A SECOND STAGE OF OUR SHARED RESEARCH ON THE TOPIC OF RESISTING AND JUSTIFYING CHANGES IN INDIAN AND ANCIENT GREEK CULTURE

Elisabetta Poddighe, Tiziana Pontillo
(Cagliari University)

The volume is divided into four parts which mainly follow a chronological order. Therefore, the contributions devoted to the sources on Indian antiquity constitute the first section (ANCIENT AND MIDDLE INDOARYAN SOURCES) of the book. Around four articles are devoted to Vedic sources, five to Classical sources, but both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical works are in fact involved in the several selected arguments and not only literary texts but also important iconographic documents are taken into account.

Duccio Lelli (*A poet at the assembly: some remarks on a feature of Rudra in the* Atharvaveda) studies a very interesting aspect of the figure of the god Rudra, namely his connection with the *sabhā*, which from the White Yajurveda onwards (in the so-called *Śatarudrīya*, i.e. in the hymn dedicated to the hundred names of Rudra) is crystallised in his important epithet *sabhā́pati*. Through the analysis of hymn ŚS II 27~PS II 16 and other appropriate intertextual references, the author succeeds in demonstrating how rather than being an innovation, this characteristic must have been a very ancient trait of the deity, which brings him close to Indra himself and especially to the Indo-Euro-European milieu of the Männerbund. Paola Rossi (*From conquering the sun to conquering heaven: spatio-temporal cosmographies and sovereignty in the Ṛgvedic and Atharvavedic collections*) has conducted a comprehensive study of the proto-Vedic 'chronotope' of the science of lordship through the systematic and fascinating analysis of the verses and images that revolve around the term *svargá*, i.e. the 'place where the sun/sunlight (*svàr*) goes' in the two earliest Vedic collections. First of all, such a notion of lordship appears to be closely linked to the leadership represented by god Indra, i.e. the counterpart of the ideal chieftain of the ancient Indo-Aryan clan-semi-nomadic society, i.e. as warrior, cowherd, priest, and poet. The Indra-like lord is later taken as a model in the age of the Kuru hegemony, when a new paradigm of supra-tribal sovereignty is definitively promoted, but the king's role as master of the celestial world begins to be separated from that of the priest, who ensures sunlight and ample space for all. Extremely important is the complex and well-founded reconstructive model of the *continuum* and *discontinuum* between pre- and post-Kuru culture proposed by the author. Chiara Neri

and Tiziana Pontillo (*The ascetic whom the gods worship. Conservative heterodoxy in the Vrātyakāṇḍa and in the Suttapiṭaka*) analyse in a comparative fashion how three topics emerge in the Vrātyakāṇḍa and in several passages in the *Suttapiṭaka*, namely (1) the oneness and loneliness of ascetics; (2) the motif of the gradual conquest of worlds as progressively higher stages of ascetic achievement; (3) ascetics' superiority with respect to the gods. They advance the hypothesis that the Vrātyakāṇḍa in the *Śaunaka* Atharvaveda may have been an ancient vehicle for ascetic doctrines which then developed into both Upaniṣadic and Buddhist thought (and probably into other ascetic traditions) with their respective peculiarities, a good example of resistance to the changes wrought by the Brahmanical new cultural system. Edeltraud Harzer (*Inconvenient Truth: three instances of Vrātyas' memory erased. Semantic shifts in lexicon in the "Between the Empires" period*) who has already provided excellent research evidence on the Vrātya culture through the study of Vedic sources, especially the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads, now focuses on two research strands, namely the semantic shifts of some words in the lexicon such as the Vedic *gṛhapati*, compared with the Sanskrit term *gṛhastha*, and the postulation of cases of erasure of details from memory, such as the often misunderstood "High Chant of Dogs" in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 1.12.1-5. What is even more interesting is the fact that the author takes advantage of the selected case studies in order to discuss some current historical reconstructions of the relationship between the Brahmanical culture and heterodox cultures, to reflect on what 'inconvenient' elements of the past might have been changed, assimilated or even expunged.

The first contribution devoted to Classical sources is *Legitimizing the Brahmins' superior status. *Rāmāyaṇa* strategie*s, by Danielle Feller. This essay is devoted to a topic which has been at the core of Sanskritist reflection in recent years, with the emergence of more accurate studies of the slow and complex development of the classical Varṇāśrama system. The scholar is certainly not new to this type of research: indeed, she has carried out extensive research on the relationships between Vedic traditions and Epic texts in terms of mythological and literary re-use. Here, she studies the episodes that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* seem to especially stress the Brahmins' superior status in order to single out what strategies this social class actually adopted to attain its historical pre-eminent position, also viewed through the lens of the literature and plausibly its assumedly relevant social and political propaganda. Diletta Falqui's contribution (*Perception of Vedic ritual semantics in the* Mahābhārata) aims to discover the relationship between Vedic sources and the *Mahābhārata* in terms of continuity and discontinuity, within the specific framework of the Vedic rituals, searching for possible traces

of a religious tradition (still) independent of the Brahmanical reform embodied in the production of the Vedic Kalpasūtras. The present work is a preliminary experiment of a predominantly lexical nature, looking at the number of occurrences of a representative sample of lexemes useful for the purpose and providing a useful picture for further research in a still relatively unstudied field. Ariadna Matyszkiewicz (*Sanskrit tricks in the Jain grand narrative:* itihāsa *and* mahākāvya *devices in Jinasena's Ādipurāṇa*) focuses on the re-use of significant tools adopted by classical Sanskrit literature from both the Epic and *Mahakāvya* traditions, including crucial *alaṃkāra*s within an interesting and voluminous work dating back to the 9th c. CE, which is not only a eulogistic explication of the Digambara Jain *dharma*, but also an original authorial work on the Jain universal history. Cinzia Pieruccini (*Natural sceneries. Recreating patterns in Sanskrit court plays*) elegantly shows how important motifs and themes firmly rooted in Sanskrit court plays related to natural settings – and especially gardens – have been re-created by the different authors in several refined and extremely intelligent ways, without ever falling short of their canonical function as sets for soliloquies or confidential conversations, as silent but effective drivers of the unfolding of the plot itself. Chiara Policardi (*Variations on the elephantine theme: Jyeṣṭhā-Vināyakī, from independent goddess to Gaṇeśa's female form*) concentrates on the long journey made from the 1st century BCE up to the 11th century by a feminine divine figure. Early representations depict her with the face of an elephant, riding on a donkey, but she gradually came to be reinterpreted as Gaṇeśa's female form, although her autonomous status was maintained in Tantric literature and iconography. The figure is well-documented in Indian sculpture but also in literary production at least from the Gupta age in her more clearly codified form. The most striking aspect of the proposed research perspective is the dynamic transformation of several of her attributes, so that, the mere re-use of the image of the early independent therianthropic goddess actually seems to have undergone a genuine 'adaptive reuse', when its resemantisation finally emerges in a systematic way as a *yoginī* in the tantric tradition.

In the second section of this volume (ANCIENT GREEK HISTORY AND LITERATURE) two articles are dedicated to Ancient Greek history and another two to Ancient Greek literature, while the fifth one is actually in between, since it is based on both Vedic and Ancient Greek sources. Giorgio Camassa's contribution (*Dall'immutabilità, su cui vigila la* entrenchment clause*, alle regole di cambiamento delle leggi I*) is a very interesting introduction to the topic of changes in ancient Greek law, offering a brilliant well-grounded overview of some of the

major issues at stake. In the first part of his article, the author traces the process that led to the development of the rules of legal change, and in particular the entrenchment clause, in ancient Greece. The ancient Greeks used entrenchment clauses as safeguards to protect the normative acts of the *poleis* against the danger of destabilizing innovation. Such clauses are documented for many *poleis*, including Athens, and the author argues for the probable presence of the entrenchment clauses in both Draco's and Solon's laws. In the second part of his paper, Camassa focuses on the transformations that marked the last decades of the 5th century BCE in Athens, when the growing acknowledgement of the legislative system's need for a more stringent coherence was felt. The topic chosen by Elisabetta Poddighe for her contribution (*The Athenians' oaths to use "whatever laws Solon should make" and to change nothing for ten years: should we believe Herodotus' account?*) is definitely at the core of our volume. The Athenians' oaths to observe Solon's laws demonstrate (at least in some of our sources) an explicit commitment to accept Solon's new laws (which thus replaced the previous ones), but also included a pledge not to change them in the future. Herodotus' *Histories*, Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* and Plutarch's *Life of Solon* record the oaths and set the historical context, although they supply different details as to when and exactly what the Athenians swore to. Poddighe's chapter makes the point that we need to assess the different reconstructions of single sources and to distinguish the time and content of the Athenians' oath. While the author argues that we should credit the Herodotean account of the pledge to observe the code in its entirety for ten years, she also claims that the oaths taken by the Athenians 'to observe' the laws of Solon following his decision to give the laws a validity of 100 years did not mean that the laws could not be supplemented but only that they could not be cancelled or modified.

Valeria Melis (*Revising the myth in the light of historical changes: the case of Zeus the 'tyrant' in Aristophanes' Wealth*) has concentrated on an important literary 'transformation' carried out by Aristophanes in his *Plutus*, through the 'resemantisation' of several features of the Aeschylean *Prometheus Bound.* Thus, Zeus from 'tyrant' – the traditional representation of the god – becomes a god who protects the mortals in his traditional prerogative of Σωτήρ 'saviour'. Nevertheless, what is more important is that this change indeed resorted to a concept, namely the σωτηρία, which was exploited as propaganda by both the oligarchs and the democrats to promote their respective constitutions after the government of the Thirty Tyrants. Morena Deriu's paper (*Conservative and innovative trends concerning pederasty in the Amores ascribed to Lucian*) aims to illustrate how the *Amores* ascribed to Lucian testi-

fies for an important change in the assessment of pederasty in imperial Greek culture. In particular, it interestingly focuses on the tools adopted by Charicles to marginalise pederastic liaisons, to show how such tools are partly conservative and partly innovative. A novel motif is the practice of male castration, which Archaic and Classical Greeks associated with the Persians and thus with Oriental tyrannical power. They did not associate it to pederasty even when criticising it. As such, Charicles' reference to castration is clearly innovative, as proved also by a comparison with the rest of Lucian's corpus, and it can be explained by means of references to the treatment of such practice in Imperial culture and society. In her search for changes and continuity in the IE tradition, Paola Pisano (ṛbhavaḥ sūracakṣasaḥ: *the Sun and immortality in the Vedic myth of Ṛbhus and in early Greek wisdom traditions*) compares the myth of Orpheus in Greek literature with that of the Ṛbhus in Vedic sources. The backdrop is a compelling reconstruction of a possible solar cult linked to the heroic circles of ancient Indo-European male brotherhoods and to some intriguing doctrines concerning the acquisition of divine status through a sapiential path. By chance this compelling and learned contribution independently evokes the imagery analysed by Paola Rossi in this same volume.

In the third section (SANSKRIT TECHNICAL LITERATURE) five contributions are devoted to the Vyākaraṇa (Grammar and Linguistics) of Pāṇinian matrix, covering a time span between Panini's own time, presumably the 4th century. Other two articles are grounded on sources selected from the Mīmāṃsā (lit. 'examination [of the Vedic texts]) and Nyāya (Logic) systems, one from the treatises on law and behaviour (Dharmaśāstra) and one on poetics and aesthetics (Alaṃkāraśāstra). The first of these, i.e. Tamara Ditrich's work (*Paradigmatic similarities between the* Aṣṭādhyāyī *and the* Abhidhamma: *an example of* pratyaya / paccaya) is a fascinating experiment that foresees an important sequel in future works not only on the part of the author. The focus of the study is the verified continuity between Pāṇini's structural model for language and the overall structural analysis of phenomenal reality in the *Abhidhamma*. The usages, the meanings, and the speculative context of the Sanskrit grammatical key term *pratyaya* 'affix' (clearly intended e.g. by Patañjali as 'that which leads towards the meaning') is studied in parallel with the crucial Pāli term *paccaya*, especially in the sense of 'condition' (governing interrelated *dhamma*s). The purpose of Valentina Ferrero's inquiry (*Are there occurrences of* sarvanāman + akaC *in pre-Pāṇinian literary sources?*) is twofold. On the one hand, she interprets the technical sources and especially some specific rules that the

Aṣṭādhyāyī devoted to two denominal affixes (one of which exclusively enforced to pronominal stems) on the basis of the antecedent praxis of literature. On the other hand, these rules are tentatively adopted in order to better interpret the literary texts, mainly Vedic sources. The conclusions show how important it is for philology and linguistics (in this case indigenous linguistics) to work together. This permits the trends at stake within the normative sources to be correctly assessed, not only in terms of the traditional preservation of the norm, but also regarding its tacit elaborate change. Davide Mocci and Tiziana Pontillo's article (*How to select the right verbal person: a change of perspective between Pāṇini and his commentators*) argues that there is a gap between the original content of Pāṇini's rules 1.4.105, 107, 108 – teaching how verbal triplets are to be selected in Sanskrit – and Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's interpretation of these rules. This gap, which may be seen as an innovation in the Indian grammatical tradition, was ultimately the result of the two commentators' failure to properly understand the substitution device involved in the aforementioned rules. Through the analysis of a selection of *Mahābhāṣya* passages commenting on some *Aṣṭādhyāyī* rules devoted to the dvandva compounds, Anita Maria Borghero (*Fulfilling the venerable prescriptions: some stratagems from the* Mahābhāṣya) demonstrates how the strategy adopted by Patañjali in order to keep the wording of rules unchanged, even though these rules seemingly do not match contemporary language usages, can recall the *Mīmāṃsā* tradition, which rarely provides modifications of the Vedic prescriptions, but is ready to reinterpret them in continually updated ways. Mittal Trivedi's contribution (*Creating the body of the word: understanding the* aṅga *in the* prakriyā *of the* Siddhāntakaumudī *and the* Prakriyākaumudī) is entirely devoted to the effects of a clear disruption in the *vyākaraṇa* tradition, especially recognisable at the Navya Vyākaraṇa stage, when the analysed use of the Pāṇinian term *aṅga* seems to be often neglected, even influencing the modern comprehension of the rules governed by the heading rule A 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*. Madhulika Chebrol's investigation (*Eternality and fluidity of Dharma: from* Manusmṛti *to* Manubhāṣya) is dedicated to *Dharmaśāstric* literature, particularly to Medhātithi's commentary on the rules of the *Manusmṛti* that deal with women's behaviour, especially in terms of marriage, widowhood, and second marriage. The author succeeds in demonstrating that while the commentary attempted to defend the authority of the source text, it also adapted these rules through some appropriate grammatical and exegetical adjustments, so that they could fit in with the changing times and perhaps also with a different geographical context (where, for instance, the significant presence of women in the public sphere could no longer

be ignored). Sudipta Munsi's article (*Killing ritually and beyond*) is a clear and illustrative survey of the philosophical arguments used over time – especially in Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya and Vedānta sources – in order to defend the violence included in the Vedic sacrifice in a rational manner. The amazing fact that is well explained in this essay is that after such a sophisticated series of discussions, this speculative strategy was slowly overwhelmed by a more traditionally oriented defence, *de facto* purely relying on citations of Vedic, Smṛti and Purāṇa texts, which perhaps betrays a certain embarrassment on the part of Brahmanical culture to admit legitimate violence in its most sacred and ancient sources. Monika Nowakowska's contribution (*A matchless match – a case of an exchange on a shared ground: Kumārila and* ananvayālaṃkāra) studies the notion of 'incomparability' (*ananvaya*) as a literary trope which appears in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* (9th c. CE). Although this notion seems to have been completely ignored by previous *alaṃkāra* theoreticians, it is explicitly dealt with by Kumārila-bhaṭṭa (6th-7th CE), i.e. within the Mīmāṃsā tradition, in the context of the analysis of the cognitive and hermeneutical function of similarity (*sādṛśya*). The assumed appropriation of this notion is an intriguing case study that singles out the crooked path trodden by innovation. Chettiarthodi Rajendran (*Confronting the Iconoclast: Abhinavagupta's strategies to counter Bhaṭṭanāyaka*) addresses a very interesting problem in detecting the pre-modern Indian strategies of change, which indeed can be very different on the surface and in the depths. This is the case of Abhinavagupta who rejects the iconoclastic position adopted by Bhaṭṭanāyaka *contra* Ānandavardhana by attempting to demonstrate that all these concerns could be solved within the theoretical framework of Ānandavardhana's *dhvani* theory, while admitting that the tackled problems are genuine and that he is tacitly inspired by some of his own novel ideas.

The fourth section (MEDIEVAL AND MODERN INDIA) opens with a precious article by an acknowledged expert scholar on Vijayanagar culture and on Sanskrit-language poetesses, Lidia Sudyka (Varadāmbikāpariṇaya Campū – *the Tuluva dynasty in the eyes of Tirumalāmbā*), who here investigates a work composed in the Campū literary genre by a poetess who lived at the court of Acyutadevarāya, a king of the Tuluva dynasty who ruled over the Vijayanagara Empire from 1529 to 1542. By means of an accurate and rigorous reconstruction of the historical data on such a dynasty, the author sheds light on the literary variations introduced and the plausible reasons behind their use. She also discusses a couple of very interesting historical hypotheses, namely the identification of the poetess Tirumalāmbā with *Acyu-*

ta's wife, Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi, and the probably secondary (whole or partial) addition (after King Acyuta's coronation) of the first part of the work – whose bipartite structure is undeniable and not so well-tuned to the title. Michał Panasiuk's article (Annadāmaṅgala *and changes in the Bengali literature in the 19th century*) is mainly targeted on a well-documented reconstruction of the history of reception of a benedictive (*maṅgala*) poem by Bhāratchandra Rāẏ, namely the *Annadāmaṅgala*. Several aspects of its reception changed over time and the poem also played a part in influencing the notions behind the creation of the so-called 'pure Bengali' language. The intertwining of this literary chronicle with the development of modern Indian linguistics, particularly the production of the first grammars of the Indian languages that flourished in the milieu of Calcutta's Fort William College, is especially interesting and fruitful for future research of both historical and linguistic interest. Martin Hříbek's work (*Benoy Kumar Sarkar's positive Hindu sociology and political thought: legitimising strategies for the state and the nation*) is dedicated to presenting the extraordinarily effective figure of the outstanding academician Benoy Kumar Sarkar (1887-1949). A prolific writer and lecturer worldwide, he was also head of the Economics Department at the University of Calcutta and can count the founding of the Bengali Institute of Sociology amongst his many accomplishments. His main socio-political and scientific aim in his country was to explain contemporary social theory from continental Europe to the Indian audience, to 'incorporate' it into the Indian speculative world. Outside his country, he mainly tried to transform Indian ideas (even ancient ones, which he even legitimised as part of his contemporary world) into universal scientific concepts and – especially thanks to his intensive exchanges with German intellectuals – he attempted with some success to dismantle the British-centric world in an original way. The topic of Tatiana Dubyanskaya's article (*"Made in heaven": Premchand and his predecessors on spiritual union and love*) is the work of the Hindi novelist Premchand, who was largely revolutionary with respect to the previous literary tradition and the first Hindi writer to express his life experience in literature. In particular, the author concentrates on Premchand's personal beliefs regarding the spiritual significance of marriage which influenced his novel-writing attitudes, so that his refounded notion of matrimonial life was conceived as a significant means of access to social and moral changes. By surveying a selected body of contemporary theatrical literature and by analysing the contexts in which the latter flourishes, Marta Karcz's article (Modern Sanskrit dramas – between tradition and innovation) sheds light on a sort of renaissance which Sanskrit drama is currently experiencing. Perhaps the most striking result

of this investigation is the fact that the innovative features in the works, even in those cases where a plot deviates from a well-known story, often depend on some noble and ancient literary tradition, as in the case of the changes introduced by Dr. Raghavan in the plot of the Anārkalī, which are indeed inspired by the Mālavikāgnimitram by Kālidāsa. This gives rise to an educated and promising interweaving of current, often socially and politically oriented interests and demands with a long history of literature and performing arts.

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