

RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
Peter the Great Museum
of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) RAS

मित्रसम्प्रदानम्

MITRASAMPRADĀNAM

*A collection of papers
in honour of Yaroslav Vassilkov*

Saint Petersburg
2018

УДК [89.09+39+930.85](4/9)

ББК 83.3+63.1+63.3

B19

Составители и ответственные редакторы: *М.Ф. Альбедиль, Н.А. Янчевская*

Рецензенты: *д.и.н. И.А. Алимов, к.ф.н. Е.В. Танонова*

B19 **मित्रसम्प्रदानम् Mitrasampradānam.** Сборник научных статей к 75-летию Ярослава Владимировича Василькова. — СПб.: МАЭ РАН, 2018. — 680 с.

ISBN 978-5-88431-366-8

Сборник посвящен 75-летию юбилею главного научного сотрудника отдела Южной и Юго-западной Азии МАЭ РАН, доктора филологических наук Я.В. Василькова. Видный индолог-филолог и этнограф, ученый мирового уровня, он продолжает и развивает лучшие традиции школы петербургского востоковедения. Сборник состоит из нескольких разделов, отражающих круг основных профессиональных интересов юбиляра. В них вошли статьи отечественных и зарубежных специалистов по индоевропеистике и ведийским исследованиям, эпосу и культуре Древней Индии, по истории индийской философии и буддологии, этнографии и фольклору Индии, а также по истории науки. Особое внимание уделено вопросам изучения индийского эпоса, поскольку Я.В. Васильков в своих многолетних исследованиях творчески развивает методологию российской школы историко-типологического изучения фольклора.

ISBN 978-5-88431-366-8

© МАЭ РАН, 2018

Compilers and managing editors: *M.F. Albedil, N. Yanchevskaya*

Reviewers: *I.A. Alimov, Dr. Hab. (History), E.V. Tanonova, Ph.D. (Philology)*

B19 **मित्रसम्प्रदानम् Mitrasampradānam.** A collection of papers in honour of Yaroslav Vassilkov. — SPb.: MAE RAS, 2018. — 680 p.

ISBN 978-5-88431-366-8

This volume is dedicated to the 75th anniversary of Dr. Yaroslav V. Vassilkov, Chief Research Fellow in the department of South and Southwest Asia of the MAE, RAS. A world-renowned scholar, outstanding indologist, philologist, and ethnographer, he keeps up and expands the best traditions of the Saint Petersburg school of South Asian Studies.

The volume contains multiple sections that reflect the scope of Prof. Vassilkov's fundamental research interests. Each section includes articles by Russian and international experts in the Indo-European and Vedic studies, ancient South Asian epics and culture, history of Indian philosophy and buddhology, ethnography and folklore of India, as well as the history of scholarship. Because Prof. Vassilkov has for many years been developing the methodology of the Russian school of historical and typological folklore research, special attention is paid to the study of the Indian epics.

ISBN 978-5-88431-366-8

© MAE RAS, 2018

Ivan Andrijačić

***DHĀTR* AND *VIDHĀTR* AS FATE DEITIES IN THE SANSKRIT EPICS¹**

From the *Ṛk-Saṃhitā* onwards, Dhātr “Placer” and Vidhātr “Ordainer” appear both as epithets for different gods and as distinct deities. In Avesta, *dātar-* denotes the ordaining aspect of Ahura Mazdā and Aməša Spəntas, and some of their activities are described using the verb *dā-* (<**dhā*) “to place, to set up”. Verbal correspondence and correspondence in meaning and function speak in favour of the Indo-Iranian background of the concept that served as an epithet for the highest Lord *Asura. By the time of the Brāhmaṇas and epics, Dhātr’s ordaining characteristics had become mixed with the creative characteristic of gods like Viśvakarman, Tvaṣṭṛ, and Prajāpati. In the epics, in addition to his ordaining and arranging role, Dhātr took on a creative role and became mixed with Brahmā, who also took characteristics of older creator deities. Dhātr and Vidhātr became associated with fatalist doctrines in the epics. Fatalism might have already existed in the time of the epics in warrior circles as “warrior-didactics” (Vassilkov 1999:28). This heroic fatalism might have incorporated Dhātr into its world-view, supposing that Dhātr’s “ordaining” role, known since Vedic times, had developed into a “pre-ordaining” role in the epics. On the other side, Dhātr and Vidhātr became associated with ascetics that preached fatalism as a spiritual didactics that cultivates dispassion. Another development of the fatalist doctrine with Dhātr and Vidhātr as its presiding deities can be seen in epic episodes wherein Dhātr determines the fate of individuals according to their past deeds, thus making Dhātr a god responsible for the distribution of the fruit of action.

Keywords: Fate, predestination, *dhātr*, *vidhātr*, fatalism, Ahura Mazdā.

¹ This paper owes greatly to Prof. Vassilkov’s paper “Kālavāda (the doctrine of Cyclical Time) in the Mahābhārata and the concept of Heroic Didactics” (Vassilkov 1999), which aroused in me a keen interest in the fascinating phenomenon of fatalism in the Sanskrit epics. I encountered the name Dhātr for the first time in this paper where “epic god of Fate – Dhātr” (Vassilkov 1999:20) is mentioned.

Introduction

In the *Mahābhārata* (=MBh) 3,31, a remarkable speech by Draupadī mentions deities named Dhātṛ “Placer” and Vidhātṛ “Ordainer”² in a very peculiar deterministic context. Draupadī laments Yudhiṣṭhira’s apparent shamefaced attitude towards Kauravas, who exiled Pāṇḍavas to the forest. According to Draupadī’s speech, man does not act according to his own free will, but according to the will of the God Dhātṛ “Placer”:

“It is Lord Placer alone who sets down everything for the creatures... These creatures, hero among men, are like wooden puppets that are manipulated; he makes body and limbs move.³ ... man follows the command of the Placer, consisting in him, entrusted to him. At no time whatever is man independent, like a tree that has fallen from the bank into the middle of a river.” (Tr. van Buitenen 1981:280f)⁴

In 3,31.35, the deity Draupadī refers to appears under the appellations *svayambhu* (self-existent) and *pitāmaha* (grandfather), common epithets of the god Brahmā:

“So the blessed God, the self-existent great-grandfather, hurts creatures with creatures, hiding behind a disguise...” (Tr. van Buitenen 1981:281)⁵

Draupadī concludes her lamentation with a strong condemnation of Dhātṛ:

¹ Van Buitenen usually translates Dhātṛ as “Placer” and Vidhātṛ as “Ordainer”. This is followed consistently by Bailey (1983) and Hill (2001), and will be followed in this paper as well. Jamison & Brereton (2014) shift their translation according to the context, thus Dhātṛ appears as “Ordainer” (2014(3):1400;1606;1660), “Placer” (2014(3):1641) “Establisher” (2014[1]:928) etc.

³ MBh 3,31.21–22:

dhātāiva khalu bhūtānām sukhaduḥkhe priyāpriye |
dadhāti sarvam iśānaḥ purastāt chukram uccaran || 21 ||
yathā dārumayī yoṣā naravīra samāhitā |
īrayaty aṅgam aṅgāni tathā rājann imāḥ prajāḥ || 22 ||

⁴ MBh 3,31.25bc–26

dhātur ādeśam anveti tanmayo hi tadarpaṇaḥ || 25 ||
nātmādhīno manuṣyo ‘yaṁ kālāṁ bhavati kaṁ cana |
srotaso madhyam āpannaḥ kṛlād vṛkṣa iva cyutaḥ || 26 ||

⁵ MBh 3,31.35

evam sa bhagavān devaḥ svayambhūḥ prapitāmahaḥ |
hinasti bhūtair bhūtāni chadma kṛtvā yudhiṣṭhira || 35 ||

“...the capricious blessed Lord plays with the creatures like a child with its toys. The Placer does not act toward his creatures like a father or mother, he seems to act out of fury, like every other person! ... I condemn the Placer, Pārtha, who allows such outrages!” (Tr. van Buitenen 1981:281)⁶

Draupadī’s fatalism and condemnation of the whimsical turns of Fate, if understood as a rhetorical device, masterfully depict her rage and disappointment. As will be shown, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear frequently in fatalistic passages in MBh, and thus it seems improper to consider it no more than a rhetorical device. However, it is possible that it is a distant echo of some ancient worldview. Hill (2001:171) claims that the views Draupadī expresses are not the result of a sudden outburst, for they are based on an ancient tradition.⁷ After Yudhiṣṭhira’s soothing talk (3,32), Draupadī changes her attitude towards determinism in 3,33 and begins with a strong condemnation of fatalism, advocating the doctrine that man’s actions determine his destiny:

“The man who believes that everything in the world is fate and the one who professes that it is chance are both apostate; it is the spirit to act that is extolled.” (Tr. van Buitenen 1981:284)⁸

Soon thereafter, Draupadī changes Dhātṛ’s role — he is no longer a master of puppets, but rather a deity that presides over the rightful distribution of the fruits of action:

“The Placer himself, the Lord, ordains any one’s acts, for whatever reason, and distributes the fruits of what men have previously done.” (Tr. van Buitenen 1981:284)⁹

⁶ MBh 3,31.36cd–39cd
krīḍate bhagavan bhūtair bālāḥ krīḍanakair iva || 36 ||
na mātṛpitrvaḍ rājan dhātā bhūteṣu vartate |
roṣād iva pravṛtto ‘yaṁ yathāyam itaro janaḥ || 37 ||

...
dhātāraṁ garhaye pārtha viśamaṁ yo ‘nupaśyati || 39 ||

⁷ Vassilkov (1999) argues that the doctrine of Time (*kālavāda*) is a part of old Heroic warrior didactics. Vassilkov (1999:27) defines this phenomenon as heroic pessimism or epic fatalism. The heroic didactics that appear in the epic material of the MBh in addition to later Brahmanical didactics might not be a structured system of thought according to Vassilkov.

⁸ MBh 3,33.11
yaś ca diṣṭaparo loke yaś cāyaṁ haṭhavādakaḥ |
ubhāv apasādāv etau karmabuddhiḥ praśasyate || 11 ||

⁹ MBh 3,33.20
yad dhy ayaṁ puruṣaḥ kiṁ cit kurute vai śubhāśubham |
tad dhātṛvihitaṁ viddhi pūrvakarmaphalodayam || 20 ||

This peculiar change of events calls for a small investigation into the nature of Dhātṛ, as there are many other passages in MBh where Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are associated with fatalistic attitudes.¹⁰ Although Dhātṛ is identified with the God Brahmā in this passage, it is usually only Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ that are associated with fatalism, unlike other forms of the God Brahmā. The passage in which Yudhiṣṭhira and Draupadī criticise fatalism almost looks like a part of some ancient debate between upholders of fatalistic ideas and those who believe that man's actions determine his destiny. The latter, of course, gained the upper hand in the end, leaving only traces of the condemned rival theory. This paper will therefore attempt to explore Dhātṛ's role in ancient Indian and Iranian literature to investigate the origins and development of the concept of Dhātṛ and to explore its association with fatalism.

Dhātṛ in the Vedic literature

According to MacDonell (1897:115), Dhātṛ belongs to a class of deities whose nature is founded on abstraction. More precisely, Dhātṛ is an "Agent God", one of those deities whose name denotes an agent. The agent noun *dhātṛ* is a primary derivation from the root *√dhā* "to put, place" and the suffix for agent nouns *-tṛ*. Vidhātṛ is accordingly derived from the verb *vi√dhā* "to distribute, arrange, ordain". According to MacDonell (ibid.), Dhātṛ and other "Agent gods" are not direct abstractions, but rather developed out of an epithet for other deities that denotes an aspect, activity, or the character of the respective deity.

In the *Ṛk-Saṃhitā*, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear in 15 hymns. They appear three times (4,55.2 [Vidhātṛ]; 8,93.29 and 9,10.3) denoting sacrificial priests. In 10,82.2–3, *dhātṛ* and *vidhātṛ* are epithets for Viśvakarman,¹¹ while *dhātṛ* and *vidhātṛ* are epithets for Indra in

¹⁰ Hill (2001:86–194) discusses the role the gods play in destiny. He narrows the list of gods who act as agents of Fate to Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, and abstractions such as Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, and occasionally Śāstr (Hill 2001:124). However, Hill (2001:180) rightfully concludes that "the agent of predestination is invariably not a great God directly but a personalized abstraction such as Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ."

¹¹ A pun on the name Viśvakarman: he is *vīmanā* "vast in mind," *vīhāyā* "vast in power," and *vidhātā* "vast distributor"—the last, the one who distributes widely (Jamison & Brereton 2014[3]:1516).

10,167.3. In 10,2.2, Agni bears the epithet *man-dhātṛ*.¹² They appear as distinct deities in 6,50.12 (Vidhātṛ), 7,35.3 (Dhātṛ), 9,81.5 (Vidhātṛ), 10,85.47 (Dhātṛ),¹³ 10,158.3 (Dhātṛ),¹⁴ and 10,181.1–3 (Dhātṛ), although they are only invoked in these passages alongside other deities without any specification of their nature. More can be learned about Dhātṛ in funeral hymn 10,18.5, where he is described as a deity that arranges the orderly sequence of life and death, in which older should die before younger¹⁵. In 10,128.7, Dhātṛ is the Lord of creation (*bhuvanasya ... pati*). In 10,184.1, Dhātṛ is invoked to place an embryo in a womb. In 10,190.3, a small cosmogonic hymn, Dhātṛ “arranged, according to their proper order, sun and moon, heaven and earth, midspace and sunlight”¹⁶ (Tr. Jamison & Brereton 2014[3]:1660). From all this, it can be summarized that Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear in RS (a) three times in the plural as sacrificial priests, (b) as an epithet for Viśvakarman, Indra, and Agni, and (c) as a distinct deity connected with creation, fertility, and cosmic order.

In the Saṃhitās of *Yajur-Veda*, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ usually appear in the ritual context, invoked alongside a number of other deities. Rarely is anything more said about them. Most of the passages in which they appear are shared by *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* (=VS) of the White *Yajur-Veda* and *Taittirīya*- (=TaittS), *Maitrāyaṇi*- (=MaitS), and *Kāṭha-Saṃhitā* (=KS) of the Black *Yajur-Veda*.

Appearances of Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ in the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* (=VS) will first be presented together with parallels in other *Yajur-Veda* Saṃhitās, after which appearances in other Saṃhitās that are not shared with VS will be briefly described.

¹² Iranian parallel=mazdā<iir. *m̥s+dhaH (Jamison & Brereton 2014[2]:136)

¹³ Dhātṛ is invoked at the end of this wedding hymn together with Mātariśvan and Deṣṭṛ to join the married couple.

¹⁴ In 10,158.3 The eye (i.e. Sūrya) is invoked to let Dhātṛ place for us (see Jamison & Brereton 2014[3]:1641).

¹⁵ RS 10,18.5

yāthāhāny anupūrvām bhāvanti yātha ṛtāva ṛtūbhir yānti sādhu |
yāthā nā pūrvam āparo jāhāty evā dhātā āyūṃsi kalpayaiṣām || 5 ||

Just as the days follow each upon the last, just as the seasons follow straightaway upon the seasons, so, o Ordainer, arrange their lifetimes, so that the later does not leave behind the earlier. (Tr. Jamison & Brereton 2014[3]:1400).

¹⁶ RV 10,190.3

sūryācandramāsau dhātā yathāpūrvām akalpayat |
dīvaṃ ca pṛthivīm cāntārikṣam ātho svāḥ || 3 ||

In VS, Dhātṛ appears in 13 verses¹⁷, while Vidhātṛ appears in 3 verses.¹⁸ Two verses are taken from the *Ṛk-Saṃhitā*: a) RS 10,82.2, where Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear as an epithet for Viśvakarman, also appears as VS 17,27;¹⁹ b) in VS 32.10 (=RS 10,82.3ab), Vidhātṛ is an attribute of the highest Lord.²⁰ In VS 32,10, Vidhātṛ is an epithet for Agni. In most other cases, Dhātṛ is invoked alongside other gods. In VS 32,15, he is invoked alongside Varuṇa, Agni, Prajāpati, Indra, and Vāyu to grant wisdom; in VS 8,17,²¹ he is invoked with Savitr, Rāti, Prajāpati, Agni, Tvaṣṭṛ, and Viṣṇu; in VS 14,24,²² he is invoked alongside Agni and other gods of different classes; in 18,17, he is invoked alongside Mitra, Varuṇa, Maruts, and Indra (=TaittS 4,7.6.2); in VS 32,15, he is invoked to bestow wisdom (*medhā*). In three verses shared with MaitS (VS 24,5, 9 and 31),²³ different animals are assigned to Dhātṛ; in VS 25,4,²⁴ a part of sacrificial horse is assigned to Dhātṛ. Overall, it can be said that very little is said about Dhātṛ in VS, with the small exception of VS 14,28,²⁵ where he is designated as the overlord (*adhipati*) of the seven *ṛṣis*.

Dhātṛ appears more often in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (=TaittS) than in other YV Saṃhitās. Dhātṛ appears in 28 passages,²⁶ while Vidhātṛ appears in two²⁷ passages. Two verses are taken from the *Ṛk-Saṃhitā* (RS 10,82.2²⁸ appears as TaittS 4,6.2.1²⁹, while RS 10,128.7 appears as

¹⁷ VS 8,17 (=ŚBr 4,4.4.9 = TaittS 1,4.44.1 = MaitS 1,3,38 = KS 4,12 = AS 7,17.3); 14,24 (=TaittS 4,3.9.1=2,8.5=KS 17,4=ŚBr 8,4.2.5); 14,28 (=TaittS 4,3.10.1; MaitS 2,8.6; KS 17,5; ŚBr 8,4.3.6); 17,26-27 (=TaittS 4,6.2.1; 5,7.4.3; KS 18,1); 18,17 (=TaittS 4,7.6.2; MaitS 2,11.5; KS 18,10); 24,5 (=MaitS 3,13.6); 24,9 (=MaitS 3,13.10); 24,31 (=MaitS 3,14.12); 25,4 (=TaittS 5,7.22.1); 32,15; 34,58; 37,12.

¹⁸ VS 17,26-27 (=TaittS 4,6.2.1); 32,10.

¹⁹ VS 17,26-27 *viśvākarmā mānasā yād vīhāyā dhātā vidhātā paramōtā saṃdṛk ...yō naḥ pitā janitā yō vidhātā yō naḥ satō abhy ā sāj jajāna*. (=TaittS 4,6.2.1; KS 18,1.).

²⁰ In the parallel passage RS 10,82.3ab Vidhātṛ in is an epithet of Viśvakarman.

²¹ VS 8,17 = TaittS 1,4.44.1 = MaitS 1,3,38=KS 4,12=AS 7,17.3=ŚBr 4,4.4.9.

²² VS 14,24= TaittS 4,3.9.1=2,8.5=KS 17,4=ŚBr 8,4.2.5)

²³ VS 24,5 (=MaitS 3,13.6); 24,9 (=MaitS 3,13.10) and 31 (=MaitS 3,14.12.

²⁴ VS 25,4= TaittS 5,7.22.1

²⁵ VS 14,28= TaittS 4,3.10.1; MaitS 2,8.6; KS 17,5; ŚBr 8,4.3.6. Dhātṛ is here mentioned with Agni, Indra, Savitr, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ.

²⁶ TaittS 1,1.10.2; 1,4.44.1; 1,5.1.3.3; 1,7.11.1.6; 1,8.8.1; 2,4.5.1; 3,3.10.1; 3,3.11.2-3; 3,4.9.1-6; 4,3.9.1; 4,3.10.1; 4,3.11.2; 4,4.9.1; 4,6.2.1; 4,7.6.2; 4,7.14.3; 5,3.4.1; 5,5.12.1; 5,5.15.1; 5,5.23.1; 5,6.14.1; 5,7.4.3; 5,7.22.1.

²⁷ TaittS 4,6.2.1; 5,7.4.3.

²⁸ See VS 17,27 and KS 18,1; Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear as an epithet for Viśvakarman.

²⁹ TaittS 4,6.2.1 *viśvākarmā mānasā yād vīhāyā dhātā vidhātā paramōtā saṃdṛk ...yō naḥ pitā janitā yō vidhātā yō naḥ satō abhy ā sāj jajāna*. (= VS 17,26; KS 18,1.).

TaittS 4,7.14.3³⁰). In most cases, Dhātṛ appears in a larger group of gods (TaittS 1,4.44.1; TaittS 2,4.5.1; TaittS 3,3.11.2–3; 4,3.9.1; 4,4.9.1;³¹ 4,7.6.2;³² 5,7.4.3 with Vidhātṛ). Sacrificial animals for Dhātṛ are designated in 5,5.12.1, 5,5.15.1, 5,5.23.1, and 5,6.14.1, while a part of a sacrificial horse meant for Dhātṛ is specified in the context of *aśvamedha* in TaittS 5,7.22.1.³³ Dhātṛ is mentioned alongside Savitṛ and Varuṇa in the context of the *darśapūrṇamāsa* rite in TaittS 1,1.10.2 and TaittS 3,5.6.2.³⁴ Oblations are offered to Anumati, Rākā, Sinivālī, and Kuhū along with Dhātṛ in TaittS 1,8.8.1 and 3,4.9.6–7. This passage is closely related to AiBh 3,47.

More is said about Dhātṛ in only a handful passages in TaittS. Dhātṛ is the Lord of the World in TaittS 3,3.11.2–3 and TaittS 2,4.5.1;³⁵ he created the worlds and bestows a son upon the sacrifice.³⁶ He is the overlord of the seven *ṛṣis*³⁷ in TaittS 4,3.10.1.³⁸ Dhātṛ established fire with Agni as its divinity in 1,5.1.3; Dhātṛ is the year, and therefore offspring and cattle are born in the span of the year.³⁹ Dhātṛ is invoked in TaittS 4,3.11.2 for laying down *vyuṣṭi* bricks in the *agnicayana* altar.

Most of the passages in the *Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā* that mention Dhātṛ are shared with VS, TaittS, and the other Saṃhitās. Some passages, however, appear only in MaitS, such as MaitS 2,7.13 (=AS 11.6.3), in which Dhātṛ is invoked alongside Varuṇa, Pūṣan, and Tvaṣṭṛ; in MaitS 2,13.22; 2,13.23 (=KS 13,15–16; AS 7,19.1), Dhātṛ is invoked to grant offspring. The most interesting passage in MaitS is 1,6.12 (=TaittBr 1,1.9.1.9), wherein Dhātṛ and Aryaman are the firstborn sons of Aditi; they are followed in successive rows by Mitra and Varuṇa, Aṃśa and Bhaga (Indra and Vivasvant are added in a closely related passage in TaittBr 1,1.9.1). The *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* (=PañcBr) 24,12 mentions eight sons of Aditi: Mitra and Varuṇa, Dhātṛ and Aryaman, Aṃśa and Bhaga, Indra and Vivasvant.

³⁰ (=KS 40,10)

³¹ =KS 34,14.

³² =KS 18,10; MaitS 2,11.5.

³³ =VS 25,4; MaitS 3,15.5.

³⁴ =TBr 3,3.10.2.

³⁵ =MaitS 4,12.6; KS 13,16.

³⁶ *dhātā dadātu no rayīm īśāno jāgatas pātiḥ | sā naḥ pūrṇéna vāvanat |*

³⁷ See ft. 24.

³⁸ TaittS 4,3.10.1 *saptābhir astuvata saptarśāyo 'srjyanta dhātādhīpatir āsīt.*

³⁹ TaittS 1,5.1.3 *tām dhātādhatta téna dhātārdhnot saṃvatsaró vāi dhātā tasmāt saṃvatsarāmprajāḥ paśávōnu prā jāyante |*

Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear in 36 verses of the *Atharva-Saṃhitā* (Ś).⁴⁰ Some verses have parallels in RS, the *Yajur-Veda* Saṃhitās, and the Brāhmaṇas. Thus, AS (Ś) 5,3.9 has parallels in RS 10,128.7; AS (Ś) 5,25.5 has parallels in RS 10,184.1 (=KS 40,9=ŚBr 14,9.4.20/BĀU 6,4.20); AS (Ś) 7,17.4 has parallels in VS 8,17 (=TaittS 1,4.44.1= MaitS 1,3.38=KS 4,12=ŚBr 4,4.4.9); AS 7,19.1 has parallels in MaitS 2,13.22–23 (=KS 13,15–16); AS 11,6.3 has parallels in MaitS 2,7.13; AS 12,2,25 has parallels in RS 10,18.5.

In many of these verses, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are invoked alongside other deities. Only those passages in which something significant is said about them will be presented here. In a number of AS (Ś) verses, Dhātṛ is associated with marriage; he is invoked to secure a husband (2,36.2; 6,60.3; 14,1.59), while he brings a bride to Sūrya in 14,2.13. In one hymn (5,25.4–5 and 10), he is associated with conception as he is invoked to plant a male child in a woman's womb (see RS 10,184.1). In other passages, he is invoked to secure prosperity (3,8.2; 7,19.1; 19,31.3) or rain (7,18.1). In 4,12.2, he is even connected to healing as he is invoked to set a broken bone. He is associated with death in two hymns; he is invoked in 8,1.15 (alongside Savitr, Vāyu, and Indra) to revive a deceased man, while Soma, Varuṇa, Aśvins, Yama, and Pūṣan are invoked to guard us from the death appointed by Indra, Agni, Dhātṛ, Bṛhaspati and Savitr in 19,20.1. In the funeral hymn 18,3.26, Nirṛti and Dhātṛ guard the southern side during the funeral ceremony. In 18,4.48, he is again indirectly connected to death as he is invoked to prolong one's lifetime. He appears in 13,4.3 as an epithet for Vāyu.

It is important to note AS (Ś) 10,6.21, wherein Dhātṛ arranges what exists.⁴¹ In 6,60.3, he upholds the Earth, Sky, and Sun⁴².

⁴⁰ AS (Ś) 2,36.2; 3,8.2 (=7,17.4); 3,10.10; 4,12.2; 5,3.9 (=RS 10,128.7); 5,25.4–5, 10 (=RS 10,184.1=KS 40,9=ŚBr 14,9.4.20/BĀU 6,4.20); 6,60.3; 7,17.1–4 (7,17.4=VS 8,17= TaittS 1,4.44.1= MaitS 1,3.38=KS 4,12=ŚBr 4,4.4.9); 7,18.1; 7,19.1 (=MaitS 2,13.22–23=KS 13,15–16); 8,1.15; 8,5.18; 9,7.10; 9,7.21; 10,6.21; 11,6.3 (=MaitS 2,7.13); 11,8.5, 8–9; 11,9.25; 12,2,25 (=RS 10,18.5); 13,4.3; 14,1.33–34, 59; 14,2.13; 18,3.26; 18,4.48; 19,9.12; 19,10.3; 19,20.1; 19,31.3.

⁴¹ AS (Ś) 10,6.21
taṃ dhātā pratyamuñcata sa bhūtaṃ vyakalpayaṭ |
tena tvaṃ dviṣato jahi || 21 ||

⁴² AS (Ś) 6,60.3
dhātā dādāhā prthivīm dhātā dyām uta sūryam |
dhātāsyā agruvai patim dadhātu pratikāmyam || 3 ||

It might come as a surprise that Dhātṛ appears quite rarely in the Brāhmaṇa literature. When Dhātṛ does appear, the basic patterns from the Saṃhitās are followed. Thus only eight occurrences are found in ŚBr.⁴³ ŚBr 4,4.4.9 has parallels in VS 8,17 (=TaittS 1,4.44.1= MaitS 1,3,38=KS 4,12=AS 7,17.3), while ŚBr 8,4.3.6 has parallels in VS 14,28. In ŚBr 8,4.2.5, he is invoked during the building of an *agnicayana* altar. In ŚBr 9,5.1.35–38, Dhātṛ is an epithet of Prajāpati compared to the Sacrificer:

This here is Prajāpati. Becoming embodied, he thought himself complete. Becoming established in the four cardinal directions, he places (*dadhat*) and ordains (*vidadhāt*) all of this; as he continues placing and ordaining, he is the Placer (Dhātṛ). Just the same, the Sacrificer, established in the four cardinal directions, places and ordains all of this.⁴⁴

Dhātṛ is the year in ŚBr 1,5.5.38, just as in TaittS 1,5.1.3 and TaittBr 1,7.2.1. Dhātṛ is the Sun (*sa yaḥ sá dhātāsau sá ādityāḥ*) in ŚBr 9,5.1.37, just as in AiBr 3,48 (*yaḥ sūryaḥ sa dhātā*). In ŚBr 14,1.3.22, he is invoked alongside Agni, Indra, Savitṛ, and Bṛhaspati. In ŚBr 14,9.4.20 (=BĀU [M] 6,4.20) he is invoked to place an embryo in a woman's womb (see RS 10,184.1; AV (Ś) 5,25.5; AV (P) 12,3.3d,8; KS 40,9d).

In TaittBr, Dhātṛ appears 16 times.⁴⁵ In TaittBr 1,7.2.1, Dhātṛ is the year (just as in TaittS 1,5.1.3, ŚBr 9,5.1.35–38 and MaitS 4,3.6) (*dhātré puroḍāśam dvādaśakapālam nīrvapati* (=TaittS 1,8.8.1.1) / *saṃvatsaró vāi dhātā* = TaittS 1,5.1.3 = MaitS 4,3.6); 2,1.7.1 alongside many gods (Bṛhaspati, Savitṛ, etc. of different classes). In 2,2.8.4 (= 2,3.1.1 = 2,3.5.6), he is invoked alongside Soma, Agni, Indra, Prajāpati. In TaittBr 3,3.10.2 = 3,3.10.2, Dhātṛ is an epithet for Agni; he is invoked in 2,7.17.2 alongside Indra, Bṛhaspati, and Savitṛ; he is invoked alongside Soma, Vātaa, and Vāyu in 3,7.4.15; an oblation to Dhātṛ is mentioned in 3,8.23.3 (see TaittS 5,5.23.1); Dhātṛ is connected to Death in 3,12.9.6.9 (*mṛtyus tad abhavad dhātā*)⁴⁶.

⁴³ In ŚBr 2,3.4.14, *dhātr̥bhiḥ* denotes priests.

⁴⁴ ŚBr 9,5.1.35

etad vai prajāpatiḥ | prāpya rāddhvevāmanyata sa dikṣu pratiṣṭhāyedaṃ sarvaṃ dadhad vidadhad atiṣṭhad yad dadhad vidadhad atiṣṭhat tasmād dhātā tathāivaitad yajamāno dikṣu pratiṣṭhāyedaṃ sarvaṃ dadhadvidadhattiṣṭhati.

⁴⁵ TaittBr 1,1.9.1; 1,7.2.1 (see TaittS 1,5.1.3); 2,1.7.1; 2,2.8.4; 2,3.5.6; 2,3.1.1; 2,3.5.3; 3,3.10.2; 3,3.10.2; 2,7.17.2; 3,7.4.15; 3,8.23.3 (see TaittS 5,5.23.1); 3,12.9.6.

⁴⁶ In AiBr, it seems that Dhātṛ appears only two times (3,47–48, see above). It seems that he does not appear in *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa* and *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*.

Dhātṛ does not play an important role in the older Upaniṣads. Dhātṛ is invoked by the teacher in *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* 1,4,3 to fetch him students. Man perceives the grandeur of the Self by Dhātṛ's grace (*prasāda*) in *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad* 2,20cd. The same verse appears as *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* 3,20cd and *Mahānārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad* 8,3cd, with minor variations⁴⁷. In *Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad* 6,8, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are enumerated alongside many other gods such as Rudra, Prajāpati, Hiraṇyagarbha, Prāṇa, Haṃsa, Śāstrī, Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Arka, Savitṛ, Indra, and Indu (van Buitenen 1962:108).

Few conclusions can be drawn about Dhātṛ from the Vedic literature. Generally, he appears 1) (in the plural) denoting sacrificial priests; 2) as an epithet for Viśvakarman, Indra, Agni, Sūrya (or Āditya), Vāyu, and Prajāpati; 3) as a distinct god, Dhātṛ is invoked alongside other deities — sometimes with gods of different classes, but usually with “agent” gods, such as Savitṛ and Tvaṣṭṛ, or Ādityas, such as Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Bhāga, and Aṃśa. Indra, Agni, and Soma also appear in these enumerations quite often. It should be noted that Dhātṛ appears as one of the six sons of Aditi in MaitS, and later as one of her eight sons in TaittBr and PañcBr; 4) Dhātṛ's characteristics are sometimes specified; in RS, he is connected to arrangement and proper order on a macrocosmic level (Sun, Moon, Midspace, Heaven, Earth, and Sunlight) and to the orderly sequence of life and death on the microcosmic level. On the other hand, he is also connected to creation and fertility in RS. In AS, in addition to what appears to be his key aspect of arranging and ordering, a special stress is placed on fertility and marriage, as well as death and funerals. It should be noted that Dhātṛ does not appear in any kind of fatalist context in Vedic literature.

⁴⁷ KaU 2,20cd *tam akraṭuḥ paśyati vītaśoko dhātuprasādān mahimānam ātmanah* || 20 ||
“Without desires and free from sorrow, a man perceives by the creator's grace the grandeur of the self.” (Tr. Olivelle 1998:387)

ŚvU 3,20cd *tam akraṭuḥ paśyati vītaśoko dhātuprasādān mahimānam īśam* || 20 ||
“A man who, by the creator's grace, sees that desireless one as the majesty and as the Lord will be free from sorrow.” (Tr. Olivelle 1998:423)

The concept of Dhātṛ in the Avesta

In the Avesta, *dātar-* appears as an epithet⁴⁸ for Ahura Mazdā⁴⁹ and Aməša Spəntas.⁵⁰ Forms of the verb *dā*⁵¹ (<iir. *dhā<ie. *dheh₁)⁵² appear in Avestan and Old Persian texts to describe an aspect of Ahura Mazdā and his actions that were traditionally understood as creative (see Malandra 1994:165f). Thus, the epithets *daδuuah-/daθuš*⁵³ for Ahura Mazdā, consisting of the active perfect participle of *dā* and the agent noun *dātar-*, are traditionally associated with the creative aspects of Ahura Mazdā. In his thorough and detailed study of the verb *dā* in Old Avestan, Kellens (1989) concludes that the verb *dā-* does not mean “to create”, but rather denotes the placement of the constituent elements of the universe in their respective place. Thus, Ahura Mazdā does not create, but rather establishes and shapes the riches that feed living beings. According to Kellens (1989:228), Old Avestan Mazdaism did not conceive the universe as the result of creation, but rather understood the universe as having been organized by its gods out of initial chaos. In this respect, Ahura Mazdā as *dātar-* is not a creator, but a “placer” or “ordainer”. Kellens (1989:227f) discusses *Yasna* 44,3–5, in which it is asked who has set (*dāt*) the path of the sun and the stars, who put the light and the darkness in their place, and who put sleep and the

⁴⁸ In *Yāst* 1,8; 1,12 and 1,13, *dātar-* is one of the 74 names of Ahura Mazdā.

⁴⁹ Ahura and Mazdā are both epithets for the Iranian supreme deity, and they were still independent in Old Avestan texts (Skjærvø 2002:400). According to Skjærvø (ibid.), Ahura designates the ruler and engenderer aspect, while Mazdā denotes the poet-sacrificer. Traditionally, Ahura Mazdā is interpreted as “the wise Lord” or “Lord Wisdom” (see Kuiper 1976 and Thieme 1970). According to Kuiper (1976:39), the interpretation “Lord Wisdom” advocated by Thieme is baseless; Ahura was a title and the holiest name of a god whose name became lost due to taboo (the Vedic Varuṇa must not necessarily be the proper name of this god according to Kuiper [1976:40]). Mazdā can be added as a specification to the title Ahura. Thus, Kuiper (1984) translates Ahura Mazdā as “the wise Ahura.”

⁵⁰ Bartholomae 1961:727 “der schaffend hervorbringt, Schöpfer”.

⁵¹ Bartholomae 1961:714 “etwas setzen, stellen, legen”, but also “hervorbringen, produzieren” by Aməša Spəntas (*Yasna* 58,5; *Yāst* 19,52); by Ahura Mazdā *Yasna* 1,1; 12,7; 37,1; 38,4; 44,5; 45,4; 46,6; 71,10; *Yāst* 18,1; 18,3; 19,58 etc.

⁵² The Old Avestan verb *dā*, which defines some divine activities, represents a confluence of two Indo-Iranian verbs. The loss of aspiration of voiced occlusives resulted in the congruence of iir. *dhā “to put” and *dā “to give”. With the suffix *-tr for action nouns, both verbs form a word that is sometimes hard to distinguish.

⁵³ For a list of passages where *daδuuah-* appears as an epithet for Ahura Mazdā, see Gray (1926:109)

day before in their place.⁵⁴ A few lines later (44,7), Ahura Mazdā is invoked as the “placer of everything” (*vīspanam dātārəm*). Skjærvø (2002:399) follows Kellens’ interpretation in his translation of *Yasna Haptanḥāiti* 37,1–2:

Thus, in this manner we are sacrificing to Ahura Mazdā, who put in (their) places both the cow and Order (who) put in (their) places both the good waters and the plants, (who) put in (their) places both the lights and the earth and all good (things in between), by his command and greatness and artistries.⁵⁵

Ahura Mazdā is frequently invoked with the formula *ahura mazda mainiiō spāništa dātarə gaēdanəm astuuaitinəm ašāum* “O Ahura Mazdā, Thou most life-giving Spirit/inspiration! placer/ordainer of the worlds of living beings with bones, o sustainer of Order!” (*Yasna* 19,1; *Yašt* 1,1; 8,10; 10,73; 14,6 etc. Vd 2,1; 2,39 etc.).

The ordering and arranging aspect of Ahura Mazdā bears clear resemblance, both etymologically and semantically, to Dhātṛ in Vedic literature. This attestation in Old Avestan points strongly towards Dhātṛ’s Indo-Iranian background. The Iranian epithet **vīdātar-* corresponding to skt. *vidhātṛ* does not appear in Avesta, although the verb *dā* (<**dhā*) with the prefix *vī-* does appear in few passages (Bartholomae 1961:722). Because of this, it is quite possible that the concept of *vidhātṛ* (<*vīdhā*) is of Indian origin, developed on the model of *dhātṛ* (<*dhā*).

Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ in the Sanskrit epics

Generally, it can be said that epic concepts of Dhātṛ follow the patterns from Vedic literature. However, a new concept developed in a significant number of epic passages that is not attested in Vedic literature. This concept developed around the distinctively fatalistic notion that human destiny does not depend on human activity, but is

⁵⁴ *kasnā xvāṅg starēmā dāt aduūānəm kē yā mā uxšīieitī nərəfsaitī θbat tātīt mazdā vasamī aniiācā vīduiē ... kasnā dərətā zqmā adə nabāscā auuapastōiš kē apō uruuarāscā kē vātāi duuqmaibiiāscā yaogaṭ āsū kasnā varḥhauš mazdā dāmīš manarḥhō ... kē huuāpā raocāscā dāt tēmāscā kē huuāpā xvafrnəmā dāt zaēmācā*

⁵⁵ *Yašt* 37,1 *iθā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdqm yē qmqā ašəmā dāt apascā dāt uruuarāscā varuhīš raocāscā dāt būmīmā vīspācā vohū.*
Yašt 37,2 *ahiiā xšaθrācā mazānācā hauuapanḥāiāscā tēm at yasnanəm pauraatātā yazamaidē yōi gəuš hacā šīieitī.*

rather preordained. In this context, the names of the gods Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear in a number of passages in the MBh closely connected to the god Brahmā.

Before an examination of this, patterns similar to older concepts attested in Vedic literature will be reviewed. Passages featuring Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ can be roughly be divided into a few categories. The first are passages in which Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear only as a part of a group of gods, and in which nothing is specified about them.⁵⁶ In ŚBr 6,1.2.8 and 11,6.3.8, the twelve Ādityas are mentioned, but their names are not specified. By the time of MBh the list of twelve Ādityas had stabilised. The same list of the 12 sons of the goddess Aditi (Dhātṛ, Mitra, Aryaman, Indra, Varuṇa, Aṃśa, Bhaga, Vivasvant, Pūṣan, Savitṛ, Tvaṣṭṛ, and Viṣṇu⁵⁷) appears in MBh 1,59.15–16; 1,114.55 and 12,201.15. Curiously, in MBh 1,60.49, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are sons of the god Brahmā, while Svayambhu (Brahmā) created Dhātṛ in the beginning in 12,282.10.⁵⁸ However, it is quite clear that Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are very often used as names for the god Brahmā in MBh. Holtzman (1884:209f, ft. 6), attempting to distinguish between the usage of Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ as distinct deities and as an epithet for the god Brahmā, regarded that they appear as distinct deities in such passages, as mentioned above. Passages such as MBh 1,218.32 can be added, wherein it is written that Dhātṛ's weapon is a bow, a rare iconographic note that distinguishes him from the god Brahmā, who is usually not depicted with weapons, but with symbols of creation and knowledge, such as the four Vedas, a wooden ladle (*sruva*), a noose (*paśā*), a rosary (*akṣamālā*), and a vessel for water (*kamaṇḍalu*). In 12,15.18,⁵⁹ where it is said that people bow down before someone because of their power, but not in front of Brahmā, Dhātṛ, and Pūṣan, Dhātṛ is also clearly distinguished from Brahmā (and Pūṣan).

In some other lists of deities in MBh,⁶⁰ more or fewer gods are enumerated alongside Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ, but the general tendency is

⁵⁶ MBh 1,59.15–16; 1,114.55; 3,118.12; 4,51.11; 6,116.38; 9,44.4; 12,201.15; 13,15.31; 13,16.22; 13,17.101; 13,17.102; 13,18.47; 13,86.15; 13,135.18; 13,135.64; 13,135.115; 14,42.61.

⁵⁷ MBh 1,114.55 adds Parjanya, thus resulting in 13 Ādityas instead of 12.

⁵⁸ MBh 12,282.10ab
svayambhūr asṛjac cāgre dhātāraṃ lokapūjitaṃ |

⁵⁹ MBh 12,15.18cd
na brahmāṇaṃ na dhātāraṃ na pūṣāṇaṃ kathaṃ cana || 18 ||

⁶⁰ See MBh 3,118.21; 3,125.20; 13,86.15; 14,42.61.

to list them with Mitra, Varuṇa, Pūṣan, Savitr, Tvaṣṭṛ, and others, following a pattern from the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas. Dhātṛ (as a deity not connected to Brahmā) appears in lists of the 1,000 names of Keśava,⁶¹ the 1,008 names of Śiva,⁶² and the 108 names of the Sun.⁶³ Otherwise, he appears as an epithet for a king (3,183.22), Viṣṇu (1,57.86), Agni (1,22.29), the seer Agastya (3,103.5), Nārāyaṇa (12,203.21; 12,321.24), or, most frequently, for Kṛṣṇa.⁶⁴ As examples of Dhātṛ distinguished from Brahmā, Modhey (1982–1983:199) mentions MBh (BE) 7,93.27,⁶⁵ wherein Droṇa invokes Brahmā, Dhātṛ, and Vidhātṛ for Duryodhana's protection, and MBh (BE) 9,45.23 (MBh [CE] 9,44.21), wherein both Brahmā and Dhātṛ are present at Skanda's consecration.

The issue of Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ as epithets of Brahmā is in no way clear, as passages in which their names are directly attested as epithets for the god Brahmā are scarce, unlike the other divinities such as Kṛṣṇa, Agni, Prajāpati, etc. However, there is good reason to claim that their names indeed denote the god Brahmā in some cases. One example has been mentioned at the beginning of this paper, in which Draupadī speaks about Dhātṛ, referring to him as *svayambhu* “self-existent” and *pitāmaha* “great-grandfather” (3,31.35), common epithets for the god Brahmā. Another straightforward example is MBh 8,24.6ff, in which *pitāmaha* (Brahmā), pleased with the austerities performed by the Asuras, grants them a boon;⁶⁶ a few verses later in 8,24.30f*242,4 (left out of the Critical Edition), Dhātṛ is named as the giver of the same boon⁶⁷ (cf. Holtzman 1884:210, Modhey 1982–1983:199). One other

⁶¹ MBh 13,135.18; 64; 115.

⁶² MBh 13,17.101–102.

⁶³ MBh 3,3.18

⁶⁴ MBh 3,187.4; 6; 53; 5,69.6; 05,149.36; 06,30.9; 6,31.17a; 6,32.33; 6,62.32c; 13,15.31; 13,16.22.

⁶⁵ In MBh(CE) 7,69.41 Brahmā is invoked and in 46 Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are invoked.

⁶⁶ MBh 8,24.6

damena tapasā caiva niyamena ca pārthiva |
eṣāṃ pitāmahaḥ prīto varadaḥ pradadau varān || 6 ||

⁶⁷ MBh 8,24.30f*242,3–5

nāśakat tāny abhedyāni yadā bhettuṃ purāṇdaraḥ
purāṇi varadattāni dhātṛa tena narādhipa
tadā bhītaḥ surapatir muktṛvā tāni purāṇy atha

When the Sacker of cities could not destroy those indestructible cities that had been granted a boon by the creator, ruler of men, the lord of the gods was terrified. (Tr. Bowles 2006:315)

clear example not identified by Holtzman is 12,224, in which Vyāsa describes creation. From 12,224.31 on, Brahmā awakens and creates (*srjate*) the world (*jagat*). In 12,224.48–49, Brahmā is called Dhātṛ when he appoints different qualities to beings according to their earlier deeds. In 12,327.84, Hayaśīras addresses Brahmā as Dhātṛ “Placer” of all beings,⁶⁸ while Vyāsa adds that Brahmā is Dhātṛ, object of meditation (*dheya*), in vs. 89b.

As such straightforward examples are quite rare, Holzman (1884:210) shows a correspondence between the activities of Brahmā and (Vi-)Dhātṛ through verbal expression. The participle *vihita* “ordained, arranged”, which is used for some of the most important ordinances of Dhātṛ, is used predicatively with different names of Brahmā, for instance: *vihitāni svayambhuvā* “ordained by the Self-Existent” (1,60.14); *vihito brahmaṇā* “ordained by the Brahmā” (3,218.43); *vihitā brahmaṇā* (12,181.15); *pitāmahena... vihito* “ordained by the Grandfather” (3,168.21). Parallel expressions appear using Dhātṛ instead of Brahmā: *vihito ... dhātrā dharmah* “law ordained by the Placer” (3,34.53); *dhātrā vidhir yo vihitaḥ* “rule ordained by the Placer” (3,26.13); and Vidhātṛ: *vidhātṛvihitaṁ* “ordained by Vidhātṛ” (1,1.187; 1,99.29); *vihitaṁ vidhātrā* “ordained by Vidhātṛ” (3,26.15). The case is similar with some other forms of the verb *vi|dhā*. Dhātṛ appears in MBh 1,84.9: “...what the Placer has ordained (*vidadhāti*) for me will surely befall me in this world”⁶⁹ and Brahmā (Nārada describes Brahmā’s hall) in MBh 2,11.13: “...the Grandfather of the world ordains (*vidadhat*) the worlds...”⁷⁰. The case is also the same with some other participles in predicative function, such as *nirdiṣṭa* “decreed”. Brahmā thus appears in MBh 3,170.12: “But Brahmā has of old decreed (*nirdiṣṭa*) that a human would be their death”⁷¹ while Dhātṛ appears in MBh 9,64.22: “It has been said that the Placer has decreed (*nirdiṣṭa*)

⁶⁸ MBh 12,327.84cd
dhātā tvam sarvabhūtānām tvam prabhur jagato guruḥ || 84 ||

⁶⁹ MBh 1,84.9cd
dhātā yathā mām vidadhāti loka; dhruvam tathāham bhaviteti matvā || 9 ||

⁷⁰ MBh 2,11.13
tasyām sa bhagavān āste vidadhad devamāyayā |
svayam eko 'niśam rājaṁ lokāṁ lokapitāmahaḥ || 13 ||

⁷¹ Tr. by van Buitenen 1983:549.
MBh 3,170.12ef
mānuṣo mṛtyur eteṣām nirdiṣṭo brahmaṇā purā || 12 ||

such a law for mortals.”⁷² The participle *diṣṭa*⁷³ “appointed, assigned” is also used predicatively with Dhātṛ (2,51.25; 2,52.14; 5,39.1; 5,71.4; 9,58.19; 12,20.10) and Brahmā (3,169.31).⁷⁴ A common participle used as a predicate with both Dhātṛ and Brahmā is *sṛṣṭa* “discharged, created”: “Dhātṛ created riches for sacrifice” (12,20.10a);⁷⁵ “Dhātṛ created you, Kaunteya” (12,27.32)⁷⁶; “Vidhātṛ created the all-snatching Death” (3,46.18);⁷⁷ “Dhātṛ created it earlier” (6,72.26);⁷⁸ see also 9,30.34; 12,66.20; 12,92.11; 12,227.16; 13,14.58; 13,35.4; 13,129.2. Brahmā is associated with *sṛṣṭa* and other forms of the verb *√sṛj* in numerous passages in MBh; “The Self-Existent created (Śrī) as a wife to the gods” (1,189.49);⁷⁹ “You were the first to be created by Brahmā” (3,207.13);⁸⁰ “...created the world with wisdom” 12,224.33,⁸¹ etc.⁸²

Hopkins (1915:192) mentions a few passages in which he considers Dhātṛ to be Brahmā. In MBh 3,20.24, Dhātṛ ordains that Śālva will be killed by Kṛṣṇa.⁸³ However, to the best of this author’s knowledge, only

⁷² MBh 9,64.22ab

īdrśo martyadharmo ‘yaṃ dhātrā nirdiṣṭa ucyate |

In this passage Duryodhana stricken by Bhīma laments his condition.

⁷³ Participle *diṣṭa* appears as substantive in neutrum meaning “fate”. See ft. 86.

⁷⁴ But also with Mahādeva (Śiva): MBh 3,104.22ab *mahādevena diṣṭaṃ te putrajanma narādhipa |*

“The Great God has disposed the birth of your sons in this manner” (Tr. van Buitenen 1983:425)

⁷⁵ MBh 12,20.10ab

yajñāya sṛṣṭāni dhanāni dhātrā; yaṣṭādiṣṭaḥ puruṣo rakṣitā ca |

⁷⁶ MBh 12,27.32ab

yathā sṛṣṭo ‘si kaunteya dhātrā karmasu tat kuru |

⁷⁷ See ft. 81.

⁷⁸ MBh 6,72.26c *purā dhātrā yathā sṛṣṭaṃ...*

⁷⁹ MBh 1,189.49c

sṛṣṭā svayaṃ devapatnī svayambhuvā ...

⁸⁰ MBh 3,207.13ab

tvam agne prathamah sṛṣṭo brahmaṇā timirāpahaḥ |

⁸¹ MBh 12,224.33ab

ahar mukhe vibuddhaḥ san sṛjate vidyayā jagat |

⁸² For Brahmā as a creator see Hopkins 1915:198–202; Bailey 1983:85–127 (see also Bailey for further literature).

⁸³ MBh 3,20.24

kṛṣṇaḥ saṃkalpito dhātrā tan na mithyā bhaved iti |

mṛtyur asya mahābāho raṇe devakinandanah || 24 ||

“Champion, you may not kill Śālva under any condition! Withdraw the arrow, for he is not to be slain by you. Not a man in battle is safe from this arrow, but, strong-armed warrior, the Placer has ordained that Devakī’s son Kṛṣṇa is to be his death, and that may not be gainsaid” (Tr. van Buitenen 1983:261)

Dhātṛ appears in this episode, with no direct statement that Brahmā is Dhātṛ. The second is MBh (BE) 3,173.8, in which Svayambhu appears and gives a boon to Daityas, but only Svayambhu appears in this episode, not Dhātṛ.

Dhātṛ appears in MBh in the non-fatalistic sense in a number of passages in which the same characteristics from Vedic literature are followed. In MBh 1,69.30, a voice from the sky tells Duṣṣanta that he is a placer (*dhātṛ*) who planted a child in Śakuntalā's womb.⁸⁴ This bears resemblance to AS (Ś) 5,25.4–5 and 10, in which Dhātṛ is invoked to plant a male child in a woman's womb. In some passages, Dhātṛ is the one who establishes *dharma* (3,34.53; 9,30.34; 12,66.20).⁸⁵ In 9,30.34, Yudhiṣṭhira scolds Duryodhana, who took shelter after battle, and exclaims that *dharma* ordained by Dhātṛ for warriors is bravery. Dhātṛ also ordains the duties of the twice-born according to their social status (13,35.4).⁸⁶ In 12,15.35, Dhātṛ is credited with the creation of punishment (*daṇḍa*), which is important for maintaining law and order and protecting *dharma* and the *varṇāśrama* system. Dhātṛ also created the *brāhmaṇas*, who are regarded as gods among mortals for saving the worlds in 13,129.2. Dhātṛ is associated with the formation of the *kṣatriya* social class in 2,19.48, where it is said that he has put his own might in the arms of the *kṣatriyas*.⁸⁷

He is also associated with Death (Yama) in 12,227.16, where it is said that he creates beings and drags them to Yama's abode;⁸⁸ in 3,46.18,

⁸⁴ MBh 1,69.30cd
tvaṃ cāsya dhātā garbhasya satyam āha śakuntalā || 30 || Repeated in 1,69.30.

⁸⁵ MBh 3,34.53cd
eṣa te vihitō rājan dhātrā dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ || 53 ||
MBh 12,66.20ab
yāḥ sthitaḥ puruṣo dharme dhātrā sṛṣṭe yathārthavat |
MBh 9,30.34ab
eṣa te prathamō dharmāḥ sṛṣṭo dhātrā mahātmanā |

⁸⁶ MBh 13,35.4
atra gāthā brahmagītāḥ kīrtayanti purāvidāḥ |
sṛṣṭvā dvijātīn dhātā hi yathāpūrvam samādadhat || 4 ||

⁸⁷ In MBh 10,3.18 Prajāpati (Brahmā?) ordained (*vidhāya*) tasks for four social classes. He also assigned (*samādhatta*) different qualities to each them.

⁸⁸ MBh 12,227.16cd
dhātrā sṛṣṭāni bhūtāni kṛṣyante yamasādanam || 16 ||
See also 12,230.20ab
dhātedaṃ prabhavasthānaṃ bhūtānāṃ samyamo yamaḥ |

Vidhātṛ is the creator of all-snatching death.⁸⁹ Dhātṛ's connection to death is not new, as it is already attested in the funeral hymn RS 10,18.5, in which he arranges the natural sequence by which the older die before the younger; see also AS (Ś) 8,1.15; 19,20.1 and TaittBr 3,12.9.6.

In 5,103.4 Garuḍa complains to Indra that he interfered in the natural process of living and dying set by Dhātṛ when he granted prolonged life to the serpent Sumukha, whom Garuḍa wanted to eat and use to feed his family when he dies. Indra intervened and disturbed the process ordained by Dhātṛ, which is understood as natural. Dhātṛ is connected with the distribution of food in 12,277.18, where he ordains (*vihita*) food for everyone on earth.⁹⁰

In MBh 12,251.22, Dhātṛ even commences the practice of moneylending⁹¹ in order to harmonize social differences in society; a few verses later, in 12,251.25, Vidhātṛ is said to have ordained signs of *dharma* and *adharma* in order to ensure welfare in the world (*lokasaṃgraha*).

In a number of passages, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are associated with the beauty of women: Dhātṛ creates Tapatī's beauty in 1,160.30; Vidhātṛ is responsible for Draupadī's beauty in 1,182.13; Dhātṛ places a birthmark between Damayantī's eyebrows as a sign of good fortune in 3,66.6.

In 12,329.27, Dhātṛ makes a thunderbolt (*vajra*) for Indra out of the bones of Dadhīca (In RS 1,32, Tvaṣṭṛ makes the *vajra* for Indra!). In chapter 13,38.30, characterized by misogyny, Dhātṛ is casually mentioned as the ordainer of worlds, from whom five great elements originated.

Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are closely associated with fatalistic doctrines in many passages in MBh. Such passages will be examined in the following paragraphs.

The first time Vidhātṛ appears in a fatalistic context is at the beginning, in MBh 1,1.187, in which Saṃjaya consoles grief-stricken King Dhṛtarāṣṭra after the loss of his sons. Vidhātṛ appears here as a deity that ordains one's destiny, being, and happiness. Also, the word *kāla* ("Time") appears in its fatalistic aspect in the same verse.

⁸⁹ MBh 3,46.18cd
sr̥ṣṭo 'ntakaḥ sarvaharo vidhātṛā; bhaved yathā tadvad apāraṇīyaḥ || 18 ||

⁹⁰ MBh 12,277.18ab
dhātṛā vihitabhakṣyāṇi sarvabhūtāni medinīm |

⁹¹ MBh 12,251.22cd
etasmāt kāraṇād dhātṛā kusīdam saṃpravartitam || 22 ||

No one steps beyond the path the Ordainer has ordained. All this is rooted in Time to be or not to be, to be happy or not to be happy. Time ripens the creatures. Time rots them. And Time again puts out the Time that burns down the creatures. (Tr. Buitenen 1983:30)⁹²

This passage appears as a fine example of fatalistic *kālavāda* in the context of what Vassilkov calls *heroic didactics*. Another comparable example can be found in the *Śāntiparvan* (12,26), in which Vyāsa consoles grieving Yudhiṣṭhira, telling him not to grieve because man's destiny is ordained by Vidhātṛ, and that man achieves everything only through Time (*kāla*). It is interesting to note Vyāsa's words that man will not attain his purpose through intelligence and study of the scripture if the Time is not ripe.⁹³

In 1,84.7, Yayāti, whom Indra casts from heaven, sings a praise to Fate (*daiva*),⁹⁴ which is superior to human effort:

Good luck or ill luck, if man will find it. It is fate that found it, not his own doing.

So understanding that fate is stronger one does not get overly happy or upset. (Tr. Buitenen 1983:30)⁹⁵

In this passage, it should be noted that (a) Yayāti clearly extols Fate over human effort, and (b) this fatalistic notion is set within the frame of spiritual didactics — predeterminism actually humbles man and detaches him from worldly things, since his actions do not control his

⁹² MBh 1,1.187
vidhātṛvihitaṃ mārgaṃ na kaś cid ativartate |
kālamūlam idaṃ sarvaṃ bhāvābhāvau sukhāsukhe || 187 ||
kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni kālaḥ saṃharati prajāḥ |
nīdahantaṃ prajāḥ kālaḥ kālaḥ śamayate punaḥ || 188 ||

⁹³ MBh 12,26.5cd–6ab
paryāyayogād vihitam vidhātṛ; kālena sarvaṃ labhate manuṣyaḥ || 5 ||
na buddhiśāstrādhyayanena śakyaṃ; prāptuṃ viśeṣair manuṣair akāle |

⁹⁴ Usual terms for Fate in MBh, besides *kāla* "time", are *diṣṭa*, *daiva*, *vidhi*, *vidhāna*, and *vihita*. For a discussion on these terms, see Schrader (1902: 21–23) and Bailey (1983: 141–159). Schrader also discusses other terms like *bhavitavya*, *bhāvya*, *haṭha*, and *bhagadheya*. For a reflection on terms *diṣṭa* and *daiva* in the context of the dice game (*dyūta*), see Gönc-Moačanin (2005:159–162).

⁹⁵ MBh 1,84.7
sukhaṃ hi jantur yadi vāpi duḥkhaṃ daivādhiṇaṃ vindati nātmaśaktyā |
tasmād diṣṭaṃ balavan manyamāno na saṃjvaren nāpi hr̥ṣyet kadā cit || 7 ||

fortune. This motif will be predominant in fatalistic passages framed within the didactic part of the epics in later books. A few verses later, in 1,84.9, Dhātṛ is introduced as a deity that presides over ones turn of events in this fatalist context:

In danger, Aṣṭaka, I never falter, and no anxiety hurts my mind,
I know that that is sure to befall me what the Disposer (Dhātṛ) has
set for me. (Tr. Buitenen 1983:30)⁹⁶

In these examples, Dhātṛ does not appear to be connected directly to the god Brahmā. He is a deity presiding over personal destiny, and one can only adopt an attitude of indifference before his power in the sense of cultivating dispassion.

The next episode in which Dhātṛ plays even a more significant role is the dice game (*dyūta*) in the *Sabhāparvan*. Fatalistic notions appear quite often in the *Dyūtaparvan*,⁹⁷ and it is no wonder that Dhātṛ is found there. Renate Söhnen-Thieme (1999:142) summarizes the role of fate⁹⁸ in the dice game and its consequences: “Thus it is fate that demands that the game of dice takes place, fate that will culminate in the great battle, no doubt; and Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Yudhiṣṭhira has to succumb to it.” Fatalist notions are frequently uttered by Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who often invokes irreversible destiny to justify his decision to permit Duryodhana’s plan for the dice game.⁹⁹ In MBh 2,51.25 Dhṛtarāṣṭra exclaims:

No quarrel bothers me, Steward, here,
For otherwise fate would run counter to dicing.
This world submits to the Placer’s design,
And thus does the world run, not by itself. (Tr. Buitenen 1983:124)¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ MBh 1,84.9

*bhaye na muhyāmy aṣṭakāhaṃ kadā cit; saṃtāpo me mānaso nāsti kaś cit |
dhātā yathā mām vidadhāti loke; dhruvaṃ tathāhaṃ bhaviteti matvā || 9 ||*

⁹⁷ For the structure and text-history of the *Dyūtaparvan*, see Söhnen-Thieme (1999).

⁹⁸ For the role of fate in the dice game and a comprehensive bibliography regarding *dyūta* and *diṣṭa/daiva*, see Gönc-Moačanin (2005:159–162).

⁹⁹ Cf. Lipner (1994:180), who claims that, besides Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Yudhiṣṭhira also uses fate only as a cover-up for his passion in gambling.

¹⁰⁰ MBh 2,51.25

*neha kṣattaḥ kalahas tapsyate mām; na ced daivaṃ pratilomaṃ bhaviṣyat |
dhātṛ tu diṣṭasya vaśe kiledaṃ; sarvaṃ jagac ceṣṭati na svatantram || 25 ||*

Dhṛtarāṣṭra's phrase *dhātrā tu diṣṭasya vaśe kiledaṃ* from 2,51.25 ("this [world] submits to Dhātṛ's design") is repeated by Yudhiṣṭhira in 2,52.14¹⁰¹ when he leaves for Hastināpura for the dice game, exclaiming that Fate (*daiva*) takes away one's reason and that man obeys Dhātṛ's authority as if bound with a noose.¹⁰² Dhātṛ is again invoked by Yudhiṣṭhira in MBh 2,52.18, another fateful moment when the Pāṇḍavas return for the second game of dice:

It is at the disposing of the Placer that creatures find good or ill.

There is no averting of either, if we must play again. (Tr. van Buitenen 1983:158)¹⁰³.

According to Söhnen-Thieme (1999:142), chapters 51 and 52, where fatalistic notions appear, contain the highest percentage of *pādas* typical of older, *triṣṭubh* metre; it is quite likely that such passages may go back to the fairly older time of metrical Upaniṣads. These *triṣṭubhs*, which contain fatalist notions and Dhātṛ's name, may present remnants of an older version of the narrative that has been amalgamated or substituted by the *anuṣṭubh* narrative (Söhnen-Thieme 1999:152).

From MBh 3,31 to 3,37 a discourse takes place between Draupadī and Yudhiṣṭhira (referenced to at the beginning of this paper) in which Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are often mentioned (Dhātṛ 18 times and Vidhātṛ 3 times). At the beginning, Dhātṛ appears in a strict fatalist sense – man is not independent in his actions, but rather Dhātṛ determines everything. He sets down everything for the creatures, happiness and unhappiness, pleasure and sorrow (3,31.21); man follows Dhātṛ's command like a pearl strung on a string, like a bull held by its nose ring (3,31.25); creatures fall before his power like straw blown away by

¹⁰¹ MBh 2,52.14
mahābhayāḥ kitavāḥ saṃniviṣṭā; māyopadhā devitāro 'tra santi |
dhātrā tu diṣṭasya vaśe kiledaṃ; nādevanaṃ kitavair adya tair me || 14 ||
 Most dangerous gamblers have been collected,
 Who are sure to play with wizard tricks.
 But this world obeys the Placer's design -
 I do not refuse now to play with those gamblers. (Tr. van Buitenen 1981:126)

¹⁰² MBh 2,52.18
daivaṃ prajñāṃ tu muṣṇāti tejaś cakṣur ivāpatat |
dhātus ca vaśam anveti pāśair iva naraḥ sitaḥ || 18 ||

¹⁰³ MBh 2,67.3
dhātur niyogād bhūtāni prāpnuvanti śubhāśubham |
na nivṛttis tayoṛ asti devitavyaṃ punar yadi || 3 ||

the wind (3,31.28); the body is only his tool (3,31.30). Man is not independent in his action, he is tossed around like a tree trunk in a river (3,31.26). At the end of 3,31, Draupadī reviles Dhātṛ for allowing the outrages that befell her and Pāṇḍavas at the hand of Kauravas. In his answer (3,32), Yudhiṣṭhira extols *dharma*, warns Draupadī that what she is saying is heresy (*nāstikya*), and that she should not revile Dhātṛ and *dharma* (3,32.14). He exclaims that *dharma* always bears fruit, and that Dhātṛ distributes fruit according to man's actions:

No, knowing that the Placer gives the rewards when the weal is assured, they have always practiced the Law, Kṛṣṇā, for that is the eternal Law. This Law bears fruit; Law is never said to be fruitless; for we see that learning and austerity also bear fruit. (Tr. Van Buitenen 1983:283)¹⁰⁴

Yudhiṣṭhira's speech is undoubtedly directed against fatalism, which he regards as heresy. Draupadī soon calms down and assents to Yudhiṣṭhira. In 3,33.20, Draupadī says:

When a man does anything, whether good or bad, know that it was ordained by the Placer, arising as the fruit of acts done before. (Tr. van Buitenen 1983:20)¹⁰⁵

This passage is important because Dhātṛ no longer controls one's destiny, but is rather the one who regulates the law of the proper distribution of the fruit of action. Draupadī strongly condemns fatalism in 3,33.12, claiming that he who believes that everything in the world is fate or chance is an outcast (*apasāda*); then she praises action.¹⁰⁶ With the words *namo dhātṛe vidhātṛe ca* "Homage to Placer and Ordainer" (3,38.25), she pays her respect by forsaking her heresy.

¹⁰⁴ MBh 3,32.28

*phaladam tv iha vijñāya dhātāraṃ śreyasi dhruve |
dharmaṃ te hy ācaran kṛṣṇe tad dhi dharmasanātanam || 28 ||*

¹⁰⁵ MBh 3,33.20

*yad dhy ayaṃ puruṣaḥ kiṃ cit kurute vai śubhāśubham |
tad dhātṛvihitaṃ viddhi pūrvakarmaphalodayam || 20 ||*

¹⁰⁶ MBh 3,33.11

*yaś ca diṣṭaparo loke yaś cāyaṃ haṭhavādakaḥ |
ubhāv apasādāv etau karmabuddhiḥ praśasyate || 11 ||*

"The man who believes that everything in the world is fate and the one who professes that it is chance are both apostate; it is the spirit to act that is extolled" (Tr. van Buitenen 1983:284).

The idea that Dhātṛ ordains man's destiny according to his past deeds appears in some other passages in MBh as well. In a discourse between the *brāhmaṇa* Kauśika and a hunter (3,198),¹⁰⁷ the hunter exclaims that what he does for his living is terrible, but that he is only following the work Dhātṛ has ordained for him.¹⁰⁸ However, it is important to note that this is not ordained by Dhātṛ's whimsical will, but rather by the hunter's past deeds:

No doubt, my living is loathsome, but the Ordinance of our previous deeds is powerful and hard to pass by, brahmin. This is the resultant evil of the evil I did before... (Tr. van Buitenen 1981:623)¹⁰⁹

In 12,224.48–49, Dhātṛ appoints different pairs of qualities such as violence-nonviolence, mildness-cruelty, *dharma-adharma*, and truth-falsehood to beings on account of their previous deeds. In 12,277.18, in which it is said that Dhātṛ ordained food, it is also said that the fruit is actually determined by people's deeds. In these passages, Dhātṛ is responsible for the rightful distribution of the fruit of action, i.e. for the functioning of the law of *karman*.

Dhātṛ appears quite frequently in the MBh in the strict fatalistic sense in which man's actions do not determine his destiny, especially later in the *Śāntiparvan*. In 4,19, Draupadī laments her position to Bhīma and exclaims that she must have done something to displease Dhātṛ (4,19.13).¹¹⁰ It is worth noting that 12,105.30 states that evil-minded people blame Dhātṛ when deprived of their fortunes.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed discussion on this discourse, see Hill 2001:16–21. Hill (2001:21) observes that this discourse, although introducing the idea that final escape from *karman* can be achieved only through escaping from the cycle of birth and death, still advocates the observance of *dharma* in this world and those duties prescribed by the *varṇāśrama* system.

¹⁰⁸ MBh 3,198.20ab

dhātṛā tu vihitam pūrvam karma svam pālayāmy aham |

¹⁰⁹ MBh 3,199.1cd–2

yad aham hy ācare karma ghoram etad asaṁśayam || 1 ||

vidhis tu balavān brahman dustaram hi purākṛtam |

purākṛtasya pāpasya karmadoṣo bhavaty ayam || 2 ||

¹¹⁰ MBh 4,19.13ab

nūnam hi bālayā dhātur mayā vai vipriyam kṛtam |

¹¹¹ MBh 12,105.30

purastād bhūtapūrvatvād dhīnabhāgyo hi durmatih |

dhātāram garhate nityam labdhārthāṁś ca na mṛṣyate || 30 ||

In the *Udyogaparvan* 5,39.1, the phrase *dhātrā tu diṣṭasya vaśe kilāyaṃ* appears for the third time, and Dhātṛ appears in a fatalistic passage in 5,71.4 directly connected to warrior ethics, in which it is said that “victory or destruction on the battlefield has been ordained eternally by Dhātṛ”.¹¹² Dhṛtarāṣṭra admires his army in 6,72, and exclaims that if it is to be destroyed, it can only be through Fate (*diṣṭa*); he invokes Dhātṛ again in 6,72.26, comforting himself by saying that what Dhātṛ created (*sṛṣṭa*) cannot be averted.¹¹³ It is worth noting that Saṃjaya exclaims that Dhṛtarāṣṭra’s own mistakes actually brought this war in the next verse (6,73.1). The next passage in which Dhātṛ appears three times is concerned with Śikhaṇḍin(i), where Bhīṣma exclaims that Dhātṛ is the one who made Śikhaṇḍinī a woman (6,94.17; 6,104.41), but that she became a man through Fate (*daiva*) (6,108.18).

In 7,118.41, soldiers commenting on Sātyaki’s unlawful killing of Bhūriśravas say that his killing was ordained (*vihita*) by Dhātṛ, and that it is not Sātyaki’s fault. This is comparable to MBh 3,20.24, in which Dhātṛ ordains that Śālva will be killed by Kṛṣṇa. It is no wonder to hear such exclamations when Dhātṛ (alongside Indra, Agni, Brhaspati, and Savitr) appoints (*nyadhuh*) the time of someone’s death in AS (Ś) 19,20.1. It should be also emphasized that fatalism in Sātyaki’s case again serves as justification for a hero’s doubtful behaviour. In 9,58.19, Yudhiṣṭhira laments the tragic consequences of Duryodhana’s acts and exclaims that “It has surely been ordained by the powerful, great-souled Dhātṛ that we wish to do you harm and that you wish to do us harm.”¹¹⁴

Dhātṛ is mentioned in a conversation between Indra and Śrī, who has just departed from the demon Bali’s body. This dialogue is set amidst a group of dialogues between Indra and the demons Prahlāda, Bali, and Namuci, all of whom preach fatalistic doctrines. In 12,218.10, Śrī explains the reason for his leaving Bali’s body; neither Dhātṛ nor Vidhātṛ control her, but rather time (*kāla*) elapsed. In the next dialogue in 12,219, the demon Namuci, like Bali, lost his splendour (*śrī*) due to

¹¹² MBh 5,71.4ab

jāyo vadho vā saṃgrāme dhātrā diṣṭaḥ sanātanaḥ |

¹¹³ MBh 6,72.26

atha vā bhāvyam evaṃ hi saṃjayaitena sarvathā |
purā dhātrā yathā sṛṣṭaṃ tat tathā na tad anyathā || 26 ||

¹¹⁴ MBh 9,58.19

nūnam etad balavatā dhātrādiṣṭaṃ mahātmanā |
yad vayaṃ tvāṃ jighāṃsāmas tvāṃ cāsmān kurusattama || 19 ||

Fate. It is interesting to note verse 12,219.20, in which Namuci says that a mortal man cannot obtain that which is unobtainable even through the power of the Vedic mantras, wisdom, or any human exertion (*pauruṣa*).¹¹⁵ Namuci also mentions Dhātṛ in 12,219.11: “Whatever Dhātṛ decides over and over again, there a being dwells, not wherever it wishes.”¹¹⁶ Several verses later (12,219.21), Namuci explains that he lost his splendour because Dhātṛ ordained it (*vidadhuh*) in ancient times. Namuci expounds the view that Fate gives or takes away regardless of human actions. There is no mention of good or bad action determining the quality of one’s next life. When Namuci says in 12,219.17 that “whatever condition befalls one, one should remain calm without suffering pain”¹¹⁷, it becomes understandable that he preaches fatalism as a kind of spiritual didactics that helps reach equanimity of mind towards all twists of fate, quite the same as in Yayāti’s speech in MBh 1,84. Dhātṛ ordains what ought to happen; there is no reason to lament, for man is not an agent of his own deeds.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Dhātṛ appears only six times, while Vidhātṛ appears three times. In 1,48.14, it is said that Ahalyā is as beautiful as if Dhātṛ created her. In 2,22.2, he is enumerated with Pūṣan, Bhaga, and Aryaman; the shrines of Brahmā, Agni, Viṣṇu, Mahendra, Vivasvant, Soma, Bhaga, Kubera, Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, and Vāyu are mentioned in 3,11.18, while he is mentioned as a son of Aditi in 2,86.21. He is mentioned in a sense resembling instances of fatalistic notions in the MBh in 7,47.3, in which Sītā laments after being banished that Dhātṛ created her body only for it to suffer miseries.¹¹⁸ These accounts are quite consistent with accounts in other Sanskrit literature; Dhātṛ is enumerated alongside the other Ādityas, he is Aditi’s son, he created the beauty of woman, and he is blamed for calamities.

¹¹⁵ MBh 12,219.20

*na mantrabalavīryeṇa prajñayā pauruṣeṇa vā |
alabhyam labhate martyas tatra kā paridevanā || 20 ||*

¹¹⁶ MBh 12,219.11

*yatra yatraiva samyunkte dhātā garbham punaḥ punaḥ |
tatra tatraiva vasati na yatra svayam icchati || 11 ||*

¹¹⁷ MBh 12,219.17ab

yām yām avasthām puruṣo 'dhigacchet; tasyām rametāparitapyamānaḥ |

¹¹⁸ Rm 7,47.3

*māmikeyam tanur nūnam sṛṣṭā duḥkhāya lakṣmaṇa |
dhātṛa yasyās tathā me 'dya duḥkhamūrtiḥ pradṛśyate || 3 ||*

Concluding Remarks

On the basis of the material presented in this paper, a few conclusions will be proposed here. Firstly, from the *Ṛk-Saṃhitā* onwards, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear both as epithets for or aspects of different gods (Viśvakarman, Indra, Agni, Sūrya, Vāyu, and Prajāpati) and as distinct deities. In Avesta, *dātar-* denotes the ordaining aspect of Ahura Mazdā (and Aməša Spəntas); furthermore, a number of Ahura Mazdā's activities that are traditionally regarded as creative are described with the verb *dā-* (<**dhā*). According to Kellens (1989), the verb *dā-* in Old Avestan texts means “to place, to set up”. This divine aspect or epithet that ordains the universe is comparable to accounts in RS in which Dhātṛ arranges the orderly sequence of life and death (RS 10,18.5), or in which he places the Sun and Moon, heaven and earth, midspace and sunlight in their proper order (RS 10,190.3). Ahura Mazdā sets the path of the sun and that of the stars in *Yasna* 44,3–5. Dhātṛ arranges what exists in AS (Ś) 10,6.21, and he upholds the Earth, Sky, and Sun in AS (Ś) 6,60.3. Verbal correspondence (skt. *dhā* and av. *dā* < iir. **dhā*) and correspondence in meaning and function speak in favour of the Indo-Iranian background of the concept of *dhātṛ*. As no epithet **vidātar-* is found on the Iranian side, it is possible that the concept of *vidhātṛ* developed only on the Indian side following the model of *dhā*>*dhātṛ*. The fact that Dhātṛ appears much more often than Vidhātṛ and their synonymous appearance can be added as an argument for the assumption that *vidhātṛ* might have developed later on the Indian subcontinent.

Other functions also appeared by the time of RS and the later *Saṃhitās*, such as the conception of a child (“placing” embryo in the womb). In AS, he is further associated with marriage (securing a husband), rain, prosperity, and health. In many passages in Vedic literature, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear alongside other gods, usually “agent gods” like Savitṛ and Tvaṣṭṛ or the Ādityas Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṃśa, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvant. Dhātṛ is referred to as a son of Aditi at least from *Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā* onwards. The process of stabilizing the number of the 12 Ādityas, the sons of Aditi, appears to have been completed and systematized by the time of the epics.

Most of Dhātṛ's characteristics from Vedic literature are maintained in the epics, although he appears in a new, fatalist context in the *Mahābhārata*. Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ appear as gods directly associated with a fatalist world-view. In this fatalistic context, they appear to be connected to Brahmā, although Draupadī's discourse with Yudhiṣṭhira

in 3.31–33 is the only fatalistic passage in which Dhātṛ is directly connected to the god Brahmā. Nevertheless, the question arises as to how Dhātṛ was identified with Brahmā. In Indo-Iranian prehistory, Dhātṛ (iir. **dhaHtar*) was an aspect of or epithet for the highest Lord; Iranian evidence (*dātar* as an epithet of Ahura Mazdā) points towards the Indo-Iranian **Asura*,¹¹⁹ one of the names of the highest Lord whose name is not preserved.¹²⁰ By the time of the Sanskrit epics, Dhātṛ's ordaining characteristics were mixed with the creative characteristic of gods like Viśvakarman, Tvaṣṭṛ, and Prajāpati; in MBh, Dhātṛ's actions are expressed with the verb \sqrt{srj} "to emit, discharge, create", while in RS and AS the verb $\sqrt{kṛp}$ "to be well ordered, regulated" is used (RV 10,18.5; 10,190.3; AV[Ś] 10,6.21). The verb *vi* $\sqrt{dhā}$ "to ordain, arrange" is used in the Brāhmaṇas (ŚBr 9,5.1.35) and frequently in the epics. According to Ježić's study of the transfer of divine attributes (1987:99; 1989–90:173), Tvaṣṭṛ developed out of iir. **Asura*, who developed out of the Indo-European supreme divinity. The same divine attributes were taken on by the creator God Prajāpati in the era of the Brāhmaṇas and by the three great gods in the epics. The god Brahmā in the epics, according to Ježić's table (1989–90:167), was the successor to the divine attributes of the supreme deity. This helps provide an understanding of how Dhātṛ became identified with the god Brahmā in the epics, because av. *dātar*- is an ordaining aspect of Ahura Mazdā, who developed out of iir. **Asura*, while Brahmā, according to Ježić, inherited attributes of an old supreme divinity out of whom iir. **Asura* developed. In the epics, in addition to his ordaining and arranging role, Dhātṛ took on a creative role and became intertwined with Brahmā, who also took characteristics of older creator deities like Viśvakarman (with whom he was identified in RS 10,82.2–3), and with Prajāpati on the Brāhmaṇa level (ŚBr 9,5.1.35–38). Fatalism might have already existed in the times of the epics in warrior circles¹²¹ as "warrior-didactics", as

¹¹⁹ Thieme 1960:308 observes that the correspondence of the R̥gvedic *asura* and the Avestic *ahura* establishes a Proto-Aryan (Indo-Iranian) religious form. See also Ježić 1989–90:165, according to whom Varuṇa developed out of iir. **Asura* on the Indian side and Ahura Mazdā on the Iranian side.

¹²⁰ According to Kuiper (1984): "The Old Iranian high god was historically identical with Varuṇa (in part also with the dual deity *Mitrā Vāruṇā*), but had no proper name."

¹²¹ According to Scheftelowitz (1929:7), fatalistic ideas in the Sanskrit epics are rooted in astrology, a religiously systematised prediction of the future. Scheftelowitz, however, sees all fatalistic material in MBh as quite young, as astrology is comparatively late.

claimed by Vassilkov (1999:28). This heroic fatalism might have incorporated Dhātṛ into its world-view, supposing that his “ordaining” role, known since Vedic times, developed into a “preordaining” role in the epics. On the other hand, Dhātṛ might have become associated with ascetics, preaching fatalism as a kind of spiritual didactics meant to cultivate dispassion and impassiveness towards turns of events (in the discourse of Namuci and Indra in 12.219 and Yayāti in 1,84). Another development of the fatalist doctrine with Dhātṛ as its presiding deity can be seen in the episodes of Draupadī (3,31–34) and the conversation between the hunter and *brāhmaṇa* Kauśika (3,198), in which Dhātṛ determines people’s destiny according to their past deeds, thus harmonizing fatalism and Dhātṛ with *karman* retribution theory.

Abbreviations

AiBh	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
av.	Avestan
AV (P)	Atharva-Saṃhitā Paippalāda
AS (Ś)	Atharva-Saṃhitā Śaunaka
BĀU	Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad
BhG	Bhagavad-Gītā
ChU	Chāndogya-Upaniṣad
ie.	Indo-European
iir.	Indo-Iranian
KaU	Kaṭha-Upaniṣad
KS	Kāṭha-Saṃhitā
MBh (BE)	Mahābhārata Bombay Edition
MBh (CE)	Mahābhārata Critical Edition
MaitS	Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā
PañcBr	Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
Rm	Rāmāyaṇa
RS	Ṛk-Saṃhitā
skt.	Sanskrit
ŚBr	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
ŚvU	Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad
TaittBr	Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
TaittS	Taittirīya-Saṃhitā
Vd	Vendīdād
VS	Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā
YV	Yajur-Veda

References

- Bailey, G. 1983. *The Mythology of Brahmā*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bartholomae, Christian. 1961. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter. (1st Edition Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1904).
- Bowles, Adam. 2006 (trans.) *Mahābhārata, Book Eight: Karṇa, Volume One*, The Clay Sanskrit Library, New York University Press and the JJC Foundation.
- Gönc-Moačanin, Klara. 2005. Dyuta in the Sabhaparvan of the Mahābhārata: Part of Rajasūya Sacrifice and/or Potlatch and/or Daiva and/or... *Epics, Khilas, and Puranas: continuities and ruptures: proceedings of the Third Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Puranas*. Ed. Ježić, Mislav; Koskikallio, Petteri. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
- Grey, Louis H. (1926) A list of Divine and Demonic Epithets in the Avesta, *Journal of American Oriental Society* Vol. 46: 97–153.
- Hill, Peter. 2001. *Fate, Predestination and Human Action in the Mahābhārata. A study in the history of ideas*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
- Holtzmann, Adolf. 1884. Brahman im Mahābhārata, *Zeitschriften der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 38: 167–234.
- Hopkins, Edward Washburn (1915) *Epic mythology*, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde 3,1 b. Strassburg: Trübner. Reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. & Joel P. Brereton. 2014. *The Rigveda. The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. (3 vols.) Tr. Stephanie W. Jamison and Joel P. Brereton, The University of Texas South Asia Institute and Oxford University Press.
- Ježić, M. 1987. *Rgvedski himni*, Zagreb: Globus.
- 1989-90. The Transfer of Divine Attributes in the *Rksamhitā*, *Indologica Taurinensia*, Vol. XV-XVI: 145–175. (First time published in *The Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Vol. 16/Nos. 1 & 2, Spring/Summer 1988: 127–152.)
- Kellens, J. 1989. Ahura Mazdā n'est pas un dieu créateur, in: C.-H. de Fouchécour and P. Gignoux (eds.), *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, Paris: 217–28.
- Kuiper, F. B. J. 1957. Avestan Mazdā-, *Indo-Iranian Journal* Vol. 1: 86–95.
- 1976. Ahura Mazdā "Lord Wisdom"? *Indo-Iranian Journal* Vol. 18: 25–42.
- 1984. Ahura, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. I, Fasc. 7: 683–684; an updated version is available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ahura-1-type-of-deity> (accessed April 6, 2018).
- Lipner, Julius. 1994. *Hindus: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. London: Routledge.
- MacDonell, Arthur Anthony. 1897. *Vedic Mythology*. Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Band III, Heft 1. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner

- Malandra, W.W. 1994. Day, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 2: 163–164; available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/day> (accessed on 6th April 2018).
- Modhey, S. C. 1982–1983. Concept of the God Dhātṛ in the Vedas and the Epics, *Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda* 32: 193–202.
- Olivelle, Patrick. 1998. *The Early Upanisads*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Schrader, Otto. 1902. *Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas*, Leipzig.
- Scheftelowitz, Isidor Isaak. 1929. *Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion*, Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer.
- Skjærvø. Prods Oktor. 2002. Ahura Mazdā and Ārmaiti, Heaven and Earth in the Old Avesta, *Journal of American Oriental Society* Vol. 122, no. 2, Indic and Iranian Studies in Honor of Stanley Insler on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday: 933–410.
- Söhnen-Thieme, Renate. 1999. On the composition of the Dyūtaparvan in the Mahābhārata, in: *Composing a tradition: concepts, techniques and relationships. Proceedings of the first Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Puranas*, ed. by Mary Brockington and Peter Schreiner. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences And Arts: 139–154.
- Thieme, Paul. 1960. The 'Aryan' Gods of the Mitanni Treaties, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 80, No. 4: 301–317.
- . 1970. Die vedischen Aditya und die zarathustrischen Aməša Spənta, in: *Zarathustra*, ed. by H. Schlerath, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft: 397–412.
- van Buitenen, J.A.B. 1962. *Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad, A critical Essay, With Text, Translation and Commentary*. The Hague: Mouton & Co.
- . 1981. *The Mahabharata. Vol. 2, 2. The book of the assembly hall; 3. The book of the forest*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press (First edition 1975).
- . 1983. *The Mahabharata. Vol. 1, The book of the Beginning*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press (First edition 1973).
- Vassilkov, Yaroslav. 1999. Kālavāda (the doctrine of Cyclical Time) in the Mahābhārata and the concept of Heroic Didactics, in: *Composing a tradition: concepts, techniques and relationships. Proceedings of the first Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Puranas*, ed. by Mary Brockington and Peter Schreiner. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences And Arts: 17–34.

СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

ЯРОСЛАВ ВЛАДИМИРОВИЧ ВАСИЛЬКОВ	5
YAROSLAV V. VASSILKOV	8

ИНДОЕВРОПЕИСТИКА И ВЕДИЙСКИЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

<i>Yuri Kleiner</i>	
THE WORLDS AND OTHER WORLDS OF SCANDINAVIAN MYTHOLOGY	13
<i>Н.А. Корнеева</i>	
ШРАУТА-РИТУАЛЫ: ИЗУЧЕНИЕ, ТРАДИЦИЯ, ПРАКТИКА.	20
<i>Л.И. Куликов</i>	
ЯМА, ЯМИ И ВЕДИЙСКАЯ ЧАСТИЦА GHĀ : К ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИИ RV 10.10.10	47
<i>Б.Л. Огибенин</i>	
ОБ ИНДОЕВРОПЕЙСКОМ НАЗВАНИИ СОЛНЦА И РУССКОМ СОЛНЦЕ	60
<i>Asko Parpola</i>	
VEDIC PRĀKĀŚĀ = PRĀVEPĀ :- 'METAL MIRROR' OR 'EAR-DROP' — OR RATHER 'WHIP'?	65
<i>Tiziana Pontillo</i>	
HOW TO FIND GENEROUS PATRONS EVEN WHEN THERE ARE NONE	93
<i>Nataliya Yanchevskaya</i>	
VARUṆA, THE TIME LORD?	110

ЭПОС

<i>Nicholas J. Allen</i>	
AMBĀ, LUCRETIA AND THE QUESTION OF INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGINS	141
<i>Ivan Andrijačić</i>	
DHĀTR AND VIDHĀTR AS FATE DEITIES IN THE SANSKRIT EPICS	157
<i>Greg Bailey</i>	
SOME EMERGING BUDDHIST CRITIQUES OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA IN ITS CONTEXT AS A TEXT FOR CULTURAL UNITY	187

<i>John Brockington</i>	
ILLUSTRATED RĀMĀYAṆA MANUSCRIPTS	204
<i>Mary Brockington</i>	
SHARING THE STORY, REVISING THE IMAGE: INTERACTION OF PURĀṆAS AND OTHER DEVELOPING RĀMA NARRATIVES	222
<i>А.М. Дубянский</i>	
«МАХАБХАРАТА» В ТАМИЛЬСКОЙ ТРАДИЦИИ	239
<i>И.Ю. Котин</i>	
«РАМАЯНА» ДАЛДЖИТА НАГРА — СОВРЕМЕННАЯ ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИЯ ИНДИЙСКОГО ТРАДИЦИОННОГО ТЕКСТА	252
<i>С.Л. Невелева</i>	
ЗАМЕТКИ О РИТУАЛЕ В «МАХАБХАРАТЕ»	261
<i>А.Е. Петросян</i>	
К ВОПРОСУ О ПРЕДЫСТОРИИ «ИЛИАДЫ»	283
<i>А.В. Челнокова</i>	
РАМАЯНА XXI ВЕКА: ОТ ТРАДИЦИИ К ХАЙПУ	296

КУЛЬТУРА ДРЕВНЕЙ ИНДИИ

<i>Johannes Bronkhorst</i>	
WERE BUDDHIST BRAHMINS BUDDHISTS OR BRAHMINS?	311
<i>А.А. Вигасин</i>	
ЦАРЬ ЦАРЕЙ, СЫН БОЖИЙ, СПАСИТЕЛЬ	324
<i>Д.Н. Воробьева</i>	
НЕБЕСНЫЕ МУЗЫКАНТЫ КИННАРЫ В СКУЛЬПТУРЕ И ЛИТЕРАТУРЕ ИНДИИ	336
<i>Klaus Karttunen</i>	
THE ROCK-HURLING MONKEYS OF INDIA	351
<i>А.В. Парибок</i>	
О СЛОЖНЫХ ПОЭТИЧЕСКИХ ПРИЕМАХ В ДХАММАПАДЕ	356
<i>С. С. Тавастшерна</i>	
«НЕПИСЬМЕННЫЕ» ЭЛЕМЕНТЫ В ТРАДИЦИОННОМ ПИСЬМЕННОМ ИНДИЙСКОМ ТЕКСТЕ	367
<i>С. А. Французов</i>	
ИНДИЙСКИЕ КОРНИ ЭФИОПСКОГО СЛОГОВОГО ПИСЬМА	382

ИСТОРИЯ ИНДИЙСКОЙ ФИЛОСОФИИ, БУДДОЛОГИЯ

Аудрюс Бейнорюс

ПОНЯТИЕ «ИЛЛЮЗИИ» В ИНДИЙСКОЙ ЭПИСТЕМОЛОГИИ. 399

В.П. Иванов

РУКОПИСЬ «БХАВАНАКРАМЫ» ИЗ ИНДИЙСКОГО СОБРАНИЯ ИВР РАН
КАК ОБЪЕКТ НАУЧНОГО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ 419

Joanna Jurewicz

BHAGAVADGĪTĀ, ROMAN INGARDEN AND THE CONCEPT
OF RESPONSIBILITY. 432

В.Б. Коробов

ОПИСАНИЕ ОКРЕСТНОСТЕЙ. РАЗЫСКАНИЯ В ОБЛАСТИ
ЙОГАЧАРИНСКОЙ ЭПИСТЕМОЛОГИИ (1). 447

В.Г. Лысенко

ДИГНАГА ОБ ОПРЕДЕЛЕНИИ ВОСПРИЯТИЯ В «ВАДАВИДДХИ»
ВАСУБАНДХУ. ИСТОРИКО-ФИЛОСОФСКАЯ РЕКОНСТРУКЦИЯ
«ПРАМАНАСАМУЧЧАЯВРИТТИ» (1.13–16). 459

Е.П. Островская

ИНДИЙСКИЕ ИСТОКИ ТИБЕТСКОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ БУДДИЗМА. 476

Р.В. Псху

«АГАМАПРАМАНЬЯ» ЯМУНАЧАРЬИ,
ИЛИ ЗАЧЕМ ВИШИШТА-АДВАЙТЕ ВАЙШНАВСКИЙ РИТУАЛ? 495

С.Х. Шомахмадов

КЛАССИФИКАЦИЯ **ДХАРАНИ**
В БУДДИЙСКИХ КАНОНИЧЕСКИХ
И ПОСТКАНОНИЧЕСКИХ ИСТОЧНИКАХ. 507

ЭТНОГРАФИЯ И ФОЛЬКЛОР ИНДИИ

М.Ф. Альбедиль

ОБРАЗ ШИВЫ-БХАЙРАВЫ В НЕПАЛЬСКОМ ИНДУИЗМЕ 521

Н.Г. Краснодембская

ОБ ОДНОМ ОРИГИНАЛЬНОМ ПЕРСОНАЖЕ АСТРОЛОГИЧЕСКОГО
КУЛЬТА СИНГАЛОВ (ШРИ ЛАНКА) 534

О.Н. Меренкова

ИЗОБРАЖЕНИЯ ПОПУГАЕВ В КОЛЛЕКЦИИ ИНДИЙСКИХ ШТАМПОВ
(по материалам А.М. и Л.А. Мервартов) 548

Е.А. Ренковская, А.С. Крылова, Ю.Е. Березкин

НОВЫЕ ДАННЫЕ

ПО ФОЛЬКЛОРУ И МИФОЛОГИИ ИНДИИ

(материалы Куллуи и Сора) 557

С.И. Рыжакова

САТРИЯ: ТАНЦУЮЩИЕ МОНАХИ АССАМА И ИХ ПОСЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬНИЦЫ.

О ПРЕОБРАЗОВАНИИ РИТУАЛЬНОГО ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИЯ

БХАКАТОВ В ЕЩЕ ОДИН КЛАССИЧЕСКИЙ

ТАНЦЕВАЛЬНЫЙ СТИЛЬ ИНДИИ 570

С.О. Цветкова

ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ И ФОРМУЛЫ В РАННЕЙ ЛИРИКЕ

СЕВЕРОИНДИЙСКОГО БХАКТИ 591

ИСТОРИЯ НАУКИ

Т.В. Ермакова

НАУЧНОЕ ЗНАЧЕНИЕ ПУТЕШЕСТВИЯ И.П. МИНАЕВА В НЕПАЛ 609

Marcin Lisiecki

LANGUAGES AND UNDERSTANDING OF DIFFERENT CULTURES.

REMARKS ON THE MARGINS OF A PAPER

BY STANISŁAW SCHAYER. 625

Т.Г. Скороходова

ГЕРАСИМ ЛЕБЕДЕВ, РАММОХАН РАЙ И НАЧАЛО БЕНГАЛЬСКОГО

ВОЗРОЖДЕНИЯ: ОПЫТ СОПОСТАВЛЕНИЯ 639

М.Ю. Сорокина

КТО ВЫ, «ОФИЦЕР БАЛАКИН»? : НОВЫЕ ДАННЫЕ К БИОГРАФИИ 658

Сведения об авторах 671

Научное издание

मित्रसम्प्रदानम्

MITRASAMPRADĀNAM.

***Сборник научных статей к 75-летию
Ярослава Владимировича Василькова***

Редактирование *М.А. Ильиной*
Корректор *Е.З. Чикадзе*
Компьютерный макет *Н.И. Пашиковской*

Подписано в печать 02.11.2018. Формат 70×100/16.
Бумага офсетная. Печать офсетная.
Гарнитура Minion Pro. Усл. печ л. 54,6. Уч.-изд. л. 53,0.
Тираж 150 экз. Заказ № 0000.

МАЭ РАН
199034, Санкт-Петербург, Университетская наб., 3

Отпечатано в типографии «Арт-Экспресс»
199155 Санкт-Петербург, В.О., ул. Уральская, 17, к. 3, оф. 4, тел. 331-33-22
e-mail: zakaz@art-xpress.ru, www.art-xpress.ru

ISBN 978-5-88431-366-8

