

ASKO PARPOLA

SANSKRIT *MĀṆAVA(KA)*- '(VEDIC) STUDENT, PUPIL, (BRAHMIN) BOY'
AND THE RELIGIOUS FAST IN ANCIENT INDIA

For a student of the Veda who is a pupil of Professor Pentti Aalto, the Sanskrit word *māṇava(ka)*- has seemed semantically appropriate as the subject of a paper with which he wants to congratulate his esteemed teacher and friend on the occasion of the *ṣaṣṭyabdapūr̥ti*.

Manfred Mayrhofer (Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen, II, Heidelberg 1963, p. 617) mentions 'youth, lad, youngster, young brahman' as the meaning of Sanskrit *māṇava(ka)*- m. In his opinion, it is most likely that the word was originally identical with Sanskrit *mānavá*- 'human; human being, man', a derivative of the word *mānuḥ* 'man' attested from the Ṛgveda onwards. *Māṇava-* is, according to this explanation, to be taken as a form of address belonging to the living colloquial speech: this should account for the semantic difference as well as for the "vulgar" or "spontaneous" -ṇ- (thus Jacob Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, I, Göttingen 1896, p. 194; cf. now also Mayrhofer, "Über spontanen Zerebranasal im frühen Indo-Arischen", *Mélanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris 1968, p. 509-517, where our word is briefly dealt with in § 6 p. 512). Mayrhofer rejects as not likely the other suggestions so far made in regard to the etymology of *māṇava(ka)*-, which connect it with Greek *μειραξ* 'boy, lad' or *μέλλαξ* 'young boy'. In this he is undoubtedly right, as he is in noting that Khotanese Saka *mānavayau* instr.plur. 'young Brahmins' and Tocharian A *manark* 'Brahmin boy' are of Indian (i.e. Indo-Aryan) origin (cf. H. W. Bailey, "Indo-Iranica, II-III", BSOAS 13:1, 1949, p. 130 f. and 13:2, 1950, p. 389).

The meanings given by Mayrhofer represent the usage of classical Sanskrit (cf. notably Amarakośa 2,6,42, where *māṇavaka-* is mentioned among other words meaning 'young boy': *bālas tu syān māṇavako vayahsthas taruṇo yuvā*), whereas the meaning of the oldest occurrences, which we shall consider

below, have been omitted. In my opinion there can be no doubt that the primary meaning in Pāṇini, Gobhila, etc. is '(Vedic) student, pupil, brahmacārin', and this fact is important for the determination of the etymology. Mayrhofer's omission can be traced to Monier-Williams's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (2nd ed., Oxford 1899, p. 806b), where we read: "*māṇava*, m. a youth, lad, youngster (esp. a young Brāhman; also contemptuously = little man, manikin), Kāty.; Kār. on Pāṇ. iv,1,161 &c." and "*Māṇavaka*, m. a youth, lad, fellow (= prec.), Gobh.; Kāv.; Pur. &c." It is true that Monier-Williams records for the latter word also the meanings "a pupil, scholar, religious student", but he does not cite any other authority for them than Wilson's dictionary.

The narrower meaning 'brahmin boy', which accords with the Pāli compound *brāhmaṇa-māṇava* (Jātaka IV:391), translated by Rhys Davids and Stede in The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary (London 1921-1925) as 'a young brahmin', is probably due to the fact that it was already in antiquity chiefly the brahmin boys that undertook the study of the Veda, although the boys of all the three upper varṇas were initiated. Since the initiation of a brahmin boy usually took place when he was seven or eight years old (cf. Ram Gopal, India of Vedic Kalpasūtras, Delhi 1959, p. 291 f.), the general meaning 'young boy' is easily understandable. It is, however, the meaning 'student' that is primary in the earliest texts in which the word is found.

Pāṇini 6,2,69 prescribes that "(the first syllable of the first member of the compound has an acute accent) in the case of a reproach concerning the name of a clan or pupil or the words *māṇava-* or *brāhmaṇa-* (as the latter member of the compound)" (*gotrāntevāsīmāṇavabrāhmaneṣu kṣepe*). Among the examples quoted in illustration of this sūtra are *jāṅghā-vātsyaḥ* 'a descendent of Vatsa (lit. 'calf') with (good) shanks (for running off?)', *ódana-pāṇinīyāḥ* 'pupils of Pāṇini who do not care (for the study) but (only) for the porridge', *bhikṣā-māṇavaḥ* 'a beggar boy (as a term of contempt)' (thus Monier-Williams following Böhtlingk and Roth), 'a novice attracted to the school for its benefit of free boarding' (V. S. Agrawala, India as known to Pāṇini, 2nd ed., Varanasi 1963, p. 284), '*bhikṣām lapsye 'ham iti māṇavo bhavati*' (Kāśikā), and *dāsī-brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a Brāhman who goes after a female slave'. According to the Gṛhyaśūtras, the student had to beg for his and his teacher's food (cf. Ram Gopal, *op.c.*, p. 300 f. with references). Moreover, the word *māṇava-* is here associated with the word

antevāsin- 'a pupil who »dwells near» or »in» the house of his teacher' (for *antevāsin* cf. Gonda, Selected Studies, II, Leiden 1975, p. 107 f.), as in the sūtra 4,3,130 *na daṇḍamāṇavāntevāsiṣu*, which exempts the words *daṇḍamāṇava-* and *antevāsin-* from the rule 4,3,126 prescribing that the suffix *-aka* is added to family and school names (*gotracaraṇād vuñ*), e.g. *glaucukāyanaka-*, *kāṭhaka-*. The compound *daṇḍa-māṇava-* is explained in the Kāśikā as *daṇḍapradhānaḥ māṇavaḥ* 'a student who carries the staff as his distinctive emblem'; precisely the same explanation is given by the commentator of Rāmāyaṇa 2,32,18 (Bombay ed.), where mention is made of *daṇḍa-māṇavāḥ* of the Kaṭha and Kālāpa schools, who desire sweets (*svādukāmāḥ*), are dull (*alāsāḥ*) and avoid due service to the teacher under the pretext of study; here, however, the commentator makes their identity with *upakurvāṇabrahmacāriṇaḥ* explicit (*daṇḍapradhānā māṇavā upakurvāṇabrahmacāriṇaḥ*: cited by Böhtlingk and Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, V, St. Petersburg 1868, col. 695 f. "Das Wort bedeutet also hier wie P. 4,3,130 »Brahmanenschüler, bei denen der Stock noch die Hauptrolle spielt»). According to Böhtlingk and Roth (I, 1855, col. 943), *upakurvāṇa* (= part. pr.) as a masc. noun means 'pupil who on concluding his Vedic studies with his teacher becomes a householder'; the reference given is "Pur. im ÇKDr.". The Mātāṅga Jātaka (IV:379) uses the word *māṇava-* of a prince, whom the best teachers of India taught the three Vedas when he was seven or eight years old, and who continually fed sixteen thousand brahmins from the age of sixteen. He is described as feeding that number of brahmins on a festive occasion in the following way: "brilliantly adorned with jewels, with golden slippers upon his feet, and a staff of fine gold in his hand, (he) was walking about and giving directions, 'Ghee here, honey here'". Though the word *bāla* is also used of the prince, it can hardly be concluded from this passage, as Agrawala (*op.c.*, p. 84) does, that *daṇḍa-māṇava-* meant 'novice'. On the other hand, the meaning 'novice' may be deduced from a gloss by Patañjali (on Pāṇini 5,4,154, ed. Kielhorn II: 444), where the word *anṛca-* 'one who does not have (i.e. know) ṛk verses' is explained as being used of a *māṇava-*, while the word *bahvṛca-* 'one who has (i.e. knows) many ṛk verses' denotes a school name (of the Ṛgvedins) (*anṛco māṇave, bahvṛcaś caraṇākhyāyām iti*). In 1,3,36 Pāṇini says that the verb *nī-* is used in the medium when it has the meanings of i.a. *ut-sañjana* and *ācāryakaraṇa*. The former expression, which is a hapax, Böhtlingk (Pāṇini's Grammatik, Leipzig 1887) translates as 'aufheben': the Kāśikā cites as an example *māṇavakam udānayate*, and glosses the verb with

utkṣīpati; what is actually meant escapes me. The meaning of *ācāryakarāṇa* on the other hand, is quite clear. The example here is *māṇavakam upanaya-te* 'he initiates the student', and Pāṇini's term is explained to denote the act or ceremony (*kriyā*) in which one makes oneself the teacher by causing the pupil to come near to oneself (*ātmānam ācāryīkurvan māṇavakam ātmasamīpaṃ prāpayati*).

The earliest references in the Grammar (for other, less important occurrences see S. Pathak and S. Chitrao, Word Index to Patanjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya, Poona 1927, p. 854 f.) thus very clearly relate the word *māṇava(ka)-* to studentship and initiation (*upanayana*). The oldest texts in which it is found besides Pāṇini are the Ṛṅhyasūtras of Gobhila and Lau-gākṣi, the former belonging to the Kauthuma school of the Sāmaveda and the latter to the Kāṭhaka school of the Black Yajurveda. In the GGS, the nominative of *māṇavaka-* occurs three times in the chapter dealing with the initiation of the student. In Knauer's edition the respective sūtras read as follows: 2,10,7 *yad ahar upaiṣyan māṇavako bhavati, praga evainaṃ tad ahar bhojayanti kuśalīkārāyanty āplāvāyanty alaṅkurvanty ahatena vā-sasācchādayanti ... 15 purastāc chālāyā upalīpte 'gnir upasamāhito bhava-ti. 16 agne vratapata iti hutvā paścād agner udagagreṣu darbheṣu prāñ ā-cāryo 'vatiṣṭhate, 17 antareṅagnyācāryau māṇavako 'ñjalikṛto 'bhimukta ācāryam udagagreṣu darbheṣu ... 33 athainaṃ sampreṣyati: brahmacāry asy asāv iti; samidham ādhehy, apo 'śāna, karma kuru, mā divā svāpsīr iti. 34 udaññ agner utsṛpya prāñ ācārya upaviśaty udagagreṣu darbheṣu, 35 pratyañ māṇavako dakṣiṇaṅjānavakto 'bhimukha ācāryam udagagreṣu darbheṣu ...*

Oldenberg (The Ṛṅhya-sūtras, II, Oxford 1892, SBE 30, p. 63 ff.) trans-lates these sūtras as follows: "7. On the day on which the youth is going to receive the initiation, on that day, early in the morning, they give him to eat, and have his hair arranged, and wash him, and deck him with ornaments, and put on him a (new) garment which has not yet been washed... 15. To the east of the house on a surface besmeared (with cow-dung) wood has been put on the fire. 16. Having sacrificed with (the Mantras which the student recites) 'Agni! Lord of the vow' (MB. I,6,9-13), the teacher stations himself to the west of the fire, on northward-pointed Darbha grass, facing the east. 17. Between the fire and the teacher the student (stands), raising his joined hands, turning his face towards the teacher, on northward-pointed Darbha grass ... 33. He then directs him (to observe the duties of Brahmacarya, by the formula), 'A student art thou, N.N.!

(ibid. 25). 34. 'Put on fuel. Eat water. Do the service. Do not sleep in the day-time' (ibid. 26). 35. Having gone in a northerly direction from the fire, the teacher sits down to the east, on northward-pointed Darbha grass, 36. The student to the west, bending his right knee, turning his face towards the teacher, also on northward-pointed Darbha grass. ..."

Although Oldenberg in the first instance uses the word 'youth', he applies in the two latter cases the translation 'student' suggested by the contrast with the teacher.

In Kāṭhaka-Gr̥hyasūtra 28,5 it is prescribed that after the newly married couple has arrived home, descended from the chariot and entered the house, the bridegroom in conclusion of some other ceremonies gives fruit to a young pupil-boy sitting in the lap of his wife (... *māṇavakāyotsaṅga idāṃ agna iti phalāni pradadāti*). The parallel passages of the other texts speak of "a celibate student" (Mānava-Gr̥hyasūtra 1,14,8 *athāsyaī brahmacāriṇam upastha āveśayati...*) or "a celibate student whose father lives and whose mother lives" (Vārāha-Gr̥hyasūtra 15,19 *brahmacāriṇam jīvapitrkaṃ jīvamātrkaṃ utsaṅgam upaveśayet*) or "an auspiciously named descendent of a brāhmaṇa" (Kauśika-Sūtra 78,8 ... *kalyāṇanāmānaṃ brāhmaṇāyanam upastha upaveśayati*), as well as of a "young boy" (Jaiminīya-Gr̥hyasūtra 1,22: 1905, 23: 1 *kumāram upastha ādhāya ...*; Gobhila-Gr̥hyasūtra 2,4,7 *tasyāḥ kumāram upastha ādadhyuḥ*; Śāṅkhāyana-Gr̥hyasūtra 1,16,7 *atra haike kumāram utsaṅgam ānayanty ...*; Āpastamba-Gr̥hyasūtra 6,11; cf. also *putras ta eṣaḥ* "this is your son" in Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā 14,2,24 alluding to this practice).

A passing mention may be made also of the late Itihāsopaniṣad, where we read (Upaniṣatsamgrahaḥ, ed. Jagadīśa Śāstrī, II, Delhi 1970, p. 10): "Therefore, should an initiated student learn this legend, and after having learnt it tell it to brāhmaṇas, he would become wise," etc. (*tasmād ya imam itihāsam upanīto māṇavako gṛhṇīyāt / gṛhītvātha brāhmaṇāñ chrāvāyēt / medhāvī bhavet ...*).

The derivation from the word *mānuḥ* 'man' was recognized by the ancient grammarians already. In a kārikā on Pāṇini 4,1,161 we are told that the word *māṇavaḥ* is described as a derivative of the word *manu-* which has a retroflex *n* and is used in the meaning of 'child', especially one who is reviled and stupid (*apatye kutsite mūḍhe manor autsargikāḥ smṛtaḥ / nakārasya ca mūrdhanyas tena sidhyati māṇavaḥ //*). The meanings mentioned here agree with the synonyms *bālaḥ* 'child', *kupuruṣaḥ* 'bad or poor man,

weakling' and *vaṭuḥ* (= *baṭuḥ*) 'boy, lad, stripling, youth (esp. a young Brāhman, but also contemptuously applied to adult persons)' which are given by the lexicographers cited by Böhtlingk and Roth (V, 1868, col. 695). It is conceivable that not all the pupils were very clever or well-behaved, and that all these meanings can be deduced from the primary meaning 'pupil, student'. In addition to the above-mentioned meanings attested in the Mahābhārata, Kāvya literature, etc., Monier-Williams cites for *baṭuḥ* also the senses 'N. of a class of priests' (Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi) and 'a form of Śiva (so called from being represented by boys in the rites of the Śāktas)' (ibid.), and for *baṭuka-* m. "a boy, lad &c. = *baṭu* Kathās.; BHP.; a stupid fellow, blockhead, W.; N. of a class of priests, Cat.; a form of Śiva (among the Śāktas), ib."; cf. also *baṭu-karaṇa* n. "the act of making into a youth, initiation of a boy by *upa-nayana*, q.v., L." This interesting word is thus very close in meaning to *māṇava(ka)-*.

That *māṇava(ka)-* was commonly associated with *mānava-* is proved also by the fact that both words are known from Pāli in the sense 'a youth, young man, esp. a young Brahmin' (thus Rhys Davids and Stede, s.v.); the same applies to the feminine *māṇavikā-* 'young Brahmin girl' (cf. D. Andersen, A Pāli Reader, II, Copenhagen 1904-1905, p. 206, and R. L. Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, London 1966, No. 10048). Cf. also F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, II, New Haven 1953, p. 428: "*māṇava* (also *mānava*, MSV i.261.20), usually (as in Skt. and Pali) 'youth', esp. 'brahman youth'; more commonly (again as in Skt. and Pali) ^ovaka. Once ^ova is used of an adult brahman, a king's purohita, and contrasted with his pupils, called ^ovaka: Divy 60.23 This seems to be highly exceptional." Haragovind Das T. Sheth's Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo (2nd ed., Varanasi 1963) records only the form *māṇava* in the meaning of 'man' (*manuṣya*, *martya*) for Prakrit. If *māṇava(ka)-* is the primary form, as I think it is, the association with *mānava-* in an Indo-Aryan community is easily understood. Turner (l.c.), who also adopts the opposite view and takes *mānavá-* as the primary form, explains *-ṇ-* as "early Middle Indo-Aryan change or possibly influence by 'defective' word **māṇa-* s.v. group **maṭṭa-*"; Turner here cites Kumaoni *māṇo*, *māṇī* 'man without beard or mustache', which are also entered as the only words under the 14th form (**māṇa-*) in the entry No. 9723 **maṭṭa-* 'defective'.

M. B. Emeneau and T. Burrow have recorded a number of related words from

various Dravidian languages, which they consider borrowings from Indo-Aryan (Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962, University of California Publications in Linguistics, 26, p. 54, No. 294):

Tamiḷ	<i>māṇavakaṇ</i> (read thus for <i>mānavakaṇ</i>) 'celibate student, pupil, scholar, religious student, lad more than eight and less than sixteen years of age, fool, inexperienced person'; <i>māṇavan</i> , <i>māṇākkāṇ</i> 'celibate student, scholar, pupil' <i>māṇākki</i> 'female disciple, school girl' <i>māṇi</i> 'student, bachelor; dwarf'
Malayālam	<i>māṇavan</i> , <i>māṇavakaṇ</i> 'boy, student' <i>māṇi</i> 'manikin, boy, the child of a Nambudiri, a young Brahmin student'
Kannāḍa	<i>māṇava</i> , <i>māṇi</i> 'a youth, lad' <i>māṇavaka</i> 'a youth, lad, pupil'
Tuḷu	<i>māṇi</i> 'a brahman boy' <i>māṇi</i> , <i>māni</i> 'a man, a messenger, servant'
Telugu	<i>māṇavakūḍu</i> 'a boy or lad not exceeding sixteen years of age'

To this list ought to be added at least Tamiḷ *māṇ* 'student, bachelor' (Tiv. Periyati. 8,10,8); 'dwarf' (Tēvā. 164,5) and *māṇ-makaṇ* 'Brahmin boy' (Takkayākap. 672). The compound index to the Tamil Lexicon, compiled under the direction of Dr. Eric Grinstead and placed at my disposal in a pre-print form by him, lists the following compounds: *oru-cālai-māṇākkar* 'pupils of the same school, schoolmates' (commentary on Tolkāp-piyam, Po. 666, p. 653); *uṭaṇ-māṇākkāṇ* 'class-mate' (mod.); *talai-*, *iṭai-* and *kaṭai-māṇākkar* (the second one not in TL nor the list) 'best, mediocre and worst pupils' (Naṇṇūl 38 & commentary); *cāttira-māṇi* 'student' (South Indian Inscriptions V: 500; the TL derives the first part from Sanskrit *chāttra* 'pupil'); and *piḷukkai-māṇi* 'young brahmacāri, small boy' (commentary on Cilapp. 23,88).

Emeneau and Burrow have apparently agreed with most other scholars in deriving Sanskrit *māṇava(ka)*- from *mānava-*. It is obvious that such forms as *māṇavaka(n)* in the Dravidian languages are borrowings from Sanskrit, but others might perpetuate the original Dravidian etymology of the Sanskrit vocables. The "spontaneous -ṇ-" is not a wholly convincing explanation, particularly in view of the difference in meaning. Moreover, the word *māṇava(ka)*- is attested relatively late, for the first time in

Pāṇini and two Gṛhyasūtras. In this connection it is appropriate to bear in mind that "the most important source of the foreign element in the Sanskrit vocabulary is to be found in the Dravidian languages" (Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, 3rd ed., London 1973, p. 380) and that "the large majority [of the Dravidian loanwords in Sanskrit] first appear in the classical language, but in its early stage, being first recorded in Pāṇini, Patañjali, Mahābhārata, Śrautasūtra, etc. The majority appear also in Pali..." (ibid. p. 385 f.).

The decision to regard the Dravidian words as borrowings from Indo-Aryan is probably largely due to the fact that the Tamil Lexicon does not record any Old Tamil occurrences of the words cited. We now have, however, better means to control the earliest attestation than in 1962 when Emeneau and Burrow published their book, notable the *Index des mots de la littérature tamoule ancienne*, I-III, Pondichéry 1967-1970 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, 37), and N. Subrahmanian's *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, Madras 1966 (Madras University Historical Series, 23). The word *māṇākkān* 'disciple' occurs several times in the Caṅkam literature, in *Ciṛappup pāyiram* 1,1; *Ciṛupaṅcamūlam* 29,2 and 30,4 (or 27,2 (2) and 28,3); and in *Kuṛuntokai* 33,1, where it has the attribute *iḷa* 'young'. The word *māṇi*, too, is attested in Old Tamil, in *Cilappatikāram* 9,29, where it quite clearly has the meaning of '(Vedic) student'; 29-30 *maṛaiyōṇ piṇ māṇi-y-āy vāṇ-poruṭ kēḷvi / tuṛai pōy ...* Danielou translates: "this divine Brahmin boy grew up and became learned in all the sacred scriptures." According to the commentator, the words *māṇi-y-āy* "after having become a pupil" entails the ceremonies of tonsure (*cauḷam*) and initiation (*upanayanam*), and the words *vāṇ-poruṭ kēḷvi* "knowledge of heavenly matters" the Veda together with its auxiliary sciences (*maṛaiṇūlum aṅkamum*).

In Sanskrit *brahmacarya* 'studentship' is synonymous with 'the state of continence and chastity', which already at an early date constituted an essential part of the *brahmacarya* (cf. J. Gonda, *Change and continuity in Indian religion*, The Hague 1965, *Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae*, 9, p. 290 ff.). "The brahmacārin should abstain from honey, flesh, perfumes, garlands, vegetable juices, women, acidulated substances, the killing of animate beings, unguents, black powder (for his eyes), wearing sandals, using an umbrella, sensual desires, wrath, covetousness, dancing, singing, dice, disputes, detraction and falsehood... Generally speaking the above enumeration implies that a brahmacārin should avoid transgression of the

rules of *ahiṃsā*, chastity, modesty and austerity" (ibid., p. 295). Moreover, there are many special "observances" which the student has to undertake in order to be able to study specific Vedic texts (cf. ibid., p. 329). The Dravidian words *māṇi* and *māṇākkān*, attested already in Old Tamil in the meaning of 'student' and occurring widely in South Dravidian, could hence well be derivatives from the Dravidian root which in Kannaḍa appears in the form *māṇ* and means 'to stop, cease, subside, be laid aside, be got rid of, be checked or repressed, desist from, cease from, give over', in Tuḷu as *māṇāvuni* or *māṇāvuni* 'to lessen, decrease, abate', and in some dialects of Telugu as *manūgu* or *manuvu* 'to die'. This root, recognized as genuine Dravidian in origin by Burrow and Emeneau in their Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (Oxford 1961, with a Supplement ibid. 1968) sub No. 3958, has otherwise *ḷ for *ṇ, as e.g. in Tamil *māḷ* (past tense *māṇṭ-*) 'to die, perish, be exhausted, expended or finished'. "In P(roto-)Dr(avidian), there was undoubtedly an alternation of *ṇ : *ḷ, widely represented in S(outh)Dr languages and also in some C(entral)Dr languages, and in Te(lugu) by the *n* : *l* alternation", says Zvelebil in his *Comparative Dravidian Phonology*, The Hague 1970 (*Janua linguarum, Series practica*, 80), p. 134, citing many examples (DED 1788, 3212, 1990/2473, 599, 2962). Burrow and Emeneau, in fact, relate the root *māḷ/māṇ* (DED 3958) to a homonym (DED+S 3938) attested from Kannaḍa to Kuwi with the meaning 'to heal, be healed or cured' and with the proto-form (preserved in Kannaḍa) *māṇ*.

The brahmacārin had to beg his food; he carried a staff, fasted, and abstained from sexual intercourse: these observances are common also to the consecrated sacrificer in the Vedic ritual, the Brahmanical ascetic (*saṃnyāsīn*), and the Buddhist mendicant (*bhikṣu*) (cf. e.g. Gonda, *op.c.*, p. 302 ff.). "Thus chastity, *brahmacārya* 'conduct worthy of a brahman or a holy man' [Conze] was a great ideal from which the Buddhist monk must not swerve even at the cost of his life" (ibid., p. 307). In Telugu, *malugu* means 'to be extinguished, ... (lamp) goes down due to lack of oil' and *malāgu* 'to cease, stop (as births and deaths), (sins) to diminish' (DED 3958): these connotations are in harmony with the purpose of the *brahmacārya*, desisting from all desires. It serves for getting rid of sin and, in Buddhism, "for immergence in *nirvāṇa*, for going beyond the *nirvāṇa*, for culminating in *nirvāṇa*" (*Majjhima-Nikāya* I: 304; cf. Gonda, *op.c.*, p. 305); and the state of *nirvāṇa* is compared with the extinction

of flame due to lack of oil (cf. E. Frauwallner, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, I, Salzburg 1953, p. 225 f.). All over the world the initiation and consecration rites, including the Indian studentship and the Vedic *dīkṣā*, entail the concept of 'death (to profane world)' which alone makes a 'rebirth' possible (cf. Gonda, *op.c.*, p. 315 f., 337; M. Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation*, New York 1965, p. 13 ff., 54 ff. et alibi; J. C. Heesterman, in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 6, 1962, p. 30 f.). Thus also the meaning 'to die' which the root *māḷ/māṇ* (DED 3958) has in Tamil and Telugu is relevant in considering the etymology of the Dravidian words *māṇi*, *māṇākkān* and Sanskrit *māṇava(ka)-*.

The observances and austerities of the student make him worthy and fit to learn the sacred texts and (cf. Gonda, *op.c.*, p. 286 f.) endow him with an extraordinary, supranormal power. These connotations are present in the homophone Dravidian root *māṇ* 'to become excellent, glorious, be good, worthy, fit, great' (DED 3937), which is attested in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu only, but is ancient in Tamil (cf. *Kuṛaḷ* 124; 177; 665); from this root there are in Tamil such derivatives as *māṇ* 'greatness, glory, splendour, excellence, dignity' (already in *Kalitokai* 20,15), *māṇi* 'beauty', and *māṇṭavar* or *māṇṭar* 'the illustrious, the great' (also: 'the dead').

The sexual abstinence of the brahmacārin endows him with accumulated virility, cf. e.g. the 12th stanza of the hymn 11,5 in the *Atharvaveda-Samhitā* extolling the brahmacārin: "Roaring on, thundering, the ruddy white-goer has introduced (?*anu-bhr̥*) in the earth a great virile member; the Vedic student pours seed upon the surface (*sānu*), on the earth; by that live the four directions" (Whitney's translation), and Gonda, *op.c.*, p. 296. It is noteworthy that the Dravidian word *māṇi* 'celibate student' has an exact homonym in the Dravidian word *māṇi* 'penis' (DED 3939), which is attested in Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada.

"The Brahman delivered the creatures over to death, the Brahmacārin (religious student) alone it did not deliver over to him. He (Death) said, 'Let me have a share in this one also.' - 'Only the night on which he shall not bring his fire-wood,' said (the Brahman). On whatever night, therefore, the Brahmacārin does not bring fire-wood, that (night) he passes cutting it off from his own life: therefore the Brahmacārin should bring fire-wood, lest he should pass (his nights) cutting off (as much) from his life." Bearing in mind this passage of the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa*

(11,3,3,1), given above in J. Eggeling's rendering, it is interesting to observe that the transitive form *māṭṭu* 'to kill' from the root *māl̥/māṇ̥* 'to die, stop, cease, etc.' (DED 3958) has a homophone *māṭṭu* which means 'to kindle (as fire), put fuel on fire, to make (fire) burn' (DED 3935), attested in many Dravidian languages, from Tamil right to North Dravidian.

I am not asserting that all these linguistic associations in Dravidian have necessarily contributed to the formation of the concept of brahmacarya, though some of them may have done so. Some customs relating to the Vedic student and initiation undoubtedly are of ancient Aryan origin — thus above all the investiture of the youth with the sacred thread (*yaññopavīta*), which apparently substituted an older garment and is comparable to the Roman *toga*, the "first public distinction of youth" (*primus iuventae honos*, Tacitus, Germ. 13); cf. Gonda, *op.c.*, p. 264 f. Yet there is "a certain degree of probability that the Aryans laid a superstructure upon initiatory ceremonies which they adopted during their migrations or found in India, because the arrival at the age of puberty is in India and the adjacent countries in the North-West often an occasion for various ceremonies" (*ib.*, p. 266; cf. also *ib.*, p. 345 ff.). I have endeavoured to show that Sanskrit *māṇava(ka)*— 'initiated student living in celibacy' may be of Dravidian etymology and thus attest to the survival of pre-Aryan initiation rites in the historical religions of India.

Particularly important for this hypothesis are in my opinion the central meanings of the Dravidian root(s) *māṇ̥/māl̥*: 'to desist from' (the brahmacārin desists from eating and sexual intercourse, etc.) and 'to be exhausted, expended, lose strength, be reduced', the latter describing the consequences of fasting and austerity that may culminate even in the death (cf. the meaning 'to die') as in the religious suicide by fasting among the Jinas.

We have seen above that *māṇavaka*— fulfills a fertility function in the marriage ceremony (KāṭhGS 28,5). Certainly the brahmacarya, fasting and celibacy, was not originally restricted just to the studentship of young men (cf. also Heesterman, WZKSO 8, 1964, p. 25). In the Vedic mythology the creator god Prajāpati (in older texts Varuṇa: the identity is certain e.g. from their both being expressly identified with the sacrificial horse, killed at the sacred marriage rite terminating its yearly course

of celibacy) practised austerity in order to create, and the texts abound in references to his exhaustion and death, which were the consequences of this (cf. e.g. ŚB 6,1,1,8 and passim in the sequel). In the ritual of the mahāvratā, a new year feast inherited from pre-Vedic times and probably the prototype of the sacred marriage of the horse sacrifice, the sexual union is performed by a brahmacārin (or a brahmabandhu, which amounts to the same; cf. Hauer, *Der Vrātya*, 1927, p. 142 ff.). This feast celebrated simultaneously the death of the old year/sun (i.e. the old and impotent god of generation, Prajāpati/Varuṇa), who at the very moment of his death, with his virility magically restored (cf. AS 4,4,1) begot a son (Rudra), and the birth of the new year/sun, Rudra, who immediately when born killed his father Prajāpati in punishment of his incest (his union, as the night sun, with his own daughter, the dawn or the morning nakṣatra: the rising sun, equivalent to the new year, 'kills' the night with its ray-arrows). It is impossible for me to document here in detail this new interpretation of the mahāvratā in terms of the myth of Rudra's birth (for which cf. e.g. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, 1897, p. 119), but I would like to add a few parallels to it which emphasize the role of 'wearing away' and 'death' in the concept of brahmacharya, which aims at rebirth (through one's seed = son). In the Vedic and Epic mythology there are many stories of ascetics who accumulated enormous powers by their fasting and austerity, so much so that the gods were alarmed and had it discharged by sending a heavenly courtesan to seduce them. Pāṇḍu would suffer from the curse of death upon uniting sexually with his wife. Heavenly prototypes of these sacred and mythical marriages involving death and rebirth are provided by the sun, which after the heat/asceticism (*tapas*) of the day or summer half-year 'dies' in the evening or autumn (being covered in clouds) but simultaneously pours down its 'seed' (the autumnal rains), and also by the moon, the heavenly 'seed-layer' par excellence (*retodhā*, cf. e.g. MS 1,6,9), who, like a fasting initiate, gradually 'waned away' to 'die' and to be reborn (like the *dviija* or the *dīkṣita*) on the new moon day.

Death symbolism plays a predominant part in the rites of passage among many peoples of the world, and the related terminology is often derived from words meaning 'to die' or 'death'. As such a parallel to the interpretation of Sanskrit *māṇava(ka)*- proposed here, I should like to quote Victor Turner's description of the royal consecration among the Ndembus

of Zambia in Africa: "...the installation rites of the Kanongesha of the Ndembu: The liminal component of such rites begins with the construction of a small shelter of leaves about a mile away from the capital village. This hut is known as *kafu* or *kafwi*, a term Ndembu derive from *ku-fwa*, 'to die', for it is here that the chief-elect dies from his commoner state. Imagery of death abounds in Ndembu liminality. For example, the secret and sacred site where novices are circumcised is known as *ifwilu* or *chifwilu*, a term also derived from *ku-fwa*." (Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process*, London 1969, p. 100).

