

PŪRVĀPARAPRAJÑĀBHINANDANAM
EAST AND WEST, PAST AND PRESENT

**Indological and Other Essays
in Honour of Klaus Karttunen**

EDITED BY

BERTIL TIKKANEN & ALBION M. BUTTERS

STUDIA ORIENTALIA 110

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THE RECOVERY OF THE BODY AFTER DEATH: A PREHISTORY OF THE DEVAYĀNA AND PITṚYĀNA

Masato Fujii

1. THE DEVAYĀNA AND PITṚYĀNA¹

In the theory of the *devayāna* and *pitṛyāna*,² the late Vedic rebirth theory of the path(s) followed by a man after his death, the deceased passes through various temporal and spatial entities, such as the day and the moon. An earlier version of this theory found in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa (1.49–50) narrates only one path for the deceased instead of two separate paths as presented in the later versions discussed below. According to this version, the deceased proceeds from the crematory fire to his final goal (i.e. the sun) through the following entities:³

1 The present article is based on the paper I read at the 3rd International Vedic Workshop, Leiden, 30 May – 2 June 2002. I wish to express my thanks to Shingo Einoo and Henk Bodewitz for their valuable information and suggestions given at the workshop and on other occasions. This article will focus on the deceased's journey through the temporal and spatial entities in the theory of the *devayāna* and *pitṛyāna*, and will not deal with other components of the theory, such as the questions and answers between the heavenly gatekeeper and the deceased, seen in earlier versions, and the deceased's rebirth on earth, which is clearly mentioned in later versions. These topics are briefly discussed in Fujii (1990). Cf. nn. 4, 19 below.

2 JB 1.17–18; 1.46; 1.49–50; BĀUK 6.2.15–16 / ŚBM 14.9.1.18–19 ~ ChU 5.10 (5.10.1–2 ≈ 4.15.5–6) ~ Nirukta 13.21–22 (Pariśiṣṭa 2.8–9); KauṣU 1; cf. JUB 1.1–7; 3.11–14 (3.14.1–6 = JB 1.18 [9,19–26]); 3.20–28. For the post-Vedic versions, see 4. below. For the *devayāna* and *pitṛyāna* and its different versions, see Windisch (1908: 59–76); Bodewitz (1969; 1973: 52–61, 110–123); Murakami (1979b); Ikari (1988: 289 ff.); Ōtomo (1989); Fujii (1990); Schmithausen (1995: 60 ff.). The versions in the BĀU and the ChU together with a version in the JB (1.46) directly follow the passages on the *pañcāgnividya*, the doctrine of divine offering to the cosmic five fires through which a person comes into existence on earth (JB 1.45; BĀUK 6.2.9–14 / ŚBM 14.9.1.12–17; ChU 5.3–9). For the *pañcāgnividya*, see Oertel (1926: 134–138); Bodewitz (1973: 110–123); Murakami (1980); Ikari (1988: 283 ff.); Schmithausen (1994); Wilden (2000: 189–204); Sakamoto-Gotō (2001). For the *pañcāgnividya* and the *devayāna* and *pitṛyāna* as a whole, see Keith (1925: II, 575 ff.); Frauwallner (1953: 49–55); Bodewitz (1973: 243–253; 1996a); Reat (1977: 164 ff.); Murakami (1979a) (interpretations by Vedāntins); Tull (1989: 33 ff.); Bronkhorst (2007: 112–135).

3 The journey of the deceased here starts from the scene of cremation. The passage begins with the sentence: *tasyopādīptasya dhūma eva śarīram dhunoti* 'When he (the deceased) has caught fire,

JB 1.49–50

the smoke → the night → the day → the half-month of the waning moon → the half-month of the waxing moon → the month → the seasons → [question & answer]⁴ → the fathers and grandfathers → the sun

In later versions in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (BĀUK 6.2.15–16 / ŚBM 14.9.1.18–19) and Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (5.10) as well as a similar version in the Nirukta (13.21–22 [Pariśiṣṭa 2.8–9]),⁵ the entities are divided into two opposing groups, bright and dark, which form the *devayāna* (the path to the gods) and the *pīṭyāna* (the path to the fathers) respectively.⁶ Unlike the earlier versions, in which the deceased must go through a trial of questions and answers on his way to the final destination (see n. 4), here the course of the deceased forks already on earth. The deceased is destined to follow one of two separate paths, depending on his belief and practice when alive. The one who follows the first path passes through the bright entities and finally reaches the world of *brāhman* to remain there for all eternity, while the one who follows the other path passes through the dark entities and finally returns to this world to be born again. According to the BĀU version, the deceased passes through the following entities:

BĀUK 6.2.15–16 / ŚBM 14.9.1.18–19

<*devayāna*> the flame → the day → the half-month of the waxing moon → the six months when the sun moves north → the world of the gods → the sun → the region of lightning → the worlds of *brāhman*

the smoke shakes off his body.’ The expression *śarīraṃ/śarīrāṇi dhū* is used for a person who is being cremated or being in a similar situation: MS 3.9.6 [123,8]; KS 26.7 [130,10] = KapS 41.5 [280,3]; AB 4.24.3; JB 1.49; 1.252; JUB 1.15.5; 3.30.2; 3.38.10; 3.39.1; ChU 8.13.1. *śarīraṃ* and *śarīrāṇi* in this expression denote the solid body (skeleton) and bones which are left as ashes at the cremation. Cf. nn. 21, 43 below.

4 In the versions in the JB and the KauṣU, the deceased undergoes a trial on his way to the final destination, in which he has to show that he knows his cosmic origin and/or his identity with the highest deity by giving a correct answer to a question given by a certain cosmic entity (the seasons JB 1.18a, one of the seasons JB 1.46; 49, the sun JB 1.18b {1.18 [9,19–26] = JUB 3.14.1–6}, the moon KauṣU 1.2). See Bodewitz (1969; 1973: 52–53, 113–114, 247 ff.; 1996a: 53–54). Two passages on ascension to heaven by means of a special *sāman* in the JUB (1.1–7; 3.11–14) have the same kind of dialogues just before the final goal. See Fujii (1990: 47–48).

5 For Nirukta 13.21–22 (Pariśiṣṭa 2.8–9), see Windisch (1908: 73 ff.); Keith (1925: II, 575 ff.).

6 The same division of temporal entities such as seasons, half-months, day and night, into two groups, one belonging to the *devas* and the other to the *pitṛs*, is found also ŚBM 2.1.3.1–3 (ŚBK 1.1.3.1–2); Vādhūla-Anvākyāna 4.12 (ed. Ikari) = Caland, 4, No. 28a (AO 6: 133 = *Kl. Schr.*: 433). See Bodewitz (1973: 121, n. 22).

<*pitryāna*> the smoke → the night → the half-month of the waning moon → the six months when the sun moves south → the world of the fathers → the moon → space → the wind → rain → the earth → food

The version in the Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad (1.2–3), for which the JB (esp. 1.18) provides a source,⁷ narrates a single path for the deceased, even though it has a similar introductory story as the BĀU and ChU versions.⁸ This version has the moon as the first entity, described as “the gate to the heavenly world”, and enumerates the following worlds through which the deceased passes:

KauṣU 1.2–3

this world → the moon → [question & answer] → the world of fire → the world of wind → the world of Varuṇa → the world of Indra → the world of Prajāpati → the world of Brahman⁹

Thus, all the versions of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna* (except some of the post-Vedic ones)¹⁰ describe the deceased’s journey through various temporal and spatial entities as a common motif. For what purpose does the deceased pass through those entities on the way to his final destination?

In Vedic texts, day and night represent the finite and recurring time of this world, whereas the year symbolises the eternity of the heavenly world.¹¹ This symbolism may suggest that the journey of the deceased through the temporal entities constitutes a gradual transition from the finite temporal world to the eternal timeless world.¹² This cannot be the original meaning of the deceased’s passing through the entities, however, because the entities are spatial as well as temporal.¹³

7 See Bodewitz (1969; 2002: 9 ff.).

8 For the comparison between the introductory stories of the KauṣU, BĀU, and ChU versions, see Söhnen (1981). For the text of KauṣU 1, see Thieme (1951–52); Frenz (1969); cf. Bodewitz (1996a: 54; 2002: 6–7).

9 Similar cosmic entities and worlds are mentioned in BĀUK 3.6 / ŚBM 14.6.6: this world is woven on the water; the water is woven on the wind; ... on the worlds of the intermediate region; ... on the worlds of the Gandharvas; ... on the worlds of the sun; ... on the worlds of the moon; ... on the worlds of the stars; ... on the worlds of the gods; ... on the worlds of Indra; ... on the worlds of Prajāpati; ... on the worlds of *brāhman*. Cf. also BĀUK 4.3.33 / ŚBM 14.7.1.32–39; TU 2.8. For Brahman (m.) in KauṣU 1, see my forthcoming article “The Throne and Brahman: Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad 1”, based on my paper read at the 4th International Vedic Workshop, Austin, 23–27 May 2007.

10 See 4. below.

11 Cf. ŚBM 1.6.1.19 (ŚBK 2.5.3.15); 2.3.3.11,12 (3.1.9.3); 10.2.6.4 (12.2.5.3); 11.1.2.12; 12.1.2.3 (14.1.2.3); 12.2.2.23 (14.2.2.16); JB 1.6; 1.11. See Bodewitz (1973: 58, n. 16).

12 Concerning the deceased’s journey in JB 1.49, Bodewitz observes: “The journey brings the deceased out of phenomenal time symbolized by subdivisions of the year” (1996a: 53–54).

13 Tull (1989: 36–37) argues in vague terms that the deceased’s journey through the cosmic enti-

2. JAIMINĪYA-UPANIṢAD-BRĀHMAṆA 3.20–28

The Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda, most probably the earliest Upaniṣad,¹⁴ includes a long passage on rebirth (3.20–28). Despite its dissimilar narrative style from the passages on the *devayāna* and *pitryāna*, it reveals the original purport of the deceased’s journey through the temporal and spatial entities.¹⁵ The passage consists of dialogues between the deceased and the cosmic entities which he visits one after another.

JUB 3.20.23–28

the earth → the fire → the wind → the intermediate region → the quarters →
the day and night → the half-months → months → the seasons → the year → the
heavenly Gandharvas → Apsarases → the sky → the gods → the sun ↔ the moon

It deserves special notice that when the deceased visits the entities, he regains his vital functions and bodily elements from them. The passage starts with a dialogue between the deceased and the earth.

JUB 3.20.6–9

6. *tam iyaṃ āgatam pṛthivī pratinandati. ayaṃ te bhagavo lokaḥ. saha nāv ayaṃ loka iti.* 7. *yad vāva me tvayīty āha. tad vāva me punar dehīti.* 8. *kin nu te mayīti. nāma me śarīram me pratiṣṭhā me. tan me tvayī. tan me punar dehīti. tad asmā iyaṃ pṛthivī punar dadāti.* 9. *tām āha. pra mā vabheti. kim abhīti. agnim iti. tam agnim abhipravahati.*

6. This earth joyfully receives him (the deceased) who has come, [saying] “This world is yours, sir. This world is ours in common.” 7. [The deceased] says, “What of me is in you, give that back to me.” 8. [The earth asks,] “What of you is in me?” [The deceased says,] “My name, my body, my foundation. That of me is in you. Give that back to me.” The earth gives that back to him. 9. He says to her (the earth), “Carry me forth.” [The earth says,] “To what?” [He says,] “To the fire.” [The earth] carries him forth to the fire.

In this way, the deceased gets back the following vital functions and bodily elements from the cosmic entities when he visits them:

ties is related with “the notion of attaining a series of worlds, of becoming integrated into the cosmos as a whole”.

¹⁴ For the formation of the JUB and its chronological and inter-textual relationship with the ChU and BĀU, see Fujii (1997: 89–94; 1999).

¹⁵ Windisch (1908: 65–66) notices this passage in connection with the *devayāna* and *pitryāna*, but does not touch the point mentioned here. Cf. Keith (1925: II, 577).

JUB 3.20–28

<entities>	<vital functions and bodily elements>
1. earth (<i>pr̥thivī</i>):	name (<i>nāman</i>), body (<i>śarīra</i>), foundation (<i>pratiṣṭhā</i>)
2. fire (<i>agnī</i>):	heat (<i>tapas</i>), splendour (<i>tejas</i>), food (<i>anna</i>), speech (<i>vāc</i>)
3. wind (<i>vāyu</i>):	exhalation and inhalation (<i>prāṇāpānau</i>), learning (<i>śruta</i>)
4. intermediate region (<i>antarikṣaloka</i>):	space (<i>ākāśa</i>)
5. quarters (<i>dīśaḥ</i>):	hearing (<i>śrotra</i>)
6. day and night (<i>ahorātre</i>):	imperishableness (<i>akṣiti</i>)
7. half-months (<i>ardhamāsāḥ</i>):	small joints (<i>kṣudrāṇi parvāṇi</i>)
8. months (<i>māsāḥ</i>):	large joints (<i>sthūlāṇi parvāṇi</i>)
9. seasons (<i>ṛtavaḥ</i>):	chief joints (<i>jyāyāṇsi parvāṇi</i>)
10. year (<i>saṃvatsara</i>):	self (body) (<i>ātman</i>) ¹⁶
11. heavenly Gandharvas (<i>divyā gandarvāḥ</i>):	fragrance (<i>gandha</i>), pleasure (<i>moda</i>), delight (<i>pramoda</i>)
12. Apsarases (<i>apsarasāḥ</i>):	laughter (<i>hasa</i>), play (<i>krīḍa</i>), copulation (<i>mithuna</i>)
13. sky (<i>div</i>):	satisfaction (<i>tyṛpti</i>)
14. gods (<i>devāḥ</i>):	immortality (<i>amṛta</i>)
15. sun (<i>āditya</i>):	vigour (<i>ojas</i>), strength (<i>bala</i>), sight (<i>cakṣus</i>)
16. moon (<i>chandramas</i>):	mind (<i>manas</i>), semen (<i>retas</i>), offspring (<i>prajā</i>), rebirth (<i>punarsambhūti</i>)

Here the journey of the deceased through the entities represents the gradual process of the recovery of his own body after death by getting back his vital functions and bodily elements which have been deposited in the corresponding cosmic entities. From this passage in the JUB, it can be reasonably inferred that the similar journey of the deceased in the theory of the *devayāna* and *pitṛyāna* must have the same purpose, that is, the recovery of the body after death by regaining vital functions and bodily elements from the cosmic entities.

The present passage concludes the deceased's journey with his going back and forth between the sun and the moon, aiming for the world of *brahman* (*brahmaṇo lokaḥ*) (3.28.1–3).¹⁷ It is unclear whether the deceased does not reach the world

16 It is probable that the word *ātman* here means the body. Cf. TS 7.5.251; BĀUK 1.1/ŚB10.6.4.1 below (3.2). For *ātman* in the meaning of 'body' or 'trunk', see Gotō (1996: 80, n. 32); cf. Renou (1952: 155).

17 JUB 3.28.1. *kim abhīti. brahmaṇo lokam iti. tam ādityam abhipravahati. 2. sa ādityam āba. pra mā vaheti. kim abhīti. brahmaṇo lokam iti. tañ candramasam abhipravahati. sa evam ete devate anusāñ-*

of *brahman* or whether the world of *brahman* does not exist beyond the sun and the moon (i.e. the world of *brahman* is nothing but the sun and the moon).¹⁸ But whether the deceased has reached the world of *brahman* or not, he has recovered his complete body at the final stage of the journey.¹⁹

3. THREE CONCEPTS FORMING THE IDEA OF THE RECOVERY OF THE BODY AFTER DEATH

By containing dialogues between the deceased and the cosmic entities, JUB 3.20–28 is a unique passage. Yet it cannot be supposed that the JUB wholly invented the idea of the recovery of the body after death by regaining the vital functions and bodily elements from the cosmic entities. The idea can be analysed into the following three concepts:

1. The concept of the deceased's new body after death
2. The correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities
3. The making of the self (*ātman*) in the rituals

These three concepts have been developed, separately and jointly, in the earlier Vedic texts. By tracing their respective development, we can elucidate an ideological background and prehistory of the theory of the *devayāna* and *pityāna*.

3.1 The concept of the deceased's new body after death

Already in the Ṛgveda, we can see the idea of the acquisition of a body (*tanū-*) in the other world. In a hymn to Yama (10.14.8), the deceased is told to merge with a body in the highest heaven.²⁰ In later texts, the same idea is expressed in

carati. 3. *eṣo 'nto 'taḥ paraḥ pravāho nāsti*. '1. [The moon says] "To what?" [The deceased says] "To the world of *brahman*." It carries him forth to the sun. 2. He says to the sun, "Carry me forth." [The sun says] "To what?" [He says] "To the world of *brahman*." It carries him forth to the moon. In this way, he goes back and forth between these two deities (sun and moon). This is the end. There is no carrying forth beyond this.'

18 For the identification of the moon with Brahman, see Gonda (1986: 153–154).

19 After this passage, the JUB goes on to say that he who has reached the sun and the moon, if he should wish to be born again in this world, could be born into any family he desires, be it a royal family or a Brāhmaṇa family (3.28.4). This is one of the early passages which explicitly refer to the deceased's rebirth on earth; see Windisch (1908: 65–66); Fujii (1990: 51–52); Bodewitz (1992: 12; 1996a: 56; 1997–98: 593–594). Cf. JUB 4.14.4: this world → the wind → the clouds → rain → this world; cf. Oertel (1894: 243) (on JUB 4.14.4); Bodewitz (1973: 253, n. 22). For MS 1.8.6 [123,18 ff.] as the earliest passage on the deceased's return to this world, see Sakamoto-Gotō (2000: 488–489).

20 ṚV 10.14.8 *sām gachasva tanvā* 'Join with a [new] body.' Cf. 10.15.14 *tanvām kalpayasva* 'Set a [new] body in order'; 10.16.5 *sām gachatām tanvā* 'Let him (the deceased) join with a [new] body.'

the words *sátanū* ‘with the body’, *sárvatanū* ‘with the whole body’, *sāṅga* ‘with [all] the limbs’, *sātman* ‘with the self (body)’, and *sásarīra* ‘with the body’: e.g. JB 2.20 *te haivāmuṣmin loke sāṅgās satanavo ’mṛtās saṃbhavanti* ‘They are born in yonder world with [all] the limbs, with the body, being immortal’; ŚBM 4.6.1.1 *sá ha sárvatanūr evá yájamāno ’múṣmiṃ loké sám bhavati* ‘The sacrificer is born in yonder world with the whole body’; TS 5.3.5.2 *sátmā ’múṣmiṃ loké bhavati* ‘He comes into being in yonder world with the self (body)’; TB 3.11.7.3 *hiraṇyaṃ vā agnér nāciketāsya śarīram. yá evāṃ véda, sásarīra evá svargám lokám eti* ‘The body of the Nāciketa Agni altar is gold. One who knows thus goes to the heavenly world with the body.’²¹ In JUB 3.20–28, this old idea is combined with the below-mentioned concept of correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities.

3.2 The correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities

The concept of correspondence or equivalence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities can be traced back to the Puruṣa-Sūkta in the ṚV (10.90).²² As a variation of the same concept, a hymn to the funeral fire (ṚV 10.16.3) shows an early form of the idea of the vital functions’ going away to the corresponding cosmic entities after death.²³

In the late Vedic texts, the correspondence of this kind occurs mostly in the form of the correspondence between the five vital functions (speech, breath, sight, mind, hearing) and the five cosmic entities (fire, wind, sun, moon, quarters), with minor variations.²⁴ On the basis of the correspondence in this form,

21 *sátanū* and *sāṅga* JB1.321; 2.20; JUB 3.3.3; 3.3.5; 4.8.9; 4.9.9; 4.10.8; 4.10.9; 4.10.18. *sárvatanū* and *sāṅga* ŚBM 12.8.3.31 (ŚBK 14.5.3.29); *sárvatanū* ŚBM 4.6.1.1 (5.8.1.1–2); 11.1.8.6; 12.8.3.31 (14.5.3.29); *sāṅga* AĀ 1.3.8; *sātman* TS 5.3.5.2; 5.4.1.2f.; 5.3.6.3; 5.5.8.3; 5.6.6.3; ŚBM 12.1.2.3 (14.1.2.3); 12.2.2.23 (14.2.2.16); *sásarīra* TB 3.11.7.3; PB 21.4.3; ChU 8.12.1. Note that these words are not attested in other Upaniṣads than the JUB with the exception of *sásarīra* ChU 8.12.1, where *śarīra* is associated with death. Among the words for ‘body’, *śarīra* in particular implies mortality in many places, denoting the mundane or physical body. Cf. nn. 3, 43.

22 ṚV 10.90.13–14 *candrāmā mānaso jātās cākṣoḥ sūryo ajāyata / mūkhād indras cāgnīs ca prāṇād vāyūr ajāyata /13/ nābhya āsīd antárikṣaṃ śrīṣṇó dyáuḥ sám avartata /padbhyām bhūmir diśáḥ śrótrāt táthā lokám akalpayan /14/ ‘13. The moon was born from [the Puruṣa’s] mind; the sun was born from [his] sight. From [his] mouth Indra and Agni [were born]; from [his] breath the wind was born. 14. From [his] navel the intermediate region was; from [his] head the sky arose. From [his] two feet the earth; from [his] hearing the quarters. Thus [the gods] set the worlds in order’ (cf. AVŚ 19.6; AVP 9.5; VS 31; TĀ 3.12).*

23 ṚV 10.16.3 *sūryaṃ cākṣur gachatu vātam ātmā dyāṃ ca gacha pṛthivīm ca dhármanā / ... ‘Let the sight go to the sun, the self (breath) to the wind. Go to the sky and to the earth in due order.’ = TĀ 6.1.4; BaudhPS 1.8 ≈ AVŚ 18.2.7. Cf. AVŚ 5.9.7; TB 3.10.8.*

24 See Fujii (1999: 62–63).

it is said in ŚBM 10.3.3.8 (ŚBK 12.3.3.7) that when a person dies, he goes into the fire by his speech, into the sun by his sight, into the moon by his mind, into the quarters by his hearing, and into the wind by his breath.²⁵ In the BĀU, the same idea is expressed in an expanded form by one of the disputants, Ārtabhāga by name, in his final question to Yājñavalkya: ‘When a person has died, and his speech goes into the fire, his breath into the wind, his sight into the sun, his mind into the moon, his hearing into the quarters, his body into the earth, his self into the space, the hair of his body into plants, the hair of his head into trees, and his blood and semen are deposited in the water, what becomes of this person then?’ (3.2.13)²⁶

In some passages we find the idea of (re)gaining the vital functions from the cosmic entities. The AVŚ contains a hymn (19.43) that asks the cosmic entities (such as the fire, the wind, the sun, the moon, etc.) to give the corresponding vital functions (such as wisdom, breaths, sight, mind, etc.) to the supplicant.²⁷ Another interesting example of the same idea is the following formula to be recited when a tiger has killed the cow which supplies the milk for the Pravargya (ŚBM 11.8.4.6; KātyŚS 25.6.11): ‘From the moon I acquire your mind, svāhā! From the sun I acquire your sight, svāhā! From the wind I acquire your breath, svāhā! From the quarters I acquire your hearing, svāhā! From the water I acquire your blood, svāhā! From the earth I acquire your body (*śarīra*), svāhā!’²⁸ With this formula, the sacrificer regains the vital functions of the killed cow for a vicarious cow. Yet another passage gives the opposite statement that the cosmic entities enter the corresponding vital functions. Dealing with the averting of imminent or unwanted death, Śāṅkhāna-Āraṇyaka 11 narrates a myth of the cosmic entities’ entrance into, departure from, and re-entry back into the vital functions. It also includes ritual formulae to ward off death by establishing the cosmic entities in the corresponding vital functions.²⁹

25 ŚBM 10.3.3.8 (ŚBK 12.3.3.7) *sāyadāvivaṇvid asmāḥ lokāt prāiti vācāvāgnīm āpyeti. cākṣuṣādityāṃ. mānasā candramā. śrōtreṇa diśaḥ. prāṇēna vāyūm.* Cf. AB 2.38–41 below (3.3): the sacrificer enters (*āpyeti*) the cosmic entities one by one.

26 BĀUK 3.2.13 (ŚBM 14.6.2.13) *yaatrāsya puruṣasya mṛtasyāgniṃ vāg āpyeti vātaṃ prāṇas cākṣur ādityaṃ manaś candramā diśaḥ śrotraṃ pṛthivīṃ śarīram ākāśam ātmauśadhīr lomāni vanaspatin keśā apsu lobhitaṃ ca retas ca nidhīyate kvāyaṃ tadā puruṣo bhavātī /*

27 Cf. AVŚ 5.10.8; 8.2.3.

28 ŚBM 11.8.4.6 *candrāt te māna sprṇomi svāhā. sūryāt te cākṣu sprṇomi svāhā. vātāt te prāṇāt sprṇomi svāhā. digbhyās te śrōtraṃ sprṇomi svāhādibhyās te lobhitaṃ sprṇomi svāhā. pṛthivyāi te śarīraṃ sprṇomi svāhā.*

29 The corresponding cosmic entities and vital functions in ŚāṅkhĀ 11 are: *agni-vāc, vāyu-prāṇa, vidyutaḥ* (Keith)/*vaidyutaḥ* (Dev, ĀnSS)-*apāna, parjanya-udāna, āditya-cakṣus, candramas-manas, diśaḥ-śrotra, pṛthivī-śarīra, āpaḥ-retas, indra-bala, isāna-manyu, ākāśa-mūrdhan, brahman-ātman.* For ŚāṅkhĀ 11, see Bodewitz (2002: 82–88). In the unpublished Vādhūla-Gṛhyasūtra, there is

Several passages on the Aśvamedha (horse sacrifice)³⁰ enumerate items similar to those in JUB 3.20–28. It is noteworthy that those items include, as in the JUB, the joints (*parvāṇi*) and the self (body) (*ātman*) together with their corresponding entities, the half-months/months and the year.

TS 7.5.25.1–2

*uṣā vā āsvasya médhyasya śiraḥ, sūryaś cākṣur, vātaḥ prāṇās, candramāḥ śrōtram,
dīśaḥ pādā, avāntaradīśāḥ pārśavo, 'horātré nimeṣò, 'rdhamāsāḥ pārvāṇi, māsāḥ
saṃdhānāny, ṛtāvò 'ṅgāni, saṃvatsarā ātmā, raśmāyaḥ kēśā, nākṣatrāṇi rūpāṇ,
tāvaka āsthāni, nābho māṃsāny, oṣadhayo lómāni, vānaspātayo vālā, agnir
múkhaṃ, vaiśvānaró vyāttam //1// samudrá udāram, antārikṣam pāyūr,
dyāvāpṛthivī āṇḍáu, grāvā śépaḥ, sómo réto, ... //2//*

Verily, the head of the sacrificial horse is the dawn. Its sight is the sun. Its breath is the wind. Its hearing is the moon. Its feet are the quarters. Its ribs are intermediate quarters. Its winking is the day and night. Its joints are the half-months. Its joinings are the months. Its limbs are the seasons. Its self (body) is the year. Its hairs are the rays. Its form is the constellations. Its bones are the stars. Its flesh is the mist. Its body hairs are the plants. Its tail hairs are the trees. Its mouth is the fire. Its gaping mouth is the fire common to all men. Its belly is the sea. Its anus is the intermediate region. Its testicles are the sky and the earth. Its penis is the pressing-stone. Its semen is the Soma.³¹

The JUB has many passages on the correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities.³² Among them, several passages (including JUB 3.20–28 above) provide even more microcosmic and macrocosmic items than usual. In JUB 1.28–30, it is said that the sun has seven rays – east, south, west, north, aloft, crosswise, and hitherward. These respectively consist of seven microcosmic items – speech, mind, sight, hearing, breath, life (*asu*), and food – which are nothing but seven macrocosmic items – fire, moon, sun, quarters, wind, lord (*iśāna*), and the waters. It further states that one who starts the chant with the sound *om* will be released into the sun from all the directions by means of these rays of the sun. In JUB 1.46–49, it is said that Prajāpati divided himself into sixteen parts, which are none other than sixteen microcosmic items – heart, action, food, semen, exhalation, inhalation, diffused breath, mind, speech, heat, sight, head, limbs,

a long parallel to Śāṅkhā 11, including the portion in question; see Kajihara (2008–2009: 33).

³⁰ TS 7.5.25.1–2 ≈ BĀUK 1.1 / ŚBM 10.6.4.1. Cf. TS 5.7.25.1 ≈ KS Aśvamedha 5.5.5.

³¹ AVŚ 9.7 (AVP 16.139) lists various bodily parts of an ox with their corresponding cosmic entities, even though the cosmic entities are rather different from the usual ones. AVŚ 10.2 and 11.8 enumerate the bodily parts of a man in detail.

³² JUB 1.28–30; 1.46–49; 2.2.1–6; 2.11.1–6, 12; 3.1–2; 3.20–28; 4.24.4–8.

bodily hair, flesh, and marrow – and from these items he created corresponding macrocosmic ones – year, seasons, months/half-months/days and nights/dawns, moon, wind, domestic animals, offspring, quarters, ocean, fire, sun, sky, trees, plants, birds, and earth.

3.3 The making of the self (*ātman*) in the rituals

For bodily recovery after death, it is essential that the vital functions and bodily elements are integrated into a unity (i.e. the body). This integration process concerns the theological concept of making the sacrificer's new self (*ātman*) by means of rituals or their constituent acts. This concept has been developed in connection with theories about the effects of the rituals.

The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (6.27–30), for example, refers to the making of the sacrificer's self (*ātma-saṃskṛti* 6.27.5) by means of the Ṛgvedic priests' recitation of hymns on the final day of the Six-day Soma sacrifice.³³ It is said that first, through the Hotṛ priest's recitation of ṚV 10.61, he (i.e. the sacrificer or the priest acting on his behalf) emits semen (*retas*); next, by the Maitrāvāruṇa priest's recitation of ṚV 8.49–59, he sets the vital functions in order (*kalpayati*); and finally, by means of the Brāhmaṇacchamsin priest's recitation of ṚV 10.131, he procreates (*prajanayati*) the sacrificer. By the same priest's recitation of ṚV 10.86, he sets the self (*ātman*) of the sacrificer in order and completes (*saṃskaroti*) the sacrificer (cf. AB 5.15.1–4).

The same Brāhmaṇa (2.38–41) also describes the making of the self (*ātma-saṃskṛti* 2.39.11) in its explanation of the Ājyaśāstra, the first recitation by the Ṛgvedic priests in the Soma sacrifice.³⁴ This passage on the making of the self shows many similarities with JUB 3.20–28. It is said that by the three preparatory acts, he (i.e. the sacrificer or the priest) pours, differentiates, and generates semen. By the recitation of the Ṛgvedic hymns and the Yājñyā, he produces (*sambhāvayati*) and completes (*saṃskurute*) the vital functions such as breath, mind, speech, hearing, inhalation, sight, self, and the auspicious signs, one by one. At the same time, he sets in order (*kalpayati*) and enters (*apyeti*) the corresponding cosmic entities such as the seasons, the months, the intermediate region, the sun, the fire, the moon, the sky and the earth, the year, and lightning.

33 Cf. Fushimi (1995: 37–38).

34 Cf. Fujii (1990: 46); Fushimi (1995: 39–40).

AB 2.38–41		
<ritual acts>	<vital functions>	<cosmic entities>
Hotṛjapa	<i>retaḥ siñcati</i>	
Tūṣṇīmśaṃsa	<i>reto vikaroti</i>	<i>ṛtūn kalpāyati / apyēti</i>
Puroruc	<i>retaḥ prajanayati</i>	<i>māsān kalp° / apy°</i>
ṚV 3.13.1	<i>prāṇaṃ sambhāvayati / saṃskurute</i>	<i>antarikṣaṃ kalp° / apy°</i>
ṚV 3.13.5	<i>manaḥ sambh° / saṃsk°</i>	<i>yo 'sau tapati etaṃ kalp° / apy°</i>
ṚV 3.13.4	<i>vācaṃ sambh° / saṃsk°</i>	<i>agniṃ kalp° / apy°</i>
ṚV 3.13.6	<i>śrotraṃ sambh° / saṃsk°</i>	<i>candramasaṃ kalp° / apy°</i>
ṚV 3.13.3	<i>apānaṃ sambh° / saṃsk°</i>	<i>vāyuaṃ kalp° / apy°</i>
ṚV 3.13.2	<i>caḥṣuḥ sambh° / saṃsk°</i>	<i>dyāvāpṛthivī kalp° / apy°</i>
ṚV 3.13.7	<i>ātmānaṃ sambh° / saṃsk°</i>	<i>saṃvatsaraṃ kalp° / apy°</i>
Yājyā	<i>puṇyāṃ lakṣmīṃ sambh° / saṃsk°</i>	<i>vidyutaṃ kalp° / apy°</i>

It should be noted that the words *vi-kṛ* and *saṃ-s-kṛ* are used here as generative terms expressing two aspects of procreation: differentiation (of semen) and unification (into the complete organs and the whole body).³⁵ While not specifically mentioned in the text, it can be supposed that the self that is formed by the ritual acts will be the sacrificer's second self after his death.³⁶

To denote the completeness of a person's body, the Brāhmaṇa texts often use the expression *daśa hastyā aṅgulayo daśa paḍyāḥ* 'Ten fingers of the hands. Ten [toes] of the feet', often followed by the word *ātmā*.³⁷ This expression occurs as a set of key words in some passages on the making of the self in the rituals. For example,

JB 2.354: 312,18–21 (≈ 2.414; cf. 2.47)

*puruṣasaṃmitaṃ ha khalu vā etat satraṃ yad eṣa pañcaviṃśatirātraḥ. / daśa vai puruṣasya hastyā aṅgulayo.*³⁸ *daśa paḍyāś. catvāri prāṅgāny. ātmā pañcaviṃśaḥ. /*

35 For *saṃ-s-kṛ* and its intransitive equivalent *saṃ-bhū*, see Gotō (1996: 78, n. 28).

36 It is clearly mentioned in ŚBM 4.3.4.5 (ŚBK 5.4.1.4) that the sacrificer's *ātman* made by the priests becomes his *ātman* in the other world: *anyāṃ vā etā etāsyātmanāṃ sāṃskurvanty etāṃ yajñāṃ ṛimāyaṃ yajurmāyaṃ sāmamāyam ābutimāyaṃ. sō 'syāmiśmīṃ lokā ātmā bhavati.* 'They (the priests) complete this sacrifice made of verses, sacrificial formulae, chants, and offerings as another self of this [sacrifice]. It becomes his (the sacrificer's) self in yonder world.' Cf. TB 3.2.7.4–5.

37 MS 1.10.13 [153,11]; 3.6.3 [63,11]; KS 23.1 [74,6f.]; 33.3 [29,10]; 33.8 [34,14–15]; 36.7 [75,3–4]; TS 6.1.1.8; 7.3.9.2; ŚBM 8.4.3 (ŚBK 10.4.3); JB 1.251; 2.342; 2.354; 2.414; 3.302; 3.319; PB 23.14.5; AB 1.19; AĀ 1.1.2; 4; 1.3.5; 8.

38 Thus Tsuchida (1979: 39). Raghv Vira & Lokesh Chandra (1954): *hasyāṅgulayo*.

*ṣaḍ imāni parvāni. ṣaḍ imāni. ṣaḍ imāni. ṣaḍ imāny. ātmā pañcaviṃśaḥ. /
dvādaśemāḥ pariśavo.³⁹ dvādaśemā. ātmaiva pañcaviṃśaḥ. / puruṣaṃ vāvaitena
saṃskuruvanti. puruṣaṃ vā prajānayananti. /*

Verily, as is known, this ritual session, namely the Twenty-five-night [Soma sacrifice], is measured of the same size of a man. Verily a man has ten fingers of the hands, ten [toes] of the feet, and four jutting limbs. The self (body) (*ātman*) is the twenty-fifth. These joints are six. These are six. These are six. These are six. The self (body) is the twenty-fifth. These ribs are twelve. These are twelve. The self (body) is the twenty-fifth. Truly, by this [rite] they perfectly form a man. Verily, they procreate a man.

Using the same expression, JB 1.251–252 sets forth the idea of joining together bodily parts to complete the self by means of the Stotras, the lauds sung by the Sāmavedic priest at the Soma sacrifice. According to this passage, on the basis of the number of the verses in each laud, one attains the entities that are related to that number and joins the corresponding bodily elements at that moment. After the Ājya, Mādhyandina-pavamāna, Prṣṭha, and Ārbhava-pavamāna lauds, the final Agniṣṭoma laud is described as follows:

JB 1.251–252: 104, 2–9

*ekaviṃśam agniṣṭomasāma. / dvādaśa māsāḥ. pañcartavas. traya⁴⁰ ime lokā.
asāv āditya ekaviṃśaḥ. / tad eva tenāpnoti. / daśa bastyā aṅgulayo.⁴¹ daśa padyā.
ātmaikaviṃśaḥ. / tad evātropasaṃdadhbāti. //251//*

*sa haivaṃ vidvān aborātraśo 'rdhamāśa⁴² māśaḥ ṛtuśas saṃvatsaraśa etasmin
sarvasmin ātmānam upasaṃdhāya taṃ mṛtyuṃ tarati yas svarge loke. / na
haivaṃ vit punar mriyate. / tasya harimayāny asthāni bhavanti. sāmamayāni
māmsāni. / sa eṣo 'pabatapāpmā dhūtaśarīro 'tityaitaṃ mṛtyuṃ śarīraṃ dhūnute.
// ... //252//*

The Agniṣṭoma chant is twenty-one-fold. The months are twelve. The seasons are five. These worlds are three. Yonder sun is the twenty-first. That he thereby attains. The fingers of the hands are ten. [The toes] of the feet are ten. The self (body) (*ātman*) is the twenty-first. That he joins here.

39 *parīśu-* (= *parśu-*) JB 2.58; 354; 414. See Tsuchida (1979: 40, n. 16).

40 For the text of JB 1, I have gratefully consulted the digital edition by Dr. Ehlers. Thus Bodewitz (1990: 291, n. 4) and Ehlers. Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra (1954): *yatra*.

41 Thus Bodewitz (1990: 291, n. 1) and Ehlers. Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra (1954): *basyāṅgulayo*.

42 Thus Ehlers. Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra (1954): *aborātrayor ardhmāśaśo*.

Knowing thus, he joins the self (body) in all this, by the day-and-night, by the half-month, by the month, by the season, by the year, and crosses over the death that is in the heavenly world. He who knows thus does not die again. His bones become made of verses, his flesh made of chants. He who has repelled evil and shaken off the physical body (*śarīra*) passes over this death and shakes off the physical body.

Here it is said that the sacrificer crosses over the second death in the heavenly world (i.e. *punarmṛtyu*) by joining the self with the temporal entities and the corresponding bodily elements to form the whole body.⁴³ The late Brāhmaṇas – including the ŚB, the JB, and the AB – are full of ritual speculations of this kind about the making of the sacrificer’s self in the heavenly world by ritual performances.⁴⁴ Such speculations in earlier texts must have been an indispensable source for JUB 3.20–28 (cited above).⁴⁵

4. CONCLUSION

The motif of the deceased’s journey through the temporal and spatial entities in the theory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna* is, as JUB 3.20–28 shows, originally based on the idea of the recovery of the body after death by regaining the vital functions and bodily elements from their corresponding cosmic entities. As I have discussed above, this idea consists of three separate concepts that have been

43 On the present passage (JB 1.252) together with JUB 3.38.10, Bodewitz observes: “It is also remarkable that the body is regarded as the evil, death, which should be overcome. [...] The Vedic ideal of continuing life in heaven with a perfect body has already become defeated by new conceptions in which immortality loses its connection with an incorporated individual” (1996b: 45; cf. 1992: 15; 1997–98: 597–598). It is, however, after the JUB that the “new conceptions” became manifest. Cf. n. 21 (the disappearance of the expressions *sātanū* ‘with the body’, etc. after the JUB). Moreover, in JB 1.252 and JUB 3.38.10, it is exclusively the *śarīra* that is described negatively as associated with death. For the word *śarīra* and the expression *śarīraṃ/śarīrāṇi dhū*, see nn. 3, 21. The purport of the present passage is that the Stotras in the Soma sacrifice make up the self (*ātman*) as the body in heaven of the sacrificer, whose bones and flesh will be made of verses and chants respectively, and that by acquiring this ritualistic or spiritual body, so to speak, the sacrificer will rid himself of the mortality of the physical body (*śarīra*). It should also be noted that JB 1.252 and JUB 3.38.10 is related with Sāmavedic speculations on the chant (*sāman*) and the verse (*ṛc*). In the JB, the chant and the verse are, as an inseparable pair, identified with the flesh and bones, respectively, of the sacrificer’s new body (JB 1.252; 259). In the JUB, on the other hand, the verse is regarded as the physical body (*śarīra*) which, being associated with death, should be thrown away, particularly in the case of a basic *sāman* called *gāyatra*, and it is advocated that the *gāyatra* should be sung without the body (verse). JUB 3.38.10 is concerned with this bodiless *gāyatra*. For the development of the *gāyatra* in the history of the Sāmavedic texts, see Fujii (in press); for philosophical speculations on the bodiless *gāyatra* in the JUB, see Fujii (1984; 1987).

44 In addition to the passages mentioned above, cf. ŚBM 4.6.1.1 (ŚBK 5.8.1.1–2); 11.1.8.6; 12.8.3.31 (14.5.3.29).

45 For the relationship of the JUB with the JB, AB, and ŚB, see Fujii (1997: 92 ff.).

developed in the earlier Vedic texts: 1) the deceased's new body after death; 2) the correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities; and 3) the making of self in the rituals.

Within the development of the theory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna*, however, the entities through which the deceased passes became limited to temporal ones, as seen in the BĀU and ChU versions. As a result, the meaning of the deceased's journey through the cosmic entities was shifted from its original purpose to a secondary one, that is, from the deceased's gradual recovery of his lost body on the way to the final destination to the deceased's gradual transition from this temporal world toward the eternal yonder world.

In post-Vedic versions of the theory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna*,⁴⁶ the deceased's passing through the cosmic entities is not mentioned at all or survives only as a relic. The Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad (1.2.10–11) and the Praśna-Upaniṣad (1.9–10) present abridged versions of the theory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna*. The MU, omitting the cosmic entities altogether, states only the final goal (*puruṣa* = *ātman*) in the former path and the return to this world in the latter path.⁴⁷ The PrU mentions the two courses, southern and northern, of the year (cf. BĀU, ChU: 'the six months when the sun moves south', 'the six months when the sun moves north'), together with the moon and the sun as their respective final destinations. Yet it places the other temporal entities (i.e. the dark half and bright half of the month, as well as day and night) outside the theory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna* as the times when people and sages should perform sacrifices and coitus (1.12–13).⁴⁸

46 See Windisch (1908: 59–76 *passim*); Keith (1925: II, 575 ff. *passim*); Murakami (1980: 8–9); Schmithausen (1995: 61, 66–67).

47 MU 1.2.10–11 *iṣṭāpūrtaṃ manyamānā variṣṭaṃ nānyac chreyo vedayante pramūḍhāḥ / nākasya pṛṣṭhe te sukṛte 'nubhūtvemaṃ lokam bhīnataṃ vā viśanti / 10 / tapaḥśraddhe ye hy upavasanty aranye śāntā vidvāṃso bhāikṣacaryāṃ carantaḥ / sūryadvāreṇa te virajāḥ prayānti yatrāmṛtaḥ sa puruṣo hy avyayātmā / 11 /* '10. Thinking the merit of sacrifices and gifts to be the best, the fools do not know another superior thing. After enjoying the fruits of their good deeds at the top of the firmament, they enter this world or a viler [world]. 11. Those who apply themselves to austerity and faith in the wilderness, being calm and wise, and practicing mendicancy, they, being spotless, go through the sun's door to where the immortal Person resides as the immutable Self.'

48 PrU 1.9–13 *saṃvatsaro vai prajāpatiḥ / tasyāyane dakṣiṇaṃ cottaraṃ ca / tad ye ha vai tad iṣṭāpūrte kṛtaṃ ity upāsate te cāndramasam eva lokam abhijayante / ta eva punar āvartante / tasmād eta ṛṣayaḥ śuklā iṣṭaṃ kurvanūtara itarasmin / 12 / ahorātro vai prajāpatiḥ / tasyāhar eva prāṇo rātrir eva rayiḥ / prāṇaṃ vā ete praskandanti ye divā ratyā saṃyujyante / brahmacaryam eva tad yad rātrau ratyā saṃyujyante / 13 /* '9. Prajāpati is the year. It has two courses, southern and northern. Then, those who venerate the merit of sacrifices and gifts as the luckiest dice (i.e. the best) win the world of the moon. They return again. Therefore, these seers who desire offspring proceed along the

The Bhagavad-Gītā (8.23–27) reintroduces the theory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna* as the posthumous paths taken by *yogins*.⁴⁹ While the verses are an adaptation of the versions found in the BĀU and the ChU, the temporal entities are reinterpreted by the BhG as the times at which the *yogins* die – probably owing to the importance of the time of death in those days (cf. Bhīṣma’s postponement of his death in the MBh), such that those who die at the times of the bright temporal entities arrive at Brahman, while those who die at the times of the dark ones are reborn on earth.⁵⁰

ABBREVIATIONS

AĀ	Aitareya-Āraṇyaka
AB	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
AV	Atharvaveda
AVP	Atharvaved (Paippalāda recension)
AVŚ	Atharvaveda (Śaunaka recension)
BĀU	Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad
BĀUK	Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (Kāṇva recension)
BaudhPS	Baudhāyana-Pitṛmedhasūtra
BhG	Bhagavad-Gītā
ChU	Chāndogya-Upaniṣad
JB	Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa
JUB	Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa
KapS	Kaṭyāyana-Saṃhitā
KātyŚS	Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra
KauṣU	Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad

southern [course]. ... 10. On the other hand, those who have sought the Self by means of austerity, chastity, faith, and knowledge [proceed] by the northern [course] and win the sun. ... From it, they do not return again. So it is the complete stop. ... 12. Prajāpati is the month. Of it, the dark half-month is substance, and the bright half-month is life-breath. Therefore, these seers perform the sacrifices during the bright [half-month], while others during the other [half-month]. 13. Prajāpati is the day and night. Of it, the day is life-breath and the night is substance. Those who have sex during the day spill life-breath. Having sex during the night is the same as chastity.’

49 BhG 8.24–25 *agnir jyotir abah śuklaḥ ṣaṇmāsā uttarāyaṇam / tatra prayātā gacchanti brahma brahmavido janāḥ //24// dhūmo rātris tathā kṣṇaḥ ṣaṇmāsā dakṣiṇāyaṇam / tatra cāndramasaṃ jyotir yogī prāpya nivartate //25//* ‘24. Fire, light, day, the bright [half-month], the six months as the northern course [of the sun] – Having passed away in these, the people who know Brahman go to Brahman. 25. Smoke, night, the dark [half-month], the six months as the southern course [of the sun] – [Having passed away] in these, the *yogin* attains to the light of the moon and returns [to this world].’

50 See Edgerton (1927: 245 ff.).

KS	Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā
MBh	Mahābhārata
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
MU	Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad
PB	Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
PrU	Praśna-Upaniṣad
ṚV	Ṛgveda
ŚāṅkhĀ	Śāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka
ŚB	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
ŚBK	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Kāṇva recension)
ŚBM	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Mādhyandina recension)
TĀ	Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka
TB	Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya-Saṃhitā
TU	Taittirīya-Upaniṣad

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