

Orgasmic Rapture and Divine Ecstasy *The Semantic History of ānanda**

I.1

*Ānanda*¹ is one of the most common terms in the religious vocabulary of the Brāhmapical/Hindu traditions both in Sanskrit and in the vernaculars, both in the monistically inclined traditions, such as Advaita Vedānta, and in the *bhakti* traditions. The term points to the intense feeling of joy that devotees experience in their loving devotion and service of god, and mystics, in their meditative trance or *samādhi*. Within Advaita and related traditions, it represents a central and essential “attribute” of Brahman. The term has found its way into the names or titles of religious figures, often in compounds, such as Brahmānanda and Ānandatīrtha.² In many of the Indian religious traditions, *mokṣa*, the final goal of human existence, has been defined as *ānanda*.

* I want to thank Joel Brereton, Stephanie Jamison, and Mark Southern for sharing their deep knowledge of the vedic language with me and for helping me decipher several difficult passages. Originally published in the *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 25 (1997): 153-80.

¹ It is clear that etymologically *ānanda* is derived from the root √*nand*; but much less clear is exactly how the noun is derived. As van Buitenen has pointed out, the compound verb *ānandate* is not found in the early literature. He is right, I think, in regarding it “as a verbal noun *nanda* with prefixed *ā*, and thus belong to a fairly large group that often goes unrecognized: *ā* indicate the *place where* the verbal action occurs, for example, *āśrama*, where one toils; *ārāma*, where one enjoys oneself; *ākara*, where things are scattered; *ālaya*, where things lie, etc. The word *ānanda* thus implies a locus: *that in which* one finds bliss, be it a son, the fulfillment of a wish, [...] *Ānanda* then is not just a free-floating unfocused bliss, a state of beatitude; it has an implied object” (van Buitenen 1979, 327; for an extensive discussion of the etymology and meaning of the similar word *āśrama*, see Olivelle 1993, 8-24). Although the implication of a locus is correct and is evident in some of the early usages that locates *ānanda* in the sexual organ or penis, in the later language the term assumes the general meaning of happiness and joy. Nevertheless, van Buitenen’s insight is important for teasing out the early semantics of *ānanda*.

² W. Schwarz lists 96 compounds with *ānanda* as the final member, most of which

One of the most ancient, and perhaps the most significant, examples of the centrality of *ānanda* in theological discourse is the *Brahmsūtras* ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa. After an introductory statement that *brahman* is the source of the universe (1.1.5-11), Bādarāyaṇa devotes eight *sūtras* to demonstrating that *brahman/ātman* is defined in the Upaniṣads as *ānanda*.³ Although the expression does not occur in the writings of Śaṅkara, the compound *saccidānanda* (being-consciousness-bliss) became in time both within and outside the Advaita tradition a short-hand definition of *brahman*.⁴

Given the prominence of *ānanda* in the theological, as well as the non-technical, religious vocabulary of India at least from about the fifth century C.E., it is somewhat surprising that, with the exception of van Buitenen's (1979) study, not much work has been done into the semantic history of this term.

For heuristic purposes, I will divide the pre-*Brahmasūtra* period into 1. Early Vedic (consisting of the RV, AV, and the mantra portions of the YV); 2. Middle Vedic (consisting of the Brāhmaṇas); 3. Late Vedic (consisting of the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads); and 4. Post-Vedic (principally Buddhist and epic literature). In this paper my focus will be principally on the first three periods, introducing evidence from the fourth only to point to the possible later semantic history of the term.

I.2

To begin with, however, I want to discuss briefly the conclusions drawn by van Buitenen (1979) in his pioneering study. He acknowledges the explicit sexual connotations of the term in a wide spectrum of vedic texts, including the Upaniṣads, but rejects what he calls the "reductionist" fallacy of equating *ānanda* with orgasmic thrill (1979, 326).⁵ He concludes his survey by pointing out the semantic multivocality of the term:

appear to be names or titles: *Reverse Index of Old Indian* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), II: 219-20.

³ It is impossible to date the *Brahmasūtra* with any precision or certainly, but we would not be too off the mark in assigning it to a period between the 2nd and 5th centuries C.E. Although a detailed analysis of texts from this period is required to arrive at a definitive conclusion, I think that this treatment of *ānanda* in the *Brahmasūtras* was a watershed in the history of the term. It clearly influenced all the "Vedāntic" traditions, both the Advaita and the devotional. The Advaita use of the term may also have influenced the Tantric definition of the liberating experience as *ānanda*: Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka*, 5.27-53; Muller-Ortega 1989, 197-98.

⁴ See Deussen 1912, 212; Nakamura 1983, 486. According to Deussen, the expression first occurs in the *Nṛsimhatāpaniya Upaniṣad*, which is not of great help, because we know nothing about the date of that Upaniṣad.

⁵ Van Buitenen's fear of "reductionist" tendencies in the study of religion was perhaps influenced by his connections to the Chicago school of "history of religion". On the reductionist debate in the study of religion (where reductionism is often used as a derogatory term) and on the reductionist imperative if we are to engage in any explanatory endeavor, see Segal 1983; Preus 1987.

In following the course of the uses of the word *ānanda* we have seen it pause at the landmarks in the development of religion and thought. It was the high joy of drinking the soma and of offering it, the climax of the ritual building of the universe, the unhindered happiness of gods, the orgasm that begets a son in one's image as a metaphor of one's self-renewal as one of the gods, the joyous knowledge of oneself and the eldest *brahman*, and the bliss that is the *brahman* and the *ātman* (van Buitenen 1979, 330).

Van Buitenen is right to point out that *ānanda* has a range of meanings, consonant with the range of conditions under which a person experiences joy or pleasure. However, he makes no effort to examine which of these meanings may have provided the foundation for its technical use within the theological vocabulary of the Upaniṣads, a use that formed the basis of its later use in Vedāntic discourse. His reluctance to assign a central role to the sexual dimension, which (and which alone) he qualifies as “a metaphor”, coupled with his fear of “reductionism”, prevented him from seeing the explicit and unambiguous connection between *ānanda* as orgasmic rapture and *ānanda* as the experience of *brahman/ātman*.

II.1

Ānanda is a somewhat rare word in the early vedic literature. In the *RV* it occurs in only two verses, both in a single hymn to Soma (9.113.6, 11). The first reads:

*yatra brahmā pavamāna chandasīyāṃ vācaṃ vadan | grāvṇā some mahīyate
somenānandaṃ janayann—indrāyendo pari srava ||*⁶

Van Buitenen translates: “O thou now purified, Soma in whom the *brahman* priest, while speaking the words of the hymns, rejoices with the pressing stone, generating *bliss* through Soma—swirl around for Indra, O drop!” From this translation it appears that the verse is a complete sentence, which it is not, and that the relative pronoun *yatra* refers to Soma (perhaps seeing it as in apposition to the locative *some*). In fact, the co-relative *yatra* is left dangling until we reach the word *tasmin* in the next verse (*RV* 9.113.7):

*yatra jyotir ajasraṃ yasmīṃ loke svar hitam | tasmin mām dhehi
pavamānāmṛte loka akṣita—indrāyendo pari srava ||*⁷

⁶ Geldner translates: “Wo, o Pavamāna, der Hohepriester in gebundener Rede sprechend mit dem Preßstein (in der Hand) bei Soma sich erhaben fühlt, durch den Soma Wonne wirkend, da fließe usw [für Indra ringsum ab, o Saft!].” By syntactically connecting the final refrain with the rest of the sentence, Geldner also appears to make this a complete sentence. In other verses, however, he translates the refrain as a separate sentence. The word *mahīyate*, we will see, is often associated with *ānanda*, and in these contexts probably refers to an internal feeling of exultation.

⁷ Geldner translates: “Wo das ewige Licht ist, in welche Welt die Sonne gesetzt ist, in

Verse 6 begins a group of six verses, all containing the opening word *yatra*. In verses 7-11 the pronoun clearly refers to the heavenly world of light and immortality. It appears that a parallel is drawn between the sacrificial spot, the place where the soma is crushed with the stone, of verse 6, and the immortal world in heaven of verse 7, a connection that is quite common in the vedic literature. As in verse 6 the priest is said to “generate *ānanda*” at the place where soma is crushed, so in the final verse of this group (RV 9. 133.11) the heavenly world is said to contain *ānandas* (in the plural):

*yatrānandās ca modās ca mudah̄ pramuda āsate | kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmās
tatra mām amṛtaṃ kṛdhi—indrāyendo pari srava ||*⁸

The supplicant asks that he be made immortal in the place (*yatra*) where every wish is fulfilled and where there are *ānandāḥ*, *modāḥ*, *mudah̄*, and *pramudah̄*. The exact meanings here of these semantically related terms are unclear; they are clearly intended to intensify the impact, in a way similar to *kāmasya kāmāḥ*,⁹ and we will encounter these terms used together in later literature.

Van Buitenen (1979, 324) thinks that *ānanda* in these verses refers to “the joyous state of (drug-induced) ecstasy in which the ecstatic may hope for immortality”. Such a meaning is certainly possible; later we will see *ānanda* associated with *surā* (liquor). Elsewhere, however, *ānanda* is most frequently associated with sexual pleasure, and it is not farfetched to see a similar intent here. The soma sacrifice has clear connections to sexuality and fertility, and the soma juice itself is compared to semen.¹⁰ The process of crushing and squeezing out the juice from the stalks by means of the pressing stones is full of sexual imagery. It is this process that “generates *ānanda*”, which, as we will see, is closely associated in later literature with the ejaculation of the semen and the generation of offspring. We can assume that *at least part* of the meaning and imagery of *ānanda* in these R̥gvedic verses is sexual.

In the AV(Ś) *ānanda* and its derivatives are used six times. Twice we have the same phrase: *ānandā modāḥ pramudo bhīmodamudaś ca ye*.¹¹ At AV(Ś) 11.7.26 these experiences are among the various elements of the universe that are said to originate from the *ucchiṣṭa*, the

diese versetze mich, o Pavamāna, in die unsterbliche, unvergängliche Welt! Fließe für Indra ringsum ab, o Saft!”

⁸ Geldner translates: “Wo Wonnen, Freuden, Lüste und Belustigungen wohnen, wo die Wünsche des Wunsches erlangt werden, dor mache usw [mich unsterblich! Fließe für Indra ringsum ab, o Saft!].”

⁹ On this type of intensification, see Oertel 1937.

¹⁰ *reto vai somaḥ* (“Soma is indeed semen”) ŚB 1.9.2.9. See, Jamison 1996a, 127-46.

¹¹ Whitney translates: “Delights, joys, enjoyments, and they that enjoy enjoyments.” The parallels at AV(P) 16.84.8 reads *ānandās ca pramodās cābhīmodamudaś ca ye*, and AV(P) 16.87.4 reads *nandāḥ* for *modāḥ*.

sacrificial remains, while at AV(Ś) 11.8.24 they are among the various powers that entered the human body. The contexts of these verses do not provide clues as to the precise meaning of *ānanda*. Sāyaṇa here, as in other places where the three terms *moda*, *pramud* (or *pramoda*), and *ānanda* are listed together, explains the first as pleasure derived from seeing an object, the second as pleasure derived from obtaining an excellent object, and the third as the pleasure derived from enjoying the object.¹² Although Sāyaṇa's interpretation does not tell us much about what the terms may have meant in their original contexts, I think his instinct in taking the three as a progressive intensifying of pleasure is correct. And his connection of *ānanda* with the actual enjoyment of the desired object is borne out by evidence from its usage elsewhere, especially within the context of sexual activity.

In AV(Ś) 10.2.9 [=AV(P) 60.1], a hymn that asks repeated questions about who created the various bodily parts and powers of Puruṣa, we have the terms *ānandān* and *nandān*. Here too the context provides few clues as to their specific meanings. A clue, however, may be found in the VS(M) 20, which also has a long list of bodily organs and powers; verse 9 reads in part: *ānandanandāv aṇḍau me bhagaḥ saubhāgyam paśaḥ*.¹³ The connection between *ānanda* and the sexual organs made explicitly in this passage will become a recurrent theme in the middle and late vedic literature. The connection is also made in the AV(Ś) itself, in a hymn (9.7) celebrating the bull. The various organs and activities of the bull are identified with different deities and cosmic entities. Verse 23 reads: *mitra iṅsamāṇa āvṛtta ānandaḥ*.¹⁴ The meaning of "looking" and "turning this way [or around]" is not altogether clear. Sāyaṇa, however, may have had this passage in mind when he provided the gloss on AV(Ś) 11.6.3 (see note 17) saying that a bull in a herd looks at the cows and, desiring to mount them, bellows. Such a scene provides a plausible explanation for this looking¹⁵ and turning around and for why the turning around is called *ānanda*. If we interpret the above terms as a prelude to mating, then the passage that immediately follows [AV(Ś) 9.7.24=AV(P) 16.139.25] may also have sexual implications: *yujyamāno vaiśvadevo yuktaḥ prajāpatir*

¹² *modāḥ* = *viśayadarśanajanyaḥ harṣāḥ*; *pramudaḥ* = *prakṛṣṭaviśayalābhajanyaḥ harṣāḥ*; *ānandaḥ* = *viśayoḥbhogajanitāḥ sukhaviśeṣāḥ*. Commenting on TB 2.4.6.5, Sāyaṇa offers the following definitions: *sukhaviśeṣo modaḥ* | *darśanajanyaḥ pramodaḥ* | *bhogajanya ānandaḥ*; and at TB 2.4.6.5 he states explicitly that the three words imply a gradation: *modādayas trayas tāra(ta)myenāvasthitāḥ sukhāvāntaraviśeṣāḥ* | *vārtājanyaḥ sukhaviśeṣo modaḥ* | *darśanajanyaḥ pramodaḥ* | *bogajanya ānandaḥ* | For triadic intensifications of this type, see note 32.

¹³ Griffith (1917) was too embarrassed to translate this section, but Sāyaṇa explains it unabashedly and straightforwardly. Here the man prays that his two testicles will have *ānanda* and *nanda*, and that his penis will have sexual pleasure and success. This phrase occurs also in MS 3.11.8; KS 38.4; TB 2.6.5.6.

¹⁴ Whitney translates: "Mitra when looking, delight when turned this way." The AV(P) 139.24 reads: *āvṛtta ānanda iṅsamāṇo mitrāvaruṇau*.

¹⁵ A similar sexual implication of looking is found at ŚB(M) 6.2.2.6 discussed below, p. 83, n. 24.

vimuktaḥ sarvām, which Whitney translates: “Belonging to all the gods when being yoked, Prajāpati when yoked, everything when released.” But the verb √*yuj* can also mean to unite sexually, and if that is the case, the meaning would be: “He is All-gods when about to couple, Prajāpati when coupled, and the Whole when uncoupled.” In this context the connection of “union” with Prajāpati, the creator/pro-creator god, also makes sense.

The two final examples from the AV(Ś) contain the feminine adjective *ānandinī*, “one possessing *ānanda*”, i.e., joyful. In a charm to produce rain, there is the wish “may plants become joyful”—*ānandinīr ośadhayo bhavantu* [AV(Ś) 4.15.16 = AV(P) 5.7.14]. The reference is to the joy that plants, parched after a long period of drought, feel (metaphorically) when the rains come. The sexual connotation, I think, is still there, because rain is often equated with semen, and at AV(Ś) 11.4.3 the process of plants absorbing rain-water is explicitly compared to mating:

*yat prāna stanayitnunābhikrandaty ośadhīḥ | pra viyante garbhān dadhate
’ho bahvīr vi jāyante ||*¹⁶

Sāyaṇa¹⁷ makes the sexual imagery explicit: thunder looks upon the plants and cries out, like a bull that bellows at seeing the cows; then the plants, by merely hearing that sound, become impregnated, carry the fetus, and bring forth progeny.

AV(Ś) 4.38 is a good-luck charm for victory in gambling. The first part of the charm is addressed to Apsarā, who is said to “rejoice in the dice” (*akṣeṣu pramodante*). She is characterized in verse 4 as *ānandinīm pramodinīm*. The context appears to indicate that these terms are used with reference to the pleasure of gambling, but the Apsaras are closely associated with sexuality.

Apart from passages parallel to the AV(Ś), there are only two independent uses of the term in the AV(P). At AV(P) 12.6.8, in an eulogy of rain similar to AV(Ś) 4.15.16, the sun is said to produce *ānanda*—*sūrya ānandaṃ janayan*. At AV(P) 16.152.11 also the sun is said to bring *ānanda*.

Turning now to the *mantra* sections of the Yajurveda Saṃhitās, the *TS* uses *ānanda* only once (*TS* 5.7.19), and it is unclear whether this passage is a *mantra* or a *brāhmaṇa*.¹⁸ This section of the *TS* deals

¹⁶ Whitney translates: “When breath with thunder roars at the herbs, they are impregnated, they receive embryos, then they are born many.”

¹⁷ Sāyaṇa glosses *abhikrandati*: *abhilakṣya śabdāyate | yathā goyūthamadhye dypto vṛṣabhaḥ garbhān ādhītsus tā abhilakṣya śabdaṃ karoti tathety arthaḥ*. He glosses *pra viyante*: *prānābhikrandanamātrād eva garbhāṃ grhṇanti [...] varṣatuḥ sarvāsām ośadhīnām garbhagrahaṇakāla ity arthaḥ*. In the next two verses the author uses the verb *pramodati* to refer to the joy of plants and animals at the coming of rain.

¹⁸ Sāyaṇa appears to take it as a *mantra*, while Keith (1914, 479, n. 1) thinks it is a *brāhmaṇa* passage, although he is not completely sure because of the *mantra*-like ending of *TS* 5.7.20 with *svāhā* repeated three times.

with how various parts and powers of the sacrificial horse are connected to gods and cosmic entities. The passage in question reads: *ānandaṃ nandathunā kāmaṃ pratyāsābhyāṃ bhayaṃ śītīmaṃ praśīṣaṃ praśāsābhyāṃ* —“*ānanda* with the penis; love with the two Pratyāsas; fear with the two Śītīmans; command with the two Praśāsas.”¹⁹ Here we come across for the first time the clear connection of *ānanda* with a corresponding physical organ, the *nandathu*, literally “the delighter” but clearly referring to the penis that provides *ānanda*.

The *VS(M)* uses the term four times. In the *mantras* to be recited at the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice, the liquor (*surā*) is addressed: *ṣa te yonir modāya tvānandāya tvā mahase tvā* —“This is your place of birth. You for delight! You for *ānanda*! You for joy!” [*VS(M)* 19.8; = *KS* 37.18; *TB* 2.6.1.5]. Here, as in *RV* 9.113, the context is a drink but here we see more clearly another aspect of *ānanda*, the hilarity and mirth of drinking. The term is used again in the *mantras* of the Sautrāmaṇī (*VS(M)* 20.9),²⁰ a passage we have already examined and where the sexual connotation of *ānanda* is explicit. Similarly explicit are the two other occurrences, both in 30th Adhyāya containing *mantras* for the Puruṣamedha sacrifice. In listing the various types of men to be sacrificed for various aims, the text reads: *ānandāya strīsakhaṃ pramude kumārīputram* —“for *ānanda* a women’s friend, for pleasure the son of an unmarried woman” [*VS(M)* 30.6=*TB* 3.4.2.1]. It is unclear what *strīsakha* precisely means; given the context of dance, song, and sex, it is at least a possibility that it refers to a libertine, a man all women run after. Further down the list we have *viṇāvādaṃ pāñighnaṃ tūṇavadhmaṃ tān ṛttāyānandāya talavam* —“Lute player, hand clapper, flutist—these for dance; for *ānanda* a musician” [*VS(M)* 30.20]. In the *VS*, then, *ānanda*, besides its sexual meanings, is used with reference to the pleasure associated with drinking, dancing, and music. Taken together with the *AV(Ś)* usage with regard to the Apsaras engaged in the game of dice, we see a pattern emerging in the early vedic literature of *ānanda* being associated with sex, gambling, drinking and dancing.

II.2

I turn now to the middle vedic texts represented by the Brāhmaṇas. With the exception of a single passage in the *Kauṣītaki* (= *Śāṅkhāyana* 2.7), the term is used extensively only in two Brāhmaṇas, both belonging to the Yajurveda: the *Śatapatha* and the

¹⁹ The meanings of these pairs are unclear. Sāyaṇa merely states that they are pairs of organs near the sexual organ: *guhyaśamīpavartiny avayavayugalāni*. The Aśvamedha section (13.9) of the *KS* reads *nandathubhyām*.

²⁰ The passage occurs also in *MS* 3.11.8; *KS* 38.4; *TB* 2.6.5.6.

Taittirīya. Although both are somewhat late texts, the *Śatapatha* is probably the older of the two.

Leaving aside for the moment the *BU*, which constitutes its final chapters, the *ŚB(M)* uses the term six times. The meaning of *ānanda* is most clear and explicit at *ŚB(M)* 10.5.2.11. This section deals with the connections between the sun, on the one hand, and the sacrifice and the body, on the other. With regard to the body (10.5.2.7-9), the golden person in the sun's orb (*maṇḍale puruṣaḥ*) and Indra are in turn identified with the person in the right eye (*dakṣiṇe 'kṣaṇ puruṣaḥ*), and the mate of the person in the sun's orb and Indrāṇī, the wife of Indra, are in turn identified with the person in the left eye.²¹ The male and the female persons in the right and left eyes remain out of each other's sight by the partition created by the nose (10.5.2.9; cf. *TS* 2.3.8.2). During sleep, however, the two descend into the cavity or space within the heart and unite with each other; at the climax of this union the two become in some way unconscious (*petit mort* of orgasm) and in this rapture experiences the highest *ānanda*:

*tau hṛdayasyākāśaṃ praty avetya mithunībhavatas tau yadā mithunasyāntaṃ
gacchato 'tha haitat puruṣaḥ svapīti tad yathā haivedaṃ mānuṣasya mithu-
nasyāntaṃ gatvāsaṃvida iva bhavaty evaṃ haivaitad asaṃvida iva bhavati
daivaṃ hy etan mithunaṃ paramo hy eṣa ānandaḥ | ŚB(M) 10.5.2.11.*

The two descend into the space within the heart and engage in sexual intercourse. And when the two reach the climax²² of the sexual intercourse, the man here is then asleep. It is like this. As here when one reaches the climax of a human sexual intercourse one becomes in some way unconscious, so there he becomes in some way unconscious, for that is the divine sexual intercourse, for that is the highest *ānanda*.

Here *ānanda* refers clearly and explicitly to the orgasmic thrill that makes one lose one's consciousness. In the very next paragraph (10.5.2.12), in fact, the text goes into further detail, stating that a) one should not awaken a sleeping man suddenly or violently, lest one disturb the sexual union of these two, and b) the mouth of people who have slept are slimy (*śleṣmaṇa*) because these two have spilled their seed, thus comparing the slimy spit to the slimy semen.

The connection between *ānanda* and orgasm is further established in *ŚB(M)* 6.2.2.6. In explaining why a white and hornless male goat is offered to Vāyu Niyutvat, the text narrates the story of Prajāpati. After creating the creatures (*prajāḥ*, feminine), he looked (*anuvyaikṣata*) at them and because of the excessive joy (*atyānandena*) he spilled his seed, which became the white goat. His orgasmic joy comes here not at the time of creation but afterwards when he looks

²¹ These are identifications familiar also in the Upaniṣads: *BU* 4.2.2; 5.5.2

²² Eggeing translates *anta* as "end", which misses the point. The *anta* of sex is not just the end but the climactic orgasm. He also misses the point when in a footnote he explains that "unconscious" means something like "indifferent, apathetic".

at his creatures. The use of the feminine *prajā* gives us a clue; he lusted after his own daughter(s). Prajāpati's incest is frequently mentioned in the Vedas, and the story of Prajāpati lusting after his daughter is told repeatedly in the vedic literature.²³ The "looking" by Prajāpati could also have sexual implications; looking at the melted butter by the wife of the sacrificial patron, for example, is viewed as sexual intercourse between the wife (woman) and butter (semen).²⁴

These usages permit us to interpret the other four occurrences of *ānanda* in the *ŚB(M)*, all in the single passage 10.3.5.12-14.

tasya vā etasya yajuṣaḥ | rasa evopaniṣat tasmād yāvanmātreṇa yajuṣādh varyur grahaṃ grhṇāti sa ubhe stutaśastre anuvibhavaty ubhe stutaśastre anuyasṇute tasmād yāvanmātra ivānmasya rasaḥ sarvam annam avati sarvam annam anuvyeti || 12 ||

ṭṭptir evāśya gatiḥ | tasmād yadānnasya ṭṭṭṭyati atha sa gata iva manyata ānanda evāśya vijñānam ātmānandātmāno haiva sarve devāḥ sā haiśaiva devānām addhāvīdyā sa ha sa na manusyo ya evaṃvid devānām haiva sa ekaḥ || 13 ||

etad dha sma vai tadvidvān priyavratō rauhiṇyana āha | vāyur vāntam ānandas ta ātmeto vā vāhito veti sa ha sma tathaiva vāti tasmād yām deveṣv āśiṣam icched etenai vopatiṣṭhetānando va ātmāsau me kāmah sa me samydhayatām iti saṃ haivāsmāi sa kāma ṛdhyate yatkāmo bhavaty etām ha vai ṭṭṭṭim etām gatim etam ānandam etam ātmānam abhisambhavati ya evaṃ veda || 14 ||

12. Now, of this *yajus*-formula, the hidden connection (*upaniṣad*) is flavor [or essence]. Therefore, when with ever so small a *yajus*-formula the Adhvaryu draws a cup of Soma, it [*rasa*] becomes equal to both the Stotra and the Śastra, it measures up to both the Stotra and the Śastra. The flavor of food, therefore, be it ever so small, enhances the entire food, pervades the entire food.

13. Its [of the *yajus*] completion is satiation. Therefore, when with food a man reaches satiation, then he considers himself in some way wiped out.²⁵

Its body is *ānanda*—this is its true knowledge.²⁶ For, indeed, all the gods have *ānanda* as their body. This, indeed, is the true knowledge of gods.

²³ *MS* 4.2.12; *AB* 3.33; *ŚB(M)* 1.7.4. In the *BU* (1.4.3-4) there is the story of the first being (often identified with Prajāpati) who split himself in two, into *pati* (husband) and *patni* (wife). He copulated with her, producing the humans. But the woman thinks "After begetting me from his own body, how could he copulate with me?" She hid herself by becoming various animals, with all of whom he copulated, thus giving rise to the various kinds of animals. For an extensive discussion of Prajāpati's incest, see O'Flaherty 1973, 111-40.

²⁴ See *ŚB* 1.3.1.18. This topic is studied exhaustively by Jamison 1996a, 55-59. See also *AV(Ś)* 9.7.23 discussed above.

²⁵ The term *gati* (completion) indicates probably the progress and the completion of the progress of the *yajus*. In the earlier part of this section (*ŚB(M)* 10.3.5.1-7) dealing with the etymology of *yajus*, it is repeatedly connected with motion. In the final image of a man who has eaten a lot, there appears to be a pun on *gati*. The man then feels as if he is *gata*, that is, "I'm gone" or "I'm wiped out".

²⁶ The nominal sentence *ānanda evāśya vijñānam ātmā* is problematic. In other nominal sentences with three nouns (A. B. C), such as *CU* 6.1.4-6, the most likely syntax is: B is A, (namely) C. Thus in the *CU* examples *vācārambhaṇam vikāro nāmadheyam* is

And anyone who knows this is not a man; he is truly one of the gods.

14. Knowing this, indeed, Priyavrata Rauhiṅyāyana said to the wind as it was blowing: 'Your body is *ānanda*. Blow this way or that way!' And thus, indeed, does it blow. Therefore, a man who wishes to obtain a blessing from the gods should worship them within this: 'Your body is *ānanda*. Here is my wish. May it be fulfilled for me!' And whatever wish he may have, it will surely be fulfilled.

A man who knows this will obtain this contentment, this fulfillment, this *ānanda*, and this body.

Here the *yajus* formula is compared to food. Of this *yajus*-food, the *upaniṣad* is the flavor (*rasa*),²⁷ the completion (*gati*) is the satiation (*typti*), and the body (*ātman*) is *ānanda*. The text goes on to state that all the gods have *ānanda* as their *ātman*, providing the earliest evidence of *ānanda* being used as an essential attribute of gods. This knowledge of the essence of gods appears to be a secret, the knowledge of which gives a man power over the gods. Thus, if one tells the gods "Your *ātman* is *ānanda*," one's wishes will be fulfilled. The passage ends by saying that anyone who has this knowledge attains *typti*, *gati*, *ānanda*, and *ātman*; in this ascending hierarchy, the *ātman* that the man will obtain is clearly the *ātman* that consists of *ānanda*; that is, he becomes a god.

This is a difficult passage. Eggeling's translation compounds the difficulties, and I do not pretend to have solved all of them. *Upaniṣad* here means connection/equivalence, showing how the *yajus* is equal to the other ritual utterances, just as the flavor (*rasa*) permeates the food. The implication is that if it is the *rasa*, then even a small amount can surpass things that are much larger. The *yajus* is brief in comparison to the Stotra (Sāmavedic chant) and the Śastra (R̥gvedic recitation) that follow each other at a Soma sacrifice. The phrase *ānanda evāsya vijñānam ātmā* Eggeling translates as: "And joy, the knowledge thereof (viz. of the essence, the mystic import), is its soul (self)". Clearly this is inaccurate. The subject is *ātman*, and *vijñānam* is probably a parenthetical statement. Then the *ātman* (which in this context probably means body) of the gods, just as the *ātman* of the *yajus*, is said to consist of *ānanda*, and this knowledge gives magical power to the knower.²⁸ At the surface level

translated: "The transformation is a verbal handle, a name." In the present context, however, *vijñānam* appears as an intrusion both because the two parallel sentences in this structured series of identifications have only two nouns and because *vijñānam* is quickly dropped from the discussion; even in the final enumeration in § 14 it is omitted. I have followed Stephanie Jamison's (private communication) suggestion that *vijñānam* may be a parenthetical comment and not part of the equation. The term then refers to this "knowledge" or "science", i.e., the knowledge that "*ātman* is *ānanda*", which the gods and Priyavrata Rauhiṅyāyana possessed.

²⁷ Contrary to Eggeling, the subject of the nominal sentence is *upaniṣad* and the predicate is *rasa*; likewise, at the beginning of paragraph 14, *gati* is subject and *typti* the predicate (see Gren-Eklund 1978). Furthermore, I think that the phrase *ānanda evāsya vijñānam ātmā* is the third in the list, paralleling *rasa* and *typti*.

²⁸ We have a similar connection between *rasa*, *ānanda*, and *ātman* in the TU 2.1-7.

ānanda in this passage probably refers to the relishing of the flavor of food. But in this literature there are clear connections between food/eating and sex, and here the terms *rasa* and *gati* can have a double entendre, the former meaning semen (see *TU* 2.7 discussed in II.3) and the latter meaning “going”, i.e., sexual congress. And *tr̥pti*, as we will see in *TB* 2.4.6.5, also has sexual connotations. The author appears to be playing on this double meaning which permits him to say that gods have *ānanda* as their *ātman*, reminiscent of *ŚB(M)* 10.5.2.11 that speaks of “divine sexual intercourse” which is the highest *ānanda*.

If we exclude the three passages (*TB* 2.6.1.5; 2.6.5.6; 3.4.2.1) occurring also in the *VS*, the *TB* uses *ānanda* four times. The sexual connotation is most explicit at *TB* 2.4.6.4-5, where the term is used twice:

prajāpatiḥ striyām yaśaḥ muṣkayor adadhāt saṅgam |
kāmasya tr̥ptim ānandam tasyāgne bhājayeha mā ||
modaḥ pramoda ānandaḥ muṣkayor nihitaḥ saṅgaḥ |
s̥tveva kāmasya tr̥pyāṇi dakṣiṇānām pratigrahe ||

Prajāpati put the penis in the vagina,²⁹ the glory in the woman —the satisfaction of desire, the *ānanda*. O Fire, make me here partake of that! The penis is put in the vagina —the joy, the thrill, the *ānanda*, flowing somehow (with semen) toward the satisfactions of desire in accepting the sacrificial gifts.³⁰

In this eulogy of the pride of masculinity, *ānanda*, as well as the two associated terms *moda* and *pramoda*,³¹ are identified with the penis placed within the vagina, the penis that brings the satisfaction (*tr̥pti*) of desire. *Moda*, *pramoda*, and *ānanda*³² appear as names of three of the fifteen *muhūrtas* of a night at *TB* 3.10.1.1.

The final example is from *TB* 2.4.5.7:

indraś ca naḥ śunāsirau imaṃ yajñam mimikṣatam |

²⁹ Sāyaṇa takes the dual *muṣkayor* as referring to the testicles (*ana*), but the context, I think, suggests the labia majora (or minora) of the vagina. The term is used with the meaning of labia in *VS(M)* 23.28 (discussed by Jamison 1996, 71 and 276, n. 134); *KṣB* 23.4; *BU* 6.3.3 (where the term appears to refer to the labia minora).

³⁰ According to Sāyaṇa, the sacrificial gift here refers to the practice of giving a virgin to the officiating priest as a *dakṣiṇā*. The exact meaning and syntax of *s̥tveva* is unclear.

³¹ Both *moda* and *pramoda* are used with sexual connotations. Thus *RV* 10.30.5 says that Soma frolics with the waters (feminine) like a man with young girls: *yābhīḥ somo modate harṣate ca kalyāṇibhir yuvatibhir na maryaḥ |* At *RV* 10.10.12 Yama tells Yami, his sister, that she should not have sex with him but with some other man: *anyena mat pramudaḥ kalpayasva*.

³² This sequence clearly probably falls into the triadic intensifying device known as “Behaghel’s Law”, i.e., the law of increasing elements: Otto Behagel, “Beziehungen zwischen Umfang und Reihenfolge von Satzgliedern,” *Indogerm. Forschungen* 25 (1909-10), 110-42. This intensification consists in a progressively larger number of syllables or morae in the three words. An example from American English would be “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”. In *moda*, *pramoda*, *ānanda*, we have a progressive increase in morae: 3, 4, and 5. I want to thank Mark Southern for pointing this out.

garbhaṃ dhattaṃ svastaye ||
 yayor idaṃ viśvaṃ bhuvanam āviveśa
 yayor ānando nihito mahas ca |
 śunāsīrāv ṛtubhiḥ saṃvidānau
 indravantaethām ||³³

Indra and you, O Śuna-Sīra, mix [prepare] this sacrifice for us and place the fetus for prosperity. Together with Indra and in agreement with the Seasons, O Śuna-Sīras, be pleased with this offering, you into whom this whole world has entered and in whom *ānanda* and exultation have been placed.

In this hymn to the obscure dual deity Śuna-Sīra,³⁴ *ānanda* and *mahas*, a term often associated with *ānanda*, are said to be placed or deposited in these two deities. Śuna and Sīra are identified by Yaska with Vāyu and Āditya, but originally they were probably agricultural deities, possibly personifications of the plow and the share. Although the passage is obscure, we can detect here the same type of agricultural metaphor that was found in *AV(Ś)* 4.15.16, where plants are said to be joyful (*ānandinah*) when it rains. There could also be a sexual imagery in the “union” of the plow and the share (or plow and the plowman), the union that produces *ānanda* leading to agricultural abundance.

In a somewhat unclear passage of the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (7.2), *ānanda* is associated with three things, food, drink, and sexual intercourse: *yaivaike cānandā anne pāne mithune rātryā eva te samitā avyavacchinnāḥ kriyante | teṣāṃ rātriḥ kārotaraḥ | ya u vaike cānandā annād eva te sarve jāyante* | “Whatever joys that are in food, drink, and sexual intercourse, all those are joined together without interruption through the night; for them the night is the sieve. Whatever joys there are, they are born from food.” Although here *ānanda* is said to be derived from food, the same passage goes on to state that the essence (*rasa*) of food gives rise to semen (*retas*) and the essence of semen

³³ This is probably a Gāyatri verse, followed by a Trīṣṭubh. The meter of *pāda a* of the Trīṣṭubh can be restored by dropping *idam*. This verse is an adaptation of the common verse-type beginning *vāyav indras ca*. Jamison (1988, 14) formulates succinctly the grammatical rule followed by this construction: “two vocatives may not be conjoined by *ca*; in place of the second expected vocative, another case will appear. In Vedic, this is always the nominative.” Our verse follows the “inverted construction” where the nominative is placed first (see Jamison 1988 for further bibliography and a detailed discussion of this construction). Theoretically, there should be a plural verb ending here, because three deities are addressed. The dual ending of the verb (*mimikṣatam*) probably follows the stereotype of such constructions where two deities are addressed, generally Indra and another deity (usually Vāyu).

³⁴ The two are mentioned in *RV* 4.57.5, 8. The final Cāturmāsya sacrifice in the autumn is called Śunāsīriya and offered to these two deities, clearly indicating their association with agriculture and the bounty of the harvest: see *Śrauta Kośa* (Poona: Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, 1962), I.2: pp. 759-63, 895-98. In the *ŚB* (7.2.2.5) there is an explicit connection between plowing and sex: the plow (=penis) makes the furrow (=womb) and deposits the seed (=semen) in it, for “if one casts (seed) into unplowed land, it is the same as depositing semen in a place other than the womb.”

gives rise to man. Here too, then, food and semen are closely associated with each other and with *ānanda*.

II.3

The literature of the late vedic period contains the most significant semantic developments of *ānanda*, developments that had a profound influence on later Indian theological vocabularies. The evidence for these developments come principally from the early Upaniṣads, the term occurring only once in the Āraṇyakas.

Among a series of *mantras* for the Piṭṛmedha, we read at TA 6.11.2: *ānandāya pramodāya punar āgām svān grhān* —“For bliss, for delight I have returned to my home.” The context offers no clues, but we have seen the two terms *ānanda* and *pramoda* frequently used together.

Of the early Upaniṣads, *ānanda* is most prominent in the two Yajurvedic documents, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Taittirīya*, and to a somewhat lesser extent in the *Kauṣītaki*, which belongs to the *R̥gveda*.³⁵ I will deal with the three together because all three reflect parallel semantic developments of the term. Continuing, and extending, the trend already noticed in the earlier literature, these Upaniṣads present *ānanda* as the faculty or power of the sexual organ parallel to the sensory and motor faculties associated with other organs, e.g., seeing with the eyes, hearing with the ears, and motion with the feet. Although the term *upastha* can refer to both male and female sexual organs, it is clear that these texts deal with the male rather than the female orgasm; *upastha* in these contexts undoubtedly refers to the penis. The BU 2.4.11 (=BU 4.5.12) presents the sexual organ as the point of convergence of all *ānanda* (*evaṃ sarveṣāṃ ānandānāṃ upastha ekāyanam*), in the same way as the ocean is of all waters, skin of all sensations of touch, and sight of all visible appearances. A similar association is made in the TU 3.10.3: *prajātir amṛtam ānanda ity upasthe*. The meaning of the elliptical phrases in this passage is far from clear, but probably the sense is that one should “venerate”, that is, perceive the equivalence of, *brahman* in the sexual organ as “procreation, immortality, and *ānanda*.” Here we have an interesting coupling of immortality and *ānanda*, a connection that becomes important when *brahman* comes to be defined as *ānanda*. In the present context, it is procreation that links *ānanda* to immortality: *ānanda*, the ejaculatory bliss, precedes procreation, and sons are identified with immortality in the early vedic literature.³⁶

³⁵ The transmission of the *KṣU*, however, has been much less faithful than that of the other early Upaniṣads. It is, therefore, difficult to make firm conclusions from the presence of the term in the *KṣU*, which may have been influenced by the Yajurvedic documents. Such an assumption is supported by the fact that neither the parallel documents of the Aitareya *sākhā* (AB, AA, and AU), nor the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* contain the word *ānanda*.

³⁶ See, for example, RV 5.4.10: “Through offspring, O Agni, may we attain immortality”—*prajābhir agne amṛtatvaṃ aśyām*. See Olivelle 1993, 41-46.

In explaining the pre-eminence of intelligence (*prajñā*), the *KṣU* shows how all human powers and the objects in the world corresponding to those powers are derived from intelligence. In this context *KṣU* 3.5 states:

*upastha evāsya ekam aṅgam udūlam | tasyānando ratiḥ prajātiḥ parastāt
prativihitā bhūtamātrā |*

The sexual organ is one part drawn from it [i.e., from intelligence], and *ānanda*, delight, and procreation constitute the particle of being that corresponds externally to it.

Here, instead of the *amṛta* of the *TU*, we have the more usual *rati* associated with *ānanda* and procreation. The subsequent paragraphs (*KṣU* 3.6-8) make the same associations:

prajñāyopasthaṃ samāruhyopasthenānandaṃ ratiṃ prajātim āpnoti |

When someone mounts the sexual organ by means of intelligence, he grasps *ānanda*, delight, and procreation through his sexual organ.

*na hi prajāpeta upastha ānandaṃ ratiṃ prajātim kāmca prajñāpayed
anyatra me mano 'bhūd ity āha nāham etam ānandaṃ na ratiṃ na prajātim
prājñāsiṣam iti |*

For without intelligence, the sexual organ would not make someone perceive any *ānanda*, delight, or procreation. So, one says: 'My mind was elsewhere, I did not perceive that *ānanda*, delight, or procreation,

*nānandaṃ na ratiṃ na prajātim vijjñāsītānandasya rateḥ prajāter
vijñātaraṃ vidyāt |*

It is not the *ānanda*, delight, or procreation that a man should seek to apprehend; rather, he should get to know the one who apprehends *ānanda*, delight, or procreation.

In *KṣU* 1.7 *Brahman* asks the man who has managed to arrive in the world of *Brahman* a variety of questions centering on how the man will grasp various objects. Thus, odors are grasped by the sense of smell, visible objects by sight, tastes by the tongue, actions by the hands, and so on. *Brahman* asks: *kenānandaṃ ratiṃ prajātim iti* — "(By what means do you grasp my) *ānanda*, delight, and procreation." The man replies: *upastheneti* — "By my sexual organ."

Even though the sexual organ is not explicitly mentioned, the list³⁷ of the father's powers that he assigns to his son during the poignant ceremony of transmission when the father is about to die contains the same three powers: *ānanda*, *rati*, and *prajāti* (*KṣU* 2.15).

³⁷ The list of these powers is the same as the one repeated four times together with the corresponding organs at *KṣU* 3.5-8. This long list is absent in the abbreviated ceremony recorded in *BṀ* 1.5.17.

During this ceremony the son lies on top of the father, every limb and organ of his touching the corresponding organ of the father. Clearly, the transfer is from the organs of the father to those of the son, and though unstated the transfer of *ānanda*, *rati*, and *prajāti* must be from the father's penis to that of the son.

These Upaniṣads thus make a clear and explicit connection between *ānanda* and the penis on the one hand, and between *ānanda* and procreation, on the other.

As opposed to the sexual organ, the *BU* 4.1.6 connects *ānanda* with the mind. The context is a long conversation between King Janaka and Yājñavalkya during which Janaka recounts what different teachers had told him about *brahman*. One of them had said that *brahman* is the mind. Yājñavalkya asks: "But did he tell you what its abode and foundation are?" He had not, and Janaka asks Yājñavalkya himself to tell him that. Yājñavalkya responds: *mana evāyatanam ākāśaḥ pratiṣṭhānanda ity enad upāsita* — "The mind itself is its abode, and space is its foundation. One should venerate it as (i.e., take *brahman* to be) *ānanda*." Janaka asks: *kānandatā* — "What is *ānanda*-ness (i.e., what constitutes *ānanda*)?" Yājñavalkya replies that is it the mind itself (*mana eva*) and gives the reason:

manasā vai samrāt striyaṃ abhīhāryate tasyāṃ pratirūpaḥ putro jāyate sa ānandaḥ | mano vai samrāt paramaṃ brahma |

For surely, Your Majesty, it is with the mind that man takes a woman to himself and through her fathers a son who resembles him. And that is *ānanda*. So clearly, Your Majesty, the highest *brahman* is the mind.

Here we have a connection established between mind, space, and *ānanda* in a set of equations: between mind and *ānanda*, between mind and *brahman*, and, hence, between *ānanda* and *brahman*. *Ānanda*, moreover, is defined as the mind because it is through the mind that one takes a woman (or wife) and begets a son through (literally, in) her. Here it appears that the entire process of begetting a son is defined as *ānanda*. The connection between *ānanda* and *brahman* is established here through the son, in a way similar to *TU* 3.10.3 where procreation appears to be the link between *ānanda* and immortality. Further, the foundation of this *brahman* is space. The reference is probably to the space within the heart which, as we saw (*ŚB*(M) 10.5.2.11), is associated with sexual activity in the context of sleep. And at *BU* 1.4.3 it is said that "the space here is completely filled by the woman" (*ayam ākāśaḥ striyā pūryata eva*).

This connection between *ānanda* and the mind throws light on the passage that follows the ceremony of transmission from a dying father to his son at *BU* 1.5.19. Among the divine faculties that enter the father after this ceremony is the *daivaṃ manas*, the divine mind. And this divine mind is defined as: *tad vai daivaṃ mano yenānandy eva bhavaty atho na śocati* — "The divine mind is that by which he is just

(always) joyful (*ānandin*) and thereafter is never sorrowful.” We have seen in *ŚB(M)* 10.3.5.12-15 that the *ātman* of divine beings (*deva*) is said to be *ānanda*.

The connection between *ānanda* and space in *BU* 4.1.6 permits us to interpret a rather difficult passage in *TU* 2.7 which immediately precedes the exegesis of *ānanda* discussed below. The author cites a verse:

asad vā idam agra āsīt tato vā sad ajāyata |
tad ātmānaṃ svayam akuruta tasmāt tat sukytam ucyate |

In the beginning this world was the non-existent,
and from it arose the existent.
By itself it made a body for itself;
therefore it is called “well-made”.

Now, “well-made” (*sukyta*) is an epithet that is used with reference to the human body; for example, in *AU* 1.2 the human body is distinguished from those of animals precisely because it is “well-made.” In *ŚB* (8.6.2.18) the body of Agni created in the Agnicayana ritual is called “well-made”, and the body of the sacrificer is likewise “well-made”. But the *TU* appears to be playing on the two words *svayaṃ* √*kṛ* and *su-*√*kṛ*; the body is “well-made” (*sukyta*) because it is “self-made” (*svayaṃkṛta*). How does a man make his own body? In a similar context, the *AU* (2), speaking of the births of a man, declares that the semen (*retas*) is one’s very self in the form of an embryo (*garbha*); and a man carries this seminal self of his within himself and later deposits it in a woman. This depositing of semen is his first birth.³⁸ When the semen has developed into a fetus and the woman gives birth, that is his second birth. It appears likely that the “self-made” nature of the body is connected to the fact that a man carries himself within himself in the form of his semen. This helps us understand the remainder of the *TU* (2.7) passage:

yad vai tat sukytam | raso vai saḥ | rasaṃ hy evāyaṃ labdhvānandī bhavati |
ko hy evānyāt kaḥ prānyāt | yad eṣa ākāśa ānando na syāt | eṣa hy evānan-
dayāti | yadā hy evaiṣa etasminn adṛśye ’nātmye ’nirukte ’nilayane
’bhaye³⁹pratiṣṭhāṃ vindate | atha so ’bhayaṃ gato bhavati | yadā hy evaiṣa
etasminn u darām⁴⁰ antaraṃ kurute ’tha tasya bhayaṃ bhavati |

The first problem is the meaning of *rasa*. It has been generally translated as “essence”, but that meaning does not make much sense within the context. *Rasa* has numerous meanings, including essence, seminal fluid, taste, and pleasure/desire. The author is probably play-

³⁸ In this sense, then, the connection between *ānanda* and *prajāti* can have another meaning. The ejaculation of the semen in *ānanda* is itself the *prajāti* or the self-procreation of the man.

³⁹ So with Rau (1981). The vulgate reads *’bhayaṃ*.

⁴⁰ So with Rau (1981). The vulgate reads *udaraṃ*.

ing on the ambiguity of the term. At *TU* 2.1, for example, a man is said to be made of the essence of food (*sa vā eṣa puruṣo 'nnarasamayāḥ*). The “well-made/self-made” condition of the human body consists in its being (or that it comes from) *rasa*; when one obtains this *rasa* one attains *ānanda*. The sexual implications of *rasa* here are unmistakable, and I think that here it means the “essence” of the human body, that is, the seminal fluid.⁴¹

The second problem concerns the somewhat mysterious statement about *ānanda* existing in space. The connection between mind, space, and *ānanda* in the above *BU* (4.1.6) passage, and the *ānanda* produced by the sleeping person when sexual intercourse takes place within the space in the heart (*ŚB* 10.5.2.11-12), I think, permits us to see here a similar connection: *ānanda* is present, i.e., is able to be grasped, in the space of the heart. Indeed, the *TU* (1.6.1) itself locates the mind (*manas*) in the heart: *sa ya eṣo 'ntarhṛdaya ākāśaḥ tasminn ayaṃ puruṣo manomayāḥ anṛto hiraṇyayāḥ* — “In this space here within the heart lies the immortal and golden person consisting of the mind”. *Brahman*, moreover, is said to reside within the cavity of the heart (*CU* 8.1). In this *ānanda* one loses the consciousness of being separate (see below *BU* 2.1.19; 4.3.21), one does not perceive even a smallest difference (*daram antaram*); this state of consciousness brings a man to the state of *abhaya*.

We can then translate the *TU* 2.7 as follows:

That which is well-made(=self-made) is nothing but semen, for when a man here obtains the semen, he comes to possess *ānanda*. Now, who would breathe in, who would breathe out, if this *ānanda* were not there in space; for that alone can grant *ānanda*. For when a man finds his support within that which is invisible, incorporeal, indistinct, supportless, and free from fear, then he becomes free from fear. For only when he creates even a small difference does fear come upon him.

We have seen how sleep was identified in the *ŚB* (10.5.2.11-12) with the persons in the right and left eyes having sexual intercourse within the space of the heart. The unconsciousness of sleep was there also compared to the loss of consciousness in orgasm. This theme is taken up again in the *BU* 2.1.19, where deep dreamless sleep is opposed to the state of dream when the person is in some way still conscious, except that the dream consciousness is creative, creating rather than perceiving its objects. In deep sleep, however, one is not aware of anything; during this time the self slips out of the space of the heart and rests in the pericardium:

sa yathā kumāro vā mahārājo vā mahābrāhmaṇo vātighnīm ānandasya gatvā śayita evam evaiṣa etac chete |

⁴¹ The *AU* (2.1), for example, calls semen (*retas*) “the radiance gathered from all the bodily parts” (*tad etat sarvebhyo 'ṅgebhyas tejaḥ sambhūtam*). In *BU* 6.4.1 semen is called the

He rests there, just as a young man, a great king, or an eminent Brahmin rests after attaining the height of *ānanda*.

The term *atighnī* is significant; in this context it must mean more than just the “summit of bliss” but to the apparent loss of awareness resulting from orgasmic bliss.⁴² Otherwise the comparison makes little sense, since the point the author wants to make is that in deep sleep a person enjoys bliss but is not conscious of anything. This meaning also corresponds to the way sleep is described in *ŚB* 10.5.2.11-12.

The same metaphor is used to describe deep sleep also at *BU* 4.3.21 with a clearer statement about the loss of consciousness:

*tad yathā priyayā striyā saṃpariṣvako na bāhyaṃ kiñcana veda nāntaram
evam evāyaṃ puruṣaḥ prajñenātmanā saṃpariṣvako na bāhyaṃ kiñcana
veda nāntaram |*

It is like this. As a man embraced by a woman he loves is oblivious to everything within or without, so this person embraced by the self consisting of knowledge is oblivious to everything within or without.

The term *ānanda* is not used here and there is no direct reference to orgasm, but the reference is clearly to the oblivion created by the height of sexual bliss.

The related term *abhinanda*⁴³ is used for orgasm in the well-known passage on the doctrine of five fires where the sexual organ of a woman and the sexual act performed in it are compared to a sacrifice (*BU* 6.2.13 = *CU* 5.8.1):

*yoṣā vā agnir gautama | tasyā upastha eva samil lomāni dhūmo yonir arcir
yad antaḥ karoti te 'ñgārā abhinandā viṣphulingāḥ | tasminn etasminn
agnau devā reto juhvati |*

The fire is a woman, Gautama. Her firewood is the vulva; her smoke is the pubic hair; her flame is the vagina; when one penetrates her, that is her embers; and her sparks are the climax. In that very fire gods offer semen.

The dreaming state is connected with *ānanda* at *BU* 4.3.9: the dreaming person sees *pāpmana ānandāṃś ca*, “both bad things and *ānandas*.” What these *ānandas* are the following passage explains (*BU* 4.3.10), describing how the dreamer creates his own dreamland:

*na tatrānandā mudaḥ pramudo bhavanti | athānandān mudaḥ pramudaḥ
sṛjate |*

essence of man: *puruṣasya retaḥ (rasaḥ)*. Rau (1981) translated *rasa* as “der Lust gewährt”.

⁴² On the meaning and etymology of *atighnī*, see M. A. Mehendale, “Some Lexicographical Notes on the Upaniṣads,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 5 (1962), 184-86.

⁴³ This term does not appear elsewhere in the early Upaniṣads. In the Brāhmaṇas the

In that place there are no *ānandas*, pleasures, or delights; but he creates for himself *ānandas*, pleasures, and delights.

Later the text explains what these pleasures are (*BU* 4.3.13):

*svaṣṇānta uchāvācam iyamāno rūpāṇi devaḥ kurute bahūni |
uteva strībhīḥ saha modamāno jakṣad utevāpi bhayāni paśyan ||*

Travelling in sleep to places high and low
The god creates many a visible form—
now dallying with women,
now laughing,
now seeing frightful things.

The *pāpmanaḥ* and *ānandāḥ* of the first passage probably parallel the dallying with women (*moda*, we have seen, is used frequently with *ānanda*) and *bhayāni* of this passage.

A long and interesting passage occurring in *BU* 4.3.32-33 identifies the world of *brahman* as one's highest *ānanda* (*eṣo 'sya parama ānandaḥ*) and goes on to explain how vast this *ānanda* is in comparison to other types of *ānanda*, beginning with what we are most familiar with:

*sa yo manuṣyāṇāṃ rāddhaḥ samṛddho bhavaty anyeṣāṃ adhipatiḥ sarvair
mānuṣyakair bhogaiḥ saṃpannatamaḥ sa manuṣyāṇāṃ parama ānandaḥ |*

Among human beings, when someone is successful and rich, ruling over others and enjoying to the utmost all human pleasures—that is the highest *ānanda* of human beings.

The texts goes up the ladder of greater *ānandas*, each higher *ānanda* being a hundred times greater than the one below it. Here *ānanda* is not directly connected to sex but to the broader category of *bhoga* or pleasures. A similar gradation of *ānanda* is described in *TU* 2.8 in a passage entitled *ānandasya mīmāṃsā*, analysis or exegesis of *ānanda*.

Perhaps the most famous of the *ānanda* passages of the *TU* is the one on the five bodies (*TU* 2.2-5), which later literature identifies as sheaths (*kośa*). A man has five bodies or selves (*ātman*) consisting of food (*anna*), breath (*prāṇa*), mind (*manas*), perception (*vijñāna*), and finally *ānanda*, each surrounding the previous like layers of an onion. Of each such body, the text identifies the head, the two sides, trunk, and the bottom. In the case of the *ānandamayātman*, the head is *priya*, the right side is *moda*, the left is *pramoda*, the trunk is *ānanda*, and the bottom is *brahman*.⁴⁴ Here again we come across the three terms *moda*, *pramoda*, and *ānanda*. The portion of the body I have

term occurs only once, in *JB* 1.45 in the parallel description of the five fires. Verbal forms of the word occur only twice in the vedic literature, *AV(Ś)* 9.2.2; 19.8.3.

⁴⁴ These parts of the body derive from the image of a bird, the bottom being the tail. The bird image comes from the shape of the fire-altar built with bricks. For a comparison

translated as trunk (or torso) is called *ātman*; so here we find that *ātman* is *ānanda*, and the passage from *ātman* as the central part of the body to *ātman* as one's essential self is easy. So, we find the two major concepts of the Upaniṣads, *ātman* and *brahman* identified as *ānanda*. At the end of the *TU* (3.10.5) these five *ātman*s are presented as the path that a person travels after death: he first reaches the *ātman* of food, then that of breath, then that of the mind, then that of perception, and finally the *ātman* of *ānanda*. The simple statement that *brahman* is *ānanda* is found in both the *BU* (3.9.28) and in the *TU* (3.6).

When we turn to the other two early prose Upaniṣads, the *Chāndogya* and the *Aitareya*, it comes as a surprise to find the term *ānanda* almost absent from their vocabularies. It is completely absent not only in the *AU* but in the entire *AA*, within which the *AU* is embedded, and in the *AB*. Besides the term *abhinandāḥ* found in the passage on the five fires common to the *CU* and the *BU* that we have already examined, the term occurs only twice in the *CU*. When it rains the vital functions (*prāṇāḥ*) are said to be full of *ānanda* (*ānandīnaḥ*) at the thought that there will be plenty of food (*CU* 7.10.1). We have already seen this usage of the term with reference to plants. In a theologically significant statement, the *CU*, speaking of a man who sees *ātman* everywhere, says: *sa vā eṣa evaṃ paśyann evaṃ manvāna evaṃ vijānann ātmaratir ātmakṛiḍa ātmamithuna ātmānandaḥ sa svarāḍ bhavati* — “A man who sees it this way, thinks about it this way, and perceives it this way; who finds pleasure in the self, who dallies with the self, who mates with the self, and finds *ānanda* in the self—he becomes completely his own master.” Here we have the two familiar terms *rati* and *ānanda*, together with two other terms (*kṛiḍa* and *mithuna*) also with sexual connotations, in describing the activities of a man who has reached the ultimate state of oneness with his own *ātman*.

Turning to the later verse Upaniṣads, it is even more surprising to find that *ānanda* is quite a rare word in their theological vocabularies. It is completely absent in the older group comprising *Kena*, *Kaṭha*,⁴⁵ *Iśa*, and *Śvetāśvatara*. It occurs once in the *Muṇḍaka* (2.2.7b)⁴⁶ where the *ātman* that the wise see in their heart is described as *ānandarūpa*, “having the form or appearance of bliss”.

Only the *Praśna*, an admittedly late work, returns to the theme of *ānanda*. In an eulogy of lifebreath (*prāṇa*), the *PU* (2.10) says that when it rains creatures become joyful (*ānandarūpa*). In enumerating the activities that a sleeping person does not engage in, the *PU* (4.2) says *nānandayate*, which echoes the similar enumerations in the earli-

of the *TU* passage to *MtU* 6.33, see van Buitenen 1979, 326-27. The *MtU* passage also concludes with the sacrificer becoming *ānandin* and *modin*.

⁴⁵ A verse, variants of which occur both in *KaU* 1.3 and *BU* 4.4.11, contains the term *anandāḥ* (“joyless”). The *BU*(M), however, reads *asuryā* for *anandāḥ*. Charpentire (1928-29) on *KaU* 1.3 prefers to read *ānandāḥ*.

⁴⁶ *MuU* (1.2.7) uses *abhinandanti* with reference to people who take delight in ritual activities.

er literature and clearly means “he does not experience sexual pleasure”. Likewise, the *PU* (4.10) in enumerating the organs and their respective objects, lists *upasthaś cānandayitavyam ca* — “the sexual organ and objects that can be sexually enjoyed”.

The *Māṇḍūkya* (5), whose date is difficult to determine but is likely quite late, calls a person in deep dreamless sleep *ānandamayah* and *ānandabhuk*, consisting of *ānanda* and enjoying *ānanda*. This is in line with the repeated use of *ānanda* by the older literature in the context of sleep.

The transmission of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* has been extraordinarily bad, and the editor van Buitenen (1962) has shown that it is a composite text. The term *ānanda* occurs at *MtU* 6.7, 13, 23, 27; 7.3; and all these passages are placed within brackets by van Buitenen, indicating that they are editorial interpolations. The first passage has the term *ānandayitā* (“one who experiences *ānanda*”) in a list of agent nouns. The second (*MtU* 6.13) deals with the essence (*rasa*) of an ascending hierarchy of entities, from food to *ānanda*, which is said to be the essence of perception (*viññāna*). A person who knows these essences is said, among other things, to be *ānandavān*, “possessing *ānanda*”. At *MtU* 6.23 the top of OM is said to be Viṣṇu, who is characterized, among other things, as *ānanda* (occurring also at *MtU* 7.3). At *MtU* 6.27 the cup (*kośa*) consisting of the space within the heart is said to be *ānanda*.

III

Finally, I want to turn briefly to the literature of the period that followed the early Upaniṣads. This is a gray area because it is impossible to determine with any precision either this period or the texts belonging to it. Some of the late Upaniṣads may well be contemporary with some of the texts generally assigned to this period. In spite of these uncertainties, however, it is instructive to examine at least some of the literature from this period.⁴⁷

Given the theological prominence of *ānanda* within the Brahmanical/Hindu religious vocabulary, it is surprising that the term is never used by the Buddhists or the Jains with reference to *nirvāṇa* or the ultimate state of liberation. Both traditions, nevertheless, claim

⁴⁷ The term *ānanda* is rare in the Śrauta- and the Gṛhya-sūtras. It occurs in the mantra *eṣa te yonir ānandāya tvā* in both the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* (19.7.5) and the *Satyāśāḍha (Hiranyakeśi) Śrautasūtra* (23.1.26). This mantra is taken from VS(M) 19.8, which we have already examined. In the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* (18.29) the term *ānandīnaḥ* is found twice with reference to *camasādhvaryaṅvaḥ* (assistant priests who carry the cups). *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* (5.18.2) has the expression *ghṛhṇāṃ puṣṭim ānandam*. The *Kauśikasūtra* (40.13) has *ānandīno modamānāḥ* in a mantra to Agni. In the Gṛhyasūtras, the term occurs only in the *Vaiḥhānasa* (3.19) and the *Āgniveśya* (1.4.1), both belonging to the early centuries C. E. The term is completely absent in the Dharmasūtras and the *Manu Smṛti*. It does not occur in Pāṇini but is listed in the *Ganapāṭha*, 81.36. Patañjali uses *ānanda* twice, both in the identical phrase *eti jivantam ānandaḥ*, which is a citation of *Rām* 5.32.6.

that the liberated state is one of bliss or happiness, but the term they use is *sukha*.⁴⁸ The *Pāli Tipiṭakaṣ Concordance* lists 26 occurrences of *ānanda*, including both verbal (*ānandati*) and nominal forms.⁴⁹ None has any religious or even an explicitly sexual significance; all refer to a normal sense of joy or happiness. The only usage even remotely connected to religion is the use of *ānandajāte* with reference to the gods (*Suttanipāta* 679), but the same expression is used a few verses later (687) when Asita became full of joy at seeing the young Bodhisattva.

The same pattern holds true in the two epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. There also, for the most part, *ānanda* means ordinary joy. The term occurs 45 times in the *Rām*,⁵⁰ and 43 times in the *MBh*.⁵¹ None of the occurrences in the *Rām* and only a handful in the *MBh* have any religious/theological connotation. I give below a representative sample of the contexts in which the term is used in the epics.

A son is often characterized as bringing or increasing the *ānanda* of his mother: Rāma is *kāusalyānandavardhana*;⁵² Lakṣmaṇa is *sumitrānandavardhanaḥ*,⁵³ and Bharata is *kaikeyānandavardhanaḥ*.⁵⁴ The frequency of this usage especially in the *Rām* suggests that it had become a cliché. A large group of privative compounds is used to describe the state of grief and desolation of women who have lost their husbands, of men and women in exile, and even of towns at the death or exile of their king or favorite son.⁵⁵ Only once is such a privative used with regard to a positive virtue,⁵⁶ although there are frequent references to “tears of joy”.⁵⁷

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the Buddhist *nirvāṇa* as *sukha*, see Collins 1998, pp. 207-212. In Jainism also the liberated soul has infinite knowledge (*anantajñāna*) and infinite bliss (*anantasukha*): see Jaini 1979: 268.

⁴⁹ Out of these 11 are from the *Jātakas*, generally recognized as late texts.

⁵⁰ *Rām* 1.1.16, 23; 10.28; 49.6; 50.1, 3, 10, 12; 64.21; 67.13, 15; 69.1, 7; 72.17. 2.5.19; 16.56; 39.13; 40.7; 46.76; 51.4; 53.13; 59.13; 66.33; 84.11; 105.24. 3.35.9. 4.20.9; 24.19. 5.11.29; 18.1; 32.33; 33.77; 34.11, 25. 6.24.31; 31.67; 39.7; 68.9, 12; 114.2, 36; 107.29; 115.1, 40. 7.87.4.

⁵¹ *MBh* 1.118.30; 163.16. 2.13.44; 59.1; 70.21. 3.118.29; 221.22; 261.13. 5.124.17; 136.17; 173.16. 6.2.18. 7.48.1; 50.9; 124.1; 159.42; 164.157. 8.46.9. 9.44.6; 45.11. 10.7.4; 16.24. 11.27.5. 12.31.36; 168.43; 187.33; 191.8; 212.2, 26; 236.21; 239.23; 267.26; 268.11; 301.3, 17. 13.16.55; 27.81; 135.33, 69, 79. 14.38.2; 45.8. 16.6.11.

⁵² *Rām* 1.1.16; 67.15; 72.17; 2.66.33; 84.11; 3.35.9; 6.31.67; 115.40. *MBh* 3.261.13.

⁵³ *Rām* 1.1.23; 2.16.56; 46.76; 4.24.19; 5.32.33; 34.11; 34.25; 6.39.7; 107.29.

⁵⁴ *Rām* 2.40.7. In the *MBh* (8.46.9) Karṇa is called *suhyānandavardhana*, and in the *Rām* (2.5.19) a great festival of Ayodhā is called *janasyānandavardhana*.

⁵⁵ *nirānanda*: Ayodhyā after Rāma's exile (*Rām* 2.51.4; 105.24), Tārā when her husband is killed (*Rām* 4.20.9), Rumā at Sugrīva's death (*Rām* 5.111.29), Sītā in exile (*Rām* 6.68.9, 12; 114.36), people after a 12-year drought (*MBh* 1.163.16), the depraved world of the future (*MBh* 3.188.29), Ambā when rejected by Śālva (*MBh* 5.173.16), Draupadī (*MBh* 10.16.24), the bank of the Ganges with widows of dead heroes (*MBh* 11.27.5), Dvārakā after Kṛṣṇa's death (*MBh* 16.6.11). *nīpatitānanda*: Ayodhyā (*Rām* 2.53.13). *anānanda*: Hastināpura after Pāṇḍu's death (*MBh* 1.118.30). *vigatānanda*: Pāṇḍavas in exile (*MBh* 2.70.21). *hatānanda*: the Pāṇḍava camp (*MBh* 7.50.9). *vigatānanda*: a dead boy (*MBh* 12.31.36).

⁵⁶ The sages Vālakhilyas and Vaikhānasas are said to be *karmabhis te nirānandā dharmanityā jīvendriyāḥ* (*MBh* 12.236.21).

⁵⁷ *ānandāśru*: *MBh* 5.124.7; 136.17. 7. 124.1. *aśrūṇy ānandajāni*: *Rām* 6.24.31. *ānanda*-

It is only in the *Śāntiparvan*, the book most subjected to later additions, that *ānanda* is used with religious or technical meanings. Thus, within a Sāṃkhya context, *ānanda* is listed among *sāttvika guṇas* and as a product of *prakṛti* (*MBh* 12.187.33; 212.26; 239.23; 267.26; 301.17; 14.45.8). Once *ānanda* is listed as a virtue (*MBh* 14.38.2), while elsewhere its absence is considered a virtue (*MBh* 12.191.8; 268.11).

It is clear, however, that in the epics *ānanda* is the antonym of *śoka*.⁵⁸ In a list of opposites that a person should abandon, we find the compounds *satyāṅṛte*, *śokānandau*, *priyāpriyau* and *bhayābhaye* (*MBh* 12.268.11). And in lists of synonyms or words with similar meanings, we find *ānanda* listed with *praharṣa*, *pṛiti*, and *sukha* (*MBh* 12.187.33; 212.26; 239.23). The closest we come to a “religious” use of *ānanda* is in the list of the thousand names of Viṣṇu where we find *surānanda*, *ānanda*, *nandana*, *nanda*, and *śātānanda* (*MBh* 13.135.33, 69, 79). Only once have I found the term used with regard to the ultimate state to which people aspire, a state that is called *paramam ānandam* (*MBh* 13.16.55).

In a passage reminiscent of the Brāhamaṇas and the Upaniṣads, the *MBh* (12.301.1) lists the bodily organs (*adhyātman*) and objects (*adhibhūtam*) and divinities (*adhidāivatam*) that correspond to them. Thus we have: *pāda*, *gantavyam*, *viṣṇuḥ*; and *hastau*, *kartavyam*, *indraḥ*. In this list we have the group *upasthaḥ*, *ānanda*, *prajāpatiḥ*, connecting the sexual organ, *ānanda*, and Prajāpati, the procreative/creator god.

It is significant that *ānanda* is completely absent in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, a book that is inclusive both in doctrine and in vocabulary. In the sixth chapter that describes a true yogin, the *Gītā* uses the term *sukha* repeatedly (BhG 6.21, 27, 28) to indicate the final bliss such a man attains. At 6.15 the *Gītā* describes the bliss of a yogin as *śānti* (peace) and *nirvāṇa* (possibly, “calm”).⁵⁹

An examination of the non-Vedāntic literature shows that *sukha* was, in fact, the most common term for both ordinary and ultimate happiness. Besides the *Gītā* and the Buddhist and Jain literature, *sukha* is the preferred term for the bliss of the liberated state in Sāṃkhya-Yoga theology. In Sāṃkhya *ānanda* is said to be an attribute of *prakṛti* rather than of *puruṣa*.⁶⁰ In Yoga, *vitarka*, *vicāra*, *ānanda*, and *asmitā* are four states of *samādhi*, but still short of the liberated consciousness.⁶¹ In the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika the state of liberation lacks all pain or suffering but there is no positive feeling of bliss or *ānanda*.⁶²

jaṃ paṇaḥ: Rām 2.39.13. *ānandajam jalam: Rām* 5.33.77. This expression is taken over by Kālidāsa: *ānandothaṃ nayanasaṭilam* (*Meghadūta*, uttaramegha, 4); *ānandajalī [...]* *bāṣpaḥ* (*Raghuvamśa*, 14.3).

⁵⁸ In the technical explanation of *ānanda* given in the *Nyāyakośa* (ed. B. Jhalakikar and V. S. Abhyankar; Poona, 1978), two meanings are given. The first is *sukha*, and the second is *duḥkhābhāva*, the absence of suffering.

⁵⁹ See, Dasgupta 1922, II: 450.

⁶⁰ See, Dasgupta 1922: I: 238.

⁶¹ *Yogasūtras*, 1.17. See, Dasgupta 1992, I: 366.

⁶² See, Dasgupta 1922, I: 366.

IV

From the above survey of the use of *ānanda* in the early Indian literature we can draw the following conclusions:

1. In the early vedic literature *ānanda* is used in a variety of contexts, including the thrill of gambling, the convivial joy of drinking, and especially sexual pleasure.

2. The middle vedic literature of the Yajurveda emphasizes the sexual aspect of *ānanda*, using it almost as a technical term for orgasmic rapture. The absence of the term in non-Yajurvedic Brāhmaṇas, with the exception of a single passage in the *KṣB*,⁶³ indicates that this usage was by and large confined to the Yajurvedic schools.

3. In the late vedic literature also the term is most frequent in the two Yajurvedic Upaniṣads, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Taittirīya*, although the presence of the term with a sexual connotation in the Ṛgvedic *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* makes the picture somewhat less clear.⁶⁴ The association of *brahman/ātman* with *ānanda*, however, takes place principally in the Yajurvedic Upaniṣads. This semantic development, I believe, took place specifically as an extension of the meaning of *ānanda* as orgasmic rapture, a meaning already found in the early Yajurvedic texts. The connection between these two meanings of *ānanda*, we saw, is made explicitly in *BU* 4.1.6. Two elements of orgasmic rapture are central in this extended meaning: 1) the connection of *ānanda* to procreation and, therefore, to Prajāpati, and 2) the loss of consciousness of individual identity associated with orgasm. *TU* (2.7) is the *locus classicus* for *ānanda* as the primary attribute of *brahman/ātman*.

4. The evidence of the Buddhist, Jain, and epic literature indicates that *ānanda* did not immediately enter the common religious vocabulary either as the joy of heaven or final release (*mokṣa*) or as an attribute of the Ultimate Being or State. I think that after the composition of the *BU* and the *TU* *ānanda* as an attribute of *brahman* and as signifying the final state of bliss remained a technical usage confined to a somewhat narrow circle. There must have been a parallel semantic development of *ānanda* leading to its meaning as simple (not necessarily sexual) joy and happiness. This development took the term away from any specifically religious connotation. Unfortunately, we do not have the literary evidence to trace this development from the early vedic usage to the Buddhist and epic texts. We have, however, seen *ānanda* used with such a generic meanings in *BU* 4.3.32-33; *CU* 7.10.1; and *TU* 2.8. It is, however, clear that the religious usage of the term in the *Brahmasūtras* and later literature is derived *not* from this

⁶³ The *KṣB* is probably younger than the Brāhmaṇa of its sister school, the *AB*, in which the term *ānanda* does not occur.

⁶⁴ See above, note 35. It is interesting, however, that outside of the Yajurvedic documents, the term is used only in the *KṣB* and the *KṣU*.

generic epic usage but from its specifically religious meaning that developed in the Upaniṣads.

5. The native tradition itself recognizes the connection between the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* of Jaimini and the *Brahmasūtras*. This association provides the basis for calling the former *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsāsūtra* and the latter *Uttara-Mīmāṃsāsūtra*; as the former is the exegesis of the “earlier” part of the Veda, so the latter is the exegesis of the “later” part, namely the Vedānta or Upaniṣads. If we are to believe this association, then we should expect that the teachers of the two *Mīmāṃsās* belonged to the same religious/intellectual milieu. That may well be true, but at least in the case of the term *ānanda*, which is central to the *Uttara-Mīmāṃsā* (both the Sūtra itself and especially its commentators), the two appear not to have shared this religious vocabulary. Although the *sūtras* of Jaimini themselves offer no clues, Śabara’s commentary, written probably around the middle of the first millennium C. E., refers frequently to the “happiness” or “joy” of heaven (*svarga*) in his discussion of *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* 6.1.1-2. The most common word Śabara uses for “joy” is *prīti*, although occasionally he uses *sukha*.⁶⁵

6. Let us, finally, return to the *Brahmasūtra* passage (1.1.12) that defines *ātman/brahman* as *ānanda*: *ānandamayo bhyāsāt* —“The (self) consisting of *ānanda* is (the supreme self) because of repetition.”⁶⁶ The reasons why the supreme self is defined as *ānanda*, according to Bādarāyaṇa, is because the Upaniṣads *repeatedly* say so. Śaṅkara in his commentary expands on this terse statement, citing these repeated Upaniṣadic statements. Interestingly, however, all his citations except one are taken from the *TU*, and the one non-*TU* text is *BU* 3.9.28. So the repeated mention of *brahman/ātman* as *ānanda* is found only in the Yajurvedic Upaniṣads, and it is on the basis of these documents that the *Brahmasūtras* assert the primacy of *ānanda* as the defining characteristic of *brahman/ātman*. We can thus see here the direct connection between the Yajurvedic Upaniṣads and the *Brahmasūtra* definition of *brahman* as *ānanda*, at least if Śaṅkara is right in identifying the sources that prompted Bādarāyaṇa’s statement about repetition. It is, furthermore, the extraordinary influence of the *Brahmasūtras* on later theological discourse that made *ānanda* a central term and concept in the later Brahmanical/Hindu vocabulary.

⁶⁵ See *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 97), part 5: *prīti*, p. 175, l. 1; p. 176, l. 4; p. 177, l. 1-2; etc.; *sukha*, p. 177, 21; p. 179, l. 1.

⁶⁶ The *Brahmasūtras* define *brahman* as *ānanda* also at 3.3.11.