

ON THE LOCALISATION OF VEDIC TEXTS AND SCHOOLS

(Materials on Vedic Śākhās, 7)

0. The Vedas have now been studied scientifically for more than 150 years, but, regarding the geographical area where these texts were composed, one hardly finds more in the handbooks and in secondary literature¹ than some rather general statements, e.g. that the bulk of the Vedic texts must have been composed in Northern India in the first millennium B.C. This certainly is due to the -- prima facie -- few direct and clear references to well-known rivers, mountains, the ocean etc.²

The Vedic texts, however, were neither composed by single persons living at a certain place nor by a multitude of authors coming from all parts of the country, but a particular text normally is the work of a school *śākhā* of priests and theologians who were living in a particular area (and at a certain time). There are, of course, various texts which have been put together by (comparatively) late-Vedic compilers³ and the constituent

¹ See, e.g. GONDA, *History of Indian Literature*, Vols. 1, 2; K. MYLIUS (see ann. 8) and E. BRUCKER, *Die spätved. Kulturepoche*, Wiesbaden 1980, are recent exceptions; cf. also, author in *Beitr. z. Siidasiensforsch.* 104, 1985.

² Some scholars were sceptical about the possibility of a localisation of Vedic texts and schools, e.g. RENOUE, *JA* 236, p. 52 ann. 1b, and *Ecoles védiques*, Paris 1947, §73, §194 (with lit.); cf. MINARD, *Trois énigmes*, II, Paris 1956, §549b for a list of opinions on the geogr. area of Ved. texts: mostly, the Kuru-Pañcāla land, ŚB is Eastern; some Taitt. Sūtras have, since BÜHLER. *SBE* 2, p. XXXIII sqq., been assigned to the South, which is wrong, see below, on BŚS, VādhŚSS, and §4.15. -- A detailed discussion of the localisation of the various peoples, tribes, and place names is, for want of space, not attempted here; this has to be postponed for a historical geography of Vedic India.

³ E.g. ŚB in 4 parts, see below, §4.6 sqq.; TB-TĀ: TB 1-3.9; the Kaṭha section TB 3. 10 - TĀ 2; TĀ 3; 4-5: 6; the Upaniṣads: TĀ 7-9; MNU = TĀ 10. -- For JB and JUB, see below; AB (two parts: 1 -5; 6-8, see below). At a later stage, the growth of various texts may be studied as well, e.g. MS 4 (*khilakāṇḍa*) was added to MS 1-3, and KS 5

parts of such texts thus belong to various periods and geographical areas, but this usually is detectable by philological means and sometimes even indicated by tradition. The structure of the texts, too, frequently offers valuable hints on the way they had been composed or put together by the compilers, -- though, again, this has hardly been used, except by the pioneers of Vedic study in the last century.⁴ It is <p.174> evident that a better understanding of the exact geographical position of a particular *sākhā* will also increase an understanding of the text⁵, and especially of those features to be explained by taking recourse to facts of (local) flora, fauna, geographical conditions, climate etc. -- Therefore, an attempt is made here to trace, by using various criteria, the homelands of most of the middle and later Vedic schools and texts, and to present the results in form of a map⁶.

The criteria used include, first of all, names of, since antiquity, well-known localities, rivers, mountains etc. Such names could, of course, have been transferred to other localities, and, e.g. in case of the Sadānīrā river, certainly have been, but some of the major geographical features have

(Aśvamedha) to KS 1-4 (= chapters 1-40). In such cases, external influence in adding such portions is not immediately visible.

⁴ For example MS, KS, see note 3; such cases have been noticed especially by Weber who published many, sometimes hasty, observations in his *Literaturgeschichte* and in the volumes of his *Indische Studien*. -- MS, KS, TS have been treated in: author, diss. (*Das Kāṭha-Ār.*), Erlangen 1972, introd. (unpubl.).

⁵ Especially, at some later stage, of those facts of the old history of N. India, found scattered in the various Vedic texts, which so far have attracted but scanty attention or have been discussed only for those texts translated into modern languages, or discussed in the *Ved. Index* of MacDonell-Keith.

⁶ An attempt has been made already in: Kāṭha-Ār. (diss. Erlangen, 1972, unpubl.), introd. -- It goes without saying that not all rivers, place names, names of tribes, etc. have been included here. Some small rivers, localities or smaller regions are not traceable so far (e.g. the Vibhinduka country in the Kuru-Pañcāla land), others (like names of ponds in Kurukṣetra) are of interest only in so far as they indicate a detailed knowledge of this region. Their exact localisation is not important here. An effort has been made, however, to include all names relevant for a localisation of a certain text. -- A definite historical geography of the Vedic period still is a desideratum: the material of the early Buddhist, Jaina, and Epic texts, as well as Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's discussions of it, will have to be compared. -- The geographical horizon of these texts may, -- even if some of them were composed in the same period, differ considerably, as the Vedic texts tend to exclude from their lists non-Aryan or "non-orthoprax" countries and only mention them occasionally, mostly in a negative context. (Cf. below §4.16-17).

retained their names since the early texts. Examples are: the rivers *Sindhu* (Sindh, Indus), *Gaṅgā* (Ganges), *Himālaya*, *Madhyadesa*⁷ (Nepali: *Mades* = Uttar Pradesh and surroundings). Others, especially the names of certain places and tribes viz. peoples, have changed many times: most tribes of the post-Ṛgvedic period, however, can be localised.

Other, seldomly used criteria are those of climate: the direction of prevalent winds, as described by the texts, frequently allows to pinpoint a particular area. For example, North winds in Winter are found in N. India only in the Panjab and not East of the Delhi area. Observations on plant and animal life in combination with climatic conditions, such as made by K. Mylius⁸, also provide a bulk of material. An evaluation of <175> the names and other geographical facts mentioned in the texts frequently allows to establish a *core* area which may differ, sometimes widely, from the actual geographical *horizon* of a particular text: Outlying countries or tribes may only occur in stray references. Frequently, this is due to their being of "unorthodox" (better: not orthoprax) customs and religion or because they belong to an area of non-Indo-Aryan aboriginal population. Attention must, therefore, be paid both to the core area, the home land of a text, and to the sometimes much wider geographical horizon of its author(s) which *cannot* indicate their home area⁹.

In the sequel, the various Vedic texts are treated roughly in chronological order, and such observations are presented which could be collected so

⁷ Only AB 8.14 clearly states the Kuru-Pañcāla to be at the *madhyamā diś*, this position is discernable, however, in many enumerations, already at PS 13.1, ŚS 5.22, see below §2.

⁸ See K. MYLIUS, *Geographische Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgegend des Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, in *Wiss. Zeitschr. d. Univ. Leipzig*, 1969, p. 759-761, and: *Das geographische Milieu der mittelvedischen Literatur*, in *Mitteil. d. Inst. für Orientforsch.*, 17.3 (1972), 369- 382.

⁹ The S ūtras are, to a large extent not treated in detail here, as they recently have been investigated by Brucker, who has added considerably to our knowledge of the historical geography of this period. While most of his observations on the homelands of Vedic schools and texts of this period are acceptable (and the severe criticism of BODEWITZ, *IJ* 27, p. 207, is unjustified, cf. author, *Beitr. z. Südasiensforsch.* 104, 1985, p. 37, ann. 37), it must be stressed here that the geographical horizon of the Sūtras does not correspond to the settlement area of the Vedic Indians (cf. ann. 6, and below, §4.16-17) but to what, in the view of the various Sūtra authors/compiler, was the territory proper for Aryan settlement. Furthermore, Brucker included many late, often post-Vedic texts in his discussion, such as the Śāṅkha-LikhitaDhS. Such texts have, if at all, to be used with care, cf. below, on the AV-Par., §4.16.

far. It is obvious that this can only be a selection of the major facts, and that a lot of additional material could be detected, especially in more or less 'hidden' contexts (*parokṣapriyā hi devāḥ*). Frequently, identifications of objects of nature with other phenomena (such as: "the cows are the salt, the rivers, the River Sindh"), are not expressed directly but have to be detected by a thorough study of particular passages, -- a wide field for future research¹⁰.

1. ṚGVEDA

The geographical area of the Rgveda is quickly characterised¹¹ by mentioning some of the major rivers this texts knows of: The *Kubhā*, *Krumu*, *Gomatī* in the West (= Kabul, Kurram, Gomal in E. <176> Afghanistan and Pakistan); the seven rivers of the Panjab in the center; the *Yamunā* and the *Gaṅgā* in the East (only in a late passage). The Northern limits are perhaps indicated by the mentioning of the *Rasā* as a small tributary of the *Sindhu*, somewhere in the Himalayas, which are known to the RV as *himavant*. The Southern fringe of geographical knowledge, though probably not of actual settlement, is the ocean (*samudra*)¹², and -- if the localisation has remained the same -- the Bolan pass, represented by the *Bhalānas* tribe in RV. It is also important to note that the tiger and rice are still unknown to the RV, which excludes the areas, roughly speaking. East of Delhi: the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab, and the tracts of land South of it.

¹⁰ A start has been made in the *Felic. Vol. B.R. Sharma*, Tirupati, (to appear), where the Bharata, Ikṣvāku, Ayogu, Vasāti, Naṃsi in JB 3.238-9: §204, together with the geogr. data of the Sindhu/Salt Range area described.

¹¹ A detailed discussion is not entered into here as the area is defined well enough by the rivers mentioned (at which the various RV tribes frequently are said to settle); for a discussion of the various large and small rivers of the Nadī sūkta RV 10.75, cf. M. A. STEIN, *JRAS* 1917, p. 91 sqq., *Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.*, p. 21 sqq.

¹² The Eastern ocean of RV 10.136.5 may refer rather to the milky way than to the Bay of Bengal, cf. author. *Bull. d. Et. Ind.* 2, 1984, p. 262, cf. the Northern ocean, AV 11.5.6. Cf. BRUCKER, *op. cit.*, p. 84 on ŚB 1.6.3.11: Eastern and Western ocean. Perhaps this legend dealing with Vṛtra intends the waters of the milky way and its terrestrial counterpart, the ocean.

2. ATHARVAVEDA, YV Mantras

The Atharvaveda (PS, ŚS) forms, together with the mantras of the Yajurveda, the next stage in the development of Vedic language, though the redaction of the text may be late, and probably has taken place only in the late Brāhmaṇa period. The geographical facts indicate a change of the main settlement area from the Panjab to Madhyadeśa, the Middle Land, roughly identical with modern Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. The multitude of RV tribes has been replaced by a few major tribes, the central *Kuru-Pañcāla*, and a few smaller ones surrounding them¹³: the *Kāśi* (PS) viz. *Aṅga* (ŚS) in the East, the *Magadha* in the SE, *Gandhāri* and the *Mahāvṛṣa* in the NW, the *Balhika*¹⁴ in the extreme NW, beyond the Hindukush (probably known only because of trade relations). A further demarcation of the home land of both Atharvaveda texts can, perhaps, be made on the basis of these border peoples: For PS, the Eastern border of Aryan territory is the *Kāśi*, but for ŚS it is the *Aṅga* land, situated much further towards the East. The redactor of ŚS apparently wanted to include all of the Kosala and Videha territory¹⁵, and therefore, must have belonged to the late Brāhmaṇa period (cf. <177> below, the late AB, ŚB(M) 1-5 etc.). PS, on the other hand, has collected the data just mentioned in a hymn which is clearly older (note the, partly, RV type language)¹⁶ and which also is better composed than that of ŚS.

Both PS and ŚS, however, have got a hymn where the *Aikṣvāka*, *Matsya*¹⁷, and *Kāśya* occur (PS 7.10.9, ŚS 19.39.9, where ŚS is corrupt). This confirms the impression left by the Takman hymn (PSK 13.1, ŚS 5.22): The Easternmost tribe mentioned are the *Kāśi*, who frequently occur next to the mysterious *Ikṣvāku*. The Kuru-Pañcāla are not mentioned in the AV (the center is left unexpressed), but can be inferred to have existed by this time from the YV mantras, where they occur, e.g. in

¹³ See AV (Śaun.) 5.22, PS(K) 13.1 = PS(Or) 12.1-2.

¹⁴ See *Persica* 9, p. 86 sqq.

¹⁵ Both do not occur in AV (ŚS, PS) nor in the other Mantra time texts (MS, KS, KpS, TS, VS); note the foreign -s- in the name of *Kosala*, -- while the river of this area later on is called *Kauśī*, *Kauśikī*, *Kośī*/*Kośī*.

¹⁶ For details, see author. *The Paippalāda hymn to Takman*, forthcoming (III).

¹⁷ The MSS of ŚS have *atsya*; if this would be correct, one could think of the Accha tribe, mentioned in Jaina texts; they lived in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doāb, East of Delhi.

the coronation mantras: *Bharata, Kuru, Kuru-Pañcāla* . -- The N. border still is the Himalaya, where the *Kirāta* are living: PS 16.16.4, ŚS 10.4.14 know of the *Kairātikā kumārikā* who lives in the mountains (*giri*, the usual name of the Himalaya). This allows to suppose that some Mongoloid (?) tribes¹⁸ were known already at this early period; one bartered Soma and other medicinal herbs with them and other mountain tribes. A YV mantra (VS 30.16) also mentions the *Kirāta*¹⁹, as do MS and JB (as the name of an Asura priest, *Kilāta*). Otherwise, the mantras of the YV offer little geographical information. -- The rivers known to AV are the *Paruṣṇī* (= Chenab, ŚS 6.12.3) and the *Yamunā* (4.9.10 *yāmuna-bushes*).

The River *Varaṇavatī*, frequently identified as the modern Varanasi, seems to occur at ŚS 4.7.1, but PS 5.8.8 clearly indicates that there is a corruption in this ŚS passage (*vārayātai varuṇāvata ābhṛtam* PS Or., *varuṇātābhṛtam* K.)

An important mantra, found at PS 19.12.5, ŚS 6.98.3, MS 4.12.2, KS 8.17, TS 2.4.14, however, speaks of the rivers flowing westwards. As this mantra must belong to the Mantra period which includes the AV, the mantras of the various YV-Saṃhitās etc., this must refer to the homeland of the Mantra time author: it is to be sought in the Kurukṣetra area, where the Rivers Beas, Sarsuti (Ghaghar), etc. indeed flow westwards (cf. below, on KS)²⁰. <178> Tiger (*vyāghra*) and rice (*vrīhi*, a culture word of unknown origin, cf. Tib. *hbras*, Malay *beras*; KEWA II, 282) appear for the first time, as does iron (*śyāma-ayas-*)²¹.

3. YAJURVEDA-SAMHITĀS

The next stratum of texts is formed by the early YV-Saṃhitā which succeeds that of the mantras. The texts belonging here are the Maitrāyaṇī-, Kāṭha-, Kapiṣṭhalakāṭha- and the Taittirīya-Saṃhitās. The bulk of these

¹⁸ SHAFER, *Ethnography of Anc. India*, Wiesbaden 1954, wants to include many more Tibeto-Burmese tribes here.

¹⁹ In connection with caves, and next to hill and mountain people.

²⁰ Cf. Whitney, in his transl. of AV: "does not suit the central basin of India".

²¹ Cf. *Persica* 9, p. 96.

texts and their discourse-type of exposition²² provide many open or hidden references to the area they were composed in.

3.1. MS The Northern border is indicated directly by references to the Himalayas (MS 3.14.11), and indirect ones to the clouds floating towards "the mountain"²³ (*giri*, 1.10.12: 152.15); it rains in all seasons (3.1.5: 7.3), something possible only near the foothills of the Himalayas. -- The W. and S. fringes of geographical knowledge are not well defined: in, a passage corresponding to one in KS which mentions that the rivers flow westwards (3.7.1., KS 23.8), MS is silent; again where KS speaks of the Kurus trekking eastwards to obtain grain, MS says they do so southwards²⁴. A certain Southern extension of the MS settlement area is also stressed by the mentioning of *Niṣāda(-sthapati)*, the aborigines who "settle (permanently)", MS 2.2.4: 18.15. The East is known, however, for its *Vaidehī* cows and draft animals (2.5.3: 50.10, also in TS, KS), and for its barley to ripen earlier than in the MS territory (1.6.4: 93.15). This corresponds to the facts of nature: The climate in Bihar is much warmer in winter (and spring, when barley ripens) than that of Western U.P./Haryana. Though MS does not mention the name of the local people in the coronation mantras (2.6.9: 69.7), it is clear, that, being the text of one of the orthoprax Brahmin groups of the Middle Country, the Kuru(-Pañcāla) are intended. The *Kurus* (4.2.6) and the "Holy Land" of <179> Kurukṣetra (2.1.4, 4.1.9) are well known to the Maitrāyaṇīyas. In view of these facts, and because of the emphasis on the Southern extension of this school, I propose to define the Maitr. area as being the one confined by

²² Frequently, but erroneously, called "Brāhmaṇas"; the Br. however, represent a later level of texts, see below, §4.

²³ Frequently, the Himalaya is referred to as *giri* or *uttara giri* (ŚB 1.4.1.14) only; otherwise, since the RV, *himavant* (*parvata*).

²⁴ Cf. W. RAU, *Staat und Gesellschaft im Alten Indien nach den Brāhmaṇa-Texten dargestellt*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 13, without reference to the difference in the direction of this movement; MS 4.7.9:104.14; KS 26.2:123.17. Cf. also TB 1.8.4.1 (where the -- later-- ŚB 5.5.2.3-5 already says that such seasonal movements as described by TB are a thing of the past for the Kuru-Pañcāla s); cf. also HEESTERMAN, *Contr. to Ind. Sociology*, N.S. 15 (1981), p. 258, and BRUCKER, *op. cit.*, p. 83; the importance of this sentence has been noticed in *Kaṭha-Ar.* (diss. Eriangen 1972, introd. p. 21).

the Himalaya foothills in the North, the desert²⁵ (*maru*, ŚBK, TĀ) in the West, the Pañcāla country (Eastern U.P.), in the East; note that the Pañcālas are not mentioned at all, neither are the Matsyas²⁶ but the Satvants²⁷, later (in JB) a Southern tribe, (MS 2.2.13:25.13, cf. AB 2.25:8.14) do occur. If this localisation is correct, the vague formulation of the Rājyābhiṣeka-mantras (*eṣa te janate rājā*, instead of Taitt. *eṣa vo Bharatām rājā* (TB 1.7.4.2:6.7), will be understandable: the Maitrāyaṇīya purohitas were living in an area where various tribes, like the Bharatas, the Ikṣvāku, Matsya, Uśīnara, Vaśa, Salva, Satvant were trekking from one semi-permanent settlement to another²⁸. The Kurus were dominant, but the other small peoples by no means unimportant²⁹.

Furthermore, the localisation attempted above agrees with the earliest post-Vedic statements as well. Patañjali (ca. 150 B.C.) who lived in

²⁵ The older name of the desert is *dhanvan*, cf. *dhanuṣ* "sandbank, island" (see KEWA s.v., -- *maru* occurs for the first time at ŚBK 3.2.4.8, interestingly, like in TĀ 5.1, in connection with the *utkara*, "rubbish heap" which is situated North of the offering ground. At TĀ 5.1, the desert therefore must refer to the country North of Kurukṣetra, the (half-)desert of the Panjab *doābs*. Note also that the ŚBK passage puts *maru* in opposition to holes in the ground. The *maru* the text has in mind seems to be hilly or mountaineous. Are sand dunes intended? (they are found only in the Tharr -- a Western area, if seen from Madhyadeśa, and in the Sindh Sagar Doab (between the Indus and the Jhelum, probably a "Northern" (*udīcyā*) territory.

²⁶ The Matsya appear already in the RV (7.18.6) but then, quite rarely in later literature, (KU 4.1, GB 1.2.9, see below). They are, however, well known to Buddhist and Jaina sources, according to which they settle SW of Delhi, on the Southern bank of the Yamunā; cf. BRUCKER, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

²⁷ The Satvant, already known to RV, appear here as wishing for cows, in AB as being pillaged by the Bharatas; similarly at ŚB 13.5.4.21 their sacrificial horse is taken by Bharata; cf. also AB 6.33, TB 3.11.24 (see below), JB 3.276, cf. BRUCKER, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

²⁸ For the semi-nomadic character of early Vedic settlements, see RAU, *Staat*, p. 20 sq.

²⁹ The Kuru did not remain in that position: JB 2.207 reports that they have been driven out (by the Salvās?) from Kurukṣetra. Perhaps this is reflected by the important position, a Pañcāla King, Keśin Dālbhya, has got in parts of the texts (KS 30.2, KpS 46.5: K. Dālbhya; K. Dārbhya MS 1.4.12, 1.6.5, 2.1.3; TS 2.6.2.3). Further investigation is necessary here. -- Note also that the Sarasvatī (Sirhind) area enjoyed a wetter climate than today from ca. 1500-1000 B.C., and again, a much wetter one between ca. 1000/800 B.C. and 500/400 B.C., see AGRAWAL and PANDE, *Ecology and Archeology of W. India*, Delhi 1977, p. 87sq.

the MS area (probably at Mathura)³⁰ records that the Kaṭhas and Kalāpas (= Maitr.) texts were recited in every village; the Rāmāyaṇa agrees in so <180> far as it even reports Maitr. priests at Ayodhya, in the center of the Kosala land. The earliest copper plate inscriptions³¹, however, consistently place the Maitr. in (Northern) Gujarat, i.e. in the Patan area (the ancient Sarasvatī-Maṇḍala), and also beyond, down South up to Nasik.

In both areas (Gujarat, N. Maharashtra) they have survived until today.

3.2. KS The Kaṭha-Samita and its variant, the Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha- Saṃhitā, are closely linked, as far as contents, arrangement and style are concerned, with the Maitr. Saṃh., much more closely, in any case, than the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā (TS) or, for that matter, the Vājasaneyi texts (VS, ŚB). One would therefore expect a close geographical proximity of both schools. This can, indeed, be shown, and as KS happens to be pinpointed quite definitely by the words of the text itself, this localisation will also help to support that of MS.

Like MS, KS knows of the Himalaya and its frequent rains: the clouds float towards "the hill" and "therefore it rains most copiously on the hill" (36.7:74.8). It even rains in every season (KS 28.2:154.18; KpS 44.2). This is possible only in or near the Himalayas, where not only the monsoon but also the remnants of the mediterranean West winds and the jet stream bring rain in winter. The name Yāska Gairikṣita: "Yāska, who lives in the hills" (13.12) points in the same direction. -- A definite localisation, however, is possible on the basis of a statement about the direction of the largest rivers of KS territory: *tasmād āpaḥ pratīcīr bhūyīṣṭhā dhāvanti* "therefore the waters flow westwards most copiously" (23.8:84.11) says KS, while there is a gap in KpS.-MS 3.7.1, TS 6.1.5.1, in parallel passages, do not mention the rivers flowing westwards. The only area in Northern India where large rivers flow towards the West is the Eastern Panjab, the area between the Beas (Vipāś) and the Yamunā, the

³⁰ See SCHARFE, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.: Gramm. Lit.*, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 153; similarly, P. THIEME, in his teaching at Tübingen (1966/67).

³¹ See author, *Beitr. z. Śīdas.forsch.* 104, 1985, p. 58 sq. and *StII* 8/9, p. 223 sqq.

Himalaya and the Tharr desert³². A statement from the same passage (23.8:84.12) reconfirms this localisation: "Therefore (the wind) blows strongest from the North"³³. Due to the area of high pressure over the Southern Panjab in winter, the area just described experiences (cold) Northern winds in Winter, while the Gangetic Summer monsoon winds coming from the East are diverted Southwards only in this region. (There is a strong low over S. Panjab in the rainy season). <181>

The region further is characterised by the tribes of the *Kurus* and the combined *Kuru-Pañcāla* (10.6, cf. 30.2; 26.9; KpS 46.5; 41.7), but the apparently more Southern aboriginal tribe of the *Niṣādas*³⁴ is known as well (17.13; KpS 27.3). The combination *Kuru-Pañcāla* indicates a somewhat more Eastern orientation than that of MS: indeed, where MS speaks about movement of tribes towards the South, KS does so about trekking towards the East (26.2: 123.17). Again, the *Pañcālas* and *Kuntis* are said to have fought, and the *Kuntis* won (26.9:134.9). The *Naimiṣīya*, probably those who dwell in the Naimiṣa forest, are mentioned at 10.6:130.8, along with the "Epic" King Dhṛtarāṣṭra. A certain knowledge of the East is to be deduced from the mentioning of *Vaidehī* cows (13.4: 183.17), which are known to TS and, exceptionally, MS 2.5.3:50.10 as well³⁵. -- The two big streams of the *Kuru-Pañcāla* country, the Gaṅga and the Yamunā, are not found in KS, MS, TS. -- All of this points to the area indicated above: The Eastern Panjab, as the home land of the Kaṭhas; they are linked with the *Kurus* and *Kuru-Pañcālas* and therefore have, especially because of their trecks towards the East, some knowledge of the Ganges-Yamunā Doāb (and beyond) as well.

³² See already, author, *Das Kaṭha-Āraṇyaka*, diss. (Teildruck), Erlangen 1974, p. XVII, ann. 18.

³³ *tasmād ayam uttarād bhūyiṣṭham pāvate.*

³⁴ The *Niṣāda* are a problem: Already their name indicates a (peaceful) settlement (*sad*) "at home" (*ni*) together with the Vedic Aryans; they therefore occur at various geogr. locations.

³⁵ Taking into account that the passages of PS (K) 13.1 and SS 5.22 describing the Eastern and Western neighbours of the *Kuru-Pañcālas* (which include the Kāśi in PS, the Aṅga in ŚS) seem to be old (at least in PS, see *Persica* IX, p. 95, and "The Takman hymn of the Paipp.S.", forthcoming, in *III*), it may be supposed that *Vaideha* here refers to the Videha area (Tirhut, N. Bihar) already, and not to the cows of King Videgha (ŚB, see below. §4.7). KS with its reference to a primordial march eastwards of these cows supports a Bihar location of the *Vaideha* even at this early time.

This result corresponds to what has been said about the Maitrāyaṇīyas: Both schools, which agree in their texts and ritual to a very large extent, actually trek and settle (*yoga-kṣema*) in adjacent areas, centering on Kurukṣetra: the Kaṭhas West of it, the Maitrāyaṇīyas South of it. -- Furthermore, this result is confirmed by the evidence of early Greek sources³⁶, which report the Καθαῖοι in Eastern, the Καμβιστολοῖ in Southern Panjab, (and the Μαδυανδῖνοι on the Ανδοματισ, South of Allahabad, see below, §4.12)³⁷.

Another confirmation can be found by the medieval name of the <182> Kurukṣetra town of Kaithal³⁸, which is reported by Arab geographers as Kavithal and can be reconstructed as **kāpiṣṭhala*. -- Names of towns going back to those of Vedic schools are found more often³⁹. -- The Kaṭhas, rarely mentioned in inscriptions⁴⁰ of the middle ages, have survived only in a region bordering on the Panjab: the Valley of Kashmir⁴¹.

³⁶ Megasthenes (ca. 300 B.C.), and Arrian, *Anabasis* 5.22 and *Indikē* , 4,4 sqq.; Strabo; Diodoros; ed. in *FGH* No. 715. Cf. *Realencyclopädie d. kl. Altertumswiss.*, s.v.; see now O. v. HINÜBER, *Arrian*.

³⁷ See already GARBE, *ZDMG* 37, p. 456 sqq., and cf. *Realencyclopädie d. klass. Altertums*. In spite of the problems of textual criticism (with regard to the Μαθαῖ/Καθαῖ of *Indikē* 4 = Eastern (*prācya*) Kaṭha), I think that the combination of Καθαῖοι, Kambistholoi and Madyandinoi alone is evidence enough to indicate that the Greek traveller had heard of Brahmins belonging to Vedic schools but took the names to mean a certain tribe; see now O. v. HINÜBER, *Arrian, Indikē*, p. 1095 sq.; -- the (Western) Kathaioi apparently are another name of the Madra, as is Śākala (cf. the author of the RV-Padapāṭha, Śākalya, and cf. the Śākala (Brahmins) AB 3.43, JB 1.258: §92. Cf. further the Tittiri of Mbhār. in the Avanti area and the Taittirīya (? , Mbhār. 6.50-51), Cañcu-Kaṭhas and the Cuñcu people (Mbhār.) etc.

³⁸ See RAGHU VIRAJ, *Journal of Ved. Studies* 1, p. 61 sqq., and SURYAKANTA, *Kāthakasaṃkalanam*, introduction.

³⁹ For example, Vārāhī in N. Gujarat, where the Vārāha sub-school of the Maitr. has been ascribed to by medieval texts like the Vedavṛkṣa (*JVS* 2, p. 17); Piplī in Orissa, where indeed, Paippalāda Atharvavedins have been living during the past few centuries.

⁴⁰ For copper plate inscriptions, see *StII* 8/9, p. 224 sqq., RENOUE, *Ecoles védiques*, p. 57, 87, 128, 202 and *Siddhabhāratī, Fel. Vol. S. Varma*, Hoshiarpur 1950.

⁴¹ Cf. author, *Beitr. z. Südas.forsch.* 104, 1985, p. 53 sqq.; further details in: author, *The Veda in Kashmir*; this long-announced book has, in recent years, been held up considerably by the endless troubles and tribulations Dutch indology has, for years, been subjected to, at first by the Ministry where one was only interested in saving some money, then by the repercussions of this at the various levels of the University

3.3. TS This third major YV-Saṃhitā belongs, like MS and KS, to the Black YV, but it stands somewhat apart from the group MS-KS, both in contents as in style. There cannot be, however, any doubt that this text, too, originates from the "Middle Country", as the central North Indian plain was called later on. Neither the Kuru nor the Pañcāla are mentioned by name in TS; and TS in its Rājyaābhīṣeka-mantras uses the name of the *Bharatas*, the old designation of the ruling group among the tribes which gained superiority in Kurukṣetra and surroundings at the time of the later Ṛgveda. However, the sub-schools of the Taittirīyas insert the names of the *Kurus*, the *Kuru-Pañcāla*, the *Pañcāla*, or simply "o people" at this instance⁴². Although the location of the sub-schools⁴³ theoretically may have differed from that of the original TS, this prima facie view is confirmed by other evidence. <183>

A relative proximity to Kurukṣetra is surmised by the pilgrimage undertaken along the *Sarasvatī*, TS 7.2.1.4; one also uses Sarasvatī water (1.8.18) during the Rājasūya ritual. Interestingly, the passage of KS about the waters flowing West (KS 23.8) does not reoccur in the parallel passage of TS 6.1.4-5.

A few references point to a knowledge of the North: To advance towards the North means to be victorious (5.3.3.2). Similarly, the North is regarded as providing wealth for Brahmins (5.3.4.4), -- in both cases probably, as this refers, from a Madhyadeśa point of view, to Kurukṣetra as the religious and political center. It may, however, refer to the Udīcyā countries of later Middle Vedic (Gandhāra, Uttarakuru, Uttaramadra) as well. -- The East is not unknown: the *Vaidehī* cows are found at 2.1.4.4. -- in contrary to MS, however, without reference to their primordial march to the East (as in KS).

administration, ever attent to enlarge its influence by expanding bureaucracy and taking stock of each of the "1840 hours"(!) one has to work per year, and finally by trendy politics favouring only colonial history and "area studies" of the various modern regions of Europe, Africa and Asia. -- All of this makes sustained, prolonged and quiet work virtually impossible.

⁴² TS 1,8,10.2, TB 1.7.4.2; the Sūtras have: BŚS 10.56 *eṣa vo 'mī rājā* (= VS 9.40, 10.18, ŚB 4.2.3), but BŚS 12.9: *Bharata*; -- ĀpŚŚS 18.12.7: *Kuru, Pañcāla, Kuru-Pañcāla, janatā* (= KS 15.7, MS 2.6.9; 4.4.2); HirŚS 13.5.24: p. 175 (bottom): *Kuru*; -- cf. MACDONELL-KEITH, *Ved. Index*, s.v. Kuru.

⁴³ See below, on. BŚS, VādhB, and other Taitt. Sūtras, §4.15.

The whole range of Northern India, North of the Yamunā, may be covered by the expressions meaning "king", at 1.3.2. Of these, *virāj-* is described by AB 8.14 as being used in the North (by the Uttarakuru and Uttaramadra); *samrāj-* as the word used by the Easterners; *svarāj-* as that used by the Western people; it is surprising that the Kuru-Pañcāla word (*rājan-*) is missing here, and only *viśvarāj-* is found, which is not explained in AB. The question remains, however, whether a Saṃhitā passage may be explained by the later AB: Again, this is an old prose Mantra: MS 1.2.10 reads: *samrāj, svarāj, virāj, sattrarāj, sarvarāj*; KS 2.11 *rāj, virāj, samrāj, svarāj* KpS 2.5 has: *samrāj, svarāj, sattrarāj, viśvarāj*, VSM has: *svarāj, sattrarāj, janarāj, sarvarāj* (5.24, VSK 5.6.3). Apparently, variation was quite possible at the time of Mantra composition (and, perhaps, redaction)^{43a}. -- Finally, the *Niṣādas* are found in TS, in the Rudrādhyāya, 4.5.4.2. -- Summing up, it can be stated (and this will be confirmed by the facts from TB and TĀ)⁴⁴, that the extreme limits of the Taittirīya territory have been: Kurukṣetra in the West, the Himalayas in the North, Videha <184> in the East and the Niṣāda territories in the South. In all probability, both the Eastern and Southern limits will have to be brought more towards the Centre (Kuru-Pañcāla land).

3.4. The Yajurveda-Saṃhitās remaining now, the Vājasaneyi-S., in the Kāṇvīya and the Mādhyandina recensions, are not dealt with here, as they contain (almost) only pre-Saṃh. prose Mantra material, and secondly, as they are suspected to have been abstracted only secondarily from the

^{43a} Note, that only TS and KpS has preserved the oldest form, *viśvarāj-* while MS, VS(M) have replaced it by the younger *sarvarāj-*; cf. JB §188. -- Note that Janaka (BĀU 4.3) is a *samrāj*.

⁴⁴ TB does not add much, as far as I see: A *Māgadha* (at the Puruṣamedha), 3.4.1.1; a *Naiṣāda* 3.4.5; *Uttara-sattvānaḥ* (meaning the gods!) 3.11.12, -- where the parallel version of the lost KaṭhaB (SCHROEDER, *Tübinger Kaṭha-Hss.*, Akad. Wien 1898, p. 14, reads *úttaralakṣmānaḥ*; -- TĀ 5.1.1 furnishes the exact boundaries of *Kurukṣetra*: *Tūrghna* in the North, *Parīnah* in the West, the *Khāṇḍava* (wood) in the South, *Maravaḥ* (deserts) in the North (where the *utkara*, "rubbish heap", is situated in ritual). TĀ 1, a late text originally belonging to the lost KaṭhaB/Ār., includes some "Epic" localities, like *Mahāmeru* 1.7.2-3; *nagara* "town" etc. -- For the date of this text portion, cf. MSS 30, p. 180, ann. 12.

Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa⁴⁵ -- where they will be treated along with the Br. sections. --

One remark may be added: the Vratya book of the Atharvaveda is composed in prose, which completely agrees with that of the YV-Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas in language and style. It is here that the *Māgadha* is referred to several times: ŚŚ 15.2.1-4=5.13.19.25; PS 18.28.4, 6, 8.--PS 15.15.4.

4. BRĀHMAṆAS and UPANIṢADS

Brāhmaṇa prose is the next step in the development of Vedic language. As for the literary genre "Brāhmaṇa", it does not differ very much from that of the YV-Saṃh. prose, be it that the style has become more fluent and less abrupt and paratactical than in the YV-Saṃhitās. Both with regard to language and in the traditional Indian classification, the Br., however, form a definite group of texts following that of the Saṃhitās. They comprise Brāhmaṇas of all 4 Vedas: RV: AB, KB; -- YV: TB, KaṭhB, VādhB (Anvākhyāna), ŚB; -- SV: PB, ŚB, JB; -- AV: GB. -- The Āraṇyakas, which constitute the following genre of texts, can be added here, as they, for a large part, consist of similar materials, and are written in the same language as that of the Br., -- except for the Upaniṣads⁴⁶ and some other additions contained in them. They are: for the RV: ŚĀ (KĀ), AĀ; YV: TĀ, Kaṭha, Bṛhadāraṇyaka (ŚB 14,1-3); <185> SV: JUB. -- Some portions of the Śrauta Sūtras should be added here as well, notably the old Vādh. and Baudh.ŚŚ, parts of ŚŚS, JŚS.

4.1. AB, AĀ This Brāhmaṇa, mostly regarded as one of the oldest, definitely is composed of two parts: *Pañcakas* 1-5 and *Pañcakas* (!) 6-8.

⁴⁵ CALAND, AO 10; -- note that VS (M) follows ŚB closely until chapter 25; then follow additions and in ch. 40, the Īśa- Up.

⁴⁶ The older Upaniṣads mostly form a part of the Āraṇyaka of the Vedic school they belong to: Kauṣ. Up., Śāṅkh. Up. (of the AĀ); Taitt.Up., KaṭhSikṣā-Up. (aparallel to TU 1, but different from the famous Kaṭha-Up.); BĀU as the last part of ŚB; ChU as part of the ChB (a collection of Mantras); Kena-Up. in JUB; regarding the AV a definite opinion cannot be formed, as the old Paippalāda-Br. of, supposedly, 100 chapters, *śatādhyāya*, has been lost, and only the two chapters forming the GB have survived. They contain the comparatively late Praṇava-Up. which already uses Pāṇinean terminology. -- For KU see ann. 57; for ChU see ann. 74.

Both differ in grammatical respect as well as in contents, and, -- as will be seen immediately --, in geographical horizon⁴⁷.

As in KS and JB, the direction of the rivers is of great importance for a localisation of this text. AB 1.7 says that "the waters flow westwards copiously", and that the wind "blows strongest from the North-West": This indicates the same area as that of the Kaṭhas (see above). If the direction of the wind is emphasised more, one could even say that not Kurukṣetra, but rather the land West of it, i.e. the area around the Sutlej, is intended: this is the only area where the wind blows from NW (in Winter). That the authors of AB were close to Kurukṣetra can be seen from 2.19 as well: the *Parisāraka* land in Kurukṣetra surrounded by the *Sarasvatī* is mentioned (cf. *Parisrāvati*, *Parīṇah-* VādhB 4 §75 JB 2.300, PB 25.10). Typically it is here, on the *Sarasvatī*, that the primordial Ṛṣis hold a long sacrificial session. The *Sarasvatī* disappears in the desert (JB 2.297, PB 25.10.1)⁴⁸; here, as well, one of the Ṛṣis is stricken by thirst in the desert (*dhanvan-*, the older word for dunes, sandbanks and desert).

On the other hand, both the East and the West are known: 3.45 speaks of the "long wildernesses in the West and the populous settlements in the East". The word *araṇya-* "wilderness"⁴⁹ refers to all land that is not directly used (by a semi-nomadic *grāma*) for settlement and for agriculture. Cattle, however, go there, and fruits are collected there. "*Araṇya*" therefore may refer to the many *doābs* between the various Panjab rivers. This area is much drier than the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *doāb*. Alternatively, one could also think of the desert (Tharr), or the Sindh Sagar Doab between the Indus and the Chenab, which is a desert as well. In any case, one must not be misled by the appearance of the modern, well-irrigated Panjab. -- The *Bharatas* are mentioned at 3.18, but one is not to follow their example in ritual. -- The area of the older parts of AB (1-5) therefore <186> seems to be more or less the same as that of the Kaṭhas: From the Himalaya in the North, to the desert on the *Sarasvatī* in

⁴⁷KEITH, in his transl. of the RV-Br. (HOS 25), p. 44 sq. remarks on the area of composition of ab: "that of the Bharatas in the Middle country, and at a time when the fame of Janamejaya was at its height". -- he makes no distinction between the two constituent parts of AB, and takes the ritual *gāthās* as contemporary evidence.

⁴⁸ Cf. the treatment of Kurukṣetra and its localities in *Bull. d. Et. ind.* 2, 1984, p. 270

⁴⁹ On the correct meaning of *araṇyaka*, see already OLDENBERG, (1915), repr. in *Kl. Schr.* and cf. now, SPROCKHOFF, WZKS 25, p. 19 sqq.

the South, and from Eastern Panjab (perhaps the Sutlej) to the "populous settlements in the East", -- probably the Yamunā-Gaṅgā *doāb*. It is interesting to note that a name *Śākala* already appears in a verse (a *yajñagāthā*) at 3.42: it is connected with the name of the famous redactor of the Ṛgveda, *Śākalya*, and also reminds of the town Śākala, known to later Sanskrit sources, and the *Sangala* of the Greeks, -- all of whom place it in the *doāb* of the Chenab and Ravi (= *Paruṣṇī*, *Asiknī*).

4.2. In contrast to this still rather limited area known to the early AB, the later⁵⁰ text portions (6-8) show a much wider geographical horizon of the authors and compilers. To them⁵¹, the center of their world was the "firm middle 'direction' (*diś*)", comprising the countries of the *Kuru-Pañcāla* together with those of the *Vaśa* and *Uśīnara* tribes. Around this "Middle country" (as it is called later on), the other Aryan and non-Aryan peoples and tribes are arranged in *pradakṣiṇa* fashion: The Easterners; the Southern people, among whom only the *Satvant* are named along with the name of their kings (*bhoja*); the Westerners, who consist of "those at our back" (*apācya*) and "those (living) down (the river)" (*nīca*): -- in my opinion, the tribes of the lower Sindh, i.e. the Sindhu-Sauvīra tribes of the Sūtra texts (see below); finally, there are the Northerners, "the countries which lie beyond the Himalaya: the *Uttarakuru* and *Uttaramadra*". These will have to be identified as the valleys of Himachal Pradesh (*Uttarakuru*, not Kashmir as thought generally), and Kashmir (*Uttaramadra*), i.e. the area North of the Madra. -- The center of cultural activities thus has shifted to the Kuru-Pañcāla land, further to the East⁵².

A *Pāñcala* king appears at 8.23; as do the rivers, *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*. *Kurukṣetra*, however, is still mentioned at 7.30 and a few names lead beyond the confines of the Kuru-Pañcāla territory: A *Gāndhāra* occurs at 7.34, a *Śaihya* (probably belonging to N. Panjab) at 8.23; an *Aikṣvāka* (whose location probably is the SE Kuru-Pañcāla land during the Br.-period)⁵³; even a *Vaidarbha*, i.e. a person from beyond the Vindhya, from

⁵⁰ This division of the text has been noticed since long, see KEITH, transl. p. 289 sqq.

⁵¹ As described in AB 8.14; cf. map no. 1 added to this article (inset).

⁵² To a more Eastern location of these chapters points that AB 7.30 mentions the local name of the *camasa* -- cup/or the *nyagrodha* tree, as being called *nyubja* in Kurukṣetra.

⁵³ On the Ikṣvākus, see below, §4.3, 4.4, and cf. BRUCKER, p. 83; *Ved. Index* s.v.

Berar, occurs at 7.34⁵⁴. This passage mentions various ancient or <187> more recent kings, among which there is a *Janakya* as well, - which reminds of Janaka of Videha.

Far beyond the borders of Northern India, then settled by Vedic tribes speaking Indo-Aryan dialects, lead the enumerations of tribes in 7.18: *Andhra, Puṇḍra, Śabara, Pulinda, Mūtiba* (cf. *Mūcīpa, ŚŚS*) who are said to be(come) numerous, being *udantyaḥ*. This most probably is to be understood as "those beyond the ends (of the Aryan settlements)", cf. JB (1.256 = §91, 1.262 = §94, 1. 197 = §74), where - from the point of view of the Jaiminīyas, the Kuru-Pañcāla s and "other foreigners" are meant, who sometimes are of ungraceful "Asura-appearance"⁵⁵. -- The names of these tribes are not of Indo-Iranian origin; most probably they are Munda designations. -- The area known to the authors of the later parts of AB therefore comprises the whole of Northern and Central India, and it includes surprisingly many tribes of Eastern India. It is perhaps not without significance, too, that in this passage (7.18), the word *mahārājya*- "reign of a great king" occurs for the first time in Vedic: the concept of imperial overlordship, based on the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, has gained importance and will lead, not too late after the Brāhmaṇa period, to the first large empire of Magadha.

4.3. KB, KĀ. These two texts belong to the sister school of the Kauṣītaki- or Śāṅkhāyana-śākhā of the Ṛgveda. They differ from the mostly older AB (1-5) in the same way TS does in respect to MS/KS: the Kauṣ. school is much more systematical, but also abrupt and short in its way of presenting the material. This results in much less data for a reasonably well-established localisation of this school. Unfortunately, the Rājasūya section of the ŚŚS (15.12-16) does not mention the mantras used to install the king (see above) though it relates a story about the defeat of the *Kurus* and their expulsion from *Kurukṣetra*; neither does the ŚGS mention the

⁵⁴ Cf. also, below, JB, §4.4.

⁵⁵ Cf. the ŚB description of the Easterners, below (ŚB 13.8.1.2); cf. also Cerapada (= Cedi?), Vaṅga-+Magadha, Vayas at AĀ 2.1.1; Mylius regards the ĀśvŚS as composed in the East (cf. Pali Assalayana).

mantra in the Sīmantonnayana which names the river on which the people undertaking the rite live⁵⁶.

Thus being restricted to the scanty materials in KB and KĀ it can only be stated that KB is well informed about the Kuru-Pañcāla territory: A *sattra* on the *Sarasvatī* is related (12.3); the *Naimiṣīya* occur at 26.5, 28.4; *Keśin Dārbhya*, the famous Kuru-Pañcāla king, plays an important role <188> at 7.4 in the development of the Dīkṣā ritual (cf. parallels in VādhB and JB). On the other hand, the relatively late persons (Uddālaka) Āruṇi and his son Śvetaketu appear at 26.4. Both belong, according to the testimony of other texts, to the Middle Country: they teach, e.g. at *Kauśāmbi*, or with the *Pañcālas*. -- Finally the *Naiṣāda* occur at 25.15. -- KB creates the impression of a text reworked by a redactor: the main teacher, Kauṣītaki, plays the main part, but the divergent views of Paiṅgya are always recorded. The impression left by this material is that the KB must have belonged to the Kuru-Pañcāla area; a further limitation of the habitat of its main authors does not seem possible at this instance. -- This result is confirmed by the evidence of the -- partly -- later KĀ: Here, too, all the major tribes of Northern India are mentioned: *Gārgya Bālāki*, a particular Veda teacher, had lived with the *Kuru, Pañcāla, Vaśa, Uśīnara, Matsya, Kāśi* and *Videha* (6.1); he taught king *Ajātaśatru* of Kāśi (6.1), who sometimes is thought to be identified with Ajātaśatru of Magadha⁵⁷. This country, however, is only mentioned once, at 7.14 (Keith 7.13), where Madhyama Prātiyodhīputra is said to live in *Magadha*: This section is post-Śākalya and presupposes the whole Ṛgveda *pāṭha* development, including the Kramapāṭha.

If the later spread of this school and the relation of its texts with other Vedic schools are taken into account, a somewhat more Western and Central habitat for the authors of KB, KĀ, ŚŚS (the Kauṣītaki/Śāṅkhayana *śākhā*)⁵⁸ is probable: KB shows relation with both

⁵⁶ Both these mantras are indicative of the location of the Śākhā using them, cf. already CALAND, *GGA* 1898, p. 956, and cf. KASHIKAR ed., *Bhār.ŚS*, introduction, XCV; RENOU, *Siddhabhāratī*, p. 6, ann. 1. For the coronation mantras, cf. KEITH, transl., *TS*, p. xciii.

⁵⁷ This section belongs to the Up. (KU 4.1.). Cf. below, §4.14, on a Kuru king Ajātaśatru, VādhB. 4, p. 191.

⁵⁸ 58 KB 7.4, cf. VādhB 4 §37, JB 2.53-54; §129; cf. also Āruṇi and Śvetaketu, 25.4 (on *punarmṛtyu*). Cf. further, Caland in his extracts from VādhB, and ŚŚ in AO 2-6; BŚS: *Über das Baudh. S.*, Leipzig 1903, *Over en uit het JB*, Amsterdam 1914.

the Vādhūla and the JB; ŚŚS, apart from the more or less corresponding Śunaḥśepa legend found at ŚŚS 15.17 sq. and AB 7.13-18, has parallels which are only found in Jaiminīya texts.

The early inscriptions, medieval and more recent evidence indicate a location of this śākhā in Rajasthan, Gujarat and a (late?) medieval immigration to Kerala⁵⁹.

A few interesting observations from the text itself may be added: "One goes to the North to learn (proper) speech: *udanca u eva yanti vācam śikṣitum*, -- for in the North speech is uttered with more discernment" (*udīcyām diśi prajñātatārā vāg udyate*, KB 7.6). This opinion is shared by other texts, like the TS and ŚB. It corresponds to the rather conservative <189> character of the educated speech of Pāṇini's homeland, on the Kabul and Sindhu rivers in Gandhāra. The areas slightly North to it even today are those with the most conservative Indo-Aryan languages. -- This piece of information from KB also serves to exclude the Northern area as the homeland of KB, and leads to Madhyadeśa, -- in view of the preceding paragraphs, to an area in the Kuru-Pañcāla country.

Perhaps the Eastern limit, at least in the later period, was the *Prācyā* country of Videha: Jātūkarṇya, an old teacher, was the *purohita* of the *Kāśyavaidehayoḥ Kausalyās ca* ŚŚS 16.29.6,9. cf. JB 2.329 = §159 *Kāśyasya Kausalyasyaikṣvākasya*. i.e. of "both the Kāśi and the Videha kings, and of the Kosala king", viz. "of the Kāśi, Kosala and the Ikṣvāku king". Interestingly it is, in both parallel stories, the comparatively late Śvetaketu, the son of Āruṇi, who challenges this *purohita*. As so often, two neighbouring schools seem to have taken over the same tale and to have slightly changed it to suit the local conditions: thus, instead of the Eastern Videhas, the (by now probably South-Eastern) Ikṣvākus make an appearance in JB a Southern text (cf. below).

(There are more parallels between JB and ŚŚS 14 sqq.)

4.4. JB, JUB. The Jaiminīya-Brahmaṇa and the Jaim. Upaniṣad-Br. belong to the rare Sāmaveda school of the Jaiminīya or Talavakāra, which nowadays is found only in some areas of South India. It has not been very prominent outside the narrow confines of these districts even during the Middle Ages. In the Vedic period, however, it must have been much more important, as the relations with the ŚŚS just referred to, and also with ŚB

⁵⁹ See author in *Beiträge zur Südasienforschung* 104, 1985.

and BŚS, indicate. The homeland of the Jaiminiyas at that time was in Northern and Central India, as has already been proposed by Caland and confirmed by A. Frenz: He defines⁶⁰ it as the area "which is confined in the South by the Narbada, in the East by the River Ken, in the North by the lower course of the River Chambal and the Tharr desert, and in the West by the Arabian Sea".

The relatively large Southern extension of this school is borne out by many facts: The ocean (*samudra*) is mentioned: crossing it, "one goes from island to island". The Southern country of the Vidarbhas appears at 2.442 (*sārameya* dogs which attack even tigers). A dolphin lying on the sands, dried out by the North wind, could refer to the Gangetic dolphin, as it in fact does at 1.176 = §62, but at 3.193 = §194, clearly the ocean dolphin is intended: The North wind mentioned in this passage can only <190> refer to the Winter North winds blowing across Surāṣṭra from the Tharr desert. This confirms Frenz's localisation. Again, JB advises a father wishing to settle his son at some other place, to do so in the North, 3.146: §187. Here already Caland thought of a hint for a location of the text; he deliberates whether this sentence refers to study in the North, (cf. KB 7.6). More probably, this refers to the Vrātya period young men underwent⁶¹: the non-Indo-Aryan South beyond the Vindhya is not appropriate for *Vrātyas*, while it certainly would be for adventurous young men in search of land and fortune. The Northern and Eastern limits of the JB territory may be indicated, as Frenz supposed, by the statements about the rivers flowing Northwards, 3.146: §187. This can only refer to the area of E. Rajasthan, N. Madhya Pradesh, which is characterised by large rivers like the Chambal, Betwa, Ken (i.e. the Malwa, Gwalior and Bundelkhand region).

The Western border is not so easily determined: it mostly corresponds to the Tharr desert, which seems to be intended by JB 2.320: §198: "the large countries (*mahān janapadān*) of the *Rajaśaś ca Rajīyāṃsaś ca*", who have "developed from dust/sand corns"; similarly, the desert could be meant by *paṃsavās taptāḥ*, 2.421 = §168, but cf. Paṃsurāṣṭra in the Deccan (Mbhār.). -- However, even the crossing of the Indus by the

⁶⁰ In his dissertation (not printed), *Über die Verben im JB*, Marburg 1966, p. VII-IX.

⁶¹ See now, H. FALK, *Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel*, Freiburg 1986, first section, on the Vrātyas.

Bharatas is (still) known to JB 3.238-9 - §204⁶². While it is questionable whether this is not just a dim historical reminiscence, it should be noted that in the same passage the *Vasāti* are mentioned who are placed on the Sindhu by the Mbhār. The Indus also appears as the habitat of the King *Sindhukṣit*. -- In the North-West, the *Mahāvṛṣas* are mentioned (but, also as fighting with the *Kurus* on the *Gaṅgā* or *Yamuna*), 1.234 - §192, JUB 3.40.1. The *Uttarakurus* appear at 1.118: §18⁶³, the *Trikartas* (= Trigartas) and *Salvas* at 2.297-99: §156. Many localities of *Kurukṣetra* (2.207) are known intimately, perhaps because of the "pilgrimages" along the *Sarasvatī*⁶⁴(§156): *Sarasvatyā Upamajjana* §156; *Parīṇah* 2.300; *Prakṣa Prāsravaṇa* §156; *Śaryaṇāvānt* 3.64; *Mānuṣa-Lake* 3.245: §205; *Khāṇḍava-Wood* 3.168: §190 (according to <191> TĀ 5.1.1, the Southern border of *Kurukṣetra*); a river just East of this forest, the *Hvṛṇinī*⁶⁵, 3.168: §190. On the Eastern border of *Kurukṣetra*, we find the *Yamunā* 3.183: §192, and 2.300. 3.150.

The East is known to JB as well: *Kausalya*, *Kāśya* are the kings of Eastern countries (2.329: §159, cf. *Kāśi*, *Videha*, *Kausalya* at the parallel passage, ŚŚS 16.29); the son of *Kausalya* speaks "like the Easterners" (1.337: §115; *prācyavat babhāsa*)⁶⁶: this expression clearly indicates that JB authors did *not* speak this form of Sanskrit, and regarded it as abnormal even for a member of the *Kausalya* (*Kosala*) royal family (of a fairly Eastern country!). It will be seen below that the *Kosalas*, though frequently mentioned together with the *Videhas*, are not "Easterners" in all respects. The *Videhas* are not mentioned in JB, but appear in JUB, an appendix, partly of *Upaniṣad* nature, quite frequently: *Janaka*, the king of the *Videha* at 1.19, 1.245, 2.76, 3.303. -- A *Māgadha* occurs at 2.405 (in his usual function at the *Aśvamedha*). The word *malla-* in 3.200: §198 may

⁶² Cf. now, author in: *Fel. Vol. B.R. Sharma*, Tirupati (forthc.): "JB *palpūlanī*..."

⁶³ Here, they clearly are not a mythical people, but are treated just like any other Vedic tribe: They criticise the *Kuru-Pañcāla* s for a small ritual detail, -- quite an important statement, as it shows that Vedic ritual was well-known in the Himalayas even at that time; for the *Uttarakurus*, cf. AB 8.14.

⁶⁴ See now. *Bull. d. Et. Ind.* 2, 1984, p. 213-279.

⁶⁵ Cf. K. HOFFMANN, *StII* 5/6, p. 94.

⁶⁶ Cf. also W. RAU, *Staat*, p. 18.

refer to the Malla tribe⁶⁷ or to *malla*- "wrestler", which is perhaps more plausible, as the tale deals with chariot drivers as well.

The geographical horizon of the JB therefore is quite wide, --- it actually comprises all of Northern India (North of the Vindhya), and even takes note of the Vidarbhas South of the Vindhya. The center of its attention, however, is with the *Kuru-Pañcālas* who are frequently mentioned; the *Kurus* appear separately as well: three times in JB and two times in JUB, while the *Pañcālas* do so only at JB 3.311: §18, and as ritual adversaries of the *Kurus* at 1.262: §94. In the neighbourhood of the *Kurus* and *Pañcālas* settle the *Matsyas*, probably in the area South of the Yamunā (Gwalior)⁶⁸. The *Naimiṣīyas* and their forest are usually placed somewhere in (Eastern?) *Kuru-Pañcāla* country (1.363-4: §192). Various Brahmin groups and clans⁶⁹ frequently are referred to in JB, <192> mostly by saying: "Even nowadays this or that is like this ...". A number of localities cannot be identified so far. -- Taking into account the special interest of JB in the *Kuru-Pañcāla* (land), the question has to be raised whether the original home of the authors of the older portions of JB was not rather in the *Kuru-Pañcāla* country than in the land of the Northern-bound rivers (Gwalior, Malwa, Bundelkhand). The division into an older and a younger part of JB⁷⁰ would agree with the curious concluding chapters in JUB, which refers to the text preceding JUB 4.17.1 as the Śāṭyāyani-Upaniṣad and supplies a separate *Vaṃśa*. Only with JUB 4.1 begins, what Śaṅkara still knew as the *Āraṇyaka* surrounding the *Kenopaniṣad* and which he ascribes to the Śāṭyāyanins as well. (The end of this chapter, however, has no *Vaṃśa*). A Śāṭyāyanī is frequently referred to in JB and JUB itself-- and, interestingly, also at ŚB 8.1.4.9, 10.4.5.2, i.e.

⁶⁷ But note that the Greeks know of the Malloi in the Chenab-Ravi Doāb, i.e. near to the desert. This seems to refer to the Mālava tribe which settles in Malwa later on.

⁶⁸ See Ved. Index, s.v.; it is difficult to establish the tribes actually settling in JB country: apparently only the *Matsya*, *Satvanta* are directly referred to.

⁶⁹ They include the *Bābari* §157, *Vaitahavya*, *Mitravant*, *Jaimava*, *Vibhindukīya*, etc., cf. Caland's index of names in his 'Auswahl'. Untraced localities are, e.g. *Naimiṣa*, *Hvṛṇinī* (river), *Rathasā* (river), as well as some places in Kurukṣetra: *Śaryaṇāvanta*, *Mānuṣṣa*, *Sarasvatyai Śaisava*; -- *Kāṣṭha* (mountain).

⁷⁰ Cf. already CALAND, *Over en uit het JB*, p. 12; cf. B. K. GHOSH, *Lost Brāhmaṇas*, passim; PARPOLA, *The lit. and study of the Jaim. Sāmaveda*, Helsinki 1973, p. 9.

in chapters of ŚB which traditionally, since Weber, a Western origin⁷¹ is ascribed to (see below: ŚB). In ŚB 10, Śāṭyāyanī even occurs next to a Gāndhāra. -- That at least JB 1.1-65 is of younger date⁷² has been noticed earlier: this section, however, deals with a topic untypical for the rest of JB, i.e. with the Agnihotra, while otherwise JB only discusses the various forms of the Soma rituals where *sāmans* are used.

It remains to be seen, whether a thorough investigation of JB, perhaps in comparison with PB, would not reveal more about the history of this -- in many respects -- highly interesting text. The grammatical facts seem to indicate a certain amount of dialect mixture, or rather, superimposition of local (Gwalior-Malwa-Bundelkhand) features: for example, the curious mixture in the use of the narrative imperfect and perfect even within the same paragraph has never been explained appropriately. In JUB, sometimes Taittirīya features (*suvar-* instead of *sva-*) surface. All of this is in need of a detailed investigation which has been undertaken elsewhere, the results of which indeed seem to point to an area where Eastern and Western influences met another and were superimposed upon each other⁷³. <193> The provisional conclusion of all the facts mentioned above would be: An originally Central (Kuru-Pañcāla) text, the (to a large extent) lost Śāṭyāyani-Br., was brought across the Yamunā into "the land of the Northern-bound rivers", and enlarged and added to in that country. The redaction of the whole Brāhmaṇa seems to have taken place fairly late, at a time the geographical horizon of the compilers was similarly wide to that of the late AB and the ŚB: all of Northern India, including a few areas South of the Vindhya, -- interestingly those more to the West in case of JB, more to the East in case of AB.

4.5. PB, ŚB. In stark contrast to the elaborate tales the JB has got on each *sāman*, the PB and ŚB are very concise and almost abrupt in style. Apart from the ritual facts necessary to be stated, these texts only refer to a particular legend or story but do not relate it. The relation between JB

⁷¹ Note that Śākala (and Tāṇḍya, the author/compiler of PB viz. its earlier, lost form) appear at JB 2.112: If Śākalya is to be connected with Śākala (AB 3.43), this passage would indicate a Western connection of Śāṭyayanin (and the Śāṭy. B. preceding JB); cf. also Śākala at JB 1.258: §92. Contrast the eastward movement of the Aitareyin.

⁷² BODEWITZ, transl. JB, p. 13 and *The daily evening and morning offering*, Leiden 1976, p. 5 sqq.

⁷³ For data from Jaim.ŚS see PARPOLA, *Or. Suecana* 16, 1967, p. 181-214.

and PB/ŠB thus resembles that of AB and KB. Consequently, there are few geographical and other details which allow an identification of the homeland of these texts.

A few points can be made, however: PB is very well informed about geographical details of *Kurukṣetra*, better than any other middle Vedic text. Not only the well-known places like *Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa* (25.10, 16, 22) are mentioned but a whole list of otherwise little or unknown localities is found: *Khāṇḍava* (-forest) at 25.13.6, *Parīṇah* 25.13.1, *Kārapacava* 25.10.29, *Triplakṣa* 25.11.4, *Vyarṇa Naitandhava* 25.13.1, *Sthūlārma* 25.10.18, the River *Dr̥ṣadvatī* 25.10.15, 25.13.4; *Kurukṣetra* itself 25.13.3, and the *Yamunā* 9.4.9, 25.10.23. While it is obvious that almost all of these passages come from the chapters dealing with the Sattras on the Sarasvatī (*Sarasvatyā Vinaśane* 25.10.1), it also is important to note that PB does not see any need to further specify these localities, as LŚS/DŚS felt necessary to do.

This would indicate a connection of the authors at least of these chapters of PB with the Kurukṣetra area. Further geographical data can, as far as I can see, not be substantiated; they are untraced or too general: The place *Rohitakakūla* is, inspite of the maps, untraced; the location of the river *Vetasvat* 21.14.20 is equally unknown. The river *Yavyāvati* is mentioned once in the RV; it has been identified with the Zhob in E. Afghanistan. At PB 25.7.2, however, nothing points to such a W. localisation. The persons connected with it are known to have stayed in the *Vibhinduka* country, a part of the Kuru-Pañcāla land. Equally the River *Sudāman* (22.18.7) can be identified with the modern Soan (Suyāma) in W. Panjab or rather the *Sudāman*, a tributary of the Beas. <194>

The *Naimiśa* people mentioned in 26.6.4 also belong to the (Kuru-) Pañcāla area, as also the famous Pañcāla King Keśin Dālbhya (as a sage of the past). Other ancient Ṛṣis and sages could be named, but they are of no help in localisation. It is important to note, however, that comparatively recent persons like *Āruṇi* (23.1.5), *Kusurubinda Auddālaki* (22.15.10, ŚB 1.4.16) appear: the text in its present form therefore cannot be older than the other Brāhmaṇas discussed so far (JB, the late AB etc.). This is also indicated by the mentioning of a *Videha* king at 25.10.17 (*Namin Sāpya*, as taking part in a *sattra* on the Sarasvatī). Interestingly this occurs in the context, mentioned earlier, of exact knowledge of the NW area of Kurukṣetra.

It can be concluded therefore that (at least, these parts of) the text are comparatively late, composed in the NW near to Kurukṣetra (if not in this important area itself), -- but that, at the same time, the authors also knew of countries further East (*Vibhinduka, Naimiṣa, Videha*).

A few data from the ŚB (which even mentions the four *yugas*) may be introduced here: ŚB 2.4.2 says that most (rain with) lightning takes place in the North and at 5.9.2 even knows of excessive snow, -- certainly not a natural feature of Kosala or Videha⁷⁴. An investigation into relationships with other texts only confirms the rather (N) Western localisation of PB: Not only are close connections in ritual with KS, MS to be noted, but the complete book 1 of PB has been taken over verbatim from the Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā (as far as the mantras can be checked against this lacuneous text).

Special features of the language of PB would confirm this conclusion; they have to be dealt with separately.

4.6. ŚB (*Mādhy.*) The Mādhyandina version of the Śatapatha- Brāhmaṇa is one of the longest and also best studied Vedic texts, certainly because of the good translation made by Eggeling. Mylius has, in continuation of Weber⁷⁵, successfully tried to establish the homelands of its constituent parts, i.e. ŚBM 1-5; 6-10; 10-14,3; BĀU(M) 14,4-9. Both have pointed out that ŚBM 6-10 show many indications of a more <195> Western homeland than ŚBM 1-5 and especially BĀUM (which point to the Videha land reigned by king Janaka). Mylius was also the first to use strictly geographical (climatical, botanical) arguments in establishing the area the text was composed in.

⁷⁴ ChU, another Kauthuma text, agrees with these data: It knows of the *Gandhāra*, 6.14.1, *Mahāvṛṣa* 4.2.5, *Kuru* 1.10.1, *Pañcāla* 5.1.3; the rivers flow westwards and eastwards, 6.10.1; there is hail(?) in the *Kuru* land, 1.6.1; -- these data still indicate a more Western than an Eastern location even for this late text. -- The Sūtras, however, may have been composed farther away from the Kuru-Pañcāla country; LŚS perhaps, as the name may indicate, in the Lāṭa country (S. Gujarat); cf. the difficulty the text has to indicate localities in Kurukṣetra, LŚS 10.19.1, see K. HOFFMANN, *Aufs. zur Indo-Ir.*, Wiesbaden 1975-6, p. 123.

⁷⁵ *History of Ind. Literature*, London 1878, 4th repr. 1914, p. 132 (German ed., Berlin 1852).

4.7. *ŚBM 1-5* indeed has a good knowledge of the East: Videha, the first King of which was *Vaidegha Māthava* (1.4.1), is deemed proper for settlement "now"; "formerly it had been too marshy and unfit for agriculture". Interestingly, it is Agni Vaiśvānara who, by crossing many streams from the *Sarasvatī* in the West up to the *Sadānīrā* in the East, apparently made this vast stretch of land habitable for Vedic people who adhered to "Kurukṣetra orthopraxy"⁷⁶. The *Sadānīrā*, a cold river always carrying enough water even in the last weeks of the hot season before the monsoon "because it streams down from the Northern mountain (Himalaya)", is the border between the *Kosalas* and *Videhas*. One therefore has identified it with the *Gaṇḍakī*⁷⁷. This river indeed forms the border between the two areas, but the *Kāṇva* version makes the *Sadānīrā* the border between the *Kuru-Pañcālas* and the *Kosala-Videhas*⁷⁸. One

⁷⁶ This legend has frequently been treated, see HAUSSCHILD, *Die Sage der Weiterwanderung der Arier?*; cf. already WEBER, *Ind. St. 1*, p. 161 sqq. -- It must be pointed out that rather than a general trek of Panjab Indo-Aryans towards the East, the march of a certain king (and his tribe) accompanied by a Ṛṣi (Gotama Rahūgaṇa, known from RV 1.78.5, and preceded by Agni Vaiśvānara -- as a sort of cultural hero -- is described. It is Agni, not the Kṣatriya or the Brahmin who makes the lands between the *Sarasvatī* and the *Sadānīrā* habitable, "even for Brahmins", and at the same time, arable. This definitely is more than a simple conquest of new land, -- and it does not say anything about the former inhabitants of these stretches of land. -- Note that *Videha* cows are already known to MS, KS, TS, -- and in a younger form of the name than *Videgha*, the name of the King.

⁷⁷ See now, Salomon, *Adyar Libr. Bull. 6*. The exact identification of Bihar rivers is a difficult problem of historical geography which can only be solved with the help of geology: all the rivers of the Eastern Gangetic plain change their courses frequently, see, e.g. R. L. SINGH ed., *India, A regional geogr.*, Varanasi 1971, p. 193. Even now, there is a Choti Gandak (running through Gorakhpur District), the Gandak (Rapti, Kali Gandak etc. in Nepal), and the Burhi Gandak flowing through the Muzaffapur area. -- Historical speculations on the *exact* homelands of early texts will stand or fall with the exact demarcation in time of each of the many courses these rivers have had.

⁷⁸ *ŚBM 1.4.1.17 sàishāpy etārhi Kosalavidehānām maryādā, té hi māvāhāḥ. ŚBK 2.3.4.14 sāvāitārhi Kosalavidehānām maryādā Kurupañcālāis. té hy ubhāye Māvāhāḥ.* The *ŚB* phrase, therefore, may -- contrary to the usual translations -- be understood as: "even now it is the border of the *Kosalas* and the *Videhas*; for these are *Māvāhas*", i.e. both peoples, who descended from *Videgha Māvāha*, settle East of the *Sadānīrā*. This is exactly what *ŚBK* says: "Even now it is the border of the *Kosala-Videhas* with the *Kuru-Pañcālas*. For both (the *Kosalas* and *Videhas*?) are *Māvāhas*". *ŚBK ubhāye* presents a problem: does it refer to the group of two, the *Kuru-Pañcāla* and the

therefore has to think of a more Western stream, the <196> Karṇālī or Kālī (in Nepal), which become the Sarda and Ghaghra (Gogra, Sarayu) in India.

Other Eastern countries and persons are: *Kāśī* and its King *Ajātaśatru* (his son *Bhadrasena Ajātaśatrava* is mentioned at 5.5.5.14); the *mleccha*-like Asura language which clearly has Eastern characteristics⁷⁹ (3.2.1.23- 24: *he 'lavo he 'lavaḥ*); the famous *Yājñavalkya* who in BĀU is frequently taking part in discussions at *Janaka's* court. -- To a more Eastern position of the final version of ŚBM 1-5 point statements like the following one: The special features of *Kuru-Pañcāla* speech⁸⁰ are referred to at 3.2.3.15. Even in ŚBM 1-5, however, the center of attention is the Kuru-Pañcāla country: *Kurukṣetra* is mentioned at 4.1.5.13 (the Cyavana legend); the *Kurus* and *Ṣṛṅyayas* at 2.4.4.4-5; the traditional Sarasvatī water used for the coronation at 5.3.4.3; the *Bharata* throne at 5.4.4.1; *Śvetaketu Auddālaka* at 3.4.3.13 and 4.2.5.15: his father *Uddālaka Āruṇi* was a Kuru-Pañcāla Brāhmaṇa (see 9.4.1.2) who is frequently mentioned as *Āruṇi* in books 1-5.

The people West of Kurukṣetra, the *Bāhika* ("outsiders"), call Agni by his name "*Bhava*" while the Eastern people say "*Śarva*" (17.3.8); *Traikakudha* ointment (3.1.3.12) comes from the Himalaya (cf. *Trikakudh* AV 4.9.8, the modern Trikota).

While the Kuru-Pañcāla country seems to have been the original center of attention of the earliest parts of this portion of ŚB, a movements towards the South, as already known from MS, is not unknown to ŚB either: 2.3.2.1 speaks of a King *Naḍa Naiśidha*⁸¹ who, according to a

Kosalavideha or only to the Kosala-Videha? Cf. the Μαθαί/Καθαί of Arrian, Indikē 4, south of the Ganges, on the Son?

⁷⁹ See P. THIEME, *Der Fremdling im Veda*, Leipzig 1938, p. 3 sq.

⁸⁰ *tasmād ātrottaráhi vāg vadati Kuru-Pañcālatrá*, but ŚBK 4.2.3.15: *tasmād ātrauttaráhai vāg vadatīty āhuḥ Kuru-Pañcaléṣu ca Kuru-Mahāvarṣéṣv iti*. -- While ŚBM only points out the tribes directly West of its territory, ŚBK knows, because of its more Western location in Kosala (see below), even of the intonation of the Mahāvṛṣa tribe, which is located (N)W of Kurukṣetra (cf. AV 5.22, PS(K) 13.1.). -- This passage is quite important for an understanding of middle Vedic accents and has to be treated separately. In my view, it refers to the difference in Eastern (*bhāṣika*) accent (with only a low (rising) and high tones as opposed to the older (Western and Northern: Pāṇinean) intonation with *anudātta*, *udātta* and *svarita*).

⁸¹ He has, since WEBER, been identified with the epic Nala Naiśadha, which is plausible: the development of *-ḍ-* > *-l-* > *-l-* is well known, and the kingdom of Nala is

popular saying, "daily carries King Yama further South" (2.3.2.2). While this reminds of the Southward extension of the habitable land made thrice by Yima (Vīdēvdāḥ 2), the passage clearly speaks of the various holy fires which are connected with various gods: the Eastern <197> one (Āhavanīya) with Indra, the Western one (Gārhapatya) with Yama, the Southern one (Anvāhāryapacana) with Naḍa Niśidha, the Sabhya fire located West of these three fires with Anaśnat Sāṅgamana, and the place where the ashes are removed to with Asat Pāṃsava: This is the *utkara* which is placed in the Northern part of the offering ground. Its position corresponds to the one assigned to *maru*⁸² (sands, desert) in TĀ 5.1. The passage can therefore be understood as follows: the Northern sandy places, deserts: Tūrghna, North of Kurukṣetra; the South: the areas South to the Yamunā (and, by this time, probably beyond the Vindhya or Pāriyātra mountains). As has been noted before, Nala (< Naḍa) Naiśadha of the Epic corresponds in location to the Naḍa of ŚB. -- It is notable, however, that the Eastern Panjab is not referred to as the homeland (as in KS, AB): at 3.2.3.15 only *Kuru-Pañcāla* speech is mentioned and not, as in the corresponding passages of KS and AB, the rivers flowing westwards (cf. however, below: 9.3.2.24).

4.8. ŚB 6-10 While the Mādhyandina version of ŚB 1-5 belongs to the (Kuru-)Pañcāla country, the books 6-10 have long been recognised to have had their origin in a more Western location (WEBER and MYLIUS). It, therefore, suffices here to sum up a few salient facts and add a few new observations: While the *Kuru-Pañcālas* occur at 5.5.2.5 (who say that they "formerly used to travel according to the seasons")⁸³, ŚB also knows of one *Gāndhara* (priest?, 8.1.4.10), of wells on the Sarasvatī (7.5.1.31, a mantra), of a *Kaikeya* ritualist (10.6.1, cf. ChU 5.11), the *Salva* people (10.4.1.10, cf AB 7.27). *Śaṅḍilyāyana* the descendant of the teacher of this

to be located South of the Ganges, in the Bundelkhand/Malva area, which coincides with the Southern expansion (within the JB territory, -- and beyond the Vindhya?)

⁸² See above, note 25, cf. §4.1 with ann. 48.

⁸³ Compare the statements in the parallel texts of KS (Eastward movement) and MS (Southward movement): by the time this portion of ŚB was composed, the *Kuru-Pañcālas* no longer trek! -- They now must have taken more to rice and barley agriculture than before; cf. that ŚB speaks of villages (*grāma*) being close to each other, and that the king even can present land to Brahmins. This again indicates a certain gap between the composition of the older YV Saṃhitās and the (later) Brāhmaṇas.

portion of ŚBM, is described as "once travelling in the East" (9.5.1.⁸⁴), -- he clearly did not, in the opinion of the authors, belong to that region. On the other hand, the 7 rivers flowing westwards are known (9.3.1.24); they are connected with the *araṇya* (cf. AB on the *dīrghāni araṇyāni* in the West): one must not drink from these rivers, <198> unless one becomes one of bad language (*ripratara*, *śapanatara*, *āhanasyavāditara*). As Northern speech usually is referred to as 'standard' Vedic (see KB 7.2.), this must refer to the language of Bāhika tribes living on the Panjab rivers and the lower Sindhu. -- On the other hand, 7 rivers flowing towards the East⁸⁵ are known as well (9.3.1.18). -- A fairly cold climate is to be inferred from the mentioning of hoar-frost (5.3.4.16), which favours a location in the more Western parts of U.P. -- The North is said to have hungry people (7.3.1.23), which could refer to the desert-like lands North of Kuruksetra⁸⁶. On the other hand, the South is described as plentiful with kine and goats (7.5.2.16), while the North is characterised by horses and rams. (This agrees with the ascription of fine horses to Sindhu, Kamboja etc., and of sheep to Gandhāri, RV 1.126.7). --The same passage (7.5.2.31-38) provides a description of wild animals typical for the North: the *kimpuruṣa*, *gaura*, *gavaya* buffalo, the camel (*uṣṭra*), the *śarabha*, all of which are not to be eaten by a Brahmin: they "come from the region of distress where there is no rain: this agrees with the more Northern parts of the Panjab, where little rain falls (cf. the Sindh Sāgar desert).

The land towards the East of Kurukṣetra is characterised, as the text describes it (8.2.3.2), as an area where the wind blows from all directions (actually, from different ones in Summer and Winter: N, NE, NNE viz. N,

⁸⁴ *ātha ha Śāṇḍilyāyanaḥ prācyām jagāma*. -- This quotation indicates, like many similar ones in other texts, that the final compilation of ŚB, or even that of the Śāṇḍilya books of ŚB, was not made by this teacher but by one of his later pupils. The Śāṇḍ. may even not yet have moved towards the East. Note that the Jaina texts seem to know of a Saṇḍibbha or Saṇḍilya country in Audh (Hardoi/Fyzabad Dst.).

⁸⁵ Referring to the main rivers, starting with the Yamunā: the modern Kali Nadi, Ganga, Ramganga, Sai(?), Gomati, Sarada, Ghaghra (Gogra), or rivers corresponding to them but with more or less different courses in antiquity. The Easternmost one will have been named Sadānīrā.

⁸⁶ This is in stark contract to the statement of TS 5.3.4.4 indicating that the North is prosperous, see above §3.3. Do both passages refer to different areas of the North, for example the barren mountains the Sindh Sagar Doāb, as opposed to the more fertile Himalayan valleys or Gandhāra? The appearance of the camel following this statement should point to the Panjab and Gandhara. -- Or has the climate changed?: see ann. 29.

W.). Teachers mentioned in this portion of ŚB appear in neighbouring schools: *Tāṇḍya* (6.1.2.25) is the compiler of PB, *Śātyani* (8.1.4.9; 10.4.5.2) is connected with JB; in the Upaniṣad-like portion 10.3.4.1 already *Śvetaketu Āruṇeya* appears. This passage thus clearly points to the West of the Kuru-Pañcāla country, and has later been imported to the East (Kosala-Videha): typically, it only deals with *one* ritual, the Agnicayana, which is said (13.5.4.19) not to have been performed by the Kāśi people, i.e. Easterners, after the defeat of their king Dhṛtarāṣṭra by Satānīka Sātrājita: ŚB 11-13 are regarded by Caland⁸⁷ as originally having belonged to the Kāṇva portion of ŚB (while ŚBM 1-5 are the <199> Mādhyandina version of an original text which was heavily reformulated by them, -- more than that of ŚBK 1-7 by the Kāṇvas). ŚBM 11-13 therefore are treated together with ŚBK.

4.9. ŚB (KĀṆVĪYA) The Kāṇvīya books 1-7 correspond to ŚBM 1-5; they differ, not so much in content, but in the order of presentation and, even more, in the actual wording of the text. The earliest Kāṇvas known are those of RV (book VIII) which shows some E. Iranian influence⁸⁸. KS, however, already mentions them along with the Yāska Gairikṣita ritualists (12.13); they apparently are settled in Kurukṣetra by that time. The final redaction of ŚBK, however, is located further East, most probably in Kosala land: The ŚBK version of the *Videgha Māthava* legend⁸⁹ makes the river *Sadānīrā* the border, not between Kosala and Videha (as ŚBM) but that between the *Kuru-Pañcāla* and the *Kosala-Videha* (ŚBK 2.3.4.14, ŚBM 1.1.4.17). Perhaps the Kāṇvas even belonged to the Pañcālas, as the formula used in the coronation ritual has "this is your king, o Kuru-Pañcāla" (VSK 11.3.3), while ŚBM 5.4.2.3 simply has "o you (people)", and ŚBK 7.3.2.3 even specifies: " 'This is your king, o Kurus', if the King is a Kauravya" "... 'o Pañcālas' if he is a Pañcāla". The Western and Eastern names of Agni (ŚB 1.7.3.8: *Śarva viz. Bhava*) are also known to ŚBK 2.7.1.7 (Prācyā: "*Śarva*", Bāhika: "*Dhava*")⁹⁰.

⁸⁷ See his ed. of the *Kāṇvīya ŚB*, Lahore 1926, p. 103 sq.

⁸⁸ See K. HOFFMANN, *Aufs.*, p. 15 sqq.

⁸⁹ See above, note 78.

⁹⁰ Note that the Western neighbours of the Kuru-Pañcālas are known both to ŚBM and ŚBK as Bāhika "Outsiders"; while this name is rare, its bad image has continued

Further evidence for a Pañcāla or Kosala location may come from a comparison of Kāṇva with Taittirīya texts which were composed in the (Kuru-)Pañcāla country. Caland, for example, is of the opinion that Baudhāyana originally had been a Kāṇva (he is called Kāṇva Bodhayana)⁹¹.

Again, if Caland's suggestion is correct that ŚBM 11-13 originally were Kāṇva texts, the following details may be added:

4.10. ŚB (M: 11-13, K: 13-15) In these books, again, not only the areas where the texts have been compiled (Kosala, Videha) are mentioned frequently (see below), but also more Western areas: *Kurukṣetra* 11.5.1.4 (Purūravas legend: even a lake *Anyataḥplakṣā* is known); the *Pañcālas*, originally called *Krivi* 13.5.4.7; the Northern Brahmins as opposed to *Uddālaka Āruṇi* (who is a Kuru-Pañcāla) occur at 11.4.1.1-2. <200>

In the *Aśvamedha* section 13.5.4 many traditional *gāthās* are quoted. Though this information is considerably older than ŚB, it may indicate the (traditional) geographical horizon of ŚB: Janamejaya Parikṣita, offering at *Āsandīvat*; Śrutasena (cf. Vādh. 3.88), an *Āyogava* King (cf. JB §204); a *Pañcāla* and a *Matsya* King; *Bharata Dauḥśānti* offering on the *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*; a *Śvikna* and a *Kāśi* King; the *Bharatas* and *Satvans*.

The mentioning of hail 12.8.3.11 and the withering away of cattle in Winter (11.2.7.32) point more to the colder climate in Western N. India than to Videha.

The final collection and edition of this text portion, of course, was made in the East: *Yājñavalkya* at the court of *Janaka* of Videha plays a conspicuous role in ŚB 11-14 (and a more incidental one in ŚB 1-5)⁹². -- But the Easterners, mentioned at 13.8.1.2.1, still are described as *asurya* when building their graves in a round, not a square form, cf. 13.8.1.5: they have been "driven out of the regions" inhabited by orthoprax Vedic peoples: probably the precolonisation Videha people or *Udantya* are

down to Patañjali, who has the example: *gāṃ bāhīkam ānaya* "bring here the 'bovine' (blockhead), the Bāhīka!", cf. A.WEZLER, *Paribhāṣā*, Bad Homburg 1969, p. 248 sqq.

⁹¹ Ed. of ŚBK, Vol. I, p. 98 sq.

⁹² A detailed study of this personage remains a desideratum. Next to Vasiṣṭha of RV VII, and the Buddha, he is one of the few persons leaving a vivid impression in the texts, his language is very innovative, e.g. in BĀU 4.3, many words not earlier attested in Vedic occur: they were apparently coined by him to convey his new concepts. See now, I. FIŠER, AO 45, 1984, p. 55-87.

intended here (cf. AB 7.18). -- An older reminiscence, too, may be contained in the same passage (13.8.4.2) where the digging of two curved furrows in the South of the grave, and 7 on the Northern side are prescribed. Filled with milk and water, they clearly represent the 7 rivers of the Panjab, viz. the Gaṅgā and Yamunā: the location of the author of this rule seems to have been in Kurukṣetra itself or slightly to the South of it. The text adds: "evil cannot pass beyond 7 rivers", which may either mean that evil fame will not be reported so far or that it is restricted to the area of the 7 rivers of the Panjab: the country of the "outsiders" (Bāhika). The whole passage may even be understood as referring to the countries lying directly North of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, i.e. Rohilkhand, Audh and Kosala. This would agree with the supposed homeland of the redactors of the Kāṇva ŚB.

4.11. BĀU The Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up. is mostly read in its Kāṇva version⁹³ (the Mādhy. text is found in ŚB 14.4-9). Being one of the latest texts in Vedic language of this *Śākhā*, it offers the wide horizon of geographical knowledge already met with in AB 6-8: The Western <201> *Madra* (3.31.3.7), the central *Kuru-Pañcāla* (3.1.1.3.9.1), the *Pañcāla* alone (6.2.1), the *Kāśya* (3.82) and *Vaideha* (3.8.2 etc.) are named. Also, both the rivers flowing down from the Himavant (3.8.9) westwards *and* eastwards, are known to the authors of this text. The center of attention is, as already pointed out by Weber, the Videha area (3.8.2 sqq.). It is notable that the non-Yājñavalkya portions of BĀU do not mention Videha (BĀU 1-2).

4.12. KŚS Later Vājasaneyi texts, like KŚS, do not add much information. This comparatively late Śrautasūtra, however, contains one of the earliest references to someone actually living in *Magadha* (22.4.24); this can only be compared with KĀ 7.14. -- *Prācyā* and *Udīcyā* are mentioned at 22.2.24-25. The Sattrā section (24, esp. 24.6) contains detailed information on Kurukṣetra (cf. PB, JB).

The PGS -- (the name Pāraskara perhaps points to Gujarat, and therefore would be quite a late redactional feature of this text) -- unfortunately does not name the river where the performers of the Sīmantonayana are living (1.15).

⁹³ A critical edition is, even after some 150 years of philological study of Vedic texts, still a desideratum; only book 1 has been edited critically by D. MAUE (Diss., Giessen 1976).

On the other hand, the early Greek traveller Megasthenes reports the Madyandinoi *South* of the Ganges, in the Prayāga-Kāśī area, on the River Andomatis (Tons). This would rather agree with the name this school has received traditionally. It seems -- but this still has to be investigated thoroughly -- that this school moved from here towards the West, and reached Gujarat at an early point in time, in any case before 650 A.D. Since the middle ages the Vājasaneyā have occupied all of N. India⁹⁴.

4.13. BŚS This Śrautasūtra is usually regarded as one of the oldest of its kind and there are many indications indeed that it belongs to the late Brāhmaṇa period and not to the Sūtra period, the last stage of Vedic text production and language⁹⁵. -- As the text adheres to the Taittirīya tradition but has connections with the Kāṇvas as well⁹⁶, one would be inclined to locate it somewhere in Eastern U.P. -- Due to the wide geographical horizon found in this text, this is not, however, easy to establish. The best chances to arrive at a localisation probably are provided by two passages, one dealing with undesirable attributes of man, illnesses etc. (2.3), and the other one (18.44) with two major divisions of the Vedic Indians only known to BŚS. <202>

The illnesses (etc.), wished far away⁹⁷ to peoples at the rim or beyond the settlements of orthoprax Vedic Aryans, are, similar to AV 5.22, PS(K) 13.1⁹⁸: the *Mūjavants* and *Mahāvṛṣas* in the North-West, the *Videhas* in the (North-)East, the *Ikṣvākus* more towards the Center (or the South?), the *Kaliṅgas* in the South-East.

The other passage tells the origin of two groups of Aryans, the *Amavāsu* "who stayed at home" and who include the *Gandhāri*, *Parśu*⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Cf. author, in *Beitr. z. Siidasienforsch.* 104, 1985, p. 63.

⁹⁵ For details, see CALAND, *Über das Baudh.* S., Leipzig 1903.

⁹⁶ CALAND, ed. *ŚBK*, p. 100.

⁹⁷ For a detailed discussion, see KASHIKAR, *Ind. Ant.*, 3rd Ser. (1969), p. 1-11 (repr.); Publ. Centre of Adv. Study in Skt., No. 40, Poona, 1970, p. 39-60.

⁹⁸ For a detailed discussion, see author, *The Paipp. hymn to Takman*, in *II J* (forthcoming), and cf. *Persica* 9, p. 87 sq.; cf. BRUCKER, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁹⁹ CALAND hesitantly edits *sparśayah*, and everyone has followed him; but the -s belongs to the preceding *gandhārayas* (: -ḥ). The *Parśu* are also known to Pāṇini 5.3.117; for supposed occurrences of them in Vedic texts, see *Ved. Index*, s.v. -- They have to be kept apart from the *paryetai* of the Greeks and the *pouruta* of the Avesta, and may refer either to the Persians (if Baudh. is to be put at such a late period, ca. 500

and *Arāṭṭa*, and that of the *Āyava* "who moved Eastwards": the *Kuru-Pañcālas* and *Kāśi-Videhas*. The identity of the *Parśu* is unclear; and the exact habitat of the *Ā/arā/aṭṭas* is unknown¹⁰⁰; they constitute the major Panjab tribe or are, at least, one of its major tribal (sub-)units. This account describes the two major orthoprax Vedic groupings: the Madhyadeśa core with its late Vedic extension towards the East, and the Northerners who are highly regarded for their standard of speech, while the Westerners (*Bāhika*, *Mahāvṛṣa*) are disregarded because of their customs and expressions.

It is interesting to note that the tribes on the lower Sindhu, those South of the Ganges and also the Magadhas, as well as those beyond Videha are excluded from the Aryan orthoprax community here. BŚS 18.13, names some of them and clearly defines them as people one should -- as a well-mannered Brahmin -- *not* visit: The *Āraṭṭa*, *Gāndhāra* in the (North-)West, the *Sauvīra* and *Karaskara* (read: Paraskara?) situated in the South-West, the *Kaliṅga* (in the South-East). This reconfirms the <203> opinion of all the other Middle-Vedic texts: Only the Madhyadeśa peoples are truly orthoprax and accepted into the fold of "Kurukṣetra Śrauta orthodoxy". -- A later Baudh. text, BGS 5.13, adds the *Saurāṣṭra*, *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, the *Avanti* and those on the *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, BDhS 1.1.13-12 has: *Avanti*, *Aṅga-Magadha*, *Surāṣṭra*, *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, *Upāvṛt*, *Sindhu-Sauvīra* "who are of mixed origin", and the text orders an expiation for visiting the *Āraṭṭa*, *Kāraskara*, *Puṇḍra*, *Sauvīra*, *Vaṅga*, *Kaliṅga* and *Prānūna* -- indicating a further widening of the geographical horizon, at this stage (Dh.S!). Of the Madhyadeśa, BŚS knows even of the *Bisavatya* lake in *Kurukṣetra* (in the Purūravas legend, 18.45), mentions the *Pañcāla*

B.C.) or to an Indo-Iranian tribe with the same name as the Persians: IIr. **pārc'wa-* > pre-O.P. **pārśwa-* (in Assy. inscr. *paršuma*) > O.P. *pārsa-* (like **ac'wa-* > O.P. *asa-*), but: IIr. **pārc'wa-* > Ved. **pārśva-*, cf. *Parśu-* RV 8.6.46 (a book with E.Ir. contacts!), as the name of a man, cf. *Ved. Index s.v.* -- The occurrence of the same name in *two* areas among the IIr. peoples is nothing that should surprise, cf., e.g. the Saka (Skt. Śaka) and the Bihar people, the Śākya, to whom the Buddha belonged.

¹⁰⁰ Even the correct spelling is not known; later texts seem to prefer *Āraṭṭa*, BRUCKER, p. 89-142. The names of Panjab tribes have to be investigated separately. *Āraṭṭa* and *Madra* seem to be the major name(s); *Bāhika* seems to be more something of a nickname. There are a score of other tribes to be found both in the RV and post-RV literature as well as in Mbhār: *Kaikeya*, *Śibi*, *Vasāti*, *Mahāvṛṣa* (= *Madra*?), *Śakala*, *Kaṭha* etc.

kings (18.38:18) among whom Keśin Dālbhya and the *Bharatas* (12.9,16.32,26.20).

The first Bharata quotation is important as it furnishes (in the coronation) the name of the Kings (the Bharata) of the BŚS homeland, who at 10.56 appear without tribal designation: At 12.9, BŚS agrees with its Brāhmaṇa and Saṃhitā, while at 10.56 it agrees with the ŚBM text (and VSM). Important is the notice indicating that the *Kurus* go, as Vraātyas, to the *Pañcālas*: Kuru-Brāhmaṇas are mentioned at 18.26:6 in a legend. The *Āgniveśya* (apparently a subgroup of the Vādhūlas (see below) appear at 18.26:375.3-4 as being a miserable group among the Pañcālas. -- Finally, BŚS 28.47 even knows of the *Uśanas* stones found in the mountains of Kurukṣetra (403.12).

The persons mentioned in BŚS include the Madhyadeśa Brahmin *Āruṇi* and the Pañcāla King *Keśin* (17.54, 18.26, 18.38) but also the Eastern King *Janaka* (23.13). The area of the *Śaphāla* country, the King of which is *Rtuparṇa Bhaṅgāśvina* (18.13) may lie South of the Ganges, if it is to be connected with Nala of Niśadha, as in the Epic¹⁰¹. -- The BŚS, therefore, is to be located in the Middle Country, and while its author knew details of Kurukṣetra, his connection with the Kāṇvas and textual correspondences with JB and ŚB make it probable that he belonged to the more Eastern parts of the Pañcāla country^{101a}. The geographical horizon of the text is wide: it includes all of Northern India: later Baudh. texts know also of the Deccan and non-Aryan East India.

4.14. VādhB, ŚS The Vādhūlas are a subschool of the Taittirīyas. They have produced a (late) Brāhmaṇa: the Vādh. Anvākhyānas, a <204> Śrautasūtra and a (lost) Gṛhyasūtra, a parallel text of which is the *Āgniveśya*-GS¹⁰². Being Taittirīyas, the expectation is that their homeland is to be found in the Kuru-Pañcāla country. Indeed, the Sīmantonayana ceremony of the *ĀgGS* places them on the Gaṅgā¹⁰³. Climatic evidence from the texts confirms a rather N(W) location: the

¹⁰¹ BRUCKER, on the grounds of patterns of arrangement of names, differs considerably: in Orissa, s. p. 125.

^{101a} Note the prescription of cooperation, with the Kauṣītaka (*gotra*) by BŚS 2.3.

¹⁰² For a description and evaluation of the various Vādhūla texts, see *StII* 1, p. 75-108.

¹⁰³ *ĀgGS* 2.1.2.

winter is cold and lasts four months (ed. Caland, 4., p. 152); one has to warm one's hands at the fire (4, p. 135); rain falls in (all?) seasons (4.181): the harvest takes place at the end of autumn (4.210). -- The *Kurus* are mentioned with their contemporary customs (3.202); the learned Brahmins of the Kurus are referred to at 4.230 (in a legend); *Keśin*, the *Pañcāla* King, appears in a legend (with parallels in KB and JB) at 4.148. *Ajātaśatru*, son of Medhātithi, King of the *Kurus*, figures in a legend at 4.191; he is to be distinguished from Ajātaśatru of Kāśi (ŚB) and Ajātaśatru of Magadha (of the Pāli sources). As the text is fairly late, the Videha king *Janaka* and *Vājasaneya* (Yājñavalkya) appear (3.5 note 2; 3.35). Vājasaneya and Kauṣītaki are already called *pūrve śrotriyāḥ* (most probably: "former learned Brahmins" and not: "Eastern Br.") when having a discussion with *Āruṇi* (a Brahmin of the Middle Country), at 3.33. This constellation stresses the connection, already mentioned, between VādhB, KB (and ŚB). -- Caland has noted many more correspondences with ŚB, JB, BŚS¹⁰⁴. All of this tends to stress a more Eastern than a Western localisation of this school, though a fragment belonging to the Vādh. PiṭṛmedhaS even mentions *Plakṣa Prāsraṇa* (the source of the River Sarasvatī)¹⁰⁵. -- The Mantra collection belonging to this Sūtra indicates the rims of Vādhūla geographical knowledge by referring to peoples not following orthoprax customs: *Naiṣāda*, *Ayogu*, *Tāmanya* (in the Himalayas?)¹⁰⁶, the *Videha* in the East, and the *Balhika* in the extreme North-West, 3.3. Magadha only appears in the ritual context of the horse sacrifice (3.194,197: *kārimāgadha*): a *Kāśīśvara* finally occurs at ĀgGS 1.2.2. The location of this school therefore should be sought, as concluded earlier (StII 1, p. 94) in the Pañcāla country on the Ganges, at the center of the 16 *janapadas* (3.172), with 4 *pratirājas* concentrically located around it in each direction. -- Regarding the relations with neighbouring schools, it <205> should be noted that a *Vādhūlaka* and his opinion on the correct procedure in case the Sadas and Havirdhāna burn down, occurs at BŚS 29.1. This may indicate that, at least in the later parts of BŚS, the Vādhūla Anvākhyānas and the VādhŚS had some influence on this text. Exact

¹⁰⁴ See AO 1, p. 8 sq., AO 2, p. 145 sqq.; and passim, AO 4, pp. 1-41, 161-213; AO 6, p. 97-241.

¹⁰⁵ See StII 1, p. 93; *Bull. d. Et. Ind.* 2, p. 223.

¹⁰⁶ See AO 3, p. 3; for this people, cf. the Tāmara, Taṅgana of the Mbhār (located in the Himalayas).

comparison will have to wait for a complete edition of the text. -- Barku Vārṣṇa *Āgniveśya* occurs at JB 1.22 = §6, in a discussion of Āruṇi, Vājasaneyā (= Yājñavalkya) and king Janaka, on the Agnihotra. By this time, (JB 1-65 is later than the rest of the text), the *Āgniveśyas*, a sub-school of the Vādhūlas, apparently were important enough to figure in such a discussion, cf. the Vādh. Anvākhyāna on the Agnihotra, AO 4. p. 19 sqq.

4.15. Other Taitt. Sūtras. The BharadvājaŚS may be located¹⁰⁷ in the Kuru-Pañcāla country on the Yamunā (BhŚS 1.21). ĀpŚS is, due to its eclectic nature, more problematic: In the coronation (12.12.7) all formulas known to Vedic texts are used: "This, o *Kurus*, is your king" stands next to "o *Pañcālas*, *Kuru-Pañcālas*, o people (*janatāḥ*)". But the river usually mentioned at the Sīmantonayana (GS 6.14.1.5-6) is specified as the *Yamunā* (in a verse from ĀpMp, 2.11.12: This mentions *Yaugandhari* as the king of the *Salvi*, living on the banks of the Yamunā.) ĀpGS specifies that one here has to insert the name of the river one lives on. The *Salva* and the (later) *Yaugandhara* are found West of the Yamunā. As ĀpGS specifies another verse to be recited among the *Salvis* (ĀpMp 2.11.11), the one mentioning the Yamunā seems to be accepted by the text for its own homeland, which then is situated East of the Yamunā. The outlying countries, however, are mentioned: *Gandhāri*, *Kaliṅga*, *Magadha*, *Paraskara*, *Sauvīra* (ŚS 22.6.18); the *Salvas* occur at ĀpGS 14.5 and the *Naimiśīya* at 23.11.10.

The HirŚS¹⁰⁸, however, which is modelled on ĀpŚS, provides much of the same evidence: the coronation formula names the *Kurus* (13.5.24:175, bottom) and in the Sīmantonayana, the *Gaṅgā* appears (HGS 2.11). The border countries are: *Gandhāra*, *Kaliṅga*, *Magadha*, *Paraskara*, *Sauvīra* (17.2.62). The *Naimiśīya* occur at 18.4.14, the *Niṣāda* at 17.40. HGS knows of a *Kāśīśvara* (2.19.6). -- VkhŚS, a probably quite late work, adds the *Punḍra* (VkhDhS 2.6.12) and *Pulinda* (3.14.2).

The MānavaŚS belonging to the Maitr. school mentions many localities in the Kurukṣetra area in connection with the Sarasvatī *sattra*

¹⁰⁷ Cf. KASHIKAR, ed. BhŚS p. XCV.

¹⁰⁸ For the other (Taitt.) Sūtras, see Ram GOPAL, *India of the Vedic Kalpasūtras*, p. 93 sqq. (not always to the point and frequently too vague); BRUCKER, *Die spätved. Kulturepoche*, passim.

(9.5.4.1 sqq.). The River *Sarasvatī*, *Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa*, the mouth of the River *Dṛṣadvatī*, the *Yamunā*, *Kārapacava*, *Vyarṇa Naitandhava*, *Parīṇah*, *Triplakṣa* (cf. PB and JB). In the coronation ritual, unfortunately only *janatāḥ* are named (9.1.3.11) and MGS 1.15 is very short about the *Sīmantonayana*. Thus no further evidence for the area of the Maitr. before the composition of the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* can be adduced. -- The sister school of the *Vārahas*, which in the medieval period is always referred to with a localisation in the desert (*maru*, cf. the town *Vārahī*, N. Gujarat), equally only has *janatāḥ* in the coronation rite (9.1.3.11) and does not mention any river in the *Sīmantonayana* (VārGS 16). -- A few other *Gṛhyasūtras* may be added in this connection: *VaikhGS* 3.12, *JGS* 17, *KGS* 31, *Kauṣ.* (Śāṅkh) *GS* do not mention any river, while *ĀpGS* 14.1, *PGS* 1.15, *BGS* 1.10.13 only prescribe to name the river one lives on.

4.16. Other late texts. Finally, the *Atharvaveda* texts may be discussed briefly: The *GB*, actually a late *Anubrāhmaṇa* (probably of the lost *Paipp.B*) which sometimes already uses *Paṇinean* terminology refers to the *Kuru-Pañcāla*, *Aṅga-Magadha*, *Kāśi-Kausala*, *Śālva-Matsya*, *Sava-Uśīnara*, and the *Udīcyā* at 1.2.10. -- The *Satvants* appear at *KauśS* 57.8. -- It is only the late, mostly post-Vedic *Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa* which provides a wide range of geographical data. Interestingly, even these are restricted to Northern India, with the inclusion of a few NW areas and the traditional (South) Eastern aboriginal tribes. The chapters 1.7 and 50 as well as 51 and 56 mention: *Bālhika*, *Kamboja*, *Kamboja-Bālhika*, *Gandhāra*, *Śālva*, *Sālva*, *Madra*, *Madra-Kaikeya*, *Śūrasena*, *Uśīnara*, *Kuru*, *Pañcāla*, *Cedi*, *Naiśadha*, *Vidarbha*, *Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaliṅga-Māgadha-Mahendra* (in *Orissa*)-*Gavasa* (where?), *Kāśi-Pariyātra-Kuru-Pañcāla*, *Magadha*, *Māgadha*, *Magadha-Vaṅga-Matsya*, *Videha-Audumbara*, *Śabara-Pulinda-Cedi-Gādha* (for *Magadha*? cf. *KĀ Vaṅgāvagadhā*), *Kaliṅga*, *Kīkaṭa*, *Andhra*. -- A date for some parts of the text is provided by the occurrence of the *Tuṣāra* (= *Tukhāra*: Tokharians), who immigrated into Bactria only around 140 B.C.

This list more or less corresponds to that of *Patañjali* (ca. 150 B.C.) who also includes the peoples on the lower Indus and mentions a few South Indian peoples: *Coḍa* (4.1.175:270.3-4), *Kaḍera*, *Kerala*, and *Pāṇḍya* (4.1.168:269.13). -- It is only in *Patañjali* and, earlier, in *Pāṇini* that towns

appear¹⁰⁹. The Vedic texts, even the later ones composed at a time when some towns will have come into existence already, avoid this <207> subject: Brahmins preferably lived and still live in villages where they can better protect their ritual purity.

Pāṇini (usually ascribed to the 5th cent. B.C. but probably a few generations older) mentions towns in his homeland and its surroundings (Takṣaśilā etc.). His geographical horizon comprises most of Northern India, but does not include, as usually misrepresented on the basis of insecure data (Gaṇapāṭha etc.), much of the South and East¹¹⁰. The description of his geographical knowledge has to be revised thoroughly; its boundaries lie in *Sauvīra* and *Kaccha* (Gujarat), *Avanti* in the South, *Kaliṅga*, *Kāśi*, *Kosala* in the East, and in the *Kamboja*, *Parśu* territories of Afghanistan in the West. He is especially knowledgeable, about his own area, the Gandhāra-Panjab.

4.17. The data presented here allow the conclusion that the horizon even of the late Vedic texts was restricted to Northern India, -- but *intentionally so*. Certainly one did, by 500 or even 150 B.C., know more about the South, -- but it was not *worth* mentioning: these areas were such that a Brahmin would not go to (in fact, he had to undergo a *prāyaścitta* if he did do so), and if one went there, as apparently Agastya was thought to have done quite early, one was, as JB states, "outside the Kuru-Pañcālas". How far the Kṣatriyas and a few adventurous Brahmins may have ventured South on the Dakṣiṇāpatha, -- that is a question to be solved with the help of archaeological material, by the study of (originally) non-

¹⁰⁹ Towns, like *Kāmpīla*, which are usually found on the maps, are not mentioned in the Vedic texts. *Kāmpīla*- for example is only the name of a particular dress, see K. HOFFMANN, *Aufs.*, p. 109, ann. 24, 396. -- The word for town, *nagara*-, also occurs in late texts only. JB *Nagarin* is a personal name, ed. CALAND §4, 90, 164, 167, 168; for another *Nagarin*, see JUB 3.40.1. -- Other "towns" mentioned on the maps are only place names, like *Triplakṣa*, *Rohitakakūla*, *Āsandivat*, etc. Cf. K. MYLIUS, EAZ 10, 1969, p. 33-39.

¹¹⁰ The maps referring to the Vedic period and Pāṇini in SCHWARTZBERG, *Hist. Atlas*, have to be redrawn along these lines. The problem is not that the "identifiable peoples referred to by Pāṇini in his illustrations of grammatical rules ... should not be construed as demonstrating his full knowledge of South Asia" but that rather too many localities and peoples have been included that are known only from *later* grammatical texts, but not from Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. A well-reconstructed Gaṇapāṭha is not yet in sight, and data stemming from such lists as well as from the Kāśikā (middle of 1st mill. A.D.) have to be used with utmost caution.

Brahmanical texts like the Mahābhārata, and by comparing the earlier Buddhist and Jaina literature.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AĀ	Aitareya-Āraṇyaka
AB	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
ĀpGS	Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra
ĀpŚS	Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra
AV	Atharvaveda
BĀU	Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad
BĀUM	dto. in Mādhyandina version
BĀUK	dto. in Kāṇva version
BGS	Baudhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra
BŚS	Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra
BDhS	Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra
DŚS	Drāhyāyaṇa-Śrautasūtra
HŚS	Hiraṇyakeśi-Śrautasūtra
JB	Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa
JUB	Jaiminīya-Upaniṣadbrāhmaṇa
JGS	Jaiminīya-Gṛhyasūtra
JŚS	Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra
KĀ	Kauṣītaki-Āraṇyaka
KaṭhĀ	Kaṭha-Āraṇyaka
KaṭhB	Kaṭha-Brāhmaṇa
KauśS	Kauśika-Sūtra
KB	Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa
KGS	Kaṭha-Gṛhyasūtra
KEWA	M. Mayrhofer, Kurz. Etymolog. Wörterbuch d. Altindischen
KS	Kaṭha-Saṃhitā
KŚS	Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra
LŚS	Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra
MS	Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā
MGS	Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra
MŚS	Mānava-Śrautasūtra
Paipp.Br.	Paippalāda-Brāhmaṇa
PB	Pañcaviṃṣa-Brāhmaṇa
PGS	Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra
PS	Paippalāda-Saṃhitā

RV	R̥gveda(-Saṃhitā)
ŚŚS	Śāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka
ŚB	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
ŚBM	ŚB in Mādhyandina version
ŚBK	ŚB in Kāṇva version
ŚGS	Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra
ṢB	Ṣaḍviṃṣa-Brāhmaṇa
ŚS	Śaunakīya-Saṃhitā of AV
ŚŚS	Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra
SV	Sāmaveda
TĀ	Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka
TB	Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa <209>
TS	Taittirīya-Saṃhitā
VādhB	Vādhūla-Brāhmaṇa
VādhŚS	Vādhūla-Śrautasūtra
VārGS	Vārāha-Gṛhyasūtra
VārŚS	Vārāha-Śrautasūtra
VaikhŚS	Vaikhānasa-Śrautasūtra
VS	Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā
YV	Yajurveda

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