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ON THE ORIGIN OF THE LITERARY DEVICE OF THE
'FRAME STORY' IN OLD INDIAN LITERATURE

by

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The literary device, usually called the frame story (or story within a story) is a prominent feature of ancient Indian literature, whether it concerns narrative literature or not: One just has to think of the complicated frame work found in the Mahābhārata, in many Purāṇas, and in classical literature.¹

This type of story seems to give the impression of appearing suddenly and in a fully developed form with the Mahābhārata. But one can already detect predecessors of this literary device in the Middle Vedic literature, i. e. in the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās and the various Brāhmaṇas of the Four Vedas. They contain the oldest Indian narrative prose.²

*. This is a slightly enlarged version of a lecture (available at the conf. office) given at the 31st CISHAAN, Tokyo-Kyoto, Sept. 1983. To some extent, I have dealt with this legend already in the (unpublished part of) my thesis: "Das Kaṭha-Āraṇyaka", Erlangen 1972, Pt. 2 (commentary), pp. 133-157a.

1. Frame stories as such are not dealt with extensively in Indological literature. The term is found with Oertel, JAOS 19 (1890), 97: "frame story which formed the setting of the dialogue" (of RV 10. 108, Saramā and Paṇis); p. 103: the JB story is an "attempt to fuse 2 conflicting legends," cf. ann. 49. To some extent it is discussed by Winternitz in the introduction to his chapter on narrative literature (Hist. of Ind. Lit., III p. 301 sqq., under the term, 'intercalation'). On a frame within a frame, in the form of a play within a play, in Harṣa's Priyadarśikā, see Winternitz, Hist. III p. 253, ann. 4. On the emboxed fables of the Pañcatantra, IJ 22 (1900), 238; Bailey, IJ 29 (1906), 1 on the Vāmana Purāṇa.

2. Only the prose mantras of the RV Khilas, and of the YV (MS, KS, TS, VS, etc.) are older prose but they do not, of course, contain narrative passages. On this oldest (and the YV Saṁhitā, and Brāhmaṇa prose, see Oldenberg, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prose. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der prosaisch-poetischen Erzählung. Abh. d. Kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Bd. XV, No. 6, Berlin 1917.

Here, both in the YV Sāṁhitās (MS, KS, KpS, TS) and in the older Brāhmaṇas stories, legends and (pseudo-) mythological tales are mostly told in paratactical phrases in a simple, straightforward manner. Though the stories of these texts usually are not very long, some of them can cover a printed Devanāgarī page or more. In the period of the younger Brāhmaṇas the technique appears to have changed.³ It is here that we find comparatively long stories; the language has become somewhat more flexible, uses a hypotactical style, shows more variations, and, what is most important for this paper, the first complicated stories emerge.⁴

1. A good example is the Cyavana legend from the JB (3.120-128), which was first introduced by Whitney, Hopkins, and Caland around the turn of the century.⁵ Its first half has a more or less close parallel⁶ in ŚB 4.1.5, which is continued only at ŚB 14.1.1.17-24.⁷ Briefly, the legend runs as follows:

3. See Oldenberg, *Prosa*, p. 15 sqq., 20 sq.; Keith, *RV-Brāhmaṇas*, p. 96 sqq., TS transl. p. CLVII sq.; cf. Oertel, *JAOS* 18 (1896/97), p. 17 sq.; cf. also *Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, 15 (1909), p. 161, and *passim*. Gonda, *Old Indian*, p. 158 sq..

4. See Oldenberg, *Prosa*, p. 25. Other examples are: ŚB 12.9.3.7-13 (middle), a mythological tale about Yajña, the Asuras and the gods, is inserted into a tale of Bahika Prātipīya which is found at 12.9.3.13 (end). A similar well-composed story is the Medhāthiti legend found at JB 3.233-235. Other examples of complicated (frame) stories are: the Śunahśepa legend in AB/ŚŚS, cf. author, in *Kindlers Lit. Lex.*, *Nachtragsband*, s.v. *Altareya-Brāhmaṇa*; see also: 'JB palpūlanī', in: *Fel. Vol.* B.R. Sharma, ed. S.D. Balasubrahmaniam, Tirupati (forthcoming, 1987?).

5. Whitney, *IA* 1884, p. 20-24; transl. in *JAOS* 11 (1885), p. cxlv-cxlvii, 3 (1883), p. viii-xii; Whitney, *Proceed. Am. Or. Soc.* 1883, p. IX; Hopkins, *JAOS* 26 (1905), p. 1-67 "The fountain of youth"; Caland, *Over en uit het JB*, p. 28 ann. 36; JB in *Auswahl*, Amsterdam 1919, §186; Ghosh, *Lost Brāhmaṇas*, Calcutta 1947, p. 25 sqq.; see now: W. Rau, *MSS* 39 (1980), p. 157-162 (=JB 3.120-122); W.D. O'Flaherty, *Tales of Sex and Violence. Folklore, Sacrifice and Danger in the Jainīya Brāhmaṇa*, Chicago 1985, p. 64-73; 126, 122.

6. Transl. by Weber, *Ind. Streifen*, I, p. 13; Muir, *OST*, V, p. 250 sqq., *Delbrück II* p. 121.

7. Here, I cannot give all the texts belonging to these motifs, see below ann. 18-24.

I At his own wish, Cyavana, a descendant of Bhṛgu (an 'adopted' son of Varuṇa), is, being old and toothless, left behind by his clan.⁸ They put him down at the Śāśava of the Sarasvatī on an abandoned (offering) ground (3.120). In the same area, the cow herds of the tribe of Śaryāta, a son of Manu, are grazing their cattle. They smear him with mud, (cow)dung, and clay. Cyavana takes his revenge by magically causing dissent and strife in Śaryāta's tribe (3.121). Śaryāta finds out the reason for the conflict and appeases Cyavana by offering his daughter Sukanyā in marriage. At the same time he tells her to run away at the first possibility (3.122), but this is made impossible by Cyavana through magic.

II The heavenly twins, the Aśvins, wandering about the earth as doctors, try to seduce Sukanyā who resists and tells Cyavana about it (3.123). Cyavana here sees a means to regain his youth and instructs her to tell them of their deficiency, i. e. their non-participation in the Soma sacrifice of the gods (3.124). They make a deal: The Aśvins will restore Cyavana to a healthy youth, and Cyavana will find a means to allow them to participate in the ritual.⁹ He is then healed by the Aśvins in the Śāśava of the Sarasvatī (3.125).¹⁰

8. Cf. also RVKh 1.5.7 where Cyavana is blind ("andha"); "toothless" refers to "niṣṭhāva" of the Skt. text. W. Rau, MSS 39, p. 157 sqq. has explained the word (cf. AB 5.14.2) as "Nörgler" (,a nagging person'), a state of mind typical of (toothless) old men: The word is derived from "niṣ-ṣṭhiv" "to spit down/out", "to speak while expectorating saliva".

9. The Aśvins are regarded as 'late-comers' to the Soma ritual, having had the right only to a drink of hot milk ("dadhigharma") or, perhaps of "madhu" (honey, mead) before this. The Aśvina Soma cup in fact is inserted into the Soma ritual only after the Bahiṣpavamāna, see Caland ad ApSS 12.18.9: "Dass dieser Schoppen, obgleich die Formeln dazu in allen Saṁhitās des Yajurveda unmittelbar nach dem Maltrāvaruṇagraha folgen, erst zu diesem Zeitpunkte (d. h. nach dem Bahiṣpavamāna) geschöpft wird, beruht auf der allbekannten, auch im Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa (TS 6.4.9.2) gefundenen Überlieferung, dass die Aśvins beim Opfer der Götter erst nach dem Bahiṣpavamāna kamen". The reversal of the position of the "graha" is explained at ŚB 4.1.5.10; this probably is the reason that the Saṁhitās have - at a late date? - changed the position of the mantra.

10. The Śāśava is interesting: etymologically, it means 'belonging to śīśu' (a baby). What is this strange place where one is rejuvenated, can scoop

IV Cyavana re-tells to the Āśvins

V the story about the gods who offer in Kurukṣetra with a headless sacrifice: therefore they cannot succeed.¹¹

VI Cyavana advises the Āśvins to ask Dadhyañc, a descendant of Atharvan, for the secret of the severed head of the sacrifice which he had "seen".

VII The head of the sacrifice is identified with the Pragargya vessel.

VIII The Āśvins approach Dadhyañc who is not willing to tell them because he fears Lord Indra.

IX He explains: the chief of the gods had threatened him to cut off his head if he should tell about the head of the sacrifice to someone else.

X The Āśvins, then, exchange Dadhyañc's head for that of a horse. Dadhyañc instructs them through the mouth of the horse's head (3.126).

XI Indra notices this, rushes to Dadhyañc and cuts off the horse's head. The Āśvins, then, restore Dadhyañc's head to his body.

XII The Āśvins approach the gods, tell them they know the secret of the severed head of the sacrifice. The gods agree to let them join in the sacrifice, even though they are stained by their constant

out food and also, perhaps babies do come from? Unfortunately it is not exactly clear what is to be understood by this: a water hole, a pond, a side arm etc. of the Sarasvatī (cf. Parīqah, Parisrāvati, Parisrāvaka in Kurukṣetra, see author, Bull. d'Etudes Skt. 2, Paris 1984, p. 205 ann. 131). The ŚB(M) parallel has "hrada" 'pond', ŚBK nothing. W. Rau translates "Śāśava(-See)"; cf. also PB 14.6.10: the Āśvins shake him in the Sarasvatī: "apsu vyalākayatām"; the same in Lokesh Chandra's reprint of a PB MS, see ann. 15. On the 'fountain of rebirth' already: A. Kuhn, Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertrankes, p. 11, on the quaeprunno; cf. Purūravas' son who is brought up in this country by nymphs swimming on the Anyataḥplakṣā lake in the form of ducks, see ŚB 11.5.1.4. See also Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, s.v. rebirth, and Stith Thompson, Motif Index of Folk Literature, Bloomington 1955-1958.

11. How the head of the sacrifice had been cut off, is told in the context of the Soma ritual, at MS 4.5.9; see KS 10.2; TS 2.3.3.1; TĀ 5.1.1-5; Kaṭhā 3.207, PB 7.5.6 (Sāmāns at the midday pavamāna), etc..

contact with mankind. The *Aśvins* are also allowed to drink of the offered Soma. The Divine Twins become their *Adhvaryus* (i. e. the main priests executing a ritual) and perform the gods' ritual successfully (3.127).¹²

III Cyavana, having gained a youthful body, returns to *Śaryāta* and performs a ritual for him, using a particular (the *Cyāvana*) melody, for which he is presented with a 1000 cows. In this way, he was rejuvenated, got a young wife, and now becomes rich (3.128).¹³

This JB story exhibits a great deal of unity when compared to other *Brāhmaṇa*- and *YV-Saṁhitā* stories¹⁴ about Cyavana and the *Aś-*

12. The restoration of the head of the sacrifice by the *Aśvins* is told, in the context of the Soma ritual, at *ŚB* 14.1.1.18-20; *TĀ* 5.1.6-7; *Kaṭhā* 3.115 (cf. 2.134); *JB* 3.120-128 (cf. Ghosh, *Lost Brāhmaṇas*, pp. 25-30); *JB* 3.64. About the cut-off horse's head of *Dadhyañc*, see *JB* 3.64, cf. Oertel, *JAOS* 18 (1897), p. 16 sqq.; Ghosh, *Lost Br.*, p. 18; cf. also: Caland, *WZKM* 28 (1914), p. 69, K. Hoffmann, *Aufsätze zur Indo-Iranistik*, ed. J. Narten, Wiesbaden 1975-70, p. 99.

13. The story how Cyavana performed this sacrifice for *Śaryāta* is told at *JB* 3.159-161 and *PB* 13.11.10; see below ann. 10. It is not included in this legend of the *JB* as it deals with another *Sāman*, the *Valdanvata Sāman*, which occurs on the 6th day of the 12-day Soma ritual while the *Cyāvana Sāman* is used on the 5th day according to *PB* 13.5.11-13 (and at 10.3.6), interestingly also for the procreation of children, cf. the *Śaśava* pond, and for rain. The *Vīñka Sāman* connected with Cyavana (*PB* 14.6.8+10) is used on the seventh day; cf. *JB* 3.204. Later on, Cyavana *Bhārgava* performed the *Alndrābhiṣeka* (*Rājābhiṣeka*) for *Śaryāta Mānava*, *AB* 8.21.

14. Found at *PB* 14.6.10 in a very abbreviated form: the *Sāman* explained here is the *Vīñka Sāman* (as Cyavana was shaken (?) by the *Aśvins* in the *Sarasvatī*. The text has "vīñk" ("vī-lñkh?"); Kulper reads "vī-lñg", to move (trans.), *Vāk* 2 (1952), p. 99; cf. also Mayrhofer, *KEWA* I, 85; III, 643. "vīñk-" also in facs. ed. Lokesh Chandra, p. 428, fol. 152b, and *Sāyaṇa* ad loc.). At *PB* 13.5.13 no story but only the use of the *Sāman* is told. For the rest see ann. 10, 11. Cf. also: *RVKh* 1.7.5 (Cyavana as a blind person, and *Śaryāta Mānava*), compare *RV* 1.112.16-17 and *AB* 4.32 (cf. *RVKh* 1.12.7 "andha- ṛṣi-"), *AB* 8.21; *MS* 4.12.2, *KS* 8.17; *Up.* no instance; of the *Sūtras* I mention: *KGS* 4.15; 4.20 (a *Bhṛgu/Bhārgava*); in the *Pravaraśūtras* *ĀpŚS* 24.5.12+15; *BŚS* III, 419.6 (son of *Bhṛgu* etc.); *Yāska* 4, 19; *Mbhār.* 3.122.2-125 (cf. A. Mette in *IJ*, forthc.); cf. *IJ* 24 (1982), p. 40; O'Flaherty, *Sex*, p. 70 sqq..

vins.¹⁵ At the same time, it contains almost all the elements comprising the group of motifs connected with Cyavana/Indra/Aśvins/Dadhyañc. Apparently only one item is missing,¹⁶ i. e. the story of what became of the severed horse head of Dadhyañc. This story is told in JB 3.64 where we find that Indra uses it to frighten off the Asuras.

A closer look at the legend reveals not only many smaller stories contained in the central one, but it also brings to light quite a number of interesting inconsistencies. I will examine them at some length, as they show something about the working procedure of a Brāhmaṇa author.¹⁷

To start with, the formal structure of the legend is described fairly easily and the whole tale appears, at the first look, quite straightforward.

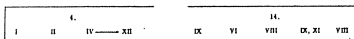
I	II	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	III
Cyavana and Sukanyā	Aśvina and Sukanyā	Cyavana and Aśvina	Cyavana about gods	Cyavana about Dadhyañc	Pravargya explanation	Aśvins and Dadhyañc	Dadhyañc about Indra	Aśvins and Dadhyañc	Dadhyañc and Indra	Aśvins and gods	Cyavana and Śaryāta
I 120	I 123	I 124							I 127		I 128

2. If this is compared to the other legends about Cyavana, the more complicated structure will become apparent: while ŚB 4.1.5 and 14.1.7 have:

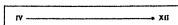
15. For the motive of rejuvenation, see also Praskaṇva at RV 8.51.2 (Val. Khil. 3 = RVKh 3.3.2), see below ann. 21. On rejuvenation cf. also: IJ 16 (1974), 281; similarly, JB 1.151 = Caland §44 tells about somebody who has fallen into a cleft of the ground and fainted there ("tānta") and is revived; M. Hara, Kaishun-Kaisei (rejuvenation and reviving), Okuda Jūo sensei kiju kinen bukkyō shisō ronshū, Kyoto 1976, p. 1075-1099.

16. Only the offering for Śaryāta by Cyavana is missing which is found at JB 3.159, see ann. 13. One may perhaps add the description of Śaryāta's 'coronation' (unction) ceremony, executed by Cyavana, AB 8.21. Cf. Hopkins, JAOS 26 (1905), p. 63; Caland, transl. PB, 13.11.10, p. 343; Lokesh Chandra, JAOS 69 (1949), p. 84-86; O'Flaherty, Sex, p. 69, 126.

17. See K. Hoffmann, Aufs., p. 207-220 (= Mélanges Renou, p. 367-380); author, Fel. Vol. B.R. Sharma, Tirupati, forthcoming (1986?).



The other texts (MS, TS, KS, KpS)¹⁸ only speak of the gods and Ásvins:



This rather formal comparison alone indicates that a certain degree of development of this legend can be established. The older texts, i. e. the Yajurveda Saṁhitās, do not connect the story of the severed head with the Cyavana legend. As a matter of fact, they do not know of this theme except for reminiscences from the Ṛgveda where a few hints on the motif are found. I will return to this point later. In the YV Saṁhitās the story belongs to an ancient, mythical past, and is put into the context of the primordial (but also continuing fight) between the gods and demons, the devas and asuras. It is only in the later, not in the earlier Brāhmaṇa texts, that both motifs are brought together.¹⁹

The Ṛgveda, where Cyavana is only found as a name derived from a participle (which, taken by itself, should arouse one's interest or suspicion), definitely knows of an old man Cyavāna, who with the help of the Ásvins is made young again so that he can walk again and attend to his young wife (RV 7.51.5; 7.68.6; 1.117, 13; 1.116.10; 1.118.6; 10.39.4).²⁰ The Cyavāna legend was so well-known even then that,

18. The story about the gods and the Ásvins (without mentioning Cyavana) is found at: MS 4.6.2: 79.19 sqq., KS 27.4: 143.8 sqq., KpS 42.4, TS 6.4.9, Kāṣhā 2.115, TĀ 5.1.6-7, ŚB 14.1.1 sqq.

19. See below on connections with RV/SV Brāhmaṇas (the combination of both tales is not found there), cf. ann. 60.

20. Sieg, Sagenstoffe, does not deal with the Cyavana legend. Note, that it is a moot point whether the fragments of Ṛgvedic myths were re-composed as YV-Saṁhitā/Brāhmaṇa time stories or whether there was a living mythological tradition, in which Ṛgvedic myths gradually changed until they reached the form they have in the later Br. literature. Note that there is a similar development from Vedic mythology to Epic/Purāṇic one: myths were taken over from particular Vedic texts, see R. Söhnen, On the Gautamīmāhātmya (Br. Pur. 104) and its source in AB 7.13-18, explained in a lecture at the 6th World Skt. Conf., Philadelphia, Oct. 1984. Such connections were, by the way, already noticed by Caland, - but this is just one of the many leads he provided which have been left unnoticed even in his homeland.

already in RV 10.59.1, the revived Subandhu can be compared to Cyavāna. Even more so, RV 1.116.10 contains a short synopsis of this part of the legend: "You, the Nāsatyas (Aśvins), took off the body from the aged Cyavāna like a dress. You prolonged the life of the one left behind and you (even) made him the husband of virgins." The only discrepancy with JB is that Cyavāna becomes the husband of not only one woman (Sukanyā, cf. 5.74.5 "vadhū") but of at least three young women.

However, taking into account the divergent form of the name in the RV (Cyavāna, = ptc. pres. of "cyu", versus later texts: Cyavana) one may compare what is told in the RV about the Ṛṣi Praskaṣva: He is an old man, who is left behind, lying on the ground. He is a Ṛṣi who wants to win 1000 head of cattle (RV 8.51.2 = Vāl. Khil. 3 = RVkh 3.3.2). It may be asked whether this relatively unknown person is identical with Cyavana. In that case, "cyavāna", ptc. pres. "the one who moves (again)" would be an old epitheton of Praskaṣva which had become Praskaṣva's name already in the RV.²¹ Furthermore, "cyu" (with various preverbs) may be used in a sexual context (cf. K. Hoffmann, Aufs. p. 572, ann. 18, p. 396; I. Fišer, Indian erotics, Praha 1966, p. 57 ann., p. 51 ann. 49, p. 99). This expression of erotic slang²² then has become the name of the Ṛṣi, a fact important for a proper understanding of his role in the JB story where he is the rejuvenated husband of a young woman (cf. below, on O'Flaherty's interpretation, ann. 50).

Also, the motif of Dadhyañc being healed by the Aśvins, after his head had been severed for telling them the secret of Soma, is already found in the RV.²³ Even the detail, not mentioned in the JB story, of

21. Praskaṣva is the poet of RV 1.44-50: at 1.44.6 Agni is asked to lengthen P.'s life; at 1.45.3 Agni is asked to hear the calling of P.. The Aśvins help Kaṣva, RV 1.47.5, but he apparently is only a contemporary of Turvaśa; (see Geldner, RV transl. I, p. 53). Praskaṣva is also found at RV 8.3.9 (helped by Indra), 8.51.2 = RVKh; 8.54.8 (Indra's gift asked for him).

22. Note that "cyāvāna-" also designates Indra, at RV 2.21.3, etc.; AV 20.34.4; AVPK 13.7.4 (= AVPOr 12.14.4); cf. finally RV 5.33.9 which speaks of a gift of 1000 (cows) by Cyāvātāna to the poet: just as Cyavana gains a Thousand at the end of the JB story.

23. Dadhyañc speaks to the Aśvins about the "madhu" with a horse's head at RV 1.116.12, 1.117.22; at RV 6.16.14 as a Ṛṣi, an Atharvaṇa; as the perhaps eldest Angiras at 1.139.9, together with the Navagva and Daśagva at 9.108.4, next to Manu Pitṛ at 1.80.16. Finally, he is helped by Indra to

Indra's killing the demons with Dadhyañc's horse head is found in RV 1. 84. 13-14. Śaryāta appears in the RV as well - though not directly in connection with Cyavana: RV 3. 51. 7; 1. 112. 17; 1. 51. 12. To the author of RV 1. 80. 16, these persons are already "pūrvāthā", living in the ancient past. Consequently we have a number of motifs which appear unconnected in the oldest Indian text. Both major motifs are only once mentioned close to each other in a "catalogue" of the Aśvins' deeds (RV 1. 116. 10 Cyavana; 1. 116. 12 Dadhyañc) but they are not connected with each other in the RV.²⁴ Instead, an otherwise unknown myth about Vandana intervenes. The provisional conclusion of this survey is: The two major motifs of

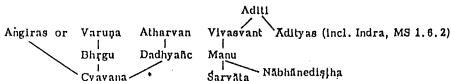
- (a) Cyavana, rejuvenated by the Aśvins, and husband of virgins(s), and
 (b) of Dadhyañc's telling the secret of Soma (or the head of the sacrifice), Indra's punishing him by cutting off his head, and his healing by the Aśvins,

gain cows at RV 10. 48. 2. The background of the relationship between Dadhyañc as an Aṅgīrasa and Śaryāta is apparently given in AB 4. 32: the Aṅgīras performed a Soma sacrifice but went wrong on the second day until Śaryāta told them a particular hymn; with this they went to heaven. (Note that the Aṅgīras' figure prominently on the second day, PB 11. 7-11. 11). Apparently Cyavana was left out at this moment, and this is why he has that special relationship with Śaryāta Mānava that JB 3. 120-128 tells in detail, cf. also JB 3. 159-161. Note the various fathers assigned to Cyavana in the texts. Obviously, by the time of the Brāhmaṇas, one was not very sure any more how to 'classify' him. ŚB 4. 1. 5 admits this expressively (as it does in the case of Dyaus/Uṣas = Prajāpati and his daughter):

ŚB 4. 1. 5. 1

ŚB 4. 1. 5. 1+10, 14. 1. 1. 18

JB 3. 126



(* PB 14. 6. 10 Cyavana, son of Dadhyañc, grandson of Atharvan)

24. Yet already RVKh 1. 7. 5 connects the two persons, see ann. 14, an early indication (from the period of the YV mantras?) of what was to come in the YV?

are quite evident even in the older parts of the RV, but they remain unconnected in this text as well as in the succeeding text layers, i. e. the Mantra period, in YV-Saṁhitā prose, and in the older Brāhmaṇas.²⁵

3. If the preceding analysis is correct, one can expect to find some kind of indication of this long period of development in the JB/ŚB stories themselves. It is best, perhaps, to start with the ŚB story: Here the theme of Cyavana, of Śaryāta and the Āśvins, and of the gods are treated in the Soma book of ŚB, at 4.1.5.13-18 = ŚBK 5.15.1-13, while the Dadhyañc/Āśvin motif is missing here, but is taken up in the Pravargya (=Āraṇyaka) book, ŚB 14.1.1.17-24 (ŚBK 16), in great detail.²⁶

The interesting point, however, is that the long Cyavana story, which is told as one integrated whole in JB, is split up into two parts in ŚB. However, the dividing lines are not following those of the earlier YV Saṁhitā texts, i. e. Cyavana vs. gods/Āśvins/Dadhyañc themes, cf. diagram in § 8.

In fact, both motifs already seem integrated. This is indicated by a clear reference in ŚB 4.1.5.15 to another (i. e. later) chapter on "divākīrtya": "they restored the head of the sacrifice. How they restored the head of the sacrifice, then, is being explained in the Brāhmaṇa of the "divākīrtyas". ŚBK similarly: "then, this is explained in the "divākīrtyas" how the Āśvins restored the head of the sacrifice."

This clear reference is of great importance for an understanding of how the ŚB text developed. It shows that the redactors of ŚB 4 (ŚBK 5)

25. With the exception of RVKh 1.7.5, see ann. 14, 23. Cf. the passages mentioned in ann. 14. Others are:

Āśvina Soma cup	:	Āśvina Pravargya milk draft
MS 4.6.2: 79.10 sqq.	:	no Pravargya Brāhmaṇa
KS 27.4: 143.8 sqq.	:	Kaṭhā 2.115
KpS 42.4	:	text probably lost
TS 6.4.9	:	TA 5.1.6-7 (ŚB 14.1)

26. This point has completely escaped O'Flaherty, cf. below ann. 43, 52. As is well known, both ŚB and JB have many stories, etc. in common, see already Caland, *Over en ult het JB*, p. 28 sqq. and passim. He thought JB was closer to ŚBM than to ŚBK, p. 36 (but cf. p. 33 sqq. for ŚBK). See, then, N. Tsuji, *Existent YV literature (Genzon YV Bunken)*, Tokyo 1970, p. 75 (written during the war but published only in 1970).

were well aware of the later chapter in ŚBM 14, ŚBK 16, and could shorten their story by referring to it. However, the situation here is much more complicated: Caland (Introd. to ŚBK) regards ŚBM 14.1-7 as an original Kāṇva text, later taken over by the Mādhyandinas, while ŚBM 4 belongs to those ŚB texts which have been modified when compared to the parallel ŚBK texts. The clear reference made in both texts to the "divākīrtya" chapter would then be due to the Kāṇvas whose text is transformed in ŚBM 4.1.5.15 in a very instructive way: The story of the Aśvins' promise to the gods to restore the head of the sacrifice and the execution of this task is told in the imperfect tense both in ŚBM and ŚBK. This is quite unusual for ŚBM 1-5 where such stories are only told in the perfect tense. But then, the Mādhyandinas give themselves away: the explanatory reference to the "divākīrtyas" is given in the perfect tense, just as it is normal practice in ŚBM 1-5, while the Kāṇvas do not make this abrupt change and leave the imperfect intact:

ŚBM tād adās tād divākīrtyanāp brāhmaṇe vyākhyāyate, yāthā

ŚBK tād tād divākīrteṣu vyākhyāyate, yāthāyathā

ŚBM tād yajñāsya śīraḥ pratidadhātus.

ŚBK tād aśvīnau śīraḥ pratyādhattām.

The redactional tampering of the Mādhy. is evident. They betray themselves by using the (by then) more popular perfect tense - a characteristic which will be given further attention later on in this paper (§ 5).

The curious secondary split of the ŚB story, i. e. into two stories, the Dadhyañc-related and the Cyavana-related themes, has already been mentioned. This disjunction was probably already produced by the first Kāṇva redaction of this part of the ŚB, and is followed by the Mādhyandinas. The reason is not immediately apparent. ŚBM 4, however, deals with the Soma ritual, while ŚBM 14 is concerned with a secret ritual, the Pravargya. Both are connected by the fact that, in the classical Vedic ritual of YV Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras, the Pravargya has been merged with the Soma ritual,²⁷ and has been highly in-

27. This has already happened by the time of the YV Saṁhitās, see KS 37.7 where the Pravargya occurs in the Bṛhaspati Sava. Note, however, that this again is a fairly late part of KS (with parallels only in TB 2.7.1). MS 4.9.2, also a late chapter corresponding only to Kaṭhā and TĀ, mentions the Pravargya in a list of Prav. mantras. (Cf. also AB 1.18, TĀ 4.4.9, ApSS 15.6.1, GB 2.2.6, VaitSS 13.27 (where "gharma"); cf. ann.58).

fluenced by this ritual in the use of Mantras. Consequently, the story of Dadhyañc has also been incorporated (see below ann. 58).

This clear reference by a Brāhmaṇa text to its own later book shows that the whole bulk of the large ŚB was "before the eyes", better: present in the memory, of the redactors.²⁸

The strange secondary split-up of the story is thus easily explained. It is also notable that the ŚB authors and redactors have avoided the (rather mindless) confusion between Soma and Pravargya ritual matters created e.g. in the Taittirīya school.²⁹

4. We will now return to our starting point, the JB story, which is the only text to present the legend as a well-structured whole, but which, on the other hand, still shows, as will be seen below, the mixture of both rituals, the Pravargya and Soma, in 3.125. A closer look at the JB story does not only reveal this single inconsistency: The two major motifs of Dadhyañc and the "fountain of youth", and the case of the severed head and the Āśvins are not - as has been mentioned already - the only evidence of two different parts of rituals being merged. Even the apparently clear structure of the main Cyavana story can be recognised to be a blend:

28. Note that the exact position of various parts of a canon was not fixed for a long time and could vary in the (sub-)Śākhās. This is especially clear in the Taitt. school. See for example the list of contents of the Ātreya Śākhā as opposed to the present division of the TS-TB-TĀ and cf. also the list given by Staal for the Kerala Taittirīyas (Nambudiri Veda Rec., p. 56). Furthermore, there are clear indications of a fairly late redactional tampering, e.g. in MS 4.9.11: this (Pravargya) chapter even contains "ity eke" quotations!

29. See TĀ 5.1.6-7 which deals with the Pravargya ritual but copies, including the terminology, the TS passage on the Soma ritual: "grāha evā nāv ātrāpi gṛhyatām īti. tābhyām etām āśvinām agṛhṇan", as if the passage would deal with the Soma cup, the Āśvina graha, and not with the Pravargya milk offering for the Āśvins. TĀ 5.1 simply has been taken over en bloc from TS 6.4.9. The Kaṭha parallel (KaṭhĀ 2.115) has the correct forms "duhyatām, hūyatām", etc. and indeed, although the parallel story in KS 27.4: 143.8 sqq. = KpS 40.2.4 clearly set the pattern for the KaṭhĀ one, is not copied mindlessly, as with the Taittirīyas: at least "asomapau" was changed into "agharmapau", etc.

I	—————	II	—————	—————	—————	—————	III
Cyavana		Cyavana						offers for a
wins		rejuvenated						1000 cows
Sukanyā		by the Aśvins						

It corresponds to his three wishes already reflected in the RV, but it is made far more complicated by various insertions.³⁰ At the same time, the story, as it stands, has retained scars from the operation. This can be seen at several instances, notably in the use of tenses in this story. In order to understand this feature properly, a short digression is necessary.

As is well known, the YV-Sainhitās and the older (portions of the) Brāhmaṇas tell their stories, legends, etc. in the past tense, a feature corresponding to Pāṇini's rules. However, the younger Brāhmaṇas, (the ŚB being the main protagonist here) tell such stories in the perfect tense.³¹ Obviously, there has been a linguistic development: imperfect has been replaced by perfect. Most probably this developed from the normal usage of the perfect, that is: stating the outcome of an event / action: "this has happened / been done", i. e. "now it is like this or that" (see below, ann. 37, 40, 41). The situation in JB certainly is a step forward towards the use of tenses in the Epic (cf. e. g. the first few lines of the Nala episode) where imperfect, perfect, and aorist are used indiscriminately, without difference in meaning.³²

30. For a comparison of the RV, SV and YV rituals and legends, see below § 8, and ann. 60. The AV refers to the Pravargya only in dependence on AD and KB, see GB 2.2.6, cf. also GB 1.4.7-8.

31. See already Whitney, On the narrative use of imperfect and perfect in the Brāhmaṇas, TAPA 23, pp. 5-34, and cf. Keith, transl. of TS, p. cliv sq., transl. of Ṛveda-Br., p. 85 sqq.; Oldenberg, Prosa, p. 25 sq.; Caland, Over en uit het JB, p. 20, ed. of ŚBK, p. 70 sqq., with an interesting observation on the functions of tenses in ŚBK: the impf. found at the end of a tale told in the perf. was originally used "in plusqu. meaning". However, this "still requires special investigation". In my opinion, this comes close to what he noticed on the use of the impf. in JB, where a mythological, hierarchical past is intended. The author tells, in the perf. tense (i. e. in his own words), a tale of the (myth. of historical) past, but then sums up in impf.: 'this or that had happened at that time...'. However, even this assumption does not explain all the usages of the impf. in JB, see below on JB 3.127f

32. The reasons are not immediately clear. Most probably, the develop-

In order to investigate the distribution of tenses in the various Saṁhitā prose and Brāhmaṇa texts, two parameters have to be paid attention to:

- the parameter of time: the older texts (MS, KS, KpS, TS, TB, TĀ, AB 1-5, ŚB 6-10, KaṣhB) have preserved the use of the imperfect, while the younger texts make use of the perfect (ChU, BĀU, ŚB 1-5, 11-14, AB 6-8, VādhB, as well as a few very late portions in such texts as the KaṣhB = TB 3.10-11)
- the parameter of geographical location, which, until now, has not been examined very well, and certainly not for all Vedic texts, on a comparative basis. Elsewhere, I have tried to present such a geography of (middle) Vedic texts.³³

However, a few statements should be repeated here: ŚBM is eastern (Videha), ŚBK lightly more western (eastern U. P., Kosala), KS and AB (1-5) are north-western (eastern Panjab), TS is central (Ganges doab), MS probably south-western (south of Kurukṣetra, northern Madhya Pradesh, in the Brāhmaṇa period perhaps up to Gujarat, which in this period corresponds to the area of JB).³⁴

ment has to do something with the emergence of the post-Vedic Epic and 'classical' Skt. standard (other than Paṇini's north-eastern "bhāṣā"). It is known that Epic/Class. Skt. did not directly develop from (a particular) Vedic (dialect). As frequently in the emergence of a standard language, various regional features are intermingled. As far as the tenses are concerned (see below, ann. 36, 40, 41), the eastern feature (protagonist ŚBM), i. e. an opposition aorist: perfect, is fused with the central/western one (protagonist TB, AB 1-5), i. e. retaining the older opposition aorist: imperfect: perfect) and the southern one (protagonist JB) i. e. the opposition aorist: perfect. This text, however, has many instances of the imperfect for ancient legends or for the summing up of an ancient happening/distant personal remembrance. See Oldenberg, *Prosa*, p. 25 ann. 2, who compares a similar distribution for Pāli: "avoca" (relating an event of the past): "avaca" (personal remembrance). This would come close to Caland's observation, see ann. 31. For some of the reasons for this interchange, see ann. 41.

33. See Fel. Vol. Eggermont, ed. by G. Pollet, Louvain 1986, "On the location of Vedic texts and schools".

34. There are quite a number of other data, e. g. use of the particles, spread of the genitive in -al of fem. stems etc., which confirm this analysis. This was presented in a lecture at the 6th World Sanskrit Conference, Phila-

5. What, then, is the position of JB in this frame work? First of all, the use of tenses in this story (as well as in other parts of JB) is so irregular that Caland, who, so far, has perhaps worked most extensively on this text, had to confess that he could not formulate a rule.³⁵ He thought, however, that the imperfect mostly referred to a mythological past while the perfect narrates the historical past of men.

The rule normally followed by older Vedic (RV, YV Sāhitās etc.), i. e. : events of the distant past narrated in the imperfect tense and recent ones in the aorist, a state attained by some action or development in the perfect, is, as has been mentioned, not found in the JB in general nor in this legend: Indeed, if one looks up one verb form after another, one finds a constant change between imperfect and perfect, with occasional aorists appearing here and there, - in short, a fluctuation comparable, at first sight, to the state of things in the Epic.³⁶

delphia, Oct. 1984 and will be dealt with during the Dialect Conference, to be organised by C. Caillat, Paris, Sept. 1986.

35. Caland, in: *Over en ult het JB*, p. 20. Similarly, Oldenberg on the Brāhmaṇas as a whole, *Prosa*, p. 27: "bald werden bestimmter(e) oder unbestimmter(e) Motivierungen der Tempuswahl sichtbar, bald verschwimmt alles"; cf. ann. 40.

36. The aorist, however, has retained its old function, i. e. relating something that has happened immediately before the present, very recently. Apparently, it also relates (the effect of) a recent happening leading up to the present, see for example, the contest of the vital functions at ŚB 14.9.2.8-13: "tē ha...prāpāḥ... jagmuḥ...kathām aśakata mād r̥tē jivitum.tē hocy... "The vital functions...went;... (one of them) said: ,how could you live without me (until) just now? They said...". Or perhaps, even clearer is the story of Videgha Māthava which is told in the perfect tense ŚB 1.4.1.10-18, ŚBK 2.3.4.8-15. However, the conversation between Videgha and Gotama, which recapitulates, at the end of the tale, their journey from the NW Sarasvatī up to the eastern Sadānīrā river, is given in the aorist. In older Vedic this would mean that everything had happened , just now', - as if it did not take a long time to travel from the Sarasvatī to the Sadānīrā. Is this an indication that in the East, personal experiences, even if they had happened in the not so recent past, could be told in the aorist? Contrast this with the opposite situation in some Vedic texts and in Pāli (pers. experience in impf., past events in aor.), according to Oldenberg, *Prosa*, p. 25 (see ann. 32). However, ŚB(K, M) already show signs of confusion in the usage of aorist and perfect, see Caland, *Intr. ŚBK*, p. 71 sqq.. All of this rather appears to be

If one now dissects the whole legend into the smaller units mentioned before, the picture changes considerably. In the main frame story, the imperfect suddenly shifts to perfect: §120: "abravid", "abruvan", "ha-uvāca", "ajñāpayat", "prāyan" etc. in the impf., but in § 121, after: "so 'bravit" (impf.): "kim adrāṣṭa?" (aor.), "abhūt" (aor.), the perfect makes its appearance (in combination with "ha"): "ha-ūcūḥ": "adhikṣan", "abhūt" (aor.), "ha-uvāca": "abhūt", "prayāsiṣuḥ" (aor.), - then suddenly again the impf.: "abravit" and immediately following the perfect: "sukanyā...āsa", "ha-uvāca...dadhuḥ", etc.; the rest is continued in the perfect.

Oldenberg (Prosa, p. 25 sqq.) derives the use of the perfect in narrative prose from a combination of the particle "ha" with one of the functions of the perfect, namely to state facts. This certainly agrees with the occurrences of the perfect in texts otherwise relating in the past tense (MS, KS, TS): He believes (ann. 2) that the change to a usage of relating in the perfect tense had its origin in a wish to indicate, during a narration, the (present) result of one action, or fact, one after another (which required the perfect in the YV Saṁhitās).

In the present story, however, this usage cannot explain everything. In both cases (§ 120, 121) it would have been very easy and natural to say either "abravit/abruvan", as no special statement ("neti") is expected, - but this did not occur. Interestingly, the change takes place with a verb of speaking, in combination with "ha" in the first case, - a combination found already in MS, KS when a statement is made (X. Y. "[ha va] vidām cakāra/viduḥ", see StII 10, p. 232). This is most instructive: The story had, in my opinion, originally been told in imperfect, but the redactor then makes a slip and uses his own more common and colloquial perfect: "ha-ūcūḥ", only to continue in the perfect, with the exception of one, and quite unexpected, "abravit", which he left from the older text.³⁷

This analysis presupposes an older text of the JB, more or less changed by the redactors who fixed the text of the JB as it stands now. This is, incidentally, what I regard as the history of the text. It is the starting point of a larger development in the restructuring of the tenses, see ann. 40. However, many more of such instances will have to be collected and compared before a well-established result comes in sight.

37. Cf. Oldenberg, Prosa, p. 27 ann. 2 on the preference for "sa hovāca", "te hocuḥ", etc...

well-known that not all the Vedic texts have come down to us as they were composed. A comparable case has already been mentioned for the ŚB in both its Kāṇva and Mādhyandina versions. There are similar indications for the JB and JUB. First of all, the JUB exhibits the curious feature of a double Upaniṣad section: the first one, of Śaṅyāyani, clearly ends at JUB 4.40-42 even with a Vamśa. But the famous Kena-Up. (4.18 sqq.) belongs to a second layer, that of the Talavakāras/Jalmīniyas (4.1-20). Similarly, the JB as preserved now, will go back to an older *Śaṅyāyana-Brāhmaṇa, now lost to us,³⁸ which, in my opinion, still had been composed in the Pañcāla country before it was brought southward to the Jalminīya homeland (in eastern Rajasthan, northern Madhya Pradesh, see ann. 44).³⁹

The scheme mentioned above, of course, does not allow, as Caland had pointed out for the JB in general, for a simple grammatical rule. For example, why should there be a change to imperfect in the outer frame in § 120-121? And, again, why should the story of the Aśvins and the gods in § 127 suddenly end in the imperfect?

The main point of interest is, and the question to be asked here, is this one: Is the story of Cyavana regarded as one of a remote, mythical past or of the more recent historical past? Even to a contemporary listener, to the JB authors and certainly to its redactors, Cyavana must have been an ancient, because he is the son of Dhṛgu, and thus a grandson of Varuṇa. Śaryāta, however, is the son of Manu: so both are primordial beings. In such circumstances the use of the perfect would be out of question in the JB.

If one now takes a micro-philological look at each passage (§§ 120-120 of Raghu Vira's ed.) one will find, here and there, deviations from the usual pattern of tenses predominant in a certain section or paragraph:

38. Cf. already Caland, transi. PB, p. XVIII.

39. See Fel. Vol. Eggermont, Louvain 1980, § 4.4. Unfortunately the parallel version of the Śāṅy.Br. preserved by Veṅkaṣamādhava (Ghosh, Lost Br., No. X-XI, p. 25-36) does not differ from the JB text as far as the use of tenses is concerned (except in such cases where Veṅkaṣamādhava has shortened or paraphrased the text, cf. ann. 55). Apparently, this version is nothing but a very close parallel of the JB text (just as KpS has almost the same text as KS).

shift: In these sections, however, it is interesting to note that whenever Cyavana tells something about the gods offering in Kurukṣetra or Dadhyañc tells of Indra's threat, the Imperfect is used, while the main story itself continues in the perfect tense. This may lead one to Caland's theory of a 'hierarchical' or 'mythological' Imperfect which would be used in order to relate happenings in the mythical past, while those of a more recent, (pseudo-)historical past would be told in the perfect.⁴⁰

Oldenberg (*Prosa*, p. 25 sq.) formulates differently: In stories related in the perfect, the Imperfect is used when the speaker wants to recall a personal remembrance of the addressed person or of himself. He sees a progressive development in the use of the perfect in narration from TS - AB 1-5 - (parts of) ŚB.

One could interpret this, in the present story, as follows: Dadhyañc

40. Indeed, Caland tried to press this point, see Over en uit het JB, p. 20. But contrast the "unmotivated" changes in this story, as well as in parts of ŚB, and cf. ann. 35. Another case where a tale in impf. is inserted into one told in the perf. is, for example, found at JB 2.122 = §137 (partly even in direct speech, where it clearly has a 'pluperfect meaning'; (it is 'vorzeitig'); similarly to the present Cyavana legend, however, JB 1.151 = §44, begins in the perfect and continues in the impf.: the nucleus of an older story (impf.) was added to by the authors/redactors of JB (perf.); the same confusion in late Kaṭha texts, as preserved in TB 3.10.9 sqq. See already Whitney, TAPA 23, p. 5 sqq.. These observations could lead to the following picture: (1) Origin of the narrative perfect in the East (ŚBM, on the basis of an earlier version using the Impf.; the probably eastern AB 6-8 as well), (2) spread to the West (BŚS, VādhB, JB, even parts of KaṭhB = TB 3.10 sqq., Up.), (3) but exclusion of such western texts as even the comparatively late PB, and Pāṇini's "bhāṣā" (in the extreme North-West). Probably, this development is nothing but the outwardly visible effect of a complete restructuring of the tense system taking place at the time in contemporary popular speech, i.e. Prakṛt: The beginnings of this are visible already in the YV Saṁhitās (loss of the modl of the aor. and development of the precative), the contemporary value of the aor. as one of the past tenses is further indicated by the development of periphrastical aor., which then disappears in the Brāhmaṇas. At this moment, the actual restructuring of the use of the past tenses sets in (see above). Stress comes to lie on the values of the augmented forms in 'pluperfect meaning'. The outcome of this is visible in Pāli (see ann. 41). More research on this is necessary, cf. for the time being author, *Tracing Vedic dialects*, 6th World Skt. Conf., Philadelphia 1984.

recalls Indra's threat, Cyavana what he knows the gods were doing in Kurukṣetra. Even then, however, the abrupt change in tense in the outer frame story (§ 120-121: 122, 128 - as well as in § 127) is not explained.⁴¹

However, if one accepts the principle of redactional tampering with an older text, mainly caused by 'colloquial' slips such as "ha-ūcuḥ", "ha-uvāca" etc., one can put this to test in the rest of the legend: The main story, represented here by the actions of the Āsvins, is expected to continue in perfect, once the slip has been made, while the inner frames and insertions should either follow this pattern as well, or should provide some kind of evidence why they do not do so. - The second frame, the Āsvin story, does, indeed, use the perfect tense (except for § 127, see below):

41. Compare the situation in Pāli (which branched off from Buddhist Middle Indian in - at least partly - the same area as the present JB; see now O. v. Hinüber, *Das ältere Mittelindisch*, Wien 1986, p. 39), where the aorist predominates. There is nearly no impf. left at all, rarely perf., (and then only in the older text levels, in the Gāthās); see Geiger, Pāli, § 120, 158-171; in § 162 he is misinformed about the Vedic impf.; cf. Bechert, *Gebrauch der erzähl. Temp. im Pāli*, MSS 3 (1958), p. 55-72; C. Caillat, *Pour une nouvelle grammaire du Pāli*, Inst. di Indol. d. Univ. di Torino, Conference IV, Torino 1970. The question is summed up and discussed by O. v. Hinüber, MSS 36, pp. 39 sqq. (cf. also MSS 32, p. 65 sqq., KZ 96, p. 30 sqq.). - When compared to even late Vedic, Pāli has taken one or two steps further ahead. One can imagine the following development: the extant JB, which was (re)composed/redacted on the basis of a lost (Central, i. e. [Kuru-]Pañcāla) Śālyāyana-Br. in and around the original area of the Pāli language, uses the imperfect tense to narrate events of a (long distant) past and also for those events the speaker or listener recalls as a personal experience. The aorist is used for events that took place 'just now', in the near past also including those that took place in the near past and have an effect in the present. Once the new opposition (distant) past vs. near past had been established, a situation could occur when a narrator went on to tell in the aor.: "(and then), this happened and then that happened just now/a day before > at any time before now". Constant use of this tense (aor.) will have led to the use of the aor. as a general past tense (preteritum) and to the disappearance of the perfect (as in Pāli, but cf. Oldenberg, *Prosa*, p. 25 ann. 2). All of this is, of course, in need of further investigation. Contrast the development in eastern Vedic (ŚD), ann. 40.

→ IV	V	VI	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	→
Aśvins and Cyavana	gods in Kurukṣetra	Cyavana's story of Dadhyañc	Aśvins and Dadhyañc	Dadhyañc's story of Indra	Aśvins and Dadhyañc	Dadhyañc and Indra	Aśvins and gods	
PERF. § 125	pres./IMPF. § 126	IMPF. § 126	PERF. § 126	IMPF. § 126	PERF. § 126	IMPF. § 127	IMPF. § 127	

Or, in the context of the whole story:

I	II	IV	V	VI	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	III
Cyavana, Sukanyā and Saryāta	Aśvins and Sukanyā	Cyavana and Aśvins	Cyavana about gods	Cyavana about Dadhyañc	Aśvins and Dadhyañc	Dadhyañc about Indra	Aśvins and Dadhyañc	Dadhyañc and Indra	Aśvins and gods	Cyavana
1	perfl. ==== 2	perfl.	implf. 3	perfl. 3	implf. 3	perfl. 3	implf. ==== (2)	implf. ==== 2	implf. ==== 2	implf.-1

If this is compared to the ŚB story, we get a similar picture:

ŚB 14.1.1.17	18	20-21	22	23-24	24	24
V	IX	VIII	IX	VIII	XI	X
gods reported offering with a headless sacrifice	Indra's threat about Dadhyañc reported	Aśvins and Dadhyañc	Dadhyañc and Indra retold	Dadhyañc and Aśvins	Dadhyañc and Indra	Aśvins and Dadhyañc

(narration completely in the perfect tense)

The rest of the story, alluded to in sentence 10 (M), 13 (K), is found in ŚB 14.1.1.17/18-24:

ŚB 4.1.5.1-12	13	18	13-16
I II	IV	VIII	XII
perfl.	pres.	perfl.	implf. (pres.) ====

In JB, a number of inserted stories told by Cyavana or Dadhyañc are in the imperfect. At the end of the last insertion about the threat of Indra (IX = § 126), the redactor fails to fall back to the perfect tense, and he does so here without obvious reasons, except for the one that (with the exception of "Ājagmatuḥ" and "hocatuḥ") he did not bring in any perfects but just left the older story intact. The frequent use of the imperfect in the preceding insertions will have set the pattern for this. Secondly, we are here in the core of the older legend about Dadhyañc

and the Āsṛvins, known already from the Ṛgveda, and repeatedly told in the YV-Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. The authors/redactors of the JB (and ŚB) legend will have been well acquainted with these stories as they were formulated long ago and had been known for a long time. They just appropriated them, occasionally (and involuntarily) changing the tense to perfect but otherwise leaving them intact.⁴²

The inserted, small stories are invariably in the imperfect tense. They belong to the great number of abbreviated legends abundantly found in the older Saṁhitās, and they were so well known that they just had to be taken over and inserted. Being traditional stories they were not changed and probably could not be affected by the more modern usage of relating stories in the perfect. (Only the standard stories about the gods and the Asuras sometimes are found in the perfect, cf. next §).

6. If this interpretation is correct, one can now compare this with the historical and geographical position of the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa. As far as the relative chronology is concerned, there are sure indications that this text, at least with its latest layers, belongs to the same period as the ŚB, i. e. to the late Brāhmaṇa period. The above passages, though, should warn us that not all parts of JB are as young as this. Unfortunately, a thorough investigation into the problem has not yet been made.⁴³

42. The exact source of the JB story can be sought with the Taittirīyas, who live in the homeland of the pre-JB Brāhmaṇa text of the Śāṅgāyanins, or it could have been taken over from the Kaṭhas, Maltrāyaṇīyas. In this connection it is interesting to note that the insertion in § 125 explaining the Pravargya as the head of the sacrifice comes closest to Kaṭhā (while the parallel Taitt. text, TĀ, differs in its wording); cf. ann. 61. Note that there is no Cyavana legend in AB, KB, except the coronation of Śaryāta Mānava, AB 8.21, cf. ann. 60, 19.

43. Caland has already made certain comparisons between JB and ŚB; further: N. Tsuji has followed suit (Existent YV lit.); Oertel, JAOS 18 (1897), p. 17 sq., JAOS 23 (1902), p. 325 sqq., cf. also Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences 15 (1909), p. 161 and passim; Parpola, The Lit. and Study of the Jaim. SV in retrospect and prospect, Helsinki 1973 (Stud. Or. XLIII: 8); Bodewitz, so far, only deals with the (late) Agnihotra chapters, see JB I, 1-65, Leiden 1973, passim; K. Hoffmann, Textkritisches zum JB, Aufs. p. 77-112, p. 516 sqq.; W. Rau in many articles and as supervisor of several dissertations at Marburg: D. Schrapel (1970), A. Frenz (1966), R. Tsuchida (1979). Finally, W. D. O'Flaherty, Sex and Violence in the JB, Chicago 1985, p. 84-

However, we are better informed now about the geographical position of the JB authors and redactors,⁴⁴ an area in eastern Rajasthan, northern Madhya Pradesh, in the south-west stretching up to the sea of Gujarat. This is an intermediate position between the eastern ŚB and the north-western viz. south-western KS and MS, bordering on the central TS. Indeed, there are quite a number of 'dialect' features which confirm this location (see immediately).⁴⁵

It can be said that these variations as well as the use of the tenses closely fit the present analysis. The eastern texts (ŚB), which are late, normally use the perfect as the narrative tense, while only the late western ones (TB at the end of Prāp. 3; AB 6-8; VādhB; KaṭhB) take over this usage. The east is the centre of diffusion of this development.

It should have reached the central/southern area, occupied by ŚālyB/JB at about the same time, or a little earlier, as it did reach TB, AB 6-8 (if this part of the text is not, and there are indications for this, eastern itself). Indeed, there are many cases in JB where even stock phrases like "the gods and the Asuras were in conflict/contested" are related in the perfect tense. In other cases the impf. has been retained.⁴⁶

These regional features have not yet been recognized as local 'dialect' variations in the educated speech of the late Vedic Brahmin caste, and further research into this matter is necessary. The JB clearly takes a middle position, both in time (of redaction, sometimes even in composition, such as is the case with the Agnihotra chapter), as well as geographical position. Its compilers were situated at crossroads of influ-

73, treats this text in a superficial, popularizing manner, adding some motifs from such studies as that of Stith Thompson (ann. 10). Her aim is to arrive at a 'psychological' interpretation of the stories and legends of JB.

44. Caland first noticed that the homeland of the JB could be in a country "where the rivers flow north", see *Auswahl*, §187 ann. 8. Frenz has established this in his thesis (*Über die Verben im JB*, Marburg 1966), p. VII sqq.; see also author, *Mat. on Ved. Schools*, 7 = *Beitr. zur Südastienforschung* 104, Heidelberg 1985, p. 57 sqq.). Further materials in author, *Fel. Vol.* Eggermont, Louvain 1986, §4.4.

45. See author, *Tracing Vedic Dialects*, 6th World Skt. Conf., Philadelphia Oct. 1984.

46. Cf. Caland's interesting remark on this phenomenon in *SBM/SBK*, introd. ed. *SBK* p. 70 (see above, ann. 31).

ences from the (N/S-) West (e.g. KS, MS), the Centre (TS) and the East (ŚB).⁴⁷

I think that the Cyavana legend clearly reflects the traits of the (originally central, then southern) location of JB :

- It has both the traditional formulas about the context of the gods and the Asuras: "devās cāsurās ca samyatlā asan / āsuḥ", respectively "aspardhanta / pasprdhire".
- It fluctuates in the use of the tenses of narration.
- It prefers (central) "ha (val)" to (eastern) "u ha val"; but there are cases of "u ha val" as well.
- It shows the (early) central (and late eastern) genitive fem. in -al (etc., see above, ann. 34).
- It has the (late) north-western and eastern central -j- for -ḍ- (RV of Śākalya's time, AB, KS, VSK, ŚBK).

All these features taken together make JB a very interesting text, both from a literary as well as linguistic viewpoint, but this has not really been noticed as yet.⁴⁸

7. The present legend is a very good example of the literary value of the text: A number of ancient legends, at least reaching back to the Ṛgveda, are assembled here and transformed into a well composed story, albeit the 'repair' work is still visible.⁴⁹

47. One has to take into account the various levels (in historical time) of the development of (YV) prose and the various Brāhmaṇa texts (see §4): MS, KS are the oldest texts, followed by the older parts of TS and AB, and opposed by such younger texts as ŚB, KB, PB, to present only a short selection here. For details see already J. Narten, *Sprache* 14 (1968), p. 115 ann. 13; cf. K. Hoffmann, *Aufs.*, Index s.v. Vedisch: Chronologisches (p. 702); see also author, *Fel. Vol. Eggermont*.

48. This was written in 1983. Now, O'Flaherty (1985) confesses why she "always loved the JB" - because of its folktales, that is. However, she is mistaken as the JB does not contain folktales but (if one likes to call them thus) the more popular versions of old (RV) myths, tales from the YV etc.. In how far these traditional tales were folk literature or folklore is open to question as well. Perhaps they can best be compared to the legends of medieval European folklore based on Christian themes and reworded by poets and priests.

49. Oertel recognized a similar case, at *JAOS* 19(1898), p. 97 sq., 103. He

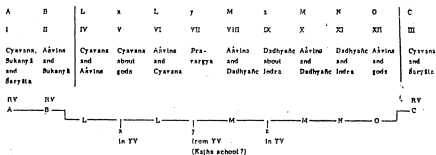
Furthermore, and here I finally return to the main topic of this paper, the Jaiminīyas have achieved what the VĀjasaneyins in both their ŚB texts could not: ⁵⁰ a unified, well defined and well-graded structure, made up of at least 3 layers, or technically speaking, two frames. The segments are:

1. The main frame: Cyavana is rejuvenated, wins Sukanyā and 1000 cows.
2. The second motif, formulated as a frame inside the first:
The Aśvins win a Soma draft at the sacrifice by gaining the secret of its severed head.
3. Various ancient legends:
 - The gods' offering with a headless sacrifice.
 - Dadhyañc's secret knowledge of the head of the sacrifice (and his telling it to the Aśvins).
 - Dadhyañc's and Indra's relationship: Dadhyañc's head is severed.

These three (ABC, LMNO, xyz), or rather 13 (A - z), separate units are arranged as follows; this also takes into account the time differences between the various stories and their sources in older texts:

regards the Saramā legend found there as an attempt to fuse two conflicting R̥gvedic legends.

50. The question remains open why the ŚB authors chose not to set the legend into one frame. A guess could be that they felt not too sure about the inclusion of the Pravargya into the Soma sacrifice, see ŚB 3.4.4.1, but cf. 9.2.1.22. More probable is that they apparently wanted to treat the material in an orderly fashion and tried to avoid the repetition of the Pravargya related story (which became ŚB 14.1, and which has been joined to the motif of the severed head of the sacrifice). Note that O'Flaherty has not noticed this part of the story at all, nor have her collaborators pointed this out to her. She only mentions the ŚB legend as reported in ŚB 4.



Of these, A and C are known already to the RV.

B is the main theme of some RV stanzas: Cyavana's rejuvenation.

L, M, N, O have YV origins

x is a stock narration of all YV texts.

y is new in this form, but from YV, possibly Kajha school; cf. *Kajhā* 2.115.

z is new in the present form (from YV).

In the JB, old and new themes are cleverly joined and composed in such a way that the whole legend looks rather plausible and unique. The composition must have taken place sometime in the older Brāhmaṇa period, as the YV Saṁhitās do not yet, as has been pointed out above, combine the two main motifs of Cyavana's rejuvenation and of the Āsṛins' healing the sacrifice with Dadhyañc's secret knowledge. The ŚB also presupposes such a composition, but has not preserved it.⁵¹

8. The question now arises: why did one feel the need to put together these two old motifs? A first answer, already given by several indologists, might be: the JB is full of longer or shorter stories with mythical, historical, or legendary themes, all of which are told only to give an explanation, in the style typical of the Brāhmaṇa texts, of a Sāman (melody), a particular tune used in ritual.

The Brāhmaṇa authors, indeed, had all the freedom to tell whatever story might appear plausible or appropriate to them in order to explain

51. A similar well-composed story is, as has been mentioned above, ann. 4, the Medhāthiti legend found at JB 3.233-235. It exhibits the same change in tenses as the JB Cyavana legend, and for the same reasons: an older story dealing with the Vala and the release of cattle from it is told in the imperfect and concluded by a typical Br. statement: "...this is the cattle today". But then follows a long passage on the origin of certain plants and animals which is told in the perfect, together with another legend about the Vala. For some other examples see ann. 4.

the problem in question, i. e. in this case, the name of a Sāman called Cyāvana. One should not forget that they did so in constant competition with other ritual specialists or even with whole schools of specialists. Consequently, they had to come forward with ever new, more 'ingenious', or simply baffling explanations.⁵² Yājñavalkya is a master in this kind of quick, witty answers.⁵³

One can, as is well known, detect many obviously fabricated (pseudo-) mythological stories, and, in fact, the ŚB once even admits this: "The stories about the gods and the Asuras are not true" (i. e. Indra's battle with them was fought already at the beginning of time, and not today).⁵⁴

Yet here the case is different: one had reassembled the bits and pieces of quite a number of more or less related old stories, legends and myths. One can even detect the intention of doing this. The JB preserves a sentence in § 120 which seems to be out of context: "tad yat tad yajñasya śiro 'cchidyateti, so 'sav ādityaḥ, sa u eva pravargyaḥ." "The head of the sacrifice (of the gods) which was severed, that is that Āditya (the sun), it alone is the Pravargya (pot/ritual)."⁵⁵

Here one enters the realm of Brāhmaṇa identifications and Brāhmaṇa aitiological legends intended to explain the origin or the 'mystical'

52. That they tend to do so in a rather elaborate, if not talkative way, seems to be typical of the JB (see already author, *Kindlers Literaturlexikon*, Nachtragsband s. v. Veda, Brāhmaṇa, 1972/3). O'Flaherty is wrong when she asserts that the JB is different from all other Brāhmaṇa texts. She just has not noticed and/or understood the relationship of PB as opposed to JB, a situation echoed by that of MS and KS, MS/KS as opposed to TS, or AB and KB: the younger texts (KS, TS, PB, KB in case) tend to abbreviate the long stories, and at the same time, try to make them more easily understandable wherever the older texts were obscure or antiquated in their expressions.

53. This is in need of investigation. Cf. for the time being I. Flšer, Yājñavalkya in the śruti tradition of the Veda, *Acta Orientalia* 45, (1984).

54. ŚB 11. 1. 6. 9 "tasmād āhur naitād asti yād daivāsuraṃ yād idam anvā-khyāne tvad udyāta itihāse tvat".

55. The Śāly. Br. legend as reported by Veśkaṇamādhava (Ghosh, *Lost. Br.*, p. 34) deviates exactly in this passage, and does not contain the identification of the Pravargya and the sun, nor does it refer to the Soma sacrifice. But note that Vešk. frequently paraphrased his Br. text by "ity uktvā", etc., cf. also ann. 12 of Ghosh, p. 36). Cf. also Oertel on the JB Saramā legend, *JAOS* 19 (1898), p. 99.

meaning of a particular ritual or part of it. I will refrain from going into detail here, and only state that such stories or identifications of the type "Pūṣan is cattle", "the Yajamāna is the year" etc. are necessary in order to justify all ritual acts - in the magical Weltanschauung of the (middle) Vedic period.⁵⁶

As has been pointed out above, two themes are usually found merged in the present context: First, the justification of giving the Soma draft to the 'late comers' to the sacrifice, the Aśvins; this belongs to the Soma sacrifice. Secondly, the justification of the restoration of the severed head of the sacrifice by the Aśvins, by means of the red-hot Pravargya pot; this belongs to the Pravargya sacrifice, which had, in the middle Vedic period, already become part of a standard Soma ritual where it is situated in the beginning portion (as its 'head').

Some texts clearly distinguish between the two themes, but in TĀ, for example, the pravargya Brāhmaṇa (TĀ 5) is a mindless copy of the similar treatment in the Taittiriya Soma ritual (see ann. 29). The Cyavana story of ŚB serves as an explanation for giving the Soma draft to the Aśvins (ŚB 4) and in ŚB 14 the rest of the story is clearly intended to explain the Pravargya only.

Here, in the Cyavana story of JB, no attention has been paid to this distinction. JB does indeed speak - in an apparently inserted sentence - of the Pravargya, yet this is not the motive of the author of the JB for telling this legend: he only wants to explain the name of the Cyāvana Sāman, which occurs in the Ārbhava-pavamāna laud of the 5th day of the Pṛṣṭhya Ṣaḍaha of a 12 day Soma ritual; (cf. PB 13.5.11-13 where the Cyāvana serves to gain progeny and rain, - both typical results of a Pravargya ritual. But: the Cyāvana Sāman as such is not used in the Pravargya itself!)

The background is sufficiently clear. Two ritually motivated legends, the Cyavana story (the Aśvins get a draft at the Soma rite) and the Dadhyañc story (restoring the severed head, the Pravargya, of the (Soma) ritual) have been put together in a period not much earlier than the older Brāhmaṇa period.

Already by the time of the YV Sainhitās, the Pravargya had become a regular part of the first few acts of the Soma ritual. A brāhmaṇa justifying this change was necessary and combining both motifs served

56. See now author, On magical thought in the Veda, Leiden 1979.

this purpose perfectly. Yet this was not achieved until much later, during the early Brāhmaṇa period, - probably because the inclusion of a Pravargya into the Soma ritual remained optional (as it still is in the Sūtras).⁵⁷

One can thus detect an ulterior, a ritual motive behind the combination of the two myths. The juncture must have taken place in Yajurveda circles, because they are responsible for the correct execution of the major and all the minor ritual acts, as opposed to the singing of the Sāman specialist and the recitation of the Ṛgveda specialist.⁵⁸ Indeed, ŚB provides proof of this operation, be it that its original redactors, the Kāṇvas in this case, in ŚB 4 (M) did not choose to tell the whole story.

The combined tale was then appropriated by the Sāmavedins. Unfortunately PB has no elaborate story of Cyavana (see ann. 13, 14), but refers to the Cyavana Sāman only in passing, so that it cannot be controlled how far the authors and redactors of the text underlying the present very brief version of PB knew of the Cyavana legend. This is related by the Śaṅgāyanins/Jaiminīyas in their own way. As far as JB is concerned, it is characterized by a comparatively elaborate, drawn-out style. It almost looks as if the Jaiminīyas could, on the spur of a moment, tell a long story about a ny name of an ancient mythical person or a god.⁵⁹

By now, it is hoped, the reason for the peculiar type of composition of JB 3. 120-128 will have become somewhat clearer: A long story was taken over from the YV Brāhmaṇas and retold by the Jaiminīyas in their own way, changing a particle or a tense here and there, but still giving themselves away by expressively mentioning the Pravargya.⁶⁰

57. Note also the separate treatment in KaṣhA (which contains the treatment of the Pravargya ritual in KaṣhA 1-2) of the actual Soma Ritual ritual (KaṣhA 3, passim).

58. The Pravargya is regularly inserted into a Soma ritual already at KS 37.7 (Bṛhaspati Sava), see ann. 27.

59. See ann. 52.

60. The Sāmavedins had no particular interest in developing a Brāhmaṇa about the inclusion of the Pravargya into the Soma ritual. In fact, they play only a minor role in this rite, and then, at a comparatively late stage: the KaṣhA, - again a YV text! - (and after this only the Sūtras) mention the Parī-sāmans of the Pravargya for the first time. Only a few other Sāmans of the

According to the geographical diffusion of dialectical features mentioned earlier, one can now state that the Cyavana legend was taken over from the western or central area (KS - MS - TS)⁶¹ during the early Brāhmaṇa period and then adapted to serve as an explanation of the name Cyāvana (Sāman) which has little if nothing to do with the story as intended in the YV. The only further matter added by JB is that one can gain food by this Sāman, as Cyavana is also supposed to have scooped food out of the 'fountain of youth', the Śāisava of the Sarasvatī.

This can now be summarized as follows:

MOTIF 1

MOTIF 2

RV:	* Cyavana's rejuvenation RV 8.51.2 etc. RVKh 1.7.5	* Dadhyañc/Aśvins/Indra who cuts off the horse head * Indra kills the Asuras with this head
early YV:	not told in: (MS cf. 4.5.8, 4.6.2) (KS cf. 27.4) (KpS cf. 42.4) (TS cf. 6.4.9)	told in: MS 6.4.2: 79.19 sqq. KS 27.4: 143.8 sqq. KpS 42.4 TS 6.4.9
* YV schools:	join both motifs to explain the inclusion of the Pravargya into the Soma sacrifice, cf. KS 37.7.	
Br. texts:	taken over into: PB 14.6.1o cf. AB 8.21	taken over into: ŚB 4.1.5+14.1.1.18-26 ŚBK 5.1.5 TĀ 5.1.6-7 KaṣhĀ 2.115 cf. AB 1.18

Pravargya are older, e.g. the Vārṣāhara Sāman, cf. ann. 19. Note that the R̥gvedins, too, do not refer in detail to the healing of the sacrifice by the Aśvins: AB 1.18 presupposes this and only refers to it in passing; the Aśvins already are the healers ("bhiṣajau") and Adhvaryus of the sacrifice. For the AV evidence, see ann.3o. For the whole problem, see author, review of J. Gonda, *The Mantras of the Agnyupasthāna*, *Kratylos* 26 (1981), p. 82 sqq..

61. Probably from Taittirīya territory, from the Pañcāla country, see Fel. Vol. Eggermont, Louvain 1986; but cf. the affinities with the Kaṣhas, ann. 42 and cf. ann. 19, 6o.

Otherwise found only in more general tales about the restoration of the head of the sacrifice, see ann. 12.

later Br. : both motifs found merged into one story in :

JB 3. 120-128

SB 4. 1. 5 + 14. 1. 1. 18-26

SBK 5. 1. 5

The detailed introduction (1) how Cyavana was left behind during a Soma ritual of the Aigiras, and the conclusion (2) how he offered for Śaryāta or crowned him, is left out, as it does not belong to this part of the 12-day Soma rite (1 = JB 3. 159-161 and PB 13. 11. 10; 2 = JB 3. 64, AB 8. 21).

In this way, the technique of the Brāhmaṇa authors becomes more discernable. They take whatever mythical, pseudo-historical matter they have at hand. They do not tell stories for the sake of story-telling, l'art pour l'art, but they arrange their stories according to their (ritual) purpose, adding whatever they think necessary. In the present case, they simply surrounded one story by another, thereby unifying both motifs and ritual acts. In the same way, they again inserted three other short stories into the Dadhyañc tale, thereby forming the complicated frame structure of this legend. The ritual link of all this is, as it were, formed by the YV Brāhmaṇa type insertion about the identity of the Pravargya and the head of the sacrifice in § 120.

They may have taken as their model the older texts with their frequent insertions (and repetitions) of direct speech which relates or predicts part of the story.⁶² Here, however, the difference is one of quality. A whole story is inserted into another.

9. The 'origin' of the literary device of the frame story certainly is not to be pinned down to this particular legend, and though it was inspired by the ubiquitous ritual framework, it cannot be explained from just this single feature. Indian thought makes use of frames in many other areas as well. I here remind only of the frequently found 'inclusivism'⁶³ in

62. K. Hoffmann's "Zwangsklüfigkeit des Brāhmaṇastils", Aufs. p. 79, 92, 100, 156 sq., 182.

63. A term I do not use in the sense of Hacker but as a simple statement

religion. More important for the present purpose is the fact that texts like Pāṇini's grammar, older texts like the AV and the RV,⁶⁴ and even the Gāthās of Zoroaster make use of frame structures. W. Lenz, H.-P. Schmidt, and S. Insler have studied this phenomenon in detail. With the classical philologists, they call it 'ring composition'.⁶⁵ Thoughts mentioned at the outset of a Gāthā or at another instance in the hymn, are taken up again repeatedly or towards the end of the hymn in question.⁶⁶

Again, a similar structure occurs in Iranian ritual: The central 'fire ritual' (as alluded to in the Yasna Haptanāhiti, Yasna 35-42)⁶⁷ is surrounded by the Gāthās of Zarathustra which themselves are surrounded by the Yasna.⁶⁸ The evidence from Indo-Iranian, as well as the

of procedure, i. e. of including one set of facts, ideas, actions, rituals, tales into another one.

64. See the "takman" hymn AVP_{Or} 12.1, AVP_K 13.1, AVŚ 5.22, whereon author, The Paippalāda hymn to Takman, IJ (forthcoming). For the RV see e.g. J. Brereton IJ 28 (1985), p. 237 sqq.; Gonda, Vedic Literature, Wiesbaden 1975, chap. 4.

65. Now summarized by H.-P. Schmidt, Form and Meaning of Yasna 33, *Am. Or. Soc. Essay No. 10*, New Haven 1985, p. 3; W. Lenz - H. Sella - J. C. Tavadia, Yasna 47, ZDMG 103 (1953), p. 318 sqq.; Lenz, *Donum Nat. Nyberg*, p. 41 sqq.; Lenz, Yasna 28, Akad. Mainz, Wiesbaden 1955; H.-P. Schmidt, Die Komposition von Yasna 49, *Pratidānam*, Fel. Vol. Kulper, the Hague 1968, p. 170 sqq.; Schmidt, Associative technique and symmetrical structure in the composition of Yasna 47, *Neue Methodologie in der Iranistik*, ed. R. N. Frye, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 306 sqq.; for Vedic parallels of ring composition, see B. Schlerath, Die Komposition der ved. Hymnen, Akten d. 24. Int. Or. Kongr. München 1957, Wiesbaden 1959, p. 532-534; H.-P. Schmidt, Fel. Vol. Kulper, p. 192; cf. J. Brereton on RV 2.11, IJ 28 (1985) p. 237 sqq..

66. See H.-P. Schmidt's most recent summary, Form and Meaning of Yasna 33, p. 50-54. This is by no means an extra-ordinary structure: cf., e.g., the A-B-A (and similar) structures of many musical scores. Cf., however, the criticism levelled at this approach by Duchesne-Guillemin, Humbach, Dresden, see H.-P. Schmidt, Yasna 33, p. 3.

67. Which presupposes, like the Vedic Agnihotra, an identification of the Sun and the Fire here on Earth. See author, Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal, Formen kulturellen Wandels..., ed. B. Köhler, St. Augustin 1986, p. 157 sq..

68. This has been noticed already by J. Narten in her Habilitationsschrift:

parallels from Greek literature indicate that the use of frame structures, at least in poems, can be traced back far into prehistory: 69

Here, I cannot enter into this question without going beyond the limits of this article and therefore, I should like to concentrate on the Brāhmaṇa evidence.

Some of the factors conditioning this development have already been pointed out: the wish of the author(s) of a YV Brāhmaṇa text to merge two ritual elements into one story - which, in case, has been taken over by the Sāmavedins and then deals with a third problem, i. e. the explanation of a name. This leads to another important factor: Actually, making two ritual details fit a common frame was nothing new to the authors and collectors of Brāhmaṇa texts. As priests and explainers of ritual, they were exposed to this practice daily in the ritual itself: What is a Soma ritual other than the composition of quite a number of ritual elements also known as independent units (in the animal sacrifice: agniṣomiya-paśu, savaniya-paśu, anūbandhyā; otherwise: pravargya, offerings of puroḥāsa cakes, etc.) which surround the actual pressing and offering of the Soma; - or, a Soma offer can be part of other larger rituals (e. g. in the gavām ayana, rājasūya, agnicayana, etc.).

Der Yasna Haptanhatti, Erlangen 1971, published Wiesbaden 1986, p. 156, 159 and also by G. Windfuhr, JIES 1984, p. 148; cf. also his comparison of the 13 lines which "concentrically" surround the 9 "bareṣnum" holes in Parsi ritual (J. J. Modi, The religious ceremonies and the customs of the Parsis, Bombay-1922, p. 123). He then goes on to expand this concept to a threefold frame: the outermost one, of creators (like spənta mainyu, mazdā, ahura), includes the second one, of created creators (good mind, truth, rule) and the created (thought, word, deed), most of which again surround more entities (p. 169).

69. See already H.-P. Schmidt, Pratiḍānam, p. 192. For occurrences in Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Aischylos, see for example v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Aischylos-Interpretationen (1914), W. van Otterlo, Untersuchungen über Begriff, Anwendung und Entstehung der griechischen Ringkomposition, Meded. d. Ned. Akad. v. Wet., Afd. Letterk., NR 7, No. 3 (1944); D. Lohmann, Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias, Berlin 1970. Cf. R. Söhnen, Untersuchungen zur Komposition von Reden und Gesprächen im Rāmāyaṇa, SII Monographien No. 6, 1980, p. 292. Another ancient literary device, i. e. the one used in formal discussions, will be dealt with separately, see author, Mātṛprākṣiḥ (forthcoming).

The Pravargya which is mentioned in the Cyavana legend was originally a separate ritual as well, and it, too, found a new frame within the Soma ritual.

This ritual technique was, when compared to the predominance of poetry or, - at least, - putting together 'new hymns' from older material in Ṛgvedic time, thrust into prominence in the Middle Vedic period. This will have provided the model and the instigation for the composition of this and other legends on the form of several 'concentric' rings or frames, or, as it were, boxes inside boxes.

At its latest, this ritual technique must have developed with the establishment of the 'classical' Vedic ritual in (or rather before) the period of the YV Saṃhitās when the existing pre-classical (Ṛgvedic, and various unknown or more popular) rites were assembled and put into a complicated, interdependent, and mutually interactive framework of their own by merging larger or smaller units of various rites in an additive fashion characterized by framework-like insertions.⁷⁰ Ultimately, this must have been the background of what became a technique of literary composition (as it was, e.g., also in Pāṇini's grammar).⁷¹

10. It will be obvious that we here can see the predecessors of the long

70. Staal, by the way, is wrong in describing the ritual using the well known inverted 'trees' of 19th century Indo-European linguistics or of transformational grammar. Frames within frames would present a clearer image of the procedure of Vedic priests; see *Formen kulturellen Wandels...*, ed. B. Köhler, St. Augustin 1986, p. 172 with ann. 34. As far as I can see, it was J. C. Heesterman who, more or less accidentally, first mentioned this concept in the context of Vedic studies, see: *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration, 's-Gravenhage 1957*, p. 64 ("rites are intercalated, blocks inserted"). Cf. R. Apthorpe in L. Dumont, *Homo hierarchicus*, Paris 1979, p. 398.; P. Thieme, *StII 8/9 (1982)*, p. 12.

71. K. Hoffmann reached a somewhat similar result when comparing several separate YV Saṃhitā legends: the composition, the aim of which is to explain a certain ritual, is characterized by addition and insertion, *Aufs.* p. 207 sqq., esp. p. 219-220. Perhaps one should also take note of such terms as "maṇḍala", i.e. a family 'book' of the RV: later hymns of the same clan were added to an older core, therefore "maṇḍala"? Note that even the structure of the RV-Saṃhitā is one of a frame: the family books 2-8 have been added to by the Soma book 9 and this first collection was encased by the frame of books 1 and 10.

and involved frame stories of the Epic and later texts. The Brāhmaṇa period again appears to be the fountainhead of this as well as many other Indian arts or sciences. It is in this period that one learnt to discourse and 'think', (as opposed to inspiration or 'free' speculation of the RV), that one learnt to watch and discuss nature, society, thought and speech, in a 'pre-scientific' manner,⁷² - be it that these observations always had a 'magical' aim, namely to explain and understand the ritual. As far as literature is concerned, this preoccupation has given rise to the more refined art of story telling which one can witness in the ŚB, the VādhB, the JB, and the Brāhmaṇa portions of BSS and ŚSS. Our legend is a good example of this more developed and polished style. Obviously it would be quite interesting and useful to pay more attention to YV Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa prose than is usually being done,⁷³ as these texts offer the chance to detect the sources of later literary development and of many of their themes. The present story, the legend of Cyavana, was selected here, because it is perhaps the most instructive example of complicated early Sanskrit narrative prose.⁷⁴

We can here witness the dawn of a long period of Sanskrit story telling in the Epic, the Purāṇas, in classical narrative prose like the Daśakumāra-Carita or the Pañcatantra, and, last but not least, this style has influenced the neighbouring countries of India, as in the well known stories of the 'Arabian Nights'.

72. See Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, and now P. Thieme, *StII* 8/9 (1982), p. 3 sqq..

73. The only one to have dealt in detail with the development of Old Indian prose is, if I am not mistaken, Oldenberg. A more recent, and one of the very few good examples of an investigation into (classical) Indian literary structure which is not, as usual, limited to alamkāras, is that of R. Söhnen, *Ring structures in speeches... (Untersuchungen...)*, *StII Monographien* No. 6, 1960.

74. For other Brāhmaṇa stories, see above, ann. 4. A complicated story with a fugue-like structure (JB 3.238) is treated in *Fel. Vol.* B.R. Sharma, ed. S.D. Balasubrahmaniam, Tirupati (forthcoming).