RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI NUOVA SERIE

RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI

NUOVA SERIE

Organo scientifico del DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI ORIENTALI SAPIENZA, UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

Direttore responsabile RAFFAELE TORELLA

Direttore scientifico Mario Prayer

Editor-in-Chief
Franco D'Agostino

Comitato scientifico

Alessandro Catastini, Giorgio Milanetti, Maria Teresa Orsi,
Angelo Michele Piemontese, Arcangela Santoro,
Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, Chiara Silvi Antonini

Segretaria di redazione Francesca Gorello

Pubblicato con il contributo di «Sapienza», Università di Roma



SAPIENZA, UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI ORIENTALI

RIVISTA

DEGLI

STUDI ORIENTALI

NUOVA SERIE

VOLUME LXXXIV

FASC. 1-4

(2011)



PISA · ROMA FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE

2012

RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI

NUOVA SERIE

Trimestrale

I prezzi ufficiali di abbonamento cartaceo e/o *Online* sono consultabili presso il sito Internet della casa editrice www.libraweb.net.

Print and/or Online official subscription rates are available at Publisher's website www.libraweb.net.

I versamenti possono essere eseguiti sul conto corrente postale n. 171574550 o tramite carta di credito (Visa, Eurocard, Mastercard, American Express, Carta Si)

Fabrizio Serra editore®
Pisa · Roma
Casella postale n. 1, Succursale 8, I 56123 Pisa

Uffici di Pisa: Via Santa Bibbiana 28, I 56127 Pisa, tel. +39 050542332, fax +39 050574888, fse@libraweb.net

Uffici di Roma: Via Carlo Emanuele I 48, I 00185 Roma, tel. +39 0670493456, fax +39 0670476605, fse.roma@libraweb.net

*

Sono rigorosamente vietati la riproduzione, la traduzione, l'adattamento anche parziale o per estratti, per qualsiasi uso e con qualsiasi mezzo eseguiti, compresi la copia fotostatica, il microfilm, la memorizzazione elettronica, ecc., senza la preventiva autorizzazione scritta della

Fabrizio Serra editore®, Pisa · Roma.

www.libraweb.net

© Copyright 2012 by Sapienza, Università di Roma and

Fabrizio Serra editore®, Pisa · Roma.

Fabrizio Serra editore incorporates the Imprints Accademia editoriale, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Fabrizio Serra editore, Giardini editori e stampatori in Pisa, Gruppo editoriale internazionale and Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.

SOMMARIO/CONTENTS

SALVATORE F. MONACO, Archaic field measurements texts	11
Franco D'Agostino, Ali Kadhem, Licia Romano, Massimo Vida- le, Mauro Angelozzi, Abu Tbeirah. Preliminary report of the first cam- paign (January-March 2012)	17
THE STUDY OF ASIA BETWEEN ANTIQUITY AND MODERNITY, FACULTY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY "LA SAPIENZA" ROME, 10-12 JUNE 2010	
Elisa Freschi, General Introduction	37
Camillo Formigatti, Manuscript Studies: Crisis on Infinite Methods	43
MICHELA CLEMENTE, From manuscript to block printing: in the search of stylistic models for the identification of tibetan xylographs	51
MARK SCHNEIDER, The Difference Engine: Manuscripts, Media Change and Transmission of Knowledge in Premodern Japan	67
Kengo Harimoto, In search of the oldest Nepalese manuscript	85
Alessandro Graheli, The choice of the best reading in Bhaṭṭa Jayanta's Nyāyamañjarī	107
Daniele Cuneo, Thinking literature: Emic and ethic approaches	123
ELISABETTA BENIGNI, Encounters between Arabic and Western literatures: emic translations and the etic formation of literary canons	129
Elisa Ganser, Thinking Dance Literature from Bharata to Bharatanatyam	145
Luca Milasi, History as it is or history ignored? The search for a "new" Historical Fiction in Meiji Japan	163
MATILDE ADDUCI, The Development Question in Asia: Policies and Processes	177
CLAUDIA CASTIGLIONI, Economic Development and Political Authoritarianism: The Pahlavi Iran Path to Modernisation in the Framework of the	
Cold War	183
VALENTINA PROSPERI, Doing research among construction workers in Delhi	195
Francesca Congiu, Taiwan: the Organized Labour Movement and its Obstacles	217
ARTEMIJ KEIDAN, Language and linguistics as an analytic tool for the study of (oriental) cultures	235
Luca Alfieri, A Radical Construction Grammar Approach To Vedic Adjective	241

Carlo Vessella, Reconstructing Phonologies of Dead Languages. The Case of Late Greek (η)	257
ARTEMIJ KEIDAN, The kāraka-vibhakti device as a heuristic tool for the compositional history of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī	273
LEONID KULIKOV, The Proto-Indo-European case system and its reflexes in a diachronic typological perspective: evidence for the linguistic prehistory of Eurasia	289
ELENA MUCCIARELLI, Earliest texts. How to interpret them	311
Frank Köhler, Rgveda 1.160: The enigma of revealing and concealing identities	317
ROSA RONZITTI, Śakti: Indo-European Horizons and Indian Peculiarities	327
PAOLA MARIA ROSSI, Interpreting the term śaktí in the Vedic context	343
ROSARIA COMPAGNONE, The Pādmasaṃhitā in the Pāñcarātra tradition: How texts and tradition are linked one to another?	359
CRISTINA BIGNAMI, Sources and artistic representation	367
ELENA PREDA, The Sirohi Rāgamālās: an Important Discovery	371
CRISTINA BIGNAMI, The Indian Huntresses: Nymphs or Goddesses?	385
USCIRE DAL TEMPO.	
PERCEZIONI DELL'ANTICO, DEL MODERNO, DEL FUTURO.	
ATTI DEL SEMINARIO DEL CURRICULUM DI CIVILTÀ ISLAMICA-STORIA E FILOLOGIA (DOTTORATO IN CIVILTÀ, CULTURE E SOCIETÀ DELL'ASIA E DELL'AFRICA), 4 MAGGIO 2011	,
Leonardo Capezzone, Presentazione	407
LORELLA VENTURA, Gli 'interstizi del tempo storico' e l'identità 'possibile' degli Arabi	409
Marco Lauri, "Secoli superbi e sciocchi". Cartoline d'Oriente nel fantastico popolare	421
FEDERICO STELLA, Filosofia islamica e storia della filosofia. Un problema di tempo	431
MARCO BOELLA, Reading a text, finding a database. An anachronistic interpretation of ḥadīths in light of information science	439
Costantino Paonessa, Sainteté et hagiographie dans l'Égypte du xx ^e siècle: permanences et nouveautés	449
TOMMASO TESEI, The Chronological Problems of the Qur'an: The Case of	

[3] SOMMARIO 9

ALI AL JUBURI, A new text of Assurbanipal from the Museum of Mosul (Iraq)	467
FELICE ISRAEL, Jan Alberto Soggin. Lucca, 10/3/1926 - Roma, 27/10/2010	473

RECENSIONI

Furio Jesi, "La ceramica egizia" e altri scritti sull'Egitto e la Grecia, a cura	
di Giulio Schiavoni (Lorenzo Franceschini)	483

INTERPRETING THE TERM ŚAKTÍ IN THE VEDIC CONTEXT

PAOLA MARIA ROSSI

University of Milan

As it is well known, the term <code>śakti</code> denotes "the feminine, personified might of the gods", the power "in act" of a divinity or "the agency by means of which the gods execute their actions". As to the earliest Indian texts, the question is: is such a meaning already appropriate in the Vedic <code>corpora?</code> Is it possible that in the Vedic texts the term <code>śakti</code> implies a different interpretation? Finally, how can we interpret such a term in a multi-faceted cultural stage as the Vedic one? The point is not interesting only from the historical linguistic perspective, but also from a wider cultural perspective: which is the relationship between abstract and concrete values.

This research is focused on the interpretation of one of the Skr. terms connoting the Indian culture: the term *śakti*. As it is well known, it denotes "the feminine, personified might of the gods", the power "in act" of a divinity or "the agency by means of which the gods execute their actions", connected to the development of the Śaktism. As to the earliest Indian texts—the Vedic ones—the common question is whether such a meaning is already appropriate, or the Vedic term *śakti* can imply a different interpretation, especially thanks to the linguistic-comparative approach. The answer to this question is already found in Ronzitti's paper, especially in §4.3.

However, the aim of this paper is not only to display the Vedic occurrences and to enumerate their possible meanings in connection to Vedic linguistic data, but also to interpret such a term in a multi-faceted cultural stage as the Vedic one. As to the etymological studies, they do not resolve the ambiguities of the term *śakti*: among the Old-Indo-Aryan languages, in the Vedic language two forms are attested: *śakti*- and *śákti*-. They can be interpreted as two different apophonical forms of the same IE root, belonging to the same semantic sphere "to be powerful, power, etc.". However, the context of some Vedic occurrences suggests a more concrete and material meaning like "sharp object, weapon", so that it is possible to hypothesize a homophone *śákti*, derived from a different IE root, referred to a different semantic sphere: "to be sharp, spear, etc.", without such a semantic ambiguity depending strictly on the position of the accent. In fact metaphorical values based on phonetic

¹ Kinsley 1986: 17.

³ See Ronzitti's paper, in this volume §3.

⁵ See Ronzitti's paper, in this volume, §2.1.

² Das 1934: 11.

⁴ See Ronzitti's paper, in this volume, §1.

plays, so typical in the Vedic texts, especially in *Rgvedasaṃhitā* (= RV), make the Vedic language very cryptic, swinging from denotative meanings, etymologically attested, to connotative values, poetically constructed. Moreover, Ronzitti's linguistic analysis points out that the term *śáktí* can be interpreted either as a *nomen actionis*, conveying the abstract meaning of "power", or as a *nomen agentis*, resulting from processes of personification and objectification of the abstract value.

In my opinion, this point suggests that the interpretation of the Vedic term śáktí must be inserted in a wider cultural perspective, that is we must ask ourselves how the Vedic culture can "image" or "think" whatever is not present and concrete in the objective reality. In effect, also according to the Sáktism, the term śakti conveys in itself a double value: on the one hand it is an abstract term, referred to an abstract realm - "power-potentiality" - or to an extra-human realm – "divine energy" – not corresponding to a concrete object of the human realm. However, on the other hand, every "effect"-"fruit", consequence of actions is due to it, that is to say that every element of existence (human or extra-human) is realized through such a "power": śakti implies the explicit and the concrete realization of existence, and represents such a realization in act. Moreover, it is worth noticing that also the Hindu tradition admits a different and more "concrete" meaning for the term śakti: in Mānavadharmaśāstra 8.315 the expression śaktim cobhayatas tīkṣnām is inserted in a list of weapons, and in this case śakti denotes a 'weapon well sharp on both the sides', probably a spear or pike; moreover, such a meaning is attested also in the Paninian grammar, where in Aṣṭādhyāyī 4.4.59 śaktí-yaṣṭy-ór īkáK suggests that śāktīká- means 'wielder of spears' or 'whose weapon is a spear'.

Therefore, this term can be placed in that threshold between abstract and concrete sphere. It represents the core of the notion of "culture": the capacity of giving existence to Otherness, either in a technical sense – the ability to shape or to produce hand-manufactured objects – or in a cognitive sense – the capacity of "imaging" or "thinking" the existence of "Other" beyond the objective reality. In particular, such a capacity passes through language, especially the poetical language: words are able to say what is present and absent at the same time.

At the light of these hypothetical considerations, a study on the term *śak-tí*- in the Vedic texts can be a starting point to verify the multiplicity of the expressive possibilities of the word, especially taking into account that the Rigvedic word is metaphorically and imaginatively connoted.

As to the Vedic texts, I have considered all the occurrences of the term *śakti* in the *Rgvedasaṃhitā* (16), and in the *Atharvavedasaṃhitā* (3, out of which 2 also in RV); moreover, I have checked other citations in the mantric texts: SV, VS, TS, MS, KS (6, out of which 2 already quoted in RV), and in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts (5, out of which 3 quoted also in RV); finally I have considered the occurrences of the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*, with especially attention to 2.2.

[3]

After the linguistic analysis of the occurrences, I have decided to catalogue them in a grid in order to have a synoptic view and to sketch out an interpreting map; taking mainly into account of the linguistic data, I have selected the following data:

- morphological data: inflected form and number of the noun śakti-;
- syntactical data: the verbal form connected to the term *śakti*-, and the inflected form of nouns/pronouns which the term *śakti* is linked to;
- the compounds with the term śakti (śaktīvan-; suśakti-)

This linguistic analysis has displayed some correspondences: the term *śakti* is quoted only in three inflected forms (nom., acc., and instr.), and the singular number is prevalent. When it is quoted in accusative form it represents the arrival point of the action – the object itself, but in 3 occurrences (out of 6) the accusative is connected to verbs like to come, to wish, the "object" of which can be interpreted as a verbal noun used as infinitive (to come to do s.th), underlining the action itself, and not the final point. Furthermore, śakti is mainly connected to the dative form: 6 it seems to highlight the "transitive" value of the term, that is śakti makes the action itself "translate, transfer" until the final point – the dative form. When it is quoted in nominative form the clause is nominal, excepted for one occurrence: it seems as if the dynamism of action is getting "solidified" and "objectivised" into static being, so that śakti assumes the status of nomen, either nomen actionis or agentis. As to the instrumental inflected form, śakti is quoted both as singular and plural, especially as equivalent to the term śácī:7 it denotes something or someone through/with which the action is performed, that is it is no more the action itself in act, but its process of objectification and personification is getting realized, and śakti can already denote concrete object, personified entity, or abstract notion. As to the compounds, śaktīvan- 'who is gifted with śakti', can be interpreted either as *nomen actionis* ('who is able to act'), or as objective element of reality (concrete object, personification of the action); suśakti- is used in RV 7.32.21c as equivalent to the ritual gift – richness – concrete objectification of the ritual effectiveness.

Secondly, I have considered other criteria in the grid, such as the following co-textual data:

- Position of the verse in which the term *śakti* is quoted: I have pointed out not only the Vedic text in which the term occurs, but also its position in relation to the whole text, especially in the case of Rigvedic hymns, in order to permit a reflection on the *omphalós* theory proposed by Jamison.⁸ As to the first point, 10 quotations belong to the ancient *mandalas* of the *Rgvedasaṃhitā*, the other ones belong to the so called mantric texts (recent



⁶ See Ronzitti's paper, §4.1. ⁷ See Ronzitti's paper, §4.2.

⁸ As to the "omphalos" hymnic structure, it has been proposed by Jamison 2004.

Rigvedic maṇḍalas, Atharvavedasaṃhitā, the other Vedic saṃhitās), and some of these are the same, cited also in Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad texts. Therefore, about half of the occurrences are present in the ancient Rigvedic hymns. As to second point, four quotations, out of 10 belonging to the ancient Rigvedic texts, are found in central verses of hymn (i.e. in the grid RV 5.31.6 is framed as "out of 13", that is "out of 13 strophes), and only two cases are present in the recent Rigvedic texts. All these data might suggest that the term śakti assumes a central value in the Rigvedic hymns: it might be referred to the manifestation of divinity, so often evoked and impelled to reach the ritual space through such a kind of texts; thus the divinity appears in the middle of the hymn, which represents the acme of the ritual act, according to the omphalós theory.

- Divinities involved in the sphere of the term *śakti*: they are mainly Indra, the warrior and cosmogonic god, the twin gods Aśvins, who lead the daily lights out of the night every morning, Agni and Soma, the two principal divinities of the sacrificial sphere, Savitṛ the "impeller" "stimulator", often identified with the sun, Aditi, the female generative divinity, and the Fathers, the ancestral beings. All these divinities have a double status: they are divine, but they cooperate to link the human sphere to the extra-human one, and favour the translation from one level to another one. For instance: the sacrificial divinities bring the sacrificial offerings from the human level to the celestial one; the Aśvins support the passage from night to day; the generative and cosmogonic divinities lead to a new cosmic order or to existence, and so on.
- Poetical synonyms or equivalences: according to the usual play of equivalences among different elements of reality, so well represented in the poetical language especially in the Rigvedic one terms used in the same occurrences of the term *śakti* are often its equivalence: i.e. *rays of sun tongues or sparks of fire reins of horse rays of wheel* are considered equivalent, being each one the "substitute" of the other ones in the symmetrical structures of the Vedic verses, thus evoking different semantic spheres and metaphorical relationships. From this last criterion five semantic spheres of equivalence can be attributed to the term *śakti*: the military one, the technical and manual sphere, the generative-cosmogonical sphere, the poetical sphere, and the sacrificial sphere.

Lastly, I have tried to frame all these linguistic and co-textual data in a coherent cultural context: it should be a sort of macro-criterion, under which all the data can be systematized. At the light of the Vedic texts it is evident that the Vedic culture is focused on the relationship between human realm and extra-human realm, with especially attention to ritual realm, where the human one and the not human one – or Otherness – meet each other. In other words, the Vedic culture presents a dichotomy between the realm of *hic et nunc* and the realm of Otherness */ alibi*, either on horizontal level (village *ver-*



[5]

sus forest or enemies, taking into account the references to the military sphere, so frequently present), or on vertical level (earth or human space versus celestial world or divine space). Moreover, the Vedic culture seems to assume existence only in fact of being into such a relationship: it represents the tensioning space of that intermediate level itself between micro and macro cosmos, the so-called meso-cosmos, or the threshold in which inter-changes occur/inter-run. Here, the common word and the common action are not enough to make these two realms communicate one each other; here, words and actions must be enriched of an over-value in order to permit the communication. In fact, they are "poetical" words and "ritual" actions: they must be "effective", that is they must impel extra-human beings to appear and to support the human beings, they must provoke the connection between micro and macro cosmos.

In this perspective the grid offers the scheme of the cultural taxonomy in which the term *śakti* is inserted:

A macro \leftrightarrow micro: the action passes through the two antithetical spheres of the dichotomy: from the human one to the extra-human one, and reverse, reciprocally inter-acting; the divinity is requested to presence, to grant requests in exchange of something, generally praise. Here the sacrificial sphere is not directly mentioned, but the Vedic strophes allude to mythical deeds and cosmogonical acts, especially of Indra and Aśvins: śakti represents the "tensioned" thread between macrocosmic phenomena and microcosmic concrete objects. Examples:

RV 2.39.7ab: hásteva śaktím abhí saṃdadī naḥ kṣāmeva naḥ sám ajataṃ rájāṃsi | Like two hands, they [the Aśvins], grasping together śaktí-, give it to us Like earth and heaven they collect together the intermediate sphere for us.

This hymn consists of a catalogue of comparisons between the gods in pairs and animals/parts of bodies/phenomena always "double" or in pairs in nature, so that it result an hymn-climax. Here it is the penultimate strophe: from the human micro cosmos – two hands/body parts – to the macro-cosmic space between earth and heaven, which are the sections in pairs supporting the universe. Here the term śakti-, with accent on the last syllable, can denote not only a "power", but also an object, which is handled through two hands "together": the particle sam is repeated also in sam aj: to bring/to lead "together". This is an example of that play of correspondences so common in the Rgvedic texts: the two sections of the verse, with doubled terms iva/sam/nah, are perfectly symmetrical, probably to express through the words themselves the perfect parallelism of the twin divinity. In such a parallelism the term śakti is "equivalent" or in pairs with the term rájāṃsi, nt.pl. from rajas-, the mist or vapour of the atmosphere, the space in the middle of

⁹ As to meaning of the dual dyāvākṣāmā, see Ronzitti 1995.

the twin cosmic sections. Therefore, *śakti* itself, in this context, represents what is able to divide and to connect together at the same time: 10 like a weapon, 11 it can be handled and thrown to disperse enemies, or can "hook" the enemies, making them under "control, power"; like "power-energy", it can "act" on both the sections of the universe, joining together/"hooking" them, or distinguishing micro and macro cosmos, "scattering" them. Because of such intermediate position, between two hands, two cosmic sections, between concrete object and abstract/ethereal realm (clouds/mists), manual ability and cosmic energy, I have decided to insert this strophe under the point A $macro \leftrightarrow micro$. 12

RV 4.43.3:

makṣū́ hí ṣmā gáchatha īvato dyū́n índro ná śaktím páritakmiyāyām divá ājātā diviyā suparṇā káyā śácīnām bhavathaḥ śáciṣṭhā ||

Come quickly to the heavenly / daily lights, you two [Aśvins], as you are, like Indra, to śaktí in the wondering night;

You two, heavenly birds, born from heaven, which of the abilities are you the ablest through?¹³

Here the Aśvins are represented as the divinities of the morning lights, who lead the rising Down from the night to the day; therefore, they are connoted as divinities of the intermediate sphere, of the threshold between night and day. The term $\dot{s}akti$ - is symmetrical with the term dyu-/div-, being both accusatives connected with the verb \bar{a} gam- "to come"; therefore they can be interpreted:

- as terms denoting places, to which the gods are requested to come; *dy*ûn are the heavenly and lighting place, śaktím is a place related to night;
- as terms denoting space, <u>through</u> which the gods are called to come; that is $dy\bar{u}n$ and $\dot{s}aktim$ are the edges of the space where the Aśvins move themselves;
- Geldner¹⁴ considers *śaktím* as a form of infinitive in accusative to express a final clause: "you come to act/to support effectively", "you come for acting/supporting effectively"; in this case the parallelism with $dy\acute{u}n$ would be only phono-morphological, but not syntactical. However, according to such a hypothesis, *śaktú* represents the "action in act", dynamic "tensioned" thread which combines antithetical cosmical spheres day and night.

Lastly, there is parallelism between the Aśvins and Indra: as the Aśvins come to the heavenly lights, so Indra "comes to śakti", being there a danger, the



 $^{^{10}\,}$ As to the ambiguity of the text, see Witzel & Gotō 2007: 821.

¹¹ So Geldner 1951 suggests also "Speer" or a weapon to throw.

¹² Three occurrences out of five, belonging to the category A, are addressed to the Aśvins: in effect, they seem to be characterized through terms deriving from the same root śak-; for instance, one of the Rgvedic epithets of the Aśvins is śacīvasu- (7.74.1; 1.139.5), "rich in śacī", that is "rich in succouring/supporting power" (see Gonda 1959), or "rich of skills/abilities", where the term śacī-, deriving from the same root śak- seems to denote an ability through which an action is successful or effective

same root śak-, seems to denote an ability, through which an action is successful or effective.

13 As to the relationship between the gods Aśvins and the term śacī, see Ronzitti's paper §4.3.1, and also RV 7.67.5.

wandering night; in this case *śaktí* can be also considered as an object, one of the weapon of Indra, through which he can front the danger/enemy.

Anyway, such an ambiguity between "cosmical act" and "concrete object" is the core of the relationship $macro \leftrightarrow micro$. Moreover, it is worth noticing that this so intricate strophes is located in the middle of the hymn, probably just to signify that cosmical and linguistic elements combine all together to mark the intermediate and delicate threshold of the manifestation of being (day, divinity).

RV 5.31.6:

prá te půrvāṇi káraṇāni vocam prá nůtanā maghavan yắ cakártha śáktīvo yád vibhárā ródasī ubhé jáyann apó mánave dắnucitrāḥ || I will proclaim your ancient deeds, and those which you have just done, o generous, the new ones: when you, o śáktīvan, separated both the cosmical sections, winning waters, shining of gifts, for the man.

Here the term śaktí is used in a secondary adjectival formation śáktīvan, "what is gifted with śaktí-", so that it is used as epithet of Indra; here Indra is represented as a cosmogonical hero, who sets the waters free, opening/separating the universe in two sections (earth and heaven), killing vṛtra, "the obstructor", or the prisoner of waters. What is śaktí-? It can be Indra's ability or the energy¹⁵ able to separate, to divide; but also Indra's weapon, a concrete object used in such a deed. Last observation: this strophe is located in the middle of the hymn; therefore, it can represent the epiphany of the divinity, and the central point of the ritual through which śaktí has been burst forth and realized: it is going to transfer its dynamism into a static cosmic element, either as concrete object or as abstract notion of "ability, power".

 $B \ macro \leftarrow meso \rightarrow micro$: when the relationship $macro \leftrightarrow micro$ is more focused on the ritual action itself, which is the Vedic meso-cosmos for excellence ($macro \leftarrow meso \rightarrow micro$), the action passes from macro to micro and reverse with a special passage in the middle of the way, into the ritual space. Here $\acute{s}akti$ is a component fundamental of the ritual performance, permeating the action itself; it is guarantee of interchange between gods and men.

Here the texts are particularly elaborated: action and word are perfectly interwoven in a metaphorical net not so easy to extricate. Śakti is the dynamic subject of meso-cosmos, the "dynamism" produced when multiplied levels of reality converge: it represents both tension of ritual actions in act and expressivity and metaphorical tension of ritual words. When the acme of the ritual tension is realized, that is the god appears, such a dynamism is converted in a static object: the requested gift (wellness, ability to generate, poetical ability); also the words loose their metaphorical tension: denotative and

¹⁵ See Varenne 1982: 81-82 śáktīvan-: "détenteur du pouvoir d'exécution".

connotative values are not so implicitly intermingled. So the category *C meso* ↔ *micro* is introduced. Examples:

RV 3.57.3: yấ jāmáyo vṛṣṇa ichánti śaktíṃ namasyántīr jānate gárbham asmin áchā putráṃ dhenávo vāvaśāná maháś caranti bíbhrataṃ vápūṃṣi ||

Those sisters who desire śakti for the bull, they, with reverential salutation, know the embryo into it; the cows, plenty of desire, wander moving to the son, which brings abundance, shapes

This strophe is very complex, because a mythical narration, referred to one of Indra's deeds, is superimposed on a ritual scene: the terms mahás and vápūmṣi can be interpreted respectively either as abundance and shapes, with allusion to the generative act, or as sacrificial offering and flames of fire. The hymn is devoted to Agni, and generally to All the Gods, but, as to this strophe, Sāyana considers the bull an equivalent to Indra. Thus, it is a very metaphorical text: the ritual action becomes more effective through a poetical and connoting word: the sisters can be the cows (Sāyaṇa), but also the fingers of the priest, who takes care of the fire, often defined "embryo" of the ritual. And śakti? Here it can be considered a form of infinitive, linked to the verb "to wish" and to the dative vṛṣṇe (vṛṣṇa < vṛṣṇe according to the padapāṭha): the sisters wish to support, to act effectively in favour of the bull;16 otherwise, if vṛṣṇa is interpreted as a genitive, śakti can be already a nomen actionis denoting the "power of the bull", the microcosmic animal equivalent to the god Indra. The term śakti combines all these values, representing the mesocosmic realm: it is located in the middle of the hymn.

RV 4.22.8: pipīļė aṃśúr mádiyo ná síndhur ā tvā śámī śaśamānásya śaktíḥ asmadríak chuśucānásya yamyā āśúr ná raśmíṃ tuviójasaṃ góḥ ||

The intoxicating filament [of the soma plant], pressed, has produced [juice] like stream: the śaktí, of what has been forced by effort, may lead you, strong vigour for the cow, here; [the śaktí/the effort] of what has been kindled [may lead you] until us, like the quick one [leads/holds] the reins.

This is an example of "poetical" Rgvedic strophe: the literally translation is almost impossible, because of polysemical and implicit values of the words; they refer to the ritual sphere: soma juice, produced by pressing the filament of soma plant, and kindled fire are quoted, but with periphrasis;¹⁷ there are similitude ("like stream", "like the quick one"), metaphors ("the quick one" can be an horse"). Here the play of the equivalence is amplified, with a continuous shift from a semantic field to another one: soma juice is equivalent to





¹⁶ See Renou 1955-1969: IV, 55.

¹⁷ "What has been forced by effort" is the filament of soma plant; 'samī is the effort used to press soma plant; "strong vigour for the cow" is the bull, often equivalent to Indra, the warrior-divinity who is requested to drink soma.

[9]

ojas- "masculine vigour", which is equivalent to raśmi- 'rein', suggesting the image of horse or chart; however it is synonym of ray, and evokes the image of sun and of fire. It is a sophisticate "tension" of multi-varied meaning. Also the phonetic repetitions contribute to provide the impression of running along such semantic tension... Through the linguistic tension, a running Indra is pictured: Indra is requested to come quickly to drink soma juice. And śakti? Here it is a property of soma juice and/or of fire: thanks to it, Indra is able to come; in fact it is "like the quick one", the horse, which leads quickly s.one/s.th holding it. Once more śakti represents a means to attain a result: in this case, it is what makes the sacrifice effective and successful, and, at the same time, it is what makes Indra himself able to come/to do/to gain...

Also in RV 10.25.5 the soma juice is related to *śakti*: it is the intoxicating soma juice itself, represented as flowing streams which permeate the ritual meso-cosmos, soaking gods, worshippers and singers-priests; through it different levels of reality converge, and passes one through each other, in a "metaphorical" process, so that each one implies Other, and the strophe – located in the middle of the hymn – represents such a multiple reality, consisting of polysemic expressions. The expression "to open the fold..." has more connotative values: it refers either to micro-cosmical reality, or to mythical deeds, but also to the ritual word as flux of the inspired strophes, or to a particular action, performed during the ritual. However, *śakti* is inflected in instrumental form: the "poietical" tension of the ritual is turning into a fixed and monolithic element, either as concrete object, personified instrument to produce something, or as preformed strophe, linguistic expression which is not so implicitly connotative and polysemic.¹⁸

C meso \leftrightarrow micro; D macro \leftrightarrow meso: when the attention is focused more on the results or "fruits" of the ritual – wellness and richness in the microcosmos, or heavenly condition in the macrocosmos – rather than on the ritual itself with its "poietical" expressivity and tension in act, the relationship macro \leftarrow meso \rightarrow micro is loosing its internal dynamic reciprocity: the texts tend to describe rituals, without "translating" the ritual in act through the metaphorical and connotative words; implicit connotative values are missing, the denotative and explicit ones are prevalent, and the polysemical ambiguity is limited. On the one hand, the sacred sphere is "humanized" by explicit references to the same concrete objects used in the profane and human sphere, and the

¹⁸ See RV 1.31.18: eténāgne bráhmaṇā vāvṛdhasva śáktī vā yát te cakṛmā vidā vā | utá prá ṇeṣi abhí vásyo asmān sáṃ naḥ sṛja sumatī ° vājavatyā || 'Increase yourself, o Agni, thanks to this sacred formulation, which we have done both through śaktí and wisdom, | Lead us to more wellness, join us to benevolence, which is gifted with the prize of the victory'. Also here śaktí objectivises the "poietical" effect, through which the ritual becomes effective; however, such an instrument is not represented in act, in the metaphorical imagery and device of the Vedic poetry, but in a unique denoted term: śaktí. Likely, in KB xxIII. 5.1-23, quoted in Ronzitti's paper (§4.2), the poetical śaktí is concretized into a kind of strophe – śákvarī – resulting from a process of theorisation of poetry, not from its application into the "poetical" ritual performance.

terms do not evoke the extra-human realm, through symbolical equivalence, but the human microcosmical reality. The dynamic tension $macro \leftrightarrow micro$ is getting broken, and the relationship is reduced to $meso \leftrightarrow micro$: $\acute{s}akti$ – here mainly inflected in instrumental form – is turned either into manual ability, through which the required richness is materialized in concrete objects, or into concrete tool of the ritual staff, through which richness and prosperity are obtained. On the other hand, the sacred sphere refers $\acute{s}akti$ to the macrocosmic realm, there transferring its effectiveness: the ritual offering is source of vitality for the divinities, so that $\acute{s}akti$ represents such a new "energy", gained through the ritual itself, but in the macrocosmic realm, distinguished from the human reality.

In this case the relationship is reduced to D macro \leftrightarrow meso. Finally, in this context the semantic ambiguity is getting solved into two separated values: $\dot{s}akti$ can be either a concrete and personified element of reality, or an abstract conceptualized notion power. The instrumental form is prevalent, but also the dative one occurs: the term $\dot{s}akti$ denotes definitely a status to which someone aims; it is no more a transversal tensioned thread to connected different realms, but a sort of fixed target, which marks the differences among realities, being always beyond the present one.

C *meso* \leftrightarrow *micro* examples:

RV 1.83.3: ádhi dváyor adadhā ukthíyam váco yatásrucā mithunā yā saparyátaḥ ásaṃyatto vraté te kṣeti púṣyati bhadrā śaktír yájamānāya sunvaté ||
You had placed words of praise in the two [priests] who worship [you] in pairs, with the outstretched spoon;
In the devotion to you, [the worshipper] settles down, becomes prosperous. For the promoter of the sacrifice, who presses [soma plant], śaktí [is] prosperous.

This strophe belongs to a hymn addressed to Indra, so "you" is Indra, for whom soma juice is prepared. 19 Śaktí represents abundance of richness, resulted from the ritual offering, so that it is getting "translated" from mesocosmical sphere to the micro-cosmical one, almost as a personified entity. *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* 11.63c; *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 4.1.6.3c:

devas tvā savitodvapatu supāṇiḥ svanguraḥ subāhur uta śaktyā | avyathamānā pṛthivyām āśā diśa āpṛṇa ||

The god Savitr, gifted with good hands, good fingers, good arms, may shake you out by means of *śakti*.

On the earth, fill you spaces, regions, without trembling.

These verses belong to the mantric repertoire of the Vedic saṃhitās: it refers to a scene of the agnicayana, the most complex Vedic ritual, focused on the



¹⁹ It is quoted also in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 1.29.13 in the description of the soma sacrifice.

[11]

construction of the three Vedic fireplaces. Here it is pictured the moment in which the sacrificial cinder is shaken away, turning the fire vessel upside down. The ritual scene is represented as familiar-micro-cosmical scene, where the divinity has assumed human traits: hands, fingers, etc. This process is more evident in the next verses (from the *agnicayana* again), where the ritual act is influenced and determined by the human sphere. Thus, the mesocosmos, wearing the denotation of the micro-cosmos, is completely separated from the macro-cosmos. Also the text has lost its imaginary value, because of the explicit comparison. Here *śakti* is manual ability, even a concrete toolobject to empty vessels or to shape it.²⁰ The process of abstraction and of imaging Other than the concrete and objective sphere is blocked, the "file rouge" that connected microcosmos to macrocosmos is cut off.

The last example is RV 10.134.6, the unique occurrence of the term $\dot{s}\dot{a}kti$ which is clearly compared with a "hook, spear". Here Indra is involved in the ritual of the animal sacrifice, in which the wood sacrificial post (yupa) is fixed.²¹ The ritual action seems to be modelled on the concrete microcosmic sphere: Indra is equivalent to a he-goat, which is fastened to a wood-branch with fore leg, as the explicit comparison indicates. The levels of reality are not implicitly intermingled, with a metaphorical net of different semantic sphere; here the connection is evident either in the linguistic expression $(yath\bar{a})$, or in the ritual scene; the divinity has lost his mythical and imaginary value, and is materialized in he-goat. Also $\dot{s}\dot{a}kti$, the equivalent to the wood-post, is an object, a sort of hook.

RV 10.134.6: dīrgháṃ hí aṅkuśáṃ yathā śáktim bíbharṣi mantumaḥ pū́rveṇa maghavan padā ajó vayāṃ yáthā yamo devī jánitry ajījanad bhadrā jánitry ajījanat ||
Oh wise god, you bring śákti similar to a long hook,
Oh generous, you keep the branch similar to a he-goat with fore leg.
The generating goddess generated [you], the generating prosperity generated.

Here the term $\pm i$ is quoted in accusative form, not in instrumental one; however, it is not used as an infinitive conveying "action in act", but as a *nomen actionis* which is getting objectivised into a concrete object of the ritual space: the "hooked" wood-post. In effect, such a process is already evident in strophe 3cd,²² where the epiphany of the god Indra is introduced through $\pm i$ inflected as instrumental plural: in the Rigvedic texts it is frequently quoted as the equivalent to $\pm i$ and denotes the ability to realize something; in this

subāhur uta śaktyā is a sort of formulaic expression, quoted in many Vedic texts (Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā 2.7.6c: 81.20; 4.9.1c: 122.2; Kaṭha Samhitā 16.6c; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 6.5.4.11c; Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 4.3.2c). With the same objectivised value also Vājasaneyi Samhitā 11.57.c; Taittirīya Samhitā 4.1.5.3a.

²¹ This sacrifice is described in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 2.1, where the same verses is quoted.

²² See Ronzitti's paper §4.2.

case it is the ability to realise the process of objectification and personification of *śakti* itself.

Thus, the dichotomy macro-micro is broken, and the circuit-realm of \acute{sak} -ti, synergy-inner connection-tension and means for "transferring", among all the levels of reality, is interrupted. It is reduced only to $\emph{meso} \leftrightarrow \emph{micro}$ or to $\emph{meso} \leftrightarrow \emph{macro}$.

D meso ↔ macro example, Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.1.1.1c; Śvetāśvataropaniṣad 2.2c:

yuktena manasā vayam devasya savituh save suvargeyāya śaktyai

With minds yoked, we [make the offering] under the stimulus of the god Savitar for a heavenly abode, for *śakti*. ²³

It is worth noticing that the redaction of the text is philologically debated, especially with reference to the term śakti: Olivelle, in his edition of the upaniṣad, chooses textual variant with dative form (śaktyai), while in the mantric and brahmanical texts the variant with the instrumental inflected form (śaktyā) is prevalent (Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā 11.2c; Kaṭha Saṃhitā 15.11c; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. 6.3.1.14). However, the expression śaktir asi śaktyai, "You are śakti for śakti" (Kaṭha Saṃhitā 29.5), already reveals that the process to abstraction of śakti is getting realized: it is the final point of the action, beyond the action itself; it is s.thing/s.one able to act, it is agency able to gain s.thing/s.one, aiming at reaching what is not present in this reality, and giving existence to Otherness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

DAS, S. K. (1934). Śakti or Divine Power. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

Geldner, K. F. (1951). Der Rigveda. Cambridge (Mass): Harvard University Press.

GONDA, J. (1959). Epithets in the Rgveda. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton.

Jamison, S. (2004). "Poetry and Purpose in the Rgveda. Structuring enigmas". In Griffith, A. & Houben, J. (eds.), The Vedas. Texts, Language and Ritual. Proceedings o the Third International Vedic Workshop, Leiden 2002. Groningen: Forsten, 237-249.

KINSLEY, D. R. (1986). Hindu goddesses: visions of the divine feminine in the Hindu religious tradition. Berkeley: University of California Press.

OLIVELLE, P. (1998). The Early Upaniṣad. New York: Oxford University Press.

Renou, L. (1955-1969). Etudes védiques et paninéennes. Paris: E. de Boccard.

Ronzitti, R. (1995). "Osservazioni sui nomi della «terra» nel *Rgveda* e nell'*Atharvaveda*". *Studi e Saggi Luinguistici* 35: 45-115.

Varenne, J. (1982). Cosmogonies védiques. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

WITZEL, M. & GOTŌ, T. (2007). Rig-Veda: Das heilige Wissen. Erster und zweiter Liederkreis. Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag der Weltreligionen.



²³ Translation after OLIVELLE 1998

APPENDIX Interpreting the term sakts in the Vedic context

[13]

	Text	RV 3.31.14a (out of 22)	RV 5. 31. 6 (out of 13) derivate sáktīvan-	RV2.39.7ab (out of 8)	RV 4. 43. 3 (out of 7)	RV 3. 57. 3 (out of 6)	RV 4. 22. 8 (out of 11)	RV 10.25. 5 (out of 11)	RV 10. 88. 10
	DIVINITY	Indra	Indra	Aŝvin	Aśvin/Indra	Agni/Indra	Agni/Indra	Soma	Agni
ורשו	Semantic equivalence	te sakhiyám	ródasī ubhé	hásteva sám ajatam rájāmsi	dyún	gárbham dhenávaḥ	śámī śaśamānásya āśúḥ raśmím tuviójas- goḥ	níkāmāso ví ŗņvire dhīrās	rodasiprám
יוו וווכ אכשור כסוו	Syntax			naḥ: dat./gen.		v <u>f</u> sņe - dat	ā + acc. (?) ā tvā	tava	
THE PICENS THE WITH SURVE III CITIC YOU'LL COLLEGE	VERB	ā vaśmi	vibhárā	abhí saṃdadī	ā gáchatha	ichánti	ā yamyā		ájījanañ
TITLE	Nom	lq	sing	sing	sing	guis	Sing	lq	lq
	CASE	acc	VOC	acc.	acc/inf.	acc./inf.	nom	instr	instr
	RELATIONSHIP MACRO/MESO/MICRO	A) macro<>micro				B) macro <> meso <> micro			



Text	RV 1.109.3 TB.3.6.9.1b	RV 6. 75. 9 (out of 19) VS.29.46b TS.4.6.6.3b derivate śáktīvan-	RV 7.32.21 (out of 27) SV 2.2.13.2	RV 7.20.10 (out of 10)	RV 1. 83. 3 (out of 6) AB.1.29.13 AV\$ 20.25.3	RV 7. 68. 8 (out of 9)	AVś 2.27.7
DIVINITY	Indra/Agni	Hymn of weapons	Indra	Indra	Indra	Aśvin/Indra	Indra
SEMANTIC	raśmińr	vayodhấḥ íşubalã	su-śákti deṣṇáṃ	vásvī/ suastíbhiḥ	bhadrā	śácībhiḥ barren cow waters	dispute/request
SYNTAX	pitīņáṃ gen. indrāgníbhyāṃ - dat		mávate: me avate-dat	jaritré - dat	yájamānāya sunvaté - dat	v _î kāya cij jásamānāya	naḥ-dat/gen
Verb	anuyáchamānāḥ			șú astu		ápinvatam śaktam	adhi brūhi
Num	þl	lď	sing	sing	Sing	sing	ld
CASE	acc	nom	nom	nom	nom	instr	instr
RELATIONSHIP MACRO / MESO / MICRO			C) meso<>micro				



[15]

RELATIONSHIP MACRO/MESO/MICRO	CASE	Num	Verb	Syntax	SEMANTIC	DIVINITY	Text
	instr	sing	vāvŗdhasva		bráhmaņā śáktī vá vidā	Agni	RV 1.31.18 (out of 18)
	instr	sing	udvapatu			Savitar	VS.11.63c; TS.4.1.6.3c Etc.
	instr	sing			svargyāya	Savitar	VS 11. 2
	instr	sing	kŗņotu		garbha dhí	Aditi	VS.11.57a; TS.4.1.5.3a
	асс	sing	bíbharși		aṅkuśáṃ yāma-	Indra	RV 10.134.6 AB 2.1
	instr	pl	ávīvarata		waters	Indra	
D) meso<>macro	dat/inf	sing		svargyāya	svargyāya	Savitar	TS 4.1.1.3 śvUp 2.2



