

**Ранневедийские космогонические воззрения:
происхождение Вселенной и концепция Времени в Атхарваведе
(Kālasūkta: AV-Śaunakīya 19.53-54 = AV-Paipalāda 11.8-9)**

Л.И. Куликов

Leiden University / Институт языкознания РАН, Москва

RV 10.129.7ab

iyám visṛṣṭir yáta ābabhūva ' yádi vā dadhé yádi vā ná

‘Откуда это творение возникло, / **Было** ли оно **создано** или же нет ...’

(Т.Я. ЕЛИЗАРЕНКОВА)

‘This creation (= this Universe), whence it came into being, whether it **was established** (or: established itself?), or whether not ...’

**AVŚ 19.53-54 = AVP (Or.) 11.8-9
Hymn to Time (Kālasūkta)**

- Time as Supreme Principle («Principe Suprême») (Renou 1956a: 272; Renou 1956b: 101f.): few parallels in the mantra period (AVŚ 13.2.39: hymn to Rohita (sun); some Upaniṣads (Maitrāyaṇīya): Time as one of the cosmogonic principles.
- AV-Pariś. 10.1.7: Kālasūkta (together with AVŚ 19.52), is applied in the ritual of offering a golden image of Earth to the priest (see Gonda 1978: 17f.).
- Translations: Whitney/Lanman’s (1905: 987-991)
 - Ludwig (1878: 191)
 - Scherman (1887: 78f.)
 - Deussen (1894: T. I/1, 210f.)
 - Bloomfield (1897: 224f., 681f.)
 - Papesso (1933: 198f.)
 - Geldner (1928: 97)
 - Renou (1956a: 215, 272)
 - Edgerton (1965: 130f.)
 - Ambrosini (1984: 172-175)
 - Gupta & Mohanty 2000: 26f. (translated by J. Brereton)
 - Orlandi (1997) (concept of Time in the Ancient India)
 - Mylius 2002 (AVŚ 19.53).

AVŚ 19.53 = AVP 11.8

Metre: 1-4 – triṣṭubh, 5 is irregular (metrical scheme 9+9+8+8), 6-10 – anuṣṭubh.

AVŚ 19.53.1 = AVP 11.8.1

<i>kāló áśvo vahati saptáraśmiḥ</i>	(11)
<i>sahasrākṣó ajáro bhúriretāḥ</i>	(11)
<i>tám á rohanti kaváyo vipáścítas</i>	(12)
<i>tásya cakrá[*-ṇi ?] bhúvanāni víśvā</i>	(10 [*11?])

Time, the steed with seven reins, with thousand eyes, unaging, abounding in seed, conveys [a chariot]. Inspired poets mount it. Its wheels are all beings.

1a: with seven reins (*saptáraśmiḥ*) – For the symbolism of 7, cf. verse 2a.

1c: ... mount it – *á-ruh* : = mounting a chariot? a horse? For duality (or plurality) of Time, see Edgerton (1965: 130, fn. 1): Time = horse(s), chariot, driver (= the Sun?).¹

Some aspects of Time ~ features of the Sun or Agni, cf. *ajáro* ‘unaging’ (an epithet of Agni); *saptáraśmiḥ* (refers to Agni in RV 1.146.1); cf. also 19.53.3a.

Cf. also 2a and d.

1d: *bhúvanāni* – «beings» (Whitney, Brereton; Scherman, Deussen, Geldner, Mylius: «Wesen»; Papesso, Ambrosini and Orlandi: «esseri (viventii)») / «existences» (Renou), «worlds» (Ludwig: «welten») both interpretations (Edgerton: «worlds (or beings)», Bloomfield: «beings (worlds)»).

bhúvana- ← *bhū* ‘become, come into being’, i.e. ‘becoming, coming into being’ = all what is temporary, non-eternal.

Metre: irregular (10 syllables): read **cakráṇi?* (“long” form of the neuter declension).

¹ “In this verse Time appears to be represented by the Sun, who drives a chariot; there is some confusion of chariot, driver, and horse(s). The Sun, under the name of Rohita the Ruddy, is identified with Time in AV. 13.2.39.”

AVŚ 19.53.2 = AVP 11.8.2

<i>saptá cakrān vahati kālā eṣā</i>	(11)
<i>saptāsya nābhīr amṛtaṃ n_{uv} ákṣaḥ</i>	(11)
<i>sá imā víśvā bhúvanān_y +añján</i>	(11)
<i>kālāḥ sá īyate prathamó nú devāḥ</i>	(12 ^t)

This Time draws seven wheels, seven are its naves; (its) axle is immortality. Anointing (flowing around) all these beings, it, *that Time*, speeds, the primordial god.

- a. Śaun. *cakrān*, Paipp. *cakrān*, ed. RW + *cakrā*
 c. Śaun. *añját*, *anyát*; Paipp. *añjan*

2a: *saptá cakrān* (*saptá* + *cakrā* [← *saptácakram* (?)]) *vahati*

- Cf. RV 1.164.3b (*saptácakram saptá vahanty áśvāḥ* ‘seven horses drive a seven-wheeled [chariot]’)

= seven months (seasons) of the year (six main and one additional months; see Scherman 1887: 81; Bloomfield 1897: 682f.; Renou 1956a: 272; Ambrosini 1984: 175; Orlandi 1997: 251, fn. 19)

= seven planets?

= seven Ādityas? (Deussen 1894: T. I/1, 210).

- *cakrā-* : a neuter noun? pāda 2a must be based on RV 1.164.3b:

Time = a steed (cf. 1ab) ⇒ Time = a chariot (cf. 1c).

saptácakram decomposed : *saptácakram* → *saptá* **cakrám* → *saptá cakrān*.

(A similar remorphologization in 1d, where the grammatically ambiguous (m./n.) form *cakrā* may be a replacement of the original **cakrāṇi* (neuter).

- *kālā-* (Time) ~ *cakrā-* (wheel(s)): indirect evidence for the etymology of *kālā-*: ← **k^helH-* ‘move, turn’ (the *l*-variant of *car*) ~ *cakrā-* (< PIE **k^he-k^hl-o-*) (Kuiper 1931: 243; Mayrhofer, EWAia I, 343)

2c: ... (its) axle (*ákṣaḥ*) – Thus Whitney, Bloomfield, Edgerton, Renou, etc.; unlikely Brereton (connecting immortality with the wheels: “their axle”).

2c: Anointing (flowing around) (+*añján*) –

- Śaun. mss. *añját* (or *anyát*)
- Paipp. *añjan* (part. of *añj* ‘anoint’)
- Edgerton: < *añjan* > «adorning (anointing) all these worlds»
- Sāyaṇa: ⁽³⁾*añj* ‘manifest’ (cf. Mayrhofer 1986-96 [EWAia] I, 54; Geldner: «Er

bringt alle Dinge zur Erscheinung»).

- ed. Roth/Whitney: ⁺*arvān* ‘directed hither’ (~ *pratyān* ‘directed from here, away’)
 - This emendation is adopted in most translations: Time is moving, directed hither, towards all beings (or Time brings hither all beings), and then moves away (or carries away all beings) (see especially Bloomfield 1897: 684)
 - Deussen (1894: I/1, 210): Time which is directed hither refers to the Present, whilst the Time directed, or going, away, refers to the Past.
- unlikely conjectures **ṛñjat*, **arñjat* (Brereton apud Gupta & Mohanty 2000: 26, hesitantly), “Time has reached all beings”
 - the root *ṛj* (in **ṛñjat* and **arñjat*, injunctive and imperfect of the thematic infixed nasal present) = ‘stretch, set in motion, give preference’ (see Joachim 1978: 60ff.; Kulikov 1995: 104ff.; 2000: 199ff.)
 - *ṛñja-* is only scantily attested after the RV, does not occur in the AV.
- impossible conjecture ⁺*añján* in Orlandi 1997: 251f., fn. 21
 - erroneous grammatical analysis of this form (injunctive)
 - wrong translation (‘Egli che prepara tutti questi esseri’)
 - 3sg. inj. of (athematic) pres. with the nasal infix must be **anáḱ* (unattested in RV and AV)
 - *añján* can be (i) 3pl. injunctive, or (ii) active participle (the latter analysis is adopted here)
 - meaning of *añj* is ‘anoint, adorn’, not ‘prepare’.
- Whitney, comm.: returns to the original reading (as in mss.): «he, time, including (?) all these beings»
 - *añj*: ‘anoint’; Time as a stream which flows around objects. Cf. 4b *sá ... bhúvanāni páry ait* ‘it [sc. Time] went around beings’, 6c *kālé ha víśvā bhūtāni* ‘in Time [i.e. within Time considered as an omnipresent substance] are all beings’.

2a,d: *kālá-* with two different deictic pronouns:

- with *eṣá* ‘this’ (proximal deixis) in pāda a: “this” Time drives the car, bringing and carrying away all beings and being responsible for events on earth and in the Universe?)
- with *sá* ‘that’ (distal deixis) in pāda d: “that” Time flows around all being as a primordial substance. Cf. the dual character of Time explicated in verse 1 (both as a horse and a chariot).

AVŚ 19.53.3 = AVP 11.8.3

<i>pūrṇāḥ kumbhó 'dhi kālā āhitas</i>	(11 ^j)
<i>tām vai páśyāmo bahudhā nú sántam</i>	(11)
<i>sá imā víśvā bhúvanāni pratyāñ</i>	(11)
<i>kālām tām āhuḥ paramé vyòman</i>	(11)

A full vessel is set upon Time. Verily, we see it in (its) manifold existence. It is directed towards all these beings. They call him 'Time' (*kāla-*) on the Supreme Heaven.

b. Śaun. *páśyāmo*, ed. RW⁺ *paśyāmo*

3a: 'full vessel' (*pūrṇāḥ kumbhó*) = ?

- Sāyaṇa (and Bloomfield 1897: 684): = year with its days and nights, months and seasons
- Ludwig: = the sun.
- the idea of fullness, cf. Skambha hymns (AVŚ 10.8.15 and 10.8.29), as well as in AVŚ 9.4.6: cosmic Bull with a vessel full of soma (see Renou 1956a: 272; 1956b: 102).
- sacrificial vessel is put (*āhita-*) on fire, i.e. *pāda* a may continue the (partial) identification of Time with Agni (cf. 19.53.1ab)
- M. Witzel (apud Achar 1998: 22 and fn. 9): *kumbhá-* may refer to the Big Dipper (Ursa Maior)
- unconvincing Achar : *kumbhá-* = water clock («A full vessel is set [up] with reference to [measurement of] time»).

3d: They say about that Time: (It is) on the Supreme Heaven – Thus Whitney and Bloomfield: “they call him Time in the highest heaven”.

- Less likely Renou (“le Temps (siège aussi), dit-on, au plus haut firmament”)

AVŚ 19.53.4 = AVP 11.8.4

<i>sá evá⁺ sán bhúvanānīy ābharat</i>	(11 ^j)
<i>sá evá⁺ sán bhúvanāni páryait</i>	(11)
<i>pitá sánn abhavat putrá eṣāñ</i>	(11 ^j)
<i>tásmād vai nányát páram asti téjaḥ</i>	(11)

Verily, it, existing [or: He, being like that (?)], brought here beings; verily, it, existing [or: He, being like that (?)], went around beings. Being (their) father, it became their son. Therefore, verily, there is no higher brilliance other than that.

a,b. Śaun. *sám*, Paipp. *san*

Metre in abc is quite bad (add an empty syllable after ⁽⁺⁾*sán* to make a Jagatī?).

4a, b: existing/being (⁽⁺⁾*sán*) – read (with Paippalāda) ⁽⁺⁾*sán* (act.part. of *as* ‘be’) instead of *sám* in mss. of Śaunakīya (thus translated by Deussen: “sämtlich” and Renou: “ensemble”). This conjecture is already adopted by Whitney and Ludwig.

4b: it went around beings (*sá ... bhúvanāni páry ait*) – a continuation of the metaphor of a stream (substance) flowing around material objects in 2c. Cf. also 6c.

AVŚ 19.53.5 = AVP 11.8.5

<i>kāló 'amūṃ dīvam ajanayat</i>	(10)
<i>kālā +imām +pṛthivīm utá</i>	(9)
<i>+kālēna bhūtām bhavyaṃ ca-</i>	(8)
<i>iṣitām ha ví tiṣṭhate</i>	(8)

Time has generated yonder Heaven; Time has also (generated) this Earth. By Time what has become and what will become is impelled and is expanding.

- b. Śaun. *imāḥ pṛthivīr*, Paipp. *imām pṛthivīm*
 c. Śaun. *kālē ha*, Paipp. *kālēna*, ed. RW ⁽⁺⁾*kālēna*

Metre is quite irregular (10+9+8+8), unless we assume injunctive (*janayat*) in a and double sandhi (*kālémām*) in b.

Verse 5 ~ modern cosmological theories (see, e.g., Hawking 1988); cf. also 10d: ‘Heat is born from Time’.

5b: ⁽⁺⁾*imām +pṛthivīm* ‘this earth’ – The singular form in the Paippalāda (*imām pṛthivīm* ‘this earth’) is more appropriate than the plural found in Śaunakīya (*imāḥ pṛthivīr* ‘these earths’).

- NB: plural of *pṛthivī-* : rare in the RV and AV (3× in the RV: 1.34.8, 4.53.5,

7.104.11; 4× in the AVŚ: 4.20.2, 6.21.1, 19.27.3, 19.53.5); only occurs in passages referring to the three, opposed to the three heavens (*dīvaḥ*).

5cd: By time ... is impelled (⁺*kālēna* ... *iṣṭám*) – The reading *kālē ha...* ‘in Time ...’ (as in Śaunakīya mss.) is adopted by Geldner (“In der Zeit [ist alles Gewordene und Zukünftige enthalten]...”) and Ambrosini (“mosso nel tempo”). Whitney’s conjecture ⁺*kālēna* (accepted by most translators), yielding a much better interpretation and syntactic structure of the verse, is supported by Paippalāda mss.

AVŚ 19.53.6 = AVP 11.8.6

<i>kāló bhūtīm asṛjata</i>	(8)
<i>kālē tapati² sūr̥yaḥ</i>	(8)
<i>kālē ha víśvā bhūtāni</i>	(8)
<i>kālē cákṣur ví paśyati</i>	(8)

Time has created (well-)being (?); in Time the sun burns. In Time are all beings. In Time the eye (of the Sun) is surveying [them (?)].

6a: ... (well-)being (?) (*bhūtīm*)

- Ed. Roth/Whitney: ⁺*bhūmim* ‘earth’ instead of *bhūtīm* ‘well-being, success’; this reading is adopted by most translators (‘Time has created the earth’)
- except for Geldner (“Der Kāla erzeugte die Natur”) and Edgerton (“Time created lordship”)
- *bhūtīm* : ‘etymological’ translation = ‘existing, existence, becoming’; cf. Brereton: “Time sent forth the existent” (but this meaning is only registered in native lexicons).

6c: In Time are all beings – Cf. 2c and 4b.

6d: ... the eye is surveying [them] (*cákṣur ví paśyati*) – Probably the eye (of the Sun); cf. AV 10.8.18 *sá* [...] *sampáśyan yāti bhívanāni víśvā* ‘he (sc. the Sun) speeds, surveying all beings together’. *víśvā bhūtāni* – direct object of *ví paśyati* ?

² Ed. Viśva Bandhu edits with accent (*tápati*) in the Saṃhitāpāṭha (probably a misprint), but gives the correct *tapati* in the Pp.

AVŚ 19.53.7 = AVP 11.8.7

<i>kālē mānaḥ kālē prāṇaḥ</i>	(8)
<i>kālē nāma samāhitam</i>	(8)
<i>kālēna sārsvā nandantṃ</i>	(8)
<i>āgatena prajā imāḥ</i>	(8)

In Time is mind; in Time is breath; in Time the name is concentrated. All these creatures rejoice at Time which has come (i.e.: rejoice at their life which began for them).

AVŚ 19.53.8 = AVP 11.8.8

<i>kālē tāpaḥ kālē jyēṣṭham</i>	(8)
<i>kālē bráhma samāhitam</i>	(8)
<i>kāló ha sárvasyeśvaró</i>	(8)
<i>yáḥ pitásīt prajāpateḥ</i>	(8)

In Time is Heat; in Time is the Supreme one; in Time the Bráhman is concentrated. Time is the Lord of all, who was the father of Prajāpati.

8b: *bráhma* : (i) sacrificial (atharvanic) formula; and (ii) the abstract cosmogonic concept (deified from the late/middle Vedic period onwards)

- Edgerton: “the holy word”
- Brereton: “sacred truth”.

Cf. Edgerton (1965: 132, fn. 3): “*bráhman*; here perhaps with specific reference to the magic charms of the Atharva Veda, which are just as familiarly *bráhman* in Atharvan literature as are the hieratic hymns in the Rig Veda. But it would be rash to insist, in such a passage as this, on any single meaning (i.e. English translation) of this many-sided word”. Cf. also comm. on 9c.

AVŚ 19.53.9 = AVP 11.8.9

<i>téneṣitām téna jātām</i>	(8)
<i>tád u tásmin prátiṣṭhitam</i>	(8)

kāló ha bráhma bhūt_uvá (8)
bibharti parameṣṭhínam (8)

Impelled by it (sc. Time), born by it, It is also settled in it (Time). Having become the Bráhman, Time carries the Highest One.

9ab: *téna-iṣítam ... tād – tād* ‘It’ probably refers to the Universe, everything which is created; cf. 5cd *+kāléna bhūtám bhávyam ca-iṣítam* ‘By Time what has become and what will become is impelled ...’.

• Renou (1956b: 102): *tād* denotes the primordial neutral entity (“la cellule originelle neutre”).

9c: *kāló ha bráhma bhūtvá* – See comments on 8b.

• The relationship between Brahman and Time: cf. Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad 6.15, where Time is qualified as one of the two forms of Brahman:

On the priority of Brahman, cf. also ManuSmṛ 1.24.

9d: ... *Highest One (parameṣṭhínam)* – lit. ‘standing on the Supreme (heaven)’, referring probably to Prajāpati.

AVŚ 19.53.10 = AVP 11.8.10

kālāḥ prajā asṛjata (8)
kāló ágre prajāpatim (8)
svayaṃbhúḥ kaśyapaḥ kālāt (8)
tāpaḥ kālād ajāyata (8)

Time sent forth creatures; (before that) Time (also sent forth) Prajāpati (Lord of creatures) at the beginning creatures. The self-becoming Kaśyapa (is born) from Time; Heat is born from Time.

a. Śaun. *prajā asṛ°*, Paipp. Or. *prajāṃ a sṛ°*, Paipp. Kashm. *prajāṣṛ°*

10a: Śaunakīya (acc.pl. *prajā* ‘creatures’) vs. Paippalāda (Orissa) (sg.pl. *prajāṃ* ‘creature’); but cf. Kashm ms.: *prajāṣṛ* (double sandhi of *prajā asṛ°*?).

10c: ṛṣi Kaśyapa – husband of Aditi and identified with the sun; alternatively, he can be identified with Prajāpati.

AVŚ 19.54 = AVP 11.9

Metre: 1, 3, 4 – anuṣṭubh; 2 – gāyatrī; verse 5 – mixed metre (8+8+11+11), verse 6 (separated in ed. RW) – two pādas (11+12).

- Indian editions (← anukr.): verse 5+6 (6 pādas); thus also in Whitney’s translation.
- Paippalāda: verse 2 includes two first pādas of verse 3 (in Śaunakīya) = mahāpañkti (8+8+8+8+8); verses 3-5 have 4 lines each, which yields a much more appropriate division, especially at the end of the hymn.

AVŚ 19.54.1 = AVP 11.9.1

kālā́d ā́paḥ sám abhavan (8)

kālā́d bráhma tápo díśaḥ (8)

kā́lénód eti sū́ryaḥ (8)

kā́lé ní viśate púnāḥ (8)

From Time the waters arose, from Time – Brahman, Heat, the directions. By time the sun rises, in(to) Time it goes down again.

1d: in(to) Time (*kā́lé*) – Given the polysemy of the locative, the passage can be understood as:

- (i) the sun sets in(to) Time (as in some space), and
- (ii) the sunset happens within the Time dimension, i.e. at some particular moment.

AVŚ 19.54.2 = AVP 11.9.2abc

kā́léna vā́taḥ pavate (8)

kā́léna pṛ́thivī mahī́ (8)

dyáur mahī́ kā́lá ā́hitā (8)

By Time the wind purifies; by Time the great Earth [exists], the great heaven is settled in Time.

2a: the wind purifies (*vātaḥ pavate*) – verb *pū* in the middle means ‘purify, become clean; (with the subject of the wind) blow (??); blow, purifying’.

- Whitney: “the wind cleanses”
- Gotō (1987: 207; also Mayrhofer, EWAia II, 106): ‘the wind becomes clean, purifies’.

wind (or air) : one of the basic (elementary) substances;

Vaiśeṣika: wind is the ‘purest’ substance, does not contain in any other substance ‘By Time the wind (exists) [as inherently] [pure /] purifying [substance]’. (?)

2b: ... by Time the great Earth [exists] (*kālēna pṛthivī mahī*) – nominal sentence, with the omitted copula verb. Two logically possible syntactic analyses:

(i) the adjective *mahī* is the predicate: ‘by Time the Earth (is) great’; thus Whitney (“by time the earth [is] great”), Ludwig, Scherman, Geldner (“durch die Zeit ist die Erde groß”), Ambrosini (“per mezzo del tempo è grande la terra”) and Orlandi;

(ii) *pṛthivī mahī* is the subject of the existential verb; thus Bloomfield, Renou (“grâce au Temps (existe) la vaste Terre”), and Edgerton (“by Time the great earth (exists)”).

(ii) appears more likely, for syntactic reasons: the omission of an existential verb (*exists*) is grammatically much less probable than the omission of a copula (*is/becomes*).

AVŚ 19.54.3 = AVP 11.9.2de-11.9.3ab

⁺*kālēna bhūtāṃ bhāvyaṃ ca* (8)

putró ajanayat purā (8)

kālād ṛcaḥ sām abhavan (8)

yájuḥ kālād ajāyata (8)

By Time the Son generated of old what has become and what will become. From Time hymns (*ṛcaḥ*) are arisen; from Time the yajus (sacrificial formula) has born.

a. Śaun. mss. *kāló ha*, comm. Sāy. *kālēna*; Paipp. Or. mss. *kālo ha*; Kashm. mss. *kālēna*

b. Śaun. most mss. *púrah*; ms. Cs., Indian eds. *purā*, comm. Sāy. *purā*; Paipp. *purah*; ed. RW mss. *púnah*

3ab: By Time (⁺*kālēna bhūtāṃ bhāvyaṃ ca* ' *putró ajanayat purā* [или *púrah*]) –

mss. read *kāló ha...* (nominative) or *kālé ha...* (locative).

- ed. ¹Roth/Whitney (1856): ⁺*mantró* (for *putró*), accepted in the earliest translations (cf. Ludwig: “im Kâla hat der mantra, was geworden, was werden soll, vormals erzeugt”; likewise Shermann and Deussen)

- Whitney (comm.) abandons this emendation

- other eds. (including ed. ²Roth/Whitney (1924)) adopt reading *kāló ha...*; both nominatives are taken together as an appositional group (“Time, the Son”) = the Son of Heaven and Earth mentioned in the preceding verse.

Cf. Whitney: “Time, [their] son, generated of old what is and what is to be”; Edgerton, Renou (“Le Temps, (leur) fils, a engendré jadis les choses qui furent et celles à venir”); Ambrosini. From the cosmogonic point of view, the characterization of Time as the Son of Heaven and Earth is quite dubious³ and is not supported by textual evidence.

- more likely (but still implausible from the syntactic point of view): Geldner's rendering (based on AV 19.53.4: Time is called both the father and son of all beings): “[d]ie Zeit hat einst Vergangnes und Zukünftiges erzeugt und ist auch ihr Sohn”;

- most probably: ⁺*kāléna* (based on the reading attested in Paipp., Kashm. ms. (~ Orissa mss. *kālo ha*); cf. the same emendation is adopted for *kāló ha* in an identical context (⁺*kāléna bhūtám bhávyam ca*) in 19.53.5, where it is supported by Paippalāda; this reading is also quoted by Sāyaṇa's comm. on AVŚ (probably based on ms. at his disposal, but later lost) *putró* may refer to Prajāpati, the father of whom is identified as Time in 19.53.8 (Sāyaṇa, Bloomfield).

Sāyaṇa's gloss on *kāléna, pitrā prerakeṇa* ‘by the father, who sets in motion’ = a reference to 19.53.5 ⁺*kāléna bhūtám bhávyam ceṣitam* ‘by Time what has become and what will become is impelled’.

Cf. also Bloomfield's translation (albeit based on the reading (loc.) *kālé* instead of ⁺*kāléna*: “In Time the son (Pragâpati) begot of yore that which was, and that which shall be”.

3cd: *īcaḥ* and *yājuḥ* refer to two of the four Vedas, Ṛgveda and Yajurveda.

AVŚ 19.54.4 = AVP 11.9.3cd-11.9.4ab

kāló yajñám sám airayad (8)

devébhyo bhāgám ákṣitam (8)

³ See, for instance, Macdonell 1897: 21f.

kālē gandharvāpsarāsaḥ (8)
kālē lokāḥ prātiṣṭhitāḥ (8)

Time set in motion the sacrifice, the non-vanishing share to the gods. In Time are the Gandharvas and Apsarases, in Time are established the worlds.

d. Śaun. *prātiṣṭhitāḥ*, Paipp. *samāhitāḥ*

AVŚ 19.54.5 = AVP 11.9.4cd-11.9.5

kālē 'yám āngirā devó (8)
a'tharvā cādhi tiṣṭhataḥ (8)
imāṃ ca lokāṃ paramāṃ ca lokāṃ (11)
púṇyāṃś ca lokān vídhṛtīś ca púṇyāḥ (11)
sárvāṃl lokān abhijítya bráhmaṇā (11)
kālāḥ sá tyate paramó nú deváḥ (12^b)

Upon Time this divine Angiras and Atharvan stand.

This world and the supreme world, and the holy worlds, and the holy divisions [between the worlds], – [thus], having conquered by means of the Brahman all (these) worlds, that Time speeds, the supreme god.

5ab: [*a*]yám āngirā devó 'tharvā

Edgerton (1965: 132, fn. 2): Angiras and Atharvan, half-divine beings, associated with the black and white magic, respectively, are probably mentioned here as the mythical ancestors of the authors of the Atharvaveda (see also Elizarenkova 2007: 250 and 282f. on AV 10.7.20). Thus, the Atharvaveda is being added to two other Vedas, Ṛgveda and Yajurveda, mentioned in 19.54.3.

Ṛgvedic vs. Atharvavedic cosmogonic beliefs

(RV 10.129.7ab)

iyám vísr̥ṣṭir yáta ābabhúva ' yádi vā dadhé yádi vā ná

dadhé

- passive: ‘has been established’
- non-passive / reflexive: ‘has established itself’

- absolute transitive: ‘has established [it]’

Absolute transitive:

‘... sei’s dasz er sie **gegründet**, sei’s dasz er sie nicht gegründet ...’ (LUDWIG 1876 [RV übers.]: II, 573; cf. also LUDWIG 1895: 6);

‘Whence this creation has arisen; whether he **founded** it or did not ...’ (MACDONELL 1917: 211);

‘Woraus diese Schöpfung sich entwickelt hat, ob er sie **gemacht hat** der nicht ...’ (GELDNER).⁴

Passive:

‘Von wannen diese Schöpfung sei gekommen, / ob sie **geschaffen** oder unerschaffen ...’ (GRASSMANN 1877 [RV übers. II]: 406);

‘Cette création secondaire, d’où elle est issue, si elle **a fait l’objet** ou non **d’une institution** ...’ (RENOU 1956 [HS]: 126);

‘Woher diese Emanation geworden („gekeimt“) ist, ob sie **getätigt worden ist** [von einem Agens] oder ob nicht ...’ (THIEME 1964: 67);

‘This creation, whence it came into being, whether it **was established**, or whether not ...’, with a footnote: “i.e. created; or perhaps, ‘established itself’ (the verb may be understood as passive or middle)” (EDGERTON 1965: 74);

‘... this creation (emanation)-in-differentiation ..., whether it **is the result of an act of founding (establishing)** or not ...’ (GONDA 1979: 12);

‘deze schepping ... of ze **object (resultaat) van een instelling (inzetting, fundatie) is** of niet ...’ (GONDA 1966: 693 [= Sel.St. III, 430])

‘... se è **stata fatta** o no ...’ (AMBROSINI 1981: 127)

‘... if it **was produced** or (it was) not produced.’ (BRERETON 1999: 249, fn. 7);

‘... ob sie **geschaffen worden ist** oder nicht?’ (KÜMMEL 2000: 273);

‘Откуда это творение возникло, / **БЫЛО** ли оно **создано** или же нет ...’ (ELIZARENKOVA).

Non-passive intransitive (reflexive, anticausative):

‘... whether it **made itself**, or whether not’ [or absolute transitive: ‘he set (or made) it for himself’] (WHITNEY 1882: cx);

⁴ Likewise, HILLEBRANDT 1913: 134; LOMMEL 1955: 120; AMBROSINI 1969: 100; SANI 2000: 65.

‘This creation, whether it **came into being spontaneously** or not ...’ (BROWN 1941: 80 [= 1978: 18]).

KNOBL (2008): the intention of the poet was to express the following idea: “There was no agent — and therefore no action — of founding. All that can be said is that this universe ‘has come into being’, *ā babhūva*, from somewhere, but not through *someone*.”

Kālasūkta: a step further, formulating a hypothesis about the origins of the world; both Space and Energy originate in Time, as a primordial source.

Time and cosmogony according to the Kālasūkta:

- Everything (all objects) are created from Time and by Time
- Space arises from Time and is expanding; there was no Space before
- Energy (Heat, *tapas*-) arises from Time
- All objects are within Time, i.e. Time is surrounding (*añjant*-) all objects. In other words, Time can (supposedly) be connected as yet another dimension, alongside with spatial dimensions

(Cf. the conception of **Philo of Alexandria** (20 BC – 50 AD): time is a result of space (universe/world), and God created space which resulted in time also being created either simultaneously with space or immediately thereafter)

- Even the purest (most elementary) substance, Wind (*vāta*) is contained in Time
- Time sets in motion everything
- Time transforms into Brahman

Traces of the Atharvavedic cosmogony in late Vedic and post-Vedic texts

(ViṣṇuSmṛ. 20.21-22)

20.21 *anādyantatvāt kālasya*

20.22 *evam asmin nir-ālambe ' kāle satata-yāyini*

na tad-bhūtaṃ prapaśyāmi ' sthitir yasya bhaved dhruvā

21. [This is] because Kāla (Time) is without either beginning or end. 22. Thus, in this Kāla, in which there is nothing to rest upon, and which is **constantly moving** (/driving), I do not see anything which has come into being and in which there is firm stability.

Parallel passages in other Smṛtis arrange the hierarchy of primordial principles differently: it is Brahman, not Kāla (Time), which is responsible for generating the Universe etc.

Cf. (ManuSmṛ. 1.50-51)

1.50 *etadantās tu gatayo ' brahmādyāḥ samudāhṛtāḥ*
ghore 'smin bhūtasamsāre ' nityaṃ satatayāyini ||

1.51 *evaṃ sarvaṃ sa sṛṣṭvedam ' māṃ cācintyaparākramah*
ātmany antardadhe bhūyah ' kālam kālena pīḍayan

50. The (various) conditions in this always terrible and **constantly changing** [or rather: **moving** – LK] circle of births and deaths to which created beings are subject, are stated to begin with (that of) Brahman, and to end with (that of) these (just mentioned immovable creatures). 51. When he whose power is incomprehensible, had thus produced the universe and me, he disappeared in himself, repeatedly suppressing one period by means of the other. (Bühler)

(MaitrāyaṇīyaUp 6.15)

dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe kālaś cākālaś ca | atha yaḥ prāg ādityāt so 'kālo 'kālah |
atha ya ādityādyah sa kālah sakalah | sakalasya vā etad rūpaṃ yat saṃvatsarah |
saṃvatsarāt khalv evemāḥ prajāḥ prajāyante | saṃvatsareneha vai jātā vivardhante
| saṃvatsare pratyastaṃ yanti | tasmāt saṃvatsaro vai prajāpatiḥ kālah | annaṃ
brahmanīḍam ātmā ca

‘The Brahman has two forms: time and non-time. And that which is before the sun is time [which is] incomplete. And that which begins with the sun is time [which is] complete. This which is the form of the complete [Brahman] is the Year. Verily, from the Year these creatures are born; through the Year the born ones grow here; in the Year they disappear. Therefore the Year is Prajāpati (considered as) Time; (it is) food, the abode of the Brahman and Self’ (see van Buitenen 1962: 45f.)

- Upaniṣadic innovation: Brahman is said to have existed before Time:

(MaitrUp 6.15)

brahma ha vā idam agra āsīd ekaḥ

‘The Brahman alone was here at the beginning’.

(ŚvetU 1.2)

*kālah svabhāvo niyatir yadṛcchā ' bhūtāni yoniḥ puruṣeti cintyam /
saṃyoga eṣām na t_uv [...]*

‘Are time, own nature, destiny, chance, elements, womb [or] puruṣa thinkable [as the cause for (the rise) of Brahman]? – [No!] – [It can] not [be] their union either’ (explicit rejection of the primordial character of Time as one of the possible causes of the Universe; see Oberlies 1995: 79f.)

(ŚvetU 6.2) [echoes scholarly discussions of that epoch?]

*svabhāvam eke kavayo vadanti ' kālaṃ tathānye parimuhyamānāḥ
devasyāiṣa mahimā tu loke ' yen_aedaṃ bhrāmyate brahmacakram*

‘Einige Dichter lehren die Eigennatur (der Dinge [als Antreiber des Brahmanrades]), andere in gleicher Weise die Zeit: Sie (alle) gehen fehl. Die Größe Gottes ist es doch, durch die dieses Brahman-Rad veranlaßt wird, sich in [dieser] Welt zu drehen’ (Oberlies 1998: 109).

(Gauḍapāḍakārika 1.7-8):

*vibhūtiṃ prasavaṃ tv anye ' manyante sṛṣṭicintakāḥ
svapnamāyāsarūpeti ' sṛṣṭir anyaiḥ vikalpitā (1.7)
icchāmātraṃ prabhoḥ sṛṣṭir ' iti sṛṣṭau viniścitāḥ
kālāt prasūtiṃ bhūtānām ' manyante kālacintakāḥ (1.8)*

‘Some of those who speculate about creation regard generation [of world] as the manifestation [of God’s powers]; others imagine creation as having the form of dreams and illusions.

Those who are convinced about [the reality of] creation believe that creation [arises] solely from God’s will; those who speculate about time [kālacintaka] believe that generation of beings [arises] from Time.’

Kālacintakas: a philosophical school going back (more or less) directly to the cosmologists of the Atharvaveda? (virtually no traces in the Classical Indian philosophical schools)

On the priority of Brahman, cf. also ManuSmṛ 1.24: the primordial Svayambhū (Self-existent / Self-becoming) is identified in 1.9 with Brahman:

(ManuSmṛ 1.9)

*tad aṇḍam abhavad dhaimaṃ ' sahasrāmśusamaprabham
tasmiñ jajñe svayaṃ brahmā ' sarvalokapitāmahaḥ*

‘That (seed) became a golden egg} in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world.’ (Bühler)

(ManuSmṛ 1.22, 24)

so 'sr̥jat [...] prabhuḥ [...]

kālaṃ kālavibhaktīś ca ' nakṣatrāṇi grahāṃs tathā

saritaḥ sāgarān-śailān ' samāni viṣamāni ca

‘He, the Lord, created [...] Time and the divisions of time, the lunar mansions and the planets, the rivers, the oceans, the mountains, plains, and uneven ground...’

(Bühler)

(MBh. 1.43.49)

sarve kālena sr̥jyante hriyante ca tathā punaḥ

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