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# **Veda and Vedic Literature**

**Select Papers**

**Sanskrit Studies Centre, Silpakorn University, Bangkok, Thailand**

**16th WSC Volume - 4**

# *Veda and Vedic Literature*

Select Papers from the Panel  
on  
**“Veda and Vedic Literature”**  
at  
the 16<sup>th</sup> World Sanskrit Conference  
(28 June - 2 July 2015) Bangkok, Thailand

Sanskrit Studies Centre,  
Silpakorn University, Bangkok, Thailand

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## Preface

The Veda Section was one of the most active of the 16th World Sanskrit Conference sections, with a total of 34 accepted contributions in the General Sessions, of which 29 were presented. In addition, the Veda Section for the first time hosted a special Panel on “Vrātya culture in Vedic sources”. Presenters came from Australia, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, France, Germany, India, Japan, Poland, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, with the largest contingent (12) being from India, followed by Japan (7) and the United States (7).

The success of the Conference and of the Veda Section is attributable to the excellent work of the Organizing Committee, especially of Dr. Amarjiva Lochan who time and again sprang into action to smooth out any problems that would arise, as well as of my fellow Convenors of the Veda Section, Professor Shrikant Bahulkar and Dr. Bhagyalata Pataskar. The Panel on “Vrātya culture in Vedic sources”, specifically, would not have been possible without the outstanding work of Dr. Tiziana Pontillo and Dr. Moreno Dore, from the proposal stage to the final editing of the proceedings.

The present volume contains select papers by authors who presented their contributions at the Conference. Regretfully, several authors had committed to publishing their contributions elsewhere or were not able to meet the final submission deadline, and their papers had to be omitted. Even so, the resulting volume represents a broad cross-section of the issues and topics that were presented and discussed at the Conference.

Publication of this volume and of the companion volume on “Vrātya culture in Vedic sources” has been made possible by a grant from the Government of India, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged.





## Contents

Introduction	vii
<b>Hans Henrich Hock</b>	

### Language, text, and interpretation

1. The history of Vedic prefix-verb compound accentuation revisited	1
<b>Hans Henrich Hock</b>	
2. Ṛgvedic verses interpreted in the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā	17
<b>Nirmala R. Kulkarni</b>	
3. Transitive nouns and adjectives in Ṛgvedic Sanskrit	25
<b>John J. Lowe</b>	
4. Reassessing Varuṇa's name	53
<b>Georges-Jean Pinault</b>	
5. The origin and growth of the 'Horse as the World' Textual sources of Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad 1.1	73
<b>Hideki Teshima</b>	
6. Ṛgvedic and Atharvavedic adjectives in <i>-ayitnū-</i> and <i>-ayiṣṇū-</i> , and <i>kraviṣṇū-</i> 'devouring flesh'	95
<b>Elizabeth Tucker</b>	

### Ritual, literature, philosophy, and Vedic tradition

7. The tradition of the Atharvaveda in Maharashtra	113
<b>Shrikant S. Bahulkar</b>	
8. Jyaiṣṭhya and kāniṣṭhya in Vedic society	127
<b>Mugdha Gadgil</b>	
9. On the process that precedes the piling of the new āhavanīya	143
<b>Atsuko Izawa</b>	
10. Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa and Uttara-Nārāyaṇa: Their impact on the development of Viṣṇuism and Hinduism	159
<b>Mislav Ježic</b>	
11. The continuity of the Vedic tradition: <i>Atharvaveda</i> 2.1 and the <i>Ṛgveda</i>	181
<b>Joanna Jurewicz</b>	
12. A study of the abhīvartamaṇi in the Atharva Veda	199
<b>Mrunal Suhas Patki</b>	
13. Exploring "impossible authors"	209
<b>Caley Charles Smith</b>	



# Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa and Uttara-Nārāyaṇa Their impact on the development of Viṣṇuism and Hinduism

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## *Introductory remarks*

In his paper, presented at the Fifth Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas (DICSEP 5), Horst Brinkhaus (In Press) provides a comparative concordance of parallel cosmogonic passages in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṃśa, Manuśmṛti, and several Purāṇas, partly expanding upon Vedic speculations, and partly introducing new views that more or less correspond to the conceptual apparatus of the later classical Sāṃkhya. The starting point is the double cosmogonic report in Harivaṃśa 1.15-28. It is apparent that the dual presentation of creation is presented in two introductions (HV 1.15-16 and 20-22), showing that the two expositions had not yet been unified.

The first exposition in the text as preserved states, close to the spirit of Sāṃkhya, albeit in a theistic variant, that the first non-manifest cause, both being and non-being, are pradhāna and puruṣa wherefrom the Lord created All; that Lord is the Creator Brahmā, *nārāyaṇaparāyaṇa* 'whose highest refuge is Nārāyaṇa'; *ahaṃkāra* 'ego' was then born from the *mahat* 'the great being', from which the *bhūtāni* 'elements' were born, and from which in turn all kinds of beings were born. This is the *sargaḥ sanātanaḥ* 'continuous creation' (17-19).

The second exposition follows elements of the Vedic mythical tradition:

*tataḥ (CE: viṣṇuḥ) svayaṃbhūr bhagavān sisṛkṣur vividhāḥ prajāḥ /  
apa eva sasārjādau tāsu vīryam avāśṛjat / /23/ /  
āpo nārā iti proktā nāmnā pūrvam iti śrutih /  
ayanaṃ tasya tāḥ pūrvam tena nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ / /24/ /  
hiraṇyavarṇam abhavat tad aṇḍam udakeśayam /  
tatra jajñe svayaṃ brahmā svayaṃbhūr iti naḥ śrutam / /25/ /  
hiraṇyagarbho bhagavān uṣitvā parivatsaram /*

*tad aṅḍam akarod dvaidham divaṃ bhuvam athāpi ca // 26 //  
 tayoh śakalayor madhyam ākāśam akarot prabhuḥ /  
 apsu pāriplavāṃ pṛthvīm diśāsca daśadhā dadhe // 27 //  
 tatra kālam mano vācam kāmam krodham atho ratim /  
 sasarja sṛṣṭim tadrūpaṃ sraṣṭum icchan prajāpatiḥ\* (v. l. prajāpatim) // 28 //*

'23. Then (CE: Viṣṇu), the self-existent Bhagavān (Wealth-Bestower), desiring to create offspring of different kinds, created (poured out) the Waters in the beginning and poured out his virility (semen) into them. 24. The Waters were first called *nārāḥ* by name, so says the Śruti. They were his first sojourn (course), therefore he is remembered as Nārāyaṇa.<sup>1</sup> 25. That Egg lying (floating) on the Water was of golden hue. The self-existent Brahman himself was born in it — thus we have heard. 26. The Bhagavān Hiraṇyagarbha, having stayed there for a year, divided that Egg in two: into Heaven and Earth. 27. The Preexistent (*Prabhu*) made the middle of these two pieces space (ether, atmosphere), the Earth he let float on the Waters, and he made the directions tenfold. 28. He created (poured out) there such creation: time, mind, speech, desire, anger, and pleasure, when the Lord of offspring wanted to create (v. l. wanting to create a Prajāpati 'Lord of offspring').'

Horst Brinkhaus shows how these two versions of creation (the proto-Sāṃkhya and the traditional one which is basically Vedic) were simply juxtaposed in the *Harivaṃśa*, and how they were combined in the *Manusmṛti* and the *Purāṇas* 'into one comprehensive cosmogonic act'. Thus he makes it clear that 'the *Harivaṃśa* was the model for all parallel Purāṇic versions of the Pañcalakṣaṇa section'. He also stresses that the innovation in the *Harivaṃśa* is that *Brahmā* no longer stands at the beginning of creation, but *Nārāyaṇa*.

### Who is this Nārāyaṇa?

#### *The Brāhmaṇa viewpoint*

In Śatapathabrāhmaṇa 13.6.2.[12], where the *Puruṣamedha* is expounded upon, we read:

<sup>1</sup> The name is interpreted here in HV 1.24 as a name of Bhagavān (just as in *Manusmṛti* 1.10 where it is interpreted as a name of Nara whose sons are the Waters called *Nārāḥ*) because the Waters were his first *ayana* 'path, course, sojourn' (and this Nara-Nārāyaṇa is identified in *Manu* 1.11 with the Male, *Puruṣa*, who is called *Brahmā* in the world). Of course, *Nārāḥ* are intruders in this etymology.



*niyuktān puruṣān brahmā dakṣiṇataḥ puruṣeṇa nārāyaṇenābhiṣṭauti sahasraśīrṣā puruṣaḥ sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapādity etena ṣoḍaśarcena ṣoḍaśakalam vā idam sarvaṃ sarvaṃ puruṣamedhaḥ sarvasyāptyai sarvasyāvaruddhyā itthamasītthamasīty upastauty evainam etan mahayaty evātho yathaiṣa tathainam etad āha / tatparyagnikṛtāḥ paśavo babhūvur asaṅjñaptāḥ<sup>2</sup>*

'By means of the Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa (litany), the Brahman priest (seated) to the right (south) of them, praises the men bound (to the stakes) with this sixteen-versed (hymn RS 10.90, VS 31.1-16) "The thousand-headed Puruṣa, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed ..." Thus (he does) for the obtainment and the securing of everything, for everything here consists of sixteen parts, and the Puruṣamedha is everything: in thus saying, "So and so thou art, so and so thou art", he praises and thereby indeed magnifies him (Puruṣa); but he also thereby speaks of him, such as he is. Now, the victims had had the fire carried round them, but they were not yet slaughtered.'<sup>3</sup>

In the continuation we learn that the human victims in the Puruṣamedha will not be sacrificed because otherwise 'man would eat man'. The accompanying offerings and animal sacrifices are made and the dakṣiṇās are distributed: If a Brāhmaṇa performs the sacrifice, he should bestow all his property because Puruṣamedha is everything. Then ŚB 13.6.2.[20] continues:

*athātman agnī samārohya uttaranārāyaṇenādityam upasthāyānapekṣamāṇo 'raṇyam abhipreyāt tadeva manuṣyebhas tiro bhavati / yadyu grāme vivatsed araṇyor agnī samārohyottaranārāyaṇenaivādityam upasthāya gr̥heṣu pratyavasyed atha tān yajñakratūn āhareta yān abhyāpnuyāt /<sup>4</sup>*

'And having taken up the two fires within his own self, and worshipped the Sun with the Uttara-Nārāyaṇa (litany, viz. VS 31.17-22), let him betake himself to the forest without looking round; and that (place), indeed, is apart from men. But should he wish to live in the village, let him take up again the two fires in the churning-sticks, and having worshipped the Sun with the Uttara-Nārāyaṇa (litany) let him dwell at his home, and let him offer such sacrifices as he may be able to afford.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Weber 1855: 999-1000.

<sup>3</sup>Eggeling 1900: 5. 410.

<sup>4</sup>Weber 1855: 1000.

<sup>5</sup>Eggeling 1900: 5. 412-413.

Thus, the *Puruṣasūkta* (RS 10.90, VS 31.1-16) is called *Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and its expansion, the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* (VS 31.17-22), is called *Uttara-Nārāyaṇa*. The former is recited at the beginning of a *Puruṣamedha*, and the latter after its completion.

In the *Sarvāṅkramaṇī* the ṛṣi of RS 10.90 is named *Nārāyaṇa*. Just as *Puruṣa* means 'Man, Male', like *Nara*, so *Nārāyaṇa* is a patronymic derived from *Nara*, as e. g. *Āśvalāyana* is a patronymic derived from *Āśvala*, *Kāṇvāyana* from *Kaṇva*, etc., *-āyana* being a secondary suffix for patronymics added to a *vṛddhi* form of a name. *Nārāyaṇa* thus means 'son or offspring of *Nara*, or of (the primordial) *Man*'.

Later Indian (epico-purāṇic) etymological explanations, as mentioned above, refer to this derivation, but for mythological purposes push the expression *nārāḥ* – in the (postulated) meaning of 'Waters' – into the etymology, in order to say that (the primordial) *Puruṣa* or *Nara*, or *Brahmā*, or *Viṣṇu* (a variant reading in HV 1.23), first dwelled in the Waters.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa* is the person who wished to surpass all beings and who therefore beheld this five-days' sacrifice, the *Puruṣamedha*. This is a sacrificial performance with twenty-three *dīkṣās*, twelve *upasads*, and five *sutyās*. Because of the five *sutyās* (Soma-days) it is called *pañcarātra*.

All of the names mentioned will play important roles in later Brahmanism, especially in *Viṣṇuism*.

### ***Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa: RS 10.90 and its Vedic variants (especially VS 31.1-16)***

First, we can observe the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, the *Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa*, as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* calls it. It is an exceptionally important hymn, occurring in different variants in several Vedic texts, of various śākhās:<sup>6</sup>

Ṛksaṃhitā 10. 90

Sāmasaṃhitā, Āraṇya(ka)ṃ kāṇḍam 4.3-7 (617-621)

Vājasaneyisaṃhitā: Mādhyam̐dinasam̐hitā 31\*, Kāṇvasam̐hitā 35\*

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 3. 12\*

<sup>6</sup> An asterisk (\*) marks texts that contain the *Uttaranārāyaṇa*.

Atharvasaṃhitā Śaunakīya 19.6

Atharvasaṃhitā Paippalāda 9.5

Ṛcakas (supplementary collections of ṛcs) of the Kāṭhakas of Kashmir

The *Puruṣasūkta* was adopted in the yajurvedic tradition gradually: first in the Śuklayajurveda, then in the Kṛṣṇayajurveda: in the Taittirīya tradition in the Āraṇyaka, and in the Kāṭhaka tradition only in the Ṛcakas.

Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 13.6.2.12 can be cited as a testimonium. When describing the Puruṣamedha, it refers to the Puruṣanārāyaṇa of 16 verses and to the \*Uttaranārāyaṇa.

The *Puruṣasūkta* / *Puruṣanārāyaṇa* is also mentioned in the following post-Vedic texts (Vedāṅgas and Dharmasāstras):

Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra; Śāṅkhāyaṇa-Śrautasūtra; Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra; Mānava-Śrautasūtra, Vaitāna-Śrautasūtra 37.19, 26

Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra

Yājñavalkya-Dharma-Śāstra 3.305; Vṛddha-Harīta-Saṃhitā (VHDh)

8.39, Bṛhat-Parāśara-Saṃhitā (BṛhPDh)

In Ṛgvidhāna 3.40.6 (153-230, especially 217), a late text of the Ṛgvedic tradition, possibly from the 5<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, the muttering of the *Puruṣasūkta* is clearly connected with meditation on Nārāyaṇa, who abides in the orb of the Sun, who has a golden hue and holds a conch shell and a discus (dhṛtaśaṅhacakraḥ), and who is also called Hari and Viṣṇu; this meditation leads to the abode of the everlasting Viṣṇu. (The identification of Puruṣa with Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu is here presupposed as universally accepted. The present article traces the genesis of this notion.)

The relatively oldest and provably most original form of the *Puruṣasūkta* is preserved, as is to be expected, in RS 10.90:<sup>7</sup>

*sahāsraśīrṣā pūruṣaḥ sahasrākṣāḥ sahāsrapat /*  
*sā bhūmim viśvāto vṛtvā āty atīṣṭhad daśāṅgulām // 1 / /*  
*pūruṣa evédāṃī sārvaṃ yád bhūtāṃ yác ca bhāvīyam /*  
*utāmṛtatvāsýésāno yád ānnenātirōhati // 2 / /*

<sup>7</sup> Citations from the Ṛksaṃhitā follow the metrically restored version of van Nooten & Holland 1994.

*etāvān asya mahimā āto jyāyāṃś ca pūruṣaḥ /  
pādo 'sya viśvā bhūtāni tripād asyāmṛtaṃ divi / /3/ /  
tripād ūrdhvā úd ait pūruṣaḥ pādo 'syehābhavat pūnaḥ /  
tāto viśvaṃ vī akrāmat sāśanānaśané abhí / /4/ /  
tāsmād virāḷ ajāyata virājo ādhi pūruṣaḥ /  
sá jāto āty aricyata paścād bhūmim átho purāḥ / /5/ /*

1. Thousand-headed is Puruṣa, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed. He covered the Earth on all sides and stood above it the space of ten fingers.
2. Puruṣa alone is all this, what has been and what is to be, and he is the lord of immortality while he grows further (beyond death) by means of food.
3. Such is his magnitude, and greater than this is Puruṣa: a quarter (a step) of him is all beings, three quarters (three steps) of him the immortal in heaven.
4. Puruṣa went three steps (three quarters) upward, but one step (quarter) of his happened (stayed) here below (on the Earth). From that he strode in all directions into what eats and does not eat.
5. From that Virāj (the shining expanse) was born. From Virāj Puruṣa (the starry sky). When he was born, he extended beyond the Earth, behind (to the West) and also in front (to the East).'

*yāt pūruṣeṇa havīṣā devā yajñām ātanvata /  
vasantó asyāsīd ājyaṃ grīṣmā idhmāḥ śarād dhavīḥ //6//  
tām yajñām barhīṣi praukṣan pūruṣaṃ jātām agratāḥ /  
tēna devā ayajanta sādhiyā ṛṣayaś ca yé / /7/ /  
tāsmād yajñāt sarvahútaḥ sāmbytam pṛṣadājjiyām /  
paśún tāṃś cakre vāyavyān āraṇyān grāmiyāś ca yé / /8/ /  
tāsmād yajñāt sarvahúta ṛcaḥ sāmāni jajñire /  
chāndāṃsi jajñire tāsmād yájus tāsmād ajāyata / /9/ /  
tāsmād áśvā ajāyanta yé ké ca ubhayádataḥ /  
gāvo ha jajñire tāsmāt tāsmāj jātā ajāvāyaḥ / /10/ /*

6. When with Puruṣa as libation the celestials spread (offered) a sacrifice, the spring was its clarified butter, the summer the fuel, the autumn the libation.
7. A sacrifice on the sacred grass they sprinkled him, Puruṣa, who was born from the primordial (time/principle). With him the celestials sacrificed, the Sādhyas (those to be attained) and the (seven) seers.
8. From that sacrifice, a total libation, was the spotted clarified butter brought together; it made the animals: those of the air, of the forest, and of the village.

9. From that sacrifice, a total libation, the (recited) Hymns and the (sung) Chants were born; the metres were born from it; the (prose) Sacrificial Formula from it was born.

10. From it the horses were born, and whatsoever has incisor teeth in both jaws (like hoofed animals: mules, hinnies, and donkeys). The cows were born from it. From it were born the goats and sheep.'

*yát puruṣam ví ádadhuḥ katidhā ví akalpayan /  
múkham kím asya kaú bāhú ká ūrú pādā ucyete //11//  
brāhmaṇò 'sya múkham āsīd bāhú rājaníyaḥ kṛtāḥ /  
ūrú tát asya yád vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṃ sūdró ajāyata //12//  
candrāmā mánaso jātás cákṣoḥ sūryo ajāyata /  
múkhaḍ índras ca agníś ca prāṇāḍ vāyúṛ ajāyata //13//  
nābhya āsīd antárikṣam śīrṣṇó dyaúḥ sám avartata /  
padbhyāṃ bhúmīr dísaḥ śrótrāt táthā lokāṃ akalpayan //14//  
saptásyāsan paridháyas trīḥ saptá samídhaḥ kṛtāḥ /  
devā yád yajñám tanvāná ábadhnan puruṣam paśúm //15//*

'11. When they portioned out Puruṣa, in how many ways did they distribute (conceive, imagine) him? What is his mouth called, what are his arms, what are his thighs, what are his feet called?

12. His mouth was the Brāhmaṇa, his arms were made the Rājanya, his thighs were there wherefrom<sup>8</sup> the Vaiśya (was born), from his feet the Śūdra was born.

13. The Moon from his mind was born; from his eye the Sun was born; from his mouth both Indra and Agni; from his breath the Wind was born.

14. From his navel was the Atmosphere; from his head the Heaven evolved; from his feet the Earth; the directions from his ear. Thus they fashioned (conceived, imagined) the worlds.

15. Seven were his sacrificial sticks; thrice seven fuel faggots were made, when the celestials, spreading (offering) the sacrifice, tied Puruṣa as their victim.'

*yajñéna yajñám ayajanta devās tāni dhármāṇi prathamāṇi āsan /  
té ha nākam mahimānaḥ sacanta yátra pūrve sādhiyāḥ sánti devāḥ //16//*

<sup>8</sup> Apparent syntactical incongruence: *ūrú tát asya yád vaiśyaḥ*, instead of *ūrú tát asya yó vaiśyaḥ*; but we must assume (in accordance with the previous stanza 11, and with the syntax of this stanza: Ablative – Nominative – *ajāyata*) that *tat* and *yat* are here used adverbially for *ūrú tátra asya yátāḥ vaiśyaḥ ... ajāyata*. See Renou 1961: 500 (§ 369, "accord", *sāmānādhikaraṇya*); Delbrück 1888: 565 (§279); Speijer 1886: 18 (§27.1); Speijer 1896: 30 (§95b).



'16. The celestials sacrificed with the sacrifice to the sacrifice (worshipped the worship with the worship). These were the primeval rites (laws). These magnitudes followed (reached/searched) the firmament where the first (preceding, eastern) celestial Sādhyas (celestials to be attained) are.'

### The text and translation need some comments.

What are the three steps that Puruṣa strode? To answer this question, we should solve the riddles: Who is the Puruṣa, Man/Male, who covered the Earth on all sides and stood above it the space of ten fingers (whatever this enigmatic measurement may mean), and who is *sahásraśīrṣā sahasrākṣāḥ sahasrapāt* 'thousand-headed, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed' ? Maybe it is easiest to guess who is thousand-eyed: it is the Greek *ouranós asteróeis* 'the starry sky'. Now, *śīrṣán* in the compound *trīśīrṣán* has a meaning similar to *mūrdhán* in the expression *mūrdhā divó* 'the head of the sky', i. e. the Sun. If there were two heads, one could think of the Sun and the Moon; if there are a thousand heads, what could they be but the stars in the sky again? And a thousand feet or footsteps? The Moon stops in different days and different phases in different nakṣatras: so they can be understood as his footsteps; the Sun does the same, but it cannot be seen by day, it can only be calculated or worked out: it steps in the same footsteps as the full Moon, which is in opposition to the Sun, exactly in the opposite time of the year. Thus the stars (or any marks of position) can also be understood as the footsteps of the Moon and (possibly) of the Sun. If Puruṣa — who is obviously not a man like us — is the starry Sky, then it is clear why he covers the Earth on all sides and surpasses her at a certain distance! The last stanza 16 fully confirms this interpretation by explicitly introducing the firmament (*nāka*), its magnitudes (*mahimán*), and the celestials who dwell there. We may add that, being the Sky, Puruṣa is also understood as the Universe, the Cosmos, the being comprising all the three worlds. It is worth stressing that he is conceived as a sensible and intelligent being because he has sight *cákṣus*, hearing *śrótra*, and mind *mánas* (st. 13 and 14), and his intelligent nature must be the reason why the Universe is called Puruṣa 'Man'.

The expression *tripād* in stanzas 3 and 4, on the other hand, makes sense if it refers to the three steps or traces of the Sun in the Sky. In my opinion it can refer only to the four seasonal turning points of the Sun: the winter solstice,

the vernal equinox, the summer solstice, and the autumnal equinox, of which the two equinoxes represent the same (middle) height of the solar orbit, the winter solstice represents the lowest height, and the summer solstice the highest height. Therefore the four seasonal turning points in time can be reduced to three positions of the solar orbit in space, or three celestial heights, or magnitudes (*mahimán*) of the firmament (*nāka*, stanza 16). They are again metaphorically or imaginatively described in the poetry of Vedic seers as the 'three steps (or footsteps, or quarters)' of Puruṣa/the Sky/the cosmic being: the winter solstice point is one step above the Earth (which is the starting point, the first footstep or first quarter of Puruṣa), the equinoxes are two steps, and the summer solstice three steps above the Earth (the highest step or footstep of Puruṣa). This general idea, as will be shown later, was well known to the Vedic seers before the period of the 10<sup>th</sup> maṇḍala.

Concerning the expression *tám yajñám barhíṣi praukṣan púruṣam jātám agratáh* 'a sacrifice on the sacred grass they sprinkled him, Puruṣa, who was born from the primordial' (stanza 7), the question can be raised whether what is being referred to here is primordial time or the primordial principle, because the expression is elliptical. At this point we can simply say that Puruṣa, the Sky, is the firstborn being in some sense.

The spatial extension of Puruṣa is hinted at in stanzas 1, 3 and 4, where he is described as encompassing the whole Earth and surpassing her, comprising all the mortal beings on Earth, that are only one quarter of himself, and having three more (immortal) steps or quarters (spheres) in the sky. Immortal is, according to some Upaniṣads (Kauṣītaki, Chāndogya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad), what is above the orbit (sphere) of the Moon, or what reaches the sphere of the Sun. (As this notion has parallels in Hellenic tradition, it might be of older origin and not an Upaniṣadic innovation.)

The temporal extension of Puruṣa is hinted at in stanza 2, where he is said to be all this (on Earth), 'what has been and what is to be', and at the same time he is said to be 'the lord of immortality' (in the Sky). This is further elaborated upon in stanza 6, where it is said that at the sacrifice of Puruṣa 'the spring was its clarified butter, the summer the fuel, the autumn the libation.' The three seasons mentioned imply that at the moment of the formulation cited (and probably in the region where it was formulated) the

Indo-Aryans had a calendar that distinguished between 4 (and not 5 or 6) seasons of the year, like ours. That is, there is no separate rainy season between the summer and autumn, and the autumn seems to be a period of rains (*havis* 'libation'). On the other hand, we have a complementary enumeration of seasons in RS 10.161.4: *śatām ... śarādaḥ ... hemantān ... vasantān* 'hundred ... autumns ... winters ... springs' (implying the ascending series of winter solstice, vernal equinox and summer solstice and thereby a long life), which, together with our passage, closes the cycle of four seasons (and does not mention e.g. *śisira*). The four seasons correspond to the four seasonal turning points when they start, and indirectly to the "three steps/footsteps" of Puruṣa, especially if the moments when spring, summer, and autumn stop are taken into account (summer solstice, autumnal equinox, and winter solstice, implying the descending series and thereby the sacrifice of Puruṣa). Thus Puruṣa comprises the yearly cycle which is repeated eternally, and therefore comprises the entirety of time as well.

If we pay attention to the structure of RS 10.90, we shall see that there are 3 groups of 5 stanzas each (in *anuṣṭubh*) which represent smaller compositional units, and a concluding stanza 16 in a different metre (*triṣṭubh*). We shall also notice that the second and third group are more closely connected and, after the exposition on the greatness and extent of Puruṣa in the first group, they describe the 'sacrifice of Puruṣa' and the production or 'birth' of different parts of time (seasons) and different parts of the universe (the three worlds) and, between these two, the birth of different species of animals, social classes of men, and genres of Vedic texts, all originating from Puruṣa, i. e. from his sacrifice. This observation is confirmed by the repetition of the formula from the first part of stanza 6 in the second part of stanza 15 in chiasmic order: st. 6ab : *yāt pūruṣeṇa haviṣā devā yajñām ātanvata* and st. 15cd : *devā yād yajñāṇi tanvānā ābadhnan pūruṣam paśūm*, which frame stanzas 6 to 15 as a higher unit.

This compositional device can help us solve the key riddle in stanza 15ab : *saptāsyāsan paridhāyas triḥ saptā samīdhaḥ kṛtāḥ* 'Seven were his sacrificial sticks; thrice seven fuel faggots were made'. What is three is mentioned immediately after 6ab, in 6cd, namely the three seasons cited, and what is seven is mentioned immediately before 15ab, in stanza 14, namely the three worlds (Sky, Atmosphere, Earth) and (four) directions of space (East, South,

West, North). The three worlds and the four directions are the seven *parídhayaḥ* 'sacrificial sticks' because they serve to 'spread the sacrifice': the directions spread the cosmic being that is serving as the sacrifice horizontally (in two dimensions) and the three worlds, vertically (in the third dimension, along the metaphorical body of the standing Puruṣa, here as the axis mundi). Stylistically, *samídhaḥ* 'fuel faggots' are reminiscent of *idhmáḥ* 'fuel' in stanza 6 (cryptophony + figura etymologica), and thus confirm that the two passages might be connected. Actually, only three seasons are enumerated for stylistic reasons (allusion), to remind us of the three footsteps of Puruṣa, which turn the seven *parídhayaḥ* into thrice seven (twenty-one) *samídhaḥ*, implying thereby that this tri-dimensional universe expands from the lowest position of the solar orbit, through the middle, to the highest position, and vice versa, and that thereby the intensity of the insolation of the Earth changes by agency of these 'fuel faggots' (something like insolation parameters). This dynamic conception of the universe/Puruṣa and its changing space in proportion to solar energy (the way it is experienced from the earthly, geocentric perspective), as the Vedic seers formulated it, may impress us even today if we can grasp what they had in mind and how they expressed it.

The comparison of the text with other cited Vedic variants of the Puruṣasūkta/Puruṣanārāyaṇa will not be elaborated upon here because it is the topic of another paper, but it can be briefly remarked that the Ṛksaṃhitā variant proved to be the most original in all the cases of variant readings.<sup>9</sup> The most significant difference is to be found in the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā (M 31, K 35) where six stanzas are added to the sūkta. They must be younger and partly intended as a commentary; however, this commentary is very valuable and partly reliable, as will be shown below.

Before turning our attention to the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā, there is one important aspect of the concept of Puruṣa that should be understood in the context of the Ṛksaṃhitā. The names of Puruṣa, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, play an

<sup>9</sup> A problem, however, remains. From variant readings in the RS (13cd *múkhād índraśca agníśca prāṇād vāyúr ajāyata*) and VS (12cd *śrótrād vāyúśca prāṇáśca múkhād agnír ajāyata*) the dubious content of RS 10.90.13c could be tentatively emended:

*candrámā mánaso jātás cákṣoḥ sūryo ajāyata /*  
*\*múkhād agnír ajāyata prāṇād vāyúr ajāyata // 13 / /*

However, this emendation is formally and metrically rather unsatisfactory. Other emendations can be imagined, e. g. *múkham tād asya yád agnín*, which would be metrically acceptable.

important role in later Viṣṇuism. There are good reasons for this development in the Vedic texts themselves. This development had already begun in the Ṛksamhitā and it continued in the Yajurvedic texts. To start, we can compare the Puruṣasūkta RS 10.90.3-4 with the Viṣṇusūkta RS 1.154.1 and 3:

RS 10, 90

*etāvān asya mahimā  
āto jyāyāms ca pūruṣaḥ /  
pādo 'sya viśvā bhūtāni  
tripād asyāmṛtaṃ divi //3//*

*tripād ūrdhvā úd ait pūruṣaḥ  
pādo 'syehābhavat pūnaḥ /  
tāto viśvaṃ ví akrāmat  
sāśanānaśané abhi //4//*

RS 1, 154

*viṣṇor nú kaṃ vīriyāṇi prá vocaṃ  
yāḥ pārthivāni vimamé rájāmsi /  
yó áskabhāyad úttaraṃ sadhástham  
vicakramāñás tredhórugāyāḥ //1//*

*prá viṣṇave sūśám etu mánma  
girikṣíta urugāyāya vṣṣṇe |  
yá idám dīrghám práyatam sadhástham  
éko vimamé tribhír it padébhīḥ //3//<sup>10</sup>*

Viṣṇu's name should be derived from *vi* 'apart, away' + *snu/sānu* 'back, ridge, summit':<sup>11</sup> He is the celestial whose back is far away, high above, with a backbone that is lifted up high, like a wild male mountain animal (not necessarily a bull, rather a deer or a fearsome beast, *mṛgō ná bhīmāḥ ... giriṣṭhāḥ*, stanza 2) ready to jump high. He has supported Earth and Heaven in a threefold position (stanza 4), he has propped up the upper 'gathering-place' (stanza 1): that is the place where pious men rejoice (after their death, stanza 5), the highest step of Viṣṇu which shines brightly down (stanza 6). It is obviously in heaven: Viṣṇu is the god of the Sky whose backbone is highly raised. What is the backbone? If *mūrdhā divó* 'the head of the Sky' is the Sun, the backbone is what follows after the head: the traversed path, or orbit of the Sun! It can be raised like that of a *mṛgō bhīmāḥ* 'a fearsome beast' (st. 2).

<sup>10</sup> Translation by Macdonell (1917: 31-34): '1. I will now proclaim the heroic powers of Viṣṇu, who has measured out the terrestrial regions; who established the upper gathering-place, having, wide-paced, strode out triply. 3. Let my inspiring hymn go forth for Viṣṇu, the mountain-dwelling wide-pacing bull, who alone with but three steps has measured out this long far-extended gathering-place.' Jamison and Brereton (2014: 1.331), translate more freely: '1. Now shall I proclaim the heroic deeds of Viṣṇu, who measured out the earthly realms, who propped up the higher seat, having stridden out three times, the wide-ranging one. 3. Let my fortifying thought go forth to Viṣṇu, the mountain-dwelling, wide-ranging bull, who alone with just three steps measured out this dwelling place here, long and extended.'

<sup>11</sup> It is certainly not etymologically derived from *viś*, as the Indian tradition suggests. There is no reason why *śn* would be changed into *ṣṇ*; the group *śn* is acceptable in Sanskrit and does not change, cf. *praśna*, *prṣṇi*, *ni-śnath*, etc.



The body of a beast is horizontal: *tiryāñc*, therefore its back — in contrast to a man's — can be higher in that position than its head. And the three steps of Viṣṇu must originally have been meant as the three positions of the Sun's orbit in the sky: at winter solstice, vernal and autumnal equinox, and summer solstice.<sup>12</sup> The Sun's orbit determines the height of the firmament. (Beyond it are the heavens.) The highest step is the position at the summer solstice, at the end of the *uttarāyaṇa*, the Sun's progress to the north.

Thus, Puruṣa is basically the same as Viṣṇu, that is to say, the Sky (or Universe, the Cosmos seen from the earthly perspective). Both stride out three steps upwards. That is why Viṣṇu is *tri-vikrama*, and why Puruṣa *tripād ūrdhvā úd ait... tāto viśvañ ví akrāmat*. Therefore it was possible and more natural than Indologists usually imagine - for those who saw the meaning behind the riddle, who understood the brahmodyas - to connect Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu. (The basic idea, as shown, was already well known to Vedic seers before the period of the 10<sup>th</sup> maṇḍala, and was expressed even more vividly.)

***Uttara-Nārāyaṇa: VS M 31.17-22, K 35.17-22 (TA 13.1-6)***

Now we should take a look at the *Uttara-Nārāyaṇa*.

VS Kāṇva: 35.17-22 (1-6 [2]) = Mādhyam̐dina 31.17-22

*adbhyāḥ sambhṛtaḥ pṛthivyai rāsac ca viśvākarmaṇaḥ sāmavartatāgre  
tāsya tvaṣṭā vidādhad rūpām eti tān mārtyasya devatvām ājānam āgre // 17 //  
'17. Gathered from the Waters and from the juice of the Earth, he  
(Puruṣa) came into being, (evolved) from Viśvakarman (Creator of all,  
One whose work is the Universe) in the beginning (primordial moment  
of time). Tvaṣṭar moves on, distributing / articulating his form. That is  
the celestial nature of a mortal, his origin in the beginning (primordial  
time/primordial principle).'*

*védāhām etām pūruṣaṇi mahāntam ādityavarṇaṇi tāmasā parastāt /  
tām evā viditvāti mṛtyūm eti nānyaḥ pānthā vidyaté 'yanāya // 18 //*<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Other interpretations, not necessary to mention here, can be found in texts and secondary literature, e. g. Gonda 1954: 55-72.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. BhG 8.9 *kavim purāṇam anuśāsītāram aṇor aṇīyāmsam anusmared yaḥ / sarvasya dhātāram acintya-rūpam ādityavarṇam tamasāḥ parastāt* = ŚvU 3.8 and 6.15; BhG 11.38 *ādidevaḥ puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ*

'18. I know that great/mighty Puruṣa, whose colour is like the Sun beyond the darkness. Only after knowing him one transcends death. There in no other path to follow.'

*prajāpatiś carati gārbhe antār ājayamāno bahudhā vī jāyate /*

*tāsya yōniṃ pāri paśyanti dhīrās tāsmin ha tasthur bhūvanāni viśvā // 19 / /*

'19. Prajāpati, 'Lord of Offspring', moves into an embryo; although he undergoes no birth, he is born in many forms. The wise discern his womb. In it all the worlds/beings are contained.'

*yō devébhya ātāpati yō devānāṃ puróhitaḥ*

*pūrho yō devébhyo jāto nāmo rucāya brāhmaye // 29 //*

'20. I bow to him who gives heat to the celestials, who is put in front (as a priest?) of the celestials, who was born ere the celestials, to the bright offspring of Brahman.'

*rucāṃ brāhmāṃ janāyanto devā āgre tād abruvan /*

*yās tvaiivām brāhmaṇo vidyāt tāsya devā asan vāse // 21 / /*

'21. The celestials, giving birth to the bright son of Brahman, said this to him: The Brāhmaṇa who will know you thus, he will have the celestials in his power.'

*śrīś ca lakṣmīś ca pātṇyāv ahorātré parśvé nákṣatrāṇi rūpām aśvīnau vyāttam /*

*iṣṇānn iṣṇānāmum ma iṣāṇa sarvalokāṃ ma iṣāṇa // 22 / /*

'22. Śrī and Lakṣmī (Beauty and Fortune) are your consorts. Day and Night are your (two) sides. Your form are the constellations. The Aśvins are your jaws. When discharging, grant me the yonder world, grant me every world, grant me!'

This extension of the text in the VS (and TA), the Uttaranārāyaṇa (as termed by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa), first, explains the expression *pūruṣaṃ jātām agratāḥ* by *viśvākarmaṇaḥ sāmavartatāgre / tāsya tvāṣṭā vidādhad rūpām eti tán mārtyasya devatvām ājānam āgre* (*agra* is a marker in the text). This means that Puruṣa is not the primeval being, or the primeval principle, but, although he is the all-encompassing being, he is born from the primeval being (the primeval principle, his origin, *āgra*), that is the Creator himself, in the beginning (primeval time, *āgra*). Stylistically, *agra-tāḥ* seems to be a condensed formula for the fuller expression found here: *viśvākarman-aḥ ... āgr-e*. This is why *agra* has a double meaning here.

In addition, the verb *sām avartata* 'evolved' is the same as in RS 10, 90.14 *śīrṣṇó dyaúḥ sām avartata* 'from his head the Heaven evolved', discretely implying the revolution of the Sky and the relatedness of Puruṣa (VS M 31.17, K 35.17) to Dyaus, the Sky (Puruṣa is the Sky as all-encompassing being, but, when the three worlds are distinguished, he is the Universe comprising all three worlds). His origin or father is, we are told in the Uttaranārāyaṇa, God Creator: Carver/Carpenter (*Tvaṣṭar*), or All-maker/One whose work is the Universe (*Viśvakarman*)! *Tvaṣṭar* is a variant (without *r*) of his older (Indo-Iranian) name, more concrete and picturesque (in Avestan *Θwōrəštār*), while *Viśvakarman* is his younger (Indo-Aryan) name, more precise and abstract. The third name of the Creator is *Prajāpati* 'Lord of Offspring', 'Father', and the fourth, implied in the Uttaranārāyaṇa, is *Brahmā* 'Brahman Priest among the celestials/the Knower or Possessor of the holy Word Brahman (n.)'. Puruṣa is the divine Son of the Creator. Therefore he is said to be 'gathered from the Waters and from the juice of the Earth' by the Creator of All, he is called an 'embryo' of the Lord of Offspring, and 'Offspring of Brahman' or 'Son of Brahman' (*Brāhmi*, *Brāhma*). (That may be the reason why the name *Nārāyaṇa* was found to fit him somewhere in the times of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*, assuming that the name *Nara* may have possibly originally referred to the Creator.)

The *Puruṣanārāyaṇa* describes how everything has been born or produced from Puruṣa, but the way it was produced is understood as sacrifice. The son of the Creator is sacrificed for the life of the world, for the further differentiation and creation of all constituents of the world and the creatures in it. This is a very old and extremely influential theological world-view documented in the *Ṛksaṃhitā*. As Puruṣa encompasses everything, and everything is born out of him, he can be sacrificed only to himself, as stanza 16 states. An aspect of it mentioned in stanzas 2 and 4 is food and eating (*anna*, *aśana*): Every creature that eats food is a part of Puruṣa to which another part of Puruṣa is sacrificed (by celestials) as food. These primeval laws (*dhārmāṇi prathamāni*) are, as stanza 16 implies, determined by the revolution of the firmament, and its rising and lowering according to the given magnitudes, where the Sun must, in due order, attain different celestials (asterisms) on his path through the Sky.

Finally, stanza 22 clearly shows that in the Uttaranārāyaṇa (in the VS and the TA) not only *Viṣṇu*, but even the consorts of *Viṣṇu*, *Śrī* and *Lakṣmī* (here

taken as different, in dual: *pātnyau*, possibly understood as Uṣas and Rātrī), were already included in the Vaiṣṇava reception and interpretation of the concept of Puruṣa. Therefore it is no wonder that elements of this Vedic conception of Puruṣa were later easily included in Brahmanical, especially Vaiṣṇava texts.

***Upaniṣadic viewpoint : Aitareya-upaniṣad 1 and Mahānārāyaṇa-upaniṣad (TA 8-9) 235-243 etc.***

Aitareya-Upaniṣad 1.1-3 gives a variant of the Puruṣa myth: The Creator, here Ātman, fashions the Puruṣa from (the mud taken out of) the Waters, and then broods him like an egg. That is the prototype of Brahmā's egg in the epic and Purāṇic versions.

Nārāyaṇa the thousand-headed (*sahasraśīrṣan*) etc. is identified in the Mahānārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad 235-243 ff with the cosmic Puruṣa. This means that the Puruṣa here has been given the name Nārāyaṇa:

235. *sahasraśīrṣaṃ devaṃ / viśvākṣaṃ viśvaśambhuvam /*  
 236. *viśvaṃ nārāyaṇaṃ devam / akṣaram paramaṃ padam /*  
 237. *viśvataḥ paramaṃ nityaṃ / viśvaṃ nārāyaṇaṃ harim /*  
 238. *viśvam eva-idaṃ puruṣas / tad viśvam upajīvati /*  
 239. *patiṃ viśvasya-ātmeśvaraṃ / śāśvataṃ śivam acyutam /*  
 240. *nārāyaṇaṃ mahājñeyaṃ / viśvātmānaṃ parāyaṇam /*  
 '(Let us invoke...)

235 ... the thousand-headed celestial/with eyes on everything, beneficent to all; 236. the Universe, the celestial Nārāyaṇa; the imperishable syllable, the highest word, 237. higher than everything, eternal, the Universe, Nārāyaṇa, Hari (the Golden one). 238. Puruṣa is this whole world. Therefore everything lives due to ... 239. ... the Lord of the Universe, the Ruler of the Self, the Eternal, Gracious and Unshakable one, 240. Nārāyaṇa, to be known as Mighty, the Self of everybody, who is the highest refuge (or goal).

***A glance at the Mahābhārata, its khila, and the Purāṇas***

The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata (12.321-339) narrates the visit of the divine messenger Nārada to the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa in Badarāśrama in the Himālayas, and his journey — by their instruction — to the northern island of Śvetadvīpa where white people of diamond bodies

and alert intellect live, who constantly have Nārāyaṇa alone on their mind (*ekāntin*). Nārada himself experiences a vision of Nārāyaṇa as Omniform (All-Colouring, Viśvarūpa), who teaches him, among other things, that Vāsudeva is the Self (*ātman*), Saṃkarṣaṇa is the soul (*jīva*), Pradyumna is the mind (*manas*), and Aniruddha is the ego (*ahaṃkāra*) of all beings (MBh 326.31-39). This instruction is called the great Upaniṣad which became Sāṃkhya and Yoga and received the name of Pāñcarātra.

In his article, as presented at DICSEP 5, Brinkhaus shows how the Manusmṛti and purāṇic versions of cosmogony depend on the versions in Mahābhārata 12.224-225 and Harivaṃśa 1.15-28. The purāṇic versions closest to the Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa versions are those in the Brahmāṇḍa- and Vāyupurāṇa; the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa depends on them; and the cosmogonic report in the Viṣṇupurāṇa depends largely on the Mārkaṇḍeya report.

At the beginning of this paper it was shown how the mythological cosmogonic passage in the Harivaṃśa uses elements of the Vedic tradition, especially of the Puruṣa myth, and juxtaposes upon it a proto-Sāṃkhya version of 'continuous creation'.

In another article, presented at DICSEP 1, Brinkhaus (1999: 35-48) investigates the genesis of the *trimūrti* doctrine, and discovers that, according to Kirfel's Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, of the four groups of texts I, IIA, IIB, and III (identified by correspondences among them), group I knows of Brahmā-Nārāyaṇa (Harivaṃśa), group IIA differentiates between Brahmā and Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa (Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa), group IIB introduces the concept of tryavasthā (Brahmā-Kāla-Puruṣa) (Vāyupurāṇa, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Liṅgapurāṇa), and group III knows already of the *trimūrti* (Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva) (Matsyapurāṇa). Even in this respect, the concepts of Puruṣa and Nārāyaṇa, inherited from Vedic texts, play a crucial role.

### ***A Glance at the Pāñcarātra saṃhitās***

In the Tantras, different cosmogonical traditions are hierarchically ordered: The Tantric theological concepts are used to present the first stage of creation, *śuddhasṛṣṭi* 'the pure creation', the Sāṃkhya elements are used in a Tantric elaboration to present the second creation, *miśrasṛṣṭi* 'the mixed



creation', and the Vedic mythic elements in Purāṇic garb are used, first, to partly present the second stage, and, thereafter, to present the third stage of creation, *aśuddhasṛṣṭi* 'impure creation'. The following table shows the notions in the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra Tantric tradition:<sup>14</sup>

1. śuddhasṛṣṭi	
Nārāyaṇa	vs. Lakṣmī ( <i>śakti</i> 'power')
4 <i>vyūhas</i> 'transpositions, manifestations'	vs. 6 guṇas 'excellences' of the Pāñcarātra school
Vāsudeva	all six guṇas (unmanifested)
Saṃkarṣaṇa	<i>bala</i> (in <i>sṛṣṭi</i> ) & <i>jñāna</i> (in <i>mukti</i> )
Pradyumna	<i>aiśvarya</i> (in <i>sṛṣṭi</i> ) & <i>vīrya</i> (in <i>mukti</i> )
Anirudda	<i>śakti</i> (in <i>sṛṣṭi</i> ) & <i>tejas</i> (in <i>mukti</i> )
2. miśrasṛṣṭi	
<i>kūṭastha puruṣa</i> 'Puruṣa standing at the top' ( <i>samasta-puruṣa</i> 'universal Puruṣa') 4 x 2 Manus (man and woman) are born from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet: a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra pair of progenitors of the varṇas <sup>15</sup>	vs. <i>māyāśakti</i> , <i>kāla</i> , <i>niyati</i> 'the power of manifestation or illusion, time and necessity' (like 6 <i>kañcukas</i> 'corselets' in Śivism) <i>puruṣa</i> vs. <i>prakṛti</i> > <i>pariṇāma</i> 'evolution' of the tattvas from the <i>buddhi</i> 'consciousness, intellect' and <i>ahaṃkāra</i> 'ego' to the <i>mahābhūtāni</i> 'elements', roughly following Sāṃkhya teaching
3. aśuddhasṛṣṭi	
Brahmā	vs. <i>brahmāṇḍa</i> 'the cosmic Egg' Creation of the worlds from the elements according to the Purāṇic cosmogony and cosmology (deriving from the Vedic ones) and of all the beings in the world

<sup>14</sup> Schrader 1911: 31-107.

<sup>15</sup> Here it is obvious how the Vedic model of the creation from the cosmic Puruṣa influenced the transformation of the Sāṃkhya psychology into cosmology

Very similar schemes are used in other Brahmanical (Hindu) Tantric traditions: the Śaiva and Śākta traditions.<sup>16</sup>

### Conclusion

Horst Brinkhaus shows in his articles, which motivated this paper, how the Harivaṃśa, the Manusmṛti, and the Purāṇas link a new Proto-Sāṃkhya conception of cosmogony with the old mythical Vedic ideas of cosmogony, especially those linked with the notions of Puruṣa and Nārāyaṇa.

This paper pays attention to the Vedic origins of these notions of the macrocosmic person, or Macrocosm/Universe as a Puruṣa 'Man, Person', who was born from or fashioned by the Creator in the beginning, and from whom everything else was born. Gradually, Nārāyaṇa 'The Son of Man', was identified with him. The aim of the paper is to shed more light on the origins of these very influential Vedic notions, their original meaning, and their later Vedic and post-Vedic development.

During this development these notions have undergone transformations, but have remained recognizable in the epic and Purāṇic combination with the Proto-Sāṃkhya ideas, which used to be put forward in the descriptions of cosmogony, before the Vedic ones, as Brinkhaus, among others, has nicely shown.

A similar process continued in the Tantric texts of all denominations, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, and Śākta, where the cosmogony was further elaborated upon, and received a new set of Tantric concepts, which became the theological superstructure of the Sāṃkhya notions. The new Tantric concepts were given precedence over the Sāṃkhya ones, and the new tripartite scheme of cosmogony emerged, where the Tantric theology described the first, divine phase of cosmogony (from the viewpoint of the absolute), the *śuddhasṛṣṭi*; the Sāṃkhya lore served to describe the second, more or less internalized, psychological phase of cosmogony (largely from the viewpoint of the subject), the *miśrasṛṣṭi*; and the greatly transformed, but recognizable, Vedic model was given the last and final place and served to describe partly the second, and thereafter the third, material phase of cosmogony (from the viewpoint of and with respect to the objective world), the *aśuddhasṛṣṭi*.

<sup>16</sup> See e.g. Mahadevan 1974: 261-357.

However, the intuitions of the Vedic sages, and their spiritual ancestors from a time beyond memory, and their mighty and enigmatic, but highly structured and elaborate images of the Universe as an all-encompassing macrocosmic Being or Person, Puruṣa, Son or Offspring of the Creator, from whom everything else was born, remained the moving force behind the transformation of the proto-Sāṃkhya psychology into a cosmogony, and behind the Tantric and all subsequent cosmogonic and cosmological speculations in India ever after.

### Abbreviations

BdP	: Brāhmāṇḍapurāṇa
CE	: Critical Edition
DICSEP	: Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas
HV	: Harivaṃśa
K	: Kāṇva
LP	: Liṅgapurāṇa
M	: Mādhyamīna
MarkP	: Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa
MatsyaP	: Matsyapurāṇa
MBh	: Mahābhārata
RS	: Ṛksamhitā
ŚB	: Śatapathabrāhmaṇa
ŚS	: Śrautasūtra(s)
VāP	: Vāyupurāṇa
VS	: Vājasaneyisamhitā

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