa hoping for merit should offer (*yajetha*), should present an oblation (*habya*) at the appropriate time."[499] Norman opines that the term in a brāhmaṇical sense meant one competent in the Vedas, but in a Buddhist sense meant "one who had gained knowledge of release from *saṃsāra*."[500] Already in the earliest commentaries, *vedagū* was given a Buddhist gloss that amounted to something like one who has attained extensive knowledge.[501] Although some occurrences of *vedagū* originally may have been meant in the brāhmaṇical sense, it is clear that the emerging Buddhist tradition soon took over the term as Norman suggests.

In the *Suttanipāta*, a *muni* is called a master of the Vedas or knowledge (*vedagū*). In addition, a muni is said to be "a brāhmaṇa who stands on firm ground," indicating the important role that Vedic *munis* played in Kosala when the historical Buddha lived.[502] In *Suttanipāta* 1084, *munis* are those who go about having disarmed and are undisturbed and without expectations.[503] A *muni* possesses nothing and is not attached to sense desires or becoming.[504] He is honest, vigilant, and unconceited.[505] He would not develop affection for material forms, take pleasure in what has past, or grieve what is lost.[506] The solitary, wandering sage breaks up whatever arises in his mind and is fearless like a lion.[507] Like Yājñavalkya, the Buddha is a *muni*.[508] Moreover, the words *muni* and *bhikkhu* in the *Suttanipāta* are virtually synonymous, with only subtle differences. According to Jayawickrama, "Generally speaking there appears no fundamental difference between the muni and the bhikkhu in primitive Buddhism, and the terms are interchangeable, except

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[498] Katre , 47.

[499] "*yo vedagū jhānarato satīmā, sambodhipatto saraṇaṃ bahunnaṃ | kālena tamhi havyaṃ pavecche, yo brāhmaṇo puññapekkho yajetha*" ‖ Sn 503 ‖

[500] Norman, "Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism," 198. Norman quotes Th-a II.85, 17-19, "*veda-saṅkhātena maggañāṇena saṃsāra-mahoghassa vedassa catu-saccassa ca pāraṃ gatattā adhigatattā ñātattā paramatthato vedagū.*"

[501] Culla-Niddesa on Sn 1055 explains, "*vedagū bhāvitattoti kathañca bhagavā vedagū? vedā vuccanti catūsu maggesu ñāṇaṃ paññā paññindriyaṃ paññābalaṃ ... pe ... dhammavicayasambojjhaṅgo vīmaṃsā vipassanā sammādiṭṭhi | bhagavā tehi vedehi jātijarāmaraṇassa antagato antappatto koṭigato koṭippatto pariyantagato pariyantappatto vosānagato vosānappatto tāṇagato tāṇappatto leṇagato leṇappatto saraṇagato saraṇappatto abhayagato abhayappatto accutagato accutappatto amatagato amatappatto nibbānagato nibbānappatto. vedānaṃ vā antagatoti vedagū; vedehi vā antagatoti vedagū; sattannaṃ vā dhammānaṃ viditattā vedagū; sakkāyadiṭṭhi viditā hoti, vicikicchā viditā hoti, sīlabbataparāmāso vidito hoti, rāgo doso moho māno vidito hoti, viditāssa honti pāpakā akusalā dhammā saṃkilesikā ponobhavikā sadarā dukkhavipākā āyatiṃ jātijarāmaraṇiyā |*"

[502] *muni thale tiṭṭhati brāhmaṇo* | Sn 946 | For *vedagū*, see 947.

[503] For a detailed description of the muni in the *Sn*, see Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta*, 128-129.

[504] *Sn* 1091.

[505] *Sn* 941-943.

[506] *Sn* 943-944.

[507] See the "Muni Sutta" (*Sn* 1.12), especially *Sn* 208, 213.

[508] Jayawickrama observed that the Buddha is called a *muni* 19 times in the *Sn*. Sn 1052, 1075. See *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta*, 219.

when muni specifically refers to the Buddha."[509] The *bhikkhu* is associated with renunciation, *pabbajjā*, detachment, and *ekacariyā* or the life of solitude. And yet, Jayawickrama contends that the *muni* "plays a more important role," stating, "In addition to the possession of all the characteristics of the bhikkhu, there appears something nobler and more positive about him than the bhikkhu. He is a more evolved being (bhāvit-atta) who has reached higher spiritual attainments and instructs others as well."[510]

The Buddha depicted in the *Suttanipāta* was familiar with Vedic doctrine, exhibits knowledge of meditative practices learned from Brāhmaṇical teachers, and frequently interacted with brāhmaṇa students. Many of these Vedic figures can be located in Kosala and many are described as Vedic *munis*. They represent the adherents of Yājñavalkya's Vājasaneyin School in addition to associated Brāhmaṇical traditions, such as the yoga meditation practitioners Wynne describes. In addition to specifically praising the *agnihotra* and the Sāvitrī *ṛk*, the Bhagavan adopted Vedic terms and metaphors when teaching. Understanding the significance of these concepts in their original Vedic context, then, helps to interpret the message of Gotama. With this as a background, we turn to metaphors for causation in Vedic literature, with special attention to the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

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[509] Ibid., 125-126; also 281.
[510] Ibid., 126.

Chapter Four, Part A
Concepts and Metaphor in Vedic Thought

   According to Lakoff and Johnson, ordinary human thought is largely metaphorical. The two linguists state, "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another."[511] Not only is experience metaphorically structured, but concepts are metaphorically structured in a systematic way. This enables expressions found in one domain to be used to talk about corresponding concepts in the metaphorically defined domain.[512] In *Secret of the Vedas*, Aurobindo claimed that Sāyaṇa's ritual system and European scholars' naturalistic interpretation may be accepted as long as one recognizes that they fail to grasp the full import of the text.[513] Applying cognitive linguistics to Vedic literature, Joanna Jurewicz has significantly advanced the field. In *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda,* she maps out conceptual metaphors found in the *Ṛgveda* and shows how these illustrate the cognitive process based on, but not limited to, a brilliant reading of the "Nāsadīya Sūkta" (*Ṛgveda* 10.129).[514] Jurewicz associates Agni with cognition: Agni's activity is cognitive because he cognizes himself universally and individually, through the cognizing human being.[515] As with the case of Agni, other Vedic concepts have a history that must be traced to uncover their full import. Tracing these concepts requires uncovering the systems of conceptual metaphors that lie behind key terms and legends in Vedic poetry and exegetical literature. When the Brāhmaṇas create concepts, some semantic value is lost and some is added to key terms from the *Ṛgveda*.

   At first glance, the explanations offered in Brāhmaṇa literature may seem incomprehensible, because seemingly unrelated objects are identified through particles like *vai* and *eva*. Witzel, however, asserts that within the Vedic conceptual system these identifications are not nonsensical.[516] Parpola describes further interpretive tools to understand the symbolic language of identification and metaphor used in Vedic texts, including *rūpa* (form or symbol)*, pratimā́* (counterpart or symbol), *nirukta* ("expressly stated"), and *bandhu* (explanatory connection).[517] The centrality of *bandhu* for the Vedic

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[511] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980, republished 2003), 5.

[512] Ibid., 52. Examples given include time is money, time is a moving object, ideas are food, theories are buildings, etc. These packages of various metaphors emerge due to neural binding. In office hours he described his current research for an upcoming book on how the brain works. I am grateful for his helpful comments and clear explanations. George Lakoff, Professor of Linguistics. UC Berkeley, 09/09/2014.

[513] Aurobindo drew on the symbolic sense of Vedic literature, but did not see philosophy in the Brāhmaṇas. Aurobindo, *Secret of the Veda.* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 2010 (first published in the monthly review Arya between August 1914 and January 1920)), 4, 8.

[514] Joana Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda.* (Warszawa: Elipsa, 2010).

[515] Ibid, 126, 254, 441.

[516] Michael Witzel, "On Magical Thought in the Veda," [Inaugural Lecture] (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1979), 1-5.

[517] Asko Parpola, "On the Symbol Concept of the Vedic Ritualists," in *Religious Symbols and their Functions: Based on Papers read at the Symposium on Religious Symbols and their Functions held at Abo on the 28th-30th of August 1978.* Ed. Haralds Biezais, 139-153. (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1978). For a bibliography of *bandhu*, see Brian K. Smith, *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual, and Religion.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 31.

thinker has been acknowledged by Heesterman, Smith, Renou, Oldenberg, Gonda, Minard, Kuiper, and Witzel.[518] Except for perhaps Weber, who considered that *bandhu* explained a deeper, spiritual meaning, Kuiper observed that the older generation of philologists approached the frequent and often inconsistent equations with an attitude of naïve realism and passed over them too lightly.[519] He understands the equations as "a cosmic classificatory system," concerned not just with philology but with a coherent system of religious concepts.[520] Smith likewise maintains, "Vedic 'equations' are neither absurd nor random but are rather systematic expressions made possible (and logical) by fundamental Vedic principles of metaphysics and epistemology."[521] Still, the connections are not always straightforward because the terms linked are often metaphors for something immaterial. The Brāhmaṇas show the relationship of these concepts by identifying them and explaining their meaning through myths.

According to Jurewicz, Vedic poets used complex metaphorical models to conceive of abstract processes in terms of activities and objects from their everyday life experience.[522] Material objects, such as a cow or horse, served as symbols for the immaterial. The term *go* literally means cow, but secondarily light, the earth, and the waters.[523] The lost cows stand for the shining herds of Sūrya that are to be rescued from the darkness. Kuiper notes that the dawns in particular are portrayed as cows.[524] In *Ṛgveda* 4.1.13cd, the dawns have a stone pen, but when Dawn is described as *gómatī*, the idea is that she is luminous, not full of cows.[525] In *Ṛgveda* 1.92.12ab, "Spreading out [her rays] like *paśus*, like a turbulent river, the bright and beautiful one shines bright from a distance."[526] In a similar way, the term *aśva* literally means horse, but secondarily symbolizes the sun, Agni, rays of light, and generative energy. Understanding the underlying meaning requires an *ādhyātmika* or spiritual interpretation. By translating only the literal meaning, one often misses the point.

This is true not only for Vedic terms, but also for key Vedic legends. Oldenberg opined that the Indra-Vṛtra battle was waged over terrestrial waters, while Macdonell claimed that the water in question was from the clouds. In contrast, Jurewicz explains that the waters that Vṛtra withholds symbolize the precreative state of the world.[527] When Vṛtra is killed, the waters are released. The release of the waters is also conceived in terms of

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[518] Johannes Cornelis Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration: The rājasūya described according to the Yajus texts and annotated*. (The Hague: Mouton & Company, 1957), 6; Smith, 31.

[519] F.B.J. Kuiper, "Cosmogony and Conception: A Query," *History of Religions* 10, no. 2 (Nov., 1970): 91-138, 95. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1061905. Accessed 30/9/2014.

[520] Ibid., 96.

[521] Smith, *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual, and Religion*, 46.

[522] Joanna Jurewicz, "The Cow's Body as the Source Domain of Philosophical Metaphors in the *Ṛgveda*: The Case of 'Udder' (*ū́dhar*)," 101.

[523] Aurobindo, *Secret of the Veda*, 119; Harry Falk, "The Purpose of Ṛgvedic Ritual," in *Inside the Texts Beyond the Texts: New Approaches to the Study of the Veda. Preceedings of the International Vedic Workshop, Harvard University, June 1989*, 69-88. (Cambridge: Dept. of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, 1997), 82.

[524] Franciscus Bernardus Jacobus Kuiper, "The Bliss of Aša," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 8, no. 2. (1964): 112.

[525] *gómatīr uṣásaḥ* | *Ṛgveda (ṚV)* 1.113.18a | See also *ṚV* 1.123.12, 2.28.2, 7.41.7, 7.80.3; Aurobindo, 125.

[526] *paśū́n ná citrā́ subhágā prathānā́ síndhur ná kṣóda urviyā́ ví aśvait* | *ṚV* 1.92.12ab | See also *The Rig Veda: An Anthology*. Trans. Wendy Doniger. (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), 180. In the place of "like a turbulent river," Doniger translates "like a river in full flood."

[527] Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, 345.

cows and light.[528] When Indra breaks the mountain, he frees the cows (10.89.7). By killing Vṛtra, the light of *svàr* appears (8.89.4).[529] Gonda defines *svàr* as the sun, sunlight, or celestial light, which can be won or made accessible.[530] Jurewicz similarly notes, "Light won in expansion is sometimes denoted as *svàr*, which means 'light the light of the sun, the sun, the sky.'"[531] According to Jurewicz, since a person can only see when there is light, releasing the cows/light opens up the possibility of cognizing.[532] Kuiper discusses the cosmic and social aspects of Indra's *vṛtrahátya,* which he states was "individually experienced as a break-through of áṁhas, a widening of consciousness."[533] Aurobindo interprets enemies, such as Vṛtra and the Pāṇis, as psychological forces that affect ordinary, unillumined sense-activities.[534] Vṛtra is an obstructer or coverer and the Pāṇis withhold the wealth to be released by knowledge.[535] Indra the Vṛtra-slayer found the sun abiding in the darkness.[536] When the Aṅgirasas, aided by Indra, enter the cave to find the cows of the Paṇis, they find *svàr* (*ṚV* 1.71.2).[537] Both *svàr* and the sun stand for the space of the unmanifest.[538]

The sun is so closely associated with *svàr* that the yonder world sometimes is described as the *devaloka*. Müller discusses the history of the word *deva* and states that in early Vedic the term is an adjective meaning "bright," derived from √ *div*, "to shine."[539] Much later it came to be equated with the idea of a deity, but to translate *deva* as "god" in the *Ṛgveda* may be anachronistic. In a Ṛgvedic hymn to Soma, Kaśyapa Mārīca requests, "In which world the perpetual light that is *svàr* has been placed, put me there in that undying, inexhaustible world, O Pavamāna!"[540] Besides being described as perpetual light (*jyótir*

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[528] *tatṛdānáḥ síndhavaḥ kṣódasā rájaḥ prá sasrur dhenávo yathā (ṚV 5.53.7ab).* Ibid., 101.

[529] Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, 349.

[530] These ideas of *svàr* are, Gonda notes, "inextricably mixed up with those of well-being, good fortune, happness, glory, the light of the sun meaning the possibility of life, of activity, of normal human existence." Gonda, *Loka*, 74-75, 78.

[531] Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, 74.

[532] Ibid., 50.

[533] F.B.J. Kuiper, *Varuṇa and Vidūṣaka: On the Origin of the Sanskrit Drama.* (New York: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1979), 44. Kuiper also discusses the treasure (*nidhíḥ*) trapped in a rock as mentioned in *ṚV* 1.130.3, 7.88.2, 10.68.7, and 5.45.1 in F.B.J. Kuiper, *Ancient Indian Cosmogony.* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd., 1983), 140-141. He notes that Hillebrandt interpreted the "treasure of Heaven" as the sun.

[534] Aurobindo, 233.

[535] Ibid., 140, 146.

[536] *índro … sū́ryaṃ viveda támasi kṣiyántam | ṚV* 3.39.5, 9. Similarly, "Agni born shone, slaying the Dasyus, the darkness with the Light; he found the cows, the waters, *svàr*." *agnír jātó arocata ghnán dásyūñ jyótiṣā támaḥ | ávindad gā́ apáḥ súvaḥ ‖ ṚV* 5.14.4 ‖ See Jurewicz, *Fire and* Cognition, 339-364; Aurobindo, 224, 236.

[537] Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition,* 255-275; Anuradha Choudry, "Vedic Psychology in the Light of Sri Aurobindo's Interpretation: The Vedic Legend of the Āṅgirasa Ṛṣis and the Lost Cows," in *Vedic Venues* 1. Ed. Ram Nath Jha, Shashi Tiwari, and Nicholas Kazanas, 76-92. (2012), 84-85.

[538] *ṚV* 2.24.4; Those who split open the rock are called seers of *svàr* (*svardṛ́śo*). Kuiper calls them "sun-seers" in *Ancient Indian Cosmogony*, 144.

[539] Müller thinks it best to retain the Sanskrit word "*deva*" in translations. See *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion: As Illustrated by the Religions of India.* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882), 220.

[540] *yátra jyótir ájasraṃ yásmiṁ loké svar hitám | tásmin mā́ṃ dhehi pavamāna amṛ́te loké ákṣita | ṚV 9.113.7ab |* The remaining *ṛks* in this hymn further describe the third of the three worlds in which the worlds are full of light (*jyótiṣmantas*).

ájasraṃ), another kenning for *svàr* is the unobstructed vastness (*uraú anibādhé*)[541] of everything unmanifest. The poets contrast the darkness and light, saying, "When darkness is master, *svàr* is [in] a rock."[542] Hence the many legends to break the rock or mountain to release the sun or cows. Another way this is expressed is, "Through sacred speech (*bráhmaṇā*) he pierced the cave and drove out the cows. He uncovered the darkness and made visible *svàr*."[543]

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, having dispelled the darkness that previously shut off the yonder world by means of this sun, the sacrificer steps over to the *svarga loka*.[544] Elsewhere the sun is said to take the sacrificer and rise up to the yonder world.[545] Not only that, but the sacrificer ultimately becomes Vivasvān Āditya (the sun), to whom belongs everything that has been generated (*prajā*).[546] Another *mantra* states, "To *svar*! To light (*jyoti*)!" which the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explains as, "Those who sit in the *sattra* reach *svar* and become light."[547] Another passage tells that those who sit in a *sattra* sacrifice reach the one who heats (the sun), who is the *svarga loka*.[548] When Prajāpati uttered *svar*, he produced the *devaloka*.[549] These passages suggest the identification of *svar*, the sun, and *svarga* when these terms refer to the space of the unmanifest.[550] When the *yajamāna* reaches *svar*, by becoming the sun, he realizes the unmanifest light that forms a limitless potential in his experience.

Jurewicz points out that in the *Ṛgveda* the sun is a metaphorical vehicle for *ṛtá*, offering an alternative way to convey the idea of unmanifest energy.[551] *Ṛgveda* 1.136.2 declares, "For the vast [sun] a wider course was seen, the path of *ṛtá* held fast with light rays."[552] Following the path of *ṛtá* (*pánthā ṛtásya, ṛtásya pathā́*) leads to the far shore or to finding the hidden cattle.[553] The *Ṛgveda* frequently speaks of light or light rays of *ṛtá*,[554]

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[541] *RV* 3.1.11, 5.42.17, 5.43.16. Jurewicz remarks, "Light which is conquered in battle is qualified as broad or spacious (RV 1.117.21, 7.5.6, 9.94.5)." See *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, 74-75, 79.

[542] *svar yád áśmann adhipā́ u ándho* ǀ *RV* 7.88.2c ǀ The poet then prays to Varuṇa to lead him to see his form. *abhí mā vápur dṛśáye ninīyāt* ǀ 2d ǀ

[543] *úd gā́ ājad ábhinad bráhmaṇā valám águhat támo ví acakṣayat súvaḥ* ǀ *RV* 2.24.3cd ǀ This story has the same theme as defeating Vṛtra and releasing the waters.

[544] "With these ṛks dedicated to the sun [he chants]. The yonder world is shut off by darkness. The sun (*sūrya*) is the dispeller of darkness. Therefore, with this, having dispelled the darkeness, he steps over to the *svarga loka*…" *saurībhyāṃ ṛgbhyāṃ tamasā vā asau loko 'ntarhitaḥ sūryo vai tamaso 'apahantā tad etenaiva tamo 'pahatya svargaṃl lokam upasaṅkrāmati…ŚBK* 5.4.1.7 ǀ

[545] "*ŚBK* 3.1.9.3. See also 3.2.6.3.

[546] [He became] Vivasvān (sun), Āditya (the descendent of Aditi). All these *prajās*, whatever there is, belong to Vivasvān"…*vivasvān ādityas tasyemāḥ prajā vaivasvatyo yad idaṃ kiṃ ca* ǁ *ŚBK* 4.1.3.3 ǁ

[547] …*svar jyotir iti* … *svar hy ete yanti ye sattram āsate jyotir hy ete bhavanti* ǀ *ŚBK* 5.8.3.11 ǀ

[548] … *eṣa tapati* … *eṣa u vāva svargo lokas*… ǀ *ŚBK* 5.7.3.1 ǀ Note the following phrase about those sitting, sleeping, or walking: *āsīnānt svapato vrajata.*

[549] *ŚBK* 3.1.12.4.

[550] *etaṃ vā ete gacchanti ya eṣa tapati ye sattram āsata eṣa u vāva sann eṣa u vāva svargo lokas tasmād āsīnānt svapato vrajata āhur āsata ityā hi sato yanti* ǀ *ŚBK* 5.7.3.1 ǀ

[551] Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, 196.

[552] *ádarśi gātúr uráve váriyasī* ǀ *pánthā ṛtásya sám ayaṃsta raśmíbhiś* ǀ *cákṣur bhágasya raśmíbhiḥ* ǀ *RV* 1.136.2ǀ

[553] *RV* 1.46.11 and 5.45.8.

[554] "Of the light of *ṛtá*" (*ṛtásya jyótiṣas*) *RV* 1.23.5; "for cows of *ṛtá* sent by the sky" (*ṛtásya hí dhenávo* … *dyúbhaktāḥ*) 1.73.6; and "ray of *ṛtá*" (*ṛtásya raśmím*) 1.123.13. Kuiper notes the use of "the womb of *ṛtá*" (*ṛtásya yóniḥ*). See "The Bliss of Aša," 107, 120. See note 122.

which is said to be hidden where they unharness the horses of the sun.[555] Kuiper notes examples of the "seat of *ṛtá*" (*sádanād ṛtásya*), from which streams of light or cows representing light emerge.[556] In one passage, Vasiṣṭha prays, "May *brahman* come forth from the seat of *ṛtá*, the sun has emitted the cows with rays of light."[557] In another, "The brilliant (*devî́*) dawns, awakening from the seat of *ṛtá*, approach like the streams (*sárga*) of cows."[558] Perhaps for this reason, the *Ṛgveda* speaks of streams of *ṛtá*.[559] Gonda describes *ṛtá* as "the principle of the meaningful structure of the Universe and nature of its processes."[560] Apte, takes *ṛtá* literally as "(something) gone over" (the *bhūte kṛdanta* of the verbal root √ *ṛ*).[561] He argues that the semantic development of *ṛtá* is parallel to that of the world *devá*.[562] In early Vedic, *ṛtá* referred to something "gone over" and later comes to mean "order."[563] In the early sense, *ṛtá* is what forms the precreative or unmanifest energy associated with the sun. The *ṛṣi* Nārada Kāṇva tells Indra, "from *ṛtá* I send (*iyarmi*) to you this vision (*dhî́*) yoked to the mind."[564] In this stanza we find a clever play on words. Both the past participle, cum noun, *ṛtá* and the causative verb *iyarmi* are from the same root √ *ṛ*, meaning "to go." The poet plays with this root, which suggests, "from what has gone (*ṛtá*), I cause to go (*iyarmi*)." In this way, the concept of *ṛtá* is crucial to understanding what the sun stands for metaphorically in Vedic thought.

The horse is a salient metaphor for the sun, rays of the sun, and fire. Doniger observes that the sun and fire are identified with the sacrificial horse.[565] She, Macdonell, and Kuiper indicate that sunrays are represented by horses in the *Ṛgveda*.[566] Stanzas speak of the horses of the sun (*sū́ryasya áśvān*) and of the seven mares (*saptá haríto*) that convey the sun in his chariot.[567] Doniger explains that the mane (literally the horns) of the horse are used as a metaphor for the rays of the sun. She translates, "His mane is golden," (1.63.9a) and "Your mane, spread in many directions, flickers and jumps about in the forests"

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[555] *ṛténa rtám ápihitaṃ dhruváṃ vāṃ sū́ryasya yátra vimucánti áśvān* | *ṚV* 5.62.1ab | See Kuiper, "Cosmogony and Conception," 96-98.
[556] Kuiper, "The Bliss of Aša."
[557] *prá bráhma etu sádanād ṛtásya ví raśmíbhiḥ sasṛje sū́riyo gā́ḥ* | *ṚV* 7.36.1ab |
[558] *ṛtásya devî́ḥ sádaso budhānā́ gávāṃ ná sárgā uṣáso jarante* | *ṚV* 4.51.8cd |
[559] *ṛtásya dhā́rāḥ* | 5.12.2 and 7.43.4 |
[560] Gonda, *Mantra Interpretation*, 147.
[561] V.M. Apte, "Ṛta in the Ṛgveda," *ABORI* 23, parts 1-4 (1942): 55-60, 55.
[562] As mentioned above, *devá* meant "bright" or "the shining one" and later came to mean "god."
[563] Ibid., 56.
[564] *ṛtā́d iyarmi te dhíyam manoyújam* | *ṚV* 8.13.26 | See also Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 155.
[565] Doniger, *The Rig Veda*, 85-92.
[566] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 31; Kuiper, "The Bliss of Aša," 107.
[567] "They have released the horses (*áśva*) of the sun where your [i.e. Mitra and Varuṇa's] enduring *ṛtá* is hidden (*ápihitam*) by *ṛtá*." *ṛténa rtám ápihitaṃ dhruváṃ vāṃ sū́ryasya yátra vimucánti áśvān* | *ṚV* 5.62.1ab | "Seven horses convey you in your chariot, o deva Sūrya." *saptá tvā haríto ráthe váhanti deva sūrya* | *ṚV* 1.50.8ab | In addition to being driven by seven horses (5.45.9) or mares called *haritaḥ* (1.50.8-9, 7.60.3) or by seven swift mares (4.13.3), Sūrya's car is also said to be driven by one steed, namely *etaśa* (ṚV 7.63.2) or by an indefinite number of steeds (1.115.3, 10.37.3, 10.49.7) or mares (5.29.5). See *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. Vol. 1. Trans. Stephanie W. Jamison and Joel P. Brereton. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 163; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 30.

(11cd).[568] Kuiper considers the horse Dadhikrāvan to be a personification of the morning sun.[569]

In accord with the Ṛgvedic conception of the horse, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes Sūrya's form as the horse: "This one who heats [i.e. sun] is the horse full of essence/fit for sacrifice (*medhya*)."[570] Whereas the luminous sun radiates fiery sunrays, the horse in the *Śatapatha* possesses unlimited vigor (*vīrya*) and tremendous generative power (*vāja*), which is frequently equated with food (*anna*).[571] Gonda prefers to translate *vāja* as (re)generative power, although it also means virile energy and strength. In organizing the first *yajña*, the Aṅgirasas officiated for the Ādityas, who offered the sun as the sacrificial fee (*dakṣiṇā*).[572] Following this episode, the white horse used in the ritual is thought to assume the form of the sun who shines.[573]

The horse represents fire in his capacity to convey the ritual offering to and from the *devas*. Agni is called a horse because he conveys the offerings between the two worlds.[574] According to the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*, the birthplace of the horse is heaven (*div*), but his womb is on earth.[575] Swennen remarks that the horse (*vājin*) brings presents to the *devas*, and conveys from the *devas* to men the generative power (*vāja*), which is the same as vigor (*vīrya*).[576] In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the horse not only conveys *vīrya*, he himself is the vigor or virile energy.[577] The *Śatapatha* explains that the horse is transformed in the fires.[578] This could mean that the mind and sensory experience ride on the back of the horse, which metaphorically represents the movement of unmanifest energy.

In the sacrifice, the horse as *vīrya* is represented by hoof-prints, where the ritual fire is kindled and the offering is performed.[579] The idea of marking where the horse (*vājin*) puts down his hoofs goes back to the *Ṛgveda*.[580] Footprints often stand for traces, in this case of

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[568] Doniger, *The Rig Veda*, 87-89. See note number 12 on page 89.

[569] Kuiper, *Ancient Indian Cosmogony*, 29. Kuiper references *ṚV* 4.38-40 and 7.44.

[570] …*eṣa vā aśvo medhyo ya eṣa tapati*… *ŚBK* 3.1.8.1 |

[571] *syād vīryaṃ vā aśva…aparimitaṃ vīryam* (unlimited vigor) *ŚBK* 1.1.4.17; *vīryaṃ vā aśvo* 1.1.4.23 | "Strength (*vāja*) in the horses, milk in the cows. Verily the horses are masculine. Vigor (*vīrya*) is strength (*vāja*). He really says [means] this: "there is vigor in males." He says, "there is strength (*vāja*) in the horses, milk in the cows." … *vājam arvatsu paya usriyāsv iti pumāṃso vā arvanto vīryaṃ vājaḥ puṃsu vīryam ity evaitad āha yad āha vājam arvatsv iti paya usriyāsv iti* … *ŚBK* 4.3.4.4 | The horse verily is vigor/virile power *vīryaṃ vā aśvo* | 1.1.4.23 |

[572] The Ādityas first offered Vāc, but the Aṅgirases refused, thinking they would be harmed. *ŚBK* 4.5.1.6-10.

[573] *aśvaḥ śveto dakṣiṇā tasya rukmaḥ purastāt tad dhy etasya rūpaṃ kriyate ya eṣa tapati* | *ŚBK* 4.5.1.10 |

[574] *ṚV* 1.26.1, 10.51.7.

[575] *pratūrttaṃ vājinnā drava variṣṭhām anu saṃvatam* | *divi te janma paramam antarikṣe tava nābhiḥ pṛthivyām adhi yonir it* || *VS* 11.12 ||

[576] In a hymn addressed to the horse, it is said, "The devas entrusted vigor/virile energy to you." *devā́ mamire vīríyaṃ te* | *ṚV* 1.163.8 | Swennen, viii. The horse is invoked to convey the devas in *ṚV* 5.62.4. Indra in particular is considered the power of the senses (*indriya*) and vigor (*vīrya*). See *ŚBK* 4.9.1.17.

[577] … *vīryaṃ vā aśva eṣa vā aparimitaṃ vīryam*…*ŚBK* 1.1.4.17 | See also 1.1.4.23.

[578] … *so 'syaiṣo aśvo medhya etāṃ rātrim agniṣu vivartate*…*ŚBK* 3.1.8.4 |

[579] *nv agnihotre 'śvamedhasāptir* | *ŚBK* 3.1.8.2 | The sacrificial horse is central to the Vājapeya and Aśvamedha rituals. According to Swennen, the symbolic meaning of the Vājapeya is to get hold of the sun; the winner of the race conquers the sun. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states that performing the *agnihotra* yields the same rewards as performing the *aśvamedha*. See Swennen, x.

[580] *ṚV* 1.163.5. The term for hoof here is *śaphá.*

the *vāja* (generative power) or unmanifest energy. This metaphor is critical to understanding why so many of the fire rituals center around the footprint of the horse. The new ritual fire is established in the footprint of the horse in the *agnyādheya* or establishment of the ritual fire. In Swennen's view, the archetypal horse of the *Ṛgveda* primarily functions to bring the new fire in the *agnyādheya*.[581] When this ritual is described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *adhvaryu* makes the horse step toward the fire because the horse is virile energy:

> He makes that horse to step toward it [fire]. He makes him to step out (east) and makes him turn around again. The horse verily is *vīrya* (vigor). *Vīrya* does not turn away from that *yajamāna*. He turns that [horse] toward the north and east. He kindles that in the footprint of the horse. The horse verily is vigor. Vigor alone kindles that [fire].[582]

Metaphorically, this suggests that the fire that is cognition has as its foundation the unmanifest virile energy. About the *agnihotra*, the *Śatapatha* states, "He performs the offering in every foot print of that [horse] in that he performs the *agnihotra*."[583] Specifically, the evening offering represents the offering in the two fore-hoofs, while the morning offering represents the two hind-hoofs.[584] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* continues, "When verily the horse full of sap/fit for sacrifice steps out (*niṣ+√kram*), then the libations (*āhuti*) are offered (*√hu*). He verily offers the four libations in the morning and evening."[585] The combination of the morning and evening offerings constitutes an entire horse.

In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the sun in the form of a horse (*vājirūpadharaḥ*) appeared to Yājñavalkya, who asked for *yajus* formulas.[586] The sun's form as a horse (*vājin*) literally means one possessed of *vāja* (generative power). According to Gonda, "As horses are well-known bearers or winners of *vāja* and therefore called *vājinaḥ* and as they are, as such, expected to win or give strength, new food, longevity, they may in the Vedic train of thought be identified with *vāja* and the *vāja* may be conceived of as being embodied in a horse."[587]

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[581] Philippe Swennen, *D'Indra Á Tištrya: Portrait et evolution du cheval sacré dans les mythes indo-iraniens anciens*. (Paris: Collège de France, Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 2004), x.

[582] *tam aśvam ākramayati taṃ prāñcam utkramayati taṃ punar āvartayati vīryaṃ vā aśvo nedasmād yajamānāt parāṅ vīryam asad iti tam udañcam prāñcam avarjati tam aśvasya pada ādhatte vīryaṃ vā aśvo vīrya evainaṃ tad ādhatte…ŚBK* 1.1.4.23 |

[583] *… tasyo etat pade pad eva juhoti yad agnihotraṃ juhoti…ŚBK* 3.1.8.5. See also 3.1.8.3.

[584] *ŚBK* 3.1.8.2.

[585] *… yatra vā āśvo medyo niṣkrāmaty āhutayas tatra hūyante sa vai catusraḥ sāyamprātarāhutīr juhoti…ŚBK* 3.1.8.2 |

[586] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 3.5.1-30. Etext based on the Bombay edition: Venkatesvara Steam Press, 1910. Input Sansknet-project. Trans. Wilson, page 329-330. The word for sun in this verse is *ravi*. *VP* 3.5.26.

[587] Gonda further explains that *vāja* is often the grammatical object of *√ji* (to win). The *Mahābhārata* (12.306.1ff) similarly narrates how Yājñavalkya received the *yajus* formulae from Sūrya. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, too, Yājñavalkya supplicates the self-existing (*svayaṃbhūḥ*) sun. Yājñavalkya says, "You are the giver of vital power (*varcodā*). Give me vital power. I say that a brāhmaṇa is to strive after *brahmavarcas*." *varcodā asi varco me dehīty evāhaṃ brahmīti hovāca yājñavalkyas tad dhī brāhmaṇenaiṣṭavyaṃ yad brahmavarcasam iti* | *ŚBK* 2.8.4.10 | According to the *ŚBK*, when the priest praises the sun, he declares, "You are the self-existing one, the most splendid ray of light." *svayaṃbhūr asi śreṣṭho raśmir ity.* See *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 153; Kuiper, *Ancient Indian Cosmogony*, 173.

Sacrificial actions involving *vāja* and *vājins* constitute an early form of ritual empowerment (*āpyāyana*). In the Vājapeya ritual, the *adhvaryus* make horses smell rice while chanting, "Oh *vājins*, winners of *vāja*" because *vāja* is the same as food.[588] The Vedic practitioners speed toward *vāja* like the horse in whom the action of smelling instills vigor. After making the horses smell a second time, the *adhvaryu* says, "Take it in," and the *yajamāna* takes hold of that power of the sense organs (*indriya*), the vigor (*vīrya*) from the food (*anna*)."[589] A *mantra* recited during the yoking of the horses expresses the idea that the strong and vigorous horse (*vājin*) wins *vāja*, internal food, and goes to the far shore (*pārayiṣṇu*) in the battle of the devas.[590] Another *mantra* praises the horse as the winner of *vāja*,[591] which the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* glosses as the internal food that feeds the sense faculties. Not just in the *vājapeya* ritual, but in the *rājasūya* as well, the power of the sense organs (*indriya*) is said to be vigor (*vīrya*).[592] This points to an internal understanding of generative power as food for the sense faculties. The *indriya* that is vigor has gone out from the one consecrated and is reconstituted with purer virile, fiery energy during the ritual.[593]

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[588] … *vājino vājajita iti vājino hy ete vājajita ity annaṃ vai vājo*… *ŚBK* 6.1.4.13.

[589] … *atha yad āha nimṛjānā iti yajamāna evaitad annād yam indriyaṃ vīryaṃ dadhāti* | *ŚBK* 6.2.1.15 |

[590] "Oh horse, [you are] strong with this strength for the sake of us." He really says [means] this: "with this vigor (*vīrya*) for us." That [reason] he says, "Oh horse, [you are] strong with this strength for us," is "May you be the winner of *vāja* and one who goes/brings over to the opposite shore (*pārayiṣṇu*)[590] in battle." *Vāja* is the same as food (*anna*). He really says [means] this: "May you be a winner of food (*anna*) for us and in this battle of ours, in the battle of the *devas*, conquer this *yajña*, Prajāpati" when he says, "Be a winner of food and one who goes to the opposite shore in battle." *evaitad āha tena no vājin balavān baleneti tena no vīryeṇoty evaitadāha yad āha tena no vājin balavān baleneti vājajicaidhi samane ca pārayiṣṇur ity annaṃ vai vājo 'nnajicca na edhy asmiṃś ca na samane(naḥ samane) devasamana imaṃ yajñaṃ prajāpatim ujjayety evaitadāha yad āha vājajic caidhi samane ca pārayiṣṇur iti* ‖ *ŚBK* 6.1.4.10 ‖

[591] "May this Agni make wide room (*varivas*) for us! Let him come ahead, piercing the adversaries. May he win *vāja* in the obtainment of *vāja* [by means of a race/battle]. May he being very eager conquer the enemies. Svāhā!" For the horse (*aśva*) is the winner of the *vāja* [i.e. race]. Therefore, he says, "May he by obtaining *vāja* conquer *vāja*!" *ayaṃ no agnir varivaskṛṇotv ayaṃ mṛdhaḥ pura etu prabhindan* | *ayaṃ vājāñ jayatu vājasātā ayaṃ śatrūñ jayatu jarhṛṣāṇaḥ svāheti vājasā hy aśavas tasmād āhāyaṃ vājāñ jayatu vājasātāviti* | *ŚBK* 5.4.1.10* | See also, "…In each and every *vāja*, oh horses (*vājin*), wise regarding prizes and immortal knowers of order (*ṛtajñā*), may you favor (√ *av*) us. Drink of this honey, gladden! Satiated (*tṛpta*), go through the paths leading to the devas." … *vāje vāje 'vata vājino no dhaneṣu viprā amṛtā ṛtajñāḥ* | *asya madhvaḥ pibata mādayadhvaṃ tṛptā yāta pathibhir devayānair ity*… *ŚBK* 6.2.1.11 |

[592] *indriyam u vai vīryam* | *ŚBK* 7.3.3.15 |

[593] In the *rājasūya* his own *indriya*, which is glossed as his *vīrya*, goes out from the one being consecrated (*ŚBK* 7.3.3.11). One hundred cows are brought to the northern side of the *āgnīdhra* because when Varuṇa was consecrated, his vigor (*vīrya*), i.e. his power of the senses (*indriya*), his radiant energy (*bhargas*), departed from him. *sa vai svasya gāḥ śataṃ vā paraḥśatā vottareṇāgnīdhraṃ saṃruṇaddhī tāḥ saṃrudhyāthāsmai ratham upāvaharati sa yad asmai ratham upāvahaharati varuṇād ddhābhiṣiṣicānād bhargo 'pacakrāmendriyaṃ vai vīryaṃ bharga indriyaṃ haivāsmād vīryam apacakrāma(krāma) śaśvaddha yadevaitat tejo vīryaṃ rasa eṣo 'pāṃ saṃbhṛtas taddhaivāsya śaśvad bhargaṃ nirjaghāna* ‖ *ŚBK* 7.3.3.1‖ Similarly, when the radiant energy (*bhargas*) went out of Varuṇa who was being consecrated, he searched for it, found it, and put it in himself: "The radiant energy (*bhargas*) went out of Varuṇa who was being consecrated. Radiant energy (*bhargas*) verily is vigor (*vīrya*). This is the same as the *yajña*, Viṣṇu. That which is perpetual is this fiery energy, the vigor. This essence of the collected waters expelled that perpetual radiant energy (*bharga*) of his." *varuṇād dhābhiṣiṣicānād bhargo 'pacakrāma vīryaṃ vai bharga eṣa eva yajño viṣṇuḥ śaśvad dha yad evaitat tejo vīryaṃ rasa eṣo 'pāṃ saṃbhṛtas tad dhaivāsya śaśvad bhargaṃ nirjaghāna* ‖ *ŚBK* 7.4.1.1 ‖ The

Varuṇa put the vigor from the *paśus* in himself and Prajāpati offered the *paśus* to replenish himself.[594] In a similar way, the *yajamāna* becomes emptied through offerings and must be ritually empowered (*ā√pyai*) again.[595]

Many ritual objects and actions are associated with internalization.[596] In the *vājapeya*, the *yajamāna* touches food and puts it in himself (*ātman*).[597] In the *rājasūya*, the *yajamāna* is united with vital power (*varcas*) and makes it in himself.[598] He puts the *yajña* into himself[599] as well as the *śrī* of the victorious *devas*.[600] Through such ritual acts, the attention of the offering priest shifted from the *devas* to the *ātman*. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the question is asked whether one who offers to the *ātman* (*ātmayājin*) is better or one who offers to the *devas* (*devayājin*), and the answer is the former.[601] The *yajña* is as much an alchemical transformation of the *yajamāna's* body as it is an external ritual performance.[602] This shows that the internal dimension of the ritual was not a later replacement or

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yajamāna becomes as if emptied (*riricāna*) after giving away 1000 cows, but is filled up/replenished again (*punar āpyāyayati*) when the thousandth cow smells the *droṇa kalaśa*. See 5.6.5.4.

[594] For the episode in which Prajāpati, whom the *prajā* emptied out, replenishes himself by offering *paśus*, see *ŚBK* 4.9.1.1-3. Prajāpati replenished himself by making Agni, who is *tejas*, and Indra who is the power of the senses and vigor, subject to him. See 4.9.1.17. The *ŚB* identifies the *paśus* (cattle) with the power of the senses and vigor: "The *paśus* are splendor (*yaśas*), that power of the senses, the vigor which Varuṇa found in them. Having found that, he made it in himself. He put it in himself (*tasmāt paśavo yaśo yad eṣu varuṇa indriyaṃ vīryam anvavindat tad anuvidya tad ātmany akuruta tad ātmany adhatta | ŚBK 7.3.3.2 |*)." "He touches the cow with the mantra: "*samindriyeṇa*" together with the power of the senses because this power (*indriya*) or vigor (*vīrya*) goes from the one being consecrated to the *paśus*. He puts the *indriya* back in himself by means of this." *samindiryeṇeti gām upaspṛśati sa yad asmād abhiṣisicānād indriyaṃ vīryaṃ paśūn abhyapakrāmati tad evaitad ātmani kurute tad ātmani dhatte tasmād āha samindriyeṇeti || ŚBK 7.3.3.10 ||* At the same time that the *ŚB* speaks of physical cows being positioned in the ritual (7.3.3.1), it states that the *paśus* and the offering itself are located within sacrificer: "Verily when he nourishes the *paśus*, then he obtains the *yajña*. Both those are just in his *ātman*. Both those *devatās* [Sarasvatī/*vāc* and Pūṣan/*paśu*] are meditated on in his *ātman*. In this way, these *devatās* are meditated on in his *ātman*, firmly established in his *ātman*. Therefore in all these, he performs, "To Agni, svāhā!" So they call that *adhītayajūṃṣī* (meditated *yajus* formula). (*yadā vai paśūn puṣyaty atha yajñaṃ prāpnoti ta u asyema ātmany eva te asminn ete ubhe devate ātmany ādhīta evaṃ hy asyaitā devatā ātmany ādhītā ātmani pratiṣṭhitās tasmāt sarveṣv agnaye svāheti juhoty atha yadādītayajūṃṣīty ākhyāyante (pratiṣṭhitās tasmād ādhitayajūṃṣīty ākhyāyante)* (4.1.4.12)." In an internal sense, the *paśus* are the food provided to the mind when conscious thought is produced, in the same way that the sacrificial animals are offered in the fire at the *yajña*.

[595] *ŚBK* 5.6.5.4, 4.9.1.8.

[596] For example, the *antaryāma graha* (soma scoop) in the Soma yajña signals interiority,[596] while the *āgrayaṇa graha* represents the *ātman*. *ŚBK* 5.2.2.1.

[597] According to Thite, by touching something in the ritual, you put it in yourself—you own it. *sa yad evaitad annam ujjayati tenaivaitat saṃspṛśate tad ātmani kurute tadātmani dhatte(tte) ||ŚBK 6.2.1.13|| tad etāṃ(yadgodhumā) gatiṃ gatvā yo 'syaiṣa jitaḥ svargo loko yad etad annam ujjayati tena saṃspṛśate tad ātmani kurute tad ātmani dhatte tenodaram upaspṛśaty atra hy annaṃ pratitiṣṭhati || ŚBK 6.2.2.10 ||*

[598] *sa yad evāsmā agnir dātā varco dadāti tenaivaitat saṃspṛśate tad ātmani kurute | ŚBK 7.1.3.3 |*

[599] *tad etaṃ pratyakṣaṃ yajñaṃ prajāpatim āptvā taṃ parigṛhya taṃ ātmani kurute taṃ ātmani dhatte || ŚBK 7.5.3.13 |*

[600] *ŚBK* 1.6.3.4. See also 1.5.2.1, 1.5.1.19, 1.5.1.21, 1.5.1.36, 1.5.1.14.

[601] *tad āhur ātmayājī3 śreyān devayājī3 ity ātmayājūti ha brūyāt … | ŚBK 3.2.10.11 |*

[602] Oldenberg also opines that there is alchemy involved. See Hermann Oldenberg, *The Doctrine of the Upaniṣads and The Early Buddhism*. Trans. Shridhar B. Shrotri. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1997), 25.

substitution; according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* the mental aspect constituted an inseparable part of the external performance already during the Brāhmaṇa period.[603]

Not only did everyday objects serve as metaphors for the immaterial, so also did quotidian activities like eating and giving birth. An essential message of Brāhmaṇa literature is to become the eater and not be eaten. Food is implicated in energetic transactions, which consume the individual's consciousness if he is not paying attention. Ritual performances train the *yajamāna* to pay attention to mental processes and the food that enters his mind. Only by becoming aware of receiving this energetic food can he become the eater. The ingestion of food without awareness is connected to repeated death, whereas the eater is death itself. The Vedic adherent has to choose whether he wishes to be devoured with each food-for-thought or to uncover the capacity to observe the food and consume it at will. In this way, a cognitive process is expressed through the metaphorical domains of eating food and dying repeatedly.

The second metaphorical activity concerns giving birth. Jurewicz describes the Ṛgvedic domain of procreation in the Child of the Waters (*apā́ṁ nápāt*), in which the child, Agni, is called an embryo (*gárbha*) hidden in the womb of his mother.[604] In the *Śatapatha,* Yājñavalkya uses the metaphorical domain of giving birth to describe a cognitive process when explaining what happens in the *agnihotra* ritual. The energy from the unmanifest enters the fire, which stands for cognition, and becomes an embryo that is born as new sensory experience. This offspring (*prajā*) of the mind then again becomes an embryo of the unmanifest, stored up in the yonder world. These metaphorical domains enable certain ways of expressing how the mind works. It is important to recognize how these concepts in the Brāhmaṇas relate to earlier concepts for the unmanifest in the *Ṛgveda.* Before examining ritual practices in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* let us explore how the interpretation of the *agnihotra* in the Kāṇva recension differs from the interpretations in other Vedic schools.

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[603] Drawing on the work of Eliade, Biardeau, Malamoud, and Heesterman, etc., Bentor speaks of the interiorization of Vedic rituals as a kind of mental performance of the ritual, a replacement of the external ritual, or a substitution for a brāhmaṇa away from home. Take, for example, Heesterman's point, "The difference between classical ritualism and renunciation seems to be a matter of degree rather than of principle. The principle is the individualization of the ritual, which could not but lead to its interiorization. Reunciation is therefore not necessarily anti-brahminical." See Yael Bentor, Interiorized Fire Rituals in India and Tibet," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 2000): 595-596. http://www.jstor.org/stable/606619. Accessed 19/9/2014; Jan Heesterman, "Brahmin, Ritual, and Renouncer," in *The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kinship, and Society.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 41-42.

[604] Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition*, 207; *ṚV* 1.22.6.

Chapter Four, Part B
The Contribution of the Kāṇva *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* in Relation to Other
agnihotrabrāhmaṇas

"Who in the evening, who at dawn will praise/stimulate you [Agni], or
offering an oblation will befriend you, like a golden horse in his own house
you carry that devout man out of narrowness."[605] —*Ṛgveda* 4.2.8

"The capable one toward whom the young, oblation-offering girl [ladle] filled
with ghee goes in the evening and in the morning, toward him goes our
devotion (*arámati*), seeking what is bright (*vásu*)."[606] —*Ṛgveda* 7.1.6

Oldenberg identified *Ṛgveda* 4.2.8 and 7.1.6 as stanzas that seemingly allude to the
agnihotra.[607] When Brāhmaṇa texts treat the *agnihotra*, the instructions and philosophical
interpretations vary from text to text. This is expected, given that significant variation
existed among Vedic families and schools. For example, A.B. Keith compared the *Aitareya*
and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas* of the *Ṛgveda*, while Christopher Minkowski described the
interscholastic differences (probably established during the Brāhmaṇa period) of the Nivids
belonging to the Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana Schools.[608] Similarly, Eggeling and Caland
have pointed out variations in the Vājasaneyin Schools of the White Yajurveda, meaning the
Kāṇva and Mādhyandina recensions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Jan Gonda observed, "In
view of the considerable difference between the schools of the White and Black Veda and
between those of the latter individually it is no exaggeration to say that school traditions
were in the Vedic period far from being invariable."[609] He explained that the ritualists of the
Brāhmaṇas quoted the *Ṛgveda* to establish a connection with the wisdom of the *ṛṣis* and to
corroborate their own views. In his words, "This explains not only why the authors of the
brāhmaṇas had to add long explanations to show the 'symbolical value' of the *mantras* and
their adaptability to their ritual use but also why in doing so they often went in different
directions, disagreeing as to many particulars and proposing various interpretations of the
same texts."[610] Translations and studies of individual *agnihotrabrāhmaṇas* have been
published for at least three schools, including the Taittirīya School by P.E. Dumont (1964),
the Jaiminīya School by H.W. Bodewitz (1973), and the Kāṭhaka School by P.D. Navathe

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[605] *yás tvā doṣā́ yá uṣási praśáṃsāt priyáṃ vā tvā kṛṇávate havíṣmān | áśvo ná své dáma ā́ hemiyā́vān tám
áṃhasaḥ pīparo dāśuvā́ṃsam || ṚV* 4.2.8 || For Jamison and Brereton's translation, *The Rigveda*, Vol. 1, 559.

[606] *úpa yám éti yuvatíḥ sudákṣaṃ doṣā́ vástor havíṣmatī ghṛtā́cī | úpa svaínam arámatir vasūyúḥ || ṚV* 7.1.6 ||
For Jamison and Brereton's translation, see *The Rigveda*, Vol. 2, 881.

[607] Oldenberg identified two stanzas from the *Ṛgveda* (4.2.8 and 7.1.6) that seemingly allude to the *agnihotra*.
See Keith, "Introduction" to *The Rigveda Brahmanas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda.*
Trans. A.B. Keith. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), cv.

[608] Śāṅkhāyana and Kauṣītaki refer to the same school. Ibid.; Christopher Minkowski, "School Variation in the
Text of the Nivids," in *Inside the Texts Beyond the Texts: New Approaches to the Study of the Veda.*
Preceedings of the International Vedic Workshop, Harvard University, June 1989. Ed. Michael Witzel, 166-
184 (Cambridge: Dept. of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, 1997), 182.

[609] Jan Gonda, *The Mantras of the Agnyupasthāna and the Sautrāmaṇī.* (Amsterdam: North-Holland
Publishing Company, 1980), 6.

[610] Ibid., 7.

(1980).[611] In *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihtora): According to the Brāhmaṇas,* Bodewitz compiled translated passages from extant *agnihotrabrāhmaṇas* thematically, thus facilitating a comparison of the *agnihotra* ritual according to different Vedic schools. In his commentary, Bodewitz provides salient facts and observations, which serve as my starting point in comparing how the *agnihotra* was interpreted among Vedic schools in the Brāhmaṇa period. In this section, I will compare the Vājasaneyin exegesis of the ritual with the other schools and adduce, in particular, the unique contribution of the Kāṇva School.

In terms of chronology, Bodewitz explains that the original *agnihotrabrāhmaṇas* came from the Yajurvedic schools.[612] The *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* was probably first.[613] The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* rearranged and systematized the *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* of the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*, adding new subjects like expiations. The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* is closely related to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, which Bodewitz believes predates the Ṛgvedic Brāhmaṇas. The oldest of the Ṛgvedic Brāhmaṇas is the *Aitareya*, which was composed before the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[614] The *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is completely different from the ones in Yajurvedic schools because it deals only with a few contested aspects of the rite. This suggests that the *agnihotra* was not a primary concern for the Aitareya School.[615] In contrast, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* added new interpretations to the earlier Yajurvedic *agnihotrabrāhmaṇas*.[616] While the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* is older than the *Śatapatha*, this school responded to the *Śatapatha* innovations in a separate and later text called the *Vādhūla Sūtra*. Bodewitz notes:

> In this connection the position of the *anvākhyānas* of the VādhS. [*Vādhūla Sūtra*], which represent some second thoughts and reactions to other texts made by the Taittirīyas, is interesting. Some parallelisms with the ŚB. [*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*] and the JB. [*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*] may imply that these *anvākhyānas* were made in order to uphold the position of the Taittirīyas, whose brāhmaṇa was rather old, and to remain involved in the later discussions. As such, they are a reaction to the ŚB.[617]

In particular, the appearance of Janaka, Yājñavalkya, and Uddālaka Āruṇi from the *Śukla Yajurveda* indicates the lateness of the *Vādhūla Sūtra*. The *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* in *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* is also probably later than the one in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[618] The Sāmavedins hardly deal with the Agnihotra in their *sūtras*, but the Kauthumas treat it in the appendage of the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* and the Jaiminīyas give an extensive, but late

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[611] Paul-Emile Dumont, "The Agnihotra (or Fire-God oblation) in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa: The First Prapāṭhaka of the Second Kāṇḍa of the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa with translation," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 108, no. 4 (August 1964); *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65: Translation and Commentary with a study Agnihotra and Prāṇāgnihotra.* Trans. H.W. Bodewitz. (Leiden: Brill, 1973); *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā: Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā 6.1-9; 7.1-11.* Ed. and trans. P.D. Navathe. (Pune: University of Poona: 1980).
[612] H.W. Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra) According to the Brāhmaṇas.* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 13.
[613] Ibid.
[614] Bodewitz suggests that one section (*AB* 7.12) seems to be based on the *Śatapatha*.
[615] *AB* 5.26-31; 7.5-8; 7.9; 7.10; 7.12. Trans. Keith in *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*. 1920.
[616] This will be taken up below and in the next part. Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihtora)*, 10.
[617] Ibid., 6.
[618] Ibid., 11.

agnihotrabrāhmaṇa.[619] In the view of Bodewitz, the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*'s contribution is limited and hardly original.

The basic aspects of the rites are held in common by the various schools. For all, the *agnihotra* represents an offering into fire. The basic procedure includes awakening the fire, adding fuel, offering milk, and attending to Agni through *mantra* recitation (*agnyupasthāna*).[620] The eight-syllable *mantras*, "(In) Agni is light, light is (in) Agni" and "Sūrya is light, light is Sūrya" is common, but not standardized.[621] In addition to some texts designating sundry material gains, most texts state that the successful performer of the *agnihotra* wins or goes to *svar* or *svarga*.[622] The Yajurvedic Brāhmaṇas feature some form of the etiological myth of Prajāpati emitting Agni and then offering into him. The earliest of these, the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* depicts Prajāpati as offering his own eye, the yonder sun, by which he offered *brahman*, truth and the yonder sun.[623] The *Taittirīya, Śāṅkhāyana, Śatapatha*, and *Jaimanīya Brāhmaṇas* describe the sun (*āditya, sūrya*) entering Agni in the evening and Agni rising with or being offered in the rising sun in the morning.[624] Along

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[619] Ibid., 13.

[620] Gonda translates *agnyupasthāna* as "adoration or worship of the sacred fires." This is an optional ceremony of homage to Agni, usually performed at night only, in which the worshiper stands up straight. See *The Mantras of the Agnyupasthāna and the Sautrāmaṇī*, 8-9.

[621] *KS* 6.5 prescribes that one should offer the mantra with "In Agni the light, light in Agni," in the evening, but "The Sun is light, light is the sun" in the morning. *agnau jyotir jyotir agnā iti sāyam agnihotraṃ juhuyād* and *sūryo jyotir jyotis sūrya iti prātas* │ The *ŚB* and Ṛgvedic Brāhmaṇas do not put Agni in the locative. *sa juhoty agnir jyotir jyotiragniḥ svāheti sāyaṃ sūryo jyotir jyotiḥ sūryaḥ svāheti prātas…ŚBK* 1.3.1.21 and *ŚBM* 2.3.1.30 │ See also *AB* 5.31, *ŚāṅkhB.* 2.8, and *MS* 1.8.5. The Taittirīyas give two sets of formulas: First, 'Agni is the light; the light is Sūrya. Svāhā' is to be offered in the evening alone and 'Sūrya is the light; the light is Agni. Svāhā!' in the morning." *agnír jyótir jyótiḥ sū́ryaḥ svāhéty evá sāyáṁ hotavyàm* │ *sū́ryo jyótir jyótir agníḥ svāhéti prātáḥ* │ *TB* 2.1.2.8-9 │ Second, "With 'Agni is the light; the light is Agni. Svāhā!' he offers in the evening and with, 'Sūrya is the light; the light is Sūrya. Svāhā!' he offers in the morning." *agnír jyótir jyótir agníḥ svāhéty sāyáṁ juhoti… sū́ryo jyótir jyótiḥ sū́ryaḥ svāhéty prātáḥ* | *TB* 2.1.9.2 │ *BŚS* allows both options. "See *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65,* note 2 on page 39; *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā*, 8; Navathe, v; *The Rigveda Brahmanas*, 255 and 354-355; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.* Ed. Leopold von Schroeder. (Leipzig: Commissioned by F.A. Brockhaus, 1881), 121, line 1; Dumont, "The Agnihotra," 340-341, 352; Dumont, *L'Agnihotra*, 126, 130.

[622] According to the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, "He who knowing thus attends to the fire at night goes to *suvarga*": *ya evaṃ vidvān agnim upatiṣṭhate suvargam eva lokam eti… TS* 1.5.9.5 │ *Vādhūla Sūtra* 3.39 states, "By means of the first libation let us win heaven, with the second one obtain a good position on earth with regard to offspring and cattle." *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 5.30 states that Agni and Āditya make the sacrificer attain heaven. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Āditya rises up with and tells the sacrificer, "This is your body (*ātman*)." *ayaṃ ta ātmeti … ‖ ŚBK* 3.1.9.3 ‖ In *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 1.11, the sun makes the sacrificer go to his own world and in 1.17-18 the sacrificer gives birth to himself in the sun. See *Taittirīya Saṃhitā: With the Padapāṭha and the Commentaries of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra and Sāyaṇācārya.* Vol. 1, part II (Kāṇḍa I Prapāṭhakas V-VIII). Ed. N.S. Sontakke and T.N. Dharmadhikari. (Poona: Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, 1972), 67; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 160; *The Rigveda Brahmanas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda*. Trans. A.B. Keith. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), 254; *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 13, 42.

[623] *KS* 6.1, 6.5, 6.7; *MS* 1.8.1:115.1-5 is similar. Compare this motif to the sun as the *puruṣa* in the right eye in the *BĀU*. *ŚBK* 1.2.4.1-6 offers a variant version of this story, in which Prajāpati does not offer his eye, but two oblations: one of ghee and milk and another of the utterance *svāhā*. See Bodewitz, The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotora), 14-15.

[624] *TB* 2.1.2.9: "Āditya enters Agni in the evening…Agni rises along with and as a consequence of Āditya's rising…" *ŚBM* 2.3.1.36: "Now they say: 'In the evening he offers Sūrya into Agni, and in the morning he

with Dumont, Bodewitz interprets this as the explanation for sunrise and sunset.[625] It will be shown below that the interpretation of the Vājasaneyins, especially the Kāṇvas, sheds light on the philosophical import.

Brāhmaṇical schools offer different explanations of the *agnihotra* libations. According to *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, the libation offered with a formula is sacred to Indra and Agni, the libation offered silently is for Prajāpati,[626] and two libations are offered in Agni Vaiśvānara, i.e. the brāhmaṇa officiant.[627] *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* 2.8 declares that six—the sun and fire, day and night, inhalation and exhalation—offer themselves in each other regardless of whether the offering is physically performed.[628] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* identifies the two libations as the mind and speech[629] and, along with the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, equates the *agnihotra* cow with speech and her calf with the mind.[630] In this way, the *Śatapatha* is the first to explicitly give the *agnihotra* a psychological dimension. Moreover, in the *Śatapatha*, the first libation is for the sake of the *ātman*, which is past and manifest, and the second is for the sake of what is generated (*prajā*), which is future and not yet manifest.[631] By connecting the *agnihotra* with the mind and speech, the *ātman* and *prajā*, the Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍas* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* contribute an innovative interpretation of this ancient rite that is not found in earlier *agnihotrabrāhmaṇas*.

There is no standard position on who offers the *agnihotra*. Bodewitz posits that originally the offering was made by the *yajamāna* himself for himself, but then an *adhvaryu* priest performed the offering on behalf of the *yajamāna*, a role decidedly limited for

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offers Agni into Sūrya." *JB* 1.9: "When the sun sets, it offers itself in the fire. (…). When the sun rises, the fire rises after it. It offers itself in the sun." *ŚāṅkhB* 2.8: "This fire offers itself in the rising sun. Yonder sun, when it sets, offers itself in the fire at night. The night offers (itself) in the day, the day in the night. The exhalation offers (itself) in the inhalation, the inhalation in the exhalation." These and the following translations of all Brāhmaṇas except for the *Śatapatha* in this chapter are by Bodewitz unless otherwise noted. Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 143-146.

[625] Dumont, *L'Agnihotra*, viii; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 145.

[626] Note that *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 2.1.5 suggests different oblation materials depending on what the *yajamāna* desires to obtain (cattle, fiery energy, manly power, a village). According to *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* 2.2, one should pour the oblation on the kindling stick at different times depending on what is desired (when it smokes for a village, when it flames for radiance, in the embers for cattle). See *The Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, 352.

[627] *TB* 2.1.4.4-8.

[628] Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 136.

[629] *ŚBK* 1.3.1.10 and *ŚBM* 2.3.1.17; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihtora)*, 96-97. *AB* 5.33 identifies speech with this earth and the mind with the yonder world. See *Rigvedic Brāhmaṇas*, 257.

[630] *ŚBK* 3.1.4.1, *ŚBM* 2.3.1.1 and *JB* 1.19. *JB* 1.19 goes on to identify the post to which to tie the cow and calf with the heart (*hṛdayam*) and the binding rope with *prāṇa*. Caland has observed that the Kāṇva version agrees more with the *JB* passage than with the Mādhyandina version. See *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 62, 236.

[631] Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 151. *sā yā pūrvāhutiḥ | sātmānam abhi hūyate tām mantreṇa juhoty addhā hi tad yan mantro 'ddho tad yad ātmā 'tha yottarā sā prajām abhi hūyate tāṃ tūṣṇīṃ juhoty anaddhā hi tad yat tūṣṇīm anaddho tad yat prajā | ŚBM* 2.3.1.29 | See also *ŚBK* 1.3.1.15-20. In addition, the Śatapatha says that the first libation corresponds to gods, the second to men, and what remains in the sruc ladle corresponds to the cattle. *sā yā pūrvāhutiḥ | te devā atha yottarā te manuṣyā atha yatsruci pariśinaṣṭi te paśavaḥ ‖ ŚBM* 2.3.2.16 ‖ *sa yām etām prathamām āhutim juhoti te devā atha yāṃ dvitīyāṃ te manuṣyā atha yat sruci pariśinaṣṭi te paśavas | ŚBK* 3.1.2.1 | See also *ŚBK* 1.3.1.12 and Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 95. For a list of propitiations in the various Brāhmaṇas, see pages 104-105.

kṣatriyas in the early Yajurvedic schools.[632] The *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* and the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* prescribe when *agnihotra* can be observed for the *kṣatriya* and in which manner, while Dumont states that the Taittirīyas did not allow *kṣatriyas* to perform the *agnihotra* at all.[633] In these schools, the brāhmaṇas and *vaiśyas* are permitted to offer. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 2.1.4 instructs how the *adhvaryu* is to pour the two libations on behalf of the sacrificer depending on whether he desires that the sacrificer becomes richer or poorer, yielding significant power to the *adhvaryu* performing the rite.[634] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* does not provide any such instructions about altering the procedure so as to affect the wellbeing of the *yajamāna*, nor does it exclude anyone explicitly. Only once this school speaks of an *adhvaryu* performing the actions for a *yajamāna*, suggesting the *yajamāna* may have usually performed the *agnihotra* himself in this school. The Mādhyandina recension mentions the option of the *yajamāna* offering himself or someone else offering for him.[635] Elsewhere, the Mādhyandina text says the *yajamāna* performs his own *agnihotra*,[636] but in a parallel passage the Kāṇva recension states, "*for whom* they sacrifice thus."[637] These passages also mention that a brāhmaṇa should offer, but do not specify that others cannot. What is important to the *Śatapatha* is that only a brāhmaṇa can consume the milk that remains in the pot.[638] This restriction resonates with Buddhist *suttas* in which a *yajamāna* seeks a brāhmaṇa to consume his offering. The *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* 4.1.13-14 presents a hierarchy of performance, in which offering the libations oneself is the best, followed by one's son, one's pupil, and finally others.

The myths associated with the *samidh* (kindling stick) vary from text to text. The Yajurvedic brāhmaṇas share the myth of the plants being smeared with poison with slight variations.[639] According to the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* and the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, the Rudras are responsible for this act, while in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, it is the *pitṛs*, and in the *Śatapatha* it is the *asuras*.[640] To resolve the problem of the cattle not grazing on the poisoned herbs, in the first two texts, Prajāpati choose the boon that the kindling stick would be offered for him. The kindling stick laid on the fire makes the herbs savory for the sacrificer. In the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*, what one offers as an oblation is for the *devas*, what he points at in the ladle appeases Rudra, what he wipes off belongs to the *pitṛs*, and what he partakes of belongs to men.[641] In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, the *pitṛs* smeared the plants with poison because they want to be offered a share, but they are not given the kindling stick; the Aṅgirasas give the

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[632] Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 116-121.

[633] *KS* 6.6 and *MS* 1.6.10; 8.7; Navathe, vii; Dumont, "The Agnihotra," 337.

[634] Dumont, "The Agnihotra," 345.

[635] "He should try to effect one of these (stages of the fire) for a year, whether he offers himself or someone else offers for him…" *eteṣām ekaṃ saṃvatsaram upertset | svayaṃ juhvadyadi vāsyānyo juhuyād… ŚBM 2.3.2.14 |*

[636] *…brahmavarcasī haiva bhavati ya evaṃ vidvān agnihotraṃ juhoti… | ŚBM 2.3.1.31 |*

[637] *…brahmavarcasī haiva bhavati yasyaivaṃ juhvatīty …ŚBK 1.3.1.22 |* In the Mādhyandina, it is written, "he who sacrifices," whereas in the Kāṇva it states, "He for whom they sacrifice" becomes the *brahmavarcasī*.

[638] *nābrāhmaṇaḥ pibedagnau hyadhiśrayanti tasmānnābrāhmaṇaḥ pibet | ŚBM 2.3.1.39; ya eva kaś ca piben na tv abrāhmaṇo 'gnau hy enad adhiśrayanti | ŚBK 1.3.1.28; KŚS 4.14.11* states that only a brāhmaṇa can drink it—not a *kṣatriya* or a *vaiśya*. See Dumont, *L'Agnihotra*, 14.

[639] Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*,77-80; Dumont, "The Agnihotra," 339.

[640] *KS* 6.5, *MS* 1.8.4, *TB* 2.1.2; *ŚBK* 1.3.2.1ff.

[641] *KS* 6.5.8; *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā*, 40.

pitṛs what the *adhvaryu* wipes off after the second libation. The *Śatapatha* similarly deviates: by winning a race, Agni and Indra are entitled to the *āgrayaṇa* (first offering), and the poison is removed through the ritual offering (*yajña*). Depending on the school, the *samidh* is considered fuel or an oblation in its own right.[642]

The *mantras* provided for recitation in connection with the *samidh* are not consistent among schools.[643] The *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* has the sacrificer recite the formulas, "Give me life; give me glory; give me offspring" while he sets the milk and kindling stick down near the *āhavanīya* fire.[644] Another *mantra* emphasizes protection, "You are the fuel-stick of Agni; protect me from curse. You are the fuel-stick of Soma; be my protector. You re the fuel-stick of Yama; protect me from death."[645] In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, while laying the kindling stick and *sruc* on the grass near the *āhavanīya*, the priest silently recites,

> The kindling-stick is indeed a man. He is kindled by food. Make me go to heaven by the energy of the good. Where the dear embodiment of the gods and seers is, make my agnihotra go there.[646]

While laying the stick on the fire, he recites, "I make thee a bridge to heaven, golden cross-beam, *svāhā*."[647] This formula may have been influenced by an earlier *mantra*, found only in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, to be recited when the *agnihotrin* places the kindling stick on the fire (*samidham etām abhyādadhāti*):

> "I place (*upa√dhā*) you [fuel stick (*samidh*)], the light of Agni, possessing the wind, and possessing *prāṇa*, conducive to *svar* (*svargya*), and luminous, for *svarga*," in the evening. "I place you [fuel stick], the light of Sūrya, possessing the wind, possessing *prāṇa*, conducive to *svar* (*svargya*), and luminous, for *svarga*," in the morning.[648]

The *mantra* is found in both the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* as well as in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the Kāṇva School. It is not found anywhere in the Mādhyandina recension, but was inserted into that school's *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (4.14.13) and is hence also used even today by the adherents of the Mādhyandina School. In his article on the "Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra and the Kaṇva Tradition," Thite shows how this *mantra* is among certain features of the Kāṇva school adopted by Kātyāyana in his *śrauta-sūtra*, which is

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[642] According to the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, whatever is laid on the fire is fuel, but the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* states that the trees are the fuel (*KS* 6.5.1; *MS* 1.8.7; *AB* 5.28.1ff). In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (2.1.3.7-9), Agni laid the kindling stick on himself so that the oblations would remained fixed on him; by laying the kindling stick, the sacrificer provides the *agnihotra* with fuel. In the *Vādhūla Sūtra* (3.30), the kindling stick is considered an oblation, the laying on the fire of which offers "all the days and nights that have passed before his birth." See Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 79 and 94.

[643] Note also that *KS* 6.1.5.7 gives the *mantra* for the evening offering as *agnau jyotir jyotir agnau* whereas all other recensions of the *YV* give *agnir jyotir jyotir agniḥ svāhā*. See Navathe, v.

[644] *āyur me yaccha, varcā me yaccha, prajāṃ me yaccha* | *KS* 6.5; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 147; *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā*, 72.

[645] *KS* 6.9; *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā*, 49.

[646] Bodewitz' translation. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 93.

[647] *JB* 1.40; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 79.

[648] *agnijyotiṣaṃ tvā vāyumatīṃ prāṇavatīm* | *svargyāṃ svargāyopadadhāmi bhāsvatīm iti sāyaṃ sūryajyotiṣaṃ tvā vāyumatīṃ prāṇavatīm* | *svargyāṃ svargāyopadadhāmi bhāsvatīm iti prātar…* || *ŚBK* 3.1.5.1 || See also *VSK* 3.2.1-2.

otherwise based on the Mādhyandina recension.[649] It is interesting to note that the same formula is also found in *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa* 45.1.18 and in Atharvaveda *Vaitāna Sūtra* 7.9-10, but not in any other *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa*. This *mantra* is significant because it identifies the *samidh* as what is conducive to *svar*. Insofar as every Kāṇva brāhmaṇa who had kindled his fires would repeat this formula twice a day during his performance of the *agnihotra* ritual, the terms used here would be decidedly familiar to him. Among the words recited in the *mantra*, the verb *upadadhāmi*, meaning "I place near," would be of particular religious import in the Kosala region.[650]

In the *agnihotra*, the cosmic movement of the sun and fire is illustrated by the images of impregnation and delivery.[651] Dumont described the *agnihotra* as a fertility charm,[652] and Gonda described the stages of the generative process.[653] Similarly, Bodewitz asserts,

> In fact the brāhmaṇas abound in passages which try to connect a particular ritual with fertility and procreation. Every couple in a brāhmaṇa text may be adduced to have a procreative function (the *mithuna*). However, secondary literature claims a special relationship between the agnihotra and fertility…disappearance of the sun and its reappearance from the dark night, which forms the central theme in the speculations on the agnihotra, was described with the image of conception and delivery.[654]

Whereas the fertility motif frequently occurs in the Yajurvedic texts, it is not found in the *agnihotra* sections of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*, both belonging to the Ṛgvedic tradition.[655] Similarly, the Jaiminīya *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* has hardly any references fertility and procreation: once it describes the sun as an embryo and once it identifies the *āhavanīya* fire as the divine womb.[656] However, already extent in the Yajurvedic *agnihotrabrāhmaṇas*, the fertility motif constitutes an important key to a philosophical interpretation of this twice-daily ritual.

The fertility motif in the Yajurvedic *agnihotrabrāhmaṇas* describes a seminal process. In the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*, Agni inseminates and Sūrya brings forth offspring:

> (With the formula) 'In Agni is the light, the light is in Agni' he should offer the agnihotra in the evening. With a speech which has something in the interior he produces an embryo; with a speech which consists of a pair he impregnates. (With the formula) 'Sūrya is the light, the light is Sūrya' (he offers) in the morning. With a speech which has something in the interior and which consists of a pair he procreates it (the embryo)…Agni is the one who inseminates, Sūrya the one who brings forth…Agni, having poured out the sun as seed, impregnates the night. He

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[649] Ganesh Thite, "Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra and the Kaṇva Tradition," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 21 (1979), 171-179: 173.

[650] This will be discussed in detail in the next part.

[651] Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 145.

[652] Dumont, *L'Agnihotra*, 7.

[653] Gonda mentions the role of the *prāṇa* and *apāna* breaths in this process. See Gonda, *The Mantras of the Agnyupasthāna and the Sautrāmaṇī*, 19.

[654] Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 147.

[655] Ibid., 150.

[656] "Having thus collected it he offers it (the sun) in the evening. It passes that night in the condition of an embryo..." *JB* 1.8. And, "Two wombs indeed, there are…The *āhavanīya* is the divine womb…" *JB* 1.17; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 146, 151-152; *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 36, 54.

engenders him in the morning with a speech which has something in the interior and consists of a pair. Along with and as a consequence of his being born offspring is born. He for whom the agnihotra is offered thus becomes prolific with offspring and cattle.[657]

The evening *mantra* expresses that the light (*jyotis*) is *in* Agni, whereas the morning *mantra* states that this light is the very sun.[658] From the evening *mantra*, Navathe concludes, "Agni is the origin of the Sun."[659] The text itself states that the *agnihotra* is creation.[660] It is significant here that the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* recognizes that the power of speech gives rise to a potentiality, an embryo. The night here represents the covering over of the embryonic potentials, what lies beyond ordinary consciousness as well as the undifferentiated unity. In addition, the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* considers milk to be a metaphor for Sūrya's seed and the boiling, rising milk to represent coming forth or production.[661] With these elements of speech, night, and the milk as a seed that grows, the earliest *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* contains essential motifs for its philosophical interpretation, but indirectly through metaphor.

The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* follows closely the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* in this regard. This text understands the *agnihotra* libation to be none other than the seed of the yonder sun, and adds that it must be cooked before offering:

> The seed of yonder sun is offered here. Uncooked it (would be) unfit for being offered. It should be offered at the moment when it is rising. For that is cooked, sacrificially pure, a mixture and procreative.[662]

Like the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā,* the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* describes the evening libation to Agni as a pouring out of seed, which impregnates the night with an embryo.[663] Reciting the formula, "Agni is the light, the light is Agni," places the seed between two lights.[664] The morning oblation to Sūrya engenders that embryo in the morning. This text states, "The *agnihotra* is the creation of offspring (*prajā*)."[665]

Similarly, the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* believes that the sacrificer inseminates by offering to Agni in the evening and produces offspring by offering to Sūrya in the morning. Although "offspring" has largely been understood to mean physical progeny, the Taittirīyas

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[657] *KS* 6.5; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 147.

[658] *agnau jyotir jyotir agnā iti sāyam agnihotram juhuyād… sūryo jyotir jyotis sūrya iti prātas | KS* 6.5.4, *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā: Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā 6.1-9; 7.1-11.* Ed. and trans. P.D. Navathe. (Pune: University of Poona: 1980), 8.

[659] P.D. Navathe, "Introduction," in *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā: Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā 6.1-9; 7.1-11.* Trans. P.D. Navathe. (Pune: University of Poona: 1980), ii.

[660] *…sṛṣṭir vā etad yad agnihotraṃ… | KS* 6.5.1, 6.7.3 | *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā*, 8, 11. Note: *reto vā etad yad agnihotraṃ … KS* 6.7.6, page 11. Navathe interprets *agnihotra* as the agnihotra milk here, page 45.

[661] *KS* 6.3:51.9-14, 6.7:56.15ff; *KS MS* 1.8.2:117.16-19; *ŚāṅkhB.* 2.1; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 34-35, 148.

[662] *MS* 1.8.2:117.17ff; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 148.

[663] *MS* 1.8.5:121.6ff: "The evening libation is sacred to Agni. Thereby he pours out seed. That pouring of seed makes the night pregnant with an embryo. By the (oblation) sacred to Sūrya he engenders that embryo in the morning." See Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihtora)*, 81. See also *MS* 1.8.5:121.1ff, 148-149.

[664] *MS* 1.6.10: 102.9ff; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihtora)*, 149.

[665] *sṛṣṭiḥ prajānām agnihotram | MS* 1.8.4; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.* Ed. Leopold von Schroeder. (Leipzig: Commissioned by F.A. Brockhaus, 1881), 119, line 9; *Bodewitz, The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihtora)*, 148.

state, "The offspring is light (*prajā́ jyótir*)."[666] This school explains an *agnihotra mantra* as follows:

> He offers with 'Agni is the light, the light is Agni, hail' in the evening. Thereby he inseminates. In the morning (he offers with) 'Sūrya is the light, the light is Sūrya, hail.' He progenerates what has been inseminated.[667]

The *agnyupasthāna* (worshiping or attending the fire) section of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* calls Agni the generative organ into which all seed is poured:

> He offers the agnihotra (oblation). Whatever forms the property (or: self) of the yajamāna, of that this (oblation) consists. He pours seed in the generative organ. For Agni is the generative organ. It also burns the plants in its nearness; thereupon these grow more numerous. In that he offers in the evening, thereby he pours the seed. By the morning (offering) he produces it.[668]

Unlike the Saṃhitā, the Brāhmaṇa identifies with Agni as the impregnator (*retodhā́ḥ*) of creatures that procreate at night:

> During the night the creatures procreate. In the daytime they secure a good position. In that he offers at night, thereby he procreates…He for whom knowing thus they offer the agnihotra after sunrise reproduces himself…Agni is indeed the impregnator.[669]

Agni's role as both womb and impregnator speaks to the reciprocal process indicated by the *agnihotra*. The *yajamāna* is said to reproduce himself when the *agnihotra* is performed for him. Such statements make clear that the fecundity alluded to by means of performing the *agnihotra* was not limited to reproducing the sunrise and sunset; the personal transformation of the sacrificer himself is implicit in this ritual.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states that the setting sun enters the fire, his womb (*yoni*), having become the embryo (*garbha*).[670] The Mādhyandina and Kāṇva recensions are very similar in this respect, adding to this description of the sun a statement about what is generated (*prajā*). Both version stress that just as the sun enters the fire and becomes an embryo, so too do all things that are generated become embryos. Their womb is none other than the fire. In their embryonic state, the light of the sun and all things generated are beyond sight (*tiras*), but incubating. In the morning, with the rising of the sun, the embryos are born. The duality of what is seen and unseen is emphasized in another Vājasaneyin passage that states that all that is generated (*prajā*) on this side of the sun is mortal, but those things generated on the other side of the sun are immortal *devas*.[671] The sun harnesses all *prajā* in vital breaths (*prāṇa*), rising them up and setting them down in Agni. Both

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[666] *TB* 2.1.2.10-12; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 82; Dumont, "The Agnihotra," 340, 342.

[667] *TB* 2.1.9.2; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 150. Note also *TB* 2.1.4.4: "In the evening he wipes off downwards. Thereby he inseminates seed. In the morning he wipes off upward. Thereby he produces offspring." The Taittirīyas add that the sacrificer offers as his oblation whatever forms the property of himself, repeating the same fertility statement about insemination in the evening and procreation in the morning.

[668] *TS* 1.5.9.1; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 149.

[669] *TB* 2.1.2.7ff; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 149.

[670] *ŚBM* 2.3.1.3-55; *ŚBK* 1.3.1.1-2; *Bodewitz, The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 145.

[671] *ŚBM* 2.3.3.7-9 and *ŚBK* 3.1.9.1-3.

recensions state that the *agnihotra* establishes the sacrificer on all four feet, but only the Kāṇva Brāhmaṇa adds a section about the sun who, rising up and taking the sacrificer with him, tells the sacrificer that this is his *ātman*.[672] In the place of this statement, the Mādhyandina text says that the *agnihotra* is to sacrifices what the arrow-head is to the arrow.[673] Only the Kāṇva version, then, connects the sacrificer's body with the yonder world. After this variant reading, both recensions then state that like two wheels of a chariot, day and night rotating around and around exhaust the merit (*sukṛta*) of a man until he looks into (*pratyava+√īkṣ*), and can see for himself, the two turning.[674]

  This passage in the *Śatapatha* finds variants in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, as noted by Bodewitz, and in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*.[675] In the Jaiminīya passage, the sacrificer establishes himself on all four and rises on the sun as on an elephant. In this way, the sun makes the sacrificer go to his own world.[676] Whereas in the *Śatapatha* the sun announces to the *yajamāna* that the yonder world is his *ātman*, in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* the sacrificer is to announce himself to the sun:

> "Ka (who) am I, thou art heaven. As such I have gone to thee, the heavenly heaven." Prajāpati indeed is Ka and he who knows thus is suvargas (heaven; sun). For he goes to heaven (*suvar gacchati*). To him he (the sun) says: "Who thou art, that one am I. Who I am, that one thou art. Come."[677]

That the Jaiminīya text adds this speech that the sacrificer must know and recite distinguishes this episode from the one in the *Śātapatha*. Another passage in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* states that offering in the *āhavanīya*, the sacrificer emits his Self in the divine womb so that his (second) Self comes into existence in the yonder sun.[678] Whereas the *Śatapatha* explains that day and night exhaust a man's merit, the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* states that day and night are two repeated dyings.[679] Compare this with the description of day and night as a flood in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*:

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[672] Having taken that [body of the yajamāna], he rises. By the other, he [sun] forms (*saṃ√skṛ*) his own self (*ātman*). When he goes to that world, then having taken him [sacrificer] up, he [sun] rises. Full of libations and full of merit (*sukṛtamaya*), he [āditya] calls, "This is your body [ātman]." He calls. Therefore, they are called acts of calling (*āhūti*). Acts of calling verily they say are called "libations" (*āhuti*). *tam eṣa ādāyodayate sa pareṇāsyaitam ātmānaṁ saṁskaroti sa yad āmuṃ lokam ety athainam eṣa ādāyodayate taṃ eṣa āhutimayaḥ sukṛtamaya ātmāhvayaty ehy ayaṃ ta ātmeti sa yad āhvayati tasmād āhūtayo nāmāhūtayo ha vai nāmaitad yad āhutaya ity āhurata … ‖ ŚBK 3.1.9.3 ‖*

[673] *ŚBM* 2.3.3.10.

[674] This is a precursor to the concept of *saṃsāra*. *ŚBM* 2.3.3.11-12 and *ŚBK* 3.1.9.3. Regarding day and night as wheels, see also *AB* 5.30. *The Rigveda Brahmanas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda*. Trans. A.B. Keith. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), 254.

[675] *JB* 1.11 states, "Nagarin Jānaśruteya said: 'The sun here enters its place of rest, when it sets.' By offering the two evening libations he establishes himself on the back of this sun. It is like getting a foothold with both feet. When now he offers these two morning libations, it lifts him up by means of these two. As an elephant rises together with the one who is sitting on the elephant-seat, even so this deity rises together with him who, knowing thus, offers (the agnihotra)...." See Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 156.

[676] *JB* 1.11; See *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 42.

[677] *JB* 1.18; *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 54-55.

[678] *JB* 17-18; *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 13, 54.

[679] *JB* 1.13; *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 46. According to *VādhS* 3.27, day and night constitute two re-dyings. See Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 157.

Night and day are the flood that takes all; the two twilights are the fordable crossings of it; just as a man may cross the flood by the two fordable crossings, so is it in that he offers at the twilight…In the morning before sunrise, when the darkness has been smitten away, at this time should he offer; this is the time of going to the gods; grasping it he reaches safely the world of heaven.[680]

The rotation of day and night is a flood, a process that destroys one's store of good acts and leads to repeated death. Whereas all three texts speak of day and night in opposition to reaching the yonder world, only the *Śatapatha* introduces the concept of merit and looking into the rotation of day and night.[681]

Many of the *Śatapatha's* seeming innovations that make psychological connections explicit build on ideas found in earlier *agnihotrabrāhmaṇas*, like the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*. The latter records the myth that formerly there was no night, only day, until the *devas* decided to conceal the present (*adya*) by creating night.[682] Since night hid the cattle from the *devas*, the *devas* attended (*upa+√sthā*) to Agni with Vedic meters. Because the demons entered the night, the *devas* asked Indra to penetrate the night. After Agni praised Indra, the latter overcame all dangers. Likewise, the demons have no power over the *yajamāna* who attends to Agni. The *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā's* reference to the power of speech to generate an embryo may have been the basis for the *Śatapatha's* subsequent, explicit identification of speech with one of the libations. However, the identification of the one of the libations with the mind is the original contribution of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[683] Building on the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, the Vājasaneyins further interpret the recitation of the *mantra* "Agni is light…" or "Sūrya is light…" to induce procreative actions.[684] Specifically, uttering these *mantras* envelops the two lights, which are called semen, from both sides just as semen enveloped on both sides becomes an embryo, and causes it to be born.[685] Like the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* and

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[680] *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* 2.9. See *The Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, 356.

[681] *ŚBM* 2.3.3.11-12 and *ŚBK* 3.1.9.3.

[682] *ahar vāvāsīn na rātrī, sā yamī brātaraṃ mṛtaṃ nāmṛṣyata, tāṃ yad pṛcchan "yami karhi te brātāmṛte" ty "dye"ty evābravīt, te devā abruvann 'ntar dadhāmedaṃ, rātrīṃ karavāme'ti, te rātrīm akurvaṃs, te rātryāṃ bhūtāyāṃ paśūn nāpaśyan sāven 'na vai paśyantī'ti, sā na vyaucchad, reklasyat paśuṣu, tāṃ devā icchantaḥ plyāyanta tāṃśa chandobhiranvapaśyaṃs, tasmāc chandobhir naktam agnir upastheyaḥ paśūnām anukṣātyai, nāsmāt paśavas tirobhavanti ya evaṃ veda, sāveda 'nu vā akhyanniti, sā vyaucchat, te devā abruvan namā vai no vasvabhūd iti, sāmāvasyā, mā ha vā asya vasu bhavati vindate 'nyasya vasu nāsyānyo vasu vindate ya evaṃ vidvān agnim upatiṣṭhate, devā vā ahno rakṣāṃsi niraghnaṃs, tāṃ devā na vyetum adhṛṣṇuvaṃs, ta indrabruvaṃs, "tvaṃ vain a ojiṣṭho 'si tvam imāṃ vīhīti, "stuta me" tyabravīn, "nāstuto vīryaṃ kartum arhāmīti, te 'bruvann "eṣa te 'gnir nediṣṭhaṃ sa tvā stautv iti, tam agnir astaut, sa stutas sarvā mṛdhas sarvā nāṣṭrās sarvāṇi rakṣāṃsy atarad indro yajamāna, yad agnim upatiṣṭhate sarvā eva mṛdhas sarvā nāṣṭrās sarvāṇi rakṣāṃsi tarati, nāsya naktaṃ rakṣāṃsīśate ya evaṃ veda, tvaṣṭā vai bhūtvā prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata, tvaṣṭā yajamānas, say ad vācāvadat tad abhavad, yad vai vācā vadati tad bhavati, yad yad eva vācā vadati tat tad bhavati tat tat sṛjate | KS* 7.10; *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā*, 26, 65-66.

[683] *ŚBM* 2.3.1.17 and *ŚBK* 1.3.1.10.

[684] *…agnir jyotir jyotir agniḥ svāhā ‖ iti tat sāyaṃ jyotiṣā reto madhyato dadhati ‖ sūryo jyotir jyotiḥ sūryaḥ svāhā ‖ iti prātas tat sāyaṃ jyotiṣā reto madhyato hitaṃ… ‖ MS* 1.6.10 ‖ *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, 102, lines 11-13; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 149.

[685] *…agnir jyotir jyotir agniḥ svāheti tad idaṃ jyotī reta ubhayato devatayā parigṛhṇāty ubhayataḥ parigṛhītaṃ hi retaḥ prajāyata ity ubhayata evaitat parigṛhya prajanayati sūryo jyotir jyotiḥ sūryaḥ svāheti tad idaṃ jyotī reta ubhayato devatayā parigṛhṇāty ubhayataḥ parigṛhītaṃ hi retaḥ prajāyata ity ubhayata evaitat parigṛhya prajanayati ‖ ŚBK* 1.3.1.22 ‖ See also *ŚBM* 2.3.1.32-34.

the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, the Vājasaneyins recite a *mantra* for reaching the far shore of the night during the *agnyupasthāna*, performed as an optional concluding rite of the evening *agnihotra*.[686]

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* contrast what lies on this side of the sun with what is beyond the sun. In the *Śatapatha*, anything generated on this side of the sun is mortal, whereas those on the far side of the sun are immortal.[687] Similarly, in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, immortality said to be on the yonder side of the sun, while mortality is on this side of the sun. According to this passage,

> …Whatever is beyond the sun, that is immortality. That he wins. And whatever is on this side of the sun, night and day carry this off from here, just as a whirlwind may carry off.[688]

The Jaiminīyas say that day and night are on this side of the sun.[689] Only in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* sees the *agnihotra* as a boat (*nauḥ*) by which the *agnihotrin* may become established in the *svarga loka*.[690] In contrast, the later *Vādhūla Sūtra* twice calls the kindling stick a boat.[691]

Present implicitly from the very beginning, the psychological dimension of the *agnihotra* ritual is made explicit through the *bandhus* articulated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. By establishing the libations to be equal to the mind and speech and directly identifying what is generated (*prajā*)—in certain contexts—with light energy rather than mere physical progeny, the *Śatapatha* significantly adds to the traditional interpretations of the ritual. Some philosophical aspects put forward for the first time by the Vājasaneyins include: 1) equating the first and second libations with the *ātman* and what is generated (*prajā*), 2) equating light with semen, 3) emphasizing "looking into" (*pratyava+√īkṣ*) the turning of day and night like the wheels of a chariot, and 4) describing the *agnihotra* as a boat that takes the sacrificer to safety. The innovations of the Kāṇvas include the formula for laying down the kindling stick beginning with "*svargyāṁ svargāyopadadhāmi…*" and the reference to the sun rising up with the sacrificer to his *ātman*. These shed further light on the philosophical import of the ritual. Due to these significant variations, the Kāṇva *agnihotra* deserves to be carefully studied separately.

This following section analyzes the philosophical aspect of two ritual practices in Kosala based on the first seven and the last *kāṇḍas* (large section) of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*ŚBK*). These *kāṇḍas* are attributed to Yājñavalkya, the founder of the

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[686] …*citrāvaso svasti te pāram aśīya…* | *KS* 6.9.15 | *TS* 1.5.7.5 | *VS* 3.3.10 | *ŚBK* 1.4.1.17 | *SBM* 2.3.4.22 | *Taittirīya Saṃhitā: With the Padapāṭha and the Commentaries of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra and Sāyaṇācārya.* Vol. 1, part II (Kāṇḍa I Prapāṭhakas V-VIII). Ed. N.S. Sontakke and T.N. Dharmadhikari. (Poona: Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, 1972), 53. See also Kashikar's comments on the agnyupasthāna in his review of Bodewitz, 297.

[687] *eṣa vāva mṛtyur ya eṣa tapati tasmād yā ato 'rvācyaḥ prajās tā martyā atha yāḥ parācyas tā amṛtās tasyaitasya mṛtyor imāḥ prajāḥ prāṇeṣu raśmibhir abhihitā yathāśvo raśanayābhihitaḥ syād …* *ŚBK* 3.1.9.1 | See also *ŚBK* 3.2.6.2 and *ŚBM* 2.3.3.7.

[688] JB 1.11; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 156; *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* I,1-65, 42.

[689] See also *TB* 3.10.11.2 and *ŚBM* 2.3.3.11, cited by Bodewitz in *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 43.

[690] *ŚBK* 3.1.11.3, *ŚBM* 2.3.3.15-16; Renou, *Vedic India*, 31. However, the *yajña* is called a boat (*eṣā naur yad yajñaḥ*) in *JB* 1.166.

[691] *VādhS*. 3.31 and 3.39; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihtora)*, 90, 94.

Vājasaneyin School. The first seven *kāṇḍas* cover basic rituals, including establishing the fire, the *agnihotra*, the *darśapūrṇamāsa iṣṭis*, the *soma yajña*, the *vājapeya*, and the *rājasūya*.[692] The last *kāṇḍa* consists of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. The historically later "Śāṇḍilya" section (*ŚBK* 8-12) is not taken up here because Frits Staal has studied the *agnicayana* ritual in detail and Tull has articulated a theory of *karma* therein. Moreover, since Weber and Witzel have shown that this section is associated with tribes from the northwest, it does not fit strictly within the scope of Kosalan philosophy.[693] According to Caland, *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa kāṇḍas* 13-15, which also feature Yājñavalkya's teachings, probably originally belonged to the Kāṇvas.[694] Not only on account of the sheer volume of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, but also because Eggeling considers these to be later additions to the text, *kāṇḍas* 13-16 are not covered.[695] This dissertation is based on the Kāṇva recension, which differs from the Mādhyandina in the Yājñavalkya sections (*ŚBK* 1-7, *ŚBM* 1-5), but is virtually identical in the later books.[696]

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[692] Shrava 24; Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, Third Ed. (London, 1982), 131-132 and Eggeling vol. 1, 31.
[693] In sections 8-12, only northwestern tribes are mentioned, like the Gandhāras, the Salvas, and the Kekayas. See Weber, 132.
[694] This corresponds to *ŚBM* 11-13. W. Caland, "Introduction," in *The Śatapatha Brāhmana in the Kāṇvīya recension.* Ed. W. Caland. (Lahore: Motilal Banarsidass, 1926), 108.
[695] Kāṇḍa 13 in *ŚBK* (11 in *SBM*) further expounds the *agnihotra*. Gonda notes that the *agnihotra* promotes the rising of a new *loka*. He translates Janaka responds to Yājñavalkya (*ŚBM* 11.6.2.4), "Not even you (know) either the ascension (*utkrāntim*), or the course to the goal (*gatim*), or the foundation (*pratiṣṭhām*), or the satisfaction (*tṛptim*), or the return (*punarāvṛttim*) or the 'world' which rises again (*lokam pratyutthāyinam*, "renascent world", Eggeling) of these two (libations of the agnihotra)." See *Loka*, 48-49.
[696] Stephanie W. Jamison, *The Ravenous Hyenas and the Wounded Sun*: *Myth and Ritual in Ancient India*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 13. In *Mantra Interpretation in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* Gonda states that the ŚB represents a later redaction of an earlier text to which both the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva editions refer.

Chapter Four, Part C
Karma as Rite and Retribution:
Mechanisms of Causation in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*

yajño vai karma | Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 2.1.2.3[697] |

"The mortal who with the kindling stick (*samidh*), who with the oblation
(*āhuti*), who with the Vedas, serves Agni, who with reverence performs
sacrifice properly, assuredly quickly speed his steeds, most brilliant is his
splendor. No anxiety (*aṃhas*) made by the devas or the humans may reach
him from anywhere" (*Ṛgveda* 8.19.5-6).[698]

Scholars disagree about the origin of *karma*. The Sanskrit word *karma* means
"action," derived from the verbal root √*kṛ*, "to do." To this basic signified, a number of
surplus meanings have been added, which makes the philosophical concept difficult to
define.[699] While in Vedic tradition *karma* means a ritual act, later the term *karma* came to
mean, as Goldman defines, "a system of beliefs that see the physical, social, and moral
condition of an individual as the result of actions performed by that individual in the
past."[700] On one hand, some like Basham claim that *karma* did not develop directly from
Vedic religion.[701] Obeyesekere contends, "There are virtually no references to rebirth or to
an ethical notion of karma in the Vedas or in the Brāhmaṇas."[702] Bronkhorst concurs,
"Vedic literature is not the place to look for the origins of the belief in karmic
retribution."[703] In his view, Vedic literature does not know the doctrine of *karma* except in
its most recent parts, which added the doctrine of karma "in an attempt to counter the claim
of its non-Brahmanical origin."[704] According to Obeyesekere's theory, *karma* emerged from
the tribal belief in rebirth—common in tribal religions all over the world—which
transformed due to historical conditions into a karmic eschatology.[705] Bronkhorst posits that
the ascetic movements of Buddhism, Jainism, and Ājīvikaism in Greater Magadha are
responsible for the emergence of this concept circa the sixth century BCE. He argues,
"Buddhism has not borrowed the belief in rebirth and karmic retribution from the early

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[697] *ŚBK* 2.1.2.3 corresponds to *ŚBM* 1.1.2.1.

[698] *yáḥ samídhā yá áhutī yó védena dadáśa márto agnáye | yó námasā suadhvaráḥ ‖ RV* 8.19.5 ‖ *tásyéd árvanto
raṃhayanta āśávas tásya dyumnítamaṃ yáśaḥ | ná tám áṃho devákṛtaṃ kútaś caná ná mártiyakṛtaṃ naśat* ‖ 6 ‖

[699] For example, A.K. Ramanujan defines *karma* as causality, ethics, and rebirth, while Charles Keyes
considers the causal dimensions, both past and future, as well as morality as constituent of *karma*. See Wendy
Doniger, "Introduction," in *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions*. Ed. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty.
(Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1980, reprint 2007), xi.

[700] Robert Goldman, "Karma, Guilt, and Buried Memories: Public Fantasy and Private Reality in Traditional
India*," Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, no. 3, Indological Studies Dedicated to Daniel H.H.
Ingalls, (Jul.-Sept. 1985): 413-425, 414. http://www.jstor.org/stable/601518. Accessed 8/31/09.

[701] A.L. Basham, *The Origins and Development of Classical Hinduism*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 42-43.

[702] Gananath Obeyesekere, *Imagining Karma: Ethical Transformation in Amerindian, Buddhist, and Greek
Rebirth.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 1.

[703] Bronkhorst, *Karma*, 3.

[704] Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 176, 126, 130.

[705] Doniger, "Introduction," xiii; Obeyesekere, *Imagining Karma,* 18.

Upaniṣads. Rather, each has borrowed these notions from the spiritual culture of Greater Magadha which preceded both in time."[706] Gombrich, in contrast, maintains that *karma* was first ethicized in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya Upaniṣads*, but he and Norman argue that when the Buddha said that *karma* means intention (*cetanā*), the doctrine of *karma* as ritual act was turned on its head by emphasizing individual conscience and denying soteriological results in Vedic rituals.[707]

Other scholars have argued that there exist Vedic antecedents for the *karma* doctrine. Betty Heimann traced *karma* to the Ṛgvedic concepts of Varuṇa and *ṛtá*.[708] Doniger considers the *śrāddha* offering, in which the *piṇḍa* is offered to deceased ancestors, as the Vedic basis for the transactional *karma* model.[709] Tull posits that the *karma* doctrine was established in the Vedic tradition, even if all its structures were not originally Vedic.[710] In his view, "the Upaniṣad doctrine of *karma* stands on the ideological foundation of the cosmic man mythology," upon which the *agnicayana* sacrifice is based.[711] Lévi, Krishan, and Heesterman find clear evidence for transmigration in Vedic literature.[712] Lévi asserts, "La vie du sacrifice est donc une série infinite de morts et de naissances, son oeuvre aussi forme un cercle sans fin."[713] Krishan argues that the essential features of the *karma* doctrine exist in embryonic form in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, but this formulation differs from the classical one.[714] He bases his evidence for the early doctrine in the concept of *iṣṭāpūrta*, which he defines as "that merit which he had accumulated through sacrifice" and is kept in the highest heaven.[715] Krishan summarizes the Vedic notion of *karma* as the performance of

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[706] Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha*, 176.

[707] *cetanāhaṃ bhikkhave kammaṃ vadāmi │ A* 3.415 │ Norman, "Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism," 197, footnote 23; Richard Gombrich, "Notes on the Brahmanical Background to Buddhist Ethics," in *Buddhist Studies in Honor of Hammalava Saddhatissa*. Ed. Gatare Dhammapala, Richard Gombrich, K.R. Norman, 99-102. (Nugegoda: Guhyaprajñāmitra, 1984), 91, 95, 100; Richard Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism: A social history from ancient Benares to modern Colombo.* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988), 66, 68, 72.

[708] Katre, 81.

[709] Doniger, "Introduction," xv-xvi.

[710] Herman W. Tull, *The Vedic Origins of Karma: Cosmos as Man in Ancient Indian Myth and Ritual.* (New York: State Univeristy of New York Press, 1989), 7.

[711] Tull, 71.

[712] "Meet with the Pitṛs, with Yama, with what is stored from what has been offered (*iṣṭāpūrtá*), in the highest heaven. In this way, having abandoned what is blameworthy, come home again and meet with your body full of vital power." *sáṃ gachasva pitṛ́bhiḥ sáṃ yaména iṣṭāpūrténa paramé víoman │ hitvā́yāvadyám púnar ástam éhi sáṃ gachasva tanúvā suvárcāḥ ‖ ṚV* 10.14.8 ‖ See also Yuvaraj Krishan, *The Doctrine of Karma: Its Origins and Development in Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina Traditions.* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1997), 4-5.

[713] Realizing his identity with the universe, the sacrificer "performs through the sacrifice the cyclical rhythm of the universe in a series of deaths and birth; again and again he enters as an embryo upon the dīkṣā to be reborn out of the sacrifice." Heesterman explains that the successive stages of the *rājasūya* represent ever repeated cosmic births. The Vedic concept of rebirth is far more sophisticated than some Indologists' obsession with the afterlife. Sylvain Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas.* Second Edition. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 81; J.C. Heesterman, *On the Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, 6-7. See also Tull, 106; JUB 3.11.2-4. Note that Keith opined that the Brāhmaṇas do not know the doctrine of transmigration. See Keith, *Religion and Philosophy*, 441-442.

[714] Krishan, 3, 10-11. The concepts of evil (*pāpa*), sin (*āgas*), and merit (*sukṛta, puṇya*) are found in the *ṚV*.

[715] *ṚV* 10.14.8, *TS* 5.7.7.2, *AV* 18.2.57; Krishan, 5.

iṣṭi or *yajña karma*: the production of invisible (*adṛṣṭa*) merit that is stored up (*āpūrta*) in *svarga*, transmigration of the *ātman* after death from earth to *svarga*, and the enjoyment of merit stored up in heaven by the soul.[716] With Gombrich, he contends that the Upaniṣads transformed the *yajña karma* into an ethically retributive *karma*.[717] This chapter argues that the concept of *karma* as retribution came to be used as a shorthand for Vedic rites and *mantras* that train the sacrificer to observe energies or powers that play an underlying role in generating sensory experience. Sensory experience refers to the perception generated by the five senses and the mind. These powers are expressed metaphorically and the metaphors form a system, what Lakoff describes as "Resources for Understanding."[718] Already the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explicates the relationship of these metaphorical concepts through explanatory connections (*bandhu*) and mythological narratives. The *agnihotra* ritual and Sāvitrī *mantra* recitation practice demonstrate two causal mechanisms at the heart of Vedic teaching, advancing the theory that Vedic thought is the source of the philosophical *karma* doctrine.

Section I: The Agnihotra

To perform the *agnihotra*, the *agnihotrin* first maintains the *śrauta* fires by adding fuel, heats (usually) milk on the *gārhapatya* fire, and offers two oblations (*āhuti*) in the *āhavanīya* fire.[719] He performs this ritual twice a day, once when the sun has just set and then again just before sunrise.[720] For a brāhmaṇa to act as the *yajamāna* (the main offering priest) of any other more complex *yajña* (offering) requires maintaining the fires and performing this offering everyday from the time his ritual fires are kindled at marriage until he or his wife dies. Oldenberg and Kashikar posit that originally the *agnihotra* referred to maintaining the fires, and Navathe contends that it still does.[721] Kashikar argues on basis of the Kaṭha School's *agnyupasthāna* (the sacrificer's prayers during the evening *agnihotra* to Agni), that the *agnihotra* was an offering to Agni for protection through the night. Whereas Dumont considered the *agnihotra* a solar and fertility charm, Bodewitz suggests that sunrise

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[716] Krishan, 29.

[717] Ibid., xi.

[718] Alternatively, Resources for Perception. George Lakoff, conversation. UC Berkeley, 24 September 2014.

[719] For variations on the oblation material, see *ŚBK* 3.1.4.3; also *KS* 6,3:52.10ff, *MS* 1.8.3:118.6f, *TB* 2.1.5.5, *ŚāṅkhB* 2.1. Note that Kashikar states, "it can hardly be contended that milk was the original oblation. The Brāhmaṇas have mentioned several other oblations like *yāvāgū*, etc. side by side with milk." See C.G. Kashikar's Review of H.W. Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra) According to the Brāhmaṇas*. In *ABORI* 60, no. 1/4 (1979), 295-298: 296-297. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41692343.

[720] This is according to *ŚBK* 1.3.1.1, but see also 1.3.1.4 and 1.3.1.24. Dumont observes that the precise time of the offering is subject to controversy. Bodewitz provides the corresponding passages relating to when to perform the *agnihotra*. See Dumont, "The Agnihotra," 353.; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)* 41-50; Bodewitz, *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 29-30.

[721] Bodewitz, 3; C.G. Kashikar, Review of *The Daily Evening and Morning (Agnihotra) According to the Brāhmaṇas* by H.W. Bodewitz. *ABORI* 60, no. 1/4. (1979): 295-298, 297. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41692343. Accessed 2/10/2014; P.D. Navathe, "Introduction," in *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā*, iii. Navathe cites *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* 6.1.

and sunset are the central function of the *agnihotra*.[722] This section explains in detail the metaphorical interpretation of the ancient *karma* or rite called the *agnihotra* as explained in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (hereafter referred to as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*).

In Vedic tradition, *karma* as ritual act often took the form of a *yajña*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* provides the following etymology of *yajña*: "When they spread him [*soma*], then that one is born who is being spread. Therefore, it is called *yañ-jo* and what is *yañ-jo* they call '*yajña*.'"[723] Described in this way, the *yajña* refers to a process in which something is extended that leads to the production of something else. The *yajña* is an exchange, both of tangible sacrificial oblations and of intangible energies that are stored in an invisible, embryonic form until they are born, i.e. they generate cognition. The Brāhmaṇa registers the psychological dimension of *yajña* in numerous ways. For example with regard to the *soma yajña* it is said, "I perform the offering with the mind"[724] and "The *yajña* is born from the mind."[725] In the same way, the sacrificer makes the *yajña* in himself (*ātman*).[726] The *yajña* is an offering, both in terms of the external ritual practice of pouring oblations into the fire and the internal presentation of unmanifest energies into the sense faculties and, as a consequence, the corresponding offering of manifest sensory experience into the unmanifest.

According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, **"**Yājñavalkya said, 'The *agnihotra* is not to be considered a *yajña*. It is verily a cooked offering (*pākayajña*) as it were.'"[727] Bodewitz

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[722] Dumont writes, "Ce charme solaire a vraisemblablement pour but non seulement d'aider le soleil à se lever, mais aussi de l'aider dans son éternelle course quotidienne, de l'est à l'ouest pendent le jour, et de l'ouest à l'est (alors qu'il est invisible) pendant la nuit." See Dumont, *L'Agnihotra*, viii; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 145.

[723] *yaṃ vai(yanvai) taj jāyate yat tāyamānaḥ | tasmād yañjo nāma yañjo ha vai nāmaitad yad yajña ity āhuḥ | ŚBK* 4.9.4.19 | Citing the *Dhātupāṭha*, Sharma describes three aspects of giving (√ *yaj*): 1) *deva pūjā* or venerating the *śakti* or *tejas* within the *deva*, 2) *saṃgati karaṇa* or becoming one with the divine energies (*cit-śakti*), and 3) *dāna* or giving without any selfishness. Dr. H.R. Sharma is a retired Sanskrit professor from Banaras Hindu University, whom I met in Varanasi in December 2012; Nicolas Kazanas, *Indo-Aryan Origins and Other Vedic Issues*. (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2009), 89-90.

[724] *juhomi manasā | ŚBK* 5.3.1.2 |

[725] *yajñaṃ manasa iti | ŚBK* 4.1.3.17-18 |

[726] "He holds this *yajña* that is invisible/beyond, [saying,] "Svāhā! The yajña from the mind." He holds this from the mind. "Svāhā from the vast intermediate space!" He holds this [yajña] from this vast intermediate space. "Svāhā! From the sky and earth!" He begins this with these two, sky and earth. All this is on (*adhi*) those two. "Svāhā from the wind!" He says. He makes his own. He makes this in himself (*ātman*). Having made the *yajña* in himself (*ātman*), "May I be consecrated!" Then he restrains his speech (*vāc*). The yajña is verily speech (*vāc*). Having made the *yajña* into himself (*ātman*), [he says,] "May I be consecrated!" *devā hi yajñaḥ parokṣam iva hi devā yajñam evaitat parokṣam ārabhate svāhā yajñaṃ manasa iti tad enaṃ manasa ārabhate svāhororantarikṣād iti tad enam asmād uruṇo 'ntarikṣād ārabhate svāhā dyāvāpṛthivībhyām iti tad enam ābhyāṃ dyāvāpṛthivībhyām ārabhate yayor idaṃ sarvam adhi svāhā vātād ārabha ity ayaṃvāva yajño yo 'yaṃ pavate tad enaṃ pratyakṣam ārabhate sa yat svāhā svāhety āha svīkuruta evainam etad ātmany evainam etat kuruta ātmani yajñaṃ kṛtvā dīkṣā ity atha vācaṃ yacchati vāg vai yajña ātmani yajñaṃ kṛtvā dīkṣā iti(i) ǁŚBK 4.1.3.18ǁ*

[727] *tad u hovāca yājñavalkyo na yajño mantavā agnihotraṃ pākayajña ivaiveti … ŚBK* 1.3.1.13 | M: *mantavai*; S: *mantavyaḥ* | 413. See also ŚBK 3.1.11.6; *ŚBM* 2.3.1.21. Like the Vājasaneyins, the *MS* (1.8.2:117.17ff) also describes the cooked aspect of the *agnihotra* oblation: "The seed of yonder sun is offered here. Uncooked it (would be) unfit for being offered. It should be offered at the moment when it is rising. For that is cooked, sacrificially pure, a mixture and procreative." See Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 148; Renou, "Les Relations du Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa avec la Bṛhadāraṇyaopaniṣad et la personalite de Yājñavalkya," *Indian Culture* XIV, no. 4 (April-June 1948)," 81.

explains that the *agnihotra* is technically a *pākayajña* rather than a (*śrauta*) *haviryajña*, because part of the oblation is not offered, but eaten by the performer.[728] In this sense, the verbal root √*pac* from which "cooked" (*pāka*) is derived is the same one from which "ripened" (*vipāka*) is derived in the later notion of ripened *karma*.[729] Although milk is offered into Agni during the performance of this ritual, metaphorically the milk represents the sun and, as Jurewicz aptly observed, the fire is a metaphor for cognition. The sun in turn stands for the sacrificer's conditioned space that is still unmanifest. It is the locus of all his generative powers that have yet to produce conscious experience. Cognition stands for the moments when the generative power, metaphorically described as rays of light, from the unmanifest enters his conscious mind to produce experience. The sun does not directly produce experience, however. Its energy changes in the mind when the cognition emerges. The cooking of the milk on the *gārhapatya* fire refers to the transformation of the energies from the unmanifest and the consequent production of sensory experience. The cooked oblation, which stands for what was cognized, is then offered into the *āhavanīya* fire and conveyed by Agni back to the sun where it incubates in the unmanifest. This reciprocal process is an exchange of energy that is enacted ritually in the *agnihotra*.

The *agnihotra* is conceived of as the sun (*sūrya*, *āditya*) and vital breath (*prāṇa*), both apt vehicles for cyclical processes because the sun rises and sets and breath goes in and out.[730] In the *Ṛgveda*, the sun is described as a single wheel.[731] In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the rotating of night and day is said to exhaust (√*kṣi*) the merit (*sukṛta*) of a man.[732] Day corresponds to the manifestation of generative power in the mind, whereas night symbolizes a cover over the embryonic energies yet to manifest in consciousness. Elsewhere the unmanifest is described as a body (*ātman*) made of libations (*āhutimaya*) and merit (*sukṛtamaya*) in the yonder world.[733] This *ātman* informs cognition, but remains invisible. Only when the sacrificer can see day and night rotating like the wheels of a chariot, does their rotation not exhaust his merit.[734] Day and night, like sunrise and sunset, are metaphors for the light that constantly manifests in consciousness and the darkness of not seeing what has been placed in the unmanifest. Seeing the two rotate can be understood as directly

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[728] See Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 199, note 1.

[729] Rolland translates *pākayajña* as "sacrifices de maturité," while Smith contends that *pāka* in domestic ritualism is derived from √*pā* "to suck" and not from √*pac* "to cook." Knipe interprets "*pakana*" in *sthali-pakana* as "cooked." The *agnihotra* in the *Śatapatha* is *śrauta* and not "domestic" in the sense that it requires more than one fire. See Pierre Rolland, "Introduction," to *Un Rituel Domestique Védique: Le Vārāhagṛhyasūtra.* Trans. Pierre Rolland. (Gap: Ophrys, 1971), 20; Brian K. Smith, *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual, and Religion.* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1989), 160-168; David M. Knipe, *Vedic Voices: Intimate Narratives of a Living Andhra Tradition.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 189.

[730] *sūryo ha vā agnihotraṃ* | *ŚBK* 1.3.1.1 | *prāṇa evāgnihotram* | 3.1.4.4 |

[731] *ṚV* 1.164.11, 1.175.4, 4.30.4; Jamison and Brereton, Vol. 1, 351. For "wheel of the sun," see *ṚV* 4.28.2, 5.29.10 and Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 31.

[732] … *ahorātre vai parivartamāne puruṣasya sukṛtaṃ kṣiṇutaḥ* … | *ŚBK* 3.1.9.3 | Note that this *kārikā* is repeated verbatim in *ŚBK* 3.2.6.3.

[733] *tam eṣa ādāyodayate sa pareṇāsyaitam ātmānaṁ saṁskaroti sa yad āmuṃ lokam ety athainam eṣa ādāyodayate tam eṣa āhutimayaḥ sukṛtamaya ātmāhvayatyehyayaṃ ta ātmeti* … *ŚBK* 3.1.9.3 |

[734] …*sa yathā rathena dhāvayann atha cakre parivartamāne pratyavekṣetaivaṁ hāhorātre parivartamāne pratyavekṣate tasya ha nāhorātre sukṛtaṃ kṣiṇuto 'kṣīyaṁ ha yayati ya evam etad veda* | *ŚBK* 3.1.9.3 |

seeing the input of unmanifest energies in cognition and consciously controlling what cognition is generated and offered into the unmanifest.

According to the *Śatapatha's agnihotrabrāhmaṇa*, the sun is death, the place where what is generated (*prajā*) accumulates.[735] The sun acts as a kind of locus for recording past experience, which then is said to be harnessed by sunrays in vital breaths (*prāṇa*). The Brāhmaṇa states,

> This one who heats is indeed death (*mṛtyu*). Therefore, those *prajās* being on this side of it are mortal. And those who are on the far side are undying. These *prajās* of that death are harnessed in vital breaths by rays of light (*raśmi*), just as the horse would be harnessed by a rein.[736]

The term *prajā* here refers to an energy generated through perception that influences later perception. Elsewhere the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to *prajā* as living beings, literally what has come into existence (*bhūta*) either physically as progeny or mentally as cognition.[737] Favoring an internal interpretation of *prajā*, Prajāpati tells the humans that their *prajā* are their death.[738] Like Varuṇa, Rudra, Indra, and Mitra, the sacrificer strikes down the *prajā* in order to expand his perspectival scope.[739] Everything generated on this side of the sun, meaning in the conditioned world, must die, but those on the far side are undying. The *prajā* on the far side are undying because they are precreative potentialities. Even these, however, are channeled through light conveyed in *prāṇa*.[740] Once they come into being, the *prajā* must eat or perish.[741] The *Śatapatha* goes on to say that the *devas* made that yonder *devaloka* through their ritual offering, and, "For this reason, they [beings] subsist on the strength (*ūrj*) that comes hither from that yonder world."[742] Both the *prajā* and the strength are said to come from the yonder world and serve as the food on which consciousness feeds or by which it is devoured. What is generated (*prajā*) in sensory

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[735] Bodewitz points out that the sun, Agni, night and day were regarded as death. See page 158.

[736] *eṣa vāva mṛtyur ya eṣa tapati tasmād yā ato 'rvācyaḥ prajās tā martyā atha yāḥ parācyas tā amṛtās tasyaitasya mṛtyor imāḥ prajāḥ prāṇeṣu raśmibhir abhihitā yathāśvo raśanayābhihitaḥ (raśanayābhihitaḥ) syād… ŚBK* 3.1.9.1 | This [sun] is death. Those on this side (*arvāc*) of the sun are mortal and those on the other side (*parāñc*) of that are immortal. See 3.2.6.2. Both sunrays (*raśmí*) and reins (*raśanā*) point to the sun because, Jurewicz says, "of the metonymy (part for the whole) ray for the sun and the metaphor the Sun is a Horse." See Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, 53.

[737] *prajā vai bhūtāni* | *ŚBK* 1.3.3.1, 5.6.1.1 | *Prajā* are both mobile and immobile (*carācarā*) 5.1.2.14. Sacred grass (*barhis*) represents *prajā* in the ritual. See *ŚBK* 1.6.1.15, 1.6.1.29, 2.5.4.14, 2.5.1.14. After emitting *prajā*, Prajāpati felt emptied out because the *prajā* turned away from him. See ŚBK 4.9.1.1ff.

[738] *prajā vo mṛtyur vo 'gnir vo jyotir iti* ‖1.3.3.3‖ Compare with *ŚBM* 2.4.2.3: *prajā vo mṛtyur vo 'gnir vo jyotir iti* | Eggeling translates, "your offspring [shall be] your death; and the fire (Agni) your light!" See Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 12, 361.

[739] "Like Varuṇa forcibly grasps these *prajā* here/now, striking them down, so he [sacrificer] becomes. And he wins intimate association (*sāyujya*) with and the same world as Varuṇa." *yathā haivedam imāḥ prajā varuṇo gṛhṇāti sahasā nighāutamatyevaṁ(ghātaya) ha bhavati varuṇasyo ha sāyujyaṁ salokatāṁ jayati* ‖ *ŚBK* 3.1.1.2 ‖ For Rudra, see 3.1.1.3, Indra 3.1.1.4, and Mitra 3.1.1.5.

[740] Note *TB* 2.1.2.11-12, "The offspring is light." See Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 82 and his note 11 on page 86. The note explains that this formula is recited in a different ritual context, when the priest eats the remains of the oblatory milk, according to the *BŚS* 3.6.16.

[741] *ŚBK* 1.4.3.1ff.

[742] …*te 'muṁ devalokam akurvata tasmād amuto 'rvācīm ūrjam upajīvanti* | *ŚBK* 3.1.12.20 |

experience is stored in the sun, the *devaloka*, until rays of light convey the *prajā* in vital breath to form the basis of subsequent cognition.

Whereas the *Ṛgveda* called the *ātman* the embryo of the world, the same text, which is quoted by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, identified the sun as the *ātman* of what is moving and nonmoving.[743] The *ātman* is the same as the sun and the embryo of what exists.[744] These passages already imply a nondual sense of *ātman* as body and awareness. Similarly, in the *agnihotra*, the sun becomes an embryo (*garbha*) and enters the fire serving as a womb (*yoni*). The *Śatapatha* states,

> Sūrya verily is the *agnihotra.*…Going to set, he [the sun] having become an embryo (*garbha*), enters the very fire, the womb (*yoni*). Following the one who becomes an embryo, all these *prajā* become an embryo, for they lie down as if requested, being unaware. Then the night just conceals that, for the embryo is as if hidden (*tiras*).[745]

This is to say that the embryonic, unmanifest energy that is the sun enters the fire of cognition where it gives rise to new sensory experience. What is generated is then hidden by the night, like an embryo inside the womb. The night is a womb that both conceals and incubates what is not yet born. In this passage the emphasis not only on the sun, but also on *prajā* becoming an embryo and lying down as if unaware and hidden suggests a reciprocal process in which previous cognitions, which although imperceptible are described as light, form the basis for experience. Having given rise to new experience, they again become an embryo: the latent, incipient energy transferred to the unmanifest. The evening *agnihotra* oblation is for the embryo, whereas the morning oblation is for the sun, whom the *agnihotrin* generates through his offering. The hidden energy manifests as the light of the sun, giving birth to new cognition.

For this reason, the rising sun is compared to a snake casting off old skin. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explains,

> As a snake would cast off his skin, so having cast off all evil, which is the night, he [sun] rises. Just as a snake would cast off his skin, so he who knows this in this way casts off all evil. Following that [sun] who is being born, all these *prajā* are generated, for they are emitted (*vi+√sṛj*) according to their objects (*yathārtha*).[746]

Like a snake that casts off old skin, the potential energy leaves the darkness with its nascent light, generating the perception of new objective sensory experience, which is likened to

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[743] *ātmā́ devā́nām bhúvanasya gárbho* | *ṚV* 10.168.4 | See Joanna Jurewicz, "The Fiery Self," in *Teaching on India in Central and Eastern Europe: Contributions to the 1ˢᵗ Central & Eastern European Indological Conference on Regional Cooperation*. Ed. Danuta Stasik and Anna Trynkowska, 123-137. (Warsaw, 2007), 126-127; *sūryo ātmā jagatas tasthuṣaś ca svāhety* | *ŚBK* 5.4.1.8 | *sū́rya ātmā́ jágatas tasthúṣaś ca* | *ṚV* 1.115.1 |

[744] Derived from the root √*an*, which means to breathe, Jurewicz shows how the *ātman* also refers to wind (*vāta*) in the *Ṛgveda*, which she suggests links breath and the sun. Both the sun and breath are early Vedic forms of the *ātman*. See *ṚV* 1.34.7, 7.87.2, 10.168.4; Jurewicz, "The Fiery Self," 126-127, 135.

[745] *sūryo ha vā agnihotraṃ … sa vā eṣo 'staṃ yann agnim eva yoniṃ garbho bhūtvā praviśati taṃ garbhaṃ bhavantam imāḥ sarvāḥ prajā anu garbho bhavantīlitā(ḍi) iva hi śerate 'saṃjānānā atha yad rātristira eva tat kurute tira iva hi garbhaḥ* || *ŚBK* 1.3.1.1 || Sāyaṇa: *garbharūpeṇāgnāv asthitaṃ sūryaṃ rātriḥ 'tira eva' tirohitam ācchāditaṃ karoti* | 406.

[746] *…sa yathāhis tvaco nirmucyetaivaṃ rātreḥ sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyodayate yathā ha vā ahis tvaco nirmucyetaivaṃ sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyate ya evam etad veda taṃ jāyamānam imāḥ sarvāḥ prajā anu prajāyante visṛjyante hi yathārthānām(thārthā)* || *ŚBK* 1.3.1.2 || Sāyaṇa: *rātrirūpāt tejaḥpratibandhakāt pāpādityarthaḥ* | 407. For other references see the chapter on crossing over.

progeny or living beings (*prajā*). From the mind, which has the sun for its light and the sky for its body, *prāṇa* is born.[747]

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* identifies the *agnihotra* with not only the sun but also with *prāṇa*. Bodewitz observes that *prāṇa* denotes life-breaths, vital functions like speech and mind, the powers behind the sense organs, and even the sense organs themselves.[748] Because *prāṇa* is the libation, *prāṇa* itself is the *agnihotra* (*prāṇa evāgnihotram iti*). In the *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa*, Yājñavalkya tells Janaka,

> Ultimately, one exists due to the mind only. Having gone far away, then in that place he becomes negligent (*pra√mad*). In what is his libation (*āhuti*) offered which they sacrifice (*√hu*) for him at home? He who has awakened (*√jāgṛ*), who held all forms in the worlds, in him is his libation, which they sacrifice in his house. That is just *prāṇa* that they present as the libation. Therefore, they say that *prāṇa* itself is the *agnihotra*.[749]

Clearly pointing to an internal offering, the *yajamāna* of the *agnihotra* is likewise identified with *prāṇa*: "for as long as the *yajamāna* breathes with vital breath, for that long indeed he performs the offering."[750] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* further explains that when the libation is offered in the vital breaths, they do not pour the existing libation into the fire.[751] The *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* already expresses an internal application of the ritual.

Connecting the *agnihotra* and the *agnihotrin* with *prāṇa* suggests a causal process. Vital breath is the rope by which the mind (*manas*) and speech (*vāc*) have been harnessed to the heart, as the cow and calf are tied to the post for milking during the ritual.[752] Compare this passage with the one mentioned above, in which the *prajā* are harnassed in vital breath by rays of light.[753] Not only is the vital breath the fuel (*idhma*) of the *agnihotra*,[754] vital breath is the eater. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states,

> Vital breath alone is the eater of food (*anna*) because by means of the breath, food is eaten. Out breath is the giver of food, because by means of breathing out, food is given. He who knows these two *devatās*, namely the eater of the food and the giver of the food, he becomes an eater of the food and to him food is given.[755]

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[747] Ibid. Note also: "The vital breaths (*prāṇa*) are born out of the mind." *ime vai prāṇā manojātā manoyujo* | *ŚBK* 4.2.2.16 | The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* explains that the sun (*āditya*) is the light and the sky (*dyu*) is the body of the mind. Note that *prāṇa* is identified with Indra. *athaitasya manaso dyauḥ śarīram* | *jyotīrūpam asāv ādityaḥ* | … *tataḥ prāṇo 'jāyata* | *sa indraḥ* … *BĀU* 1.5.12 ‖ In 1.5.4, the mind is said to be intermediate space and *prāṇa* is that yonder world (*mano 'ntarikṣalokaḥ prāṇo 'sau lokaḥ*).

[748] Bodewitz, *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 220.

[749] *tan manasaivānte bhavati yat sa dūram paretyātha tatra pramādyati* | *kasmin stāsya hutāhutir gṛhe yām asya juhvatīti yo jāgāra bhuvaneṣu viśvā rūpāṇi yo 'bibhaḥ tasmin tsāsya hutāhutir gṛhe yāmasya juhvatīti tat prāṇa evaitām āhutim juhvati tasmād vā āhuḥ prāṇa evāgnihotram iti* ‖ *ŚBK* 3.1.4.4 ‖ See also 3.1.7.1.

[750] …*yajñasya yajamāna eva prāṇo yāvad dhy eva yajamānaḥ prāṇena prāṇiti tāvad eva juhoty*…*ŚBK* 3.1.11.6 |

[751] …*sa yad etām āhutim satīṁ nāgnau juhvaty eṣv eva prāṇeṣu hūyate*…*ŚBK* 3.1.12.28 |

[752] *prāṇa eva rajjuḥ prāṇena hi manaś ca vāk cābhihite tasmād rajjvā vatsam ca mātaram cābhidadhati hṛdayam eva methyupadohanī*… | *ŚBK* 3.1.4.2 |

[753] *ŚBK* 3.1.9.1.

[754] *prāṇa evāsyedhmaḥ* | *ŚBK* 3.2.10.2 |

[755] *prāṇa evānnādaḥ prāṇena hy annamadyata udāno 'nnaprada udānena hy annam pradīyate sa yo haite devate vedānnādaṁ cānnapradaṁ cānnādo ha bhavati prāsmā annaṁ dīyate* ‖ *ŚBK* 3.2.9.2 ‖

The energetic food is carried into consciousness through vital breath. The breathing in and out that conveys food and consumes it reflects a reciprocal process of causation.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* further connects the activity of *prāṇa* with the sense organs and perception. It states that vital breath is endowed with consciousness (*savijñāna*) and successively enters the very act of apperceiving (*saṃjñāna*).[756] To arise in the conscious mind, knowledge, action, and memory together grasp onto this *prāṇa*.[757] King Ajātaśatru teaches Gārgya that the *puruṣa* made of consciousness takes the consciousness, by means of the consciousness of the *prāṇas*, and with these his sense organs, when it sleeps in the heart.[758] The king compares the *prāṇas* feeding the cardio-vascular system to a spider's web.[759] Given that the *puruṣa* is light (*jyotir*),[760] the *ātman* is defined as "that *puruṣa* which consists of consciousness, the inner light in the vital breaths and in heart."[761] Similarly, *brahman* is described as the *puruṣa* that is *prāṇa*,[762] whose abode is the eye, the ear, the mind and the heart.[763] According to Yājñavalkya, "Those who know the vital breath of vital breath and the eye of the eye and the ear of the ear and the mind of the mind, they realized (*ni√ci*) the ancient, foremost *brahman*."[764] Sometimes the energies behind the sense organs are described as *puruṣas*[765] and sometimes as *devatās*.[766] Like earlier *kāṇḍas* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* investigates the invisible energy behind the sense organs.

The *puruṣas* in the sense organs are powered by means of the vascular system in the body. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* states that the food of the *puruṣas* in the eyes is a mass of blood in the heart:

Then their food is this mass of blood in the heart. And their covering is like a net within the heart. And their converging pathway (*sṛti*) is this channel/artery (*nāḍī*),

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[756] … *prāṇam anūtkrāmantam̐ sarve prāṇā anūtkrāmanti | savijñāno bhavati | saṃjānam evānvavakrāmati |* *BĀU* 17.4.4.2 |

[757] *taṃ vidyākarmaṇī samanvārabhete pūrvaprajñā ca | BĀU* 17.4.4.2 |

[758] *sa hovācājātaśatruḥ -- yatraiṣa etat supto 'bhūd ya eṣa vijñānamayaḥ puruṣas tad eṣāṃ prāṇānāṃ vijñānena vijñānam ādāya ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaya ākāśas tasmiñ chete | tāni yadā gṛhṇāty | atha haitat puruṣaḥ svapiti nāma | tad gṛhītā eva prāṇo bhavati | gṛhītā vāg | gṛhītaṃ cakṣur | gṛhītaṃ śrotram | gṛhītaṃ manaḥ ||* *BĀU* 17.2.1.17 ||

[759] He says, "Just as a spider moves up by means of threads, just as small sparks come up from the fire, in the same way, from this *ātman*, all *prāṇas*, all conditioned spaces, all *devas*, all beings come up." *sa yathorṇanābhis tantunoccared yathā agneḥ kṣudrā viṣphuliṅgā vyuccaranty evam evāsmād ātmanaḥ sarve prāṇāḥ sarve lokāḥ sarve devāḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni vyuccaranti | tasyopaniṣat satyasya satyam iti | prāṇā vai satyaṃ teṣām eṣa satyam ||* *BĀU* 17.2.1.20 ||

[760] The light includes the sun (*āditya*), moon, fire, speech, and *ātman*. *BĀU* 17.4.3.1ff. Moreover, the *puruṣa* made of the mind is called *bhāḥsatya* within the heart. See 17.5.6.1.

[761] *katama ātmeti -- yo 'yaṃ vijñānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu hṛdy antarjyotiḥ puruṣaḥ … | BĀU* 17.4.3.7 | The next *kārikā* states that born in a body (*śarīra*), this *ātman-puruṣa* meets with evil (*pāpman*). See *BĀU* 17.4.3.8.

[762] *…prāṇa iti | sa brahma tyad ity ācakṣate | BĀU* 17.3.9.9 | On *brahman* as *prāṇa*, see Paul Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*. Trans. A.S. Geden. (Delhi, Oriental Publishers, 1972), 139.

[763] *BĀU* 17.4.1.3-7. The firm foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) of all these is empty space (*ākāśa*). The *puruṣa* in empty space (*ākāśa*) is full and not moving. Revering him, one becomes filled with *prajā* and *paśus*. See 17.2.1.5

[764] *prāṇasya prāṇam uta cakṣuśaś cakṣur uta śrotrasya śrotram manaso ye mano viduḥ | te nicikyur brahma purāṇam agryam ||* *BĀU* 17.4.4.18 ||

[765] *BĀU* 17.3.9.12-13.

[766] For example, the mind is spoken of as a *devatā* and as unending (*ananta*) too. See *BĀU* 17.3.1.9.

which rises upward from the heart. It is like a hair split a thousand times. In this way, these channels of his called *hitā* (placed) have been established in the heart. What is flowing (*āsravat*) verily flows (*ā+√sru*) through these. For this reason, this is a more subtle food (*praviviktāhāratara*) as it were than this physical body (*śarīra-ātman*).[767]

The vascular pathways are the channels through which *prāṇa*, carrying consciousness or light, travels to the sense faculties. When the veins and arteries (*nāḍī*) full of blood hit a *puruṣa*, it seems they overpower him as though an elephant was pressing against him or as though he was falling through a hole; but this is due to ignorance.[768] The veins and arteries are full of white, blue, tawny, and green blood,[769] which is the same way the paths known by *brahman* are described, paths by which the knower of brahman (*brahmavit*) consisting of fiery energy goes.[770]

In addition to the sun, Agni (fire) is a central symbol in the causal mechanism of the *agnihotra*. Agni is the messenger (*dūtá*) of the sun (*Vivasvant*),[771] for which reason he is explicitly called a stream of *ṛtá* (*dhárām ṛtásya*).[772] Agni first receives what is offered and cooks it. In the external Agnihotra ritual, this means that the priest heats the milk in the *gārhapatya* fire.[773] As mentioned in the previous section, the milk oblation is considered Sūrya's seed, which Agni receives in the fire.[774] In this way, when one performs the *agnihotra* with milk, he offers the yonder sun. This action symbolically collapses the duality of this and that world into one. The milk offering must be cooked in the fire in between boiling well and not too much, which constitutes a coupling, and renders the milk procreative. In the internal ritual, this is to say that the unmanifest energies of the sun enter the fire of cognition where they are offered and transformed, thereby producing conscious sensory experience. Agni is called the womb (*yoni*) of the *yajña* because cognition is born out of what is offered and cooked in the fire.[775]

In addition to his receptive capacity, Agni is the great bearer (*bhārata*) who conveys what is to be offered (*havyavāhana*) to the *devas*."[776] When the milk has been heated just so, it is poured as libations into the *āhavanīya* fire, which carries the oblation up to the sun. Internally, this means after producing a sensory perception, Agni then conveys the

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[767] … *athainayor etad annaṃ ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaye lohitapiṇḍo | 'thainayor etat prāvaraṇam yad etad antar hṛdaye jālakam ivāthainayor eṣā sṛtiḥ saṃcaraṇī yaiṣā hṛdayād ūrdhvā nāḍy uccarati | yathā keśaḥ sahasradhā bhinna evam asyaitā hitā nāma nāḍyo 'ntar hṛdaye pratiṣṭhitā bhavanty | etābhir vā etad āsravad āsravati | tasmād eṣa praviviktāhāratara iva bhavaty asmāc chārīrād ātmanaḥ* ‖ *BĀU* 17.4.2.3 ‖

[768] *atha yatrainaṃ ghnantīva jinantīva hastīva vicchāyayati gartam iva patati | yad eva jāgrad bhayaṃ paśyati tad atrāvidyayā manyate | BĀU* 17.4.3.20 ‖

[769] *śuklasya nīlasya piṅgalasya haritasya lohitasya pūrṇāḥ | BĀU* 17.4.3.20 |

[770] *tasmiñ chuklam uta nīlam āhuḥ piṅgalaṃ haritaṃ lohitaṃ ca | eṣa panthā brahmaṇā hānuvittas tenaiti brahmavit puṇyakṛt taijasaś ca* ‖ *BĀU* 17.4.4.9 ‖

[771] *ṚV* 1.58.1; Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, 190, 281.

[772] *ṚV* 1.67.7; Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 17.

[773] "He attends to (*upa√sthā*) that *āhavanīya* fire by which he attends to the sky (*divam*). He attends to that *gārhapatya* fire by which he attends to the earth." *yad āhavanīyam upatiṣṭhate divaṃ tad upatiṣṭhate* ‖ *yad gārhapatyaṃ pṛthivīṃ tad | ŚBK* 1.4.1.26 |

[774] Bodewitz, 34-35; *KS* 6.3:51.9-14, *MS* 1.8.2:117.16-19; *ŚāṅkhB.* 2.1.

[775] *ŚBK* 3.2.1.1-2.

[776] *devānāṃ havyavāhano 'gnir | ŚBK* 1.2.3.23 | See also 2.4.1.2.

manifested energy to the yonder world where it is stored until it is sent back down as sunrays, the unmanifest energy that perpetuates cognition. The *agnihotra* thus represents a Vedic mechanism for causality: milk is cooked in the *gārhapatya* fire, meaning the unmanifest energy transforms into a cognitive act in the conscious mind. Then, pouring the heated milk into the *āhavanīya* fire marks the manifested perception being taken to the yonder world. In accord with his messenger function, Agni is expressed metaphorically as a horse,[777] but one fashioned out of the sun.[778]

Agni is the *vājin* or horse possessed of generative power (*vāja*).[779] Swennen describes *vāja* as the object of exchange between the devas and men by means of the sacrifice and *vājin* as the horse who conveys the reciprocal offerings:

> Le *vája-* (vigueur, animation = richesse, nourriture) est l'objet d'un échange bilatéral entre hommes et dieux assure par le truchement du sacrifice. Le vājín- est le cheval indispensable à cet échange en ce qu'il est capable de se render d'un point à l'autre pour convoyer les cadeaux réciproques.[780]

The reciprocal offering is an exchange of *vāja* from the human to the divine and from the divine to the human, which I argue suggests an early formulation of a karmic transaction. Swennen provides numerous textual references for *vāja* and *vājayati* in the *Ṛgveda* to illustrate this exchange.[781] One stanza directly expresses the idea that the steeds are, as Swennen observes, "qui convoient les vigueurs": "From you [Agni] the steed (*vājin*)—the conveyor of *vāja* (*vājambharó*), the vigorous, forming support, whose rushing is effective—is born."[782] Semen is also said to be *vājin*, possessed of virile energy, which speaks to the creative potentiality of the generative energy.[783] In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *vāja* is what is

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[777] *ṚV* 1.58.2, 6.6.4.

[778] "Oh Vasus, from the sun you have chiseled the horse (*áśva*)." *sū́rād áśvaṃ vasavo nír ataṣṭa │ ṚV* 1.163.2 │

[779] In addition to *vāja*, there are numerous Vedic synonyms for energy: *sahas* (power or potency), *ojas* (vital or creative energy), *ūrj* (strength or strengthening power), *tejas* (fiery energy), *bala* (strength), and *vīrya* (vigor or manly powers). See Jan Gonda, *Some Observations on the Relations between 'Gods' and 'Powers' in the Veda, A Propos of the Phrase sūnuḥ sahasaḥ*. (The Hague: Mouton & Co.'s-Gravenhage, 1957); Gonda, *Mantra Interpretation*, 243.

[780] Swennen, 59.

[781] I here provide some of Swennen's examples in my own (English) translation, but see *D'Indra à Tištrya* for his thorough analysis on *vāja*, *vājin*, and *vājayati* in the *ṚV*. Note the nominal and verbal usage. The fire devours and incites *vāja*: "Consuming, he [fire] assists the crackling of the wind. He incites it like a swift [horse]. The steed is impelled." (*vā́tasya melíṃ sacate nijū́rvann āśúṃ ná vājayate hinvé árvā │ ṚV* 4.7.11cd). Swennen comments that this *ṛk* suggests the invigoration of *vāja*, an energy that comes from the fire: "Invigoré d'une énergie qui lui vient du feu (4.7.11)." Next, "O Indra, inciting (*vājáyan*) with Ṛbhus endowed with *vāja* come here to the invoker's praise worthy of offering" *índra rbhúbhir vājíbhir vājáyann ihá stómaṃ jaritúr úpa yāhi yajñíyam │ ṚV* 3.60.7 │ Note the composite verb: "We incite you, one full of vāja among vājas, o Śatakratu" *táṃ tvā vā́jeṣu vājínaṃ vājáyāmaḥ śatakrato │ ṚV* 1.4.9ab │ Renou interprets *vāja* as "prix." Jamison and Brereton translate, "We incite you, the prize winner, to the prizes, o you of a hundred resolves, to win the stakes, Indra." See Vol. 1, page 94. "O Indra, may that mortal whose protector/animator (*avitṛ*) you are go on inciting *vāja* (*vā́jaṃ vājáyann*)." *gámad vā́jaṃ vājáyann indra mártiyo yásya tvám avitá bhúvaḥ │ ṚV* 7.32.11│ "O Indra, your bay steeds, inciting (*vājáyantā*) sounded the sound that is the oozing/distilling of ghee…" *hárī nú ta indra vājáyantā ghṛtaścútaṃ svárám asvārṣṭām │ ṚV* 2.11.7ab │ See Swennen, 57, 59; Jamison and Brereton, Vol. 1, page 570.

[782] *tuvád vājī́ vājambharó víhāyā abhiṣṭikŕj jāyate satyáśuṣmaḥ │ ṚV* 4.11.4ab │ See Swennen, 57.

[783] *ŚBK* 1.3.4.12.

eaten, i.e. food (*annaṃ vai vājāḥ*), both in a material and a mental sense.[784] For this reason the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states, "In the beginning the pursuit of *vāja* impelled that one," the sacrificer performing the offering.[785]

In *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.2.4.1-6, Agni was born from the mouth of Prajāpati who heated himself. Agni is an eater of food, so Prajāpati was afraid of him, thinking, "I generated this consumer of food, but verily there is no other food here besides myself (*ātman*). Verily he would not eat this [me]."[786] At that time, the earth existed in Prajāpati's mind (*manas*). Agni turned toward him with an open mouth and Prajāpati became frightened. Speech (*vāc*) went out of him. He offered two oblations—one of ghee and milk and another consisting only of the utterance *svāhā*—in himself, from which the plants (*oṣadhi*), the one who heats, and the one who blows arose. Through this offering Prajāpati protected himself from Agni, death, who wanted to eat him. The one who knows this protects himself from Agni, death, who will eat him. He who knows thus produces creative power (*prajāti*), wins this victory, and occupies the three worlds (*loka*).[787]

According to this story, originally everything existed in Prajāpati's mind and was produced out of him, who is commensurate with the *svarga loka*. The *Śatapatha* states, "Prajāpati shines beyond—he is the *svarga loka*."[788] Since Prajāpati himself (*ātman*) constituted all the food, his offering gave rise to the sun and wind, so that Agni, death, would not eat him. Whereas the body feeds on plants, the mind feeds on the sun, a metaphor for the unmanifest. The *agnihotrin* trains to become aware of the mind's food when he offers the milk libation in the *agnihotra* and thereby subdues Agni, death.[789] This frees the sacrificer from repeated death[790]—from the energy of the yonder world eating up, i.e. taking over, his consciousness awareness.

The *mantras* in the *agnihotra* and the explanations for them convey metaphors. For example, the *agnihotrin* offers in the evening chanting, "Agni is light, light is Agni. Svāhā" and in the morning, "Sūrya is light, light is Sūrya. Svāhā."[791] Through chanting this *mantra*, one envelops the two lights, which are identified with semen (*retas*), thereby forming an embryo, a creative potentiality.[792] The lights are the sun and fire, which are productive like semen. With this embryo formed with light, the *yajamāna* generates (*prajanayati*) something. The verb (*pra+√jā*), meaning to generate, is the same one from which the nominal form *prajā* (what is generated) is derived. Here *prajā* refers to what is produced in cognition.

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[784] *ŚBK* 2.3.4.7.

[785] *juhoti vājasyemaṃ prasavaḥ suṣuve 'gra ity* | *ŚBK* 6.2.3.6 |

[786] *tasmād dha prajāpatir bibhayāmcakārānnādaṃ vā idam ajījana ātmano(tma) no vā ihānyad annam astīyaṃ(sti yaṃ) vā ayaṃ nādyāditi…*| *ŚBK* 1.2.4.2 |

[787] *evaṃ vidvān juhoty etāṃ(dvā) haiva prajātiṃ prajāyata etāṃ jitiṃ jayaty eteṣāṃ saloko bhavati* ‖ *ŚBK* 1.2.4.13 ‖

[788] *atha yat paraṃ bhāti prajāpatir vaiva sa svargo lokas …* | *ŚBK* 2.8.4.6 |

[789] Bodewitz, 156.

[790] Bodewitz, 155.

[791] *sa juhoty agnir jyotir jyotiragniḥ svāheti sāyaṃ sūryo jyotir jyotiḥ sūryaḥ svāheti prātas…*| *ŚBK* 1.3.1.21 |

[792] *… tad idaṃ jyotī reta ubhayato devatayā parigṛhṇāty ubhayataḥ parigṛhītaṃ hi retaḥ prajāyata(prajā) ity ubhayata evaitat parigṛhya prajanayati* | *ŚBK* 1.3.1.22 |

A certain *mantra* recited when placing the kindling stick (*samidh*) on the *āhavanīya* fire during the *agnihotra* is found only in the *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* of the Kāṇva School.[793] Laying down the fuel stick is part of the routine to maintain the fire every the morning and evening in order to never be separated from Agni and the light.[794] The sacrificer recites,

> "I place (*upa+√dhā*) you [kindling stick (*samidh*)], the light of Agni, possessing the wind, and possessing *prāṇa*, conducive to *svar* (*svargya*), and luminous, for *svarga*," in the evening. "I place you [kindling stick], the light of Sūrya, possessing the wind, possessing *prāṇa*, conducive to *svar* (*svargya*), and luminous, for *svarga*," in the morning.

> *agnijyotiṣaṃ tvā vāyumatīṃ prāṇavatīṃ | svargyāṃ svargāyopadadhāmi bhāsvatīm iti sāyaṃ sūryajyotiṣaṃ tvā vāyumatīṃ prāṇavatīm | svargyāṃ svargāyopadadhāmi bhāsvatīm iti prātar… || ŚBK 3.1.5.1; VSK 3.2.1-2[795] ||*

The *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explains that the fire is to be piled and that it is desirable to perform the offering in what is piled because the piling twice a day corresponds to every day and night of the year, which is equal to Prajāpati and Agni.[796] In offering with Agni, who is to be piled (*citya*), the sacrificer wins the world to such an extent year after year.[797] The commentator Ānandabodha glosses *samidh* as "what has the nature of fire, to be piled, a pile, a perception for the pile (*citisaṃjñāna*)."[798] The use of perception (*saṃjñāna*) in this gloss is related to the same commentator's explanation of the first adjective glossing *samidh* in the subsequent *mantra*. Ānandabodha clarifies, "'light of Sūrya' means the *samidh* which is endowed with the nature of the sun, the *devatā* whose nature is the sun that transports the *samidh*, or the piling of what is put there, or the *samidh* which has been seen through visualizing what has been piled (*citidṛṣṭidṛṣṭa*)."[799] The words "to be piled," "perception," and "has been seen through visualizing what has been piled" here unmistakably identify the *samidh* as a concept in the process of cognition.[800] The Brāhmaṇa speaks, however, of a certain rivalry between attending to the fire versus to what is generated in the mind, because the attention to one or the other piles up different kinds of fuel for future cognition.

Like the milk that represents Sūrya's unmanifest energy, placing the kindling stick on the *āhavanīya* fire represents an accumulation, but the ritual act equally emphasizes maintaining conscious awareness of the reciprocal process of perception. The action of placing the kindling stick serves to remind the sacrificer that even Agni, the fire of cognition, is conditioned by his actions. Should he pay attention to his fire of cognition, he would be in a position either to consciously generate an experience, which consumes the unmanifest

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[793] For the procedural context, see *KŚS* 4.14.13.

[794] *devasya jyotiṣaś ca kadācid api aviyogād |* Sāyaṇa on *VSK* 3.2.1 | See *Kāṇva Saṃhitā*, Vol. 1, page 182.

[795] The commentary to the *Kāṇva Saṃhitā* on this formula indicates that the *samidh* is addressed in this formula. Ānandabodha glosses *svargāya* as *svargārtham*. See *VSK* 3.2.2 | *Kāṇva Saṃhitā*, Vol. 1, 184.

[796] *sa yathāgniṃ cityam āpnoti samidham etām abhyādadhāti … saṃvastarasyaitavanty ahorātrāṇi prajāpatir vai saṃvatsaraḥ prajāpatir vā agniḥ sa saṃvatsare 'gniṃ cityamāpnoti … | ŚBK 3.1.5.1 |*

[797] *…tad yathāgninā cintyeneṣṭvā lokaṃ jayet tāvantaṃ ha saṃvatsare saṃvatsare lokaṃ jayati | ŚBK 3.1.5.1 |*

[798] *samidhaṃ cāgnyātmikāṃ cityaṃ citiṃ citisaṃjñānam ity evam ātmikāṃ samidham upadadhāmi |* Ānandabodha on VSK 3.2.1 | *Kāṇva Saṃhitā*, Vol. 1, 183.

[799] *sūryajyotiṣaṃ sūryātmakajyotiṣmatīṃ samidhaṃ samidavahitasūryātmikāṃ devatāṃ tatrābhihitacitiṃ vā citidṛṣṭidṛṣṭāṃ samidhaṃ vā |* Ānandabodha on *VSK* 3.2.2 | *Kāṇva Saṃhitā*, Vol. 1, 184.

[800] This interpretation is in addition to Bodewitz's practical observation that the fuel sticks are the foundation for the libations. See Bodewitz, 102. See also Dumont, 344.

energy, or to conserve the generative energy in a form purified by its passage through his (conscious) mind. If the *agnihotra* is performed correctly, the action of kindling the fire simultaneously maintains his awareness of the mental process of perception. But if the sacrificer does not pay attention and maintain the awareness of his fire of cognition, whatever he generates (*prajā*) consumes – takes over – his consciousness. If performing the *agnihotra* lacks this mindfulness component, the action of fueling the fire piles up a store of unruly generative power. *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.1.10.1-4 expresses this tension in the form of a creation myth in which Prajāpati emitted the *prajā* and Agni, each of which sought to destroy the other. According to this myth, only consciously attending to Agni leads to the undecaying (*ajara*) and undying (*amṛta*) life of Agni for the *agnihotrin*. Agni generates and maintains the *agnihotrin* in the yonder world as long as the *agnihotrin* maintains Agni.

The first libation (*āhuti*) poured out in the *agnihotra* is equated with *prajā*, who are said to be the future and not yet manifest, whereas the second is equal to the *ātman*, which is past (*bhūta*) and manifest (*addhā*).[801] In the first seven *kāṇḍas* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *ātman* does not have the essentialized meaning attributed to it in Vedānta. In the Brāhmaṇa, *ātman* mainly refers to the body, which always has the invisible, nondual component in the yonder world, or is used as a reflexive pronoun. There are passages, however, in which *ātman* is said to be the mind-heart,[802] and the heart is a cave.[803] Inside the cave of the heart are the hidden cows as well as sin, fear and danger.[804] The body (*ātman*) of the consecrated *yajamāna* consists of the libation and merit (*sukṛta*) in the yonder world.[805] In this metaphorical mapping, the *ātman* is akin to the sun, while at the same time it located in the heart of the sacrificer's own body. The latter aspect is further emphasized when the sacrificer consumes the remainder of the offering. Identifying the libations with *prajā* and *ātman*, as well as with the mind and speech,[806] gives the *agnihotra* a cognitive dimension in the sacrificer's own process of perception.

To sum up, the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explains the *agnihotra* as a ritual model for karmic retribution. Using the metaphorical domain of giving birth, the text served to remind the *agnihotrin* twice a day how cognition is produced: the unmanifest energy that is the light of the sun, which consists of past generated cognitions (*prajā*), enters the womb of the *gārhapatya* fire where it is transformed through heat to create a new cognitive experience. This transformed substance is then offered as libations—equal to the mind and speech or to the *ātman* and *prajā*—in the *āhavanīya* fire, which conveys the offering to the

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[801] *ŚBK* 1.3.1.15-20. Note that *TB* 2.1.4.4-8 holds that the priest ladles out four times, but two of the libations are offered in Agni Vaiśvānara, who is equivalent to the brāhmaṇa. These offerings take place when the brāhmaṇa eats. The libation offered with a formula is sacred to Indra and Agni. The libation offered silently is to Prajāpati. See Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra) According to the Brāhmaṇas*, 100. For a list of propitiations in the various Brāhmaṇas, see pages 104-105.

[802] *ātmā vai manohṛdayaṃ prāṇaḥ pṛṣadājyam* | *ŚBK* 4.8.3.5 |

[803] *idaṃ guhā hṛdayam* | *ŚBK* 3.2.10.5 |

[804] "…The one who warns against (apavaktṛ) whatever wounds the heart," he frees him from all that [sin], even that sin situated in the heart." *tad enaṃ sarvasmād enaso varuṇyāt pramuñcaty utāpavaktā hṛdayāvidhaś vid iti tad yad api hṛdayastham enas tasmād enaṃ sarvasmāt pramuñcati* | *ŚBK* 5.5.3.3 |

[805] … *āhutimayam u vā etaṃ sukṛtamayaṃ yajamānasyātmānaṃ saṃskurvanti…ŚBK* 3.2.6.2 |

[806] *ŚBK* 1.3.1.10. See also *ŚBK* 3.1.4.1.

sun. The rest of the offering is consumed by the sacrificer. The *Śatapatha* emphasizes paying attention to the fire of cognition, as evinced by the Kāṇva's special *mantra* to recite when laying down the kindling stick and the myth about the conflict between Agni and the *prajā*. If the sacrificer pays attention to his cognitive process as stipulated in the *Śatapatha*, the piling of the kindling sticks yields positive effects. In other words, the piling is equal to Prajāpati and Agni, meaning the totality of the unmanifest and manifest as well as cognition, respectively. The ritual action of placing the kindling stick trains the *yajamāna* to observe the entry of the unmanifest energy in the mind and the manifest sense experience that goes into the unmanifest. The mindfulness component of the ritual is further emphasized in the *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* when the *Śatapatha* compares the *agnihotra* to a boat conducive to *svar*.[807] The boat is symbolically placed between the *gārhapatya* and *āhavanīya* fires, the place where cognition in this body transfers to the sacrificer's body in the yonder world. In this way, the Kāṇva's exegesis of the *agnihotra* articulates a Vedic mechanism of causality. But it is not the only karmic mechanism taken up in the *Śatapatha*.

Section II: The Sāvitrī Ṛk

As the name indicates, the Sāvitrī *ṛk* invokes the deity Savitṛ (from √ *sū*, "to simulate, vivify"), a personification of the rays of the sun (*sūryaraśmi*).[808] The rays are themselves a metaphor for the indefatigable light (*jyótir ájasram*) behind sensory processes.[809] Generally speaking, Savitṛ is not the same as Sūrya (the sun), but is more specifically the sun's light, the rays of which are poetically depicted as horses and cows.[810] According to the *Ṛgveda*, Savitṛ has separately apportioned what arises according to its place (*sthaśas*).[811] No one undermines the functions (*vratá*) of Savitṛ,[812] not even Sūrya, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, and Rudra.[813] Rather, the other devas with their strength (*ójas*) follow his power

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[807] *ŚBK* 3.1.11.3-4. This motif will be explained in detail in the chapter on crossing over.
[808] *ṚV* 10.139.1.
[809] *sūryaraśmir hárikeśaḥ purástāt savitá jyótir úd ayāṁ ájasram* | *ṚV* 10.139.1 | The Viśvadevas are also called rays of light (*raśmi*). See *ŚBK* 4.9.2.7, 5.3.2.23-24. The rays of the sun (*raśmi*) are further identified with devas who sip particles of light (*marīci*). *etasmin vā etan maṇḍale 'hauṣīd ya eṣa tapaty eta u vai devā marīcipā yad raśmayas tad etān prīṇāti* | *ŚBK* 5.1.1.20 | And just before this, rubbing the wiped off soma onto the enclosing stick (*paridhi*), the *adhvaryu* says, "You to the *devas* who sip particles of light (*marīci*)" *devebhyas tvā marīcipebhya iti* | 5.1.1.19 |
[810] In the eleven hymns dedicated to him and 170 references in the *ṚV*, Savitṛ is depicted as possessing golden arms (1.35.9-10, 6.71.1-5, 7.45.2), broad-handed (2.38.2), and with beautiful hands (3.33.6). R.N. Dandekar, "New Light on the Vedic God Savitṛ," in *ABORI* 20. (1938-1939): 293-316, 294, 305-306; A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1897, reprint 2000), 32-34. Note, however, in one passage of the *ŚBK*, Savitṛ is identified with the one who heats: *vai savitā ya eṣa tapaty* | *ŚBK* 5.4.3.3 |
[811] *víśvo mārtāṇḍó vrajám ā paśúr gāt sthaśó jánmāni savitā ví ákaḥ* | *ṚV* 2.38.8 |
[812] *nákir asya tāni vratā devásya savitúr minanti* | *ṚV* 2.38.7cd | Sāyaṇa glosses, "*vratā vratāni karmāṇi nakiḥ minanti ke 'pi na hiṃsanti* ‖ See *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā with the Commentary of Sāyaṇācārya*, Second Volume. (Pune: Vaidikasaṃśodhanamaṇḍala, 1936), 161. Geldner translates *aśiśret* as "aufgerichtet hat" (has erected).
[813] Griffiths translates, "Even Sūrya yields to him in active vigor" and Jamison and Brereton, "Even the sun has ceded to him his task" (Vol. 2, 940). *sūraś cid asmā ánu dād apasyám* | 7.45.2 | *ná yásya índro váruṇo ná mitró vratám aryamā ná minánti rudráḥ* | 2.38.9ab | Dandekar observes that the waters are subject to his ordinance

(*mahimán*).[814] In a hymn to Savitṛ, Vasiṣṭha prays, "May the deva traveling through the intermediate space, conveyed by horses, come, holding in his hand much that is suitable for men, bringing to rest the earth and impelling it forth."[815] The *ṛṣi* prays that Savitṛ will place in him his tremendous, brilliant energy (*váyas*).[816] This hymn speaks to Savitṛ's role in Vedic tradition to impel the minds of men through the radiant energy that he brings to them from the sun. More than mere inspiration, Savitṛ is the one who conveys from the unmanifest source the energy for mental and sensory experience.

In the *Ṛgveda*, Savitṛ is associated with *amáti*, which Sāyaṇa glosses contextually as light (*dīpti*, *prabhā*)[817] and Macdonell likewise interprets as "splendour."[818] Grassmann defines *amáti* (from √*am*) as "force," "violence," or "sunshine" with the power of heat.[819] Kuiper summarizes the inconclusive scholarship on the elusive term, citing Bergaigne who understood *amáti* as "puissance," Thieme as might, and Venkatasubbiah as a synonym of *tejas*.[820] Geldner translates *amáti* as "image" (*Bildnis*).[821] Renou paraphrased the meaning, "le prototype lumineux du kṣatriya, son emblème, sa *śrī*," following which Jamison and Brereton likewise interpret *amáti* as emblem in their excellent new translation of the *Ṛgveda*.[822] Considering this evidence, in the Ṛgvedic passages related to Savitṛ, *amáti* seems to refer to an impetuous force that Savitṛ spreads in the manner in which a flag unfurls in the wind.[823] According to the *Ṛgveda*, "The *deva* Savitṛ spread that *amáti* which

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(2.38.2, 3.33.6), the wind stops and blows according to his *vrata* (2.38.2), all the *devas* have to act according to his law (2.38.9), and no one dares resist his will (2.38.7-9).

[814] …*yayúr devā́ devásya mahimā́nam ójasā*… ‖ *ṚV* 5.81.3 |

[815] *á devó yātu savitā́ surátno antarikṣaprā́ váhamāno áśvaiḥ | háste dádhāno náriyā púrūṇi niveśáyañ ca prasuvā́ñ ca bhū́ma* ‖ *ṚV* 7.45.1 ‖

[816] *citráṃ váyo bṛhád asmé dadhātu | ṚV* 7.45.4c |

[817] *amatiṃ dīptim* (gloss on *ṚV* 3.38.8, Vol. 2, 382) | *amatim | rūpanāmaitat | rūpaṃ prabhām ity arthaḥ |* (gloss on *ṚV* 7.38.1, Vol. 3, 367) | *amatiṃ rūpam | dīptim ity arthaḥ |* (gloss on *ṚV* 7.45.3, Vol. 3, 383) | *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā with the Commentary of Sāyaṇācārya*, Vol. 2-3. Pune: Vaidikasaṃśodhanamaṇḍala, 1936, 1941.

[818] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 32.

[819] Grassmann defines *amáti* as, "ursprünglich der Andrang, das Andringende [von am], daher 1) Wucht, Gewalt; 2) *Sonnenschein*, *Sonnenglanz*, als der mit der Macht seiner Glut herandringende, wie ja auch áma vom Herandringen der Geschosse gebraucht wird, und dies Bild scheint noch in 554,2 (ví urvim pṛthvim amátim sṛjānás) hindurchzuschimmern; so erscheint es vom Glanze der Sonne (399,2) und der mit der Sonne in Verbindung stehenden Gottheiten, des Savitar (272,8; 554,1.2; 561,3; 73,2), des Mitra-Varuna (416,5) und nur vergleichungsweise von Agni (73,2), order dem Blitze der Marut's (64,9)." See Hermann Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., 1999), 90.

[820] F.B.J. Kuiper, Review of A. Venkatasubbiah, *Vedic Studies*, Vol. 2. (Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1968) in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 14 (September 1972), page 89. I am grateful to Gary Holland for sharing this reference.

[821] *Der Rig-Veda: Aus dem Sanskrit ins deutsche Übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen.* Vol. 34. Trans. Karl Friedrich Geldner. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 220, 225. See also Vol. 33, page 381.

[822] Ibid.; Renou, *Études védiques et pāninéennes* 7. (1960), 41.

[823] I am grateful to Stephanie Jamison's email correspondance on the term *amáti*. She shared with me a section on *amáti* from her and Brereton's forthcoming technical commentary to the *Ṛgveda* (at I.73.2), which has informed my understanding of the term.

he has affixed (√ *śri*)."[824]   Another poet speaks of the impetuous force said to belong to Savitṛ, saying:

> No one else would have affixed (√ *śri*) that Savitṛ's golden *amáti* to me.
> Through excellent praise, he covers the all-pervading (*viśvaminva*) heaven
> and earth even as a woman hovers over her children.[825]

Again, Savitṛ is described as "diffusing (*vi*+√ *śri*) far-reaching *amáti*, so he gives us mortal food."[826]   This passage connects two fundamental concepts in Vedic thought, namely what Savitṛ impels and food.

The interpretation in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* closely follows the *Ṛgveda*.   When humans unknowingly feed on the precreative impulses that Savitṛ impels, they are consumed.   Being eaten is the same as meeting repeated death, forfeiting the limitless potential of being the conscious eater.   The sun's incalculable light rays, the preconscious urges, represent emergent potentialities that can devour, meaning take over, one's consciousness.   In an offering dedicated to Savitṛ during the *soma yajña*, the *adhvaryu* recites, "He [Savitṛ] harnesses the mind (*manas*) and harnesses vision (*dhī*)."[827]   According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, this *mantra* refers to harnessing his vision, which is speech (*vāc*).   When he harnesses the mind and speech, those two carry the offering to the *devas*. Savitṛ is said to be the mind (*manas*) and *prāṇa*,[828] both of which go about restlessly.[829]   He

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[824] *úd u ṣyá deváḥ savitá yayāma hiraṇyáyīm amátiṃ yám áśiśret* | *ṚV* 7.38.1ab | Sāyaṇa glosses, "*aśiśret āśrayati tām amatim ut yayāma udyacchati udgamayati* | This may be translated as "on which he is based." Volume 3, 368.   Geldner takes √ *śri* in the sense of has set up, constructed, or installed (*aufgestellt hat*).   I suggest the use of the verb √ *śri* in these Savitṛ passages may be related to the Buddhist idea of *āśraya*. Jamison and Brereton translate, "This god Savitar holds up the golden emblem which he has fixed firm."   See *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*.   Vol. 2.   Trans. Stephanie W. Jamison and Joel P. Brereton.   (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 933.   See also *ṚV* 1.73.2.

[825] *tád ín nú asya savitúr nákir me hiraṇyáyīm amátiṃ yám áśiśret* | *ā́ suṣṭutī́ ródasī viśvaminvé ápīva yóṣā jánimāni vavre* || *ṚV* 3.38.8 || Sāyaṇa glosses, "*amatim* | *ama gatyādiṣu* | *ameratiḥ iti atipratyayaḥ* | *pratyayasvaraḥ* | *aśiśret* | *śrayater liṅi 'bahulaṃ candasi' iti śāpaḥ śluḥ…viśvam inve* | Sāyaṇa, Volume 2, 382. Jamison and Brereton translate, "This [=creation] was just his the impeller's, (it was) nothing of mine—the golden emblem that he fixed firm.   But it is through (my) good praise hymn that the two world-halves set everything in motion here.   He has swaddled the generations, like a young woman her children."   See *The Rigveda*, Vol. 1, 523.

[826] *viśráyamāṇo amátim urūcī́m martabhójanam ádha rāsate naḥ* || *ṚV* 7.45.3cd || Sāyaṇa glosses diffusing as abiding, "*viśrayamāṇaḥ niṣevamāṇaḥ san* | Volume 3, 383.   Jamison and Brereton translate, "Spreading wide his broad emblem, he will then grant to us the sustenance for mortals."   See *The Rigveda*, Vol. 2, 940.

[827] "He yokes/harnesses the mind (*manas*) and harnesses vision (*dhī*)."   When he harnesses the mind and speech, those two carry the *yajña* to the devas.   Why he says, "Harness the mind," is that he harnesses (*yuñjate*) the mind and he harnesses (*yunakti*) his mind.   And "he harnesses/concentrates (*yuñjate*) his vision." His vision is verily speech (*vāc*), for humans live by speech (*vāc*), which is vision—by what is recited (*anūkta*), by brahman, and by talkativeness.   Therefore, he says, "And he harnesses vision."   *atha pratiparetya sāvitraṃ juhoti savitā vai devānāṃ prasavitā savitṛprasūto yajñaṃ tanavā iti yuñjate mana uta yuñjate dhiya iti manaś ca havai vāk ca yukte devebhyo yajñaṃ vahataḥ sa yad āha yuñjate mana iti tan mano yunakty uta yuñjate dhiya iti vāgvai dhīr vācā hi dhiyā manuṣyā jīvanty anūktena brahmaṇā prakāmodyena tasmād āhota yuñjate dhiya iti* || *ŚBK* 4.5.3.8 ||

[828] Savitṛ is his mind (*mano ha vā savitā*), so he draws the *sāvitra graha*.   Savitṛ is his *prāṇa*.   When he draws the *upāṃśu graha*, he puts *prāṇa* in him (*ŚBK* 5.4.3.1).   Savitṛ is his mind and the *āgrayaṇa* is his body (*ātman*) (*mano vai savitātmāgrayaṇa*); Savitṛ is *prāṇa* and the *āgrayaṇa* is his body (5.4.3.5).   There is no secondary oblation because Savitṛ is the mind and *prāṇa* and he would not want to offer his mind and *prāṇa* into the fire (5.4.3.8).   See also 5.4.3.9.

is also called the impeller (*prasavitr*) of the *devas*[830] and of all desires (*kāma*).[831]   According to Sāyaṇa, *deva* refers to one who has the character of illuminating and Savitṛ is the impeller who regulates what is internal (*antaryāmin*).[832]

Heesterman rightly asserts that the epitome of Vedic lore is the Sāvitrī *ṛk*, which traditionally was taught after a year of Vedic studentship, and the teaching of which signified a second birth.[833] The short formula realized by the *ṛṣi* Viśvāmitra (*Ṛgveda* 3.62.10), may be roughly translated, "Let us direct our attention to that most excellent radiant energy (*bhárgas*) of the *deva* Savitṛ who may impel our vision (*dhî*)."[834] Regarding the Sāvitrī in the *Kāṇva Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, Sāyaṇa glosses, "radiant energy (*bhargas*) [means] the fiery energy (*tejas*) that is capable of frying (*bharjana*) all evil and all *saṃsāra*."[835] According to Ānandabodha, *bhargas* means vigor, Agni, or fiery energy because it fries (√*bhṛjj*).[836] Since the root √*dhī* means "to perceive, think," for general contexts Gonda prefers to translate *dhī* as "vision" to retain the idea of seeing in the mind things, causes, and connections as they really are.[837] Aurobindo describes *dhî* as the intermediary between normal mentality and the consciousness of *ṛtá*.[838] The supplication in this verse marks the intention of the Vedic practitioner to fix his mind on Savitṛ's radiant energy (*bhárgas*), the precreative urges that motivate conscious thought and sense experience. The *Śatapatha* provides further exegesis on the Sāvitrī verse, also known as the Gāyatrī mantra.[839]

In particular, explanatory connections (*bandhu*) found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* emphasize the special relationship between *bhárgas* and *vāja*. The Brāhmaṇa equates radiant energy (*bhargas*) with the power of the sense organs (*indriya*) and vigor (*vīrya*), and

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[829] "Savitṛ is the mind, so this mind goes about restlessly. Savitṛ is *prāṇa*. So this *prāṇa* goes about restlessly." *mano vai savitā tasmād v idam asannaṃ manaḥ sañcarati prāṇo vai savitā tasmād v ayam asannaḥ prāṇaḥ sañcaraty* | *ŚBK* 5.4.3.7 |

[830] *savitā vai devānāṃ prasavitā* || *ŚBK* 1.4.3.8 || See also 1.4.1.28, 1.5.3.5, 4.2.2.25, 4.3.2.9, 4.3.2.10, 4.5.3.8, 4.7.1.9, 4.9.4.3, 5.7.6.5, 7.2.4.6.

[831] *ŚBK* 4.9.1.18.

[832] '*devasya' dyotanātmakasya 'savituḥ' prerakasyāntaryāmiṇaḥ* | *Kāṇva Saṃhitā: With the Padapāṭha and the Commentaries of Sāyaṇācarya and Ānandabodha*, Vol. 1 (Chapters 1-10). Ed. B.R. Sharma. (Pune: Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, 1988), 211.

[833] The second rebirth is brought about during the *upanayana*. See J.C. Heesterman, *The Broken World of Sacrifice: an essay in ancient Indian ritual*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 165. Heesterman cites *ŚBM* 11.5.4.4; *ŚāṅkhGS* 2.5.1; *PārGS* 2.3.6. Note that the Gāyatrī meter belongs to Agni.

[834] *tát savitúr váreṇ(i)yaṃ* | *bhárgo devásya dhīmahi dhíyo yó naḥ pracodáyāt* || *ṚV* 3.62.10 || Compare with *ṚV* 1.159.5.

[835] *bhargaḥ sarvapāpānāṃ sarvasaṃsārasya ca bharjanasamarthaṃ tejaḥ* | *Kāṇva Saṃhitā*, 211.

[836] Ānandabodha: *bhargaśabdo vīryavacanaḥ* | "*vīryaṃ vai bhargaḥ*" (*ŚBM* 5.4.5.1) *iti śruteḥ* | *tena hi pāpmānaṃ bhṛjjati dahatīti* | *athavā bhṛjī bharjana ity asya rūpaṃ bharga iti* | "*agnir vai bhargaḥ*" (12.3.4.8) *iti śruteḥ* | *bharga iti tejovacanaḥ … dyātṝṇāṃ sarvasaṃsārakleśamūlāvabharjanaṃ bhargākhyaṃ paraṃjyotīrūpaṃ santantaṃ dhyāyām ity arthaḥ* | 211 |

[837] Other translations of *dhī* include understanding and (inspired) thought. See Jan Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1984 (first published in 1963), 68.

[838] Aurobindo, 74-75, 78.

[839] *atha sāvitryā savitā vai devānāṃ prasavitā tatho hāsmā ete savitṛprasūtāḥ sarve kāmāḥ samṛdhyante tat savitur varaṇyaṃ bhargo devasya dhīmahi* | *dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayad iti* || *ŚBK* 1.4.1.28 ||

says that generative power (*vāja*) is the same as vigor (*vīrya*).[840] For this reason, Savitṛ's radiant energy and the horse's generative power are metaphors for the same precreative and thus virile energy coming from the sun. This points to an internal understanding of light and generative power as food for the sense faculties.[841] According to these connections in the *Śatapatha*, Savitṛ impels the internal energy that is the food of the sense faculties.

The *deva's* importance is evinced in the roles he plays in ritual contexts. There is an option to invoke Savitṛ in the *agnihotra* ritual.[842] In the *soma yajña*, Savitṛ is called *svar* and praised as the one shining with incomprehensible effulgence, whose impelling is effective, and who distributes that which procures precious things (*ratnadhā*).[843] In the *vājapeya* sacrifice, the sacrificer mounts his chariot and invokes Savitṛ to win generative power (*vāja*).[844] In this way, rays of light (*raśmi*), vigor (*vīrya*), and generative power (*vāja*) metaphorically point to the radiant energy (*bhargas*) distributed by Savitṛ into the mind and sensory faculties of the human body.[845] While the *Śatapatha* does not include *amáti* in these explanatory connections, the idea of impetuous force is implied in Savitṛ's impelling action. By reciting the Sāvitrī verse, one establishes the three worlds,[846] ever expanding one's perspectival scope through a mindful exchange of *vā́ja* and *dhī́*.

The *Ṛgveda* records ample evidence to corroborate the Vedic idea that *vā́ja* (generative power) and *dhī́* (visions) were exchanged, which suggests a causal mechanism. On one hand, *vāja* is said to manifest as or to produce *dhī́*, the impelling of which the person who recites the Sāvitrī *ṛk* aspires to induce. Gonda explains that Sarasvatī, described as "giving an abundance of gifts consisting in vāja" (*vā́jebhir vā́jínīvatī*),[847] is able to dispense *dhī́*.[848] And the *ṛṣi* Vasiṣṭha prays that the Maruts who possess generative power (*vājín*) may further their visions (*dhī́*).[849] On the other hand, visions (*dhī́*) are exchanged for *vā́ja*. Gonda translates, "We would like to win with inspired thoughts (*dhī́*), which are coursers, coursers in the shape of, or coursers representing, manifestations of the generative force

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[840] *indriyaṁ vai vīryaṃ bharga* | *ŚBK* 7.3.3.1 | *vīryaṃ vai bhargaḥ* | *ŚBK* 7.4.1.1 | *indriyam u vai vīryam* | *ŚBK* 7.3.3.15 | *indriyaṃ vīryam* | *ŚBK* 6.2.1.15 | *sarvasyendriyaṃ vīryaṁ* | *ŚBK* 6.2.2.11 ‖ *vīryaṃ vājaḥ* | 4.3.4.4 |

[841] See also Gonda, "The Indian Mantra," *Oriens* 16 (Dec. 31, 1963), 288-290.

[842] See *ŚBK* 1.3.1.26-27; VS 3.10, 3.35. See Krishna Lal, "Sāvitrī—From Saṁhitās to the Gṛhyasūtras," *ABORI* 52, no. 1/4 (1971), 227.

[843] *ŚBK* 4.3.2.10.

[844] "Then the *yajamāna* mounts the chariot, [saying,] "At the urging of the deva Sāvitṛ of effective urging, may we win the *vāja* of Bṛhaspati, the winner of *vāja*." Just as that Bṛhaspati approached Sāvitṛ for inspiration/urging (*prasava*), he hastens toward Sāvitṛ for inspiration. Sāvitṛ impels that [inspiration] to him [yajamāna]. Impelled by Sāvitṛ, he wins." *atha yajamāna ātiṣṭhati rathaṃ devasya vayaṃ savituḥ save satyasavaḥ* | *bṛhaspaper vājajito vājaṃ jeṣmeti sa yathaivādo bṛhaspatiḥ savitāraṃ prasavāyopasasāraivaṃ evaiṣa(vāyopasasārai) etat savitāraṃ prasavāyopadhāvati taṃ asmai savitā prasauti taṃ savitṛprasūta ujjayaty…ŚBK* 6.2.1.8 |

[845] Note that *vāja* is often identified with *anna* (food) in the *ŚB*.

[846] *gāyatrīṃ tripadīm anuvākyām anvāha trayo vā ime lokā imān evaital lokān pratiṣṭhāpayati … ŚBK* 3.2.6.1.

[847] *ṚV* 1.3.10 and 6.61.4. Kuiper also observed references of *vā́ja* in relation with Uṣas. See *Ancient Indian Cosmogony*, 173.

[848] *ṚV* 1.3.12; Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 164.

[849] *utá tyé no marúto mandasānā́ dhíyaṃ tokáṃ ca vājíno avantu* | *ṚV* 7.36.7 | Gonda translates: "and those Maruts, the possessors (promoters) of vāja, must, delighted, further (*avantu*) our *dhīḥ* and our offspring." See *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 128.

called *vāja*."[850] Interestingly, the present participle of *vājayati* is used in a poetic stanza to Pūṣan, just two stanzas before the Sāvitrī appears (*RV* 3.62.8): "Take pleasure in this my song that is racing after (*vājayántīm*) *dhī́*, like bridegroom takes pleasure in his wife."[851] Another stanza states, "We invoke each and every *deva*, extolling him with bright visions, in order to win *vā́ja*."[852] In this way, visions are exchanged for *vā́ja*. The Ṛgvedic hymns reflect a reciprocal exchange of *vā́ja* and *dhī́*.

　　This point leads to a number of conclusions regarding the Sāvitrī *ṛk*. First, I suggest that this exchange lies at the heart of the Sāvitrī *mantra* recitation practice, if it is acknowledged that *bhárgas* refers to the same energy as *vā́ja* and that Viśvāmitra prays to pay attention to that energy of Savitṛ who impels *dhī́*. Second, bear in mind that *dhī́* is said to come from *ṛtá*, the luminous realm of the unmanifest, through the mind.[853] Since *vāja* is exchanged through the fire, I suggest that mind and fire function in the same way in the exchange of generative power and visions. Gonda explains, "The *dhīḥ* is therefore implicitly compared, with regard to swiftness, to a chariot driven by divine horses: it is the swift 'mind' that conveys the *dhīḥ* to the gods."[854] Kuiper observes that the seer gets his vision through his heart, which is equated with a cosmic mountain and its subterranean ocean.[855] He says, "divine inspiration is looked upon as an 'opening of the doors of the mind' that is parallel to the opening of the cosmic 'enclosure' (*vrajá-*)."[856] Third, since *dhī́* represents the earliest instance of the manifestation of the unmanifest *vā́ja*, the ancient seers would trade vision for an increase of generative power (*vā́ja*). In practical terms this meant that rather than expending the vision to produce sensory cognition that collapses the infinite scope of their mind in that moment, they wanted the unmanifest energy to pass through fire that is cognition so as to be purified and restored within themselves after its transformation. Since the conscious mind cannot access the unmanifest energy directly, the only place a seer has to work is with the manifested component of it.

　　The seer's eagerness to race to be mindful of the vision before it generates a sensory experience may have inspired the popular races associated with more complicated ritual offerings (*yajña*), given the connection between *vāja* and the race in *Ṛgveda* 4.41.8. In this stanza, Indra and Varuna are informed that visions have gone to them to win their favor and rouse generative power (*vāja*), like those going to a running match.[857] Gonda explains, "A race or other game of a magico-religious character puts the runner or player into possession of vigour and energy, enables him to rouse its salutary influence down on himself. So do *dhiyaḥ* when received, elaborated and recited in the proper way."[858] The visionaries hoped that while paying attention to his effulgent energy, Savitṛ would impel their visions. In turn,

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[850] *dhībhír árvadbhir árvato vájām̐ indra śravā́yiyān | tváyā jeṣma hitáṃ dhánam* ‖ *RV* 6.45.12 ‖ Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 152-153.

[851] *tā́ṃ juṣasva gíram máma vājayántīm avā dhíyam | vadhūyúr iva yóṣaṇām* ‖ *RV* 3.62.3 ‖

[852] *devám-devaṃ huvema vā́jasātaye gṛṇánto deviyā́ dhiyā́* | *RV* 8.27.13 |

[853] "From *ṛtá* I send to you this vision yoked to the mind." *ṛtā́d iyarmi te dhíyam manoyújam* | *RV* 8.13.26 |

[854] Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 155.

[855] Kuiper cites "ocean of the heart" (*hṛ́dyāt samudrā́c*) in *RV* 4.58.5 and *antáḥ samudré hṛdí antár* in 4.58.11. See Kuiper, "The Bliss of Aša," 125.

[856] Ibid., 125.

[857] *tā́ vāṃ dhíyo ávase vājayántīr ājíṃ ná jagmur yuvayū́ḥ sudānū* | *RV* 4.41.8 |

[858] Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 152.

being mindful they would be able to capture and retain that energy, thereby empowering themselves and expanding their scope.

Gonda explains that the visions underwent a process of clarification or purification in which the inspired seers (*kavi*) observe the one not subject to decay in their heart.[859] According to a hymn to Agni, "The various inspired seers possessing *dhī́*,[860] paying heed to, wishing to procure the undecaying place through their heart, saw the river (*síndhu*). The sun manifested to those men."[861] The ancient *ṛṣis* paid attention to an inner stream of *dhī́* so that the sun would manifest to them. Elsewhere, streams (*sarít*) flow ($\sqrt{sru}$) together like rivers/words (*dhénā*) inside, which are being clarified by the heart [and] the mind.[862] This process of clarification is reflected in the ritual act of straining the *soma* juice, which was believed to issue from the heart of the inspired poet.[863] Gonda concludes,

> The idea is clear: the god who, as the material soma, undergoes in the course of the sacrificial ceremonies, a process of clarification, and who, at the same time, is the inspirer of thoughts, is believed to be the power presiding over clarification and to bring about that process with regard to the inspired thoughts which, while being received by the 'poet' in his heart, are transformed into liturgical words which in their turn are to accompany oblations of the soma juice and to make these effective.[864]

The flow of *dhī́* was metaphorically described as a stream clarified by the mind.

Sometimes, however, the onrush is so powerful that it is described not just as a river, but as a full-on flood. According to Jurewicz, the concept of the flood, or of rivers escaping their confinement, emphasizes movement "as the important feature of the created world and its shining and life-giving character."[865] Ludvik has observed that the much sought-after rush of *dhī́* is associated with Sarasvatī's torrential flood.[866] River and goddess, Sarasvatī is

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[859] Ibid., 280.

[860] Sāyaṇa glosses *dhī́rāsaḥ* as *dhīra*, one who possesses *dhī*, one who knows the connections, beginning with the adhvaryus: "*dhīrāsaḥ dhīrā dhīmantaḥ prayogajñā adhvaryvādayaḥ.*" According to Gonda, *dhīra* often means "possessing, having received, being characterized by" *dhīḥ*, wise, having insight into things, connections, phenomena which are hidden from ordinary men. Ibid., 210.

[861] *dhī́rāsaḥ padáṃ kaváyo nayanti nā́nā hṛdā́ rákṣamāṇā ajuryám | síṣāsantaḥ páry apaśyanta síndhum āvír ebhyo abhavat sū́riyo nṝ́n ǁ ṚV 1.146.4 ǁ* Sāyaṇa glosses *ebhyaḥ* as "by those who are occupied in this way" (*evaṃ kurvadbhyaḥ*) and he reads the accusative plural *nṝ́n* as a dative plural *nṛbhyaḥ netṛbhyaḥ*, which he construes with *ebhyaḥ*. According to Sāyaṇa, either "men" here is contrary to its grammatical case (*vacana*) or it is to be construed with "in order to favor" men, that is to say living beings. "*nṝn ity atra vacanavyatyayaḥ ǁ nṝn prāṇino 'nugrahītum iti vā yojyam* ǁ See Vol. 1, page 908.

[862] The rest of the *ṛk* says, "These waves (*ūrmi*) of clarified butter are like deer escaping the bowman." *samyák sravanti saríto ná dhénā antár hṛdā́ mánasā pūyámānāḥ | eté arṣanti ūrmáyo ghṛtásya mṛgā́ iva kṣipaṇór íṣamāṇāḥ ǁ ṚV 4.58.6 ǁ* See also Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 278.

[863] In Gonda's translation, "the inspired poets clarify their words in the sieve that has been extended and discharges a thousand streams."*sahásradhāre vítate pavítra ā́ vā́cam punanti kaváyo manīṣíṇaḥ | 9.73.7 |* See also *ṚV* 1.91.13, 1.68.3, 1.179.5, etc. *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 278-279.

[864] Ibid., 279.

[865] Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, 79. Jurewicz further demonstrates how streams of water (rivers and rain) are conceived in terms of cows, citing *ṚV* 5.53.7ab, 1.32.11, 1.161.10, 1.130.5, 1.112.18, 2.34.12cd, 10.76.3, 10.38.2. See pages 101 and 348.

[866] Catherine Ludvik, *Sarasvatī: Riverine Goddess of Knowledge. From the Manuscript-carrying Vīṇā-player to the Weapon-wielding Defender of the Dharma.* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets.*

invoked to grant *dhī́* (*sárasvatī vīrápatnī dhíyaṃ dhāt*, *ṚV* 6.49.7), illumines all *dhī́* (*dhíyo víśvā ví rājati*, 1.3.12c), is accompanied by *dhī́* (*sárasvatī sahá dhibhiḥ*, 10.65.13d and 7.35.11b), promotes *dhī́* (*dhīnám avitrī́*, 6.61.4c), and makes the ṛṣis' *dhī́* prosperous (*sárasvatī sādháyantī dhíyaṃ*, 2.3.8a). Tantamount to a mighty flood, Sarasvatī impels through the metaphor of rushing water, much like Savitṛ impels through the metaphor of light. Take for example these stanzas from the *Ṛgveda*[867]:

> May the purifying Sarasvatī, powerfully rich through what possesses generative power (*vája*) and excellent through vision (*dhiyā́vasuḥ*), like our offering (*yajñá*). May Sarasvatī, the incitress gazing upon the well-understood and pleasant cosmic order (*ṛ́ta*), like the offering. Sarasvatī makes herself known through the form of a mighty flood. She illumines all visions (*dhī́*).[868]

Sarasvatī is full of *vája* and illuminates *dhī́*. She knows cosmic order firsthand and makes herself known by sending a mighty flood, which represents the movement from the unmanifest to the conscious mind. Through this action, she illumines what people cognize.

This process is consonant with the one described in the "Nāsadīya Sūkta" (*ṚV* 10.129), in which "in the beginning the One was breathing without breath according to its own will" and "everything was a flood devoid of any sign" (*apraketáṃ saliláṃ sárvam*).[869] Jurewicz aptly interprets this flood as the unmanifest aspect.[870] She explains, surrounded by the void, about to be/empty (*ābhū́/ābhú*), the One was born through the power of heat, which marks the possibility of cognizing, since heat evokes light.[871] The hymn then says that desire came upon the first semen of thought or mind (*mánas*). Jurewicz explains, "*mánaso rétas* will refer to *ābhú/ābhú́* understood as the ejaculate of thought/mind."[872] In this way, the world originates from the thought or mind of that primordial one in a similar way to how Sarasvatī's flood of *vája* manifests visions.

Sarasvatī takes on the role of a victorious helper in the process of purifying streams. *Ṛgveda* 6.61.3 states, "O Sarasvatī, cast down those who hate the devas, the *prajā* of every illusory conjuror. O one rich in generative power, you discovered streams (*avani*) for those who are abiding and gushed (√*sru*) poison from them."[873] According to this stanza, Sarasvatī is supplicated to cast down dark forces and make the poison flow away from the streams supposedly in the Vedic practitioner. The verb √*sru* is used in connection with a

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[867] *VS* 20.86 repeats the last two phrases verbatim.

[868] *pāvaká naḥ sárasvatī vā́jebhir vājínīvatī | yajñáṃ vaṣṭu dhiyā́vasuḥ || codayitrī́ sūnṛ́tānāṃ cétantī sumatīnā́m | yajñáṃ vaṣṭu sárasvatī || mahó árṇaḥ sárasvatī prá cetayati ketúnā | dhíyo víśvā ví rājati || ṚV* 1.3.10-12. My translation is given above. For Ludvik's, see page 28.

[869] Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, 46-48.

[870] Ibid., 79, 348. The streams of water (rivers, rain) are conceived also in terms of cows. Jurewicz translates, "The bursting streams flowed with their turbulent waves through the space, like milk cows." *tatṛdānáḥ síndhavaḥ kṣódasā rájaḥ prá sasrur dhenávo yathā* (*ṚV* 5.53.7ab) (page 101). Other examples that Jurewicz cites are when the waters freed by Indra are compared to the enemies cow's captured during expansion (ṚV 1.32.11, 1.161.10, 1.130.5) and *góarṇas* (flood of cows) used four times in the *ṚV*: 1.112.18, 2.34.12cd, 10.76.3, 10.38.2.

[871] Ibid., 50.

[872] Ibid., 51.

[873] *sárasvati devanído ní barhaya prajā́ṃ víśvasya bṛ́sayasya māyínaḥ | utá kṣitíbhyo avánīr avindo viṣám ebhyo asravo vājinīvati || ṚV* 6.61.3 ||

pernicious substance (*viṣá*) coming from the streams. Like Varuṇa, she casts down evil influences, including what is generated (*prajā́*).

Sarasvatī as a symbol for the surge of *dhī́* was so important in the Vedic imagination that even when the once vigorous river dried up, her association with inspired thought continued in the form of the goddess of speech (*vāc*).[874] Sarasvatī most commonly appears as Vāc in Mantra and Brāhmaṇa literature.[875] Just as *dhī́* is an intermediary between conscious thought and what lies beyond, so is speech. The quotidian speech of men constitutes only a quarter of speech, while the other three quarters have been deposited in a cave or secret place.[876] For the Vedic seer, Sarasvatī was equivalent to the flood of *vā́ja* and, Gonda stresses, visions (*dhī́*) are connected with *vā́ja*.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* provides a critical exegesis of the terms *bhárgas* and *dhī́* from the Sāvitrī *ṛk* by means of imparting explanatory connections (*bandhu*). Based on these connections, a Vedic causal mechanism is established for the mind's precreative energy and what that energy creates in the conscious mind. Like Sāvitṛ's radiant energy (*bhárgas*), generative power (*vāja*) produces visions (*dhī́*) and vice versa. Human cognition is conditioned by a constant exchange of these two entities. The Sāvitrī mantra expresses the seers' aspiration to know the radiant energy behind thought, to see clearly the vision (*dhī́*) of the unmanifest right at the moment of manifestation, in the waking instance of perception. A Vedic practitioner recites the Sāvitrī *ṛk* aspiring to increase his generative power by paying attention to what the precreative energy creates in his mind.

Section III: Yājñavalkya's *karma*

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes the unmanifest energy as the food (*anna, āhāra*) generated through a causal, cognitive process enacted in ritual action (*karma*). The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* continues to build on the causal aspect of the term *karma* when it clarifies that this food is eaten by means of what is said and heard.[877] Yājñavalkya declares, "Whatever one does or whatever one practices, so one becomes. Doing good, one becomes good. Doing evil, one becomes evil—meritorious by meritorious acts, evil by evil acts."[878] The passage goes on to say, "That action which he does he is changed into (*abhisam+√pad*)."[879] According to Yājñavalkya, a person's mind becomes fixed on internal urges that create the karmic conditions that influence actions:

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[874] Sarasvatī is Vāc according to *ŚBK* 3.2.9.5, 4.1.4.8, 4.1.4.12, 5.7.2.2.

[875] Similarly, Gonda translates *dhīti* as "visionary insight or wisdom" or "extrasensory perception of fundamental truths." Gonda explains that the *dhītayaḥ* are compared to "flames, lightnings, which arise spontaneously, the place of their origin being beyond human reach, knowledge, and understanding." Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, 201, 172. *mā́ abhí prá ṇonumo vipā́m ágreṣu dhītáyaḥ | | agnéḥ śocír ná didyútaḥ || gúhā satī́r úpa tmánā   prá yác chócanta dhītáyaḥ | kāṇvā ṛtásya dhárayā || ṚV 8.6.7-8 ||*

[876] *catvā́ri vā́k párimitā padā́ni tā́ni vidur brāhmaṇā́ yé manīṣíṇaḥ | | gúhā trī́ṇi níhitā néṅgayanti turī́yaṃ vācó manuṣyà̀ vadanti || ṚV 1.164.45 ||*

[877] *… vā́g evā́triḥ | vācā hy annam adyate | BĀU 17.2.2.4.*

[878] *yathākārī yathācārī tathā bhavati | sādhukārī sādhur bhavati | pāpakārī pāpo bhavati | puṇyaḥ puṇyena karmaṇā bhavati pāpaḥ pāpena … BĀU 17.4.4.5 |* See also Oldenberg, *The Doctrine of the Upaniṣads and of the Early Buddhism*, 65-68.

[879] *… atho khalv āhuḥ | kāmamaya evāyaṃ puruṣa iti | sa yathākāmo bhavati tat kratur bhavati | yat kratur bhavati tat karma kurute | yat karma kurute tad abhisaṃpadyate || BĀU 17.4.4.5 ||*

One who is attached goes together with his *karma* to the subtle body (*liṅga*) where his mind is hung/fixed (*niṣakta*). Having attained the condition (*anta*) belonging to this *karma*, whatever that is he does here. He comes again from that conditioned space (*loka*) for this conditioned space, namely *karma*.[880]

When the mind is fixed on a conditioned space that arises due to *karma*, a person's perspective and actions are in this way limited.

To cross over the conditions created by *karma*, one must see into its source, the *ātman* and all of its food. When this successfully occurs, the seer has no loss of sight, but sees no second, another separated from him.[881] The same applies for smelling, tasting, speaking, hearing, thinking, touching, and knowing. Seeing or smelling another occurs on account of an apparent, but not actual duality.[882] The *ātman*, which has neither an interior nor an exterior, is in reality nothing but a mass of awareness (*prajñāna*).[883] Yājñavalkya concludes, "It is to be seen by the mind alone that nothing exists separately here. He who sees apparent diversity here meets with death after death."[884] In other words, seeing in a certain way—the kind of perception unknowingly influenced by past *karma*—causes repeated death. One who successfully sees into his karmic conditions and has realized the imperishable (*akṣara*) is deemed a "*brāhmaṇa*" in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[885] Set free, the knowers of *brahman* enter the *svarga loka* described metaphorically as above this *loka*.[886] At the same time, however, their conditioned space continues to include this material world. Yājñavalkya explains,

Whose *ātman* has been realized, awakened (*pratibuddha*), and entered into what is this impenetrable and perplexing, he is a knower of everything, for he is a maker of everything. His world is this world only.[887]

Just as Viṣṇu takes three steps to expand his domain to include all three *lokas*, so also the one who knows oneself occupies all three *lokas*: the physical manifest space, the yonder unmanifest space, and the one in between. The ultimate reality for Yājñavalkya is nondual, a space that integrates this world and the yonder one. Whereas such knowers become immortal, others experience only *duḥkha* (suffering).[888]

In conclusion, the Vedic tradition reflects early mechanisms of causation inherent in *karma* as ritual action, a term which over time became shorthand for karmic retribution.

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[880] *tad eṣa śloko bhavati -- tad eva saktaḥ saha karmaṇaiti liṅgaṃ mano yatra niṣaktam asya | prāpyāntaṃ karmaṇas tasya yat kiñceha karoty ayam | tasmāl lokāt punar aity asmai lokāya karmaṇe … BĀU 4.4.6 ‖*

[881] *BĀU* 17.4.3.23-31.

[882] *BĀU* 17.2.4.14. Because people have different underlying essences or karmic conditions, they understand things differently, a teaching aptly illustrated by a story. Prajāpati tells his three descendants—the *devas*, humans, and *asuras*—"Da da da," which each of them interprets differently. See *BĀU* 17.5.2.1ff.

[883] *… evaṃ vā are 'yam ātmānantaro 'bāhyaḥ kṛtsnaḥ prajñānaghana eva… BĀU* 17.4.5.13 |

[884] *manasaivānudraṣṭavyaṃ neha nānāsti kiṃ cana | mṛtyoḥ sa mṛtyum āpnoti ya iha nāneva paśyati ‖ BĀU* 17.4.4.19 ‖

[885] *BĀU* 17.3.8.10. The imperishable is defined as *tad vā etad akṣaraṃ gārgy adṛṣṭaṃ draṣṭraśrutaṃ śrotramataṃ mantravijñātaṃ vijñātṛ nānyad ato 'sti draṣṭṛ |* BĀU 17.3.8.11 | Other passages in which Yājñavalkya defines a brāhmaṇa are 17.3.5.1 and 17.4.4.23.

[886] *BĀU* 17.4.4.8.

[887] *yasyānuvittaḥ pratibuddha ātmāsmin saṃdehye gahane praviṣṭaḥ | sa viśvakṛt sa hi sarvasya kartā tasya lokaḥ sa u loka eva ‖ BĀU* 17.4.4.13 ‖

[888] *… ye tad vidur amṛtās te bhavanty athetare duḥkham evāpiyanti | BĀU* 17.4.4.14 |

The metaphorical explanations given for the ritual practices of the *agnihotra* performance and the Sāvitrī *ṛk* recitation suggest a process of cause and effect. The circuit of the sun—day leads to night and night to day—is a wheel that unceasingly presents the light of the unmanifest, which makes cognition possible. In the *agnihotra*, this light from the sun is believed to enter the fire as an offering. What is offered in the fire is transformed—physically as boiled milk and mentally as a cognitive act—and conveyed to the sun, whose rays of light return to the fire in an endless cycle of reciprocal generation. Fire is also portrayed as a horse who carries the offerings to and from that yonder world of *svàr*. The horse's footprint is used to establish the fire and thereby serves to remind the sacrificer that his cognition is based on karmic traces or impressions. The inspired seer exchanges his visions (*dhî*) for generative power (*vája*), knowing that one leads to the other. Like the horse, vital breath is a mechanism for a causal process. *Prāṇa* flows in and out, carrying particles of light endowed with consciousness from the yonder world, through the bloodstream of the human person and then back to the yonder world. In this way, the *yajña* (ritual offering) itself is an exchange of energies that generate cognition and, in turn, the cognition generated is conveyed to the realm of unmanifest energies—until this energy too is offered once again in the fire that is cognition.

Just as kindling and maintaining the sacred fires requires constant attention, the *yajamāna* develops awareness for and constantly attends his prāṇic ebb and flow that transports the vital energies behind his sense activity. In this way, the *yajña* constitutes the offering of these generative powers with the goal of transforming one's whole person and expanding the mind to ever greater conditioned spaces and vital potential. By drawing one's attention to the reception of the unmanifest energies manifesting in the mind, the Vedic sacrificer avoids repeated death by becoming death itself; he avoids being constantly eaten by becoming the eater.[889] His generative power is purified and reconstituted by means of this ritual practice, leading to greater empowerment and freedom.

This chapter explored the explanatory connections (*bandhu*) expressed in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as they relate to *karma* as ritual action and retribution. For Renou, however, the Vedic system of equations between the microcosm and the macrocosm were only primitive identifications.[890] Buddhism, he opined, shows evidence of cause and effect relationship. And yet, despite the sophisticated machinery of Buddhist rhetoric to explain causal mechanisms, the Buddha drew liberally from the rich repository of metaphors in Vedic thought. We now turn to how the Buddha incorporated this system of metaphorical concepts in discourses on causation in the *Suttanipāta*.

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[889] "The one who offers the *agnihotra* is the eater (*aśitṛ*) of what is left over from the offering." *hutocchiṣṭasyo hyaśitāgnihotraṃ juhvat* | *ŚBK* 1.3.1.6 | For becoming an eater and death, see *BĀU* 17.1.2.1-7.

[890] Louis Renou, "'Connexion' en Védique, 'Cause' en Bouddhique," in *Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume,* 55-60. (Madras: The Adyar Library, 1946), 55.

Chapter Five
Vedic Currency in Buddhism: The Case of *upadhi* and *āsava*

  Derrida defines usage (*usure*) as the acquisition of additional meaning produced when words circulate as well as the corresponding erasure of the original meaning.[891] When the primitive figure is displaced by the metaphorical one, it is sometimes forgotten, such that the metaphor is no longer noticed. Just as palimpsests can be deciphered by using chemical reagents, so too a more original figure can be uncovered in metaphysical writing.[892] The displaced meaning is to be found in the very vehicle that conveys it, language. Recovering the Vedic background of the terms *upadhi* (substrata) and *āsava* (inflow) enables a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanism of karmic retribution taught in early Buddhist texts. The terms *upadhi* and *āsava* do not occur in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[893] But in using these concepts the Buddha drew from verbal forms based on the roots *upa+√dhā* and *ā+√sru*, which in Vedic metaphorical assemblages signify the movement of unmanifest energies generated through cognitive acts. This chapter connects the Vedic conceptual system in Kosala regarding causation to the Buddha's usage of the concepts *upadhi* and *āsava* in the *Suttanipāta* in particular, but also in other early Buddhist texts.

  Many scholars—most recently Shults, Wynne, Bhikkhu Sujato and Bhikkhu Brahmali—have observed that the early Buddhist texts frequently share metaphors with Vedic literature.[894] Gombrich explains, "at a very early stage the Buddhist tradition lost sight of the texts and doctrines to which the Buddha was responding."[895] Later commentators who lived eight or nine centuries after the Buddha were unaware of Vedic influence and reinterpreted Vedic terms and images according to Buddhist culture, sometimes changing the meaning of the original context.[896] For this reason, Gombrich persuasively argues that gaining insight into the meaning of some Pāli words requires understanding their import in late Vedic Sanskrit, which was spoken during the lifetime of the historical Buddha.[897] To illustrate his point, Gombrich shows how the Buddha appropriated the terms *nāma-rūpa* from the Upaniṣads,[898] the metaphor of *upādāna-khandha* as a mass of burning fuel,[899] and the idea of consciousness as appetitive from Vedic

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[891] Jacques Derrida, "White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy," in *Margins of Philosophy*. Trans. Alan Bass. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 210.

[892] Ibid., 211.

[893] Katre notes that words not found in the older Upaniṣads, which are used for the first time in Buddhist discourses include: *ālaya, āsava, upadhi, taṇhā*, etc. See SM Katre, *Early Buddhist Ballads and their Relation to Older Upanishadic Literature*. (PhD Diss., London University, 1931), 125.

[894] Bhikkhu Sujato and Bhikkhu Brahmali, "The Authenticity of the Early Buddhist Texts," 67; Brett Shults, "On the Buddha's Use of Some Brahmanical Motifs in Pali Texts," *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies* 5 (supplement); Norman, "Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism."

[895] Richard Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought,* (London: Equinox, 2009), 137.

[896] Richard Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings.* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1996), 9-10.

[897] Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought*, 6.

[898] Ibid., 136.

[899] Ibid., 12.

thought.[900] He draws from Jurewicz's work, when pointing out that Buddhism appropriated from Vedism the ideas that cognition is represented by the image of fire[901] and that consciousness is reflexive, cognizing itself.[902] According to Jurewicz, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* expresses the metaphor of eating food to portray the cognitive character of cosmogony.[903] This chapter builds on the work of Gombrich and Jurewicz to elucidate terms employed by the Buddha that relate to the Vedic notion of what is eaten to produce conscious thought and other sensory experience.

When the young brāhmaṇa Dhotaka asks about the doctrine of solitude (*vivekadamma*),[904] the Buddha gives him an explanation based on direct experience. He states that his message, about the nature of perception, is original when he says that he will teach him "not based on hearsay (*anītiha*) from dogmatic views or doctrine."[905] Nevertheless, the Buddha supplements and enlivens Vedic concepts to teach his students. His subtle nuances evoke aspects of Vedic doctrine that may have been forgotten over time.

Section I: *upadhi*

Vedic thought presented various metaphorical processes for the unmanifest becoming manifest as a cognitive process. Adding fuel and pouring libations to tend to the physical fires is a ritualized form of paying attention to what generative power is being offered to the internal Agni that is cognition. When an *agnihotrin* in Kosala offered in the evening and morning, he recited a *mantra* found only in the Kāṇva *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa*, "I place (*upa+√dhā*) you [*samidh*]…"[906] The evening and morning offerings of the *agnihotra* represent Sūrya's unmanifest energy entering the fire of cognition to become manifest; then, what manifests, i.e. the product of cognition, is in turn carried up by Agni and stored in the sun, the unmanifest. The *agnihotra* ritual draws the sacrificer's attention to this reciprocal process of cause and effect. Insofar as every Kāṇva *agnihotrin* would recite this mantra twice a day, he would be familiar with the concept of placing (*upa+√dhā*) the kindling stick as a metaphor for paying attention to what enters and is generated by his mind. The verb *upa+√dhā* occurs in another passage in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* related to maintaining the body through the *agnihotra* offering. The one who performs the offering to himself (*ātmayājin*) knows,

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[900] Ibid., 123.

[901] Joanna Jurewicz, "Playing with Fire: the *pratītyasamutpāda* from the perspective of Vedic thought," in *Buddhism: Critical Concepts in Religious Studies.* Vol. 1. Ed. Paul Williams, 169-187. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 170.

[902] Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought*, 135.

[903] Jurewicz, "Playing with Fire," 171.

[904] *Sn* 1065.

[905] *"kittayissāmi te santiṃ, (dhotakāti bhagavā) diṭṭhe dhamme anītihaṃ | Sn* 1066 |

[906] …*tvā…upadadāmi… ŚBK* 3.1.5.1. This formula is also found in *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa* 45.1.18 and in Atharvaveda *Vaitāna Sūtra* 7.9-10.

'With this [offering], this body (*aṅga*) of mine is formed, with this, this body of mine is maintained (*upa+√dhā*).' As a snake would be released from his skin, in this way then, he is released from that mortal body (*śarīra*), from evil.[907]

His ritual *karma* metaphorically stands for this exchange between the unmanifest and manifest in his mind. The awareness of how his offering forms his body releases him from being bound inside the conditioned space that he has constructed through his constant offerings, which soon becomes too small for him like a snake's old skin.

The Buddha seems to have created the concept of *upadhi* based on these Vedic metaphors in order to teach brāhmaṇa *munis*. The word *upadhi* is a noun derived from the same verbal root (*upa+√dhā*) found in the Kāṇva *agnihotrabrāhmaṇa* with regard to piling Agni and maintaining a body through the offering. However, the Buddhist use of *upadhi* is somewhat cheeky—ironic as Gombrich would say—and implies that the some of the brāhmaṇas the Buddha encountered may have been performing the ritual in a sloppy way. Rather than maintaining their awareness of their cognitive acts, the brāhmaṇas he taught seem to have been generating sensory experience without awareness to what was impelling their action. As a consequence, they were building up a substrata of latent karmic matter that he called *upadhi*.

Occurring in the *Suttanipāta* seventeen times, the term *upadhi* in standard Pāli dictionaries has the conventional designation of substrata, ground, grasping or clinging, or what has been taken up or clung to. Understanding *upadhi* as (material) substratum, Jayawickrama has no doubt that the concept belonged to the earliest stratum of Buddhist thought.[908] Bhikkhu Bodhi often translates *upadhi* as "acquisitions" and explains that the term "refers both to the subjective act of taking things up to oneself and the things that are taken."[909] Cone similarly defines *upadhi* as "worldly possessions or belongings, acquisitions" and "attachment to such possessions."[910] Premasiri explains the literal etymology as *upa* (approaching) + *dhā* (putting down).[911] He understands *upadhi* as fixation, the psychological tendency to approach something and fix one's mind there. Trenckner, Anderson and Smith define *upadhi* as "apposition, adding [the act of adding; that on which something is laid or rests, basis, foundation, substratum."[912] Gómez similarly establishes *upadhi* as something added to what is perceived as a self:

I take *upadhi* literally (*upa-dhā*), but there is, of course a certain sense of "cover up," "sham." The poet is playing here with the idea of foraneous matter (*aññena*) piling up as "additives" or "agglutinants" to build up the semblance of a self. An *upadhi* is a "substratum" only in the sense that it is a base we build in order to have something

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[907] … *sa ha vā ātmayājī yo vededaṃ me 'nenāṅgaṃ saṃskriyata idaṃ me 'nenāṅgam upadhīyata iti sa yathāhis tvaco nirmucyetaivam asmān martyāccharīrāt pāpmano nirmucyate…ŚBK* 3.2.10.11

[908] N.A. Jayawickrama, "Sutta Nipāta: Some Suttas from the Aṭṭhaka Vagga," *University of Ceylon Review* 8, no. 4. (1950): 244-255, 248.

[909] Bhikkhu Bodhi, email correspondence.

[910] Margaret Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli, Part I.* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2001), 454.

[911] Premasiri Pahalawattage, University of Peradeniya. Personal tutorial in Kandy, Sri Lanka, summer 2013.

[912] V. Trenckner, Dines Anderson, and Helmer Smith, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. 1. (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy, 1924), 453.

to lean on, but it is not a real base, it is something added to the true nature of things, not something underlying them or giving any real support to illusion.[913]

Based on these definitions, *upadhi* appears best thought of as what is acquired from past subjective experience that forms the latent basis for karmically conditioned sensory experience. It is both the unmanifest substratum of karmic seeds and what manifests so as to be grasped during cognition. The latter refers to what Gómez describes as an additive to conscious experience. Due to the polysemic *usure*, as Derrida would say, of the term *upadhi*, it is difficult to translate in one word. Context sometimes indicates which usage is more appropriate, but often more than one sense is called for in a single passage. For this reason, I leave the term untranslated below while discussing the passages in which *upadhi* appears in the *Suttanipāta* and in other early Buddhist texts.

Very often *upadhi* indicates past *karma* that forms a kind of basis for perception that may be problematic because it is often unperceived. In a verse that describes how a *bhikkhu* should go about properly in the world, the Buddha says that a proper *bhikkhu* would not regard anything as substantial coming from his karmic substrata:

> He does not acknowledge anything substantially real in *upadhi*, having given up impulsive desire and passion for appropriating [things]. Not dependent, not to be led by anything, he would go about properly in the world.[914]

Here *upadhi* represents the underlying karmic tendencies that people take up mentally when they believe that something *as they see it* is substantial. The *upadhi* constitute many of the attributes that, based on past experience, become projected onto what is perceived in the present.

The *Suttanipāta* is emphatic that *upadhi* is a source of *dukkha*. In the *Pārāyanavagga,* the young brāhmaṇa Mettagū asks the Bhagavan about the origin of *dukkha* (dis-ease), to which the Buddha responds:

> ("Mettagū,) you asked me about the origin of *dukkha*. I will tell this to you as I understand it. *Dukkhas* having many forms in conditioned space arise on account *upadhi* (*Sn* 1050).[915] He who is ignorant forms *upadhi*. A stupid person comes to *dukkha* again and again. Therefore, directly knowing, one who observes the origin and arising of *dukkha* should not form *upadhi*." (1051)[916]

The teaching given to Mettagū in the *Mettagūmāṇavapucchā* is identical with that articulated in the "Dvayatānupassanā Sutta (Insight into Twofoldness)." In fact, verses 728 (minus the first line) and 1051 match almost word for word, not to mention they have a corollary verse in the *Theragāthā*.[917] The "Dvayatānupassanā Sutta" states,

> Whatever manifold *dukkhas* arise in the world are tied to *upadhi*. He who is ignorant verily forms *upadhi*. That stupid person undergoes *dukkha* again and again.

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[913] Gómez, 160, note 23.

[914] "*na so upadhīsu sāram eti, ādānesu vineyya chandarāgaṃ | so anissito anaññaneyyo, sammā so loke paribbajeyya || Sn* 364 || Literally, *eti* means come to. I have added "anything."

[915] "*dukkhassa ve maṃ pabhavaṃ apucchasi, Mettagū ti bhagavā taṃ te pavakkhāmi yathā pajānaṃ | upadhinidānā pabhavanti dukkhā, ye keci lokasmim anekarūpā || Sn* 1050 ||

[916] "*yo ve avidvā upadhiṃ karoti, punappunaṃ dukkham upeti mando | tasmā pajānaṃ upadhiṃ na kayirā, dukkhassa jātippabhavānupassī*" || *Sn* 1051 || I am reading the variant *pajānaṃ* instead of "*hi jānaṃ*."

[917] *yo ve avidvā upadhiṃ karoti, punappunaṃ dukkham upeti mando. tasmā pajānaṃ upadhiṃ na kayirā, māhaṃ puna bhinnasiro sayissa*" *nti* || *Theragāthā* 6. *mahākāḷattheragāthā* 152 ||

Therefore, directly knowing, one who observes the origin and arising of *dukkha* should not form *upadhi*.[918]

Not only does *upadhi* lead to suffering, but the experience of suffering also forms latent *upadhi* for the future. Like the metaphors in the *agnihotra* ritual, *upadhi* here is a reciprocal process in which past *upadhi* forms the basis for present cognition, which is then stored as a latent potential for a future basis. The antidote given in this passage is for the cultivator to see directly into the cognitive process that builds experience based on *upadhi* and thereby recycles *upadhi*. This is advantageous because forming *upadhi* (substrata) leads to experience based on *upadhi* in a recurring cognitive cycle also known as *saṃsāra*. In this way, when one's present experience is conditioned by *dukkha*, it is limited by past experience. By not taking up the *upadhi* in cognition, one does not generate *upadhi* for the future and can slowly free oneself from the influence of past *karma*.

A person must first realize that discomfort or suffering comes from this store of past *karma*. In the prose portion of the "Dvayatānupassanā Sutta", the Buddha teaches,

"Whatever *dukkha* arises, all is conditioned by *upadhi*." This is one insight. "But still, because of the complete detachment from and cessation of *upadhi*, there is no arising of *dukkha*." This is the second insight.[919]

Attachment to *upadhi* leads to suffering, since *upadhi* is the afflictions, the aggregates, and habitual tendencies. Taking up past karmic energies, such as thoughts or emotions, thinking that they reflect something actually going on in the world—leads to suffering for two reasons. First, nothing is going on that corresponds to what one understands according to past emotions, theoretical frameworks, experiences, or any reflexive interpretation. Second, the *upadhi* are fleeting bursts of past karmic energy that change within a person's sense faculties in every moment, so no subjective understanding of any object or experience is stable or substantial in any way (not to mention the effective dissonance between an object as it is and one's understanding of it).

These passages reflect an early formulation related to the Four Noble Truths in which the origin or cause of suffering is said to be the conditioning of *upadhi*. The path to stop suffering requires not forming future *upadhi*, which is achieved by not taking up past *upadhi*. While usually *upadhi* bears this psychological sense, it should be kept in mind that it also refers to the psychological components taken up with reference to the understanding of material objects. In the "Dhaniya Sutta," Māra tells the Bhagavan, "Those who have children delight in their children. In the same way, those who have cows delight in their cows. *Upadhi* are joy for a man, but the one without *upadhi* does not enjoy."[920] To this the Buddha responds, "One who possesses children grieves because of his children. In the same way, one who owns cows grieves because of his cows. For *upadhi* are grieving for a man,

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[918] "*upadhinidānā pabhavanti dukkhā, ye keci lokasmim anekarūpā | yo ve avidvā upadhiṃ karoti, punappunaṃ dukkham upeti mando | tasmā pajānaṃ upadhiṃ na kayirā, dukkhassa jātippabhavānupassī" ti || Sn 728 ||*

[919] *yaṃ kiñci dukkhaṃ sambhoti sabbaṃ upadhipaccayāti, ayam ekānupassanā | upadhīnaṃ tveva asesavirāganirodhā natthi dukkhassa sambhavoti, ayaṃ dutiyānupassanā | Nidāna to Sn 3.12 |*

[920] "*Nandati puttehi puttimā, iti māro pāpimā gomiko gohi that'eva nandati | upadhī hi narassa nandanā, na hi so nandati yo nirūpadhi" || Sn 33 ||*

but he who has no *upadhi* does not grieve."[921] *Upadhi* is a source of suffering to be overcome.

The *Cūḷaniddesa* commentary on the *Pārāyanavagga* presents a list of ten types of *upadhi*:

> "*Upadhi*." There are ten kinds of *upadhi-s*. The *upadhi* of thirst, the *upadhi* of views, the *upadhi* of afflictions, the *upadhi* of *kamma*, the *upadhi* of bad behavior, the *upadhi* of psychological food (*āhāra*), the *upadhi* of irritation, the *upadhis* of the four *upādinnadhātu* [*kāma, diṭṭhi, sīlabbata, attavāda*[922]], the *upadhis* that are the six internal sense spheres, the *upadhis* that are the six bodies of consciousness, and the *upadhi* that is all that is suffering in the sense of being hard to bear.[923]

This list refers to various kinds of karmic dispositions from afflictions to the psychological food that give rise to sense experience to even the sense organs themselves. When these *upadhi-s* arise according to causes and conditions, they provide a potential basis for cognition, should they be grasped as something substantially real (*sāra*). As described by the *Cūḷaniddesa*, *upadhi* is both the unmanifest energy, like radiant energy (*bhárgas*) and generative power (*vája*), as well as the earliest moment that that energy, like visions (*dhî*), manifests in consciousness and forms the basis for sensory cognition.[924]

The *Mahāniddesa* commentary on the *Aṭṭhakavagga* similarly defines *upadhi* when discussing three kinds of *viveko*, namely *kāya-, citta-*, and *upadhi-viveko*. Premasiri describes these as physical solitude, mental solitude, and psycho-ethical solitude.[925] The gloss referring to the three types of *viveka* is repeated three times while commenting on the first verse of the "Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta" (772), "Tissametteyya Sutta" (814), and "Tuvaṭaka Suttaṃ" (915). For all three passages, the *Mahāniddesa* defines *upadhi* as the afflictions, the aggregates, and the habitual tendencies (*abhisaṅkhāras*).[926] *Upadhi-viveko* consists of giving up these three past karmic residues and is synonymous with *nibbāna*. In contrast,

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[921] "*socati puttehi puttimā, iti Bhagavā gomiko gohi that'eva socati | upadhī hi narassa socanā, na hi so socati yo nirūpadhī*" *ti ‖ Sn 34 ‖*

[922] See *D* 3.230.

[923] *upadhī_ti dasa upadhī — taṇhūpadhi, diṭṭhūpadhi, kilesūpadhi, kammūpadhi, duccaritūpadhi, āhārūpadhi, paṭighūpadhi, catasso upādinnadhātuyo upadhī, cha ajjhattikāni āyatanāni upadhī, cha viññāṇakāyā upadhī, sabbampi dukkhaṃ dukkham anaṭṭhena upadhi. ime vuccanti dasa upadhī ‖ Cūḷaniddesa on Sn 1050 ‖*

[924] Gonda derives the word *dhî* from √ *dhī*, meaning to perceive or to think. Scholars believe that the term *upadhi* is derived from the root √ *dhā*, which literally means to put or place, but also to direct or fix the mind or attention. Although they can both refer to the process of thinking, the terms are formed from different roots. See Jan Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1984 (first published in 1963), 7.

[925] According to Premasiri, "The *viveka* (solitude) that is praised in the Aṭṭhakavagga is more than a mere physical renunciation. *Viveka*, according to the Niddesa is threefold, viz. *kāyaviveka* (physical solitude) meaning the physical renunciation of the comforts of a layman's living, *cittaviveka* (mental solitude) meaning the psychological renunciation attained at different levels of mental development and *upadhiviveka* (psycho-ethical solitude) attained by the destruction of all defilements and the substratum of rebirth (Nidd I 26f.)… The life of renunciation which the Aṭṭhakavagga speaks of is not the renunciation of a hermit who runs away from the social life of the world but of the vigilant person who lives in the world without submitting himself to its numerous temptations." See page 8.

[926] "What is called *upadhi* refers to the afflictions, the *khandhas*, and *abhisaṅkāras*." *upadhi vuccanti kilesā ca khandhā ca abhisaṅkhārā ca | MN on Sn 772. The same is repeated in the gloss on Sn 814 and 915.

one who is far from *viveka* is "a cave covered with many afflictions and sunk into confusion."[927]

The exhaustion of all *upadhi* is highly esteemed in the *Suttanipāta*. Both Sabhiya the wandering ascetic and Sela the brāhmaṇa exalt the Bhagavan by saying that *upadhi-s* have passed away entirely (*upadhī samatikkantā*) in him.[928] In the *vatthugāthā* of the *Pārāyanavagga*, the Bhagavan is said to have reached the exhaustion of all *kamma*; he was freed upon the exhaustion of *upadhi*.[929] Nanda says that he is very pleased with the Buddha's words (*vaco*), which he describes as well spoken and without *upadhi* (*anūpadhīka*).[930] With respect to this verse also, the *Cūḷaniddesa* glosses *upadhi* as afflictions, the aggregates, and habitual tendencies.[931] Not just the Buddha, but anyone would go about properly in the world who has exhausted all *upadhi* (*sabbupadhīnaṃ parikkhayāno*).[932] In the "Vāseṭṭha Sutta," the Bhagavan calls a real brāhmaṇa one who is free from *upadhi* (*nirūpadhi*).[933] Clearly, the *Suttanipāta* recognizes *upadhi* as something that must be eliminated so as to attain complete freedom.

Like *upadhi*, the term *upādi* (from *upa+ā+√ dā*) is used in the sense of the karmic fuel or residues that form a substratum.[934] Although *upādi* is formed a verbal root and prefix that mean to acquire, the concept is very close to *upadhi*, which is formed from a verbal root and prefix that literally mean to place on or in addition. The compound *saupādisesa* (with karmic residues remaining) occurs in verse 354 and *anupādisese* (without karmic residues remaining) occurs in verse 876, but the *Suttanipāta* does not mention –*upadhisesa*, which occurs in Pāli commentaries, Abhidhamma texts, and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Twice the *Suttanipāta* mentions the phrase *sati upādisese anāgāmitā*, which in the passage means the state of a non-returner in the case that there is any remaining karmic residue.[935]

Buddhist references outside the *Suttanipāta* use *upadhi* in a way similar to how it is used in the *Suttanipāta*. The *Udāna* states that contact is conditioned by *upadhi*, suggesting that contact is based on this latent substratum: "Contacts make contact conditioned by *upadhi*, with what would contact make contact with what has no *upadhi*?"[936] In the *Nettippakaraṇa, upadhi* is used to describe decay (*jarā*): "decay characterized by the

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[927] " '*dūre vivekā hī' ti. yo so evaṃ guhāyaṃ satto, evaṃ bahukehi kilesehi channo* | Ibid. | The concept of the cave is comparable to the Vedic trope of *svàr* trapped in the rock.

[928] *upadhī te samatikkantā, āsavā te padālitā* | *sīho si anupādāno, pahīnabhayabheravo* ‖ Sn 546 and 572 ‖

[929] …*sabbakammakkhayaṃ patto, vimutto upadhikkhaye* | Sn 992 | I am reading the variant *sabbhakamma-* for "*sabbadhamma-*."

[930] *etābhinandāmi vaco mahesino, sukittitaṃ Gotam'anūpadhīkaṃ* | Sn 1057, 1083 |

[931] "*gotamanūpadhīkanti upadhī vuccanti kilesā ca khandhā ca abhisaṅkhārā ca* |" CN on Sn 1083 ‖

[932] "*aññāya padaṃ samecca dhammaṃ, vivaṭaṃ disvāna pahānam āsavānaṃ* | *sabbupadhīnaṃ parikkhayā, sammā so loke paribbajeyya*" ‖ Sn 374 ‖

[933] *hitvā ratiñ ca aratiñ ca sītibhūtaṃ nirūpadhiṃ* | *sabbalokābhibhuṃ vīraṃ, tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ* ‖ Sn 642 ‖

[934] The term *upādāna*, which is related to the *khandhas*, is formed from *upa+ā+√ dā* and refers to fuel too. See Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought*, 113-116.

[935] See the prose portion for Sn 3.12. Not having any remaining karmic residue (*anupādisesa*) generally is considered an adjective of *nibbāna*.

[936] *phusanti phassā upadhiṃ paṭicca, nirūpadhiṃ kena phuseyyu phassā" ti* | *Udāna* 2.4. See *Udānaṃ*. Ed. Paul Steinthal. (London: Pali Text Society, 1885), 12.

maturation of *upadhi*."[937]   In this passage decay is not merely physical, but also a mental process conditioned by the ripening of past *karma*.   As past habitual energy, *upadhi* are the source of suffering.   The *Cūḷaniddesa* on *Suttanipāta* 1056 declares:

> These *dukkhas* have their origin in *upadhi*, are caused by *upadhi*, are conditioned by *upadhi*, and, with *upadhi* as their cause, they exist, arise, come to be, are born, are produced, result, manifest. *Dukkhas* arise having as their cause *upadhi*.[938]

The idea that *dukkha* is caused by *upadhi* (*upadhī-nidāna*),[939] that *upadhi* is the root of *dukkha*,[940] and that *dukkha* is conditioned by *upadhi* (*upadhiṃ hi paṭicca dukkham*)[941] is found throughout Pāli literature. The *Peṭakopadesa* not only states that "*dukkha* arises conditioned by *upadhi*," but further that "there is no arising of *dukkha* after the exhaustion of all grasping (*upādāna*)."[942]   What is noteworthy in this passage is the usage of *upadhi* and *upādāna*, which points to the two reciprocal stages in the cognitive process discussed above. Pāli texts depict *upadhi* as a karmic residue that conditions all suffering.

For this reason, Pāli texts advocate for the eradication of *upadhi* to become free. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, and *Itivuttaka* assert that a person or the mind is released upon the exhaustion of *upadhi* (*upadhysaṅkhaye vimutto*).   In a gloss on "*nibbānamanaso naro*" in *Suttanipāta* 942, the *Mahāniddesa* recalls a verse that states that the wise give something that will lead to the exhaustion of *upadhi*, not to fulfill anticipated pleasure from *upadhi*.[943]   The *Cūḷaniddesa* on *Suttanipāta* 1057 glosses *nibbāna* with "relinquishing *upadhi*, allaying *upadhi*, giving up *upadhi*, calmed *upadhi*."[944]   Similarly in other texts also, *nibbāna* is synonymous with rejecting *upadhi*.[945]   Frequently, the *Suttanipāta* as well as other Pāli sources speak of being without *upadhi* and without *āsava* in the same passage.[946]   Whereas *upadhi* is the substrata of past karmic residues, *āsava* is the

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[937] *upadhiparipākalakkhaṇā jarā* | *Nettippakaraṇa* §4 | See *The Netti-Pakaraṇa with Extracts from Dhammapāla's Commentary.* Ed. E. Hardy. (London: Pali Text Society, 1902), 29.

[938] *ime dukkhā upadhinidānā upadhihetukā upadhipaccayā upadhikāraṇā honti pabhavanti sambhavanti jāyanti sañjāyanti nibbattanti pātubhavantīti — upadhinidānā pabhavanti dukkhā…"dukkhassa ve maṃ pabhavaṃ apucchasi, [mettagūti bhagavā] taṃ te pavakkhāmi yathā pajānaṃ. upadhinidānā pabhavanti dukkhā, ye keci lokasmimanekarūpā" ti* | *CN* on *Sn* 1050 |

[939] The references given in PTSD are SnA 505, 789, 992; Nd1 27, 141; Nd2 157; Vbh 338; Nett 29; DhA IV.33.

[940] Again, PTSD references S II.108; Sn 728 = 1051 = Th I.152.

[941] *Peṭakopadesa* 110.

[942] *upadhiṃ hi paṭicca dukkham idaṃ sambhoti, sabbupādānakkhayā natthi dukkhassa sambhavo, lokamimaṃ* | *Peṭakopadesa* 15 |

[943] "The wise do not give the gifts for rebirth, for the sake of pleasure from *upadhi*.
They give an object of desire for the exhaustion of *upadhi*, the gift for no rebirth.
They give an object of desire for the exhaustion of *upadhi*, the *jhāna* for no rebirth."
na paṇḍitā upadhisukhassa hetu, dadanti dānāni punabbhavāya.
kāmañca te upadhiparikkhayāya, dadanti dānaṃ apunabbhavāya |
kāmañca te upadhiparikkhayāya, bhāventi jhānaṃ apunabbhavāya | *MN* on *Sn* 942 |

[944] *upadhippahānaṃ upadhivūpasamaṃ upadhipaṭinissaggaṃ upadhipaṭipassaddhaṃ amataṃ nibbānanti* | *CN* on *Sn* 1057 |

[945] According to PTSD under *upadhi*, passages with this connotation are D II.36. (cp. S I.136; III.133; V.226; A I.80; M I.107 = II.93; Vin I.5, 36 = J I.83 = Mvst II.444; It 46, 62).

[946] *Sn* 376, 551, 577, 1089; *D* II.112 (*atthi, bhante, iddhi sāsavā saupadhikā, 'no ariyā' ti vuccati. atthi, bhante, iddhi anāsavā anupadhikā 'ariyā' ti vuccati*); Itivuttaka 2.51 and 4.73 "*kāyena amataṃ dhātuṃ, phusayitvā nirūpadhiṃ. upadhippaṭinissaggaṃ, sacchikatvā anāsavo. deseti sammāsambuddho, asokaṃ virajaṃ padanti*" |

specific concept used to describe the inflow of the *upadhi* karmic matter when it ripens and enters the sense faculties. Next the Vedic metaphorical background that the term *āsava* presupposes will be examined.

Section II: *āsava*

The previous chapter argued that in Vedic literature, the verb √*sru* is connected with Sarasvatī's flood and the flow of particles of light conveyed throughout the body by means of *prāṇa* (vital breath).[947] A *ṛk* in the *Ṛgveda* invokes Sarasvatī, rich in generative power (*vā́ja*), to eliminate the forces of darkness and what is generated from the mind. Her role, the verse states, is to find streams and extract what is venomous from them. Sarasvatī's epithet *vājinīvati* (rich in *vā́ja*) points to her personification of a flood of precreative, unmanifest energy. In this role, she is the source of *vā́ja*, which may give rise to what is generated (*prajā*) mentally and physically. The verse reads,

> Oh Sarasvatī, cast down those who hate the *devas* [and] the *prajā* of every illusory conjuror. Oh one rich in generative power, you discovered streams (*avani*) for those who are abiding and made poison flow (√*sru*) from them.[948]

According to this *ṛk*, Sarasvatī is supplicated to remove the dark forces and make the poison flow away from the streams in the Vedic practitioner. The verb √*sru* is used in connection with a pernicious substance (*viṣa*) coming from the streams. In *Ṛgveda* 1.3.10-12, Sarasvatī makes herself known as a mighty flood (*árṇa*) and illuminates all visions (*dhī́*).[949] In this way, the riverine goddess abounding in the unmanifest generative power (*vā́ja*) is also frequently associated with the manifest visions (*dhī́*) produced by that energy.[950]

In addition to the metaphor of the flood, the metaphor of light flowing through *prāṇa* stands for unmanifest energy moving toward conscious cognition. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, *prāṇa* is said to convey small sparks endowed with consciousness.[951] The *ātman* too, is described as the *puruṣa* made of consciousness, an inner light in *prāṇa*, that feeds the sense faculties.[952] In this vein, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* states that the two *puruṣas* in

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[947] There are five vital breaths.

[948] *sarasvati devanido ni barhaya prajāṃ viśvasya bṛsayasya māyinaḥ | uta kṣitibhyo 'vanīr avindo viṣam ebhyo asravo vājinīvati*

sárasvati devanído ní barhaya prajā́ṃ víśvasya bṛ́sayasya māyínaḥ | utá kṣitíbhyo avánīr avindo viṣám ebhyo asravo vājinīvat ǁ RV 6.61.3 ǁ Jamison and Brereton translate "you found streambeds for the settlements, you flowed poison for them." See *The Rigveda*, Vol. 2, page 858.

[949] *pāvakā́ naḥ sárasvatī vā́jebhir vājinīvatī | yajñáṃ vaṣṭu dhiyā́vasuḥ ǁ codayitrī́ sūnṛ́tānāṃ cétantī sumatīnā́m | yajñáṃ vaṣṭu sárasvatī ǁ mahó árṇaḥ sárasvatī prá cetayati ketúnā | dhíyo víśvā ví rājati ǁ RV 1.3.10-12. VS* 20.86 repeats the last two phrases verbatim.

[950] *RV* 6.49.7, 1.3.12, 10.65.13, 7.35.11, 6.61.4, 2.3.8.

[951] *savijñāno bhavati | BĀU 17.4.4.2 |*

[952] (Yājñavalkya says,) *katama ātmeti -- yo 'yaṃ vijñānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu hṛdy antarjyotiḥ puruṣaḥ | BĀU* 17.4.3.7 | *… katama eko deva iti | prāṇa iti … | 17.3.9.9 | … mano jyotir yo vai taṃ puruṣaṃ vidyāt sarvasyātmanaḥ parāyaṇaṃ sa vai veditā syāt … | 17.3.9.10 | [prāṇaḥ] … savijñāno bhavati | saṃjānam evānvavakrāmati | taṃ vidyākarmaṇī samanvārabhete pūrvaprajñā ca | 17.4.4.2 |* In his translation of *The Early Upaniṣads*, Patrick Olivelle translates *puruṣa* literally as person, but this is a technical term that should be considered in all its complexity.

the eyes receive their food from a mass of blood in the heart flowing through the vascular channels of the body:

> Then their food is this mass of blood in the heart. And their covering is like a net within the heart. And their converging pathway (*sṛti*) is this artery (*nāḍī*), which rises upward from the heart. It is like a hair split a thousand times. In this way, these arteries of his called *hitā* (placed) have been established in the heart. What is flowing (*āsravat*) verily flows (*ā√sru*) through these. For this reason, this is a more subtle food (*praviviktāhāratara*) as it were than this physical body (*ātman*).[953]

Here the verb *ā+√sru* is used to describe the movement of light particles that reach the sense faculties and contribute to generating sensory experience. This fiery energy is an internal karmic food (*anna, āhāra*) that feeds the sense organs and what sensory experience they generate. Earlier Enomoto wrote that this passage evinces a Vedic source for *ā+√sru*.[954] Building on this evidence, I argue that the Buddha drew from Vedic passages containing the verb *√sru* and the corresponding system of metaphors relating to the flood of unmanifest energy when he spoke of *āsava*, crossing the flood, and reaching the far shore in his teachings.

     Scholars disagree over whether the Buddhist use of *āsava* (Skt. *āsrava*) was borrowed from the Jaina tradition or from a common early Indian doctrine of karmic retribution. Dundas defines *āsrava* as the "channel through which karma flows in."[955] He explains, "*Āsrava* is in fact an archaic term, found also in early Buddhism, which originally signified the channels which linked a sense organ to a sense object."[956] Enomoto maintains that the term *āsrava* originally came from the Jainas.[957] Schmithausen remarks, however, that in later Jaina texts, *ās(r)ava* is not used invariably in the sense of an influx of karmic stuff.[958] Norman contends that the Buddhist idea of *āsava-s* as identical to floods (*ogha*) does not match the etymology of the world, whereas the Jaina usage does because it refers to "influences which flow into a person, and color his soul."[959] Norman corroborates his view by mentioning illustrations in Jaina manuscripts of "people ranging from white, through yellow, red, blue, and green to black, depending on the amount of *āsavas* which has

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[953] *yo 'yaṃ dakṣiṇe 'kṣan puruṣaḥ … | BĀU 4.2.2 | athaitad vāme 'kṣaṇi puruṣarūpam eṣāsya patnī virāṭ | tayor eṣa saṃstāvo ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaya ākāśaḥ | athainayor etad annaṃ ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaye lohitapiṇḍaḥ | athainayor etat prāvaraṇaṃ yad etad antar hṛdaye jālakam iva | athainayor eṣā sṛtiḥ saṃcaraṇī yaiṣā hṛdayād ūrdhvā nāḍy uccarati | yathā keśaḥ sahasradhā bhinna evam asyaitā hitā nāma nāḍyo 'ntar hṛdaye pratiṣṭhitā bhavanti | etābhir vā etad āsravad āsravati | tasmād eṣa praviviktāhāratara iva bhavaty asmāc chārīrād ātmanaḥ || BĀU 4.2.3 ||*

[954] Enomoto Fumio. "On the Origin of āsrava, mainly in the Senior Canons of the Jainas (āsrava (漏)の成立について主にジャイナ教古層経典におけ)." *The Bukkyo Shigaku Kenkyu* 22-1. (1979): 17–42. See endnote 30 on page 41. I am grateful to Matt McMullen for translating a section for me from the Japanese.

[955] Paul Dundas, *The Jains.* (London: Routledge, 2002), 277.

[956] Dundas, 96.

[957] Enomoto Fumio, *On āsrava āsrava* につい *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 53/27-11978158-9. Enomoto Fumio, *On the Origin of āsrava, mainly in the Senior Canons of the Jainas āsrava (漏)の成立について主にジャイナ教古層経典におけ The Bukkyo Shigaku Kenkyu* 22-11979 17–42.

[958] Schmithausen, "An Attempt to Estimate the Distance in Time between Aśoka and the Buddha," in *The Dating of the Historical Buddha, Part 2.* Ed. Heinz Bechert. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 123-124. See footnote 94.

[959] K.R. Norman, *A Philological Approach to Buddhism.* (Lancaster: Pali Text Society, 2006), 45-46.

flowed into them." And one need not look farther than the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* for evidence of the Buddhist-Jain dialogue centering around the flow of *āsava-s*. In this episode, Mahāmoggallāna and Vappa the Sakyan, a disciple of the Niganṭhas (Jainas), discuss how due to the unripened results of past actions, "*āsava-s* leading to feeling *dukkha* might flow into a person in the future."[960] Following Norman, Gombrich prefers the hypothesis that the Buddha was influenced by Jain usage and, moreover, the Buddha's use of the term represents a shift from overt action in Jainism to inner intention in Buddhism.[961] Alsdorf likewise proposes that the Buddhist usage of *āsava* was probably not original and asserts, "Jains use exactly the same word for the influx into the soul of subtle karman matter caused every time the soul is active and the passions make this matter adhere to it."[962]

Still, Alsdorf is not convinced that the Buddhists borrowed this term from the Jainas or that they drew from their own repertoire as Frauwallner argued. Alsdorf opines, "Rather the use of the term āsava by the Buddhists is only explicable, in my opinion as a kind of relic of that ancient and more primitive form of common Indian doctrine of the effect and retaliation for the act, preserved by the Jains but modernized and spiritualized by the Buddhists."[963] Like Alsdorf's hypothesis of a more ancient common doctrine, Vetter proposes that the *Aṭṭhakavagga* probably incorporated texts from a group that at one point existed earlier or alongside the Buddhist teaching, but was later integrated into the Buddhist Saṅgha.[964]

I suggest this group may have been one of the Vedic *muni* communities, such as the Kāṇva School in Kosala.[965] Related metaphors for the flowing in of karmic matter already existed in the Vedic conceptual system. As mentioned, the verb $\bar{a}+\sqrt{sru}$ in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* describes the flow of unmanifest energies into the sense organs. This flow is envisioned as particles of fiery energy channeled through *prāṇa*. Nyanatiloka and Norman have observed that the fourfold division of *āsava* in Buddhism is sometimes described as four floods (*ogha*), which I argue connects the concept to the Vedic metaphor of Sarasvatī's flood of unmanifest generative power.[966] It is also possible that Norman's evidence of the colorful people illustrated in Jaina manuscripts could be connected with karmic metaphors found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. Here the arteries (*nāḍī*) that convey the fiery energy (*tejas*) that overpowers the perceiver are described as "full of white,

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[960] "(*passāmahaṃ, bhante, taṃ ṭhānaṃ. idhassa, bhante,) pubbe pāpakammaṃ kataṃ avipakkavipākaṃ. tatonidānaṃ purisaṃ dukkhavedaniyā āsavā assaveyyuṃ abhisamparāya" nti | A 4.195 |* The "Vappa" discourse is about *āsava-s*, how not to create new *karma* and how to get rid of old *karma*. It takes place in Kapilavatthu.

[961] Gombrich cites "Sabbāsava Sutta" (*M* 2). See Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought*, 56; W.J. Johnson, *Harmless Souls: Karmic Bondage and Religious Change in Early Jainism with Special Reference to Umāsvāti and Kundakunda.* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1995), 14.

[962] Ludwig Alsdorf, *Jaina Studies: Their Present State and Future Tasks.* Trans. Bal Patil. (Mumbai: Hindi Granth Karyalay, 2006), 8-9; K.R. Norman, "Aspects of Early Buddhism," in *Earliest Buddhism and Madhyamaka.* Ed. David Seyfort Reugg and Lambert Schmithausen, 24-35. (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 28.

[963] Alsdorf, *Jaina Studies*, 8-9.

[964] Tilmann Vetter, "Mysticism in the Aṭṭhakavagga," in *The Ideas and Meditative Practices of Early Buddhism.* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 101.

[965] According to Schmithausen, Vetter's proposed independent group of ascetics may have been responsible for the term *parissaya*, which Vetter nowhere mentions. See "An Attempt," 122, 129.

[966] Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, 53-54; K.R. Norman, *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*, 45-46.

blue, tawny, and green, and red."[967] These colors also describe verbatim the minute, extensive, ancient path of *brahman*, by which a knower of *brahman* consisting of fiery energy goes.[968] In this way, residues of early Vedic metaphors for karmic retribution find expression in both Jaina and Buddhist literature.

Aśoka employs the term *āsinava* in the sense of bad actions and *palisava* in regard to *karma*. Taking into account that Aśoka had been a Buddhist lay follower for almost twenty years by the time edict PE II C was commissioned, and, moreover, that the celebrated emperor seems to be aware that *āsinava* is a kind of technical term (*āsinave nāma*), Schmithausen considers it unlikely that the Mauryan king was inspired by the Jaina concept.[969] Nevertheless, his concept of *dhaṃma* (right conduct) as "[having] little (or no) *āsinava* and much *kayāna*" (good, wholesome actions), would have been acceptable to the Jainas and to the followers of other traditions as well.[970] Aśoka's repeated use of this term in PE II and III suggests that in his time the term was still a central concept of Buddhism, not yet replaced by *anuśaya* and *kleśa*.[971]

Schmithausen, Aramaki, and Enomoto draw attention to a similar term, namely *parissaya* from *pari*+√ *sru*, which corresponds to Aśoka's term *palisava* (RE X C-D)*,* the Buddhist Sanskrit *parisrava*, and the Prakrit *parissava* in Jaina texts.[972] The meaning of *parissaya* is very close, even sometimes identical with that of *āsava*, and means "flowing around or on all sides, *or* rushing against or into." In Buddhism, the concept of an onrushing of waters was interpreted as unwholesome factors. Schmithausen entertains the possibility that *parissaya* in the "Kāmasutta" of the *Suttanipāta* refers to external things, like a breaker, that may crush the ship. However, he ultimately determines that the *parissaya* that crush the ascetic in *Suttanipāta* 770 most likely also refer to "the karma one commits when hunting after" possessions and sensual pleasures.[973] This interpretation is in accord with the *Mahāniddesa* gloss of *abalā* (powerless things) in the same verse, which refers not to the external objects of desire, but to the *kilesas* that condition a person to seek those objects in the first place. Still, Schmithausen points out that the "Sāriputta Sutta" in the *Suttanipāta* depicts *parissaya* in a much broader sense. Apart from the *Suttanipāta* and the commentaries on its passages, Aramaki observes that *parissaya/parisrava* is extremely rare in canonical texts.

Appearing thirty-one times in the *Suttanipāta*, the term *āsava* (Skt. *āsrava*) is an "inflow," literally "what flows in *or* toward." It is a nominal form derived from *ā*+√ *sru* (in Sanskrit). Alsdorf explains *āsava* as "flowing into, streaming into, influx"[974] and Frauwallner as "staining (*Befleckung*)."[975] Jayawickrama, Premasiri, Schmithausen, Horner,

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[967] *śuklasya nīlasya piṅgalasya haritasya lohitasya pūrṇāḥ | BĀU* 17.4.3.20 |

[968] *śuklam uta nīlam āhuḥ piṅgalaṃ haritaṃ lohitaṃ ca | eṣa panthā brahmaṇā hānuvittas tenaiti brahmavit puṇyakṛt taijasaś ca || BĀU* 17.4.4.8-9 ||

[969] Schmithausen, "An Attempt," 127-128; Norman, "Aspects of Early Buddhism," 28. In footnote 127 Schmithausen remarks that √ *snu* is semantically very close if not equivalent to √ *sru*.

[970] Schmithausen, "An Attempt," 127-128.

[971] Ibid., 129.

[972] Ibid., 117-119.

[973] Ibid., 119.

[974] Alsdorf, *Jaina Studies*, 8.

[975] Frauwallner, *History of Indian Philosophy* I. Trans. V.M. Bedekar. Bombay, 1973.

and Chalmers prefer to translate *āsava* as "cankers."[976] Bhikkhu Bodhi and Ñāṇamoli's preferred translation is very similar, "taints," as is Gombrich and Walshe's, "corruptions." Kashiwahara is among the scholars who believe that the *āsava* means "outflow," alluding to discharge, pus, and spirituous liquor.[977] For example, *Aṅguttaranikāya* 1.124 uses *āsava* in the sense of "an open sore emitting discharge" to represent the mind issuing negative dispositions. According to Bhikkhu Bodhi,

> The *āsavas* or taints are a classification of defilements considered in their role of sustaining the saṁsāric round. The commentaries derive the word from the root *su* meaning "to flow." Scholars differ as to whether the flow implied by the prefix *ā* is inward or outward; hence some have rendered it as "influxes" or "influences," others as "outflows" or "effluents." A stock passage in the suttas indicates the term's real significance independently of etymology when it describes the *āsavas* as states "that defile, bring renewal of being, give trouble, ripen in suffering, and lead to future birth, ageing, and death" (*M* 36.47, etc.).[978]

Bhikkhu Bodhi observed that the literal significance of *āsava* in Pāli literature was replaced by a secondary signified, precisely the kind of erasure Derrida theorizes in his work on metaphor.[979] Schmithausen similarly remarks that *āsava* later became quasi-synonymous with *kleśa*. Moreover, he states, "Since in the case of these evil mental attitudes or states the metaphor of 'influx' makes little sense, it was exchanged for the metaphor of outflow or discharge of a sore (which was also called *ās(r)ava*) and other etymologies."[980]

Schmithausen maintains that "clear traces of an original, broader range of meaning" beyond *kleśas* are still perceptible in canonical Pāli texts.[981] In his view, Enomoto proves that the concept is based on the metaphor of a flood rushing into a broken ship.[982] (Interestingly, the Chinese translation of *āsrava* means "leaking" (有漏)).[983] He further demonstrates that *āsava* refers not only to afflictions (*kleśa*), but also to karmic stuff.[984]

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[976] Another translation is depravity. See You-Mee Lee, *Beyond Āsava & Kilesa: Understanding the Roots of Suffering According to the Pāli Canon*. (Dehiwala: Buddhist Cultural Centre, 2009), 38.

[977] See note number 91 in Schmithausen, "An Attempt," 123.

[978] Bhikkhu Bodhi, "Introduction," in *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya.* Trans. Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi. Third Edition. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 38.

[979] Derrida, "White Mythology."

[980] Schmithausen, "An Attempt," 124. In note 98, he references *AKBh* 306.1ff and *YBhū* 166.23ff.

[981] Ibid. 123. Footnote 91.

[982] Note *Suttanipāta* 770-771: "These powerless things [MN: *kilesas*] overpower him, troubles crush him, and as a consequence, *dukkha* follows [him] like water in a wrecked boat. Therefore, a person, ever mindful, should avoid sense desires. After giving those up, like one who goes to the far shore after draining a boat, one should cross the flood." *abalā naṁ balīyanti, maddantenaṁ parissayā | tato naṁ dukkham anveti, nāvaṁ bhinnam ivodakaṁ || tasmā jantu sadā sato, kāmāni parivajjaye | te pahāya tare oghaṁ, nāvaṁ sitvā va pāragūti ||*

[983] See "有漏" with contributions by Charles Muller, Dan Lusthaus, and F. Enomoto in the online *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?67.xml+id%28%27b6709-6f0f%27%29. Accessed 09/08/2014. See also Alex Wayman, "Āsrava: How Does It Flow?" *Pt. Dalsukhbhai Malvania Felicitation Volume* vol. I. Ed. M.A. Dhaky and Sagarmal Jain. (Varanasi: P.V. Research Institute, 1991), 88.

[984] Fumio Enomoto, "Development of the Thought of āsrava in the Early Buddhist Scriptures (初期仏典における āsrava (漏))." *Nanto Bukkyō* 50. (1983); Schmithausen, "An Attempt,"125.

Schmithausen is convinced, but considers most of his evidence implicit, aside from *Suttanipāta* 913a (*pubbāsave hitvā nave akubbaṃ*).[985] He affirms that *āsava* is occasionally understood as including *karma*, but the "predominant tendency" is to interpret the term as unwholesome mental attitudes or states, like the later term *kleśa*.[986]

As Schmithausen demonstrates, traces of the etymological import of *āsava* persist in canonical literature and contribute significantly to understanding the mechanism of *karma*. For example in the "Nidāna Saṃyutta" of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Sāriputta states that if he were to be asked about his final deliverance, he would say, "Friends, through letting go internally, through the exhaustion of all taking up (*upādāna*), being mindful I dwell in such a way that the *āsavas* do not consequently flow (*āsavā nānussavanti*)."[987] In his notes to his translation of this *sutta*, Bhikkhu Bodhi mentions that the *Sāratthappakāsinī, Saṃyutta Nikāya-aṭṭhakathā* (Burmese-script edition) glosses this passage as:

> The three taints, the taint of sensuality, etc., do not flow through the six sense doors towards the six sense objects, i.e., they do not arise in me. And I do not despise myself (*attānañ ca nāvajānāmi*)."[988]

Bhikkhu Anālayo supports the notion of a psychological "inflow," since, in Pāli discourses, "avoiding the 'flowing in,' *anvāssavati*, of what is detrimental" is implicated in self-restraint.[989] Based on these passages, it seems best to translate *āsava* as "inflow *or* influx" and as context requires, "outflow," to preserve the etymology of ripening past karmic residues flowing into the sense faculties and the consciousness that perceives objects.

Some canonical texts, such as the *Cūḷaniddesa*, distinguish three or four types of *āsava-s*, namely *kāmāsava* (desire), *bhavāsana* (becoming), and *avijjāsava* (ignorance), to which *diṭṭhāsava* (views) was added later.[990] Norman observes that if *kāma* is taken as *taṇhā*, then the first three form part of the doctrine of dependent arising (*paṭicca-samuppāda*).[991] In her book *Beyond Āsava & Kilesa*, You-Mee Lee goes even farther by suggesting that all

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[985] Schmithausen, "An Attempt," 125. This corresponds to 919 in my translation: "Having relinquished previous inflows (*āsavas*), not making new ones."

[986] Ibid., 127.

[987] '*ajjhattaṃ vimokkhā khvāhaṃ, āvuso, sabbupādānakkhayā tathā sato viharāmi yathā sataṃ viharantaṃ āsavā nānussavanti …*' S 1.12.32. For Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation of this passage, see "Nidānasaṃyutta" in *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya.* Trans. Bhikkhu Bodhi. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000), 570. Alex Wayman provides evidence for √*sru* used in Yogācāra, such as "the unwholesome dharmas would subsequently flow into the mind (*akuśalā dharmas cittam anusraveyus*)" in the *Śrāvakabhūmi.* See Wayman, "Āsrava," 91; Alex Wayman, *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript*, 61-62.

[988] Bhikkhu Bodhi, "Nidānasaṃyutta Notes" in *The Connected Discourses*, 753.

[989] Bhikkhu Anālayo, "Purification in Early Buddhist Discourse and Buddhist Ethics," *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyō Kenkyū)* XL (March 2012), 81; The endnote to this sentence references, "MN 27 at MN I 180,30: *pāpakā akusalā dhammā anvāssaveyyum.* MN 2 at MN I 10,3 and its parallel MĀ 10 at T I 432b13 then reckon sense-restraint to be how 'influxes should be removed through restraint', *āsava saṃvarā pahātabbā…*, clear evidence for the close relationship between *anvāssavati* and *āsava.*"

[990] *anāsavāti cattāro āsavā — kāmāsavo, bhavāsavo, diṭṭhāsavo, avijjāsavo | CN on Sn* 1088 and 1139 | For the list of three, see M 2, M 9, D 33, A 3.59, 67, A 4.63, S 4.38. For references to the list of four, see You-Mee Lee, *Beyond Āsava & Kilesa: Understanding the Roots of Suffering According to the Pāli Canon.* (Dehiwala: Buddhist Cultural Centre, 2009), 91, 123.

[991] K.R. Norman, "Aspects of Early Buddhism," in *Earliest Buddhism and Madhyamaka.* Ed. David Seyfort Reugg and Lambert Schmithausen. (Leiden: Brill, 1990, pp. 24-35), 28.

twelve links are conditioned by *āsava* because of its dependence on ignorance.[992] Schmithausen remarks that *āsava-s* vanish upon the cessation of *taṇhā*, upon insight into the Four Noble Truths.[993] Moreover, he says that the emphasis on cankers really stresses the cessation of cankers, rather than the cessation of suffering, which "still seems to be influenced by the magical presupposition that to know the essence, origination, etc., of something means to gain power over it, including the power of immediately destroying it."[994] This presupposition is in accord with Vedic thought, which sought to know the essence or generative power in order to spiritually empower the sacrificer.

  The term *āsava* in the *Suttanipāta* refers to the flow of karmic energy into one's sense faculties, both the old *karma* stored up and any new *karma* produced. One who is not tainted in his conditioned space would relinquish previous inflows (*pubbāsave*) and not generate new ones.[995] In terms of the previously acquired *karma*, the term *āsava* appears alongside the term *ālaya* (storehouse) in a verse describing a wise person who, having removed the filth obscuring his perception, avoids mental construction because there is no more unmanifest karmic substance upon which mental construction would be based:

> Having cut off inflows (*āsava*) and storehouses (*ālaya*),[996] that wise person does not come to lie in a womb. Thrusting away the mud that is the threefold apperception (*saññā*),[997] he does not go toward mental construction. Him they call noble.[998]

The juxtaposition of the terms *āsava* and *ālaya* here suggests that both refer to the unconscious components that lead to misperception and any thought that something is actually going on that corresponds to one's experience of it in his or her conditioned space (*loka*). This passage contains an early germ for what would be articulated later in Yogācāra philosophy.[999] Because the flow of old *karma* into the sense faculties leads to conditioned becoming, a respectable person removes *āsavas*.[1000] Specifically, one would go about properly in the world "observing openly the relinquishing of inflows (*āsava*)."[1001] Directly seeing the flow of ripening karma into the sense faculties requires astute attention on the part of a mindful practitioner. This mindfulness practice reformulates the mindfulness

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[992] Lee, 38.

[993] Lambert Schmithausen, "On Some Aspects of Descriptions or Theories of 'Liberating Insight' and 'Enlightenment' in Early Buddhism," in *Studien Zum Jainismus und Buddhismus: Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf*. Ed. Klaus Bruhn and Albrecht Wezler, 199-250. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1981), 206-207.

[994] Ibid., 213.

[995] Having relinquished previous influxes (*āsavas*), not making new ones, without impulsive desire, one who does not speak settled in/clinging to a theory (i.e. not a dogmatist), set free from adherence to views, wise, and free from self-reproach, that one is not tainted in the world. *pubbāsave hitvā nave akubbaṃ, na chandagū no pi nivissavādo | sa vippamutto diṭṭhigatehi dhīro, na lippati loke anattagarahī || Sn 913 ||*

[996] Buddhaghosa: "*cattāri āsavāni dve ca ālayāni paññāsatthena chetvā |*"

[997] Buddhaghosa: "*kāmādibhedañca saññaṃ tividhaṃ |*" PTSD: under *saññā*: "threefold, rūpasaññā, paṭighasaññā, and nānattasaññā."

[998] *chetvā āsavāni ālayāni, vidvā so na upeti gabbhaseyyaṃ | saññaṃ tividhaṃ panujja paṃkaṃ, kappan n'eti tam āhu ariyo ti || Sn 535 ||*

[999] The term *ālaya* is also found in *Sn* 177.

[1000] "Whose influxes (*āsava*) for conditioned becoming and rough speech are diffused, gone to rest (*atthagata*), and no longer exist, that one who has mastered the Vedas, who is released in every respect, that *tathāgata* is worthy of the *pūraḷāsa. bhavāsavā yassa vacī kharā ca, vidhūpitā atthagatā na santi | sa vedagū sabbadhi vippamutto, tathāgato arahati pūraḷāsaṃ || Sn 472 ||*

[1001] *vivaṭaṃ disvāna pahānam āsavānaṃ | Sn 374 |*

component in Vedic practices like the Sāvitrī *mantra* and *agnihotra* ritual. The Vedic visionaries prayed that they would pay attention to the impelling of light and generative power when reciting the Sāvitrī *mantra*. Similarly, they trained themselves to pay attention to what is generated when performing the *agnihotra* offering twice a day for their entire lives. Unlike the positive understanding of this energy in Vedic thought, the inflows were seen as harmful in Buddhist thought.

Because the *āsava-s* can lead to undesired consequences, the *Suttanipāta* frequently lauds their complete removal. In the *Pārāyanavagga*, the Buddha says *āsava-s* cause one to go under the sway of death (*maccuvasa*).[1002] Repeated death in the Brāhmaṇas occurs when the internal food, the unmanifest energies feeding the sense faculties, devours the fire that is cognition. This results when the perceiver is not aware of how the unmanifest energies take over consciousness. For this reason, many Vedic *mantras* and rituals in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* call for and train the mind to attend to the offering of internal food into cognition. Death in Pāli texts is personified as Māra, whose army includes desire, aversion, hunger and thirst, craving, sloth, torpor, fear, doubt, hypocrisy, and obduracy, etc.[1003] Despite his personification, Māra represents internal elements, like the concept of food in the Brāhmaṇas. The Buddha repeatedly advises brāhmaṇas to make offerings to one whose influxes have been exhausted (*khīṇāsava*).[1004] Taken literally, the offering seems to refer to the *pākayajña*, in which a brāhmaṇa consumes part of the offering in the *agnihotra*. Metaphorically, this refers to the karmic exchange that occurs mentally during perception. When the teaching of the "Dvayatānupassanā Sutta" was completed, the minds of some sixty bhikkhus were released from *āsavas*.[1005] Phrases used to express the destruction of *āsavas* in the *Suttanipāta* include: *khīṇāsava*, *āsavā khīṇā*, *anāsava*, and *āsavā padālitā.*

Describing himself, the Buddha tells Bhāradvāja, the brāhmaṇa farmer, that a proper field for one who seeks merit is one in whom *āsava-s* have been exhausted (*khīṇāsava*).[1006] The verse is repeated (*Sn* 481) when the Buddha speaks to Bhāradvāja of Sundarikā in Kosala. The name Bhāradvāja is significant because it is the name of one of the inspired visionaries who composed Vedic hymns. Literally, it means the descendent of one bearing generative power (*vāja*), which the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* glosses as food (*anna*). The Bhagavan tells Bhāradvāja that no one can digest what he offered him, except a Tathāgata or his disciple, so he should throw away his offering of rice-pudding. This episode uses tangible food to illustrate a teaching about internal food and what feeds the mind and other sense faculties. Bhāradvāja's food is essentially poison that hisses and sizzles when thrown

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[1002] "Brāhmaṇa, for one altogether free from greed toward name and form (mentality and corporality), influxes are not found (*āsavāssa na vijjanti*) by which he would go under the sway of death." *"sabbaso nāmarūpasmiṃ, vītagedhassa brāhmaṇa | āsavāssa na vijjanti, yehi maccuvasaṃ vaje" ti ‖ Sn* 1100 ‖

[1003] *Sn* 436-439. See also 833, 835, and 1077. According to Coomaraswamy, the Buddha's defeat of Māra is a very old allegory of self-conquest. See *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 98.

[1004] *Sn* 471, 493, 494.

[1005] *imasmiṃ ca pana veyyākaraṇasmiṃ bhaññamāne saṭṭhimattānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimucciṃsūti* | (prose passage in the "Dvayatānupassanā Sutta")

[1006] "May you serve a great seer (*mahesi*), a perfected one (*kevalin*),[1006] in whom influxes have been exhausted (*khīṇāsava*), whose worries (*kukkucca*) have been appeased, with something else and with another drink. For, this is the field for one who seeks merit." *"aññena ca kevalinaṃ mahesiṃ, khīṇāsavaṃ kukkuccavūpasantaṃ | annena pānena upaṭṭhahassu, khettaṃ hi taṃ puññapekkhassa hotī" ti ‖ Sn* 82 ‖ See also *Sn* 481, which states the same.

into water. Here one recalls the invocation to Sarasvatī (*Ṛgveda* 6.61.3), who makes poison flow from the streams of men. Water is a metaphor for the unmanifest energies and the food offered is a metaphor for the unmanifest energies feeding cognition. For a brāhmaṇa during this time, this *sutta* would have envoked a number of important teachings about purifying the mind through the metaphor of food. In another *sutta*, the metaphor of eating food is similarly extended to actions, such as killing, torturing, stealing, lying, and cheating, etc. The Bhagavan teaches that these actions constitute "the smell of raw [i.e. rotting] flesh, not just eating meat."[1007] The Buddha admonishes the brāhmaṇa Bhāradvāja to pay attention to what is being offered into his karmic reservoir, because this feeds his stream of consciousness, and to become, like him, one in whom *āsava-s* have been exhausted.

In the *Suttanipāta*, people describe the Buddha as one whose *āsava-s* have been exhausted or one who is free from *āsava-s*. When Hemavata Yakkha asks whether the Bhagavan's *āsava-s* are really exhausted, Sātāgira Yakkha replies that they all have been exhausted (*sabbassa āsavā khīṇā*), so he has no further conditioned becoming.[1008] The Yakkha then praises the Buddha's teaching, saying,

> An auspicious thing was seen by us today. A fine morning it is. Our getting up was not in vain, for we saw a completely awakened one who has crossed over the flood and is free from inflows (*anāsava*).[1009]

Sabhiya says that the Buddha is one in whom inflows have been exhausted (*khīṇāsava*)[1010] and both he and Sela praise the Buddha as one in whom inflows have disintegrated (*āsavā te padālitā*).[1011] A *devatā* tells Bāvarī that the one without inflows (*anāsavo*), referring to the Bhagavan, resides in Sāvatthī in Kosala.[1012] Piṅgiya twice says that Gotama has no inflows (*anāsavo*), having reached the end of conditioned space (*loka*)[1013] or having crossed the flood.[1014] The Buddha has exhausted all *āsavas*, but he is not the only one.

In more general terms, compounds such as "one whose inflows are exhausted" (*khīṇāsava*) and "one who is without inflows" (*anāsava*) are used to described the ideal brāhmaṇa and *muni*. The Buddha calls a brāhmaṇa "an arhat whose inflows are exhausted."[1015] Similarly, in its commentary on *Suttanipāta* 801, the *Mahāniddesa* glosses a pronoun referring to brāhmaṇa as an arhat whose *āsavas* have been exhausted.[1016] Norman points out that the most common epithet of an arhat is *khīṇāsava*.[1017] A *muni* (sage), too, is free from inflows (*anāsava*).[1018] The noble ones (*ariya*) are worthy of awakening to the

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[1007] *esāmagandho na hi maṃsabhojanaṃ | Sn 242 |*
[1008] *Sn* 162-163.
[1009] *"sudiṭṭhaṃ vata no ajja, suppabhātaṃ suhuṭṭhitaṃ | yaṃ addasāma sambuddhaṃ, oghatiṇṇam anāsavaṃ ‖ Sn* 178 ‖ I am grateful to G.U. Thite and Sean Kerr for their help translating this verse.
[1010] *Sn* 539.
[1011] *Sn* 546 and 572.
[1012] *Sn* 996.
[1013] *Sn* 1133.
[1014] *Sn* 1146.
[1015] *khīṇāsavaṃ arahantaṃ, tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ | Sn 644 |*
[1016] *MN*: "*tassāti arahato khīṇāsavassa |*"
[1017] K.R. Norman, "Aspects of Early Buddhism," in *Earliest Buddhism and Madhyamaka.* Ed. David Seyfort Reugg and Lambert Schmithausen, 24-35. (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 28.
[1018] *Sn* 212 and 219.

place where they become free of inflows (*anāsava*).[1019] Such individuals enjoy the benefits of being without inflows, which include understanding health properly[1020] and going about properly in the world.[1021] The Bhagavan says, and Nanda agrees, in the subsequent verse, that those *samaṇas* and brāhmaṇas who have abandoned craving and are free from inflows (*anāsava*) have crossed the flood.[1022]

Expressions such as "whose the *āsava-s* have been exhausted" (*khīṇāsava*) or "being free from *āsava-s*" (*anāsava*) are often found alongside phrases about "crossing the flood" (*oghatiṇṇa, oghaṃ samuddaṃ atitariya tādiṃ, yo udatāri oghaṃ*)[1023] or "going to the far shore" (*pāragū*).[1024] In the "Sabhiya Sutta," the wandering ascetic (*paribbājaka*) Sabhiya admires the Buddha for having crossed him over, too. In a gloss on "*oghatiṇṇam anāsavaṃ*" in *Suttanipāta* 1145, the *Cūḷaniddesa* describes the four floods as having the same four categories as inflows: desire, conditioned becoming, ignorance, and views.[1025] That the ideas of crossing the flood and being free from *āsava* are found in the same verse (*Sn* 178 and 1145) points to a connection between the inflows and the flood. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* describes how the particles of fiery energy flow (*ā√sru*) through the vascular pathways to reach the sense organs. The concept of *āsava*, then, evokes the flow of past *karma* from the flood that ripens in a stream of consciousness. The Buddha enlivens a Vedic metaphorical domain when using the term *āsava*.

However, the Buddha did not appropriate this terminology without nuance. As discussed in the previous chapter, in Vedic thought, Sarasvatī is imagined as a flood of generative power (*vāja*) that the *yajamāna* reconstitutes in pure form by means of ritual practice. This energy is described as dangerous only insofar as it remains beyond one's awareness, but it is not bad in itself because the poison in the flood can be safely removed through mindfulness.[1026] Whereas the flood of unmanifest energy, also referred to as vigor (*vīrya*), has the potential to be positive and empowering in Vedic thought, the Buddha

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[1019] *Sn* 765.

[1020] "Having understood health properly because of the exhaustion of influxes (*parikkhayā āsava*), having discriminated, one who is practicing, established in the *dhamma* (*dhammaṭṭha*), that wise person (*vedagū*) cannot be reckoned." "*ārogyaṃ samma-d-aññāya, āsavānaṃ parikkhayā | saṅkhāya sevī dhammaṭṭho, saṅkhaṃ na upeti vedagū" ti || Sn 749 ||*

[1021] *āsavakhīṇo … sammā so loke paribbajeyya | Sn 370 |*

[1022] "*nāhaṃ 'sabbe samaṇabrāhmaṇāse, nandāti bhagavā jātijarāya nivutā' ti brūmi | ye s' īdha diṭṭhaṃ va sutaṃ mutaṃ vā, sīlabbataṃ vā pi pahāya sabbaṃ | anekarūpam pi pahāya sabbaṃ, taṇhaṃ pariññāya anāsavāse | te ve 'narā oghatiṇṇā' ti brūmi" || Sn 1082 ||* The CN's gloss on this verse, which is the same for 1133, lists the four types of āsava: "*anāsavāti cattāro āsavā — kāmāsavo, bhavāsavo, diṭṭhāsavo, avijjāsavo |*"

[1023] *Sn* 178 (*oghatiṇṇa*), 219 (*oghaṃ samuddaṃ atitariya tādiṃ*), 471 (*yo udatāri oghaṃ*), 1082-1083 (*oghatiṇṇa*), 1145 (*oghatiṇṇa*). Jayawickrama observes that *ogha* in the *Sn* signifies the ills of the world much like *vatthūni, bījāni* and *sineha*. See "The Muni Sutta," in *University of Ceylon Review* 7, no. 3. (1948): 171-180, 179.

[1024] *Sn* 539.

[1025] *oghatiṇṇamanāsavanti. oghatiṇṇanti bhagavā kāmoghaṃ tiṇṇo, bhavoghaṃ tiṇṇo, diṭṭhoghaṃ tiṇṇo, avijjoghaṃ tiṇṇo … oghatiṇṇaṃ. anāsavanti cattāro āsavā — kāmāsavo, bhavāsavo, diṭṭhāsavo, avijjāsavo | CN on Sn 1151 |* Buddhaghosa explains the fourfold (floods) beginning with the flood of desire (*kāmoghādicatubbidham oghaṃ*), which correspond to the four categories of *āsava* enumerated in the *Cūḷaniddesa*. "*āsavā"ti cattāro āsavā — kāmāsavo, bhavāsavo, diṭṭhāsavo, avijjāsavo" | CN on Sn 1105 and 1133 |*

[1026] *RV* 6.61.3.

distinguished between the inflows as a negative influence and vigor as a positive factor. Rather than reconstitute or purify the karmic energies as in Vedic practice, the Buddha advises his followers to eliminate them all together. This suggests that the Buddha separated the two terms in order to teach his Vedic audience that karmic energy which has a habitual force is to be differentiated from vigor. For the Buddhists, then, crossing the flood concerns drying up the unmanifest karmic energy that impels one to habitual ways of perceiving and acting.

Passages in which *āsava* occurs in the *Suttanipāta* support the idea of the flood as unmanifest karmic potentials ripening in the sense faculties and consciousness. In "Questions of the Young Brāhmaṇa Nanda" (*Sn* 5.8), the Bhagavan states that those who know thirst and are free from inflows have crossed the flood.[1027] In the "Sūciloma Sutta" (*Sn* 2.5), discursive thoughts are said to arise on account of passion and aversion, liking and disliking in one's reflexive perception.[1028] But those who know the cause (as what is arising karmically in one's own cognitive process) can remove it, and they cross over the difficult-to-cross flood.[1029] In this *sutta*, knowing that one's liking and sticky love (*sneha*) arises from oneself (*attasambhūtā*) resonates with the teaching in the Yājñavalkya-Maitreyī dialogue of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[1030] In the "Kāma Sutta," the Bhagavan admonishes one to avoid sense desires, lest powerless things—referring to the flow of ripening *karma*—overpower one and lest *dukkha* seep in like water in a wrecked boat.[1031] The followers of the Buddha are advised to be mindful, give up sense desires, and cross the flood like one who goes to the far shore after pouring the water out of the boat.[1032]

Another metaphor used to describe exhausting past *karma* is the desiccation of, the *Mahāniddesa* clarifies, past afflictions and the aggregates, particularly habitual tendencies. It is no coincidence that these technical terms are precisely those used to gloss *upadhi* in the *Niddesas*. The "Attadaṇḍa Sutta" (*Sn* 4.15) teaches, "Desiccate whatever [*MN*: afflictions] are from the past. May you not have any in the future. If you will not grasp [*MN*: five khandas] in the present, you will go about calmed."[1033] The *Mahāniddesa* further explains

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[1027] … *taṇhaṃ pariññāya anāsavāse | te ve narā oghatiṇṇāti brūmi | Sn* 1082 |

[1028] "Passion and aversion have their origin from this [i.e. oneself]. Disliking, liking, and horripilation arise from this [oneself]. From this cause, [oneself,] discursive thoughts in the mind are tossed like the crow that the small children [bind with a string and] launch [up and down]. "*rāgo ca doso ca itonidānā, aratī ratī lomahaṃso itojā | ito samuṭṭhāya mano vitakkā, kumārakā vaṃkam iv' ossajanti ‖ Sn* 271 ‖ "They are born from sticky love, arisen from oneself. Many are entangled in sense desires like the trunk-born [seed pod] of the banyan tree, like the parasite creeper spread out in the forest. "*snehajā attasambhūtā, nigrodhasseva khandhajā | puthū visattā kāmesu, māluvā va vitatā vane ‖ Sn* 272 ‖

[1029] "Those who know clearly what the cause is remove it. Listen, Yakkha. They cross over this very difficult-to-cross flood, which was not crossed before for the sake of no further becoming." "*ye naṃ pajānanti yatonidānaṃ, te naṃ vinodenti suṇohi yakkha | te duttaraṃ ogham imaṃ taranti, atiṇṇapubbaṃ apunabbhavāyā*" *ti ‖ Sn* 273 ‖

[1030] *Sn* 272; *BĀU* 17.2.4.1ff and 17.4.5.1ff.

[1031] *abalā naṃ balīyanti, maddante naṃ parissayā | tato naṃ dukkham anveti, nāvaṃ bhinnam ivodakaṃ ‖ Sn* 770 ‖ The *MN* glosses *abalā* or powerless things as *kilesa-s*.

[1032] *tasmā jantu sadā sato, kāmāni parivajjaye | te pahāya tare oghaṃ, nāvaṃ siñcitvā pāragūti ‖ Sn* 771 ‖

[1033] "*yaṃ pubbe taṃ visosehi, pacchā te māhu kiñcanaṃ | majjhe ce no gahessasi, upasanto carissasi ‖ Sn* 949 ‖ MN*: "*atīte saṅkhāre ārabbha ye kilesā uppajjeyyuṃ te kilese sosehi visosehi sukkhāpehi visukkhāpehi abījaṃ karohi … majjhaṃ vuccati paccuppannā rūpavedanāsaññāsaṅkhāraviññāṇā | paccuppanne saṅkhāre*

that this verse calls for one to generate what has no seed (*abīja*) because of what has been dried up. The idea of drying up the past and not grasping in between is also found in *Suttanipāta* 1099. With respect to this verse, the commentary on the *Aṭṭhakavagga* explains the past as habitual tendencies (*saṅkhāre*) and afflictions (*kilesā*).

Besides crossing over (*Sn* 515, 545, 571, 638) or crossing over the flood (471, 779, 823, 1059, 1096, 1101), the *Suttanipāta* describes going through the darkness of the flood (957), greed as a great flood (945), crossing beyond desires and attachment (948), and crossing over death (1119), birth and death (1060), and birth and decay (1046). One is to cut off the stream (715, 948) and cross over (1059) or go (210, 538) to the far shore, in some cases the far shore of *dukkha* (539) or the far shore of all *dhamma* (167, 1105). Like the sixteen young brāhmaṇas who practiced *brahmacariya* under the kinsman of Ādicca (1128), following these teachings one would go from the near shore to the far shore (1129-1130).

Much of the *Suttanipāta* is dedicated to teaching how to cross the flood. The young brāhmaṇa Upasīva asks the Buddha how to cross the great flood[1034] and the young brāhmaṇa Kappa asks what island or refuge might exist when the scary flood of fear arises.[1035] The Buddha's advice to Upasīva is, "Observing [the sphere of] nothingness (*ākiñcañña*),[1036] mindful, relying on the [idea], 'This does not exist,' cross over the flood."[1037] According to Wynne, the Buddha's response is a reformulation of the practice of Āḷāra Kālāma, a brāhmaṇa in Kosala.[1038] The Buddha seems to be saying that the cultivator should observe his mental process and acknowledge that whatever arises from his stream of past *karma* is not existentially real. In other words, there is nothing going on except what he may misunderstand based on the energy of his past *karma* coming to fruition in the present. Similar advice is given to Posāla, namely to be aware of the flow of past *karma* arising in one's mental process: "Knowing what arises from [the sphere of] nothingness,[1039] … then one develops insight (*vipassati*) there. For an accomplished *brāhmaṇa*, this really is knowing."[1040] Gotama teaches Kappa that when the flood arises, not to possess or take up anything that arises in the flood and to remain mindful.[1041] The teaching here, too, is to remain mindful of but not to identify with what arises from past *karma*. In response to Hemavata Yakkha's question, "Who crosses the flood here?" the Buddha responds, "Ever

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taṇhāvasena diṭṭhivasena na gahessasi na uggahessasi na gaṇhissasi na parāmasissasi nābhinandissasi nābhicarissasi na ajjhosissasi …"

[1034] *Sn* 1069.

[1035] *Sn* 1092-1093.

[1036] absence of possessions, one of the *jhānas* or meditative states

[1037] "*ākiñcaññaṃ pekkhamāno satimā, Upasīvā ti Bhagavā n'atthi' ti nissāya tarassu oghaṃ …* | *Sn* 1070 |

[1038] Ibid., 72.

[1039] *CN*: the accumulation of *kamma*, clinging, bonds, obstructions: "*ākiñcaññāsambhavoti vuccati ākiñcaññāyatanasaṃvattaniko kammābhisaṅkhāro. ākiñcaññāyatanasaṃvattanikaṃ kammābhisaṅkhāraṃ ākiñcaññāsambhavoti ñatvā, laggananti ñatvā, bandhananti ñatvā, palibodhoti ñatvā* |"

[1040] "*ākiñcaññasambhavaṃ ñatvā, nandī saṃyojanaṃ iti* | *evametaṃ abhiññāya, tato tattha vipassati* | *etaṃ ñāṇaṃ tathaṃ tassa, brāhmaṇassa vusīmato" ti* || *Sn* 1115 ||

[1041] *Sn* 1094-1095.

virtuous, wise, mindful, and well grounded (*susamāhita*), with thoughts [directed] inward, one crosses over the flood that is hard to cross."[1042]

The way to cross over the flood is to be mindful and guard the sense faculties wherein past *karma* flows. Gómez and Wynne took note that being mindful constitutes an important part of ascetic training in the *Aṭṭhakavagga* and *Pārāyanavagga*, respectively.[1043] Not just here, but in the whole of the *Suttanipāta* mindfulness and being mindful (*sati, paṭissato, sato, satīmā*) are exhorted repeatedly,[1044] as is being constantly vigilant (*appamatto*).[1045] Because mindfulness is the "shield" for whatever streams (*sota*) arise in conditioned space (*loka*),[1046] in solitude the practitioner makes himself aware of what arises from within (*ajjhatta*), without letting his mind wander outwards.[1047] He investigates both the internal and the external sense-spheres[1048] in an effort to comprehend the sense faculties and watch over the senses (*guttindriyo, guttadvāra*).[1049] The "Khaggavisāṇa Sutta" (*Sn* 1.3) teaches, "With eyes cast down, not wandering aimlessly, watchful of the sense organs (*gutta*), guarding over the mind (*rakkhita*), without outflows (*anavassuta*), and not ablaze [Buddhaghosa: with the fire of *kilesas*[1050]], one should go about alone like the rhinoceros."[1051] Here careful mindfulness of the senses is coupled with not allowing the past karmic energy to be projected onto external objects, because the perceived relationship between the attributes projected and the object exists only in the mind of the perceiver. Such a person is called *anavassuta* (Skt. *anavasruta*), meaning one who has nothing flowing out. The term is derived from the same root $\sqrt{sru}$ from which *āsava* is formed, but with the prefix *ava-* rather than *ā-*.

Lee observed that without mindfulness (*sati*), *āsava-s* enter the unguarded sense doors, flowing in and out from all six sense doors.[1052] Once the *Suttanipāta* explicitly says one must guard against streams,[1053] but more often one is called to guard the sense faculties or the sense doors and to be restrained with regard to what is generated (*pāṇesu saññato*).[1054] In addition, one's sense faculties are well restrained (*susamāhitindriya*), well composed, and

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[1042] "*sabbadā sīlasampanno, paññavā susamāhito | ajjhattacintī satimā, oghaṃ tarati duttaraṃ ‖ Sn 174 ‖* Besides this passage, the *Sn* states that with vigilance one crosses over the ocean (*Sn* 184) and being mindful one crosses over death (1119).

[1043] Gómez, 147-148; Wynne, 102.

[1044] *Sn* 45, 70, 77, 88, 151, 174, 212, 340, 412, 413, 434, 444, 446, 466, 503, 515, 741, 751, 753, 768, 771, 779, 855, 916, 933, 962, 963, 973, 974, 976, 1035, 1036, 1039, 1041, 1053, 1054, 1056, 1062, 1066, 1070, 1085, 1087, 1095, 1104, 1107, 1110, 1111, 1119, 1143, etc.

[1045] *Sn* 507, 1123.

[1046] "*yāni sotāni lokasmiṃ, Ajitā ti Bhagavā sati tesaṃ nivāraṇaṃ | sotānaṃ saṃvaraṃ brūmi, paññāy'ete pithiyyare*" ‖ *Sn* 1035 ‖

[1047] "*… ajjhattacinti na mano bahiddhā, nicchāraye … ‖ Sn 388 ‖ B: "ajjhattacintīti tilakkhaṇaṃ āropetvā khandhasantānaṃ cintento. na mano bahiddhā nicchārayeti bahiddhā rūpādīsu rāgavasena cittaṃ na nīhare |*"

[1048] *Sn* 526.

[1049] *Sn* 63, 413.

[1050] B: "*kilesaggīhi apariḍayhamāno |*"

[1051] *okkhittacakkhū na ca pādalolo, guttindriyo rakkhitamānasāno | anavassuto apariḍayhamāno, eko care khaggavisāṇakappo ‖ Sn 63 ‖*

[1052] Lee, 40.

[1053] *sotesu gutto | Sn 250 |*

[1054] *Sn* 156-157.

cultivated internally and externally in every situation (*sabbaloka*).[1055] The "Muni Sutta" (*Sn* 1.12) explains that the sage breaks up whatever arises and does not sow nor nourish what is growing.[1056] Moreover, "Having investigated the fields, having crushed the seed, he would not supply moisture (*sineha*) to it."[1057] Through awareness of the arising and passing away of past *karma* flowing into the sense faculties, one can easily discriminate mental constructing and avoid generating it.[1058]

The flood or stream is only one metaphorical concept among many found in *Suttanipāta* discourses that stands for past *karma*. Other metaphors include roots (*mūla*),[1059] storerooms (*ālaya, kosa*),[1060] the barb (*salla*),[1061] the cave (*guhā*),[1062] and former perfuming (*pubbavāsanavāsitā*),[1063] etc. Some metaphors are used to express the nonexistence of past *karma*, such as not fuming (*vidhūmo*)[1064] and without hunger from desire (*icchāya nicchāto*).[1065] Technical terms denote unripened *karma*, such as: latent tendencies (*anusaya*), literally "what closely adheres" as a result of an action, and habitual tendencies (*saṅkhāra*), literally "formations."[1066] In addition, the Buddha uses the simile of flames for karmic propensities when he states, "Manifold things issue forth, like flames of fire in the forest."[1067] These other metaphors for past *karma* are beyond the scope of this chapter, which focuses on *āsava* and *upadhi*.

Although this dissertation is primarily concerned with the *Suttanipāta*, the term *āsava* occurs in other Pāli discourses as Bhikkhu Anālayo discusses in his article, "Purification in Early Buddhist Discourse and Buddhist Ethics."[1068] In the Pāli Nikāyas the term *āsava* frequently refers to something that must be abandoned through careful attention in order to reach liberation. The "Sabbāsava Sutta" (*M* 2) prescribes seven methods by which *āsava-s* are to be abandoned, for example by seeing or insight (*dassanā*

[1055] For well restrained, see *Sn* 214. For well composed, see 465 and 498. For well cultivated, see 516.

[1056] "They call a solitary, wandering sage that one who, breaking up what [B: kilesa] arises, would not sow [again] nor supply a growing thing..." *yo jātam ucchijja na ropayeyya, jāyantamassa nānuppavecche | tam āhu ekaṃ muninaṃ carantaṃ … ‖ Sn 208 ‖*

[1057] *saṃkhāya vatthūni pamāya bījaṃ, sineham assa nānuppavecche | Sn 209 |*

[1058] *Sn* 517, 521.

[1059] *Sn* 14, 369, 524, 525, 916, 968, 1043. In other Pāli texts, too, the root metaphor is related to *āsava-s*. For example, in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the Buddha tells Doṇa that he is a Buddha, not a deva, gandhabba, yakkha, or human. Bhikkhu Bodhi translates, "Brahmin, I have abandoned those taints because of which I might have become a deva; I have cut them off a the root, made them like palm stumps, obliterated them so that they are no longer subject to future arising, etc." See "Doṇa," no. 36 in the book of fours in *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Trans. Bhikkhu Bodhi. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2012), 425-426.

[1060] *Sn* 177, 525, 535.

[1061] *Sn* 592.

[1062] *Sn* 772.

[1063] *Sn* 1009.

[1064] *Sn* 1048.

[1065] *Sn* 707.

[1066] For *anusaya*, see 369, 545, 571,

[1067] "*uccāvacā niccharanti, dāye aggisikhūpamā | Sn 703 |*

[1068] For a discussion on the "Sabbāsava Sutta" and the methods to eliminate *āsava*, see Bhikkhu Anālayo, "Purification," 80.

pahātabbāsava).[1069] This *sutta* describes how when the unarisen (*anuppanno*) *āsava-s* of desire, conditioned becoming, and ignorance arise in a person, though unfit for attention, one pays attention to them and the arisen *āsava* increases. However, if a person attends to things fit for attention, the unarisen *āsava-s* do not arise in him and are abandoned. When he pays attention unwisely, one of six views arises.[1070] In contrast, paying attention wisely means recognizing the Four Noble Truths with respect to the arising *āsava*: this is suffering (*idaṃ dukkha*), this is the arising of suffering (*ayaṃ dukkhasamudayo*), this is the cessation of suffering (*ayaṃ dukkhanirodho*), and this (properly paying attention) is the path leading to the cessation of suffering (*ayaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminī paṭipadā*).[1071] Seeing into the Four Noble Truths brings about the destruction of *āsavas*.[1072] The "Sāmaññaphala Sutta" (*D* 2.97) lists the Four Noble Truths and then lists them again, but the second time the word *dukkha* is replaced by *āsava*.[1073] It states that through knowing and seeing, the mind becomes free from *kāmāsavo, bhavāsavo,* and *avijjāsavo*. The mind becomes so concentrated that it is compared to a clear pond, in which a man with good eyesight can see the fish, oyster shells, and gravel banks.

Other suttas put forward additional methods for the removal of *āsava-s*. As part of Sāriputta's discourse on right view, the end of the "Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta"(*M* 9) lists the three kinds of *āsava-s* (*kāmāsavo, bhavāsavo, avijjāsavo*) and speaks of their destruction by two means.[1074] First, because *āsava-s* arise on account of the arising of ignorance, with the cessation of ignorance, there is the cessation of *āsava-s*.[1075] Second, Sāriputta teaches that the way leading to the cessation of *āsava-s* is the Noble Eightfold Path, which is not mentioned in the *Suttanipāta*.[1076] To fully understand the three *āsava-s*, which the "Samāditthi Sutta" says leads to the removal of underlying tendencies (*anusaya*), the "Satipaṭṭhāna Saṃyutta" recommends developing the four establishments of mindfulness,

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[1069] Knowing and seeing the *khandhas* in a certain way, as impermanent and dependently arisen, etc. is also found in "Pārileyya" and in "The Adze Handle" of the *Kandhasaṃyutta* in *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha*, 922-923, 959. See also "Abandoning the Taints, etc." in the Saḷāyatanasaṃyutta, 1149.

[1070] *tassa evaṃ ayoniso manasikaroto channaṃ diṭṭhīnaṃ aññatarā diṭṭhi uppajjati | M 2.8 |* The six views are then listed.

[1071] "*so 'idaṃ dukkha' nti yoniso manasi karoti, 'ayaṃ dukkhasamudayo' ti yoniso manasi karoti, 'ayaṃ dukkhanirodho' ti yoniso manasi karoti, 'ayaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminī paṭipadā' ti yoniso manasi karoti | tassa evaṃ yoniso manasikaroto tīṇi saṃyojanāni pahīyanti — sakkāyadiṭṭhi, vicikicchā, sīlabbataparāmāso | ime vuccanti, bhikkhave, āsavā dassanā pahātabbā | M 2.11 |*

[1072] "The Destruction of Taints" in *Saccasaṃyutta* in *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha,* 1855.

[1073] "Sāmaññāphala Sutta" (*D* 2.97-98) in *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Dīgha Nikāya.* Trans. Maurice Walshe. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2012), 107-108. For parallel passages, see "Self-Torment" (*A* 4.198) and "Tikaṇṇa" (*A* 3.58) in *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha,* 585 and 259. The Four Noble Truths formula with *āsava* replacing *dukkha* (without the precursory standard formula with *dukkha*) is found in *A* 6.63, page 959.

[1074] "Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta" in *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya.* Trans. Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi. Third Edition. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 132-144. The "Saṅgīti Sutta" (*D* 33.1.20) also lists these three *āsava-s*.

[1075] *avijjāsamudayā āsavasamudayo, avijjānirodhā āsavanirodho | M 9.70 |* Ignorance is also said to be the source and origin of *āsavas* in *A* 6.63.

[1076] *ayameva ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo āsavanirodhagāminī paṭipadā | M 9.70 |* Following the Noble Eightfold Path is recommended as the antidote to *āsava-s* also in the "Jambukhādakasaṃyutta" and the "Maggasaṃyutta." See *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya*, 1297 and 1560-61.

namely mindfully dwelling while contemplating the body in the body, feelings in feelings, the mind in the mind, and phenomena in phenomena.[1077] Some *āsava-s* are to be abandoned by restraint (*saṃvara*), others by using (*paṭisevana*), patiently enduring (*adhivāsana*), avoiding (*parivajjana*), removing (*vinodana*), or developing (*bhāvanā*).[1078] Another remedy for eliminating *āsava-s* is building confidence and virtues, which also metaphorically "flow on," leading to the destruction of *āsava-s*.[1079]

In general, these methods require mindfulness, paying attention to the flowing of past *karma* into the consciousnesses of the sense faculties, including the mind. The restraining (*saṃvara*) method requires guarding the sense doors.[1080] In order to help him eliminate his *āsavas*, the Buddha teaches Rahula about the sense faculties, sense objects, and consciousness in the "Saḷāyatana Saṃyutta."[1081] The Buddha emphasizes that all five aggregates arising with mind-contact are impermanent and not to be identified with oneself or taken up as one's own. Elsewhere a similar teaching is given, namely that seeing that the five aggregates are impermanent, suffering, and nonself enables the mind to become dispassionate toward the aggregates and eventually for one to be liberated from *āsava-s* by not clinging to them.[1082] Citing the "Nidāna Saṃyutta," Schmithausen affirms that contemplating the arising and disappearance of the five *skandhas* leads to the vanishing of *āsava-s*.[1083] Eliminating *āsava-s* occurs in all four *jhānas* and the meditatively cultivated states that follow.[1084] In the four *jhānas*, the meditator develops the awareness that whatever phenomena exist there related to the five *skandhas* are impermanent, empty, and nonself, etc. In addition, the mind is redirected to stillness. In his description of the *Cūḷasuññattasutta* (*M* 121), Schmithausen mentions a stage in which "the mind is still not empty because the six sense faculties (*saḷāyatanika*) still function."[1085] The monk then refocuses on *animitto cetosamādhi*, which frees his mind from *āsava-s*, and he attains arhatship. Finally, as a result of Mahāmoggallāna's instructions to remove *āsava-s* that lead to feeling *dukkha* in the future, one cultivates a liberated mind that remains equanimous no matter what sense object meets the sense organ.[1086]

[1077] "Satipaṭṭhānasaṃyutta" in *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha,* 1664.

[1078] These six are the same given in the "Sabbāsava Sutta," which has in addition seeing (*dassana*). "Taints," (A 6.58) in *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha*, 942-944.

[1079] "Rain" in *Sotāpattisaṃyutta* in *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha,* 1825. Similarly, in the "Indriyasaṃyutta," diligence is defined as guarding the mind against *āsava-s* and against "tainted states." See "Indriyasaṃyutta" in *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha,* 1698. A bhikkhu's strength (*bala*) lies in exhausting the *āsava-s* and realizing through experience a liberated mind free of *āsava-s*. *kiñ ca bhikkhave, bhikkhuno balasmiṃ? idha, bhikkhave, bhikkhu āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭheva dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati. idaṃ kho, bhikkhave, bhikkhuno balasmiṃ* | *D* 26.28 | *The Dīgha Nikāya,* Vol. 3. Ed. J. Estlin Carpenter. (London: Pāli Text Society, 1960), 78.

[1080] "Sabbāsava Sutta" (*M* 2) and "Taints," (A 6.58).

[1081] "Exoration to Rahula" in the *Saḷāyatanasaṃyutta* of *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha*, 1194-1196.

[1082] "Impermanent" in the Khandhasaṃyutta of *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha,* 884-885.

[1083] Schmithausen, 219-221; *A* 4.41; *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha,* 553-554. Schmithausen goes on to say that according to *S* 22.95 what effects detachment and liberation is the realization of the *skandhas* as empty (*rittaka*), vain (*tucchaka*) and without any pith or substance (*asāraka*).

[1084] "Jhāna," in *A* 9.36 | See *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha*, 1298-1301. See also "Dasama" (*A* 11.16) for a related passage, pages 1574-1577.

[1085] Schmithausen, 232-236

[1086] "Vappa," in *A* 4.195 | See *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha*, 572-575.

The term *āsava*, then, builds on Vedic metaphors of the flood and stored-up unmanifest energies flowing through the body to feed the mind and sense faculties. It is formed from the same root √*sru* which, for the Kāṇva School in Kosala, expressed the flow of precreative energies. Even though over time, through usage, the meaning of "inflow" was replaced in Buddhism by "taint," uncovering the earlier etymological background supplements the theory of causality associated with the concept of *āsava*. The Buddha distinguishes between the Vedic concepts of *vā́ja* and *vīrya*, which were synonymous, with his concepts of *āsava* and *vīrya*. The use of these terms suggests that his audience comprised brāhmaṇical *munis* in the Kosala region familiar with the Vedic metaphorical assemblages.

In conclusion, the terms *upadhi* and *āsava* reconfigure Vedic concepts that illustrate karmic conditioning. The term *upadhi* refers to what is acquired from past sensory experience that then forms a substrata of karmic potentials, as well as to what manifests in consciousness to be grasped in any sensory experience. The term critiques a Vedic practice, gaining semantic currency, while losing value in the transaction. When performing the *agnihotra*, the Kāṇva sacrificer recites a *mantra* addressing the kindling stick, which contains the verb *upa*√*dhā*.[1087] According to the *Śatapatha*, these daily offerings train the *ṛṣi* to focus his attention on the unmanifest energies entering his the fire that is cognition as well as on what is generated through cognition that is then stored in the unmanifest. In the *agnihotra*, the sacrificer should generate *karma* mindfully. His attention is marked ritually by the act of adding the kindling sticks (*samidh*), which he is responsible for having "placed" or "added." The Buddhist concept of *upadhi*, however, critiques the ritual performed without mindfulness. The term refers to the acquisition of karmic residues and what may be added to karmically conditioned apperception, which suggests that by the time of the Buddha, the ritual was not always performed while paying attention to the cognitive process. The *Niddesa* gloss on *upadhi* as the aggregates and habitual tendencies corroborates the argument that the Buddha created the concept of *upadhi* to enliven metaphysical concepts in Vedic discourse.

The term *āsava* signifies the inflowing of ripening *karma* into the six sense faculties their corresponding consciousness. This flow of accumulated past *karma* conditions sense perception, causing the perceiver to experience things not as they are, but as one perceives the past coming into the present in a stream of consciousness. In Vedic literature, Sarasvatī stands for the flood of unmanifest generative power (*vā́ja*) that gives rise to manifest visions (*dhī́*). She finds streams, from which she makes poison flow away (√*sru*), in addition to casting down what is generated (*prajā*) in the mind. The flood of generative power is also portrayed as the flowing in (*ā*+√*sru*) of very subtle food (*āhāra*) from the heart through the arteries. This internal karmic food is expressed through the metaphors of light particles or small sparks endowed with consciousness flowing through *prāṇa*. In both the cases of the flow of poison and the flow of fiery energy, the verb √*sru* describes the movement of past karmic energies into the sense organs. Given the evidence, it seems likely that the Buddhist concept of *āsava* as inflow enlivened earlier Vedic metaphors associated with the verb √*sru*. Bhikkhu Bodhi asserts that through meditation, one develops insight that leads to the

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[1087] …*tvā…upadadāmi… ŚBK* 3.1.5.1.

destruction of *āsava-s*.[1088] The Buddhist meditator is exhorted to dry up or exhaust the stream of *āsava-s* so that the current does not pull his consciousness along according to karmic conditions.

If *upadhi* is the substrata of past *karma* established by lifetimes of "placing" or "adding" residues from past experience, then *āsava* is the flow of past *karma* entering the stream of consciousness in any of the six sense faculties or the consciousness upon which the cognition of any sensory experience is based. Once *karma* ripens and flows into consciousness, it forms the basis of apperception, giving rise to the potential to distort how a given object or experience is perceived. In this way, these terms are closely linked with dependent arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), especially the first three links (*avijjā*, *sankhāra*, and *viññāṇa*). The Buddha says that not knowing the effect of upadhi and āsava, makes a person stuck:

> In this way the wise, perceiving dependent arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) and adept in the ripening *kamma*, see this *kamma* as it really is.[1089] Due to *kamma*, the world turns round. Due to *kamma*, beings exist. To *kamma* beings are shackled, like the linch-pin of a driving chariot.[1090]

This chapter has shown that some of the Buddha's teachings on *karma* enliven Vedic concepts that express the energy and movement of *karma*. The usage of some Vedic terms with respect to the accumulation of energies generated from past experience are specific to the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* located in Kosala. The Buddha critiqued these Vedic ideas when creating his own concepts. Such terms and their constellations of meaning in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta* suggest that causality was a central tenet of Kosalan philosophy. The next chapter provides further evidence that the Buddhists built on basic Vedic metaphors circulating in Kosala.

[1088] Bhikkhu Bodhi, "Introduction," in *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya.* Trans. Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi. Third Edition. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 37.

[1089] "*evam etaṃ yathābhūtaṃ, kammaṃ passanti paṇḍitā | paṭiccasamuppādadassā, kammavipākakovidā ǁ Sn 653 ǁ*

[1090] "*kammunā vattati loko, kammunā vattati pajā | kammani bandhanā sattā, rathassāṇiva yāyato ǁ Sn 654 ǁ*

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Chapter Six
Crossing Over to the Far Shore

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"May I reach your far shore (*pāra*) safely, Citrāvasu!" … The visionaries long
ago successfully reached the far shore in this way because of her, so danger
did not find them at night. And similarly because of her, this one successfully
reaches the far shore and danger does not find him at night."[1091]
—*Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.4.1.17

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A close reading of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* reveals that many critical metaphors employed by the Buddha revitalize Vedic thought. In addition to the terms *upadhi* and *āsava*, the Bhagavan draws on the tropes of the snake shedding his skin, the boat, and crossing over to the far shore in the *Suttanipāta.* This chapter shows how these concepts were used as early as the *Ṛgveda*, but take on nuanced meaning in the philosophical critique of both the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Suttanipāta*. While these metaphors are also found in other Vedic and Buddhist texts, an analysis of other texts lies beyond the scope of this chapter. In the context of the *Śatapatha* and the *Suttanipāta*, Yājñavalkya and Gotama's metaphors for spiritual transformation highlight how attention to one's own mind liberates the mind and increases its scope (*loka*) to include even the far shore in this very life.[1092]

Section I: The Slough

Before turning to the textual passages that feature the serpent shedding his skin, let us investigate what the ancient sages observed in nature that may have prompted them to apply this metaphor. Herpetological research has shown that because the skin does not grow with his body, the snake grows into a new skin.[1093] Periodic shedding permits an increase in skin surface and facilitates somatic growth and repair through a concomitant epidermal renewal.[1094] With lepidosaurian reptiles, like snakes and lizards, the cyclic formation of a new epidermal generation occurs throughout the entire body, not just individually or in small patches as with mammals, birds, crocodiles, and turtles.[1095] According to Lorenzo Alibardi, during renewal phases, "a new inner epidermal generation

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[1091] *citrāvaso svasti te pāram aśīyeti … tasyā ha smaivam ṛṣayaḥ purā svasti pāraṁ samaśnuvate tathainān rātryā na nāṣṭrā niveda tatho vā asyā eṣa etat svasti pāraṁ samaśnute tathainaṁ rātryā na nāṣṭrā vindati |* *ŚBK* 1.4.1.17 | The *mantra* (*citrāvaso svasti te pāramaśīyeti*), chanted during the *agnyupasthāna* at the evening *agnihotra*, is found at *VSK* 3.3.10, *KS* 6.9.15, *TS* 1.5.7.5.

[1092] The *svarga loka* is to be attained in this world (*asmiṃl loke*). See Gonda, *Loka*, 98; *AiB* 7.10.3; Wynne, 116. The concept of *svarga* expounded in this chapter is a late response to a question from CF in Pune, 2013.

[1093] I am grateful to Raul E. Diaz for his correspondence on reptile molting. Diaz, Assistant Professor of Biology at La Sierra University. Personal correspondence. October 25, 2014.

[1094] Lorenzo Alibardi, "Adaptation to the Land: The Skin of Reptiles in Comparison to That of Amphibians and Endotherm Amniotes," in *Journal of Experimental Zoology (Mol. Dev. Evol.)* 298B: 12-41 (2003), 21.

[1095] Ping Wu, Lianhai Hou, Maksim Lplinkus, et al., "Evo-Devo of amniote integuments and appendages," in *Int. J. Dev. Biol.* 48: 249-270 (2004), 252.

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is produced beneath the old outer generation, which is shed later."[1096] To accommodate the constantly expanding body of the young snake, its outer skin periodically falls away. This process may be compared with the cultivator, whose body and mind are transforming, giving way to the emergence of a more expansive body and mind.

The beginning of shed is the most difficult for the snake. The loosening skin covers his eyes, rendering him somewhat blind and defensively oversensitive to potential danger. Without any hands, the snake must rub himself against a stone or some object to start the slough from the head. Once the epidermis on the head has started to peel, the snake is then no longer visually impaired and can arduously pull himself through the old skin, which peels backward. There is nothing a snake can hold onto during this process; shedding is sheer labor of a gradual, but complete self-removal bit by bit. The snake often stops to rest as a result of the enormous amount of effort required to come out from the skin.

With this in mind, let us examine the use of the snake shedding trope in the *Śatapatha* and the *Suttanipāta*. The motif of the snake casting off his skin is found no less than six times in the Yājñavalkya sections of the *Śatapatha*. The first example occurs at *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.3.1.2 in a section on the *agnihotra*. The rising sun is described as a snake casting off his skin,[1097] which, it is said, leads to the birth of new *prajā*. Here one may recall that in the evening *agnihotra*, the setting sun is believed to enter, as an embryo, the fire that becomes a womb (*yoni*). Metaphorically this means the precreative energy enters the fire that is cognition as a creative potential, a seed-like embryo, where it transforms into what gives birth to new experience. The passage states:

> As a snake would cast off his skin (*yathāhis tvaco nirmucyeta*), so having cast off the night that is all evil, he [the sun] rises. Just as a snake would cast off his skin, so he who knows this in this way casts off all evil. Following that [sun] who is being born, all these *prajā* are generated, for they are emitted (*vi+√ sṛj*) according to their objects (*yathārtha*).[1098]

As a metaphor for the precreative, unmanifest energy, the sun rises having cast off the night.[1099] Kuiper notes that the nocturnal sky is identical with the cosmic waters, both of

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[1096] Alibardi continues, "Shedding is made possible by the formation of an intraepidermal shedding complex comprising the clear layer of the outer generation and the oberhautchen of the inner generation." See Lorenzo Alibardi, "Ultrastructure of the Embryonic Snake Skin and Putative Role of Histidine in the Differentiation of the Shedding Complex," in *Journal of Morphology*, Vol. 251. (2002): 149-168, 149.

[1097] This motif is found elsewhere in Vedic literature, including *ŚBM* 2.3.1.6, *JB* 1.9 and *PB* 25.15.4. See Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism.* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1943; reprinted Mountain View: Golden Elixer Press, 2011), 39; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra)*, 153; *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I,1-65*, 38.

[1098] … *sa yathāhis tvaco nirmucyetaivaṃ rātreḥ sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyodayate yathā ha vā ahis tvaco nirmucyetaivaṃ sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyate ya evam etad veda taṃ jāyamānam imāḥ sarvāḥ prajā anu prajāyante visṛjyante hi yathārthānām(thārthā)* | *ŚBK* 1.3.1.2 | Compare with Eggeling's translation of the *ŚBM*: "Just as a snake may free itself from its skin, so does he (the sun) free himself from the evil which is the night. And just as a snake may free itself from its skin, so does he who knowing thus offers the agnihotra free himself from all evil." *sa yathāhistvaco nirmucyeta* | *evaṃ rātreḥ pāpmanā nirmucyate yathā ha vā ahistvaco* | *nirmucyetaivaṃ sarvasmātpāpmano nirmucyate ya yevam vidvānagnihotraṃ juhoti* | *tadetasyaivānu prajātimimāḥ sarvāḥ prajā anu prajāyante vi hi sṛjyante yathārtham* | *ŚBM* 2.3.1.6 | See Bodewitz, 153.

[1099] Other Agnihotra-brāhmaṇas provide further information about the significance of the night. For example, having poured out the sun as seed, Agni impregnates the night, which engenders *prajā* in the morning. In this

which constitute Varuṇa's realm.[1100] Varuṇa's realm, in turn, is the seat of *ṛtá* and where they release the horses of the sun.[1101] While mental experience arises from this place of the unmanifest, the language that expresses the arising of that experience reflects human birth. Not only does the sun's energy enter as an embryo that becomes a womb, but what is generated is called offspring (*prajā*) and the verb used to emit or create *vi+√srj*) is the same verb used to express the ejaculation of semen. The passage is full of allusions to fecundity and generation. As a snake leaves his old skin, the unmanifest energy manifests in the mind where it takes a new form. And yet, the passage suggests a certain continuity of the unmanifest energy with what manifests. The snake, after all, is still the snake, but it has shed its old cover, its previous form.

The second example is from *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.5.1.38 and concerns a section on the Vaiśvadeva offering, the first of the four monthly sacrifices (*caturmāsya*). Here the *yajamāna* and his wife are said to emerge from their *avabhṛtha* (ablution) as a snake would cast off his skin. From *ava+√bhṛ* meaning to throw down or cast off, *avabhṛtha* literally refers to the act of removing evil, and secondarily refers to a sacred bath. The passage indicates that the sacrificer and his wife immerse themselves in a pool of water, either a large well or river. Then the clothes worn by them during the ritual bath can be given to whomever because they are no longer the garments of the initiated. The text continues, "As a snake would cast off his skin, having been released from all evil relating to Varuṇa, he emerges"[1102] from the *avabhṛtha* bath with his wife. Here the image of the snake casting off his skin is analogous to the sacrificer and his wife casting off their old clothes. This ritual act marks the casting off of all evil relating to or coming from Varuṇa (*varuṇya*). The qualifying term *varuṇya* evokes the idea of Varuṇa's realm of unmanifest *ṛtá* and establishes evil as related to—and more specifically, to not knowing—the unmanifest realm.

In addition to the term *varuṇya*, the water itself brings to mind Varuṇa's cosmic waters. In some Vedic cosmological myths, water, signifying a kind of undifferentiated unity, was all that existed in the beginning.[1103] For this reason, the *avabhṛtha* bath at the end of the sacrifice could represent a plunge into the primeval water, which is the same as Amṛta-Soma, in which Agni is born.[1104] Jurewicz equates Agni with cognition, connecting the idea that cognition is born from the waters, the unmanifest. This association is also expressed by the idea that Agni is the offspring of heaven and earth. Kuiper explains that heaven and earth "constituted an undifferentiated primeval world before his [Agni's] arising and, consequently, there was no separate Heaven."[1105] The immersion into the water, then, signals a return to the undifferentiated primeval world before cognition created a duality in

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earlier text, the night is a womb that generates *prajā*. See *KS* 6.5:53.20ff and *MS* 1.8.5:121.6ff; Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihtora)*, 80-81.

[1100] Kuiper, *Ancient Indian Cosmogony*, 148, 150.

[1101] *ṛténa rtám ápihitaṃ dhruváṃ vāṃ sū́ryasya yátra vimucánti áśvān | RV* 5.62.1ab | Kuiper, *Ancient Indian Cosmogony*, 159-160.

[1102] *sa yathāhis tvaco nirmucyetaivaṃ varuṇyāt sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyodaiti | ŚBK* 1.5.1.38 |

[1103] *RV* 10.129.3, 10.121.7; *ŚBK* 3.1.12.1, *ŚBM* 11.1.6.1-2; *JUB* 1.56.1; F.B.J. Kuiper, *Ancient Indian Cosmogony.* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd., 1983), 98-100. In the *JUB* version, the water, the great flood, impregnates wave after wave.

[1104] Ibid., 29.

[1105] Ibid.

human experience.[1106] Emerging from the waters in the *avabhṛtha* reenacts the birth of Agni and renews the awareness of what gives rise to the mind. After the Vaiśvadeva offering, the *yajamāna* and his wife take up the two fires, marking a conscious effort to maintain their awareness of what is produced by their past unmanifest energy and what they are producing now that will be offered for future cognition. Casting off evil relating to Varuṇa like old clothes, then, suggests leaving behind not knowing the unmanifest and renewing a commitment to being mindful of the cognitive process.

  The third example occurs at the completion of the *soma yajña*. *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 5.5.3.15 states,

> Having bathed [in the *avabhṛtha*], having worn different clothes, having been released from all evil (*pāpman*) relating to Varuṇa, the *yajamāna* emerges as a snake would cast off his skin. In him no fault (*enas*) remains, not even as much as in a toothless child.[1107]

After this passage, the *avabhṛtha* is equated with a flood (*nicumpuṇa*) to save the *yajamāna* from any fault (*enas*).[1108] It is interesting that immersing oneself in the flood here is seen as something salvific, rather than as something to be crossed over. The reference to the sacrificer emerging from the waters as would a snake from his skin in the *soma yāga* echoes *Ṛgveda* 9.86.44, wherein *soma* streams out like a serpent from his skin. In this stanza, *soma* is the blissful inner life of a person that emerges upon shedding the outer cover.

  The fourth example comes from *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 5.8.3.12 and concerns the *aticchandas* verses that are chanted to strike down those who have fallen asunder (*śatru*). The enemies are later in the *kaṇḍikā* called *pāpman* (evil) and should be struck down even if they should run away in fear. The passage reads, "Just as a serpent would cast off his skin, so having been released from all offenses, they set off from the eastern side."[1109] As in the previous examples, the sacrificer is released from all evil as a snake would cast off his skin; he emerges anew.

  The fifth example is from *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.10.11. By signaling a reintegration with the undifferentiated unity, the snake metaphor in this passage illustrates the transition from mortality to immortality. The passage states that one who offers to himself (*ātmayājin*) knows,

> "With this [offering], this body (*aṅga*) of mine is formed, with this, this body of mine is maintained (*upa+√dhā*)." As a snake would be released from his skin, in this way then, he is released from that mortal body, from evil.[1110]

Here evil is synonymous with the mortal body, which suggests that not knowing the unmanifest perpetuates being tied to the limitations of the physical body's past offerings.

[1106] In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Yājñavalkya states that Agni is the same as death—it is the food of the waters. The passage goes on to say that one who knows this wards off repeated death. Cognition unaware of what it feeds on from the unmanifest is the same as repeated death. *agnir vai mṛtyuḥ so 'pām annam | apa punarmṛtyuṃ jayati ‖ BĀU 3.2.10 ‖*

[1107] *snātvānye vāsasī paridhāyodhetaḥ sa yathāhis tvaco nirmucyetainaṃ varuṇyāt sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyodaiti tasmin ha nainaḥ pariśiṣyate yāvaccana kumāre 'dati | ŚBK 5.5.3.15 (part)|*

[1108] ŚBK 5.5.3.15.

[1109] *yathāhis tvaco nirmucyetaivaṃ sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucya prāñco niḥsarpanti | ŚBK 5.8.3.12 |*

[1110] … *sa ha vā ātmayājī yo vededaṃ me 'nenāṅgaṃ saṃskriyata idaṃ me 'nenāṅgam upadhīyata iti sa yathāhis tvaco nirmucyetaivam asmān martyāccharīrāt pāpmano nirmucyate…ŚBK 3.2.10.11 |*

Since what one offers in the fire that is cognition maintains the body, reorienting one's offering, when conscious of what comes from the unmanifest in each moment of cognition, transforms one's entire being. Knowing about the exchange between the unmanifest and the manifest in the mind releases the limitations of the sacrificer's body, which becomes too small for him like a snake's old skin.

The sixth example comes from the last *kāṇḍa* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* better known as *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 17.4.4.7. This passage explains that when all desires are relinquished, then a mortal becomes immortal:

> When all desires clinging to the heart are relinquished (*pra+√muc*), then a mortal becomes immortal. At this point he reaches *brahman*. Just as the cast-off, unmoving skin of a snake (*ahinirlvayanī*) would lie dead on an ant hill, in this very way this body lies. Now this disembodied, immortal *prāṇa* is *brahman* itself, fiery energy itself.[1111]

Here something is released: one is no longer tied to the mortal body, just as a snake would release his skin, when the immortal *prāṇa* is liberated. This does not necessarily entail that the sacrificer's mortal body "dies" on the spot, but rather that his mode of knowing and relationship to the body transforms as a result of his expanded scope.

These six passages from the Yājñavalkya sections of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* contain the trope of the snake casting off old skin, corroborating that in Kosala-Videha this motif was popular. In these passages, the sun and the waters correspond to unmanifest energy, which the sacrificer strives to reintegrate into his consciousness. The trope illustrates the transformation from one state to another, particularly one in which the evil of impaired vision is removed, giving rise to the possibility of knowing directly in a nondual mode.[1112] Given the context of the snake sloughing motif, the evil to be cast off may be understood to be the not-knowing of what lies beyond ordinary consciousness. This evil results in perception based on the duality of the manifest and unmanifest, which perpetuates a mode of knowing based on past cognition.

The image of the snake in the *Śatapatha* enlivens a similar trope found in Ṛgvedic legends. In the *Ṛgveda*, the snake (*áhi*) is personified as the arch enemy of the *devás* who holds back the cows, light, and water in a rock or stone enclosure. According to Kuiper, the powers of resistance are hypostatized in the mythic figure of the *áhi*, who is given the proper name *Vṛtrá*.[1113] When Indra breaks the mountain, he frees the cows (*ṚV* 10.89.7) and when he smashes Vṛtra with his *vajra*, the light of *svàr* appears (8.89.4).[1114] Jurewicz interprets Vṛtra's pent up waters as the precreative state of the world, which the *ṛṣi* desires

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[1111] *yadā sarve pramucyante kāmā ye 'sya hṛdi śritāḥ | atha martyo 'mṛto bhavaty atra brahma samaśnuta iti | tad yathāhinirlvayanī valmīke mṛtā pratyastā śayīta | evam evedaṃ śarīraṃ śete | athāyam aśarīro 'mṛtaḥ prāṇo brahmaiva teja eva | so 'haṃ bhagavate sahasraṃ dadāmīti hovāca janako vaidehaḥ || BĀU 17.4.4.7 ||*

[1112] This alternative mode of knowing will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

[1113] Vṛtra is the son of Dā́nu, the personification of the primeval streams, whom Indra strikes down (*ṚV* 1.32.9). Kuiper defends the idea that *dā́nu* is an Indo-Iranian religious term for stream, which here refers to the primeval stream. For this reason, Vṛtra is the son of Dā́nu (*Dānavá*), although he is sometimes referred to as Dā́nu himself. The verse states that the mother was above and the son under. See Kuiper, "Cosmogony and Conception," in *Ancient Indian Cosmogony*, 105-106, 121-122; *ṚV* 3.30.8.

[1114] Indra and the Aṅgirases found *svàr* or the sun abiding in darkness (*ṚV* 1.71.2, 3.39.5).

to liberate.[1115] She explains that light is a necessary condition for sight, so releasing the cows and light opens up the possibility of cognizing.[1116] Whereas the *Ṛgveda* understands Vṛtra's evil to be something outside of oneself that covers over what is not yet manifest, the Brāhmaṇas understand the evil to be within the human body. So rather than striking down the "coverer," the Brāhmaṇas use the motif of casting off evil. In both cases, the motif expresses a release from what covers and the concomitant growth that accompanies the path to reintegrate with the undifferentiated unity. In terms of his body, the sacrificer realizes his integrity or wholeness with what is expressed metaphorically by the sun. Even though the undifferentiated unity is always there, the sacrificer has to see it directly in order to change his reality.

The snake sloughing motif was a common expression in Kosala.[1117] This is further supported by evidence from the *Suttanipāta*, which reactivates the motif used in the *Śatapatha*. The *Suttanipāta* begins with a *sutta* whose every refrain reads, "That *bhikkhu* leaves behind the near and far shore as a snake sheds old, worn out skin" (*so bhikkhu jahāti orapāraṃ, urago jiṇṇam ivattacaṃ purāṇaṃ*).[1118] N.A. Jayawickrama notes that not only is this *sutta* named after the snake (*uraga*), but the entire *vagga* is as well. He claims that the *sutta* is comparatively old because it has old Vedic and dialectical forms, which are preserved in the old stratum of Pāli.[1119]

The "Uraga Sutta" describes the *bhikkhu* who crosses over as a snake sheds his skin. First, such a *bhikkhu* is free from being bound to the energies that give rise to conditioned experience. These are expressed in the *sutta* as latent tendencies (*anusaya*), things arising from conditions, and things born from craving. In addition, the *bhikkhu* has no anger, pride, passion, thirst/craving, confusion, or aversion. Second, the *bhikkhu* finds no substantiality in things that are in a process of becoming. About whatever he may apperceive, he understands, "All this is false," and he does not have any discursive thoughts (*vitakka*) or conceptual proliferation (*papañca*). Third, the bhikkhu follows the middle way. He sheds afflictions, past karmic energies, and apperception based on conditioned arising. These qualities make him one who leaves behind the near and far shore as the snake casts off his skin.

Nyanaponika Thera addresses the trope of the snake shedding his skin in the "Uraga Sutta."[1120] He notes the continuity of one's inherent nature in the process of releasing

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[1115] Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, 343-347, 363.

[1116] Ibid., 50.

[1117] The motif was popular beyond Kosala too. Jayawickrama cites other references to the snake sloughing motif, including *Petavattu* 1.12, *Apadāna* 394.13, and *Mora Jātaka* 4.341, and *Mahābhārata* 5.39.2 and 12.250.11 (*jīrṇaṃ tvacam sarpa ivāvamucya*). See Jawaywickrama, "Sūtta Nipāta: The Uraga Sutta," 31.

[1118] Buddhaghosa's gloss states that the snake has a twofold nature (*duvidho*), belonging to the desire realm (*kāmarūpa*) and the desireless realm (*akāmarūpa*): "*urago, sappassetaṃ adhivacanaṃ | so duvidho — kāmarūpī ca akāmarūpī ca |*

[1119] N.A. Jayawickrama, "Sutta Nipāta: The Uraga Sutta," *University of Ceylon Review* 7, no. 1. (1949): 28-35, 32-33.

[1120] Nyanaponika Thera, "The Worn-out Skin: Contemplations on a Buddhist Poem The Serpent Simile, Uraga Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta," in *The Wheel Publication.* no. 241/242. (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1977).

attachments and afflictions. In contrast to Jayawickrama, who believed that the simile of the serpent casting off his slough refers to the body at death,[1121] Nyanaponika has written:

> By such an act of 'shedding the old skin', no 'violence against nature' is done; it is a lawful process of growing, of *out*growing that which is no longer an object of attachment—just as the old skin is no longer attached to the snake's body. Only in such a way can man vanquish those passionate urges and deceptive notions of his, which are so powerful and so deeply rooted. In the act of ultimate liberation, nothing is violently broken which was not already detached from the living tissues of mind and body or only quite loosely joined with them. Only a last effort of the powerful muscles will be needed to shake off the empty sheath—this hollow concept of an imaginary self which had hidden for so long the true nature of body and mind. Here it lies before the meditator's feet—just like the serpent's worn-out skin—a lifeless heap of thin and wrinkled tissue.[1122]

In Buddhist thought, attachment to the five aggregates (*khandha*) obstructs seeing clearly the nature of the body and mind. Nyanaponika explains that such attachment must be given up gradually and cannot be broken by force. One's personality has been built up by the gradual intake of physical and mental nourishment, approaching and absorbing physical and mental objects, making them one's own or believing them to be one's own. This process, he argues, must be reversed by a gradual process of detachment and stopping the false identifications because, "The unreality lies in what we attribute to the world, not in the world itself."[1123] In a statement that harkens back to the heart of the message of the Brāhmaṇas, Nyanaponika asserts that what is appropriated by the ego is a:

> formula for the intake of food and its assimilation. But if sensory craving grows excessive and becomes an uncontested, or only weakly contested master, it may well happen that 'the food devours the eater': that the craving and search for sensual nourishment becomes so dominant that it weakens other functions of the human mind, and just those which are distinctively human and highly structured.[1124]

Sense enjoyment forms habits and leads to a mechanical attraction to sense-stimulus, craving, and sense gratification.[1125] Through cultivation, the snake skin falls away, meaning the attachments and afflictions that cover over the mind fall away.[1126]

The Buddhist use of the trope nuances Vedic concepts in the *Śatapatha.* Just as the Brāhmaṇas exhort removing the evil within oneself, so too the "Uraga Sutta" advocates a gradual process of detachment from approaching and taking up what arises according to conditions and of ceasing to find substantiality in things that are becoming. Understood in this sense, the serpent casting off its slough represents removing what covers in order to

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[1121] N.A. Jayawickrama, *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta Illustrating its Gradual Growth*. (PhD. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, 1947), 90.

[1122] Nyanaponika, 12.

[1123] Ibid., 14, 53.

[1124] Ibid., 31-32.

[1125] For Nyanaponika, "Uninhabited sensuality reduces man's (relative) freedom of choice and may drag him, by way of rebirth, into subhuman realms of existence." He concludes, "We say this not to moralize but to emphasize the psychological effects of sensual craving and to show its implications for man's progress towards human freedom, that is towards an increase of his mindfully responsible choices." Ibid., 31-32.

[1126] Ibid., 52.

access the immense light that has been there all along, covered up. Restoring one's awareness of the fundamental unity between the unmanifest and the manifest transforms perception. Through the cultivation taught by the Buddha, the covering of the mind that consists of attachments and afflictions falls away never to be incorporated again. An expanded mode of awareness emerges from under this cover with a potentially limitless scope.

Section II: The Concept of *loka*

The concept of "scope" brings us to the word *loká*, which Gonda rejects translating as "world" in most cases. The term *loká* is derived from the root √*lok*, meaning "to see *or* to perceive*," while at the same time it is associated with the roots √*ruc* and √*loc*, both meaning "to shine."[1127] Etymologically, *loká* refers to what is seen, one's perspectival scope or conditioned space so to speak, just as *locana* refers to what is illuminating, i.e. the eye. The function of light in the concepts of *loká* and *locana* registers light as a metaphor for the unmanifest, described, among other things, as Savitṛ's sunrays. Savitṛ's causal impulsion illuminates a person's understanding of a given space. For Gonda, *loka* refers to a place, position, a person, or situation in which to reap karmic rewards.[1128] In the *Ṛgveda*, *loká* is frequently qualified by *urú* (broad, wide, spacious) in contrast to *aṃhas* (narrowness, oppression, anxiety, distress).[1129] When Indra killed Vṛtra, he made space (*árdayad vṛtrám ákṛṇod u lokáṃ*).[1130] The expressions "to make wide space" (*urúṃ ulokám √kṛ*)[1131] and "lead us to the wide space (*urúṃ lokám*), to the light consisting of *svàr*,"[1132] convey the Vedic goal to expand one's scope. Since what one sees in effect creates his world, *loka* is a basis or a situation brought on by inner conditions, one that can be transformed into a space without limits.[1133]

The Vedic seers sought to expand their scope through the *yajña* (ritual offering).[1134] According to Gonda, gaining a *loka* is "explicitly considered identical with gaining that most important generative power which was known as *vāja*, the production of which was one of the chief purposes of the sacrificer's endeavour."[1135] This suggests that the concept of *vāja* in the Brāhmaṇas enlivens the earlier Ṛgvedic concepts of rays of light as the

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[1127] Jan Gonda, *Loka: World and Heaven in the Veda.* (Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1966), 11.

[1128] Gonda notes that according to *VS* 40.3 and its commentaries, every existence, human or animal, may be called a *loka*. See Gonda, *Loka*, 150, 53.

[1129] Gonda, *Loka*, 18.

[1130] *RV* 10.104.10c; Gonda, *Loka*, 21.

[1131] Gonda, *Loka*, 23. See *ṚV* 7.33.5; *AV* 14.1.58 (here the bride is given wide space and an easy road with her husband).

[1132] *urúṃ no lokám ánu neṣi vidvắn súvarvaj jyótir ábhayaṃ suastí ‖ ṚV* 6.47.8ab ‖ Gonda, *Loka*, 22, 49. Gonda notes that *uru-loka-* figures among other concepts like "*suvar, jyotiḥ, abhayam, svasti*," meaning *svàr*, light, safety, and wellbeing. See page 33.

[1133] Gonda, *Loka*, 32-33.

[1134] A Vedic refrain in hymns to Agni states, "Be present in battles for our growth," *utaídhi pṛtsú no vṛdhé ‖ RV* 5.9.7, 5.10.7, 5.17.5 ‖ Indra is also described as growing suddenly and growing in heaven (*vyòman*). See Jurewicz, *Fire and Cognition*, 341-342; Aurobindo, 429.

[1135] Gonda, *Loka*, 97.

potential energy of the unmanifest. According to this reformulation, through austerities, knowledge, and rites, the Vedic practitioner creates or wins a spacious, safe, and stable *loka*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states that one who is offering wins or conquers the *loka*, sometimes the same *loka* as certain *devas*[1136] and other times so much of the *loka* as he has offered.[1137]

The Vedic *ṛṣis* often speak of three *lokas*: the earth or physical world (*bhū, pṛthivī*), the intermediate space (*bhuvaḥ, antarikṣa*), and the bright space (*svàr, dyu, div*).[1138] The third *loka* consists of light (*svàr*), the vast array of what has gone over (*ṛtám bṛhát*) to the sun.[1139] Kuiper even translates *svàr* as the sun.[1140] A kenning for *svàr* is unobstructed vastness (*urau anibādhe*),[1141] which the Kāṇvas reveal human beings uncover when they slay Vṛtra and pass beyond heaven and earth.[1142] In the *Ṛgveda*, *svàr* is an unmanifest but eternally present space hidden in a cave that has to be discovered and made visible (*ví acakṣayat súvaḥ*).[1143] Inspired priests long for *svàr* (*svaryávaḥ víprāḥ…kuśikā́saḥ*) and invoke Indra's help to find it.[1144] For Gonda, *svàr* denotes not only "the celestial light and the sphere of that light to which one may by a ritual or mystic way gain access, but also a state of bliss and well-being…co-ordinated with *svasti* 'well-being.'"[1145]

In the *Ṛgveda*, the seers invoke the Ādityas, asking that they may convey what has gone over (*ṛtá*), like the mortal whom the Ādityas led to the far shore (*pārá*).[1146] Indra is described as being on the far shore after he slays the serpent Vṛtra.[1147] Perhaps for this reason, the king of the *devas* is prayed to in order to lead others to the far shore of all misfortune (*duritásya pārám*).[1148] Again, Praskaṇva Kāṇva begs the Aśvins, "Come here by the boat of our thoughts go to the far shore (*pārá*)."[1149] The concept of the far shore continues in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, in which during the *agnyupasthāna* of the *agnihotra* the seers implored, "May I reach the far shore (*pāram aśīyeti*)!"[1150] The *Śatapatha* explains,

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[1136] *ŚBK* 1.6.4.9, 3.1.1.2-6, 3.2.7.4, 3.2.5.3, 5.8.4.16.

[1137] *ŚBK* 3.1.3.3-5, 3.1.5.1, 3.1.6.1, 3.1.8.2, 3.1.8.5, etc.

[1138] Aurobindo, 288, 85.

[1139] *ṚV* 1.75.5, 5.68.1, 9.107.15, 9.108.8. See also *ṚV* 9.113.7: *yátra jyótir ájasraṃ yásmiṁ loké súvar hitám* | Aurobindo, 221.

[1140] Kuiper notes that Indra is celebrated as: *svarjít-* "winner of the sun", *svardṛ́ś-* "seeing the sun", *svàrpati-* "lord of the sun", *svàrvat-* "possessing the sun", *svarvíd-* "finding the sun", *svarṣā́-* "winning the sun". See Kuiper, *Ancient Indian Cosmogony*, 154.

[1141] *ṚV* 3.1.11, 5.42.17, 5.43.16. For the beyond described as boundless or unlimited, see Gonda, *Loka*, 87.

[1142] Aurobindo, 197. See, for example, *Ṛgveda* hymn 8.6 attributed to Vatsa Kāṇva.

[1143] *ṚV* 2.24.3; Aurobindo, 180.

[1144] Ibid.; *ṚV* 3.30.20, 1.130.8, 8.68.5, 1.63.6, 9.65.11.

[1145] Gonda further explains that this is a free space for moving. Gonda, *Loka*, 76, 78.

[1146] *yám ādityāso adruhaḥ pārám náyatha mártiyam* | *maghónāṃ víśveṣāṃ sudānavaḥ* ‖ *ṚV* 8.19.34 ‖ *yūyáṃ rājānaḥ kám cic carṣaṇīsahaḥ kṣáyantam mā́nuṣāṁ ánu* | *vayám té vo váruṇa mítra áryaman syā́méd ṛtásya rathíyaḥ* ‖ 35 ‖

[1147] *ṚV* 5.31.8.

[1148] "May Indra lead him to the far shore of all misfortune for a hundred autumns." *śatáṃ yáthemáṃ śarádo náyāti índro víśvasya duritásya pārám* | *ṚV* 10.161.3cd |

[1149] *á no nāvā́ matīnā́m yātám pārā́ya gántave* | *ṚV* 1.46.7ab | The Aśvins' chariot is at the *tīrtha* of the rivers (*tīrthé síndhūnāṃ ráthaḥ*) in *ṚV* 1.46.8.

[1150] *pāramaśīyeti* ‖ *citrāvaso svasti te pāram aśīyeti* | *ŚBK* 1.4.1.17 and *VSK* 3.3.10, page 196-198 ‖ Sāyaṇa: '*pāram*' *avasānam* (limit) | Ānandabodha: *te pāram antam aśīya* | *aśu vyāptau* | *aśnuyām* | Page 441.

The visionaries long ago successfully reached the far shore in this way because of her, so danger did not find them at night. And similarly because of her, this one successfully reaches the far shore and danger does not find him at night.[1151]

The pronoun "her" in this passage refers to Citrāvasu, literally the one who has bright lights or, as Gonda translates, who is "rich in brilliant lights."[1152] In addition to the *Śatapatha* and Sāyaṇa glossing Citrāvasu with the night, Kuiper's description of *vásu* helps in this context.[1153] He explains, "The word *vásu* has a specific religious colouring: it denotes the goods of life that were released in the beginning of the world, the goods of the nether world (like *vāmá-*), which Uṣas is implored to bring."[1154] According to this understanding, Citrāvasu is bright with the light of the unmanifest, a description that contrasts with the darkness of night.[1155] And yet, she is both. The danger of night lies in not being able to see the unmanifest, even though, as this epithet suggests, the bright light is always there.[1156] As a result of seeing the unmanifest energy from the yonder world manifest in the mind, that energy would no longer unconsciously influence perception. In this way, reaching the far shore is a metaphor for directly seeing the unmanifest energy, expanding one's scope to include the brightness of the yonder world. The *ṛṣis* believed that they could follow Prajāpati of whom it is said, "Just as one would see the far shore (*pāra*) of a river, in this way, he saw far off the far shore (*pāra*) of his own life (*āyus*)."[1157] This statement reveals that in Vedic thought the far shore was not some separate place, but an integrated aspect of a person's vitality. This dimension is to be seen, uncovered, and grown into.[1158] In Vedic, then, the far shore (*pārá*), like the yonder world *svàr*, refers to a nondual, undifferentiated totality.[1159]

[1151] *pārám aśīyeti … tasyā ha smaivam ṛṣayaḥ purā svasti pāraṁ samaśnuvate tathainān rātryā na nāṣṭrā niveda tatho vā asyā eṣa etat svasti pāraṁ samaśnute tathainaṁ rātryā na nāṣṭrā vindati* | *ŚBK* 1.4.1.17 | Note a parallel in KS 6.9.15 and TS 1.5.7.5: *citrāvaso svasti te pāram aśīyā* | *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā*, 16; *Taittirīya Saṁhitā: With the Padapāṭha and the Commentaries of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra and Sāyaṇācārya*. Vol. 1, part II (Kāṇḍa I Prapāṭhakas V-VIII). Ed. N.S. Sontakke and T.N. Dharmadhikari. (Poona: Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, 1972), 53.

[1152] *citrāvasu*, literally the one who has manifold or bright lights. *ŚBK* 1.4.1.17 and Sāyaṇa gloss *citrāvasu* as the night (*rātrir ha vai citrāvasur*). "Rich in brilliant lights" is Gonda's translation in *The Mantras of the Agnyupasthāna and the Sautrāmaṇī*, 26.

[1153] The identification *rātrir vai citrāvasur* is also found in *TS* 1.5.7.5 directly following the *mantra*. See *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 53.

[1154] Kuiper, *Ancient Indian Cosmogony*, 170.

[1155] This idea is also found in *Ṛgveda* 10.127, which describes the bright night that fills broad space, stating that "with light she repels the darkness" (*jyótiṣā bādhate támaḥ*). See *RV* 10.127.2; *The Rigveda*, Vol. 3. Trans. Jamison and Brereton, 1605.

[1156] *rātryā na nāṣṭrā vindati* | *ŚBK* 1.4.1.17 |

[1157] *… sa yathā nadyāḥ pāraṁ parāpaśyed evaṁ ha svasyāyuṣaḥ pāraṁ parācakhyau* | *ŚBK* 3.1.12.6 |

[1158] Other Vedic concepts that express this idea of expansion include: Viṣṇu's steps encompass the universe, Indra's *vajra* pierces the rock to release light, the *yajña* (ritual offering) embraces totality (*sarva*), and the sacrificer crosses over to share in the space inhabited by the *devas*. These metaphors signal a nondual scope that reintegrates the three worlds.

[1159] Other concepts related to the far shore include the yonder world (*amutra* or *asau*), the beyond, the sun, the waters, the flood, the seat of *ṛta*, *sarvam*, *svasti*, Varuṇa's realm, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu, deathlessness, *ātman* and *brahman*.

In a Buddhist context, *loka* can mean the world, a person, a situation, or a conditioned space. When Hemavata Yakkha asked Gotama how the *loka* arises, how something is familiar, with the grasping of what is there a *loka* and how is the *loka* wrecked,[1160] the Bhagavan told Hemavata,

> In six the *loka* arose.
>
> In six there is intimate familiarity.
>
> Grasping just six, the *loka* is wrecked in respect to six.[1161]

Buddhaghosa glosses the six as the six *āyatanas*, namely the five sense spheres and the mind that are taken to be one's own.[1162] The six sense spheres arise according to causes and conditions and hence are dependent on the five aggregates. In other words, the sense spheres are karmically conditioned. Grasping onto the fruits of *karma* that arise in the six *āyatanas* leads to the future arising of that particular conditioned space. However, one's conditioned space can be interrupted or broken down through the same medium that gave rise to it: one's response to ripening *karma*. When asked how the *loka* can be wrecked, which Hemavata calls "the way out" (*niyyāna*) and a release from *dukkha*, the Bhagavan responds, telling him to remove the impulsive desire from sense pleasure in his conditioned space (*loka*).[1163] In this way, the Buddha connects the arising of conditioned space, i.e. the "world" as one perceives it, and the person. In terms of *loka*, they are one and the same.

When the *Suttanipāta* speaks of the near and far shore, the metaphorical understanding according to the received Buddhist teaching is not universally agreed upon. The refrain in the "Uraga Sutta" repeats seventeen times that as a snake casts off its slough, the *bhikkhu* renounces the near and far shore (*orapāraṃ*). The compound *orapāraṃ* is difficult to interpret because the *bhikkhu* is said to abandon both the near and far shore, suggesting an inconsistency with the usual Buddhist understanding of the far shore as synonymous with *nibbāna*, an awakened mode of knowing without *dukkha*.[1164] Take, for example, the idea that Gotama has gone to the far shore of all *dhammas* (*sabbadhammāna pāraguṃ*).[1165] The practitioner is also said to go from the near shore to the far shore (*gacche pāraṃ apārato*).[1166] *Dhammapada* 85 states that few cross to the far shore (*pāragamin*) while other people run after only this bank (*tīra*).[1167] In the "Uraga Sutta," however, the near and far shore are represented as collapsed into a single construct. A similar difficulty is posed at *Dhammapada* 385, when the Buddha states that he calls a brāhmaṇa one for whom there is no far shore or near shore, nor further and nearer shore.[1168]

[1160] "*kismiṃ loko samuppanno, iti Hemavato yakkho, kismiṃ kubbati santhavaṃ | kissa loko upādāya, kismiṃ loko vihaññati*" ‖ *Sn* 168 ‖

[1161] "*chasu loko samuppanno, Hemavatā ti Bhagavā, chasu kubbati santhavaṃ | channam eva upādāya, chasu loko vihaññati*" ‖ *Sn* 169 ‖

[1162] Buddhaghosa mentions the six āyatanas: "*cakkhāyatanaṃ vā hi "ahaṃ maman"ti gaṇhāti avasesesu vā aññataraṃ |*"

[1163] "Five kinds of sense pleasure in conditioned space (*loka*), the sixth being the mind, have been taught. Having removed the impulsive desire in these, one is thus released from *dukkha*." "*pañca kāmaguṇā loke manochaṭṭhā paveditā | ettha chandaṃ virājetvā, evaṃ dukkhā pamuccati* ‖ *Sn* 171 ‖

[1164] The Buddha is described as one who has gone to the far shore of all *dukkha* (*pāragū dukkhassa*) in *Sn* 539.

[1165] *Sn* 167, 699, 992, 1105, 1112.

[1166] *Sn* 1129.

[1167] *appakā te manussesu ye janā pāragāmino; athāyaṃ itarā pajā tīram evānudhāvati | Dhp* 86 |

[1168] *yassa pāraṃ apāraṃ vā pārāpāraṃ na vijjati…tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ | Dhp* 385 |

The compound engages the attention of both traditional commentators as well as modern scholars. Buddhaghosa (Pj II 12-14) explains that "the *bhikkhu* abandons the near and far shore (*orapāra*)" means that he abandons the five fetters.[1169] He suggests a range of further meanings:

> Alternatively, the near shore is one's own personality and the far shore is another personality. Or the near shore is the six internal *āyatanas* and the far shore is the six external *āyatanas*. In this case, the near shore is the human-*loka* and the far shore is the *deva-loka*. The near shore is the desire realm and the far shore is the form and formless realm. The near shore is the desire and form existence, the far shore is the formless existence. The near shore is the personality, the far shore is the instruments for the pleasure of the personality. In this way, having dealt with the distinction between the near and far shore, it is said, "He abandons the near and far shore" through the giving up of impulsive desire and passion.[1170]

Jayawickrama explains that *orapāram* is a simple *dvandva* compound meaning here below (Skt. *avara*) and the beyond (*pāra*).[1171] In Jayawickrama's words,

> The *ora* and the *pāra* are limitations (*sīma*) to a true bhikkhu. If he wishes to go beyond them (*sīmātigo*, cp. Sn. 795a), he should rid himself of all obstacles and leanings which act as causes (lit. causal antecedents) for his downfall (cp. Sn. 15b). The concept *ora* has already been noted (U.C.R. 6.4, p. 228ff) as being the opposite of *pāra*; but *pāra* in this context is different from that of the *Pārāyana* and other places in the Sn. Here it merely denotes birth in other existences whereas elsewhere (loc. cit) it is almost a synonym for *nibbāna*.[1172]

According to Brough, the commentator on the *Suttanipāta* was embarrassed by *orapāraṃ* because he may have recognized Mahāyānist tendencies in the phrase.[1173] Concerning commentarial and modern interpretations, Brough rightly states, "there is no need then to strain the sense of *pāra* by taking it to mean 'after-worlds'. The latter is forced upon the Pali commentator only because of the difficulty, in Theravāda terms, of 'abandoning 'nirvāṇa'."[1174] The compound, he asserts, denotes a metaphysical paradox. Even though reaching the far shore is commonly the aim of religion, a higher wisdom sees *saṃsāra* (*ora*) and *nirvāṇa* (*pāra*) as one.

[1169] *orapārasaññitāni pañcorambhāgiyasaṃyojanāni jahātīti veditabbo |*

[1170] Buddhaghosa: "*tattha oranti sakattabhāvo, pāranti parattabhāvo | oraṃ vā cha ajjhattikāni āyatanāni, pāraṃ cha bāhirāyatanāni | tathā oraṃ manussaloko, pāraṃ devaloko | oraṃ kāmadhātu, pāraṃ* rūpārūpadhātu *| oraṃ kāmarūpabhavo, pāraṃ arūpabhavo | oraṃ attabhāvo, pāraṃ attabhāvasukhūpakaraṇāni | evametasmiṃ orapāre catutthamaggena chandarāgaṃ pajahanto "jahāti orapāran"ti vuccati | ettha ca kiñcāpi anāgāmino kāmarāgassa pahīnattā idhattabhāvādīsu chandarāgo eva natthi; apica kho panassa tatiyamaggādīnaṃ viya vaṇṇappakāsanatthaṃ sabbametaṃ orapārabhedaṃ saṅgahetvā tattha chandarāgappahānena "jahāti orapāran"ti vuttaṃ |" Paramatthajotikā II* 13| *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary: Being Paramatthajotikā II.* Vol. 1. Uragavagga Cūḷavagga. Ed. Helmer Smith. (London: Pali Text Society, 1916), 13.

[1171] The analogous term *parovaraṃ* is found in *Sn* 355. N.A. Jayawickrama, "Uraga Sutta," *University of Ceylon Review* 7, no. 1. (1949): 28-35, 32.

[1172] Ibid.

[1173] John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada.* Ed. with an introduction and commentary by John Brough. (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 202.

[1174] Ibid.

Norman's discussion of the compound closely follows Brough's, suggesting that commentators and redactors found the idea of abandoning the far shore unacceptable.[1175] In his words,

> My personal belief is that this statement was first formulated in a situation where the author was considering two stages only, i.e. this world and the afterlife, rather than the endless stream of *saṃsāra*. The commentators, however, found the statement difficult to explain, because when they wrote many centuries later, this shore and the far shore meant *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, and to pass beyond *nirvāṇa* was a Mahāyāna idea which had no place in a Theravādin text.[1176]

Whereas Norman interprets that Buddhaghosa glosses *pāra* with the afterlife, both Brough and Nyanaponika suggest that *orapāraṃ* represents nonduality.

For Nyanaponika, the near and far shore refer to this present human life and whatever world our *karma* produces. In his words,

> The HERE is this world of our present life experience as human beings, and the BEYOND is any 'world beyond' the present one to which our actions (*kamma*) may lead us, be it a heavenly bliss or a hell-like suffering; or a world which our imagination creates and our heart desires.[1177]

His definition of the far shore is connected with karmic retribution, a world of our own creation. Nyanaponika asserts that the near and far shore, which he translates as "the here *and* beyond," stand for pairs of opposites in dualistic thinking. According to his explanation, the ideal *bhikkhu* must overcome all duality, even the thinking that he aspires to something else, beyond, better, higher, etc. Whereas the far shore is synonymous with nonduality in Vedic thought, by stating that one must go beyond the far shore too, the "Uraga Sutta" emphasizes that even the pursuit of the far shore as something separate from one's present reality must be abandoned.

According to Schmithausen, Aśoka juxtaposes this world with the yonder world (*pala-loka*, *palata*, etc.) or with heaven (*svaga*), but he does not mention *nirvāṇa*.[1178] He draws upon the work of Sircar, who suggests that this fact may point to a kind of "precononical" Buddhism."[1179] Schmithausen considers Aśoka's view of man's destiny after death to be "even more archaic than what appears to be the oldest rebirth theory in the Buddhist canon" and close to the Vedic Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa texts.[1180] Because the edicts can be dated, they provide valuable information about contemporary concepts. Aśoka MRE I E-F contains *misaṃdeva*, which Schmithausen, who understands the phrase as "attaining heaven," associates with man's destiny after death.[1181] However, he also states that

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[1175] Norman comments, "It is interesting to note that, in the Sanskrit *Udāna-varga*, where the editions of Chakravarti and Nakatani read *orapāraṃ* "near and far shore" (*Udāna-v* 18.21, etc.), Bernard's edition reads *apāraṃ* "this shore", which suggests that the redactor of that version also thought that the abandoning *pāra* was unacceptable." K.R. Norman, *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*. (Lancaster: Pali Text Society, 2006), 215-216.

[1176] Ibid., 31-32. See also 215. Brough, 201-203.

[1177] Nyanaponika, 18.

[1178] Schmithausen, "An Attempt," 129-130.

[1179] Ibid.

[1180] Ibid., 138.

[1181] Ibid., 132. Schmithausen cites *AV* 4.14.2, *VS* 17.65, *TS* 4.6.5, ŚB 9.2.3.24.

misaṃdeva was probably based on the well-attested Vedic expression *miśrā́ devébhiḥ*, which means mingling with the *devas*. In my opinion, the term does not necessarily refer to attaining what is understood (in the west) as heaven or to a postmortem destiny. Like the yonder world, as Gonda clarifies, "the svarga-loka- was not, or not always, or not explicitly, identical with the abode of the blessed dead."[1182] With this in mind, "mingling with the *devas*" more likely refers to inhabiting their world of light, in other words a perceptual space that includes *svàr*.

Going beyond the near and far shore is simply another way of expressing overcoming duality. This was also conveyed in both Vedic and Buddhist thought as reaching the far shore, because the far shore signifies a nondual mode of awareness. The Vedic far shore, in addition to other metaphors that convey this integrated condition, should not be considered a separate place, but an expanded space and increased perceptual capacity that includes as well as goes beyond this physical world and the ordinary way of seeing through the sense organs habituated by past *karma*. If, by the time of the historical Buddha, the metaphorical sense of the far shore took on a literal meaning as something to be gained or as a separate place, then such a usage of the far shore metaphor had to be abandoned like the serpent's slough in order to relinquish duality.

Section III: Crossing Over

Prevalent in Vedic thought is the idea that one's *loka* is transformed when crossing over to the far shore. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, men are said to cross (*saṃtaranto*) by means of the *ṛc*, *sāman*, and *yajus* formulas.[1183] The soma cart (*anas*) represents a path conducive to wellbeing (*svasti*), by means of which the *devas* went beyond (*atyāyan*) dangers (*nāṣṭra*) and harm (*rakṣas*) in a safe and secure manner.[1184] Likewise, the *yajamāna* goes beyond (*atyeti*) in a safe and secure manner, chanting, "We reached the incomparable path conducive to wellbeing."[1185] In the *Śatapatha*, a synonym of *nāṣṭrā rakṣāṃsi* is *pāpman* (evil). Evil and dualistic thinking are said to be crossed over (√ *tṝ*) in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[1186] In Yājñavalkya's thought, the path leading to the far shore is described as *svarga*, conducive to *svar*.[1187] The sacrificer crosses over what is harmful not to a physical place, but to a condition of wellbeing and safety.

Yājñavalkya provides examples to illustrate the transition from this conditioned space beyond, including the fish traversing the two banks of a river.[1188] In another example,

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[1182] Gonda, *Loka*, 89.

[1183] *ta etena svasty atyāyaṁs* | *ŚBK* 4.1.1.7 |

[1184] *ŚBK* 4.3.3.13. I wonder whether *nāṣṭrā rakṣāṃsi* informed the concept of afflictions in Buddhism.

[1185] *ta etena svasty atyāyaṁs tatho vā eṣa etena svasty atyeti prati panthām apadmahi svastigāmanehasam iti* | *ŚBK* 4.3.3.13 |

[1186] "He crosses over all evil." *sarvaṃ pāpmānaṃ tarati* | *BĀU* 17.4.4.23 | "These two thoughts, "Because of this I made a mistake" or "Because of this I did something good," do not cross (√ *tṝ*) him. He crosses over (√ *tṝ*) both these. What is done and not done do not torment (√ *tap*) him." *etam u haivaite na tarata ity ataḥ pāpam akaravam ity ataḥ kalyāṇam akaram ity ubhe u haivaiṣa ete tarati nainaṃ kṛtākṛte tapataḥ* | *BĀU* 17.4.4.22 |

[1187] In a non-Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍa*, *svarga* could be interpreted as referring to a place to be attained or reached: *eti svargaṃ lokaṃ ya evaṃ veda* || *BĀU* 17.5.3.1 ||

[1188] *BĀU* 17.4.3.18.

he speaks of a close embrace in which no duality is known.[1189] The *puruṣa* in this passage is said to be embraced by an "aware (*prājña*) *ātman*." The adjective *prājña* means consisting of *prajñā* or direct knowing. The adjective indicates that the *ātman* in Yājñavalkya's understanding was qualified by a particular mode of knowing,[1190] in which a father is not a father, nor a mother a mother; the conditioned spaces are not conditioned spaces, nor an ascetic an ascetic.[1191] One who knows in this way has crossed over (*tīrṇa*) all sorrows of the heart and enjoys limitless potential. Yājñavalkya's examples present the dualistic condition of human perception as juxtaposed with the corresponding nondual mode of knowing. Relying on a common reservoir of metaphor, Yājñavalkya only has to use the verb $\sqrt{t\bar{r}}$ for his audience to understand the deeper meaning.

The idea of crossing over is found repeatedly in the *Suttanipāta*, especially in the *Pārāyanavagga*, which can be translated, "the Chapter on Going to the Far Shore." Herein one of the verses in praise of going to the far shore (*pārāyanatthutigāthā*) explains, "This is the path for going to the far shore. Therefore it is [called] 'going to the far shore.'"[1192] The Buddha is called one who has gone to the far shore (*pāragū*) and likewise, a person who practices according to his teachings will also go from the near to the far shore (*pāra*).[1193] Steven Collins mentions that in Buddhist texts the image of crossing over is so common that "the epithets *pāraga*, *pāragato*, and *pāragū* 'crossing' or 'crossed over' come to be used in these meanings without any explicitly marked simile."[1194] Jayawickrama notes that the verb to cross ($\sqrt{t\bar{r}}$) is used no less than twenty-three times in the *puccās*.[1195] The idea of crossing over the flood (*oghaṃ tarati*) occurs ten times in this *vagga* alone, in addition to another ten occurrences in the other four chapters.[1196] The epithet *oghatamagā* describes the Buddha as one who has gone through the darkness of the flood.[1197] Other passages about crossing over clarify what the flood refers to in this collection of discourses. Sometimes one crosses over attachment to conditioned space (*tare loke visattikaṃ*).[1198] Note that another epithet describes the Buddha as one who has reached the end of conditioned space (*lokantagū*).[1199]

[1189] *tad yathā priyayā striyā saṃpariṣvakto na bāhyaṃ kiṃ cana veda nāntaram | evam evāyaṃ puruṣaḥ prājñenātmanā saṃpariṣvakto na bāhyaṃ kiṃ cana veda nāntaram | BĀU* 17.4.3.21 ‖

[1190] The term *prajñā* occurs in *BĀU* 17.4.1.2 and the related *prajñāna* is found at 17.4.5.13. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

[1191] *atra pitā'pitā bhavati mātā'mātā lokā alokā devā adevā vedā avedāḥ | atra steno 'steno bhavati bhrūṇahā'bhrūṇahā cāṇḍyālo 'caṇḍyālaḥ paulkaso 'paulkasaḥ śramaṇo 'śramaṇas tāpaso 'tāpasaḥ | ananvāgataṃ puṇyenānanvāgataṃ pāpena | tīrṇo hi tadā sarvāñ chokān hṛdayasya bhavati ‖ BĀU* 17.4.3.22 ‖

[1192] … *maggo so pāraṅgamanāya, tasmā Pārāyanaṃ iti ‖ Sn* 1130cd ‖

[1193] *Sn* 1105. *ekamekassa pañhassa, yathā Buddhena desitaṃ | tathā yo paṭipajjeyya, gacche pāraṃ apārato ‖ Sn* 1129 ‖

[1194] Steven Collins, *Selfless Persons: Imagery and thought in Theravāda Buddhism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 250; Collins cites "Crossing over by a ship (Sn. 316, 770-771), Thag.776; Miln. 80, 195, 229, 377); by a raft (M.I.134, 260; S. 4.174-175)." See page 306.

[1195] Jayawickrama, 52.

[1196] Occurrences of crossing the flood are found in the *Pārāyaṇavagga* at *Sn* 1045-1046, 1059-1060, 1064, 1069, 1081-1083, 1096, 1101, and elsewhere in the *Suttanipāta* at 173-174, 178, 183-184, 219, 273, 471, 771, 823.

[1197] *Sn* 538.

[1198] *Sn* 1053-1054, 1066-1067, 1085, 1087. See also 857 in the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, but in this verse there is no *loke*.

[1199] *Sn* 1133.

Elsewhere one crosses over birth and decay,[1200] doubt after doubt,[1201] death,[1202] *saṃsāra*,[1203] hell (*naraka*),[1204] clinging,[1205] the evil of greed and selfishness,[1206] and desires.[1207] The Buddha is praised as one who has crossed over (*tiṇṇo*) and gone to the far shore (*pāragato*), and with these exact words the Buddha describes an ideal brāhmaṇa.[1208] The awakened one also helps others to cross over, such as the wandering ascetic Sabhiya.[1209]

Section IV: The Boat

Continuing the theme of crossing over, the means of getting across is metaphorically described as a boat or raft starting in the earliest recorded literature. In *Ṛgveda* 1.99.1, the *devas* are invoked to carry the practitioner through difficult passages like a ship across the ocean:

For Jātavedas,[1210] let us press soma. May he burn off the understanding of what is malevolent (*arātīyato*). May that Agni convey us across (*ati√pṛ*) all difficult passages and difficulties like a ship across the river.[1211]

In stanza 1.97.8 the seers implore, "Cross us over into your wellbeing like a boat across the river."[1212] At 3.32.14, the poet celebrates Indra as the one who crossed them over (*pīparat*) where there was anxiety like a boat.[1213] In 2.39.4, the visionaries pray to be brought across (*√pṛ*) like two boats.[1214] In 9.70.10, Soma is invoked to bear the Vedic practitioners across like a boat across the river[1215] and in 1.46.6 the Aśvins are invoked to carry them beyond the darkness, in a ship to the far shore: "May the two resplendent Aśvins impart that strength (*iṣa*) to us that may carry us across the darkness. Come by means of the ship of our thoughts (*mati*) for the purpose of going to the far shore (*pāra*)."[1216] Here thought conveys the *devas*, which leads the visionaries from darkness to the far shore. The concept of being

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[1200] *Sn* 1079-1081 and 355. A similar idea is expressed by leaving behind (*vippahānaṃ*) birth and decay here in 1120.

[1201] *Sn* 1088-1089 and 367.

[1202] *Sn* 1119 and 358.

[1203] *Sn* 746.

[1204] *Sn* 706.

[1205] *Sn* 333.

[1206] *Sn* 941.

[1207] *Sn* 948.

[1208] The Buddha is described as *tiṇṇo* and *pāragato* in *Sn* 21 and 359, and as *tiṇṇo* only in 515. He describes a brāhmaṇa as *tiṇṇo* and *pāragato* in 638.

[1209] *Sn* 540, 545, 571. See also 319 and 321, wherein other practitioners are exhorted to prepare themselves to help others across.

[1210] An epithet of Agni.

[1211] *jātávedase sunavāma sómam arātīyató ní dahāti védaḥ | sá naḥ parṣad áti durgā́ṇi víśvā nāvéva síndhuṃ duritā́ti agníḥ || ṚV 1.99.1 ||*

[1212] The *ṛk* continues, "Burn away our sin." *sá naḥ síndhum 'va nāváyā áti parṣā suastáye | ápa naḥ śóśucad aghám || ṚV 1.97.8 ||*

[1213] *…áṃhaso yátra pīpárad yáthā no nāvéva… | ṚV 3.32.14 ||*

[1214] "Bring us across (*√pṛ*) like two boats." *nāvéva naḥ pārayataṃ | ṚV 2.39.4a |*

[1215] *nāvā́ ná síndhum áti parṣi | ṚV 9.70.10 |*

[1216] *yā́ naḥ pī́parad aśvinā jyótiṣmatī támas tiráḥ | tám asmé rāsathām íṣam || ṚV 1.46.6 || ā́ no nāvā́ matīnā́ṃ yātám pārā́ya gántave | yuñjā́thām aśvinā rátham || 1.46.7 ||* See also Aurobindo, 127, 83, 129.

carried across is continued in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in the episode of Manu and the fish (*ŚBK* 2.7.3.1-7). Manu protected the fish, who told him to build a ship, which then carried Manu across (*apīparaṃ*) the flood. The metaphor of crossing over to the far shore in a boat was prevalent in Ṛgvedic hymns and continued in the Brāhmaṇas.[1217]

Even though human beings are on this side so to speak, the *ṛṣis* considered ritual offerings like the *bahiṣpavamāna* chant and the *agnihotra* to be a boat conducive to *svar*.[1218] By sitting in between the *āhavanīya* and the *gārhapatya* fires, the *agnihotrin* symbolically boards a boat:

> This *agnihotra* is verily the boat (*nauḥ*) conducive to *svar* (*svargyā*). Of that boat conducive to *svar*, the offerer of milk (*kṣīrahotṛ*) indeed is the helmsman.[1219]

Just as a boat would leave for the far shore, the *agnihotrin* passes through the gateway (*dvāra*) to the *svarga loka*, represented by the space between the two fires, and he returns as one established in the *svarga loka*.[1220]

Note here the adjectival use of *svargya* and *svarga*. In early Vedic, *svargá*—which occurs only once in the Ṛgveda[1221]—is not an abstract domain, but a conditioned space conducive to reaching *svar* or to remaining there if it has already been reached.[1222] Based on Yājñavalkya's explanation of the *agnihotra*, the space between the two fires may be interpreted as representing the transformation that takes place between the unmanifest energy entering the mind and what it generates consciously that returns to the yonder world. This is the space conducive to *svar* (*svarga loka*), and being established in it indicates that one is fully aware of the cognitive processes occurring in the mind. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explains that the sacrificer becomes established in the space leading to *svar*, but remains on the earth. This may be interpreted to mean that for him, the three worlds become increasingly integrated, nondual, and at the same time not other than this world, the space he knew previously in a different way. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is clear: "The entire *yajña* surely is a boat conducive to *svar* (*svargya*)."[1223]

When the boat metaphor occurs in the *Suttanipāta*, the meaning is nuanced.[1224] In the "Nāvā Sutta" (*Sn* 2.8), the practitioner is advised to honor the one from whom he would

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[1217] See also *PB* 11.10.16 and 14.5.17, *AB* 4.27.4. Gonda, *Loka*, 98.

[1218] The *bahiṣpavamāna* chant is called a boat (*nauḥ*) bound for *svar* and the virtuous *ṛtvij* priests are the rudders and oars that convey to the further shore (*sampāraṇa*). See *ŚBK* 5.3.1.8.

[1219] *eṣā vai nauḥ svargyā yad agnihotraṃ tasyā etasyā nāvaḥ(nāvaḥ) svargyāyāḥ kṣīrahotaiva nāvājas tām ataḥ prācīm abhyajati tasyā ato 'dhirohaṇam tām ato 'dhirohati* ‖ *ŚBK* 3.1.11.3 ‖ See also Renou, Vedic India. Trans. Philip Spratt. (Calcutta: Susil Gupta (India) Private Limited, 1957), 31.

[1220] "That he should sit to the south is [because] just a boat would leave for the far shore, in this way, then, in that he comes back [steps back] again after the offering, he is established in the *svarga* world. That verily is a gateway (*dvāra*) to the *svarga* world. Since he comes up and sits in between, then he reaches the *svarga loka*." *sa yad dha dakṣiṇata upāsīta yathā pārārthaṃ naur jahyād evaṁ ha tad atha yad dhute punar aiti tat svarge loke pratitiṣṭhaty etad vai svargasya lokasya dvāraṁ sa yad antareṇetvopaviśati tat svargaṃ lokaṃ prapadyate* ‖ *ŚBK* 3.1.11.4 ‖

[1221] *suvargá* ⎮ *RV* 10.95.18d ⎮

[1222] Translating this term as "heaven" here is misleading. See Gonda, *Loka*, 66.

[1223] …*tad u sarva eva yajño nauḥ svargyā* … ‖ *ŚBK* 5.3.1.8 ‖

[1224] For other occurrences in Pāli texts, notably the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, see Sarah Shaw, "Crossing to the Farthest Shore: How Pāli Jātakas Launch the Buddhist Image of the Boat onto the Open Seas," *JOCBS* 3, (2012): 128-156.

learn the teachings (*dhamma*), to keep company with the learned, and to follow the path that he hears in the teachings. This is because only one who clearly understands and is no longer being carried away by the current, can help others to cross over and to meditate. A person who has cultivated himself, which means both that he has become learned and that he has an imperturbable nature, is compared to a sturdy boat: "It is also like one who, having embarked on a sturdy boat equipped with a bamboo oar,[1225] knowing the way (*upaya*) there, skillful and intelligent, could carry across many others there."[1226] Without being called such, this *sutta* describes the *bodhisatta* path.[1227] Thus the one who has transformed himself becomes like a boat that takes others across.

The "Kāma Sutta" in the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (*Sn* 4.1) admonishes that when a person covets sense desires, he sinks into despair:

These powerless things overpower him, [karmic] onrushes (*parissaya*) crush him, and as a consequence, *dukkha* follows [him] like water in a wrecked boat.[1228]

Therefore, a person, ever mindful, should avoid sense desires. After giving those up, like one who goes to the far shore[1229] after draining a boat, one should cross the flood.[1230]

Like water entering a damaged boat, suffering enters a person who is not mindful. Crossing the flood entails removing what causes his suffering, which the *sutta* states are the sense desires through which powerless things—note that the *Mahāniddesa* glosses these as afflictions (*kilesa*)—overpower him and karmic onrushes crush him. If the karmic energies are not associated with or projected onto an object, they have nowhere to attach and they lose their power. On the other hand, if they are associated with or projected onto an object, they have a tendency to crush, to overpower, the perceiver. Compare this image with one in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* in which karmic residues flowing through the veins and arteries overpower the perceiver like an elephant pressing against him.[1231] The onrushes spoken of here are etymologically related to inflows (*āsava*), since both are derived from the root √*sru* (to flow). Enomoto has written extensively on this metaphor of the leaky boat in connection with *āsava*; he refers to a similar trope in *Atharvaveda* 5.19.8 that describes a leak in the kingdom like water in a broken boat.[1232] The boat in the "Kāma Sutta" refers to someone who, as a result of not being mindful of inflows and not giving up sense desires, allows suffering to continue to plague him.

A variant of the boat metaphor is found in the "Dhaniya Sutta" (*Sn* 1.2), in which the Buddha responds to statements by the cowherd Dhaniya about his householder life with

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[1225] Buddhaghosa: "*rittenāti veḷudaṇḍena* |"

[1226] *yathā pi nāvaṃ daḷham āruhitvā, phiyen'arittena samaṅgibhūto | so tāraye tattha bahū pi aññe, tatrūpayaññū kusalo mutīmā ‖ Sn 321 ‖ evam pi yo vedagu bhāvitatto, bahussuto hoti avedhadhammo | so kho pare nijjhapaye pajānaṃ, sotāvadhānūpanisūpapanne ‖ 322 ‖*

[1227] The Buddha is called a *bodhisatta* in *Sn* 683.

[1228] *abalā naṃ balīyanti, maddante naṃ parissayā | tato naṃ dukkham anveti, nāvaṃ bhinnam ivodakaṃ ‖ Sn 770 ‖*

[1229] *MN*: "*pāragūti yopi pāraṃ gantukāmo sopi pāragū; yopi pāraṃ gacchati sopi pāragū; yopi pāraṃ gato, sopi pāragū* |"

[1230] *tasmā jantu sadā sato, kāmāni parivajjaye | te pahāya tare oghaṃ, nāvaṃ siñcitvā pāragūti ‖ Sn 771 ‖*

[1231] *BĀU* 17.4.3.20.

[1232] *tád vaí rāṣṭrám āśravati návaṃ bhinnám ivodakám | brahmáṇam yátra hímsanti tád rāṣṭráṃ hanti ducchúnā ‖ AV 5.19.8 ‖* See Schmithausen, "An Attempt to Estimate," 123.

descriptions of his ascetic life.[1233] When Dhaniya tells the Buddha that his (ritual) fire is kindled, the Buddha responds that his is extinguished. When the cowherd describes his pest free condition with cattle grazing, the Buddha responds with a verse about the raft and crossing over.[1234] Given the significance of cows in Vedic thought, the Buddha suggests that there is something better than the favorable conditions of the cowherd. The Bhagavan tells Dhaniya, "A well-put together raft (*bhisī*) was tied. I have crossed over and gone to the far shore (*pāragata*), having removed the flood. [Now] there is no the use for a raft."[1235] In other contexts, *bhisi* means a bolster or pad, often stuffed with bark, grass or leaves, but Buddhaghosa glosses *bhisī* as *kullo* (raft).[1236] The raft has been tied (*baddhā+āsi*) and is described as well-put together (*susaṅkhatā*).[1237] Buddhaghosa explains the phrase "there is no use for a raft" by saying, "Because now, moreover, I do not have to cross over conditioned becoming again."[1238] Using the metaphor of the raft here, the Bhagavan compares his religious practice to that of Dhaniya. This usage differs from both the ideas of the cultivator serving as a boat to take others across and of the one who is not mindful sinking under the weight of suffering like a leaky boat.

In conclusion, the metaphors of the snake molting and crossing over to the far shore, sometimes in a boat, were popular motifs in late Vedic and early Buddhist thought. Concepts like *loka* and *pāra* are critical to the framework of early Buddhist thought, but their Vedic genealogy must be accounted for in order to fully appreciate what they convey. In the context of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta*, the term *loka* is best considered a conditioned space that one perceives through the mind. Religious practices aimed to grow into a full awareness of the manifest and unmanifest *lokas*. The motif of the snake shedding its skin refers not only to such growth, but also to the concomitant removal of what covers over this expansive knowing so as to see clearly the infinite light that has been there all along. Crossing over transforms the way a person sees things in this very life by expanding his perspective so that it includes an awareness of the latent energies that enter his stream of consciousness. Even the metaphors of this shore and the far shore, however, were reconceptualized in Kosalan philosophy as two distinct modes of knowing, which is the subject of the next chapter.

[1233] See also *M* I.134, 260; *S* 4.174-175.

[1234] Various boat or raft metaphors is found in Indian literature, including *M* 1.135; *Dhammapada* 369, etc. See Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 94.

[1235] "*baddhāsi bhisī susaṃkhatā, iti Bhagavā tiṇṇo pāragato vineyya oghaṃ | attho bhisiyā na vijjati, [atha ce patthayasī pavassa deva]*" ‖ *Sn* 21 ‖ The refrain (So, deva, rain if you wish) in particular harkens to the Vedic idea that rain at a *yajña* indicates that Indra has approached the sacrifice. His presence is thought to make the ritual efficacious. The fact that the rain starts after the Bhagavan speaks is highly significant to Dhaniya, as it would be to anyone familiar with Vedic rituals. As proof of the presence of Vedic deva, the rain validates the path of the Buddha, even though he has departed from normative Vedic life.

[1236] "*tattha bhisīti pattharitvā puthulaṃ katvā baddhakullo vuccati loke |*"

[1237] The stress laid on the Buddha binding together the materials for the raft emphasizes its construction. For this reason, the means for getting across is not to be taken as the ultimate goal, but as an expedient. In addition, because *saṅkhata* means produced by a combination of causes, the term draws attention to the work of cultivation.

[1238] "*idāni ca pana me puna taritabbābhāvato attho bhisiyā na vijjati |*"

Chapter Seven
Two Modes of Knowing

The Brāhmaṇa texts shift attention from the *devas* to the *ātman*, but the concept of *ātman* was not yet fixed. In general, it referred to a psychosomatic reality. Previous chapters have shown that in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the term *ātman* means the physical body of the sacrificer, because in many ritual acts the sacrificer puts something in himself, as well as a metaphysical body. The sacrificer, who is actually just an instrument of the sun, is said to construct his body (*ātman*) made of libations and made of merit in the yonder world through his ritual offering. The *Śatapatha* is careful to state that the physical and metaphysical bodies are ultimately one and the same. In a psychological sense, the *ātman* consists of consciousness (*vijñāna*) and has the sense organs for its body, being itself located inside of them and yet beyond them. Being inside and beyond the senses, the *ātman* functions as the "agent" of the senses (seer of sight, hearer of hearing, thinker of thought). *Śatapatha* 5.4.1.8 quotes *Ṛgveda* 1.115.1, which says that Sūrya is the *ātman*. Connected with the concept of the sun, the *ātman*—as the invisible body of the sacrificer—is a capacity to be fully aware that does not disappear at death. The problem is said to be that the sacrificer does not see how what he experiences in his tangible body and what he stores away in his intangible body go round and round like a wheel. While the somatic dimension is equally important in the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads begins to focus more attention on the abstract, transcendent, undying awareness aspect of *ātman*. The teaching is subtle and it would be very easy to confuse the nondual aspect of the *ātman* and to "deify" it, just as the Vedic concept of *devas* had been earlier. Focusing mainly on Yājñavalkya's salt analogy, this chapter investigates concepts created in Kosalan philosophy to contrast two modes of knowing.

In his treatment of the salt analogy in the Yājñavalkya-Maitreyī dialogue, Joel Brereton notes a similar use of technical terminology for perception as found in Buddhist texts.[1239] Comparing the four versions of this dialogue (two from the Kāṇva and two from the Mādhyandina recensions), Brereton analyses the emerging doctrine. Like Renou, he argues that Brāhmaṇa 4.5 is older than 2.4 based on evidence of rhythmic prose, older diction, and more complex syntax.[1240] According to this twice-told episode, before going forth, Yājñavalkya instructs his wife Maitreyī about immortality. The salt analogy he illustrates to her contrasts two types of knowing: direct awareness (*prajñāna*) and perception or apperception (*saṃjñā*), the latter depending on which version one is reading. The term *prajñāna* seems to be a parallel form of *prajñā*, which Yājñavalkya employs elsewhere.[1241]

[1239] Joel P. Brereton, "The Composition of the Maitreyī Dialogue in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126, no. 3. (July-Sept. 2006): 323-345, 333-341. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20064512. Accessed 22/10/2011.

[1240] Thieme, Horsch, and Hanefeld argue for the anteriority of 2.4.

[1241] The term *prajñā* occurs when Yājñavalkya approaches Janaka of Videha, who says that Jitvan Śailini taught him that *brahman* is speech. Yājñavalkya clarifies that brahman's *āyatana* is speech and empty space (*ākāśa*) is its foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*). This is *prajñā*. Janaka asks him what is *prajñā* ("*kā prajñatā Yājñavalkya*") and Yājñavalkya says, "Speech itself, your majesty" (*vāg eva samrāḍ iti hovāca*). *vācā vai samrāḍ bandhuḥ prajñāyate* | Through speech a connection is known. everything—all Vedic literature and interpretations—is known through speech. *BĀU* 17.4.1.2. See also 17.4.3.21.

This chapter explores to what extent the terms *prajñāna* and *saṃjñā* in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* correspond to the terms *paññā* and *saññā* in the *Suttanipāta*.[1242]

Since this dissertation focuses on the Kāṇva recension, let us begin by comparing translations of the two versions of Yājñavalkya's salt analogy therein. Passage 4.5.13 states:

> Just as a mass of rock salt, which has neither an interior nor an exterior, is a complete mass of taste, in this way, this *ātman*, which has neither an interior nor an exterior, is nothing but awareness (*prajñānaghana*). Arising (*samut+√sthā*) through these *bhūtas* (sense organs or elements), it disappears after just these. Hey, I say, "Having departed, there is no apperception (*saṃjñā*)." Thus spoke Yājñavalkya.[1243]

The Kāṇva version at 2.4.12 describes the salt as dissolved in water, like the salt analogy in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, which clarifies that the "great being" is like salt when it is dissolved or liquid salt.[1244] In addition, the later version exchanges *prajñāna* (awareness) for *vijñāna*, which Brereton translates as discernment. Passage 2.4.12 states:

> Just as a lump of rock salt,[1245] when tossed into water simply dissolves in the water, there could be no taking it out at all. But from wheresoever one might take [water], there is salt. Look, in this way, is this great being (*mahad bhūtam*) without an end, boundless (*apāra*), nothing but *vijñāna*. Arising through these *bhūtas* (sense organs or elements), it vanishes after just these. Hey, I say, "Having departed, there is no *saṃjñā*." Thus spoke Yājñavalkya.[1246]

One notices that within the same recension, key technical terms are replaced in the emerging doctrine.

Because the terms are used interchangeably in the versions from the second and fourth *kāṇḍas*, Brereton identifies the "great being" (*mahad bhūtam*) with *prajñāna* and *vijñāna*. In his words,

> As this liquid salt is an undifferentiated 'mass of taste,' so the 'great being' is an undifferentiated 'mass of awareness.' The term *prajñāna* 'awareness' signifies a general cognitive capacity that, in conjunction with the various faculties, results in perception and action. This 'great being,' this 'mass of awareness,' becomes manifest through 'beings,' which are the faculties of senses and their objects.[1247]

The "great being," Brereton states, is the ability to perceive and "those beings" refer to the senses and their objects. The analogy shows that what arises in the sense organs and their objects depends on the "great being." Whereas in 4.5.13, the "great being" is called nothing

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[1242] The term *prajñānaghana* is attested in *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* (verse seven) and *prajñāna* occurs in the *Mahābhārata*.

[1243] *sa yathā saindhavaghano 'nantaro 'bāhyaḥ kṛtsno rasaghana eva | evaṃ vā are 'yam ātmānantaro 'bāhyaḥ kṛtsnaḥ prajñānaghana evaitebhyo bhūtebhyaḥ samutthāya tāny evānuvinayati | na pretya saṃjñāstīty are bravīmi | iti hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ || BĀU 17.4.5.13 ||*

[1244] Brereton, "The Composition of the Maitreyī Dialogue," 335-336, 341. *CU* 6.13.1.

[1245] MW *saindhava*: "a kind of rock-salt (found in Sindh), any salt ŚBr."

[1246] *sa yathā saindhavakhilya udake prāsta udakam evānuvilīyeta na hāsyodgrahaṇāyeva syāt | yato-yatas tv ādadīta lavaṇam | evaṃ vā ara idam mahad bhūtam anantam apāram vijñānaghana eva | etebhyo bhūtebhyaḥ samutthāya tāny evānu vinaśyati | na pretya saṃjñāstīty are bravīmīti hovāca yājñavalkyaḥ || BĀU 17.2.4.12 ||*

[1247] Brereton continues, "Because the 'great being' (= the ability to perceive) is only manifest when there appear 'these beings' (= senses and objects), therefore, if 'these beings' vanish, then the 'great being' also vanishes." See Brereton, "The Composition of the Maitreyī Dialogue," 335, 340.

but awareness (*prajñāna*), in 2.4.12 it is described as a nothing but discernment (*vijñāna*). Brereton explains,

> The term *vijñāna* connotes the ability to discriminate, and therefore to call the 'great being' a mass of discernment' suggests that it innately has the capacity to produce distinctions and thereby to perceive.[1248]

The use of the terms *prajñāna* and *vijñāna* in the same analogy in variant passages shows either that these terms were at first interchangeable or that the emerging doctrine had not yet been fixed.

The variant readings further suggest that sub-communities of Vājasaneyins could have adhered to different interpretations, which eventually led to the emergence of different doctrines. As Brereton elucidates, the passages that describe the "great being" as nothing but *vijñāna* render the "great being" identical to *saṃjñā* and as something impermanent, in opposition to the *ātman*. Because the term *vijñāna* becomes central in Upaniṣadic teachings, Brereton is prudent to highlight this interpretation in the versions of the salt analogy. However, reading *vijñāna* as discernment here implies that *saṃjñā* refers not to apperception, but to perception. Apperception denotes a process of understanding something (through language) in terms of previous experience. Perception is a more general term for any type of knowing. In this way, reading the "great being" as discernment results in *saṃjñā* referring to perception, as Brereton translates, which differs from its meaning of apperception in Buddhist discourse.

One thing missing in Brereton's masterly account of the salt analogy is a discussion of the variant reading of *ātman* in the Kāṇva recension. The term *ātman* in Kāṇva 4.5.13 is replaced in 2.4.12 with "great being" (*mahad bhūtam*), whereas both versions in the Mādhyandina read "great being." Although Brereton acknowledges the variant reading of *ātman* in Kāṇva 4.5, he seems to dismiss it because "great being" occurs in three out of the four versions. Brereton contrasts the capacity to receive objects, which is described metaphorically as the "great being" in the analogy, with the self that does not disappear at death.[1249] However, when Kāṇva 4.5.13 describes the *ātman* as nothing but awareness (*prajñānaghana*), the contrast set up between the two modes of knowing changes as does the terms *vijñāna* and *saṃjñā* in relation to perception.

The relationship between *ātman* and *vijñāna* is an important consideration when evaluating the emerging doctrine. The *ātman* consists of everything—consciousness (*vijñānamaya*), the mind, the sense organs, and the material elements.[1250] The *ātman* bears everything and is the capacity (*īśvara*) of all. The visionary sage Yājñavalkya tells Uṣasta Cākrāyaṇa, one of many brāhmaṇas who question him at Janaka's court:

> You could not see the seer of sight. You could not hear the hearer of hearing. You could not think the thinker of thought, you could not know the knower of what is

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[1248] Ibid., 336-337.

[1249] Ibid., 333, 340.

[1250] *sa vā ayam ātmā brahma vijñānamayo manomayo prāṇamayaś cakṣurmayaḥ śrotramayaḥ pṛthivīmaya āpomayo vāyumaya ākāśamayas tejomayo 'tejomayaḥ kāmamayo 'kāmamayaḥ krodhamayo 'krodhamayo dharmamayo 'dharmamayaḥ sarvamayaḥ | tad yad etad idaṃmayo 'domaya iti … | BĀU 17.4.4.5 |* Yājñavalkya explains that the *ātman* is that which breathes by means of *prāṇa* (and the other vital airs). *BĀU* 17.3.4.1. The vital airs are fivefold. See *The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1968), 87.

known. This is your *ātman* that is in everything. Anything other than this is afflicted (*ārta*).[1251]

While the wind (the domain of *prāṇa*) is the thread that interweaves all the conditioned spaces and *bhūtas* (the sense organs and elements) together, the inner controller (*antaryāmin*) is the *ātman*.[1252]   The *ātman* is "the one who remains in the eye, inside of the eye, whom the eye does not know, who has the eye for a body, who being inside of the eye controls."[1253]   The same goes for the other senses, the mind, and even consciousness.[1254] Made of consciousness (*vijñānamaya*) in the *prāṇas* and lying in the empty space of the heart, the *ātman* has power (*vaśin*) over and rules everything.[1255] Because *vijñāna* is considered an attribute of *ātman* in the rest of the Upaniṣad, the insertion of *vijñāna* in passage 2.4.12 as a replacement for *prajñāna*, which is a synonym for *ātman* in 4.5.13, seems a strange and unexpected variant. The earlier Kāṇva recording of Yājñavalkya's doctrine understood the *ātman* as a nondual mechanism through which to know, one analogous to *prajñāna*.

The Kāṇva variant at 4.5.13 implies that the *ātman* as *prajñāna* is to be differentiated from *vijñāna* and *saṃjñā*. Here Yājñavalkya uses the concept of *ātman* as a philosophical principle of nonduality (as opposed to "body" or as a reflexive pronoun) that signifies direct knowing (*prajñāna*). In a different illustration in the same *kāṇḍa*, the *ātman* is qualified by *prājña*, meaning "consisting of awareness."[1256] Reading the salt analogy in consideration of these passages, the *ātman* is simultaneously direct awareness, which does not go away at death, and what forms the foundation of all knowledge.[1257] According to this reading, when there is duality, the *ātman* arises and passes away with the sense organs and their objects in the mode of knowing called apperception (*saṃjñā*). In this version, *vijñāna* is not mentioned, but can be understood from other passages to refer to something that the *ātman* encompasses in its nondual scope. Buddhists further reformulated the concept of *viññāna* to refer to the *viññāna khandha*, the aggregate of consciousness, in addition to the space in which *karma* ripens and intentionality is possible. The variant versions of the salt analogy suggest that Yājñavalkya's teaching was received and transmitted differently from the start. The Kāṇva variant at 4.5.13 appears to have informed early Buddhism, which, following the Kāṇva passage, employed the concept of *paññā* as an activity, in the sense of direct knowing.

If *prajñāna* is one kind of knowing, the second described in the salt analogy is *saṃjñā* or apperception. Brereton aptly explains that there is no *saṃjñā* after death because

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[1251] *na dṛṣṭer draṣṭāraṃ paśyeḥ | na śruteḥ śrotāraṃ śṛṇuyāḥ | na mater mantāraṃ manvīthā | na vijñāter vijñātāraṃ vijānīyāḥ | eṣa ta ātmā sarvāntaro | 'to 'nyad ārtam | BĀU* 17.3.4.2 | See also 17.3.7.23.

[1252] *BĀU* 17.3.7.2-3. See also 17.3.7.23.

[1253] *yaś cakṣuṣi tiṣṭhaṃ cakṣuṣo 'ntaro yam cakṣur na veda yasya cakṣuḥ śarīraṃ yaś cakṣur antaro yamayaty eṣa ta ātmāntaryāmy amṛtaḥ || BĀU 3.7.18 ||*

[1254] See 3.7.19-23 and 4.4.5.

[1255] *sa vā eṣa mahān aja ātmā yo 'yam vijñānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu | ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaya ākāśas tasmiñ chete | sarvasya vaśī | sarvasyeśānaḥ | sarvasyādhipatiḥ | sa na sādhunā karmaṇā bhūyān | no evāsādhunā kanīyān | eṣa sarveśvara | eṣa bhūtādhipatiḥ | eṣa bhūtapāla | eṣa setur vidharaṇa eṣām lokānām asaṃbhedāya… BĀU* 17.4.4.22 |

[1256] *prājñenātmanā | BĀU* 17.4.2.21 |

[1257] Brereton, "The Composition of the Maitreyī Dialogue," 338. Wynne points out that in the "Pañcayattaya Sutta" the *ātman* after death is said to be neither conscious nor unconscious (*nevasaññiṃ nāsaññiṃ*), the latter equated with bewilderment (*sammoho*). Wynne, 43. See *M* 2.231.17.

the senses no longer function. Since experience for an embodied person is processed through the sense organs, to the extent that the senses are overpowered by the flow of ripening *karma*, experience is limited: apperception construes what is going on through past constructs. This type of knowing suggests an implicit duality and is conditioned by past *karma*, in particular the kind alluded to in the *agnihotra-brāhmaṇa* and the Sāvitrī. The *ātman* as direct knowing does not vanish after death, as does the karmically mediated apperception (*saṃjñā*).[1258]

Like the scholar of Buddhism, Jayatilleke, Brereton insightfully observes that Yājñavalkya's use of *saṃjñā* is similar to the Buddhist *saññā*:

> The sense of *saṃjñā* 'perception' is established by the similar use of *saññā* in Buddhist texts, e.g., *AN* 3.413 *cha y-imā bhikkhave saññā rūpasaññā saddasaññā gandhasaññā rasasaññā phoṭṭhabbasaññā dhammasaññā* "Monks, there are these six perceptions: the perception of form, of sound, of scent, of taste, of texture, and of concepts." As this passage illustrates, *saññā/saṃjñā* is connected with objects and the sense faculties (cf. Hanefeld 1976: 105), and therefore it must disappear when these do.[1259]

As mentioned above, *saññā* in Pāli texts refers to apperception, a karmically conditioned way of understanding experience through language. This kind of knowing arises and passes away along with the past habitual energy, upon which such conditioned knowing depends to inform not only the sense organs, but sense objects and one's consciousness of them. For this reason, the causal mechanism implicit in the terms *upadhi* and *āsava* explains what fuels *saññā*. When the latent *karma* forming a substrata (*upadhi*) ripens, it becomes an inflow (*āsava*) into the sense faculties, thus conditioning apperception (*saññā*).

Lee aptly observed that in Pāli texts, *saññā* is to perceive by means of what is subject to *āsava*, while *paññā* is to perceive things as they really are.[1260] In the *Suttanipāta*, *saññā* is described as mud (*paṅka*), associated with mental constructions (*kappa*), and threefold.[1261] The Buddha taught that there are no "truths" other than apperceptions, so people under the influence of their past karmic habituations, "having engaged in speculative reasoning in dogmatic views, declare a dualistic *dhamma*, 'True and false.'"[1262] All arguments are dependent on apperception,[1263] but when *saññā* is interrupted, *dukkha* becomes exhausted, giving way to another kind of knowing.[1264] Because views or theories about a given phenomenon are generated through *saññā*, Buddhism teaches a way out, which is described as follows:

> There is a further deliverance from that which leads to *saññā*. The mind of one who knows in this way, who sees in this way, is free even from the *āsava* of desire, his

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[1258] Brereton, "The Composition of the Maitreyī Dialogue," 341.

[1259] Ibid., 335. See also K.N. Jayatilleke. *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge.* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1963; reprinted Motilal Banarsidass, 1998), 41.

[1260] You-Mee Lee, *Beyond Āsava & Kilesa: Understanding the Roots of Suffering According to the Pāli Canon.* (Dehiwala: Buddhist Cultural Centre, 2009), 171.

[1261] *Sn* 540.

[1262] *na h'eva saccāni bahūni nānā, aññatra saññāya niccāni loke | takkañ ca diṭṭhīsu pakappayitvā, 'saccaṃ musā' ti dvayadhammam āhu | Sn 886 |*

[1263] *Sn* 538.

[1264] *Sn* 732.

mind is free even from the *āsava* of conditioned becoming, and his mind is free even from the *āsava* of ignorance. When there is liberation, there is the knowledge, "It is liberated." He knows, "Birth is exhausted, brahmacariya has been lived, what is to be done has been done, there is nothing beyond the here and now."[1265]

A mind free of *āsava-s* does not generate views through *saññā*; in fact, it produces no dogmatic views whatsoever.

Gómez astutely observes that the *Aṭṭhakavagga* features the doctrine of no views as opposed to the doctrine of right views.[1266] The Buddha has nothing firmly grasped as, 'I claim this,'[1267] a *muni* does not grasp any mentally constructed theory,[1268] and a brāhmaṇa does not resort to mentally constructing and following dogmatic views.[1269] A *muni* does not dispute because he knows what others depend on for their views and a brāhmaṇa is beyond disputation because he does not see any doctrine as best.[1270] Whether the terms *muni* and brāhmaṇa in the *Suttanipāta* represented two separate categories or one and the same is not clear. Consider the definition of *muni* in *Suttanipāta* 946: "a *muni* (sage) is a brāhmaṇa who stands on firm ground," pointing to a person whose flow of *āsava-s* is desiccating or desiccated.[1271] In connection with its derivative *mauna* (silence), Gómez explains that the *muni* silences the moorings of apperception (*saññā*). In his words, "'Morally' it stands on an *ascetic discipline* of *silence* which corresponds and leads to the higher goal of silencing the mind's imaginative discursive faculties."[1272] Views and disputes are the external signs of apperception from grasping onto inflows. For this reason, one's views are to be given up, not for the sake of right views, but to rid oneself of any attachment whatsoever.[1273]

The *Suttanipāta* contrasts a person who is dependent on *saññā* to one who knows directly. One passage states, "Observing vows[1274] on one's own, a person attached to his apperceptions (*saññā*) goes up and down. But one who knows, understanding the *dhamma*

[1265] *atthi imassa saññāgatassa uttari nissaraṇa' nti. tassa evaṃ jānato evaṃ passato kāmāsavāpi cittaṃ vimuccati, bhavāsavāpi cittaṃ vimuccati, avijjāsavāpi cittaṃ vimuccati; vimuttasmiṃ vimuttamiti ñāṇaṃ hoti | 'khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ, nāparaṃ itthattāyā' ti pajānāti | (Sāḷha) A 3.66 |*

[1266] Luis Gómez, "Proto-Mādhyamika in the Pāli Canon," in *Philosophy East and West* 26, no. 2. (Apr. 1976): 137-165), 140. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1398186. Accessed 2/5/2012.

[1267] *"idaṃ vadāmī' ti na tassa hoti, Māgaṇḍiyā ti Bhagavā dhammesu niccheyya samuggahītaṃ | Sn 837 |*

[1268] *Sn 838, 860.*

[1269] *Sn 911.*

[1270] *Sn 877 and 906.*

[1271] *muni thale tiṭṭhati brāhmaṇo | Sn 946 |* For Yājñavalkya's teaching on what it means to be a *muni*, see *BĀU* 17.3.5.1, 17.4.4.22.

[1272] Gómez, 140, 149.

[1273] Ibid., 148-149, 153.

[1274] According to PTSD, Vata means "2. manner of (behaving like) a certain animal (as a practice of ascetics), e. g. aja- like a goat J IV.318; go- like a cow M I.387; J IV.318; vagguli- bat practice J I.493; III.235; IV.299; hatthi- elephant behaviour Nd1 92."

thoroughly by means of the knowledges (*vedehi*),[1275] whose direct awareness (*paññā*) is extensive, does not go up and down."[1276] Similarly,

> One unattached to apperceptions (*saññā*) has no knots. One freed through direct awareness (*paññā*) has no confusion. But those who have grasped apperceptions (*saññā*) and dogmatic views go about in the world coming into conflict.[1277]

These passages indicate that a person whose understanding is informed by apperception (*saññā*) rides the roller-coaster of his karmic conditioning, experiences being rubbed the wrong way when his understanding clashes with another's, and comes into conflict with others on the basis of his views. Because this kind of knowing is limited by one's own habituations and experience, apperception (*saññā*) leads to suffering. In contrast, the kind of knowing that is direct awareness or wisdom (*paññā*) is stable and free of confusion. Without grasping or clinging onto any theory, a person established in *paññā* would not enter into arguments or conflicts.

The *Suttanipāta* clearly promotes understanding the process of apperception (*saññā*) in order to free oneself from it. One verse states, "Having fully understood[1278] apperception, a *muni* who does not cling to what is grasped should traverse the flood."[1279] A brāhmaṇa is similarly described as not appropriating any view in his mind: "He has not even the slightest apperception (*saññā*) mentally constructed here with regard to what was seen, heard, or experienced."[1280] The young brāhmaṇa student Upasīva questions the Buddha about whether one remains when relying on nothingness (*ākiñcañña*), resolved on the highest release from apperception (*saññāvimokkha*).[1281] On the basis of the commentaries, Wynne suggests that *vimutto* should be read as *'dhimutto*, "concentrated in the highest meditative release of perception."[1282] The Buddha responds that one can continue to exist when relying on nothingness and concentrated in the highest release from *saññā*, but as Wynne points out, this meditative practice is not final liberation.[1283] The goal of mindfulness, Gómez

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[1275] *MN* does not gloss this term *vedehi*. Both I.B. Horner and Walpola Rahula translate it as knowledges (pages 133-134), as does H. Saddhatissa (page 93). Dr. Premasiri mentioned that these are probably the 3 *vijjas*: memory of prior births, knowing how other beings depart and assume new forms of life, and knowledge of the destruction of *āsavas*. Given that the "Suddhaṭṭhaka Sutta" mentions brāhmaṇas twice, it is possible that *veda* in this verse may have initially referred to the three Vedas.

[1276] *sayaṃ samādāya vatāni jantu, uccāvacaṃ gacchati saññasatto | vidvā ca vedehi samecca dhammaṃ, na uccāvacaṃ gacchati bhūripañño || Sn 792 ||*

[1277] *"saññāvirattassa na santi ganthā, paññāvimuttassa na santi mohā | saññañ ca diṭṭhiñ ca ye aggahesuṃ, te ghaṭṭayantā vicaranti loke" ti || Sn 847 ||*

[1278] *MN*: reads *pariññā* as a gerund: *"pariññāti saññaṃ tīhi pariññāhi parijānitvā — ñātapariññāya, tīraṇapariññāya, pahānapariññāya |"*

[1279] The verse continues, "One who has pulled the splinter out, faring heedfully, does not yearn for this world or beyond." *saññaṃ pariññā vitareyya oghaṃ, pariggahesu muni nopalitto | abbūḷhasallo caram appamatto, nāsiṃsati lokam imaṃ parañ cā ti || Sn 779 ||*

[1280] The second half reads, "How could one categorize a brāhmaṇa who is not appropriating a view in this conditioned space (loka)?" *tassīdha diṭṭhe va sute mute vā, pakappitā n'atthi aṇū pi saññā | taṃ brāhmaṇaṃ diṭṭhim anādiyānaṃ, kenīdha lokasmiṃ vikappayeyya || Sn 802 ||*

[1281] *"sabbesu kāmesu yo vītarāgo, icc-āyasmā Upasīvo, ākiñcaññaṃ nissito hitvā-m-aññaṃ | saññāvimokkhe parame vimutto {dhimutto (Katthaci)}, tiṭṭheyya so tattha anānuyāyī" || Sn 1071 ||*

[1282] Wynne, 78-80. Note the variant reading in the previous note.

[1283] *"sabbesu kāmesu yo vītarāgo, Upasīvā ti Bhagavā ākiñcaññaṃ nissito hitvā-m-aññaṃ | saññāvimokkhe parame vimutto, tiṭṭheyya so tattha anānuyāyī" || Sn 1072 ||*

emphasizes, is to bring to rest the process of apperception, which lies at the root of clinging and suffering.[1284] In the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, one is to bring to rest name and form through stopping apperception while still being aware.[1285] By not grasping onto the past *karma* flowing into consciousness, one avoids conceptual construction and hence conflicts. Nothing mentally constructed is to be grasped,[1286] and nothing should be mentally constructed.[1287]

Besides apperception (*saññā*), Gómez identifies conceptual proliferation (*papañca*) as what causes a misdirected mind to operate according to preferences and attachments. In his gloss on *papañca*, Buddhaghosa describes a threefold proliferation known as thirst, pride, and views.[1288] Premasiri describes *papañca* in detail, explaining that the sense faculties interact with stimuli, arousing consciousness or sensitivity.[1289] When the sense faculty, a sense object, and sensitivity come together, feeling (*vedanā*) arises, which becomes the basis for constructing sense experience conceptually. When a conceptual thought (*vitakka*) occurs, he maintains, "one becomes a victim to the prolific flood of unwholesome thoughts in relation to the sensory objects of the past, present and future (*atītānā gatapaccuppannesu*) unless one has developed the capacity to check the mechanical flow of such thoughts."[1290] Premasiri concludes that *papañca* is

> a psychological term that signifies the internal sub-vocal chatter that goes on in the mind using the prolific conceptual constructions based on sense perception. This internal chatter feeds and is fed by unwholesome emotions such as craving, conceit and dogmatism and produces the tensions, anxieties and sorrows of the individual. The overt expression of this psychological condition is witnessed in the conflicts and disputes that manifest in society. *Papañca* may be understood as the psychological turmoil to which a person becomes a victim due to the lack of awareness and insight into the realities of the sensory process to which all beings constituted of a psychophysical organism are exposed.[1291]

Becoming aware of the sensory process uncovers how logic rationalizes emotions and propensities, making it easier to give up conclusions reached through conceptual proliferation.

According to the *Suttanipāta*, conceptual proliferation is the root of disease (*rogamūla*) internally and externally.[1292] The "Uraga Sutta" emphasizes overcoming conceptual proliferation (*prapañca*), which the *Aṭṭhakavaga* explains originates in apperception (*saññānidānā*).[1293] Similarly, the "Kalahavivāda Sutta" states that conceptual proliferation is based in apperception, but another kind of awareness is possible:

[1284] Gómez, 143.

[1285] *Sn* 874; Gómez, 144. See also *Sn* 950.

[1286] *Sn* 838, 914.

[1287] *Sn* 860, 914, 918.

[1288] *taṇhāmānadiṭṭhisaṅkhātaṃ tividhaṃ papañcaṃ |*

[1289] P.D. Premasiri, "Papañca," in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism,* Vol. 7, Fascicle 2: Odantapuri-Petavatthu, (Government of Sri Lanka, 2004): 299-303, 300.

[1290] Ibid.

[1291] Ibid., 302.

[1292] *…papañca nāmarūpaṃ ajjhattaṃ bahiddhā ca rogamūlaṃ | Sn 530 |*

[1293] *Sn* 8, 874, 916.

Not perceiving conceptually (*saññasaññin*) or in a distorted manner (*visaññasaññin*), but not without perception [i.e. still clearly aware], not perceiving what ceased to exist, in this way, for one who has resorted to this course, form no longer becomes. For reckoning in terms of proliferation (*papañcasaṅkhā*)[1294] has its origin in conceptual perception (*saññā*).[1295]

Similarly, in the "Tuvaṭaka Sutta," the Bhagavan teaches, "One should put a stop to all thoughts (*mantā*)[1296] of "I am," the root of reckoning in terms of conceptual proliferation (*papañca*). Mindful, one should train constantly to remove whatever internal thirst/cravings there are."[1297] These passages show that while apperception (*saññā*) centering on a constructed self leads to conceptual proliferation, there exists another kind of awareness behind the conceptual process in which objects are no longer subject to one's own cognitive habituations.

The knowing called *paññā* is the direct awareness of human beings that is discerning and responsive, but not conditioned by *karma* or clinging to ideas of anything constructed by karmic propensities. It is not a mere quality, as suggested by translating the word as wisdom, but an innate capacity to see things directly, as they really are. As Wynne maintains, this knowing is not intellectual.[1298] In the *Suttanipāta*, the Buddha has this direct awareness.[1299] He is called one with most excellent direct awareness (*varapañña*),[1300] incredibly directly aware (*bhūripañña, bhūripaññāṇo*),[1301] one with immense direct awareness (*pahūtapañño*),[1302] endowed with direct awareness (*sapañño*,[1303] *paññavā*,[1304] *paññāṇavā*[1305]), and unsurpassed in direct awareness by adherents of other sects.[1306] In his analogy of cultivation, the Bhagavan tells Kasibhāradvāja that direct awareness (*paññā*) is his yoke.[1307] A *tathāgata* is said to have endless direct awareness (*anantapañño*).[1308] A *muni* also has abundant direct awareness and his strength in direct awareness.[1309] The great seer

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[1294] *MN*: of craving, views, and pride. See Professor Premasiri's entry on "Proliferation" in the Encyclopedia of Buddhism. See also the "Madhupiṇḍikasutta" in the *Majjhima Nikhāya* and in *Concept and Reality in Buddhism* by Ven. Ñānananda.

[1295] "*na saññasaññī na visaññasaññi, no pi asaññī na vibhūtasaññī | evaṃ sametassa vibhoti rūpaṃ, saññānidānā hi papañcasaṅkhā*" ‖ Sn 874 ‖

[1296] *MN*: "*mantā vuccati paññā. yā paññā pajānanā ... pe ... amoho dhammavicayo sammādiṭṭhi |*" How the term *manta* is used in the *Suttanipāta* is not clear to me.

[1297] "*mūlaṃ papañcasaṅkhāyā, iti Bhagavā 'mantā asmī'ti sabbam uparundhe | yā kāci taṇhā ajjhattaṃ, tāsaṃ vinayā sadā sato sikkhe ‖ Sn 916 ‖*

[1298] Wynne writes, "If it is correct to read the Buddha's dialogues with Upasīva and Posāla together, then we can conclude that the insight advocated by the Buddha to the latter must have been non-intellectual." See 109; *Sn* 1112-1115.

[1299] *paññā ca mama vijjati | Sn 432 |*

[1300] *Sn* 564, 565 1128. See also 391 when his disciple is described the same way.

[1301] *Sn* 346, 376, 538, 792, 1097, 1136, 1138, 1140, 1143.

[1302] *Sn* 539, 995.

[1303] *Sn* 90, 591.

[1304] *Sn* 173.

[1305] *Sn* 1091.

[1306] *Sn* 381.

[1307] *Sn* 77.

[1308] *Sn* 468.

[1309] *muniṃ pahūtapaññaṃ | Sn 83, 359 | paññābalaṃ…muni | Sn 212 |*

has profound direct awareness as does the brāhmaṇa.[1310] Deep or supreme direct awareness is associated with teaching, specifically the Noble Truths, and with bestowing direct awareness.[1311] Direct awareness is also associated with purity[1312] and through direct awareness, Māra's army is crushed,[1313] one becomes free,[1314] and streams are stopped.[1315] The vigilant and discerning person obtains direct awareness (*labhate paññaṃ*), which is said to be the desire to listen, just as those established in calmness and *samādhi* reach direct awareness.[1316] In contrast, the *Suttanipāta* mentions those of little direct awareness, stating that the *paññā* of a harsh and negligent man does not grow.[1317] According to this text, "They say, living with *paññā* is the best life,"[1318] so one should prioritize uncovering this direct knowing.[1319]

In conclusion, both Yājñavalkya and the Buddha contrast two different modes of knowing. The *saṃjñā/saññā* mode of knowing is conditioned by past *karma*, which is stored first before flowing into the sensory faculties, where it constructs apperception. In contrast, the *prajñāna/paññā* mode of knowing is a direct awareness, free from attaching to ripened *karma*. This mode of knowing is an unmediated, unencumbered seeing of things as they really are. In this way, *paññā* is not a quality to possess (like wisdom), but an activity in this very life that does not come or go, even after death. Uncovering this direct awareness is equivalent to crossing over to *svàr*, which is to say to the far shore. That the *Suttanipāta* expresses no *anatta* doctrine suggests the possibility that the Buddha focused on the concepts of *paññā* and *saññā* for this audience, because for them *paññā* would have been associated with the Kāṇva's specific understanding of *ātman*. Other Pāli texts react to a reified abstraction of the *ātman* concept that seems to have evolved in popular discourse from the metaphysical doctrine expounded in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[1320]

[1310] *gabbhīrapañña…mahesiṃ | Sn 176 | gambhīrapaññaṃ…brāhmaṇam | Sn 627 |*

[1311] *gambhīrapaññena | Sn 230 | paññādada | Sn 177 | satthāram anomapaññaṃ | Sn 343 |*

[1312] *paññāya parisujjhati | Sn 184 | suddhipañño | Sn 373, 526 |*

[1313] *Sn 443.*

[1314] *paññāvimuttiyā | Sn 725, 727 | paññāvimuttassa | Sn 847.*

[1315] *Sn 1035.*

[1316] *sussūsā labhate paññaṃ, appamatto vicakkhaṇo | Sn 186 | te santi-soracca-samādhisaṇṭhitā, sutassa paññāya ca sāramajjhagū" ti | Sn 330 |*

[1317] *parittapañña | Sn 390, 1097 | nihīnapañña | Sn 880, 881, 890 | na tassa paññā … vaḍḍhati | Sn 329 |*

[1318] *paññājīviṃ jīvitam āhu seṭṭhaṃ | Sn 182 |*

[1319] *paññaṃ purakkhatvā | Sn 969 |*

[1320] The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (3.2.1-12) tells the story of Saṃjñā, the daughter of Viśvakarman, who married Sūrya. Unable to bear the sun's fiery energy, she gave him Chāyā. Upon discovering that Chāyā was not his wife, Sūrya rejoined Saṃjñā in the form of a horse (*vājirūpadhara*).

<center>Conclusion</center>
<center>Kosalan Philosophy</center>

Like the works of Emerson and Müller, the Brāhmaṇas expound philosophy, creating concepts for changing conditions, in ordinary language. The task of philosophy to create concepts is a lot like exchanging money. New currency is gained, but value is lost in the transaction. Changing conditions demand the reconceptualization of concepts in circulation, such that the signified of concepts is not stable over time. This dissertation has explored how metaphysical concepts in Vedic and Buddhist thought, despite being expressed in ordinary, non-technical language, have a history. Concepts like *deva, loka, svar, sūrya, ātman, prajā, vāja, anna, karma, pāra, upadhi,* and *āsava*, etc. are terms that have been revitalized over time, for which reason their particular meaning at any given time must be carefully and philologically determined in order to properly understand their philosophical import.

Attention to the influence of place on transmission shows that Yājñavalkya and the Kāṇvas read earlier Vedic thought as a philosophy of mind. The philosophy produced in the Kosala region advances theories of causality relating to cognitive activity and two modes of knowing, one karmically conditioned by past actions (*saṃjñā*) and one direct mode of awareness (*prajñā(na)*) unmediated by karmic retribution. The Vedic mechanisms for causation are explained through metaphorical systems that are enlivened in early Buddhist thought. The Buddha's new concepts illustrate how semantic value is supplemented and erased with respect to older concepts.[1321] Both the Kāṇvas and the early Buddhists promote developing mindfulness of what karmic information is flowing through the mind so as to uncover an unencumbered seeing of oneself and the world. Through such a practice, one gains greater and greater freedom to maintain a spacious field of potential awareness, rather than collapsing the infiniteness of the moment to hang onto a habitual impression. This conclusion offers closing thoughts and a summary of Kosalan philosophy as found in the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Suttanipāta.*

The study of Buddhism in western academia lends itself to particular readings and conclusions about the relationship between early Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism. Without studying in detail late Vedic literature, many Buddhist scholars tend to rely on secondary accounts of Indian religion. Scholarship on Indian religion favors the universalist approach, which casts Vedic schools in the same light, overlooking peculiar regional features and independent contributions. Previous work in Indian Buddhism tends to represent Vedic thought in its Madhyadeśa form without fully appreciating the eastern Vedic tradition that loomed large on the margins of *āryāvarta*, where the Buddha was born, raised, and chose to spend most of his rainy seasons. In addition, as Gombrich has stated, there is a tendency toward insularity among Indian Buddhist scholars, who rely heavily on Pāli commentaries written many centuries after the *suttas* to explain references to an Indian tradition with which they had long since lost touch.[1322] As a result, meanings for technical terms in Vedic parlance are recast in a Buddhist light, even when the Buddha is speaking to a brāhmaṇa in a

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[1321] Jacques Derrida, "White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy," in *Margins of Philosophy.* Trans. Alan Bass. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 210.
[1322] Richard Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought.* (London: Equinox, 2009), 105-107.

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given passage. Contemporary scholarship has favored identifying Buddhist ties with Jainism over Vedic tradition and has focused on the Magadha region more than on Kosala.[1323]

For this reason, a regional study of the Kāṇva School in Kosala contributes to understanding early Buddhism. Scholarship by Witzel, etc. to locate Vedic schools in time and space has enabled a more detailed study of regional thought in ancient India. Studies that apply Witzel's localization scheme, such as those by Brereton and Fujii, shed light on the regional diversity of Vedic tradition in addition to its diachronic growth. While Jamison has shown that many myths are shared among Vedic branches and have formulaic elements, the interpretation of these myths and ritual prescriptions can vary from school to school.[1324]

The investigation of philosophical ideas within a specific region requires analyzing a textual tradition from within its own structures and mechanisms. The interpretation of ideas should be based on the network of meaning set up within the tradition itself, which means that further hermeneutical work must be done to make sense of the tradition's own exegetical apparatus. While comparisons to neighboring schools and other religions provide valuable information, the first step to describing a regional philosophy is to identify the ideas and practices found therein. After chronicling what is being articulated in a given region, comparisons can then be made to other Vedic schools and associated religions, such as Buddhism.

This dissertation focuses on the Vedic *śākhā* thriving in the region of Kosala during the life of the historical Buddha. The Kāṇva School preserved the teachings of Yājñavalkya, who was both a *ṛṣi*, meaning an authority on ritual practice, as well as a *muni* on the forefront of the ascetic movement in the East. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to both Kosala and Videha, the latter of which was a prosperous kingdom during Yājñavalkya's time. However, by the time of Gotama, the kingdom of Videha had declined and Yājñavalkya's Kāṇva disciples situated in Kosala enjoyed the patronage of a prosperous kingdom. The location of Kosala on the edge of both the Vedic world and the ascetic frontier of "Greater Magadha" is reflected in the teachings of Yājñavalkya and in the new interpretations and adaptations of Vedic ritual and practice that he instituted in the *kāṇḍas* attributed to him in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Not only the Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍas* (three and four) of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, but also the first seven kāṇḍas of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* contain the teachings of the eastern Vedic figure whom Witzel calls innovative.[1325]

In addition to paying attention to one's mind, Yājñavalkya already had instituted many of the so-called reforms called for by the Buddha: leaving home, practicing asceticism, applying an internal sense of the ritual, begging for alms, and defining who a brāhmaṇa is in an alternative way. Fišer writes, "To these [Yajurvedic] schools, Yājñavalkya was first and foremost an authority on subtle points of the ceremonial worship, whose views were original and important enough to be preserved and quoted, no matter how unconventional or

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[1323] Johannes Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha: Studies in the Culture of Early India.* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[1324] Stephanie Jamison, "Formulaic Elements in Vedic Myth," in *Inside the Texts, Beyond the Texts.* Ed. Michael Witzel, 127-138. (Cambridge: Harvard Oriental Series, Opera Minora 2, 1997).

[1325] *ŚBK* kāṇḍas 13-16 also contain Yājñavalkya's teachings, but they were not studied in this dissertation.

even questionable they might have seemed to later generations of Vedic exegesis."[1326] The Kāṇva School in Kosala did not develop a Śrauta-, Gṛhya-, or Dharma-Sūtra as did other schools in the Madhyadeśa, perhaps because their adherents concerned themselves with Yājñavalkya's Upaniṣadic teachings.[1327] In this way, Yājñavalkya's teachings continued the Vedic ritual tradition in an even more ascetic direction. The Upaniṣads did not initiate, as Frauwallner suggested, a new stage of Vedic thought unconnected with the Brāhmaṇas.[1328] Moreover, because the Kāṇva recension contains elements not found in the Mādhyandina text, studying this version is valuable to understanding the history of philosophical concepts found in early Indian Buddhism.[1329]

As much if not more than the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* contains elements critical to understanding the philosophical developments in this region and remains essential to reconstructing the intellectual history from which Buddhism emerged. Still considered *śruti* or revelation in their own right, the Brāhmaṇas constitute the earliest interpretations of the Veda. The particular form of Vedic thought articulated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* advanced Vedic theories of causation and crossing over to the far shore that later played a central role in the general framework of Buddhist teachings. The *Śatapatha* recognizes the human potential to activate a direct awareness beneath the active mind set in motion by past *karma*.[1330] To the older expositions found in earlier extant *agnihotrabrāhmaṇas*—which focused on etiological myths, instructions for the correct performance, and symbolism—Yājñavalkya contributed a new interpretation of the *agnihotra*. His created the concepts of *prajā* to refer to what is generated in the mind and equated *vāja*, or generative power, with food in an effort to enliven earlier terms for the unmanifest, such as *ṛtá* and *bhárgas*. Moreover, Yājñavalkya reinterprets the concept of *ātman* and invents new terms to describe different kinds of perception.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* emphasizes mindfulness, paying attention to the arising of preconscious energies (generated from previous cognitive moments) in the conscious mind. In his treatment of the *agnihotra* ritual, Yājñavalkya expresses the mental process through the metaphor of the sun entering fire, which cooks and transforms the light, thus generating new sensory experience. In his interpretation, as we have seen, the light of the sun is the unmanifest energy and Agni (fire) is understood to be cognition. Specifically, the *gārhapatya* fire is the mind that receives unmanifest energy, which becomes manifest. This manifestation is represented ritually by the milk that is physically transformed through heat. When boiled, the milk symbolizes what is generated by the manifested energy, which could metaphorically either be more generative power or a sensory experience. Pouring the milk into the *āhavanīya* fire serves to remind the *yajamāna* that whatever he generates through his senses the fire conveys back to the sun, where it is stored until the whole process repeats. Whatever is generated stays in the form of light in that yonder world, which is identified with the sacrificer's body, and will at some point reenter the fire that is cognition. In this

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[1326] Ivo Fišer, "Yājñavalkya in the Śruti Tradition of the Veda," *Acta Orientalia* XLV. (1984): 55-88, 56.

[1327] The Mādhyandina branch in Videha has a late Śrauta Sūtra by Kātyāyana.

[1328] Erich Frauwallner, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1. Trans. V.M. Bedekar. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd.), 73.

[1329] Because many scholars rely on Eggeling's translation of the Mādhyandina recension, they miss key variants found in the Kāṇva version.

[1330] As the *Suttanipāta* states, "Through a path made by oneself…" *pajjena katena attanā | Sn 514 |*

way, the *agnihotra* represents causality. In the *Śatapatha's* exegesis of the *agnihotra*, the sun is like a wheel, turning night into day, bringing the unmanifest energy to manifest and generating experience. According to Yājñavalkya's instructions, the *yajamāna* is to pay attention to these energies moving in his mind, because it is his mindfulness that is conducive to *svàr*.

The Sāvitrī *ṛk* is a prayer to focus one's attention on the most radiant energy of Savitṛ who impels visions (*dhî*). Through explanatory connections (*bandhu*), the *Śatapatha* shows how Savitṛ, known as the light rays of the sun in the *Ṛgveda*, is implicit in mental and verbal processes. Moreover, his radiant energy is the same as the internal generative energy (*vája*) that fuels sensory cognition. Generative energy and visions each give rise to the other in a reciprocal process of causality. For this reason, reciting the *mantra* reminds the seer to look for the vision at the earliest most possible moment that it appears in the mind, so as to transform that energy through the fire of cognition into a pure potential energy source. The Brāhmaṇa speaks in a sort of Vedic code, which would have been obvious to a contemporary audience, but seems to have escaped the attention of many Indologists today.

The Kāṇva Vedic school in Kosala formed the cultural milieu in which Gotama was born and raised. In the Kosala region, he observed brāhmaṇas practice both as ritual *ṛsis* and as ascetic *munis*. He learned esoteric teachings from brāhmaṇa ascetics and, understanding how the mind functions and conflicts arise, he did not see anyone or any doctrine as superior or inferior. His teachings to the brāhmaṇa *munis* in Kosala constitute a large part of the compilation known as the *Suttanipāta*. These discourses reflect a philosophy of mind in which causality and mindfulness were explicated. While the practices of offering the *agnihotra* oblation and reciting the Sāvitrī may now seem at odds with Gotama's meditation instructions, we know from Yājñavalkya's explanations—unique in Vedic discourse—that they shared the objective to become mindful of what is streaming in and out of one's mind. Perhaps for this reason the Bhagavan mentions these practices explicitly and employs terms that activate Vedic metaphorical assemblages.

Whereas the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* expresses its philosophy through metaphorical concepts, the *Suttanipāta* is more explicit and pragmatically advises constant vigilance over one's mind and sense spheres. Still, the teachings of the Bhagavan in this Buddhist compilation reflect Yājñavalkya's teachings. The terms *upadhi* and *āsava* are nominal forms alluding to actions related to Vedic metaphorical complexes about causation, specifically connected with the *agnihotra* oblation and the Sāvitrī *ṛk*. The term *upadhi* refers to the residue left over, literally placed near, by a previous cognition. In the Kāṇvas' *agnihotra*, the verb *upa+√dhā* is used in a *mantra* about placing the kindling stick (*samidh*) on the fire, which symbolizes maintaining one's awareness of what goes into the fire that is cognition. In the Buddhist usage, the term ironically criticizes the way that some *agnihotrins* had forgotten to pay attention to their mind and continued to perform the external ritual without internal mindfulness, which resulted in storing up karmic energies in the form of a substratum (*upadhi*) of habituations. The term *āsava* refers to the inflow of these karmic energies into the sense faculties, which fuels karmically conditioned apperception (*saññā*). The Buddha's term draws from Vedic thought, which explained how particles of fiery energy endowed with consciousness emerge from the heart and flow (*ā+√sru*) through the cardio-vascular system, providing subtle, energetic food to sensory

processes in the body. The Buddhist use of *āsava* can also be understood in light of other Vedic metaphorical complexes for crossing the flood and purifying streams, which relate in particular to the *soma yajña* and Sarasvatī. In both cases, cultivating mindfulness of one's ordinary perception is shown to give way to another kind of knowing, namely direct awareness (*paññā*).

There is one major difference between the teachings found in the *Śatapatha* and the *Suttanipāta*. Whereas Yājñavalkya advocated transforming preconscious energy into a pure potential and storing it as a kind of empowerment, Gotama favored drying up the flood of afflictive energies so that they have no remainder. In both cases, however, one's vigor (Skt. *vīrya*, Pāli *vīriya*) is strengthened and mindfulness is said to give way to another form of knowing, no longer karmically conditioned, in this life.

In conclusion, the Kāṇva School and many of the Vedic *munis* featured in the *Suttanipāta* are located in Kosala. On the margins of both the Vedic orthodoxy and the ascetic frontier, the Kosala region gave rise to a special expression of Vedic tradition that continued earlier Vedic thought, but at the same time interpreted it in terms of cognitive activity. The place to look for key ideas employed by the Buddha when teaching brāhmaṇa *munis* is not only the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, but also the other Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍas* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. To say, with Bronkhorst, that Vedic Brāhmaṇism did not form the background of the Buddha's preaching or that karmic retribution is not to be found in the Vedas is misleading. While Bronkhorst is absolutely right to focus on the region of Greater Magadha for the formal articulation of the doctrine of *karma*, studying Kosala in particular shows that Vedic thought did form at least part of the background of the Buddha's thought and influenced his ideas about cause and effect as well as his soteriological framework.

Like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the Buddha was concerned with expanding one's conditioned space (*loka*), which shrinks or even collapses due to not paying attention to karmic retribution. However, by being mindful to what is streaming in one's mind, a person can begin to expand his or her conditioned space to be aware of karmic retribution and not be moved by it. The type of awareness that opens up is likened to a serpent, who because he is growing, sheds his skin, and to crossing over to the far shore. The far shore is equivalent to *svàr*, a nondual scope that includes not only what one physically experiences in the world, but also the karmic potentials metaphorically said to be stored in "that yonder world."

Kosalan philosophy comprises Yājñavalkya and Gotama's theories of causality and the two modes of knowing. Kosalan philosophy revitalizes the cognitive dimension of ancient Indian thought. Yājñavalkya presents the *agnihotra* and the Sāvitrī in terms of a perpetual cycle of cognitive acts producing generative powers that in turn produce cognitive acts. Gotama refers implicitly to the Vedic metaphors for causation when he speaks of karmic potentials as *upadhi* and *āsava*. In this way, both sages articulated numerous mechanisms for cause and effect as it relates to cognitive activity in order to train people not only to pay attention to what was creating reality as they saw it, but also to let go of their attachment to such a view of the world. This practice weaned people off a karmically conditioned mode of perceiving (*saṃjñā/saññā*) to uncover a direct means of being aware (*prajñāna/prajñā/paññā*) that was no longer under the influence of karmic retribution. Activating the capacity of this direct awareness here and now reformulates the metaphor of crossing over. For both Yājñavalkya and Gotama, crossing over to the far shore or *svàr*

refers to reintegrating into one's awareness his or her previously generated karmic potentials. Not being attached to ripened *karma* makes possible the capacity to see things as they are.

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