Himalayan Nature
Representations and Reality

Edited by Erika Sandman and Riika J. Virtanen
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TOES AND HEELS TORMENTED BY HARDENED SNOW

Klaus Karttunen

1. INTRODUCTION

For the majority of Indians, snow and ice were more or less unknown, sort of a legend. However, even in ancient times they could easily be observed in the Himalayas. The number of those who actually went there and thus saw snow with their own eyes was not small. A popular route of pilgrimage led to Badrināth at the source of the Ganges, and the most tough and pious went further, over the high passes of the Himalayas to the holy lake of Mānasarovar, behind which Mt. Kailāśa, the abode of Śiva, could be seen. Traders took other passes to go to Nepal and Tibet. Snowy winters were also experienced in Kashmir, which was an ancient stronghold of classical literature. But in the plains of North India, snow was rarely seen in the dry and rainless winters, though occasional frost was known. Snow and frost were just a distant rumour in the south. In the following, I shall attempt a survey of what the ancient Indians said and thought of snow and frost.¹

2. WORDS

The great chain of mountains rising between India and Tibet was known in Sanskrit as “the abode of snow”, himālaya, or just “the snowy” himavat (a great number of synonymous words were also used, see below). Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) hima is the standard word for snow, derived from the common Indo-European and related to Latin hiems and Greek χειμών.² In OIA, hima has also the more general meaning of ‘cold, frost’ (but rather in masc. instead of ne. ‘snow’). It is attested as early as the Rigveda and still used in New Indo-Aryan (NIA), e.g. Hindī (him) beside Persian barf.³ Apparently related is hemanta ‘winter’, or the

¹ An asterisk before a source indicates that I know it only indirectly. Margot S. Whiting has kindly corrected my English.
² Cf. also Avestan zyam, zəmō, zayan.
³ See Turner 1965 s.v. hima.

first part of the winter in the six-season system, the second being ściśira. Other words include OIA “Tocharian” or tuṣāra, used for snow as early as the Mahā-bhārata. Perhaps related to this is tubina, attested from the mid-first millennium on. Often such distinctions as we make between snow, ice and frost cannot be made in our texts. Moreover, words with the primary meaning ‘snow, ice’ are occasionally found denoting ‘mist, dew’ or ‘spray of cold water’.

3. SNOW AND WINTER IN KASHMIR

The best place where winter cold was really experienced, and where there were also learned people to describe it, was, of course, Kashmir. No wonder that I have found the most realistic, but also the most colourful descriptions of snow and winter in Kalhaṇa’s Rājatarāṅginī.

An elaborate description of winter is found in Rājat 3, 168–177. Formally, this passage is located on the Indian plains, not in Kashmir, but I am certain that Kalhaṇa had the winters of his home country in mind when he wrote these lines. To summarise Stein’s translation: the winter came, scorching the body, as it were, with its winds which brought hoar frost and dense mist. (169) The continued darkness which covered the regions subdued by the fierce cold, appeared as if it were a black cloak. (170) The days became short, for the sun, which seemed pained by the cold and eager to seek the warmth of the submarine fire, was rapidly descending into the Ocean.

In Kashmir, the snow could cause serious problems. Once there was an unexpectedly heavy snowfall in autumn, when the rice-crop was just ripening (Rājat 2, 18 papāta tuhinaṁ mahat). When the routes over the mountains are closed by the impassable snowdrifts, the people are helpless like birds when the opening of

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4 These and related words are listed in AK 1, 6, 180. avasāyas tu nibāras tuṣāras tubinain himan. 181. prāleyain mibikā cāṭha himañi himasainhatiḥ. 182. śītaṁ guṇe tadvadarthāḥ suśīmaḥ śīro āgas. 183. tuṣāraḥ śītah śīto himaḥ saaptāryalīgakah. The seasons hemanta and ściśira in AK 1, 7, 250. Of the other words mentioned, prāleya seems primarily to signify ‘cold water’ (prāleyād āgatam), while mibikā is ‘mist’. I have not found the meaning ‘snow’ for avasāya in dictionaries.

5 Rājat 3, 168 tatāḥ prāvartata sphāranibhāratalavāvābhīḥ // dahan nivāgaṁ prāleyapavam ārtraṁ hemāgaṁal // 169 saṁtatadhvānantatāśattavāsāvāryakthāḥ / aśicakāśre nilanicolīc chāditā iva // 170 stārtvādy dharmayav auravadasnojanāmābhāṣataḥ // drataṁ yātva jaladhiṁ dināṁ kaghatāṁ yāyub. 6 Rājat 3, 171 dipojjale dhānni lasaddīptabhāṣtikā. Stein quotes a gloss explaining the rare word basantikā as maguāgnikā.
their nests is closed.\(^7\) In the early history of Kashmir, snow was said to have been a divine punishment against Buddhists (Rājat 1, 179–186). When they broke the traditional customs of the land, the Nāgas, deprived of their oblations, sent down excessive snow, and thus destroyed people. Deep snow fell every year causing distress to the Buddhists and the king spent the six months of the cold season (note the length!) in the low country. But when the rites were finally re-established, the calamities caused by Bhikṣus and snow ceased.\(^8\)

During heavy snowfalls, people did not move outside.\(^9\) The army waited and prepared to proceed only when the snow stopped falling.\(^10\) In the two winter seasons, hemanta and śiśira, the sun rarely shines (Rājat 4, 401), but when it does, it is also easy to enjoy it (6, 298 sukhasvavatvain hemanta iva bhāskatāh).

Describing the wintry escape of King Bhoja over mountains to the Daradas, Kalhaṇa (Rājat 8, 2710–2714) gives a nice description of the hardships of the snowy season (tuṣārakāla). The sharp edges of frozen stones (jayānāśma) hurt the feet — here we seem to have a reminiscence of the Kumārasaṁbhava — clouds hide the daylight, falling masses of snow resemble herds of elephants (himasaṁgha-gaṭatayuḥ), further there is the hissing spray of torrents, piercing wind, the glittering snow destroying vision (ātāpakṣatabhimajyotirhatadṛkpathān) and deep fall in open places.

Thinking that the new king will be overthrown as soon as the snow melts, his opponents derided him as the “snow-king”.\(^11\) On another occasion, a king perished because of excessive snow which fell out of season.\(^12\)

When the cold winter was over, snow became a source of pleasure. In the eyes of local people, Kashmir had many blessings: learning, lofty houses, saffron, icy water and grapes — things that even in heaven are difficult to find, are common there.\(^13\) Where else do the inhabitants on a hot summer day find before their houses water like that of the river Vitastā (cooled) by large lumps of snow?\(^24\) The

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\(^7\) Rājat 2, 38 himasataduraṇḍuraṇḍhyakṣitibhyadrudhamsamāḥ / baddhabādmukāyastakbāghavad viivāda janāḥ.

\(^8\) Rājat 1, 179 manḍale viputtaścāre vicchhimaharabikarmah / nāgair janakṣayaś cakre prabhūta-himavārṣiḥbhīḥ; 180 himānyāṁ bauddhabādāya patantyāṁ pratipūrṣaṁ...; 186 bhikṣavo hima-dośā ca sarvataḥ praśamāṁ yataḥ.

\(^9\) Rājat 6, 125 mahāhimāpātaniḥsaṁcāre dine.

\(^10\) Rājat 8, 1448 himaveṣyante. Cf. Kullūka on Manu 7, 182 that winter is best time for an army mainly consisting of elephants and chariots. But this is in the lowlands.

\(^11\) Rājat 4, 1445 matvā himasapāyiṁtaṁ rājugrvadānī / himarājāgābbhiṁ vyadhubh... himarājāgābhiṁ vyadhubh... nipannam.

\(^12\) Rājat 4, 367 tuṣārarujair bahalahās tam akāṇḍamipātibhīḥ... nipannam.

\(^13\) Rājat 1, 42 vidyā veśmāni tuṅgāni kuṅkumaṁ sahimaṁ payaḥ / drākṣeti yatra sāmānyam asti tridivadarilabham.

\(^14\) Rājat 3, 362 vaitastāṁ vāri vāstavayair bhātthumahārākaram / grīṣmogre bhiṁ svaseṁāgrat ka tato nyatra labhyate.
Kashmirian poet also knew that the Himālayas are wet from melted snow in summertime and therefore pleasant to visit while other (more southerly) mountains must be avoided because of forest fires.\(^{15}\) In summer, in the alpine regions above the timberline, people made liṅgas of snow or ice for worship.\(^{16}\) It seems to have been a standard example of a profitless venture to try to sell snow on a snowy mountain (3, 138 himādrau himavikrayaḥ). But what happens when “snow dissolves snow” (5, 401 bimenaiva himaim småyed), I am not able to say.

More examples of snow in Kashmir might be collected from the Nilamata-purāṇa — e.g. the festival of the first snow or navahimapātotsava in 46 ff. — and other Kashmiri works, but perhaps this is enough.

4. SNOW IN LITERATURE

Others also knew that snow is seen in mountains: I have collected a number of passages extending from the earliest Veda to the Middle Ages. For poets, the Himālayas are white with snow.\(^{17}\) The Kumārasambhava 1, 11 on icy snow is quoted in my title.\(^{18}\) In winter, the rays of the sun cannot do anything to the snowy mountains (Kir 17, 12). The alpine region of always snowy mountain tops has no trees, birds, or beasts (Mbh 1, 111, 8 santi nityahimā deśā nirvṛkṣamṛga-paksiṇah). Blaming his own pride, Bhartṛhari asked it to go to the gorge of the snowy mountain.\(^{19}\)

When the winter winds are blowing, they bring heavy snowfall.\(^{20}\) In the month of Pauṣa, a not excessive snowfall is considered good omen. I suspect Ramakrishna Bhat is not used to winter, translating this as “not too thick frost”.\(^{21}\) In another passage, snow or frost in winter is briefly counted as a good omen (VM:BS 46, 92 tuṣāratvam). The cold winter wind comes from the Himālayas (ŚārṅgP 3925 [137, 7] prāleyaśailaśiśirānila). But when the rain begins, snow flakes

\(^{15}\) Rājat 4, 582 (also Ind. Spr. 2788) sāndrabhimadavārdrai citraṁ tuṣāraśikharinī nitarāṁ niṣevaḥ. Could there be some similar idea in AV 12, 1, 11 asking the hills, the snowy mountains and the forests of the earth to be pleasant (girayats tē pārvatā himavantō rāṇyaṁ te prthivi syonām astu) — no, more probably this was intended against beasts.

\(^{16}\) Rājat 2, 138 himalīṅgārajanāḥ prāyād vanānteṣu. In a note on Rājat 1, 267, Stein explains that in his time Amareśvara was worshipped in the form of a liṅga-shaped block of ice.

\(^{17}\) KdMd 52 gauraiṁ tuṣāraiḥ, Śiśup 4, 64 prāleyaśīlam acaleśvaram, ŚārṅgP 3930 (137, 12) prāleyaśīlāpaṁbhūtābhūtaśiśirānila.

\(^{18}\) KS 1, 11 udvejayatī angulipāryāmbāgān mārga śilābhūtabhīme ’pi yatra.

\(^{19}\) Bhartṛhari 725 Kosambi (also Ind. Spr. 5828) yābi droniṁ himādeh.

\(^{20}\) Amaru 54 in Eastern text (Devadhar p. 122, also Ind. Spr. 3801) kṛtatuhinakaṁśārasyasaṅgaṁ ... baimanā vānti vātāḥ.

\(^{21}\) VM:BS 21, 19 nāyartvāni ... pauge himapātaṁ. During śiśira, the himapāta is a good omen (BS 46, 94).
melt away (KSS 19 = 3, 5, 50 jalāpātatattvārakaṇasaśvarī). However, when the cold
morning wind mixed with ice crystals blows, the wise man discerning virtue
from vice would not attempt to expel cold with water.22

Snow is cold. Those pained by cold do not rejoice in the cooling rays of the
moon (Hitopad. 1, 111 [Spr. 2, 6433] śāśiniva himārtānāṁ). Kātyāyana (vārttika 8
on P 5, 2, 122) derives the form himelu as “one not standing cold or snow” (comm.
himaim na sabate), but I have not found it in texts. The cold wind makes lips and
skin shiver.23 People were no more attached to truth than to the shadow of trees
in winter.24 The ascetics were proud of their ability to endure all kinds of harsh
conditions: standing outdoors during the rains and immersed in water in winter,
accepting the heat of summer and so on.25 There is even a particular hell, called
Tamas, where the sinners are afflicted with bitter cold (śītārtās) and with wind
conveying snow or ice (himakhaṇḍavaho vāyur – MkP 12, 12–18).

On the positive side, there is snow’s cooling effect. In the RV, it was used by
the Aśvins to rescue Atri from the fiery pitch.26 Indra slew Arbuda with the help
of snow.27 In an AV spell for protecting a house from fire, the sorcerer claims to
wrap the house within the fetal envelop made of snow.28 On the other hand, fire
was the remedy for snow.29 It was one of the tasks of fire to destroy cold (bima-
mardanam in BhāgP 3, 26, 40). In a simile, snowy or cold water is the remedy for
one scorched by heat (BhāgP 5, 2, 12 dāghaḍagḍhaya yathā himāmbbah), but in
classical poetry, the fever of love was so hot that neither a cool lake nor the cool-
rayed moon could allay it (Bhavabhūti: Mm 1, 31 himasarasi vā candramasi vā).

Everyone used to snow and cold understands the idea of burning snow.
Rājaśekhara in the Viddhaśālabhañjikā 3, 17+ remarked that snow, though formed
of water, burns (salilamayy api dahati himānī). The moon emits fire with its cold
rays (Śak 3, 3 visrjati himagarbhair agnim indur mayūkhaṁ). Nevertheless, snow

22 Pañcatantra of Kosegarten quoted in Ind. Spr. 4344 prāleyaleśamitė maratī prabhātike ca vāti
jaśe / guṇadoṣajñaḥ puruṣo jalena kalā śītam apanayati. In my opinion, the
prāleyaleśamiśra wind
is mixed with ice crystals rather than mist. In the Śiśup 6, 55, the winter wind is bringing snow:
bhimaṁaṁ tunāyanaṁ.
23 Ind. Spr. 6472 from *Kuvalay. 37 vranayaty adharain tanoti roṣmáśam ... baimanaṁ paavanah.
24 Mbh 3, 34, 62 sattvam ... na tu prasaktair bhavai vrkaśacchāyeva baimāṁi.
25 Mbh 12, 253, 15 satye tapas tiṣṭhaṁ sabha ca dharmam avaiśkata / varṣāv ākāśaśāyī sa bemante
jalanisārayaḥ. An ascetic exposing himself to snow also in Pāli Jātaka 94 and MilP 396 (bimapaśa-
samaye, during snowfall). Note that the classical accounts mention similar penances exercised by
the Indian Gymnosophists.
26 RV 1, 116, 8 himēnaṁ ghrānasāṁ avārayethāṁ; RV 1, 119, 6 himēna gharmanāṁ pāritaṁptam
āryay.
27 RV 8, 32, 26 himēnāvidhyad ārbudam.
28 AV 6, 106, 3 himāsyā tvā ghrānasāṁ śāle pāri vyayāmis.
29 VS 23, 10 agnim himāsāya bhāṣa jaṁ.
was clearly the opposite of fire. In the MkP, the sun is the source of both warmth, rain and snow (103, 49 *gharmavarsāvimākara*). For the gnomic poet, the power of destiny was great enough to make fire cold and snow hot.\(^{30}\) For Jayadeva, it was the averseness of Rādhā.\(^{31}\) In Pāli Jātaka, the power of the Bodhisattva, ready to sacrifice himself, made the fire feel cold.\(^{32}\)

5. WINTER

The word *hemanta* signifies winter, in the six-season system, the early winter. The traditional list of the six seasons of India — spring, summer, rains, autumn, winter, and cold season — is first met in the AV.\(^{33}\) Thus the winter lasts two months.\(^{34}\) In the majority of Vedic sources, however, the number or *ṛtus* is only five, the *śiśira* being left out.\(^{35}\) Unlike the other four, the winter has then four months. An Atharvanic sage saw the whole system of seasons superfluous; for him, the count of six cold months and six hot ones was enough.\(^{36}\) The six-season system remained standard, although the Buddhists tended to count only four and in connection with monastic life, even three, the cold, hot and rainy season.\(^{37}\) For our present purpose, we can take *hemanta* and *śiśira* together as both may have snow. Actually *śiśira* is often presented as the coldest season, but it also sees the coming of the first spring flowers.

In the Veda, it was Sūrya, the Sun-god, who caused both the heat of summer and the burning cold of winter.\(^{38}\) The summer is hot and the winter cold, but the

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30 ŚāṅgP 445 (29, 11, also *Ind. Spr*. 545) vahniḥ śītalatāṁ himaṁ dahanatāṁ.
31 Gītag 9, 10 śītāṁśus tapano himaṁ hutavahaḥ.
32  *Sasajātaka* (J 316): Bodhisattva as a hare is ready to offer his body as food-offering to a Brahman. But, jumping into fire it was like entering a region of frost... He said: “Your fire is icy-cold” (himagabbhaṁ paviṭṭho viya... tayā kato aggi atisītalo).
33 AV 6, 55, 2 grīṣma hemantaḥ śiśiro vasantaḥ śarad varṣāḥ; also 8, 2, 22, 12, 1, 36; and AB 4, 26. The different systems of seasons are fully discussed in Vogel 1971 (who also gives more references to texts).
34 Dual in the AV 15, 4, 5 *baimanda māsau*, VS 14, 27 *baimantikāvṛtvā*, ŚPB 4, 3, 1, 18 & 8, 5, 2, 14.
35 TS 2, 6, 1 & 5, 7, 2; TB 1, 4, 10, 10; PVB 21, 15, 2; ChUp 2, 5, 1 and MaitriUp 6, 33. The ŚPB has both systems: five in 1, 5, 3, 13f. (*hemanta* is followed by spring) & 2, 2, 3, 8 & 8, 5, 2, 14 & 11, 2, 7, 32; but six in 10, 4, 5, 2. In the TS 1, 6, 2 *hemantaśiśirau* form a dvandva, while other four are listed separately. The same dvandva also in *ĀśvGS* 2, 4, 1 and P 2, 4, 28. AB 1, 1 explains that seasons number five as these two belong together: *pañcārtavā hemantaśiśirayoh samānena* (but six seasons each with two months in AB 4, 26).
36 AV 8, 9, 27 ādub śītāṁ śād u māsa usṣāṁ ṛtvāṁ no brūta yatamē tīriktaḥ. Also quoted in Vogel 1971: 285.
37 Pāli *hemanta*, *gimha* and *vassa*, also used by Jains, see Vogel 1971: 301.
38 AV 13, 4, 46 atratād aṅgī ḍabatta himāṁ ghraṁsāṁ ca rōhitaḥ; cf. RV 10, 37, 10 where Sūrya is asked for blessings with these two (*lāṁ himā láṁ ghṛṇēna*).
rains are pleasant through the absence of both heat and cold. The ideal lifespan of human beings was one hundred years, often expressed as a hundred autumns, sometimes also a hundred winters.

After the Vedic period, we find more poetic expressions for seasons. In Kālidāsa, the sun, desirous of going to the north, left Mount Malaya and, driving away the snow, made the mornings pure and clear (Rv 9, 25 dinamukhāni ravir himinigrabhair vimalayan). Also in Md 39, the sun takes away the tears of frost (prāleyāsram). Perhaps Jayadeva had the Raghuvarśa passage in mind when writing how the spring winds from the sandalwood forests blow toward Himālayan peaks to plunge into the snow.

In the Rāmāyaṇa 3, 15, there is a description of the Himālayas in wintertime. The mountains are then a treasure store of snow (9 himakośāḍhyo), all the more so when the sun is far away (dūrasūrya). The mornings are frosty, powdered with snow (11 himadhvastā). The west wind’s touch, cold by nature, is doubly so now, when it blows at dawn, shot through with snow (15 prakṛtyā śītalasparśo himaviddhas ca sāmpratam pravāti paścimo vāyuḥ kāle dviguṇaśītalaḥ).

From Varāhamihira, we learn that the sun is usually blood-red in winter, but when it appears yellowish, it forebodes diseases. The idea that the sun and the moon have different colours in different seasons is also found in the Purāṇic literature. The texts in question (Brahmapurāṇa, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Kūrmapurāṇa, Liṅga purāṇa) also explain rather reasonably the coldness of winter: the Sun God sends a different amount of rays to earth in different months. But King Milinda asked, why is the heat of the sun more fierce in winter than in summer? Nāgasena explained that in the hot season, “dust is blown up into clouds, and pollen agitated by the winds … (they) heaped together shut off the rays of the sun … But in the cold season … the dust is quiet.”

The medieval poet Jāyasī stated that in the month of Pauṣya, the sun feels cold and escapes to the warm south (Laṅkā; Padmāvat stanza 350 in Vaudeville 1965: 62–63).

The Sanskrit “collections of good sayings” (Subhāṣitasaṁgraha) are usually arranged according to the themes of the poems included. The seasons are a natural theme and thus we also find strings of poems on winter and the cold.
season. The ŚāṅgP has sixteen stanzas (3919–3934) on winter in section 137 and fourteen (3935–3948) on śīśira in 138. In Vidyākara’s anthology, section 12 has thirteen winter stanzas (293–305) and section 13 seventeen on śīśira (306–322). I have referred to them in various parts of my study, but here it suffices to take up two.

Vidyākara 307 & 308 describe so realistically falling snow that Ingalls suspects them of coming from a poem describing the northern mountains. As I cannot better his translations, I quote them: “The heavy snow is falling, not easy to distinguish / among the smoke-gray damanaka trees, / but for the fire of dung it forms a tent of beauty. / At dawn it hides the rising sun, / and clinging to the traveler’s furs, / shows them all white of every limb.”45 In the second stanza, the rising sun is “wrapped in a net of snow so thick you could pierce it only with a needle” (308 pūṣā prātarganapathikaḥ prashitah pūrvasailāt sūcbhedaprabalamanabikājālakāntahārvṛtāṅgah).

Even in the Pañjab, winter days are sunny and warm, but nights can be cold. A Vedic text states that night is the mother of frost (AV 19, 49, 5 himāsyā mātā). The poet Abhinanda compared the cruelty of the snowy wind to a hypocrite’s embrace.46 Amaracandra: Padmānanda 11, 52 (Warder 2004: 595) gives a description of a frozen forest lake in winter. Note that in Sanskrit the word “forest” often means “mountains”. In Tamil poetry, the associative strings are even more canonised than in Sanskrit. Here winter, mountains, night and the erotic sentiment belong together.47

In the Ṛtusaṁhāra, (Pseudo-)Kālidāsa described the six seasons, although he was mainly concentrating on their erotic aspects, while nature and the weather were just sort of background. His winter took place in the warm Indian plains. It was pleasant with sprouting new crops (4, 1), with deer and cranes (4, 8), with blue water-lilies (nilotpala) blooming in cold lakes (4, 9). There is, in truth, drops of frost (or just dew?) on grass tops (4, 7) and cold winds born of snow (4, 10). In the last stanza of the hemanta chapter, the snowy wintertime, praised by cranes, is clearly characterised with fallen snow (4, 18). In the cold season (śīśira), the nights are cold with plenty of fallen snow and the cool rays of the moon (5, 4).48

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45 307 (13, 2) durlakṣyā syād damanakavane dhūmadhumre patantī / kārīṣāgneḥ paṭamayagṛhā durlakṣyā syād damanakavane dhūmadhumre patantī / kārīṣāgneḥ paṭamayagṛhā vimalālāṁ tanoti // prādurbhāvaṁ tīrayati raver adhvaṅgānām idānīṁ / sarvāṅgīnām dīsatī palitāṁ himānī. The idea of the smoke of the cow dung fire and frost also in 302 and 303 (12, 10–11).
46 Quoted by Vidyākara 317 (13, 12) asaraļjanāśleṣakrūras tuṣārasamīraṇaḥ.
47 Lienhard 1974 referring to Tolkāppiyam (the rules concerning winter in the kuriñci style of akam or love poetry are found in Porul 953–954). Lienhard goes on showing parallels from Sanskrit poets and concludes on p. 142 that “Wintergedicht” is a definite genre.
48 Ṛs 4, 1 navaprasvalodgamasayarayamah; 4, 9 suṣṭalāni sarāṁsi; 4, 7 trṇāṛalagnais tuhinaiḥ; 4, 10 himajātanāṁ... marudbhiḥ (PW has v.l. himapātā-); 4, 18 vinipattatuuṣāraḥ krauñcanādepa-
Warm fire and warm clothes help against the cold of winter. In the Ṛtu saṁhāra (5, 2), the windows are closed during the śiśira and people resort to fire, sunshine and thick clothes. The ladies of graceful waists attracted the prince with their rustling winter garments (Rv 19, 41 marmarair ... vyaktahemarasānais ... haimaNair nivasanaīḥ). Bhartṛhari gives a nice description of the happy man, who, eating ghee and yogurt, wearing bright-red clothes, and anointed with Kashmiri oil, sleeps comfortably in the wintertime, exhausted after love-making.49 Cold water and nightly pastimes were the two positive things (“virtues”) in winter.50 But to spend winter in warmth and pleasure was an option only for the rich. In a stanza quoted by Vidyākara, they could look to the coming of the frost as pleasant, but “it is we poor folk who despair; our lap, half covered by a torn and beaten rag, receives no better gift than the trembling of our knees”.51

Started by the Ṛtusaṁhāra, the poetic description of the six seasons (ṣaḍṛtu-varṇana) became a genre. For example, Vastupālā in the Naranāraṇyānananda (early 13th-century epic) canto 4 (according to Warder 2004: 507) listed some of the characteristic flowers, birds, winds, clouds, snow, etc. of the six seasons in a mountain forest. A medical work, Suṣruta, also turns poetic when describing the seasons. In the winter, the cold north wind blows, the quarters are full of dust and smoke, the sun is hidden in frost, and lakes are frozen. The animals such as crows, rhinoceroses, buffaloes, rams and elephants are heated, while some trees open their flowers. The cold season (śiśira) is extremely cold, the four quarters are agitated by wind and rain; in other respects, the wise man knows it to be similar with winter.52

In addition to the six seasons, poets also wrote descriptions of the twelve months (Hindi bārahmāsā). This second genre became very popular in early NIA poetry (East Hindī, Rājasthānī, Bengali). In her study, Vaudeville (1965) lists a number of examples and analyses the different types of Bārahmāsā. In

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49 Bhartṛhari 2, 97 (also Ind. Spr. 7447) hemante dadhidugdhasarpiraśanā, mañjiṣṭhavāso bhṛtaḥ...
47 Toes and Heels Tormented by Hardened Snow

50 ŚārṅgP 3923 (137, 5) he hemanta smariṣyāmi tvayy atīte guṇadvayam / ayatnasātalau vāri niśā ca suratakṣamā //.
51 312 (13, 7, Ingalls’s translation) dhanyān āṁ / ramyas tuṣārāgamaḥ / asmākaṁ tu vidīraṇa -
52 1, 6, 22 rāyur vāty uttarāḥ śito rajodbhumākula disāḥ / channas tuṣārāḥ savita himānaddhā jalāśayāḥ // 23 darpitā bhāvānābhāvamāniḥorabhrakurakṣarāḥ / rodhrapiyagnupunnāgāḥ puspita himāsāh / 24 śiśire śītam adbhakām vātavṛṣiyākula disāḥ / ṣeṣāṁ hemantavat sarvam viṣṇeyam lakṣaṇaṁ buddhabhāḥ //.
her opinion, the two genres have different origins. In the Bārahmāsā, the main theme is separation (viraha) from the beloved, described in an erotic or religious tone, and references to the characteristics of seasons are rare.53

6. NATURE IN WINTER

Winter is hard for everyone. According to a Vedic text, it subjects all creatures to its will: the plants wither, the leaves fall off the trees, the birds retire, etc.54 The poets also knew that animals have a difficult time in winter. Laksṇmidhara: “The monkeys shiver in the wind; sheep, goats, and cattle, thin from cold, are suffering. / The dogs, although just driven out, return and will not leave the oven. / And this poor man, sick with the attack of frost, / like a turtle tries to hide / his limbs within his body.”55

There are further examples. BhNŚ 32, 62 Nagar (32, 61 Ghosh) in a Pkt. example: himāhae vaṇantare aam gao pavīṇaṁ “The forest region being stuck with snow (Ghosh: frost) this elephant comes to tears”. The cow, fortunately, is protected by her skin against rain, cold and heat (ŚPB 3, 1, 2, 14 tayaiśa varṣantāṁ tayā himaiṁ tayā ghrṇanīṁ titiśadhyata). Bees and frost I have discussed elsewhere.56

Plants suffer in winter. In the RV, one’s longing is compared to the longing of trees for the leaves stolen by frost.57 The strong and snowy winter winds bend the stalks of jasmine (Amaru in Devadhar p. 122, also Ind. Spr. 3801). The priyāṅgu or millet becomes pale in the cold wind (Ṛs 4, 10 vipāṇḍutāṁ yāti). In the morning, the jasmine flower is filled with cold dew (Śak 5, 18 vibhāte kundam antas tuṣāraṁ).

Quite often we hear of the poor state of lotuses and water-lilies in the winter.58 After a snowfall (tuṣārapatanāc caiva), the lotus ponds ravaged by snow have lost their beauty as the leaves have aged and withered, the filaments and

53 In the second part of her study Vaudeville gives a number of examples in the original and a French translation. A perusal of this brought very little: Vinayacandra Sūri remarked that in the month Māgha the cold increases (stanza 20 māḥ māsi mācaī him-rāsi) and in Phālguna the winds make the leaves fall from trees (st. 23 phāguṇ vā-guṇi panna padainī). In Mullā Dūḍ, we find a somewhat more elaborate description, how people try to dispel the cold with warm clothes and warm food, but nothing seems to help against bitter cold nights (st. 407–408).
54 ŚPB 1, 5, 4, 1 (ed. 1, 4, 5, 5) hemanto himāḥ prajāḥ svam vaśam upanayate, tasmād dheman mlāyanty oṣadhayaḥ, pra vanaspatāṁ paṁ paṁ bhuḥgovantaṁ, pratitarām iva vayāṁsi bhavanti...
55 Quoted by Vidyākara 313 (13, 8) kampante kapayo bhṛśaṁ jaḍakṛśaṁ go’jāvikaṁ glāyati ‘śvā cullikahdvarāṁ kṣaṇaṁ apī kṣipto ‘pi naivojjhati / śītārtivyasanāturaḥ punar ayaṁ dīna janaḥ kārṇavat ‘svāney aṅgāni śaṅkṣa eva hi nibnotum ākāṅkṣati; Ingalls’s translation. The same also in ŚārṅgP 3921 (137, 3) with some different readings.
56 Karttunen 2009: 111.
57 RV 10, 68, 10 himēva parṇā maṁśi vāṁviṁi.
58 Vidyākara 293 (12, 1) kālo so ‘yam kamalasarasāṁ sampadāḥ kālādātāḥ. Also in 310 and 311 (13, 5–6).
petals shriveled, and nothing but stalks remain. This is often used in similes. Imprisoned by Rāvana, Sītā looks like a lotus at the beginning of winter (R 5, 63, 13 Padminīva himāgame). In battle, the head of the enemy fell from his neck just as a lotus, with fibres shrunk by cold, falls from its stalk (Rv 15, 52 himakliṣṭa-kiṇjalkam iva paṅkajam). To destroy an enemy, softness is the only way: does not a snowfall torment the lotus in winter? The man, whose wife is always barking at home like a bitch, will shrink like a lotus at the onset of cold. But a young woman, married to the snow-white old man, will do exactly the same. Tears on the face are compared to cold dewdrops on lotuses (R 6, 98, 10 snāpayanti mukham bāṣpair tuṣārair iva paṅkajaiṁ).

But even in wintertime, the sun gives warmth and thus it is possible to raise winter crops (MkP 101, 23) and the first spring flowers open during the cold season.

Cool weather was apparently good for grafting trees: according to Varāhamihira, this was done in śīśa for those without branches and in early winter (or just winter) for those with branches (BS 55, 6 ajātasākhān śīśire jātasākhān himāgame, cf. Gode 1961).

7. WHITE SNOW

Snow was also used in metaphors and similes as a poetic illustration of bright white colour. The English “snow-white” has its exact equivalents in Sanskrit (e.g. himaśubhra in Śiśup 1, 7). In the Rāmāyaṇa 1, 39, 21 Bhadra, the guardian-elephant of the north, is snow-white (himapāṇḍura). In the Buddhist story, the Bodhisattva, sacrificing himself being born as an elephant, shone like the snow-cover on a mountain peak (bimottariya, Jm 30, 23). Snow-white pearls are mentioned, e.g. in Kd: Ṛs 4, 2 (tuṣāra...nibha). According to Varāhamihira, haima was one of the eight kinds of pearls (BS 81, 2 & 5). Haimavata pearls are mentioned in lexicography, while tin and even fresh butter are called hima (pw).

Varāhamihira compares the moon, when exceptionally white (a good omen), to snow, jasmine, etc.; Ketu to moonbeams, white as silver, snow, white lotus or jasmine; in a third passage, he has clouds having the lustre of snow, pearls,

59 R 3, 15, 24 jarājarjārītarā parśaṁ śīṁakesarārṇīkāṁ / nālaśeṣē himadhvastā na bhānti kamalākarāṁ.
60 Pañcatantra Book 3, verse 134 (Kale p. 180 from the Bombay ed., also Ind. Spr. 6385) śatror uchchedanārthāya na sāmmo ‘sty anyad ausadham / hemante himapātena padminiṁ kīṁ na dehyate.
61 Vṛddha-Cāṇakya according to Ind. Spr. 5388 yasya bhāryā gehe nityam śunīva parigajjati / tasya śādanti gārārī padminiṁ himāgame.
62 KSS 30 = 6, 4, 31 himaśubhreṇa tena tvāṁ bhamanteneva padminiṁ. Lotus killed by frost also in KSS 29 = 6, 3, 55 padmayesavā himāhitaṁ.
conch-shells and moonbeams.\textsuperscript{60} Kālidāsa has snow-white (Ṛs 1, 6 \textit{tuṣāragaura})
garlands, Somadeva an umbrella gleaming white as snow (KSS 18 = 3, 4, 71 \textit{chatre}
tubinatviṣi).

In poetical imagery, the smile or laugh was considered white. Therefore,
the snowy mountain also seemed to be laughing (KSS 73 = 12, 6, 159 \textit{bimain hasantam iva}). The simile is discussed by Hara (1995), but his examples do not mention snow.

Even the night, though very dark in itself, had dazzling white teeth and hair of
snow so that its slow onset gave the poet the idea of an old lady.\textsuperscript{64}

On the other hand, Kalhaṇa compared the snow itself as a target domain to the
whiteness of curds.\textsuperscript{65}

\begin{quote}
A less pleasant comparison is found in Jayānaka’s Pṛthvīrājavijaya 10, 45
(according to Warder 2004: 386). The Turkish G(h)ori king seemed to have
taken his whiteness from the snow of his native land in the direction of the
Snowy Mountain and on his body he appeared to bear a blameworthy disease.
Jonarāja explains this as the white leprosy (\textit{āvitra}) in his commentary.

A Buddhist idea is found in Vedahathera’s Samantakūṭavaṇṇaṇā 707 (Warder
2004: 335) stating that the value of the life of people is more trifling than that of
ice.
\end{quote}

8. MEDICINE

Physicians classed a number of things according to the seasons: the changes of
the three humours, the food, drinks and medicines to be preferred or avoided, the
power of medicinal herbs (Vogel 1971: 304). From this viewpoint, the seasons are
discussed, e.g. in Suśruta 1, 6. It is stated that the herbs growing during the rains
reach full power in the winter. The waters are calm, smooth, and very heavy, and
as the sun’s rays are weak, the snowy wind makes the body somewhat numb.\textsuperscript{66}

Vāgbhaṭa (AH 1, 12, 24–25) explains that in winter phlegm and wind are calming.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{60} VM: BS 4, 30 \textit{prāleya}; 11, 14 \textit{jaśikiraṇarajatabhimukumudakusumopamāḥ}; 24, 16
\textit{bimamauktikāsaṅkhaśaṅkakaradyutīḥ}.

\textsuperscript{64} ŚārṅgP 3919 (137, 1) \textit{himadhavaladantakeśā mandadyutīrakā bhṛhattimirā / aviguṣjībātā rajarā
gvedhīva ṣaṅaṭī yanair yāti} //.

\textsuperscript{65} Rājat 3, 225 On the frontier of Kashmir: He saw before him the snowy range, verdant with
waving trees and glittering auspiciously like a dish of curds (lolānokahasaśādvalāṁ
mangalyadadbi-pātraṁ haṁ dadaśāgīre).

\textsuperscript{66} Suśruta 1, 6 \textit{tā evauṣadhaya ... balavatyo śeṅgadha ayarthāṁ
gurraṣ ca, tā apayuṣyambhū maṇḍakiraṇaṁ ayarthaṁ
bhūnaḥ suṭṣuṣapavanopastambhitadehānām... See
also Caraka 1, 6, 9–21, and ŚārṅgS 1, 2, 24–29.}
\end{flushright}
but in śīṣṭa, wind and bile are calming, while phlegm is accumulating (interpretation of Zimmermann 1999: 34).

Cold extracts or himas are occasionally used as medicine (Śāṅgā 2, 1, 1; 2, 4, 1 ff.). Čaraka (Ci 24, 154) lists cold water, air from ice bags (ḥimapūrṇāṇāṁ dṛēṁāṁ pavanāḥkāb ḍ) and other cold things among remedies for alcoholism.

Naturally, I have also looked for any mention of frostbite in medicine, but without success. Apparently it is not included in various lists of diseases and ailments. Just before I gave this to the press, I happened to note, searching for something else, the passage AS 6, 49, 160 where the effects of cold wind and frostbite are listed among the ailments treated by garlic (śītavātahimadagdha- tanūnāṁ ... laśunāyā).

9. SNOWY MOUNTAINS

Introducing Prajāpati in the Hiranyagarbha hymn, the RV claims that both the Himālayas and the ocean came from his power, while the AV spoke of the embryo of snowy mountains. Perhaps we have here the earliest account of the common belief that Kashmir and Nepal were originally under water. In mythology, Himālaya is a king, just like human kings (meeting Raghu in Kd: Rv 4, 79). For the poet of the lower countries, the snow on the Himālayas was a fault, just like the stain was a fault on the moon. A boy is afraid of young breasts, but a grown-up is not even afraid of the Himālayas.

The snowy chain of the Himālayas is the source of the river systems of the Indus and the Ganges. The mountain rivers were cold. According to Kālidāsa, the cooling tears of joy replaced the hot tears of sorrow, just like the Himālayan stream flowing down into the summer-heated waters of the Ganges and Sarayū.

In another place, he rightly mentions a cold river in the Himālayas (KS 1, 6 tuṣāra-sruti), but supposes that lions are hunting elephants around it (cf. KSS 22 = 4, 2
on elephants and 140 on lions in the Himalayas). Their water was considered wholesome and healthy (Caraka 1, 27, 209).

The MkP 58 tells the story of a young Brahman who was so absorbed in admiring the beauty of the Himalayas that the magical ointment was washed from his feet by melting snow (19 tubimena vilīyatā, 28 & 45 himavārīṇā).

The Himalayas were also famous for many healing herbs, already known in the times of the AV.73 In Kālidāsa, the luminous plants dispel the darkness which fills the caves of the snowy mountain.74 Varāhamihira knew reddish Himalayan diamonds (BS 80, 7 īrṣattāṃrīṇai himavatī). Himalayan gorges were also the home of yaks and śarabhas.75 And of course the Himalayas were the favourite of hermits and of divine Vidyādhāras.76

A long description of the Himalayas is given by Bhāravi in canto 5 of the Kirātārjunīya: the snowy chain has its usual attributes including many jewels (5, 8, 10), rivers (7) showering small drops of snowy water (9 laṅghatūṣāratausārālacyutam), and with snow-white tops glittering with many jewels (12 anekamani-prabhair ... himapāṇḍubhiḥ ... śikharair). The Mountain King himself has snow-white heads (17 himagaurair acalādhipaḥ śirobhiḥ). In the well-known myth, Śiva was the son-in-law of the Himalayas.77

The Sanskrit name of the Himalayas somewhat fluctuated, as any combination of a word for “snow” and for “mountain” was accepted, especially by poets. The most common name is Himavant, while Himalaya seems to be rather late.78 The other variants include himakṣmādhara (VM: BS 72, 1), himagiri (KSS 10 = 2, 2, 217; 37 = 7, 3, 82; Ind. Spr. 205479 & 2250 above), himadhara (R in PW), himaprashta (Harivamśa in PW), himabhūbhṛt (MkP 58, 20), himāsikharin (Vikramāṅkacarita 18, 85 in pw), himāga (hima+aga) (Harivamśa in PW), himācala (Kīr 5, 1; Śiśup

73 AV 4, 9, 9 The ointment coming from the three-peaked snowy mountain (ānjanama trīkaṇakaudān jātām himāvatas pāri); 5, 4, 2. The herb born in the snowy mountain (jātān himāvataḥ) and 8 in the northern snowy mountain (udaṅ jātām himāvataḥ); and 19, 39, 1 himāvatas pāri & 8 yātra himāvataḥ śīraḥ. In later times, e.g. KSS 28 = 6, 2, 169; Caraka Ci 28, 165.
74 RV 8, 54 jvalitena guhāgataṁ tamas tuhinādrer iva naktam oṣadhiḥ. Mountain caves also in RV 2, 67 himāvataḥ ca kuaḥ
75 Yaks, e.g. in VM: BS 72, 1 camayāḥ ... himakṣmādharačandareṣu; śarabhas in Bāṇa HC 5, 132.
76 Hermits e.g. Kīr: KS 3, 1, 3, 13, 29; Vidyādhara e.g. KSS 22 = 4, 2, 255; 37 = 7, 3, 180; 59 = 10, 3, 9 and 65 = 10, 9, 246.
77 RV 4, 11, 12 himavat tvuṣārādṛē Śīn. Pārvatī as Himagiristā in KSS 22 = 4, 2, 254 & 42 = 7, 8, 225.
78 Himavant as early as the RV, then AV; further R, 4, 4, 11, 12, Manu 2, 21 (in the north); Kīr: KS 3, 13, & 6, 47, Śāk 5, 5; AK 3, 4, 638; VM: BS 14, 24 (in the north); 16, 17 (presided over by Mercury); 80, 7; Rājat 5, 152; KSS 52 = 9, 2, 11; MkP e.g. 51, 9 and 58, 16. Himālaya in Kīr: KS 6, 94; BhG 10, 25; BhāgP 1, 13, 19 and 5, 16, 9; KSS 4, 21.
79 Bhartṛhari lith. ed. gāṅgātīre himagiri, not in Kosambi.
Toes and Heels Tormented by Hardened Snow

10. COOLNESS

Especially in the hot plains, the idea of snow and frost was not very familiar. Thus, the snow words may refer just to coolness, for instance, to the cool sand of a river (himavālukam – BhāgP 10, 29, 45) or to cool fragrant drinking water (Naṅs 3, 93 tuṣārā). In lexicography, a number of names indicating coolness are given to camphor because of its cooling effect (hima, himakara, himayukta, himavāluka, himāṅka, etc. in the pw). But the most common example is the coolness of the Moon.

11. COLD MOON

The moon brings coldness or coolness and has cold rays (or hands). With these it can dispel the heat of fire (Śak 3, 1 visṛjati himagarbhair agnim indur mayū-khaib). Several poetic names for the moon are derived from this idea: snow-beamed or -rayed as himagu (VM:BS 104, 9; VM:BJ 2, 16, 5, 25; 6, 4; 8, 11; 9, 4; 25, 3); himamayūkha (VM:BS 21, 14), himaraśmi (Śiśup 9, 68; VM:BJ 2, 16 himaraśmija), himāṁśu (Kd: Rv 5, 16; 6, 47; 14, 80 & Md 87; Ind. Spr. 2: 6896 = Śak 1, 20; AK 1, 6, 171; VM:BS 33, 13; 34, 9), tuṣārakiraṇa (Śiśup 9, 27), tuṣāraraśmi (Prab in PW), tubinakiraṇa (VM:BJ 3, 7; -putra in VM:BS 104, 24 is Mercury), tubinagu (VM:BJ 5, 15), tubinaraśmi (VM:BJ 17, 17 acc. to PW), tubinamayūkha (Vikramāṅkac. 104, 19 in pw), tubināṁśu (Ind. Spr. 7385; VM:BJ 17, 13); prāleyaraśmi (VM:BS 18, 7); prāleyāṁśu (VM:BS 4, 24; Śiśup 9, 87). It can also be snow-handed as himakara (Kd: Rv 9, 38, Vāsav 4 & 186 Hall = 208 Ś; Rājat 4, 17 of moon-face; VM:BS 24, 33), tuṣārakara (Prasannarāghava 7, 61) and tubinakara (Prasannar 6, 23), or snow-lighted as himayotis (Harivāṃśa in PW),
himatviṣ (KSS 35 = 7, 1, 23 & 85 = 12, 18, 16), himaruci (Śiśup 4, 20 & 11, 14; Ind. Spr. 3123 = *Kāmandaki NS 5, 88), himasrut (‘emitting snow’, i.e. snowy light, Kādambarī in pw), himosra (Bhattik 9, 2 in PW), tubinādyuti (Śiśup 9, 30), tubinādibiti (Vikramāṅkac. 11, 37 in pw), or even the abode of snow as himadbāman (Śiśup 4, 20 & 9, 53). Kālidāsa compares bright ornaments to the union of the star Citrā and the moon freed from the cold season (Rv 1, 46 himanirmukta yoge citrācandrāmasor iva). Rāma burst into tears like the Pauṣa moon shedding dewdrops (Rv 14, 84 sabāṣpas tuṣāravarṣīva sahasyacandraḥ).

12. DEW AND DROPS

There are four examples of this usage from Kālidāsa’s Raghuvaṁśa: people’s faces were bathed in tears like a forest dripping with dew on a windless morning (15, 66). In the morning, the “dewdrops pure like the polished pearls of a necklace have fallen on the rosy hearts of the tree-buds” (5, 70). The forest breeze laden with cold dew drank the drops of his perspiration (9, 68). Blending with the spray of mountain-cascades ... the refreshing breeze (2, 13). The spray from cool cascades is also found in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. Kālidāsa mentioned autumnal dewdrops on leaves (Ṛs 3, 15 patrānta lagna tuhināmbu). The moon rays are said to emit cold drops. Occasionally, mist is also meant: the sun may be concealed by clouds, mist, or an eclipse, in the same way as the moon or stars. In the hot season, the mist brings coolness.

13. CONCLUSION

When we look through the material collected (and one could easily find more), snow and ice are by no means rare in classical Indian literature. Early Vedic culture

80 Rv 15, 66 himaniṣyandinī prātar nirvāteva vanasthalī; 5, 70 tāmrodareṣu patitaṁ tarupalla-veṣu niripindabāra gulkāśiādaṁ himāmbhāḥ; 9, 68 sveda...jālakam ācacāma satuṣāraśīkaro ... vanānilaḥ; 2, 13 prktas tuṣārair girinirjharāṇām ... pavanaḥ.
81 BhāgP 4, 25, 18 himanirjharampuṣmat.
82 Amaru 98 (Ind. Spr. 7385) prāleyaśikaramucas tubināṁśubhāsaḥ. Kd: Rv 14, 84 above.
83 Sun in BhāgP 10, 84, 33 sūryam iva meghahimoparāgaib. In VM:BS 21, 20 the sun or moon dimmed by mist is mentioned as a good omen in the month of Māgha (tuṣārakaliṣayuti ravisaţaiṇata). Moon also in Mbh 9, 64, 6 pūrṇacandram iva vyomni tuṣārāvṛtāmaṇḍalam and R 3, 15, 13 tuṣārārunamantālaḥ and Prabodhacandrodaya 1, 23 sāndratubināntarito vibhāti. Stars in Kd: KS 2, 19 himakliṣṭaprabhāni ṣoṭiṇīvāna.
84 Drṣṭāntaśataka 25 according to Ind. Spr. 3059 nidāghakāle prāleyam prāyalḥ saityam vabaty alam. Here the hot season seems to confirm to the interpretation as mist. But combined with wind, it is difficult to decide whether prāleya is mist (so Böhtlingk) or snow when it makes one tremble (Ind. Spr. 4366 = *Bhartṛhari in Schiefner prāleyavātapatracayavikampita).
was centred in the Punjab and there snow was not so rare in wintertime. The real winter was found in the mountains and they were rather close. In later times, the most explicit passages on snow were usually connected with mountains, with the Himālayas and Kashmir. In the North Indian plains, cold weather and frost mainly occurred in the night. Thus, we have a number of passages describing cold winter mornings, when the sun had not had time to warm up the air. For South Indians, snow was something exotic, but not unknown. The rarity of snow and experience of it is clearly the reason that words for snow, ice, cold water, water drops and mist form a tangle where it is often difficult to decide what is actually meant. This could never happen where snowy winters are a common experience. Nobody could imagine using Tibetan *kha ba* or *gangs*, Finnish *lumi* or *jää*, English *snow* or *ice*, for mist or dewdrops.

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ChUp: Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, see Upaniṣad.


KSS: Somadeva: *Kathāsārītiṣāgarah. Kaśmirpradeśavāsinā Śrīraṇabhaṭṭatanūdhhavena Mahā-kaviśīromadevabhaṭṭena viracitaḥ, ... Jagadīśālālāśtriṇā ... sampādaṇa, Dilli 1970.*


MaitriUp: *Maitri Upaniṣad*, see Upaniṣad.


MilP: *Milinda pañha Pāli (Questions of Milinda)*, ed. Swami Dwarikadas Shastri. Baudha Bharati Series, 13. Varanasi 1979 (but the references are to Trenckner’s pages which I have marked in the margins of my copy).


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Toes and Heels Tormented by Hardened Snow


Secondary sources


