From the East to the Moon

Towards an international understanding of folktale motif

A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen*

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Summary

This thesis gives an answer to the research question 'how is the motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* instantiated and structurally related to one another in different contexts?' This thesis wishes to re-evaluate the Indo-European theoretical frame by providing a negative control. For this, 66 texts from India, 24 from Greece, and 42 from China (the negative control) are structurally analysed, using an adapted form of structuralism as described by Frog. As a result, the 'universal' group is the strongest, meaning that most motifs are shared by Indian, Greek, and Chinese narratives. A little weaker in strength is the Indo-European group, followed by the India-China pair. The similarities between Greek and Chinese narratives are negligible if ignoring the 'universal' similarities. From this analysis, two conclusions are drawn: 1) Indo-European reconstruction is valid, as now tested by a negative control; and 2) to understand international folktale motifs which were only considered from its Indo-European data, it is fruitful to apply non-Indo-European data as well.

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1. Introduction

Poetically speaking, birds are the freest of creatures: they sear through the heavens without any regard for borders. Folktales and myths move in a similar fashion. Instead of being limited to one family, community, or country, they contrarily move to wherever they are told. Even language, something that is often perceived as *the* big obstacle in understanding one another, does not hamper the migration of stories.

While stories roam freely, academic inquiries try to drive these stories, like cattle, safely back to the place where they came from. This can be seen when considering the folktale motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* from Thompson's index (hence abbreviated as A153.1).[1] This is an index which records folkloric motifs which are commonly found within one culture or across multiple cultures. A153.1 has up to now been mainly considered from the Indo-European perspective. Samples of this are abundant in Indian culture, where *soma* or *amṛta*, the drink of immortality, is stolen from the *devas* or gods by all kinds of different creatures. In Greek culture we have the famous story of Prometheus, who tricks the gods by giving them bones coated in a thick layer of fat during dinner, while the humans eat the delicious meat hidden in repulsive skin.

Most interestingly, there are also non-Indo-European variants of A153.1, such as the Chinese myth in which Zhang E steals the elixir of immortality and brings it to the moon. We cannot simply ignore this data for the sake of the conventional Indo-European theoretical frame. What we could do, however, is 'ignore' the Indo-European theoretical frame to allow the usage of data from more, non-Indo-European, cultures.

In this Research Master thesis, A153.1 is analysed in three different ancient cultures: Indian, Greek, and Chinese. Including the Chinese sources is not only a challenge to the Indo-European framework, but also for me personally, for two reasons: 1) in the past I mainly worked within the Indo-European framework; and 2) while I have knowledge of both Sanskrit (for India) and Greek and their respective mythologies, Chinese mythology is new terrain for me, and I do not know any Chinese languages either.

[1] Stith Thompson, *Motif-index of folk-literature: a classification of narrative elements in folktales, ballads, myths, fables, mediaeval romances, exempla, fabliaux, jest-books, and local legends. Revised and enlarged edition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-1958), Accessed 24 March, 2017, http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/thompson/.

The term 'ancient' is a very imprecise designation of the periods under investigation, since what 'ancient' refers to differs per culture. Useful references to the motif are found in India from perhaps the 19th century BCE until the 11th century CE. For Greece, the latest source stems from the 3rd century CE. In China this limit lays much later, in the 17th century CE. While this chronological divergence is unfortunate, it should not cause too much concern, since the goal of this thesis is a structural comparison, and not a historical reconstruction. Besides, for India and China, there are more modern sources. As for India one can look at modern adaptations of the *Mahābhārata* or *Rāmāyaṇa*; as for China there are modern adaptations of the *Journey to the West*. Yang and An even provide two modern versions of Zhang E's theft of the elixir of immortality, which are very divergent and rich in detail compared to the older versions.[2] Including these later sources would give an unfair advantage to India and China, however, since we lack such material for Greece. Therefore it seems preferablie to limit this analysis to the earlier written sources.

Another restriction is that the present study only analyses written sources: pictorial sources are not included. Discussions about the genres of the texts are also ignored due to spatial restrictions. Eight texts, seven from India and one from Greece, have not been translated before. Their translations are found in the appendices, and are prepared with the help of Leo Tepper.

1.1 Objectives and research questions

This thesis has three objectives which contribute to ongoing debates:

1. To reassess assumptions within the Indo-European theoretical framework by considering the difference of the spread of languages and stories;
2. To challenge the Indo-European theoretical framework by considering data outside of the Indo-European area; and
3. To increase our understanding of the international folktale motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* and its relation to other international tale motifs.

These objectives form the following main research question '**how is the motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* instantiated and structurally related to one another in different contexts?'** This research is operationalized in five subquestions:

[2] Deming An and Lihui Yang, *Handbook of Chinese Mythology* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2005), 89-90.

1. What is the structure of the motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* in the Indian context?
2. What is the structure of the motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* in the Greek context?
3. What is the structure of the motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* in the Chinese context?
4. How are the structures of the variants of the motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* related between different cultural areas?
5. How does the motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* challenge the Indo-European theoretical framework?

1.2 Field of study

The discipline this thesis belongs to is comparative religion. Its specific area of study is comparative mythology and folkloristics. Its subsequent focus area and the actual topic of the thesis can be described in two ways. First of all, the focus area is Indo-European comparative mythology, and the topic of the thesis is the contestation of this theoretical frame, by also considering non-Indo-European variants of a motif that is usually only considered from an Indo-European perspective. Secondly, the focus area is also the motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen*, and the thesis topic is the analysis of this motif in ancient Indian, Greek, and Chinese culture.

2. Theoretical frame and methodology

This chapter explores the theoretical and methodological cornerstones of the present project. First I offer some definitionsfor key terms (2.1). Then I explore the main theoretical frame, Indo-European comparativism, (2.2). Thirdly I explore and operationalize structuralism as a method (2.3). Finally, I will give my hypotheses and explore their implications (2.4). All of this is summarized in a conclusion (2.5).

2.1 Definitions

Two of the key terms in this thesis need to be specified: the motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* (2.1.1); and 'narrative' (2.1.2).

2.1.1 The motif A153.1 Theft of *ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen

This research starts from motif A153.1 rather than from the comparative reconstruction. This motif stems from Thompson's *Motif-index of folk-literature* in its enlarged and revised edition.[3] This work is different from the ATU classification of folktales, which is concerned with tale types.[4] For the motif-index, the letter A refers to mythological tales. Motifs A100-A199 refer to 'the gods in general', with A150-A159 referring to the 'daily life of the gods'. A153 describes twelve different motifs that deal with the *Food of the gods*, of which A153.1 is one.

A related motif is A154 *Drinks of the gods*, and its most interesting subtype A154.2 *Theft of magic mead by Odin.* This last one is a reversal of A153.1: the food or drink is not stolen from the gods, but by a god. That A153.1 names food as the stolen property and A154 names magic mead does not make a big difference here. Berezkin's motif index contains a

[3] Thompson, *Motif-index of folk-literature,* Accessed 24 March, 2017, http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/thompson/.
[4] Uther*, The Types of International Folktales*, accessed 24 March, 2017, http://www.mftd.org/index.php?action=atu.

series of motifs dealing with the theft of food (M44A-C), but which refer to quite different contexts.[5]

As a revision I would propose that A153 and A154 are merged to *Sustenance of the gods,* with *A153.1 becoming *Theft of sustenance from the hierarchically superior.* Such a change might be warranted, since Abrahams declares Thompson's motifs as based on pure 'subjective taxonomic whimsy'.[6] Next to that, Dundes has stated that Thompson left out motifs and tale types that he considered obscene.[7] While Thompson apparently stated that the tale type index only contains Indo-European material, Dundes discovers a lot of Native American and African material,[8] along with Semitic and Japanese data.

The adaptation that is proposed is not far-fetched, since Thompson sneaks drinks into A153 *Food of the gods*. In A153.1 Thompson refers for the Indian evidence to the work of Keith, which refers to a story in which Garuḍa, a giant bird and vehicle of the deity Viṣṇu, steals *soma*,[9] which is a drink of immortality, not food.[10]

Part of the title of A153.1 refers to Greek *ambrosia,* which is often paired with *nektar*. The problem is that their distinction is unclear, and that both can be considered as food or drink, which is further explored in 4.1. Even more, the part of the title that reads 'theft of *ambrosia*' should be left out, since there is only one Greek myth, Pindar's first *Olympian Ode*, which talk about stolen *ambrosia* and *nektar*.[11] It is, therefore, not as prominent as the name of the motif suggests.

The description in the new title refers to the sustenance of the hierarchically superior rather than of the gods. This is because the concept of 'god' functions quite differently in different cultures.[12] The concept is not too divergent between the two Indo-European cultures under discussion here, but the case is different for China. People living within Christianized countries are used to perceive a gap between the human and the divine world.

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[5] Yuri Berezkin, "World mythology and folklore: thematic classification and areal distribution of motifs, analytical catalogue," last modified 15 January, 2011, http://ruthenia.ru/folklore/berezkin/eng.htm.
[6] Roger Abrahams, "The past in the presence: An overview of folkloristics in the late 20th century," in *Folklore Processed: In Honour of Lauri Honko on his 60th Birthday, 6th March 1992*, ed. Kvideland (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1992), 33.
[7] Alan Dundes, "The Motif-Index and the Tale Type: A Critique," *Journal of Folklore Research* 34.3 (September-December 1997): 198.
[8] Dundes, "The Motif-Index and the Tale Type": 199.
[9] Arthur Keith, *Indian Mythology* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1917), 139-140.
[10] Yves Bonnefoy, *Asian Mythologies,* trans. Doniger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 29-30.
[11] William Race, ed. trans., *Pindar: Olympian Odes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 52-53.
[12] Jarich Oosten, *The War of the Gods: The Social Code in Indo-European Mythology* (London: Routledge & Keagan Paul, 1985), 25.

In many cultures, however, such a divide is not present,[13] which is also the case for China.[14] For example, in one of the major sources for the motif, the *Journey to the West*, Sun Wukong steals all kinds of sustenance from the Immortals. The biggest problem is that the Immortals are not gods, but perfect humans.[15] The term which is normally translated as deity is *shen*, which refers to a being who has a position and task in the celestial hierarchy, including salary and law-enforcing powers.[16] They do not hold the highest authority, however: this is reserved to Immortals and Buddha-figures.[17] These characteristics are not always agreed upon by everyone within Chinese cultures, however,[18] and a straight-forward definition of deity as by the lived experience of the past Chinese person seems impossible to reconstruct. What does seem clear, however, is that the thief of the sustenance in the Chinese narratives holds a lower hierarchical position than the owner. For all these reasons the redefinition *A153.1 *Theft of sustenance from the hierarchically superior* is more suitable, but to keep the reference to Thompson's index I will use the old motif name throughout this thesis.

In this thesis I analyse only Indian, Greek, and Chinese sources. We do find the motif in other places as well, though. Within the Indo-European area it is also found within Nordic, Ossetic,[19] Abazan,[20] and perhaps Irish mythology.[21] Outside the Indo-European area there are possible parallels in Zambia,[22] Japan,[23] Mesopotamia,[24] and the Bible[25] too. That there are non-Indo-European variants does not exclude the existence of Indo-European variants. In

[13] Oosten, *War of the Gods*, 25.
[14] Meir Shahar, "Vernacular Fiction and the Transmission of Gods' Cults in Late Imperial China," in *Unruly Gods: Divinity and Society in China*, ed. Shahar and Weller (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 196.
[15] Jeremy Roberts, *Chinese Mythology A to Z: Second Edition* (New York: Chelsea House Publishing, 2010), 60.
[16] David Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors: Folk Religion in a Taiwanese Village* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 36.
[17] Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors*, 38.
[18] Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors*, 38-40.
[19] Martin West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 159-160.
[20] John Colarusso, ed. trans., *Nart Sagas from the Caucasus: Myths and Legends from the Circassians, Abazas, Abkhaz, and Ubykhs* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), 183.
[21] Peter Wilson, *Ploughing the Clouds: The Search for Irish Soma* (San Francisco: City Light Books, 1999), 75-92; David Knipe, "The Heroic Theft: Myths from Ṛgveda IV and the Ancient near East," *History of Religions* 6.4 (May 1967): 339.
[22] Wim van Binsbergen, "The continuity of African and Eurasian mythologies: General theoretical models, and detailed comparative discussion of the case of Nkoya mythology from Zambia, South Central Africa," in *New perspectives on myth,* ed. Van Binsbergen and Venbrux (Haarlem/Nijmegen: Shikanda, 2010), 179-180, 188-190.
[23] Paolo Barbaro, "Brides and Grooms in the Land of Eternity: Urashima in Japan and Oisín in Ireland as a Window over a Paleolithic Otherworld" (paper presented at the 11th Annual International Conference on Comparative Mythology, Edinburgh, Scotland, June 8-11, 2017).
[24] Knipe, "Heroic Theft": 340-341; Oosten, *War of the Gods*, 70.
[25] *Bijbelvertaling in opdracht van het Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap* (Haarlem: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 1989), 10.

reconstructing Indo-European motif, we look for 'whatever' is Indo-European rather than what is distinctively or exclusively so.[26] Even better: 'if a motif is indeed universal, [it is] all the more likely that it was also Indo-European'.[27] Because this motif is also found outside the Indo-European area does not mean that all Indo-European comparative mythology and reconstruction is invalid. This means that we can no longer ignore non-Indo-European data when dealing with a motif that was usually considered purely from its Indo-European perspective.

2.1.2 Narratives

In this study, different kinds of stories sharing motif A153.1 are analysed, which belong to different genres. Approaches to these generic differences vary widely: some would categorize all folk narratives, like myth, epic, legends and so on, as folktales;[28] others would claim that generic differences are not relevant for research;[29] while others are very adamant about the genre distinctions.[30] For comparative research the issue of genre is problematic, since genre distinctions can differ greatly per culture,[31] and even within a specific culture.[32] The issue of genre is not helpful to this project, however, since the focus is on specific narratives, and not on generic functions.

Essentially, I analyse two types of narratives: stories and references to stories. A story is an account of (possibly series of) actions or events,[33] while a reference to a story refers to such a sequence, whether to a part of that sequence, a summary of its plot, or its conclusion.

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[26] West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 20.
[27] West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 21.
[28] Stith Thompson, 'Folktale,' in *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend. Volume 1*, ed. Leach and Fried (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1949), 408-409; Laurits Bødker, *Folk Literature (Germanic)* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1965), 106.
[29] Anatoly Liberman, *In Prayer and Laughter: Essays on Medieval Scandinavian and Germanic Mythology, Literature, and Culture* (Moscow: Paleograph Press, 2016), 146.
[30] Alan Dundes, "Structural Typology in North American Indian Folktales," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19.1 (Spring 1963): 127-128.
[31] Geoffrey Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 22.
[32] Ubaldo Lugli, "The Concept of Myth," *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences* 6.1 (2014): 39-40, 48-49; Jaan Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 1.
[33] Satu Apo, "Analysing the contents of narratives: Methodical and technical observations," in *Folklore Processed: In Honour of Lauri Honko on his 60th Birthday, 6th March 1992*, ed. Kvideland (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1992), 62.

Also, all stories have come down to us in written form, as most forms of folklore nowadays,[34] whether they ever had an oral form or not.

We are dealing with supernatural categories in all stories, and the common denominator for all food-possessors is that they are either hierarchically superior to the thieves, or that the hierarchical relations are ambiguous. For Indo-European cultures this means that the possessors of the sustenance are often deities, while in China they are high-ranking Immortals.

2.2 Theoretical background: Indo-European comparativism

In this section I explore the Indo-European theoretical frame. First I describe Indo-European historical linguistics (2.2.1), after which I discuss Indo-European comparative mythology (2.2.2).

2.2.1 Indo-European historical linguistics

The Indo-European area of study is based on a linguistic theory. It is observed that there are many phonetic, lexical, and grammatical similarities between certain languages originally from Europe and Asia, which are now described as belonging to the Indo-European language family. Within the Indo-European language families we find ten subfamilies: the Celtic, Germanic, Balto-Slavic, Italic, Albanian, Hellenic, Anatolian, Armenian, Indo-Iranian, and Tocharian languages, and some non-affiliated languages.[35] The similarities between these languages are explained genealogically: they derive from a common source, which is called Proto-Indo-European. This language is itself not attested, but only reconstructed.[36] Since we are dealing with a historical reconstruction, the languages that are attested early on are more important for the reconstruction than modern languages. These early attested languages are Sanskrit, Avestan, Old Church Slavonic, Lithuanian, Armenian, Tocharian,

[34] Alan Dundes, "What is Folklore?" in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Dundes (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1965), 1.
[35] Benjamin Fortson IV, *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 10.
[36] Joshua Katz, "The Indo-European context," in *A companion to ancient epic*, ed. John Foley (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005), 21.

Hittite, Greek, Latin, Old Irish, and Gothic.[37] By looking at the evidence from these languages, sound laws are defined which describe the different forms the words and grammatical inflections have, and what sound changes have caused the divergence from the common, Proto-Indo-European form.

People speaking the Proto-Indo-European language started migrating, and the language diverged over time in all the different languages that are now admitted membership among the Indo-European language family. Two different locations and times are nowadays considered to be suitable candidates for the original Proto-Indo-European 'homeland': the Russian steppes north of the Caspian and Black Sea around 4,000 BCE,[38] or Anatolia (present-day Turkey) between 6,000 and 7,500 BCE.[39]

Differences between languages are not only caused by different sound changes over time, but also by substratum influences. When two languages are present within the same area, the substratum language is the one that becomes subordinate, but still has a noticeable influence on the main language.[40] For Sanskrit we have Dravidian and Munda substratum influences already in the *Ṛg Veda*, the earliest Hindu text.[41] For Ancient Greek it has also been well known that the language has been influenced by an unknown but non-Indo-European language, especially in its vocabulary.[42]

2.1.2 Indo-European Comparative Mythology

To summarize, one of the core ideas of Indo-European studies is that all Indo-European languages stem from one proto-language at a specific location a couple of millennia back. This idea becomes even more fascinating if it is connected with any of the variants of the

[37] Robert Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction. Second Edition* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011), 121, 123, 127.
[38] David Anthony, *The Horse the Wheel and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007); Marija Gimbutas, *The Prehistory of Eastern Europe, Part I: Mesolithic, Neolithic and Copper Age Cultures in Russia and the Baltic Area* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum, 1956).
[39] Remco Bouckaert et al., "Mapping the Origins and Expansion of the Indo-European Language Family," *Science* 337 (2012): 957-960; Colin Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
[40] Robert Jeffers and Ilse Lehiste, *Principles and Methods for Historical Linguistics* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1979), 142.
[41] Edwin Bryant, *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture: The Indo-Aryan Migration Debate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 76-107.
[42] Fortson, *Indo-European Language and Culture*, 222.

Sapir-Whorf thesis: each language is accompanied by its own worldview, and consequently the speakers of different languages perceive reality in different ways.[43] An approximate inversion of this thesis comes into play here: instead of that the focus is on the different worldviews that each Indo-European language supports, the idea is now that, since these languages are related to one another, they have similarities in worldview as well.

For mythological reconstruction, like linguistic reconstruction, we need a number of cultures which provide the comparative data. Since the main sources for myths are in written form, there are similar problems in comparative linguistics and comparative mythology. In language we have to deal with both sound shifts and semantic shifts, and in comparative mythology we have to deal with changing names for characters and concepts *and* changing content behind those characters and concepts. When dealing with language changes, linguists are often able to describe them in terms of law. Changes in mythology and deities are highly erratic and unpredictable,[44] however, and so far no real laws have been determined to describe them.

This approach is in itself complicated enough, but there is also a lack of data: we do not have mythological remnants for many of the subfamilies. Puhvel states that the sources for the mythological reconstruction are mainly derived from Indic (Sanskrit), Italic (Latin), and Germanic (especially Icelandic) sources,[45] which are just three of the ten Indo-European language families. Substratum influences are also visible in mythological systems,[46] which explain the absence of Greek among the sources used for reconstruction: many features of Greek religion and mythology are strikingly non-Indo-European, with the exception of Zeus, Hades, Poseidon, and Herakles.[47] And, of course, for many subfamilies the mythological sources are very late and often 'sieved' through a Christian filter.[48] In that sense, it becomes vital to always take the cultural circumstances from which the mythological material came into account.

[43] Basel Hussein, "The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis Today," *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 2.3 (March 2012): 642.
[44] James Mallory and Douglas Adams, *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 424.
[45] Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology*, 39.
[46] Frog, "Myth," *Humanities* 7.1 (2018): 30-31; Mallory and Adams, *Proto-Indo-European World*, 424.
[47] Lowell Edmunds, *Approaches to Greek myth* (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 199.
[48] Mallory and Adams, *Proto-Indo-European World*, 423-424.

There are other problems as well. A very common approach would look for typological similarities and shared characteristics, even when lexical links are absent.[49] Just looking at similarities does not guarantee proper result, unfortunately. Propp has argued that similarity does not automatically denote genetic dependency.[50] Even worse, Bernabé states that similarities might become overemphasized when found, and are easily found due to confirmation bias.[51] For comparative research it should be noted that 'the differences between […] texts are just as interesting as the similarities.'[52]

To avoid the problem of shallow similarities a stricter methodology could be applied. One such model comes from Watkins, who looks for both semantic and formulaic similarities for the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European mythology.[53] The problem here is that the number of results becomes meagre: the only figure to be reconstructed this way with a high degree of certainty is **dyēws ph₂tēr*, 'Sky Father' who was the head of the Proto-Indo-European pantheon, and whose reconstruction is based on four members: Vedic Sanskrit (*dyàuṣ pítar*), Greek (*zeũ páter*), Latin (*Iū-piter*),[54] and Illyrian (*dei-pátrous*).[55] For concrete myths there is the slaying of the dragon.[56] Another myth concerns the sacrifice of a primordial man to create the universe,[57] but other creation templates are also attested.[58] There has also been an attempt to reconstruct the theft of fire, but the conclusion is rather disappointing so far, based upon the Greek name Prometheus, which meant originally 'the one who steals', and the Vedic Sanskrit verb *pra-math-*, which means 'to steal', and is used in the Vedic myth of the theft of fire. [59]

[49] Mallory and Adams, *Proto-Indo-European World*, 426.
[50] Vladimir Propp, "Fairy Tale Transformations," trans. Severens, in *Modern Genre Theory*, ed. Duff (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 54.
[51] Alberto Bernabé, "Influences orientales dans la litterature grecque: reflexions de method," *Kernos* 8 (1995): 14-16.
[52] Apo, "Analysing the contents of narratives": 65.
[53] Calvert Watkins, *How To Kill A Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 9-11.
[54] Fortson, *Indo-European Language and Culture*, 22-23.
[55] Mallory and Adams, *Proto-Indo-European World*, 431.
[56] Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon*, 297-544.
[57] Fortson, *Indo-European Language and Culture*, 27; Bruce Lincoln, *Myth, Cosmos, and Society: Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 1-4.
[58] Michael Witzel, *The Origins of the World's Mythologies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 107-109, 114, 116-118, 120-123, 128-129, 131-137.
[59] Fortson, *Indo-European Language and Culture*, 27.

As for A153.1, Dumézil[60] and Oosten[61] both attempted to reconstruct the Indo-European version. Unfortunately, both reconstructions are not relevant for us because of four flaws. First of all, both Dumézil and Oosten are heavily dependent upon the variants of the story about the churning of the ocean, which is only one of my Indian categories (3.6). Secondly, many of the reconstructed motifs are absent in the Greek material and quite peculiar to India. Thirdly, while Dumézil covers many cultural areas,[62] he is lacking both in depth and in the scope of the material used for each area.[63] Similarly, Oosten uses a lot of material which lacks the theft of the sustenance from the gods, but which he claims reflects other motifs present within the Indo-European story cycle around A153.1. Fourthly and most tellingly, Dumézil's account has been criticized,[64] and later in his life Dumézil rejected his own reconstruction.[65]

The problem is not just that there are few results, unfortunately. West makes the observation that researchers often ignore historical and geographical locations and see two parallels immediately as an Indo-European reflex.[66] More generally, and perhaps fatally, Bernabé argues that similar phrasing and names does not say that much either: similar names might be derived from different etymological constructions, and the meaning of phrasing might be different,[67] since it is hard to transmit cultural schemas between cultures.[68] A myth in transmission adapts to the structure of the receiving culture, as this adaptation shows the cultural difference.[69] This only stresses how the whole conceptual field might be different for similar Indo-European myths.

A last problem considers whether we are dealing with diffusion (horizontal spread) or a genetic heritage (vertical spread). It is not necessary that, when two parallel elements are found in two different Indo-European languages or mythologies, they must point to an Indo-

[60] Georges Dumézil, *Le Festin d'Immortalité: Étude de Mythologie Comparée Indo-Européenne* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924).
[61] Oosten, *War of the Gods*.
[62] Dumézil, *Le Festin d'Immortalité*, 25; Oosten, *War of the Gods*, 54.
[63] Oosten, *War of the Gods*, 68.
[64] Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology*, 65-66.
[65] In James Mallory, "Sacred Drink," in *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, ed. Mallory and Adams (London/Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997), 495.
[66] West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 19.
[67] Bernabé, "Influences orientales": 14-15.
[68] Bernabé, "Influences orientales": 15-17.
[69] Alberto Bernabé, "Hittites and Greeks: Mythical Influences and Methodological Considerations," in *Griechische Archaik: Interne Entwicklungen - Externe Impulse*, ed. Rollinger and Ulf (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004), 292.

European origin. Indo-European languages are not isolated from each other once they become distinct and separated: cultural contact and therefore horizontal diffusional spread is still a possibility. This contact and diffusional spread might also work indirectly: West, for example, claims that many mythological themes from Mesopotamia are also found in Greece and India, and both Greece and India borrowed these themes from Mesopotamia, independently from each other.[70] Even then, it might be impossible to pinpoint an exact place and moment for cultural contact and exchange.[71] It is also not helpful that there are no exact definitions and criteria for the phenomenon of borrowing.[72]

2.3 Methodology: structuralism

In this subsection I describe structuralism as a method. This method fits, for it allows me to segment the stories into several building blocks (images, motifs, themes[73]), which allows for detailed comparison. First I describe two important pairs of concepts: variance and invariants or *parole* and *langue* (2.3.1) and syntagmatic and paradigmatic order (2.3.2). This is then operationalized (2.3.3).

2.3.1 Variance and invariants

Structuralism is a current of thought which seeks to embed individual actors or elements within a wider system. A system is a whole constituted of rule-governed parts,[74] which gain their function or meaning due to their interrelations.[75] The elements cannot be understood in isolation, but only in their interrelations with other elements within the system.[76]

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[70] West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 23.
[71] Bernabé, "Influences orientales": 14, 19.
[72] Bernabé, "Influences orientales": 17-18.
[73] Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice: A Methodological Framework for Historical Analysis," *The Retrospective Methods Network Newsletter* 10 (Summer 2015): 39.
[74] Émile Benveniste, *Problems in General Linguistics,* trans. Meek (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), 82.
[75] Benveniste, *Problems in General Linguistics*, 80; Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," *The Journal of American Folklore* 68.270 (October-December 1955): 431; Walter Runciman, "What is structuralism?" *The British Journal of Sociology* 20.3 (September 1969): 254; John McDowell, "From Expressive Language to Mythemes: Meaning in Mythic Narratives," in *Myth: A New Symposium*, ed. Schrempp and Hansen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 36.
[76] Paul Ricœur, "Structure and Hermeneutics," trans. McLaughlin, in *The Conflict of Interpretations: Essays in Hermeneutics*, ed. Ihde (London/New York: Continuum, 2004), 34.

De Saussure conceptualized the idea of the system for linguistics by creating the distinction between *langue* and *parole*. *Langue* is the language as an abstract and unconscious system,[77] and *parole* is the language in usage. Put differently, *langue* is the abstract language system, and *parole* is the actualization of this system in everyday usage.[78] *Langue* as an abstract system is perceived by De Saussure as a homogenous unity, while *parole* as spoken or actualized language is characterized by diversity and variation.[79]

If we want to transpose this definition of *langue* and *parole* towards the study of myths and folktales, there are three possible conceptualizations. First of all, we can state that mythology (as a systematic collection of stories) or story cycle is alike *langue*, while an individual myth or story within this mythology is equal to *parole*.[80] This conceptualization is not useful in this research, since no complete mythological systems are analysed. In itself such a concept is problematic, since it ignores conflicts and discrepancies within those systems.[81] Mythologies as a systematic arrangement are a rarity,[82] and it is more common to find a group of stories which are not or just loosely connected and without any linear development.[83] Replacing the term 'mythology' here by 'culture' or 'cosmology' generates the same problems.

The second conceptualization would equal *parole* to a surface structure of a myth, and *langue* to its deep structure.[84] This is Lévi-Strauss' approach. The surface is the structure of the plot which is immediately intelligible,[85] while the deep structure is a kind of unconscious and dormant knowledge which arises as intuition.[86] This conceptualization also does not seem fruitful for the current project, because it ignores how stories generate

[77] Ferdinand De Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages, 1967), 25; Robert Innis, *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 108.
[78] De Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale,* 30.
[79] De Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, 32.
[80] Oosten, *War of the Gods*, 4.
[81] Roman Jakobson and Petr Bogatyrev, "Folklore as a Special Form of Creation," trans. O'Hara (1980): 15, accessed 8 May, 2017, https://scholarworks.iu.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/2022/1711/13(1)1-21.pdf.
[82] Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice": 36.
[83] Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice": 36; Lincoln, review of *The Origins of the World's Mythologies*, by Michael Witzel, *Asian Ethnology* 74.2 (2015): 446.
[84] Eric Csapo, *Theories of Mythology* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 189, 204; see also Ricœur, "Structure and Hermeneutics", 32-33.
[85] Dundes, "Structural Typology": 123.
[86] Kirk, *Myth*, 43-44.

different meanings due to different contexts or audiences.[87] I prefer Wittgenstein's definition of meaning as usage: the meaning of a story depends on how it is used.[88]

The third conceptualization is the one used in this project: *parole* is considered to be all the variants or different performances of a story that together build up an abstract version akin to *langue*.[89] We can find the invariants or abstract reconstructions in works like Thompson's *Motif-Index of folk-literature*,[90] but as an illustration we can also find it in Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautika* 2.1246-1259. This passage starts by giving the general situation: Prometheus is bound on the Caucasus Mountains, and an eagle comes to eat his liver each day. In the story this situation did not actually occur yet though, making it therefore *langue*. However, directly afterwards the described event actually happens in the story, as would be *parole*: the eagle soars past the narrator and his group to and fro the mountain, and they hear Prometheus screaming as if his liver is being eaten.[91]

We need to keep in mind that Thompson's motifs are scholarly abstractions and generalizations, and not the story itself. Structuralists generally work by a reductionist and abstracting process,[92] and describe the system it wants to uncover in relational properties.[93] With Derrida in mind we must also not understand the abstract construct as something higher and undefiled, which was the vice of many psychologists, early comparativists,[94] and Lévi-Strauss.[95] In the guise of Derrida's 'logic of the supplement'[96] we should understand the

[87] Émile Benveniste, "The Semiology of Language," in *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology*, ed. Innes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 229, 235; Bernabé, "Influences orientales": 19-20; Matthieu Casalis, "Lévi-Strauss' Structural Analysis of Myth: A Study in Methodology," *Proceedings of the New Mexico-West Texas Philosophical Society* (April 1974): 62; Morris Freilich, "Myth, Method, and Madness," *Current Anthropology* 16.2 (June 1975): 219; Oosten, *War of the Gods*, 10; Ricœur, "Structure and Hermeneutics", 28-29, 45, 49.
[88] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen/Philosophical Investigations. Zweite Auflage/Second Edition*, trans. Anscombe (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1997), 20 (section 43).
[89] Csapo, *Theories of Mythology*, 197-198; Jakobson and Bogatyrev, "Folklore": 9; Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth": 435.
[90] Thompson, *Motif-index of folk-literature,* accessed 15 May, 2017, http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/thompson/.

[91] English translation and Greek original: William Race, ed. trans., *Apollonius Rhodius: Argonautica*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 210-213.
[92] Csapo, *Theories of Mythology*, 279; Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction. Second Edition* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 95; Ricœur, "Structure and Hermeneutics", 34.
[93] Runciman, "What is structuralism?": 257.
[94] Csapo, *Theories of Mythology*, 203.
[95] In Kirk, *Myth*, 61.
[96] Antoon Braeckman et al., *Wijsbegeerte* (Tielt: Uitgeverij Lannoo nv, 2010), 231.

variants as the entities which show us the richness and the more complete picture,[97] and the abstracted invariant as a scholarly tool, and not something real.[98]

Essentially, every performance of a story is at least a slight alteration in comparison to the versions on which it is based,[99] showing unique nuances, gaps,[100] and possible additions or changes.[101] This shows us that a cultural item like a story is not simply replicated when it is reproduced, but rather reconstructed.[102] This means that due to communication variations are introduced, which over time creates bigger differences between communities separated geographically and socially,[103] and even between individuals in the same community. This problematizes Lévi-Strauss' idea that a 'myth consists of all its versions', since that would generalize variants of a story by ignoring their unique differences and details.[104] Variants are themselves valuable objects of study, the primacy should not lay on the invariant abstract construct.

What is really beneficial of these constructed motifs is that it moves the focus away from the original version,[105] which used to be a concern for many comparativists and psychologists in the past.[106] Instead of focusing on causal laws and origins, structuralism studies typological laws.[107] All variants of the story are just instantiations of the motif, which means that we can primarily focus on the specificity of each version, rather than merely on how it derives or 'deviates' from a supposed *Ür*-version. Rather than the first known version somehow being the pure and neutral story, we can now focus on how the first attested version also has specific elements that make it unique.

[97] Jakobson and Bogatyrev, "Folklore": 18.
[98] Csapo, *Theories of Mythology*, 203.
[99] Kirk, *Myth*, 73
[100] Kirk, *Myth*, 74.
[101] Jack Balkin, *Cultural Software: A Theory of Ideology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 81.
[102] Thomas Scott-Phillips, "A (Simple) Experimental Demonstration that Cultural Evolution is not Replicative, but Reconstructive - and an Explanation of Why this Difference Matters," *Journal of Cognition and Culture* 17 (2017): 5-6.
[103] Balkin, *Cultural Software*, 91, 94.
[104] Kirk, *Myth*, 74.
[105] Innis, *Semiotics*, 109.
[106] Csapo, *Theories of Mythology*, 202; also Propp, "Fairy Tale Transformations", 53.
[107] Csapo, *Theories of Mythology*, 203.

2.3.2 Syntagmatic vs Paradigmatic

In structuralism an element in isolation has not a lot of meaning, but gains meaning due to its interrelations with other elements.[108] In the study of myth, Lévi-Strauss' 'mytheme' has been oft-cited, which are these bundles of relations.[109] There are different conceptualizations of how these elements relate to each other, though. In linguistics, syntax deals with the order and combination of words and phrases in a sentence. Likewise, the syntagmatic approach looks at the linear combination rules of a story[110] and the constituting elements.[111] In folkloristics this has mainly been the domain of Propp.[112] The paradigmatic approach is in linguistics associated with rules of selection, in which one element is chosen over others, like the paradigms concerning verbal tense, gender, and number.[113] In the study of mythology Lévi-Strauss is considered the big champion here.

The difference between the syntagmatic and paradigmatic approach becomes clearer when looking at the linguistic debate between De Saussure and Jakobson. De Saussure stressed the importance of linearity in linguistic analysis: distinctions between phonemes were determined by preceding and following elements,[114] and is thus working from a syntagmatic frame. Jakobson disagreed, and claimed that so-called distinctive features are stacked onto one phoneme, which creates distinction. This is a paradigmatic frame, since different of these distinctive features are selected and are effective in speech at the same time.[115]

Jakobson's response to De Saussure is important for understanding Lévi-Strauss because it highlights an important aspect in his work. A myth is the mediation between two

[108] Benveniste, *Problems in General Linguistics*, 80; Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth": 431; Runciman, "What is structuralism?": 254; McDowell, "Meaning in Mythic Narrative", 36.
[109] Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth": 431.
[110] Csapo, *Theories of Mythology*, 190.
[111] Benveniste, *Problems in General Linguistics*, 101-102.
[112] Csapo, *Theories of Mythology*, 206.
[113] Benveniste, *Problems in General Linguistics*, 101-102; Roman Jakobson, "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics," in *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology*, ed. Innis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 155.
[114] De Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, 103.
[115] Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle. *Fundamentals of Language* (The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1956), 59-60; Roman Jakobson, "Sign and System of Language: A Reassessment of Saussure's Doctrine," in *Verbal Art, Verbal Sign, Verbal Time,* ed. Pomorska and Rudy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 29; Roman Jakobson, "The Phonemic and Grammatical Aspects of Language in their Interrelations," in *Selected Writings II: Word and Language* (The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1971), 105.

opposing poles,[116] but in a similar way that Jakobson's distinctive features can stack, so a mytheme can play a role in more than one binary opposition. This we can see in the analysis of the story of Asdiwal, in which the term 'earth/land' plays a role in opposition to 'heaven' and to 'water'.[117] While Lévi-Strauss states that the syntagmatic narrative linear order does not matter, others have rejected this approach.[118]

I think it is not useful to follow Lévi-Strauss in always presuming binarism on the paradigmatic axis. Even if we ignore the critics of the binary axiom itself,[119] we observe from the linguistic paradigmatic axis that the selection is not always a choice between two forms, but can also be between three or more forms, for example number (singular, dual, and plural in Sanskrit, for example) and person (first, second, and third). Jakobson has also argued that some of the phonemic oppositions that he discusses are better understood in a gradual sense than in a pure oppositional one,[120] a sentiment which Leach picks up for his Lévi-Straussian brand of structural anthropology.[121] More concretely, Dumézil has noted the importance of the nobility-commoner binary in Indo-European cultures, while Oosten has stressed that this binary is peculiarly fluid in many Indo-European cultures.[122]

2.3.3 Operationalization

Structualism is here operationalized along the formal side. This means that the structuralist method is used to recover structures and building blocks of myths and folktales, and not produce some kind of meaning independent from any context (except for an academic one).

[116] Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth": 440.
[117] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology: Volume* 2, trans. Layton (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1973), 159.
[118] Frederic Jameson. "Magical Narratives: On the Dialectical Use of Genre Criticism," in *Modern Genre Theory,* ed. Duff (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 180.
[119] Kirk, *Myth*, 79; Jørgen Rischel, "Roman Jakobson and the Phonetics-Phonology Dichotomy," *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 29.1 (1997): 137-138; Runciman, "What is structuralism?": 260-263; see also Gregory Bateson, "A Theory of Play and Fantasy," in *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology*, ed. Innis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 136-137.
[120] Jakobson and Halle, *Fundamentals of Language*, 48.
[121] Edmund Leach, "Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse," in *Mythology*, ed. Maranda (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd, 1972), 66-67.
[122] Oosten, *War of the Gods*, 20.

In its formalist fashion, it is also excellent for both comparative and transdisciplinary research,[123] since structures are perceived to be formally quite similar.[124]

I mainly follow Frog's delineation of the different narrative constituents, while also amending it by reference to other theoretical suggestions. These narrative constituents are levelled, which means that the higher levels include the lower ones. The smallest element that we have is the so-called 'image'. Linguistically, it corresponds to a noun, and is therefore a static element.[125] Thompson has identified actors and items as motifs,[126] but in Frog's model they suit the role of image better. We can also include states in the category of images, like emotions (fear, love), location (Atlantis), and the like. Thompson notes that the image-motif is the smallest element that can persist in tradition.[127]

Next we have the 'motif', which Thompson and Frog define slightly differently from each other. Thompson's third entity which he calls a motif is a single incident or event,[128] which is rather vague. Frog's definition is more precise, for the motif adds a verb to two or more images.[129] Sometimes one of the images is implied by using certain forms of a verb. For this thesis, it is relevant to see that Thompson describes A153.1 as a passive phrase. We do not have a subject and a verb, but rather an object and a passive verb. Essentially, the formulation of this motif only states that which is stolen (the food of the gods), and the thieves themselves remain anonymous. The first part of the motif (theft of Ambrosia) works similarly: 'theft' is a verbal noun with the object 'Ambrosia', while the subject remains anonymous.

The last element which Frog describes that is relevant for this project is a theme, which is made up of a plurality of conventionally associated images and motifs.[130] This is proper analytical entity, because it has also been observed by Dundes and Holbek that many motifs tend to be clustered together rather than appear independently.[131] This becomes

[123] Runciman, "What is structuralism?": 254; Allen Grimshaw, "Data and Data Use in an Analysis of Communicative Events," in *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*, ed. Bauman and Sherzer (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 423-424.
[124] Runciman, "What is structuralism?": 255.
[125] Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice": 39.
[126] Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946), 415-416.
[127] Thompson, *The Folktale*, 415.
[128] Thompson, *The Folktale*, 416.
[129] Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice": 39.
[130] Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice": 39.
[131] Bengt Holbek, "On the Classification of Folktales," in *IV International Congress for Folk-Narrative in Athens*, ed. Megas (Athens: Laographia, 1964), 160; Dundes, "The Motif-Index and the Tale Type": 196.

apparent when we perceive the different versions which can be reconstructed from the Indian stories (3.7.1).

I introduce here a new term: the syntagmatic moment. The syntagmatic moment is a linear structural moment within a narrative, such as, among others, the setting, [132] the motivation, the main act, and the result. In the construction of an abstract version, the different variants of a narrative provide different motifs, which become the paradigmatic choices for a syntagmatic moment. Often, more than one motif is active in the same syntagmatic moment within a narrative.

2.4 Hypotheses and implications

Some preliminary hypotheses are possible with regard to the structure of A153.1 in the different cultural contexts. There are four possible outcomes for this research project, and each of these outcomes has different implications, which can function as incentives for future research.

First of all, the structures of the different variants in the different cultures are so different that comparisons only work at a very general level, which substantially reduces their heuristic value. In this case, it seems more reasonable to treat myths and folktales with close attention within its own context, rather than create a generalizing and perhaps oversimplifying typology of different tale types and motifs.

Secondly, it might be impossible to provide a general structure which agrees with all or most of the variant stories within one cultural area. Similar to the first hypothesis, this might problematize the idea of typologies of tale types and motifs. But most significantly, it shows us that Lévi-Strauss' idea that a 'myth consists of all its versions'[133] is misguided,[134] since it is impossible to uncover a general structure. This would show us that variants are in itself valuable objects of study,[135] and cannot be reduced to an ideal type without doing hefty damage.

[132] Apo, "Analysing the contents of narratives", 62; Theo Meder, *Avonturen en Structuren: Op zoek naar de bouwstenen van volksverhalen* (Amsterdam: Meertens Instituut (KNAW), 2012), 70-71.
[133] Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth": 435.
[134] Kirk, *Myth*, 74.
[135] Jakobson and Bogatyrev, "Folklore": 13.

Thirdly, the structures of the Indo-European variants might be more closely related to each other than the non-Indo-European Chinese variants. In that case we have an affirmation of the value of the Indo-European theoretical frame with regards to mythology, but in a way that is more scientifically sound than previous research. Puhvel notes that, for the Indo-European theoretical frame to be valuable, it must allow for both positive affirmations *and* negative controls.[136] By including Chinese variants we have this negative control, and when the Chinese variants are less related to the Indo-European variants we have a positive affirmation which strengthens the Indo-European theoretical frame.

Lastly, it might be the case that one Indo-European variant is more closely related to the non-Indo-European Chinese variants than to the other Indo-European variants. If the Indian and Chinese variants are more closely connected, then it might be an indication that geographical proximity is more important than membership of the same language family for the similarity of myths and folktales. On the other hand, if the Greek and Chinese versions are more closely related, then we have a quite unexpected and therefore more fascinating outcome, which I would not know how to explain yet. While the migration of ideas and people, and therefore story motifs, to and from China has always been significant,[137] it is always difficult, if not impossible, to trace and document the exact routes[138] and what is exactly transmitted in cultural contact.[139]

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed the theoretical and methodological direction of this thesis. I started with the definition of the motif under analysis, A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen*, which can be better described as *A153.1 *Theft of sustenance from the hierarchically superior*. The project starts from this motif, rather than from reconstructions by Dumézil[140] and Oosten.[141] After that I gave a definition of narratives, which are stories or

[136] Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology*, 4.
[137] Stephen Feuchtwang, *The Anthropology of Religion, Charisma and Ghosts: Chinese Lessons for Adequate Theory* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 1.
[138] J.M. Lindenberger, "Ahiqar," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, volume 2: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, ed. Charlesworth (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1985), 486.
[139] Bernabé, "Influences orientales": 12-13.
[140] Dumézil, *Le Festin d'Immortalité*.
[141] Oosten, *War of the Gods*.

references to stories in which supernatural elements play a role, and in which the theft most often happens from creatures with a higher hierarchical status.

Secondly, I have examined the Indo-European theoretical framework, in which A153.1 was investigated most often in the past. While the Indo-European theoretical framework has been useful for linguistic research, it is more problematic when applied to research on mythology. The problem is that we are dealing with substratum influences, highly erratic changes, lack of data, and data influenced by late notations. For comparative research we also have to deal with problems, such as whether one chooses to only follow up on typological similarities rather than lexical, and how important differences are. The causes of similarity are also notoriously hard to trace historically.

For the structuralist frame I discussed the terms *langue* (system) and *parole* (actualization), and how these terms could be equated to mythology and myth. The definition that is most feasible for this project is that *parole* denotes all the variants of a story, which are recognizable as being variants due to a *langue* abstract which is a scholarly construct.

As a method I follow Frog's conceptualizations for story elements, while adapting them for this project. We are dealing with images (static elements), motifs (static elements connected by actions), and themes (a standard combination of motifs). Next to that I introduce the term syntagmatic moments as units within stories in which paradigmatic choices are made.

At the end of the chapter I have introducted four hypotheses. First of all, the stories might be too different to be a ground for detailed comparison between cultural areas. Secondly, it might be impossible to reconstruct a singular structure for all variants within a cultural area. Thirdly, the Indo-European stories might be more similar. And lastly, either the India-China or Greece-China pair might be more similar.

3. Indian Variants of A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*:*

Food of the gods stolen

In this chapter I analyse the Indian variants of A153.1. This motif is found in 66 texts, which are spread over five different categories: *gandharvas* steal *soma* (3.2); birds steal *soma* (3.3); Garuḍa steals *amṛta* (3.4); Indra steals *soma* or *amṛta* (3.5); and the churning of the ocean (3.6). All categories are based upon the stealing actant. The title for the category 'the churning of the ocean' (*samudra manthana*) reflects its name in India, and has the deity Viṣṇu as the thief. I start the chapter with a description of the stolen goods*, soma* and *amṛta* (3.1), and conclude with a comparison (3.7), also noting categories that are more closely connected (3.7.1), and a summarizing conclusion (3.8).

3.1 Soma *and* Amṛta

Soma and *amṛta* are the chief substances that are stolen in the stories analysed below. Both are described as drinks of immortality that belong to the gods. Functionally they can be equated with each other, especially in these stories. There are, however, some notable differences.

First of all, both words have a different etymology. Sanskrit *a-mṛta*, which means 'not-dead' and denotes a drink that causes immortality, is etymologically related to Greek *ambrosia*, and the Proto-Indo-European form **ṇ-mṛ-to(s)-* can be reconstructed.[142] For *soma*, Pokorny traces it back to Proto-Indo-European **seu-*, **se^{w}ə-*, or **sū-*, which means 'juice, liquid, rain'.[143] The biggest issue with this reconstruction is that the reconstructions refer to a general term, while *soma* itself denotes a specific kind of juice. The necessary nasal is also missing, except in Avestan *haoma*, which denotes a drink similar to *soma*. In this case we can reconstruct a Proto-Indo-Iranian form **sōma*[144] or **sauma*,[145] which would be the ancestor to languages like Avestan and Sanskrit but which separated from Proto-Indo-

[142] Mallory, "Sacred Drink," 494; Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch: Revised Edition* (Indo-European Language Revival Association, 2007), 2089; West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 157.
[143] Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2639.
[144] Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2639; Frits Staal, "How a Psychoactive Substance Becomes a Ritual: The Case of Soma," *Social Research* 68.3 (Fall 2001): 750.
[145] Mallory, "Sacred Drink," 495.

European unity before becoming a linguistic innovation. In short: *soma* is specifically Indo-Iranian while *amṛta* seems to be more generally Indo-European.[146]

Secondly, while *amṛta* seems to be only present in stories, *soma* used to have a ritual function as well. Monier-Williams provides some real-life correspondences for the name *amṛta* (a species of the Phaseolus plant or a liquor),[147] but the concept was not as central as *soma*. *Soma* was the sacrificial substance at the centre of Vedic rituals, which was both consumed by the priests as well as sacrificed to the gods. A huge ritual complex surrounded *soma*, from its trade[148] to its consumption and final sacrifice. Its practice of consumption is also often traced to the name *soma* itself, which is said to derive from *√su-*, 'to press':[149] *soma* was pressed, and the juice that was thus produced was consumed and sacrificed.[150] Over time *soma* became unavailable to the Vedic priests.[151] Instead of abandoning the plant, texts describe different substitutes for *soma* (see, for example, Appendix 4).

Finally, there is a temporal distinction too. It is not the case that the terms *soma* and *amṛta* are in direct temporal succession of each other, but rather that the term *soma* is used mostly in the Vedic period, and the term *amṛta* appears more often after the Vedic period. The oldest Vedic text, the Ṛg Veda, consists of 10,462 verses.[152] Consisting of ten books, the whole ninth book is concerned with the preparation of *soma* for ritual activity,[153] while the term still appears quite often in other books as well. In stark contrast, the term *amṛta* appears only 25 times in the *Ṛg Veda*.[154] This is quite visible in the mythological material, where there are mainly myths about the theft of *soma* from the Vedic period, while myths dealing with the theft of *amṛta* are from later periods.

[146] Danielle Feller, *The Sanskrit Epics' Representation of Vedic Myths* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2004), 185; Frans Kuiper, review of *Soma: Divine Mushroom of Immortality*, by Gordon Wasson, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 12.4 (1970): 284.
[147] Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), 82.
[148] Staal, "Psychoactive Substance": 756-757.
[149] Ulrich Schneider, *Der Somaraub des Manu: Mythus und Ritual* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971), 29; Staal, "Psychoactive Substance": 750.
[150] Schneider, *Somaraub*, 29; Staal, "Psychoactive Substance": 752.
[151] Staal, "Psychoactive Substance": 754.
[152] Frits Staal, *Discovering the Vedas: Origins, Mantras, Rituals, Insights* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2008), 4.
[153] Staal, *Discovering the Vedas*, 98.
[154] In ṚV 1.72:6; 3.1:14; twice in 4.58:1; 5.2:3; 5.58:2; 6.37:3; 6.44:16; 6.44:23; 7.4:6; 7.57:6; 8.96:7; 9.70:2; 9.70:4; 9.74:4; 9.74:6; 9.108:4; 9.110:4; 10.11:9; 10.12:9; 10.30:11; 10.53:10; 10.123:3; 10.139:6; and 10.186:3.

3.2 Gandharvas *steal* soma[155]

The *gandharvas* are creatures in Indian mythology in general, not only appearing in Hindu texts, but also in Jain and Buddhist texts as *gandhabba*.[156] The *gandharvas* are quite clearly connected to *soma* in the Vedic period, the earliest period of Hinduism. They are either *soma-rakṣas* (guardians of *soma*), or they steal *soma*. Elsewhere I have defended the idea that the *gandharvas* are a mythological reflection on real-life, non-Indo-European tribes that collected *soma* and sold it to the Vedic priests.[157]

3.2.1 Texts

There are thirteen variants of '*Gandharvas* steal *soma*' in the following texts:

1. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Taittirīya Saṃhitā)* 6.1.6:5-6;[158]
2. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Taittirīya Saṃhitā)* 6.1.11:5;[159] (hence abbreviated as KYV TS)
3. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṃhitā)* 37:2; (KYV KKS)
4. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā)* 3.7.3:8b-19;[160] (KYV MS)
5. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā)* 24.1:10-18;[161] (KYV KS)
6. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.4:1-7;[162]
7. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.9.3:18-22;[163]
8. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 4.4.2:7;[164] (ŚB)

[155] Part of this subsection is pending for publishing in a dual issue of *Comparative Mythology* and *Kosmos.*
[156] Arjan Sterken, "Strangers in a Familiar Land: The role of the Gandharvas in Vedic literature." *Acta Comparanda* 27 (2016): 71.
[157] Sterken, "Strangers in a Familiar Land": 100-105.
[158] English translation: Arthur Keith, trans., *The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittiriya Sanhita, part 2: Kāṇḍas IV-VII* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914), 493; Sanskrit original: *Taittiriya Samhita,* ed. Bashyam (Hyderabad: 2005), 323, accessed 16 May, 2017, http://www.sanskritweb.net/yajurveda/ts-find.pdf.
[159] English translation: Keith, *Taittiriya Sanhita, part 2*, 500; Sanskrit original: *Taittiriya Samhita*, 331.
[160] English translation: see Appendix 1; Sanskrit original: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā: Die Saṃhitā der Maitrāyaṇīya-Śākhā*, *Buch 3*, ed. Von Schroeder (Leipzig: Verlag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1881-1886), 77-78, accessed 11 July, 2017, http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/ms/ms.htm.
[161] English translation: see Appendix 3; Sanskrit original: *Kāṭhaka: Die Saṃhitā der Kaṭha-Śākhā*, *Zweites Buch,* ed. Von Schroeder (Leipzig: Verlag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1909), 90, accessed 27 July, 2017, http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/ks/ks.htm.
[162] English translation: Julius Eggeling, trans., *The Satapatha-Brâhmana according to the text of the Mâdhyandina School: Part II, Books III and IV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 52-54; Sanskrit original: *Satapatha-Brahmana 3*, ed. Ananthanarayana and Lehman, accessed 11 July, 2017, http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/1_veda/2_bra/satapath/sb_03_u.htm.
[163] English translation: Eggeling, *Satapatha-Brâhmana, Books III and IV*, 233-234; Sanskrit original: *Satapatha-Brahmana 3*.

9. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 1.5:27;[165] (AB)
10. *Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa* 12.1:8-13;[166]
11. *Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa* 12.3;[167] (KB)
12. *Vādhūla Brāhmaṇa* 47;[168] (VB)
13. *Brahma Pūraṇa* 35:2-18.[169] (BP)

Most of the texts that we are dealing with here (except for the *Brahma Pūraṇa*) stem from the Vedic period. Dating these texts is a matter of great controversy. Witzel's suggestion, which gives a date for the oldest Vedic texts between 1900 and 1400 BCE,[170] is generally accepted as a solid tentative dating. Parts of the corpus of Vedic texts (and especially the *Ṛg Veda*, which is the oldest text) originate from outside of India, and were brought to India by immigrants speaking an Indo-European language.[171] A general ending date for the Vedic period is 450 BCE,[172] when different philosophical concerns from Buddhism and Jainism clashed with the Vedic worldview.[173]

There are thirteen texts that deal with '*Gandharvas* steal *soma*', but only eleven unique variants. KYV TS 6.1.6:5-6 and KYV KKS 37:2 are nearly identical to each other.[174] Next to that, VB 47 is identical to KYV TS 6.1.6:5-6 and KYV KKS 37:2 insofar it only adds the hymn

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[164] English translation: Eggeling, *Satapatha-Brâhmana, Books III and IV*, 364-365; Sanskrit original: *Satapatha-Brahmana 4*, ed. Ananthanarayana and Lehman, accessed 24 October, 2017, http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/1_veda/2_bra/satapath/sb_04_u.htm.

[165] English translations: Arthur Keith, trans., *Rigveda Brahmanas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), 128; Martin Haug, trans., *The Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda* (Allahabad: Panini Office, 1922), 40; Sanskrit original: *Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa: Mit Auszügen aus dem Commentare von Sāyaṇācārya und anderen Beilagen*, ed. Aufrecht (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1879), accessed 18 May, 2017, http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/rv/ab/ab.htm.

[166] English translation: Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, 413; Sanskrit original: *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*, ed. Shreekrishna Sarma (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1968), accessed 18 May, 2017, http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/1_veda/2_bra/kausibru.htm.

[167] English translation: Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, 414; Sanskrit original: *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*..

[168] Partial English translation and partial Sanskrit original: Catherine Ludvik, *Sarasvatī: Riverine Goddess of Knowledge: From the Manuscript-carrying Vīṇā-player to the Weapon-wielding Defender of the Dharma* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 80-81; German paraphrase and partial Sanskrit original: Willem Caland, "Eine vierte Mitteilung über das Vādhūlasūtra," in *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Witzel (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 457-459.

[169] English translation: J.L. Shastri and G.P. Bhatt, trans. *Brahma Purāṇa: Part IV, Gautamī-Māhātmya* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1957), 878-879.

[170] Michael Witzel, "Early Sanskritization: Origins and Development of the Kuru State," *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* 1.4 (1995): 3-4.

[171] Staal, *Discovering the Vedas*, 18-20.

[172] Staal, *Discovering the Vedas*, 76.

[173] Christopher Bartley, *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy* (London/New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 1.

[174] Ludvik, *Sarasvatī*, 75.

which the *gandharvas* recite and which the *devas* sing.[175] The translations of the texts KYV KS 24.1 and KYV MS 3.7.3 can be found in respectively Appendices 2 and 1.

3.2.2 Structural analysis

I first summarize the narrative in textual form, while also noting the variations found among the different versions. The comparative results are presented in figure 3.1.

The story starts with *soma* being with the *gandharvas*. There are three variations as to why *soma* is with the *gandharvas*: 1) because the *gandharvas* normally guard it; 2) because the *gandharva* Viśvāvasu stole it (most common); or 3) the *gandharvas* as a collective group stole it. One interesting variant, KB 12.1:8-10, has unidentified *rakṣasas* (eaters of humans;[176] see also KYV KS 37.14 in Appendix 5) guard the *āpas* (waters). Not only is *soma* often described as a liquid,[177] but in KB 12.1 it is even described as *yajña* (sacrifice, verses 1-3), *rasa* (juice, verses 4-5), and *amṛta-tvam* (immortality, verses 6-7), which are all qualities that *soma* possesses. ŚB 1.7.1 mentions a failed attempt at theft by the 'footless archer'. Some texts state that *soma* is stolen for three nights.

The *devas* (gods) do not like this theft, and they want to have *soma* back for themselves. Since the *gandharvas* love women, the gods try to get *soma* back by using a woman. Either the *deva* Brahmā comes up with a plan (BP 35:2) or the *devas* devise a plan themselves. Two different plans are devised. In the first plan the *devas* use their own wives. The *devas* take their wives to see the *gandharvas*. Once there, the *gandharvas* long for their wives and are distracted, at which point the *devas* can steal back *soma*.

In the second plan the *devas* use the *devī* (goddess) Vāc. She is turned into a woman and then traded for *soma*. In ŚB 3.2.4 Vāc is sent to return with *soma* herself. Sometimes Vāc proposes this plan herself, and in these cases the gods protest it, only allowing it when Vāc promises to return to them. In BP 35:13 the *deva* Indra forced the *gandharvas* to trade *soma* for the *devī* Sarasvatī. In general Sarasvatī is seen as the successor of the *devī* Vāc in later

[175] Ludvik, *Sarasvatī*, 80.
[176] John Melton, *The Vampire Book: The Encyclopedia of the Undead, Third Edition* (Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 2011), 370.
[177] Jan Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens: I Veda und älterer Hinduismus* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1960), 62-65.

sources,[178] and in BP 35 we see both names interchanged: Vāc in verses 4-7, and Sarasvatī in verses 8-18.

While the story ends when the first plan is deployed, it continues when the second plan is applied. In that case, Vāc either runs away from the *gandharvas*, or she returns to the *devas* every day while belonging to the *gandharvas*. In certain versions the *gandharvas* follow Vāc to take her back. A contest is proposed: whoever can summon Vāc can keep her. The *gandharvas* recite a hymn, while the *devas* play and sing a song. Vāc is attracted to the music and joins the *devas*. The interesting feature here is the switch of associated genre. The *gandharvas* recite a hymn, since hymns are associated with the *devas* and are supposed to attract them. The *devas*, however, play a trick and make music, a type of activity with which the *gandharvas* later on become associated.[179] More in line with expectations, Kavaṣa defeats the *rakṣasas* using a hymn in KB 12.1:11-13.

In the end there is a collective punishment for the *gandharvas*: they lose both Vāc and *soma*. In ŚB 4.4.2:7 the collective punishment is more severe, for the *gandharvas* lose their usual share of the sacrifice. There are two conflicting ideas here. In ŚB 3.6.2:19 the *devas* show mercy and give the *gandharvas* their allotted share of the sacrifice.[180] In ŚB 4.4.2:7, however, the *gandharvas* only receive some *ghī* (clarified butter) and no *soma*, since *soma* was stolen from them.

3.3 Birds steal soma

A theme which is not often considered in researching A153.1 is the bird stealing from the gods. There are a lot of stories found in India on this theme, with either an unnamed bird (a *śyena*) or a named bird (Gāyatrī) as protagonist.

[178] Ludvik, *Sarasvatī*, 26.
[179] Sterken, "Strangers in a Familiar Land": 69.
[180] Eggeling, *Satapatha-Brâhmana, Books III and IV*, 152.

3.3.1 Texts

There are 31 textual variants of 'Birds steal *soma*':

1. *Ṛg Veda* 1.80:2;[181]
2. *Ṛg Veda* 1.93:6;[182]
3. *Ṛg Veda* 3.43:7;[183]
4. *Ṛg Veda* 4.18:13;[184]
5. *Ṛg Veda* 4.26:4-7;[185]
6. *Ṛg Veda* 4.27:1-5;[186]
7. *Ṛg Veda* 6.20:6;[187]
8. *Ṛg Veda* 8.82:9;[188]
9. *Ṛg Veda* 8.100:8;[189]
10. *Ṛg Veda* 9.68:6;[190]
11. *Ṛg Veda* 9.77:2;[191]
12. *Ṛg Veda* 9.89:2;[192]

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[181] English translation: Stephanie Jamison and Joel Brereton, trans., *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India: Volumes 1-3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 206; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Ṛigveda: Erster Theil, Maṇḍala I-VI: Zweite Auflage*, ed. Aufrecht (Bonn: Adolph Mareus, 1877), accessed 26 July, 2017, http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/rv/mt/rv.htm; *Rig Veda: A Metrically Restored Text with Introduction and Notes*, ed. Van Nooten and Holland (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 1994), accessed 26 July, 2017, http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/rv/mt/rv.htm.

[182] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 229; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Erster Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.

[183] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 528; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Erster Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.

[184] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 587; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Erster Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.

[185] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 600-601; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Erster Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.

[186] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 601-602; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Erster Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.

[187] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 800; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Erster Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.

[188] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 1181; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Ṛigveda: Zweiter Theil, Maṇḍala VII-X, Nebst Beigaben: Zweite Auflage*, ed. Aufrecht (Bonn: Adolph Mareus, 1877), accessed 26 July, 2017, http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/rv/mt/rv.htm; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.

[189] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 1210; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Zweiter Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.

[190] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 1300; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Zweiter Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.

[191] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 1311; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Zweiter Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.

13. *Ṛg Veda* 10.11:4;[193]
14. *Ṛg Veda* 10.144:3-5;[194] (ṚV)
15. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Taittirīya Saṃhitā)* 3.5.7:1;[195]
16. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Taittirīya Saṃhitā)* 6.1.6:1-4;[196] (KYV TS)
17. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā)* 3.7.3:1-8a;[197]
18. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā)* 4.1.1:4-5;[198] (KYV MS)
19. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā)* 23.10:1-18;[199]
20. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā)* 24.1:9;[200]
21. *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā)* 34.3:4-5;[201] (KYV KS)
22. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.7.1:1;[202]
23. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.4:1-2;[203]
24. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.6.2:1-12;[204]
25. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 4.3.2:7;[205]
26. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 11.7.2:8;[206] (ŚB)

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[192] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 1328; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Zweiter Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.
[193] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 1384; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Zweiter Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.
[194] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 1630; Sanskrit original: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Zweiter Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.
[195] Arthur Keith, trans., *The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittiriya Sanhita, part 1: Kāṇḍas I-III* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914), 284; Sanskrit original: *Taittiriya Samhita*, 172.
[196] English translation: Keith, *Taittiriya Sanhita, part 2*, 492-493; Sanskrit original: *Taittiriya Samhita*, 322-323.
[197] English translation: see Appendix 1; Sanskrit original: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, *Buch 3* 77.
[198] English translation: see Appendix 2; Sanskrit original: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā: Die Saṃhitā der Maitrāyaṇīya-Śākhā*, *Buch 4*, ed. Von Schroeder (Leipzig: Verlag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1881-1886), 1, accessed 11 July, 2017, http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/ms/ms.htm
[199] Sanskrit original: *Kāṭhaka*, *Zweites Buch*, 73.
[200] English translation: see Appendix 3; Sanskrit original: *Kāṭhaka*, *Zweites Buch*, 90.
[201] English translation: see Appendix 4; Sanskrit original: *Kāṭhaka: Die Saṃhitā der Kaṭha-Śākhā*, *Drittes Buch,* ed. Von Schroeder (Leipzig: Verlag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1910), 37, accessed 27 July, 2017, http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/ks/ks.htm.
[202] English translation: Julius Eggeling, trans., *The Satapatha-Brâhmana according to the text of the Mâdhyandina School: Part I, Books I and II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882), 184; Sanskrit original: *Satapatha-Brahmana 1*, ed. Ananthanarayana and Lehman, accessed 15 October, 2017, http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/1_veda/2_bra/satapath/sb_01_u.htm.
[203] English translation: Eggeling, *Satapatha-Brâhmana, Books III and IV*, 52; Sanskrit original: *Satapatha-Brahmana 3*.
[204] English translation: Eggeling, *Satapatha-Brâhmana, Books III and IV*, 149-154; Sanskrit original: *Satapatha-Brahmana 3*.
[205] English translation: Eggeling, *Satapatha-Brâhmana, Books III and IV*, 329; Sanskrit original: *Satapatha-Brahmana* 4.
[206] Julius Eggeling, trans., *The Satapatha-Brâhmana according to the text of the Mâdhyandina School: Part V, Books XI, XII, XIII and XIV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), 122-123; Sanskrit original: *Satapatha-Brahmana 11*.

27. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 3.3:25-26;[207] (AB)
28. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 8.4:1;[208] (PB)
29. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 1.1.3:10f-10j;[209]
30. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.1:1a-1e;[210] (TB)
31. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 1.187-189. (JB)

Here we are dealing with hymns from the oldest Veda, the *Ṛg Veda*. The different variants are spread quite nicely over the different parts of the ṚV: they can be found in the so-called 'family books' (books 2-7), which contain the oldest parts from the ṚV, as well as in books 1 and 10, which contains the youngest material,[211] and book 9, which concerns itself solely with the ritual preparation of *soma*.[212]

Of the texts under analysis, fourteen are quite fragmentary (twelve of which come from the ṚV) and only refer to the theft of *soma* by a bird.[213] These fragments are still interesting because they provide different versions. Two texts are essentially identical: KYV TS 6.1.6:1-4 and KYV KS 23.10:1-18. Two other stories, both from the same text, are completely identical: TB 1.1.3:10 and TB 3.2.1:1. The only difference between them is that they are used to justify different ritual actions. Furthermore, there is one overlap between categories. ŚB 3.2.4:1-7 belongs to the category '*Gandharvas* steal *soma*', but the first two verses refer to two episodes that belong to 'birds steal *soma*': the episode of Kadrū and Suparṇī (see below) and the episode in which the *śyena* Gāyatrī steals *soma* (see below). In three other texts (all from the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda) the story analysed here functions as a prelude to the story analysed as the category '*Gandharvas* steal *soma*': KYV TS 6.1.6:1-4 preludes KYV TS 6.1.6:5-6; KYV MS 3.7.3:1-8 preludes KYV MS 3.7.3:8-19; and KYV KS 24.1:9 functions as a brief prelude to KYV KS 24.1:10-18.

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[207] English translation: Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, 180-181; Haug, *Aitareya Brahmanam*, 136-137; Sanskrit original: *Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.
[208] English translation: Willem Caland, trans., *Pañcavimśa-Brāhmaṇa: The Brāhmaṇa of Twenty Five Chapters* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1931), 169; Sanskrit original: *Pancavimsabrahmana*, ed. Kümmel, Griffiths, and Kobayashi, accessed 12 October, 2017, http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/1_veda/2_bra/pncvbr2u.htm.
[209] English translation: see Appendix 6; Sanskrit original: *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, ed. Fushimi, accessed 27 July, 2017, http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/tb/tb.htm.
[210] English translation: see Appendix 7; Sanskrit original: *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*.
[211] Staal, *Discovering the Vedas*, 88.
[212] Staal, *Discovering the Vedas*, 98.
[213] ṚV 1.80:2; 1.93:6; 3.43:7; 4.18:13; 6.20:6; 8.82:9; 8.100:8; 9.68:6; 9.77:2; 9.89:2; 10.11:4; 10.144:3-5; KYV KS 24.1:9; and ŚB 3.2.4:1-2.

Two texts are ignored. The first is the *Suparṇākhyāna*, which single manuscript is very fragmentary and only understandable by reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[214] one of the two Epics from India, which essentially means that the *Suparṇākhyāna*'s own text becomes subservient under other (complete) texts, therefore ignoring possible variation from those narratives. The second text is ṚV 9.48:3-4, which vaguely refers to the theft of soma,[215] but is rather ambiguous. The texts from KYV MS, KYV KS, and KB were not translated before, and can be found in Appendices 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7.

3.3.2 Structural Analysis

I first give a summary in narrative form, while also noting the variations found among the different versions. The comparative results are found in figures 3.2-3.5. Because the data-set for the category 'birds steal *soma*' is large, four tables are used to retain a clearer overview. The position of the texts in the table is retained for the sake of clarity, even when none of the motifs in that table represents an aspect of that text.

First I discuss the location of *soma*, which is schematically presented in figure 3.2. It should be noted that the nature of Vedic cosmology is unclear at times. Not only are there different conceptualizations of cosmology present in the Vedic corpus,[216] but different terms might refer to the same cosmological realm.[217] Most often, the *soma* resides somewhere above from the thief. Fourteen texts, the majority, mention the term *div* (Heaven), while six texts specify it as *tṛtīya div* (third Heaven), which often denotes the highest realm where the *devas*, the ancestors, *soma*, and others reside.[218] JB is the most specific, mentioning that *soma* resides in the third heaven of the *deva* Indra, the king of the *devas*. Two texts mention that *soma* is in another world, and two verses that mention that *soma* is 'above', which might refer to the same realm. Other vague locations are 'far away' (three texts) and *soma* on a rock (ṚV 1.93:6), which Kuiper equates with heaven.[219] Twice *soma* is protected by a

[214] Feller, *Representation of Vedic Myths*, 168.
[215] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 1274.
[216] Arthur Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1925), 77.
[217] Atsushi Hayakawa, *Circulation of Fire in the Veda* (Zürich/Münster: Lit Verlag, 2014), 109, note 264.
[218] Keith, *Veda and Upanishads*, 77.
[219] Kuiper, review of *Soma*: 283.

fortress in heaven (ṚV 4.27:1 and ṚV 8.100:8) and by two golden cups (ŚB 3.6.2 and JB 1.187-189).

Now I discuss the story of Kadrū and Suparṇī, which is found in four texts and schematically presented in figure 3.3. ŚB 3.2.4:1 starts the narrative but cuts it off, claiming that it continues in the chapter on the *dhiṣṇya*-hearts (a kind of sacrificial fireplace used at rituals connected to *soma*), which is ŚB 3.6.2. The narrative is also present in altered form in the category 'Garuḍa steals *amṛta*', which is analysed in 3.4. Only in ŚB do we find the idea that the *devas* created Kadrū and Suparṇī. While their identity is not entirely clear, i can be deduced that Suparṇī is probably some kind of bird, since her name means 'beautifully feathered' or 'good feathers'. Kadrū might be a snake (*nāga*, which also describes a half-snake, half-human hybrid[220]), since in later texts we find that she becomes the mother of a thousand snakes (*Mahābhārata 1*.5:14), and because birds, especially Garuḍa, are seen as the mortal enemies of snakes in Indian mythology.[221]

Kadrū and Suparṇī agree upon a contest because of a conflict. In KYV TS 6.1.6 and KYV KS 23.10 the conflict pertains to who is more beautiful, while in ŚB 3.6.2 it is about who can spy the furthest. Suparṇī loses, and as punishment must fetch *soma*. Suparṇī is the mother of three metres used in Vedic texts (Jagatī, Triṣṭubh, and Gāyatrī), who are often depicted as birds, which she sends to fetch *soma* in her place. JB 1.187-189 strays from this motif in two ways: 1) only Gāyatrī's mother is mentioned, which is the metre Anuṣṭubh; and 2) the metres want to get *soma* themselves to complete a sacrifice. ŚB 4.3.2:7 does not even mention any cause: the metres just go get *soma*. AB 3.3 and PB 8.4 bypass the narrative of Kadrū and Suparṇī, and state that the *devas* themselves send the metres to fetch *soma*. Jagatī and Triṣṭubh fail, but Gāyatrī succeeds.

Now I discuss the theft itself, which is schematically presented in figure 3.4. There are three actors credited with stealing *soma*: a *śyena*, Gāyatrī, and Suparṇa. A *śyena* is an unknown bird of prey, perhaps a hawk, eagle, or falcon.[222] This *śyena* is the main thief of *soma* in ṚV, and in three verses Suparṇa is the thief of *soma*. Going by the name, Suparṇa is probably a bird like Suparṇī, even equated with a *śyena* in two of the three texts (ṚV 4.26:4 and ṚV 1.144:3). Suparṇa might be an earlier form of Suparṇī, in which case we see two

[220] John Dowson, *Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature* (London: Trübner & Co., 1879), 213.
[221] Dowson, *Hindu Mythology*, 109.
[222] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1095.

differences between earlier (ṚV) and later (the rest) sources: 1) the gender (Suparṇa is masculine, and Suparṇī is feminine); and 2) Suparṇa steals *soma* himself, while Suparṇī makes her children steal *soma*.

Gāyatrī is called a *śyena* in four non-ṚV texts. In six other texts where Gāyatrī is not explicitly a *śyena*, she still flies towards *soma*, showing that she shares the quality of flight with birds. In four versions Gāyatrī is not given any qualities of a bird. In TB 1.1.3 and 3.2.1 this could be because of the brevity of the text, which seems to summarize the story rather than tell it elaborately; in PB 8.4:1 its absence is unclear, since it is present in its close parallel AB 3.3:25-26; its absence in ŚB 3.6.2 is also unclear, since this hymn treats the story rather elaborately. Generally, however, Gāyatrī seems to be both a metre and a bird.

In ten of the fourteen texts from ṚV, as well as in ŚB 4.3.2:7 and in JB 1.187-189, *soma* is not stolen (the verb *ā-√vhṛ-*), but brought (*√vbhṛ-*). In other ways the verses in which *soma* is brought do still reflect the myth (albeit always in a fragmentary fashion in verses from ṚV, since ṚV often merely alludes to mythological narratives rather than completely recounting them[223]). Next to that, in two verses it is not *soma* but rather honey (*madhu*) that is brought. In ṚV 4.26:5 *soma* is actually used as an adjective to describe *madhu*: '[the *śyena*] went quickly with the *soma*-like honey' (own translation). This identification of *soma* and *madhu* is lacking for ṚV 4.18:13, but *soma* is often described using the adjective *madhu*, meaning 'sweet'.[224]

Six texts mention that Gāyatrī (as a metre) gains four syllables per verse due to being successful in getting *soma*. The texts describe that all the three metres (Jagatī, Triṣṭubh, and Gāyatrī) had four syllables per verse at the start, but Jagatī and Triṣṭubh lose some syllables when they fail in gaining *soma*: either Jagatī loses three syllables and Triṣṭubh loses one (ŚB 4.3.2:7, AB 3.3:25, PB 8.4:1, and JB 1.187-189), or both lose two (KYV TS 6.1.6:2-3 and KYV KS 23.10). They both also brought back elements which were used in the sacrifices, of which Gāyatrī brought back the key element, *soma.* In the end, only Gāyatrī's new number of syllables per verse, eight times three verses, is correct:[225] the Jagatī has four verses of twelve syllables,[226] and Triṣṭubh has four verses of eleven syllables.[227]

[223] Arthur Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974), 3.
[224] Gonda, *Religionen Indiens I*, 64; Witzel, *Origins of the World's Mythologies*, 158.
[225] Arthur Macdonell, *A Vedic Grammar for Students* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld Ltd., 1999), 438.
[226] Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 442.
[227] Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 441.

AB 3.3:26 mentions that the *devas* recite a hymn to ensure safe passage for Gāyatrī while getting *soma.* This is similar to the song sang by the *devas* to get Vāc back in the category '*Gandharvas* steal *soma*'. In five texts from ṚV *soma* is brought to Indra, which is a theme shared with the category 'Indra steals *soma*'. ṚV 4.26:4 mentions that *soma* is brought to Manu, and Schneider sees Manu therefore as the mediator between the *soma*-thief and Indra, the recipient of *soma*,[228] and as the mythological reflection of the sacrificial priest during the *soma*-sacrifice.[229] Since this is only based on one verse, I reject this analysis.

Two verses impel Indra to drink *soma*. In ṚV 1.80:2 Indra uses *soma* to gain strength to smash Vṛtra, a recurring theme in ṚV.[230] Indra's slaughter of the dragon Vṛtra is one of the central stories around the *deva* Indra,[231] also reflected in his epithet, *vṛtra-han* (slayer of Vṛtra).[232] Indra slaying Vṛtra is also mentioned in KYV KS 34.3:6, but it is not connected to the consumption of *soma*. ṚV 3.36:8 is odd, for Indra claims *soma* after slaying Vṛtra.

Now I discuss the possible punishment of the thief, being schematically presented in figure 3.5. Four texts mention a *soma-rakṣa* (*soma*-guardian) shooting at Gāyatrī. In ṚV 4.27:3 and in AB 3.3:26 this is Kṛśānu, who is also identified as an archer in ṚV 9.77:2, but in that verse he does not shoot Gāyatrī. In ŚB 1.7.1:1 it is a 'footless archer', and in KYV KS 34.3:4 it is an unidentified *soma-rakṣa*. The arrow does not hit Gāyatrī, but rather cuts something off from her. In ṚV 4.27:4 and KYV MS 4.1.1 this is a feather (*parṇa*), and in KYV KS 34.3:4 and AB 3.3:26 a claw. KYV TS 3.5.7:1 rather mentions that a feather is cut off *soma*. More confusing is ŚB 1.7.1:1, which literally states that either a feather is shot off from Gāyatrī or from *soma* (*gāyatryai vā somasya*); and ŚB 11.7.2:8, which is just plain ambiguous by using a demonstrative pronoun in singular neuter, while *soma* is a masculine and Gāyatrī a feminine word. In all other texts this element is absent.

The cut-off feather often turns into a *parṇa*, a kind of tree. The word *parṇa* both means 'feather' and 'leaf', and both meanings are used in these contexts. The cut-off claw becomes a porcupine. KYV KS 34.3:5 and PB 8.4:1 do not mention anything about the cut-off

[228] Schneider, *Somaraub*, 22, 26.
[229] Schneider, *Somaraub*, 69.
[230] Ten times, in ṚV 1.52:2, 10; 1.53:6; 1.56:6; 1.80:2; 6.44:15; 6.47:2; 8.17:8; 9.1:10; and 10.116:1; suggested three times, in ṚV 6.72:3; 9.88:4; and 10.124:6.
[231] Gonda, *Religionen Indiens I*, 55.
[232] Gonda, *Religionen Indiens I*, 60.

material, but rather state that the fallen *soma*-shoots, which were carried by Gāyatrī, turn into *pūtīka*, a ritual substitute for *soma*.[233]

3.4 Garuḍa steals amṛta

Garuḍa is a half-man, half bird hybrid in Indian mythology. He is seen as the arch-enemy of snakes (*nāgas*). He is the protagonist of the story where he steals *amṛta* from the *devas*, but he eventually makes peace with the *devas* and becomes the mount of the *deva* Viṣṇu.[234]

3.4.1 Texts

There are four texts that deal with the category 'Garuḍa steals *amṛta*':

1. Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* 3.33:27-34;[235] (Rām)
2. Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* 1.5.14, 18-30;[236] (MBh-G)
3. Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* 4.22:27B 'The Dispute about the Colour of the Sun's Horses';[237] (S-KSS 27B-HB)
4. Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* 4.22:27 'Story of Jīmūtavāhana'.[238] (S-KSS 27-J)

India knows two main Epics (*itihāsa*, 'It was like that'), the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, which function as mytho-historical. Indian tradition credits the authorship to the *ṛṣis* (seers) Vālmiki[239] and Vyāsa[240] respectively. Both Epics have a core story, to which many secondary narratives were added,[241] such as the category 'Garuḍa steals *amṛta*'. The *Rāmāyaṇa* got its

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[233] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 641.
[234] Dowson, *Hindu Mythology*, 109-110.
[235] English translation: Sheldon Pollock, trans., *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki: An Epic of Ancient India: Volume III, Araṇyakāṇḍa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 157-158; Sanskrit original: *The Ramayana in Sanskrit*, ed. Tokunaga and Smith, accessed 19 September, 2017, http://sacred-texts.com/hin/rys/rys3033.htm.
[236] English translation: Johannes van Buitenen, trans., *The Mahābhārata: 1 The Book of the Beginning* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 71-72, 76-90; Sanskrit original: *The Mahabharata in Sanskrit*, ed. Tokunaga and Smith, accessed 22 October, 2017, http://sacred-texts.com/hin/mbs/mbsi01.htm.
[237] English translation: M.N. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story: Being C.H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's* Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, volume 2* (London: C.J. Sawyer Ltd., 1924), 150-151.
[238] English translation: Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, 153-156.
[239] Rodrigues, *Introducing Hinduism*, 137.
[240] Rodrigues, *Introducing Hinduism*, 144.
[241] Rodrigues, *Introducing Hinduism*, 136.

current form between 400 BCE and 400 CE,[242] and the *Mahābhārata* between 200 BCE and 200 CE.[243]

Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* is a later retelling of Guṇāḍhya's minor Epic *Bṛhatkathā*, which stems from the 6th century CE but no longer survives.[244] Somadeva's text stems from the 11th century CE,[245] and the story about Garuḍa seems to be an adaptation from the *Mahābhārata*. For the *Mahābhārata*, chapters 15, 16, and 17 of the fifth subbook of book one are skipped, because it corresponds to the category 'churning of the ocean', a part of which is analysed in 3.6.

3.4.2 Structural analysis

Within this category we are dealing with two different subcategories. MBh-G, Rām, and S-KSS 27B-HB are structurally similar (3.4.2.1), and are likewise similar to the stories about Kadrū and Suparṇī (see 3.3.2), while S-KSS 27-J is a stand-alone version (3.4.2.2). Therefore I discuss these versions separately.

3.4.2.1 MBh-G, Rām, and S-KSS 27B-HB

I first summarize the narratives in textual form, which are schematically presented in figure 3.6. MBh-G gives us the backstory of Kadrū and Vinatā: they are wives of Kaśyapa, and Kaśyapa gives them a boon. Kadrū wants to have a thousand *nāgas* (snakes) as sons. Vinatā only chooses two sons, but they are to excel Kadrū's son in every way. Over time, Kadrū's sons hatch from their eggs. Vinatā's sons have not hatched yet, and Vinatā, becoming jealous and impatient, breaks open one egg. Aruṇa (red dawn) comes out and curses his mother: she will be the slave of Kadrū for 500 years. Garuḍa will be born in time.

The contest between Kadrū and Vinatā is more elaborately described than that between Kadrū and Suparṇī. They see horses in the distance, and Kadrū and Suparṇī hold a contest: whoever can guess the colour of the tail or tails correct wins, and the loser will be

[242] Rodrigues, *Introducing Hinduism*, 137.
[243] Rodrigues, *Introducing Hinduism*, 144.
[244] Maurice Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature: Vol. III, Part I*, trans. Jhā (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963), 346.
[245] Jacob Speyer, *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1908), 2-3; Regha Rajappan, *Morphology of the Kathāsaritsāgara* (PhD diss., Sree Sankaracharya University of Sanskrit, 2007), 16.

the slave of the other. Kadrū plays a trick: she makes her *nāgas* colour the tail or tails black. In MBh-G the *nāgas* refuse, and Kadrū curses them to be burned at Janamejaya's sacrifice. Trick or not, Kadrū still wins, and Vinatā and her children become Kadrū's slaves.

Eventually Garuḍa wants to be free from slavery. Kadrū's sons tell Garuḍa that if he brings *amṛta* to them, he and his mother will be free. Before Garuḍa is able to steal *amṛta*, he needs to gain strength by eating something. In MBh-G he eats twice: first he eats the Niṣādas (a mythological tribe living in the Vindhya mountains[246]), and then a giant tortoise and elephant. In Rām Garuḍa only eats the giant tortoise and elephant: the Niṣādas are merely killed by him, not consumed.

In S-KSS 27B-HB Garuḍa simply steals *amṛta*. The narrative in Rām is a little more elaborate: Garuḍa goes to *deva* Indra's palace, destroys the fortress there in which *amṛta* is kept, and then steals *amṛta*. The narrative in MBh-G is most elaborate: first Garuḍa defeats the *soma-rakṣa* Viśvakarman and other *devas* before he can enter the place where *amṛta* is kept. Then Garuḍa shrinks himself to enter the place where *amṛta* is kept. *Amṛta* is guarded by an iron spinning wheel and two fire-breathing snakes. Garuḍa destroys them all and steals *amṛta*. The two fire-breathing snakes might also be mentioned in ṚV 10.144:3, where an allusion is made to 'those puffing up like snakes' and 'the bull among his own females', which is interpreted by Jamison and Brereton as a fortress.[247]

The *devas* really want to appease Garuḍa by rewarding him in MBh-G and S-KSS 27B-HB. Viṣṇu gives Garuḍa two boons in MBh-G: Garuḍa is always above Viṣṇu (whether this means in status or in spatial sense remains unclear), and Garuḍa is immortal and never-aging. Garuḍa on his turn offers himself as Viṣṇu's mount. Indra gives Garuḍa a boon too: the *nāgas* are his food. In S-KSS 27B-HE Viṣṇu gives this boon to Garuḍa.

3.4.2.2 S-KSS 27-J

The narrative of S-KSS 27-J is quite unique. It is the continuation of S-KSS 27B-HE, which is analysed in 3.5. When Garuḍa is freed from the bounds of the contest, he strikes a deal with the *nāgas*: they will send him one *nāga* each day as a sacrifice, so that Garuḍa does not eat all the *nāgas* at once. Śankhachūḍa is the next *nāga* to be eaten by Garuḍa. King

[246] Dowson, *Hindu Mythology,* 223.
[247] Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 1630.

Jīmūtavahāna feels pity for the *nāgas*, and takes the place of Śankhachūḍa. Because of this Garuḍa regrets his actions, and on the advice of king Jīmūtavahāna swears to never eat *nāgas* again.

In this narrative *amṛta* is stolen to revive lives, which we also encounter in KYV KS 37.14. Garuḍa steals it twice: first to restore the live of king Jīmūtavahāna, and the second time to restore all the sacrificial *nāgas*. The *devī* (goddess) Gaurī also makes it rain *amṛta* because she is pleased with the devotion shown by the wife of king Jīmūtavahāna, and this restores Jīmūtavahāna's limb with greater beauty than ever before.

3.5 Indra steals soma *or* amṛta

Indra is the king of the *devas*, and he is one of the most important deities in the Vedic period, while he loses importance and popularity later on. He is a warrior who always desires *soma*,[248] and therefore he is present in stories in which he steals *soma* in order to clench his thirst.

3.5.1 Texts

There are nine texts that deal with the category 'Indra steals *soma*':

1. Ṛg Veda 3.48;[249]
2. Ṛg Veda 4.18:3-11;[250] (ṚV)
3. Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Taittirīya Saṃhitā) 2.4.12;[251] (KYV TS)
4. Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā) 34.3:10b;[252]
5. Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā) 37.14:1-9a;[253] (KYV KS)
6. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 1.6.3;[254] (ŚB)
7. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa 2.155;[255] (JB)

[248] Gonda, *Religionen Indiens I*, 53.
[249] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 531-532; Sanskrit original: *Erster Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.
[250] English translation: Jamison and Brereton, *Rigveda*, 586-587; Sanskrit original: *Erster Theil*; *Rig Veda: Metrically Restored*.
[251] English translation: Keith, *Taittiriya Sanhita, part 2*, 185-186; Sanskrit original: *Taittiriya Samhita*, 109-110.
[252] English translation: see Appendix 4; Sanskrit original: *Kāṭhaka, Drittes Buch*, 37.
[253] English translation: see Appendix 5; Sanskrit original: *Kāṭhaka, Drittes Buch*, 94.
[254] English translation: Eggeling, *Satapatha-Brâhmana, Books I and II*, 164-166; Sanskrit original: *Satapatha-Brahmana 1*.

8. Vyāsa's Mahābhārata 1.5.30;[256] (MBh-I)
9. Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* 4.22:27B 'The Dispute about the Colour of the Sun's Horses'.[257] (S-KSS 27B-HE)

The narratives from MBh-I and S-KSS 27B-HE are the conclusions of the stories from texts analysed under the category 'Garuḍa steals *amṛta*' (MBh-I and S-KSS 27B-HB). The text from the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda (Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā)* was never published in translation, which can be found in Appendices 4 and 5.

3.5.2 Structural analysis

There are two subcategories here which differ substantially from each other, and they are therefore analysed separately. This grouping corresponds to the usage of either the term *soma* or *amṛta* for the drink which gets stolen. First I provide a narrative summary, and the texts in which Indra steals *soma* is schematically compared in figure 3.7, and the texts in which *amṛta* is stolen is schematically presented in figure 3.8.

3.5.2.1 Indra steals soma

The first group consists of ṚV 3.48, ṚV 4.18, KYV TS 2.4.12, KYV KS 34.3:10b, ŚB 1.6.3, and JB 2.155. It starts in two texts with Indra killing the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, an ill-defined *deva* in Vedic mythology.[258] In ŚB 1.6.3:2 Indra cuts off the three heads from his son Viśvarūpa. As a consequence, Tvaṣṭṛ excludes Indra from the *soma* sacrifice, at which *soma* is consumed. A variant is found in KYV KS 34.3:10b, where Indra's drinking companion, which might be one of the Maruts,[259] is bereft from *soma*, which berefts Indra by extension. Indra, however, craves *soma*, and he either steals it or drinks it when it is not clearly a theft. JB 2.155 elaborates: Indra wants to kill Tvaṣṭṛ, perhaps because there is no provocation leading up to

[255] English translation: Wendy Doniger-O'Flaherty, *The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 103; not present in Willem Caland, trans., *Das Jaiminīya-Brahmaṇa in Auswahl: Text, Übersetzung, Indices* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1919), 3, since Caland did not include all texts.
[256] English translation: Van Buitenen, trans., *Mahābhārata 1*, 90-91; Sanskrit original: *Mahabharata in Sanskrit*.
[257] English translation: Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, 151-152.
[258] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 116.
[259] Gonda, *Relgionen Indiens I*, 61.

Indra's exclusion from the sacrifice. Tvaṣṭṛ flees to his wives, and Indra decides not to pursue him. Once Indra drinks from *soma*, Tvaṣṭṛ asks for the leftovers, which Indra hands over.

The rest of all texts except ṚV 3.48 deal with several punishments of Indra. In ŚB 1.6.3:7 Indra drinks from pure *soma* (meaning that it was not yet prepared for consumption during the sacrifice), and this hurts Indra. In all texts except those from ṚV we find Tvaṣṭṛ who throws the remainder of *soma* in the sacrificial fire. Out of this Vṛtra is born, while in ŚB 1.6.3:8 Tvaṣṭṛ also utters the formula 'Grow, oh you, having Indra as your enemy'. Vṛtra will be defeated: in KYV TS 2.4.12 Indra is aided by Tvaṣṭṛ and Viṣṇu, who are both afraid of Vṛtra; in ŚB 1.6.3:8 Indra can slay Vṛtra because Tvaṣṭṛ did not say in the formula that Vṛtra would be the slayer of Indra, merely his enemy. In ṚV 4.18 Indra's mother conceals him from the world, which means that Indra cannot show his glory, and the other *devas* abandon him. Indra overcomes this punishment by releasing the waters, a theme that is connected to his defeat of Vṛtra.[260] These waters become anthropomorphic and state that they take up Indra's disgrace, thereby restoring Indra's glory.

3.5.2.2 Indra steals amṛta

The second group consists of KYV KS 37.14, MBh-I, and S-KSS 27B-HE. The conclusions of the narratives of MBh-G and S-KSS 27B-HB are relevant here, which were analysed in 3.4. The similarity is in one element: *amṛta* is placed somewhere, from where it is snatched away. In MBh-I and S-KSS 27B-HE Garuḍa puts *amṛta* on *kuśa*-grass for Indra to steal, while in KYV KS 37.14:4 Indra turns himself into a lump of honey (*madhu*) lying on the road, which is eaten by the *asura* Śuṣṇa.

When Garuḍa is appeased by the boons given in MBh-G and S-KSS 27B-HB, Indra asks *amṛta* back from Garuḍa. Garuḍa, wanting to free himself, cannot simply give it back, so Garuḍa and Indra come up with a plan. Garuḍa places *amṛta* in front of the *nāgas* on *kuśa*-grass, paralleling rituals during agricultural festivals.[261] Now Garuḍa and his mother Vinatā are free. In S-KSS 27B-HE Indra simply steals *amṛta* in front of the *nāgas*. In MBh-I Garuḍa plays a trick on the *nāgas*: they need to purify themselves before the consumption of *amṛta*. While the *nāgas* are away, Indra comes to steal *amṛta*. When the *nāgas* discover that *amṛta*

[260] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 59.
[261] Keith, *Veda and Upanishads*, 364.

is gone, they lick the *kuśa*-grass for traces of *amṛta*, and split their tongue in the process. S-KSS 27B-HE adds a unique detail: at the end of the narrative, Garuḍa consumes the *nāgas* as revenge. Vāsuki, the king of the *nāgas*, fearing the extinction of his people, strikes a deal with Garuḍa: Vāsuki will send one *nāga* each day to be eaten by Garuḍa, as to prevent a full-on massacre of the *nāgas*. Garuḍa consents.

KYV KS 37.14 is quite different in content. The *asuras* are in war with the *devas*, which is a common theme. The *asuras* are the enemies of the *devas*, and they are equal in strength.[262] This time the *asuras* have *amṛta*, which is in the mouth of the *asura* Śuṣṇa. Śuṣṇa breathes with *amṛta* on the *asuras*, which restores the life of the fallen *asuras.* Indra turns into a lump of honey (*madhu*) lying on the road, which is eaten by Śuṣṇa. Once Indra is in Śuṣṇa's mouth, Indra transforms into a *śyena* and grabs *amṛta*.

3.6 Churning of the Ocean

The Churning of the Ocean (*samudra manthana*) is a very well-known episode in Hindu mythology. For the analysis here it is not necessary to analyse the whole narrative, for only at the end *amṛta* is stolen. A brief summary of the preceding narrative is provided below for context.

The *devas* are in need of *amṛta*, and to get it they need to churn the ocean. For this they need the help of the *asuras*, and they forge a treaty. After gathering the tools they start churning, during which many problems arise, which must be overcome. Later on all kinds of gifts arise from the ocean, which are distributed among the *devas* and *asuras*. In the end *amṛta* arises, and due to a trick the *devas* secure *amṛta* for themselves, which is described in detail below.

3.6.1 Texts

The Churning of the Ocean is found in seven texts:

1. Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* 1.5.16-17;[263] (MBh-Ch)
2. *Agni Purāṇa* 3:11-22;[264] (AP)

[262] Dowson, *Hindu Mythology*, 27.
[263] English translation: Van Buitenen, trans., *Mahābhārata 1*, 74-76; Sanskrit original: *Mahabharata in Sanskrit*.

3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 8.8:31-8.9:27;[265] (BhP)
4. *Matsya Purāṇa* 251;[266] (MP)
5. *Padma Purāṇa* 1.4:56-87;[267]
6. *Padma Purāṇa* 4.10;[268] (PP)
7. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.9.[269] (VP)

The story itself is not found in Vedic sources, but only in later Epic and Purāṇic ones. Two texts which are often included in analyses of the churning of the ocean are discarded here: Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.44-46, which neglects any story about the theft of *amṛta*, and *Vāyu Purāṇa* 54, which focuses upon why the throat of the *deva* Śiva turned blue (a subplot of the standard narrative), but likewise neglects the theft of *amṛta*.

3.6.2 Structural analysis

First I give a textual summary, which is schematically presented in figure 3.9. One of the last things to arise is the *deva* Dhanvantari, the doctor of the *devas,* who carries a vessel containing *amṛta*. In PP 4.10:1-4 it is the moon which arises with *amṛta*. In MBh-Ch, PP 1.4, MP, and VP the moon is also one of the gifts arising from the ocean, and even though the connection between the moon and *soma* or *amṛta* is common,[270] here the moon does not bring along *amṛta*.

A conflict arises when *amṛta* arises from the ocean. In the majority of the texts the *asuras* claim *amṛta*. In MP both the *devas* and *asuras* claim *amṛta*, while in PP 4.10:13-18 the *devas* drive off the *asuras*, and thus claim *amṛta*. The *deva* Viṣṇu then takes on a female

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[264] English translation: Manmatha Dutt, trans., *Agni Purāṇam: A Prose English Translation: Vol. I* (Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1967), 15-20.
[265] English translation and Sanskrit original for BhP 8.8: Abhay Bhaktivedanta, trans., *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam: Eighth Canto "Withdrawal of the Cosmic Creations" (Part One - Chapters 1-8)* (Los Angeles: The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 1976), 312-321; English translation and Sanskrit original for BhP 8.9: Abhay Bhaktivedanta, trans., *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam: Eighth Canto "Withdrawal of the Cosmic Creations" (Part Two - Chapters 9-16)* (Los Angeles: The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 1976), 1-22.
[266] English translation: A Taluqdar of Oudh, trans., *The Matsya Puranam: Chapters 129-199* (Allahabad: The Pāṇini Office, 1917), 289-291.
[267] English translation: N.A. Deshpande, trans., *The Padma-Purāṇa: Part I* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988), 34-36.
[268] English translation: N.A. Deshpande, trans., *The Padma-Purāṇa: Part V* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1952), 1590-1591.
[269] English translation: Horace Wilson, trans., *The Vishnu Purána: A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1961), 65-66.
[270] Gonda, *Religionen Indiens I*, 66.

form, which enchants the *asuras* who give the *amṛta* to Viṣṇu willingly, except in VP, where due to this enchantment Viṣṇu manages to steal *amṛta*. Viṣṇu then proceeds to feed *amṛta* to the *devas*, while making sure that the *asuras* get no share.

This plan almost fails when the *asura* Rāhu desires *amṛta*. He either takes the form of a *deva*, the moon, or simply barges in, and consumes some *amṛta*. In four texts the sun and moon warn Viṣṇu, who proceeds to cut off Rāhu's head. MBh 1.5.17, AP 3:14-16, BhP 8.9:26, MP 251:13-16, and PP 4.10:19-22 then provide the famous explanation for solar and lunar eclipses in India: Rāhu's head, having tasted *amṛta*, remains immortal, and out of revenge chases around the sun and moon. When Rāhu catches either of them, he eats them temporarily, which causes eclipses.

When *amṛta* is consumed, the *devas* and *asuras* battle. The *devas*, now having the advantage, defeat the *asuras*. Only in BhP 8.10-11 the *devas* do not win, but the battle is rather inconclusive. There is a lot of bloodshed on both sides, and eventually the *ṛṣi* (seer) Nārada manages to calm down the *devas.* The *devas*, appeased, then leave for heaven. *Amṛta* is then given in two texts to Viṣṇu for safekeeping.

3.7 Comparison

Figure 3.10 presents the structural analysis of the narratives as analysed in this chapter. The categories in bold on the left side note the syntagmatic moment, and the headers note the different categories as analysed. 'Gandharvas' refers to 3.2; 'Birds' refers to 3.3; 'Garuḍa' refers to 3.4.2.1; S-KSS 27-J refers to 3.4.2.2; 'Indra *soma*' refers to 3.5.2.1; 'Indra *amṛta*' refers to 3.5.2.2; and 'Churning' refers to 3.6.

Starting with the syntagmatic moment of setting, two major locations for *soma* or *amṛta* are found: in Heaven or at the *asuras*. A secondary location of *soma* or *amṛta* is a fortress, which seems to be a subset of *soma* or *amṛta* being in heaven. The Gandharvas as guardians for *soma* or *amṛta*, while a common role in Vedic literature,[271] does not appear that often here.

The biggest motivation for the story to get going is the desire for *soma* or *amṛta. Soma* or *amṛta* are most often desired by the *devas*, except in 'Garuḍa', where the *nāgas* desire it, and in 'Indra *soma*' and 'Indra *amṛta*', where specifically the *deva* Indra desires it.

[271] Sterken, "Strangers in a Familiar Land": 97.

The specific statement of desire for *soma* or *amṛta* is not found in S-KSS 27-J, where Garuḍa's reason to steal *amṛta* is out of remorse for eating many *nāgas*. 'Birds' and 'Garuḍa' provide the losing of a contest as a motivation to get *soma* or *amṛta*. The narratives of 'Indra *soma*' are structurally ambiguous in this analysis, with two possible outcomes. In this narrative subgroup, Tvaṣṭṛ declines Indra access to *soma*. This can either be a motivation for Indra to gain access to *soma* again, or it can be considered the first theft of *soma*, since Tvaṣṭṛ denies Indra access to something that all *devas* should have access to. This last option would make Indra's theft a second theft, which is a possibility also found in 'Gandharvas', 'Indra *amṛta*', and 'Churning'.

Most often, the first theft (and the theft to which A153.1 refers) is commited by creatures with a lower hierarchical status than the *devas*. This is the case for the Gandharvas, the birds (Gāyatrī included), and Garuḍa, although in S-KSS 27-J it is not mentioned from whom *amṛta* is stolen, which makes the hierarchical relation irrelevant. The other cases are ambiguous. In 'Indra *soma*' we can argue in two like manners: either Tvaṣṭṛ has a higher authority because he can deny Indra the access to *soma*, or Indra has a higher authority because he is normally the *devarāja* (king of the *devas*) in the Vedic period from which these texts stem.[272]

In 'Churning' and KYV KS 37.14 of 'Indra *amṛta*' the status is a bit less ambiguous, since the hierarchical status between *devas* and *asuras* is more or less equal. In Hindu mythology both can perform good and evil acts,[273] and while born from the same father (Prajāpati) but different mothers (Diti for the *asuras*, Aditi for the *devas*), individuals can shift alliances from one side to the other.[274] In a narrative the power relations between the *devas* and *asuras* can shift dramatically, but at the end the *devas* always win.[275] It is the same in 'Churning': first the *asuras* have the upper hand by having *amṛta*, but soon the *devas* get *amṛta* and defeat the *asuras.* Here an interesting point arises: while their hierarchical relations are ever shifting in such a narrative, for the Hindu recipient of the story it is apparent that the *devas* will always be victorious. The pure text portrays the hierarchical relations as unstable, but from lived experience the *devas* always win. For 'Indra *amṛta*' the case is a bit different: the two other narratives (MBh-I and S-KSS 27B-HE) count as the

[272] Gonda*, Religionen Indiens I*, 53.
[273] Paul van der Velde, *Nachtblauw: Ontmoetingen met Krishna* (Budel: Uitgeverij DAMON, 2007), 165.
[274] Van der Velde, *Nachtblauw,* 162.
[275] Van der Velde, *Nachtblauw*, 165.

second theft of two earlier narratives (respectively MBh-G and S-KSS 27B-HB), and the hierarchical relations are not important in that structural part of the story.

Often the first theft itself is not described elaborately. When it is, the thefts involve the use of violence by the thief. In the case of 'Indra *soma*', we only find this explicitly in JB 2.155, where Indra decides to kill Tvaṣṭṛ, who hides among his wives. Otherwise in 'Indra *soma*' violence is involved as a motivation for Tvaṣṭṛ denying Indra access to *soma*: Indra kills the son of Tvaṣṭṛ. 'Garuḍa' involves a lot of violence from Garuḍa's side: defeating his victims, eating some of them, and destroying the fortress in which *amṛta* is kept.

Some of the categories portray a scene in which the bereft steal back their stolen *soma* or *amṛta*. How this happens depends on the actor stealing it back. If it is the *devas*, they use a woman to steal it back, either their wives or Vāc/Sarasvatī in 'Gandharvas', or Viṣṇu disguised as a woman in 'Churning'. If it is Indra, something is placed somewhere where the thieves will come. 'Birds' and S-KSS 27-J lack a retaliating theft; in 'Garuḍa' it is not directly present, but can be argued to be present because some of the narratives from that category are present in 'Indra *amṛta*', which work as a continuation of 'Garuḍa'.

The punishment laid upon the first thieves involves either a loss of something, or a violent retaliation. Aside from this broad generalization, the punishments differ quite extensively. The most common one is quite obvious: the first thieves are bereft of *soma* or *amṛta* (in 'Gandharvas' and 'Churning'). Next to that, in 'Gandharvas' the Gandharvas are also often bereft of Vāc or Sarasvatī. This is specifically denied in JB 2.155 of 'Indra *amṛta*'. In it Tvaṣṭṛ is the first thief, and he asks Indra for the leftovers of *soma*, which Indra gives back.

The violent punishment has different degrees of cruelty. In 'Birds' a claw or feather is either cut off from Gāyatrī or from *soma*. In 'Indra *soma*' *soma* either hurts Indra directly (ŚB 1.6.3) and/or turns into Vṛtra. While Indra can defeat Vṛtra, the other thieves are not as lucky. In 'Indra *amṛta*' Garuḍa, who had stolen *amṛta* as commissioned by the *nāgas*, gains the boon to eat them. In 'Churning' the punishments are layered. Firstly, the *asura* Rāhu is individually punished for trying to drink *amṛta* when Viṣṇu has stolen it: Viṣṇu decapitates Rāhu. This mirrors Indra's decapitation of Tvaṣṭṛ's son in 'Indra *soma*'. Afterwards, the *asuras* are collectively punished in 'Churning' by being defeated in battle by the *devas*.

If the narrative contains a bird-thief, then there is also a reward involved. By fulfilling the demand made after the loss of a contest, the loser in 'Birds' and 'Garuḍa' is freed from their obligation to the winner. Gāyatrī in 'Birds' also reaps the benefits of the failure of the

other two metres, by gaining the syllables that they lost. Even the claw or feather which is shot off turns into something beneficial: a *parṇa*-leaf, a porcupine, or a *pūtīka*-plant.

One interesting instance of a punishment is found in S-KSS 27-J, where Garuḍa feels remorse when confronted by king Jīmūtavahāna for eating many *nāgas*. This is more like an internally inflicted punishment instead of externally administered. While this motivates Garuḍa to steal *amṛta* again, it is not mentioned whether this remorse is absolved in the end. A resolve is found in the one exception to the link between a bird-thief and a reward, in ṚV 4.18 of 'Indra *soma*', where Indra's shame is taken up by the waters which he released, thereby restoring Indra's glory. We do find another kind of reward in S-KSS 27-J, but now directed towards the first thieves, the *nāgas*, who get their lives restored.

3.7.1 General versions

Based on the comparison, we can establish three motifs which are found all-around. First of all, most categories note the desire of a party to possess *soma* or *amṛta*. Secondly, the first theft (most often from the creatures with a higher hierarchical position) is not described elaborately. Thirdly, the theft back often involves a trick (except in the case of 'Indra *soma*', but with the objection that it is structurally ambiguous whether Indra steals back *soma* here).

We can establish one theme, present in 'Birds', 'Garuḍa', and S-KSS 27-J. The sustenance is found in heaven. A bird-like creature (*śyena*, Gāyatrī, or Garuḍa) becomes involved in a contest lost by their mother (Suparṇī or Vinatā). To regain their freedom, *soma* or *amṛta* must be stolen for the winner of the contest, who desires it. The thief is of a lower hierarchical position than the one from which they steal *soma* or *amṛta*. The thief is rewarded by their freedom, and sometimes by other things.

This theme does not work perfectly. Especially S-KSS 27-J complicates things. It is the only version that lacks any statement of desire for *soma* or *amṛta*, and the reward is also of another nature: not Garuḍa himself is rewarded, but the *nāgas* and king Jīmūtavahāna have their lives restored. Similarly, in the complex the idea of a punishment of the thieves seems to be absent. It is indeed absent in 'Garuḍa' and S-KSS 27-J, but it is present in some narratives of 'Birds', where a claw or feather is cut off from Gāyatrī or *soma*. It can be argued that this punishment is corrected by the idea that the one shooting at Gāyatrī fails his

original target, the bird itself, and only partially harms it. It can also be argued that the damage is somehow corrected by the transformation of the claw or feather to an animal or vegetation.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I analysed 66 texts from India which use motif A153.1. These stories are spread over five different categories: *gandharvas* steal *soma* (3.2); birds steal *soma* (3.3); Garuḍa steals *amṛta* (3.4); Indra steals *soma* or *amṛta* (3.5); and the churning of the ocean (3.6). Three motifs are present in all stories: the statement of desire; the underdescription of the first theft; and the usage of trickery when stealing back. If the story contains a bird-like creature as protagonist ('Birds', 'Garuḍa', and S-KSS 27-J), we find two extra motifs: the protagonist has to steal due to the loss of a contest; and the reward at completion. In these categories and 'Gandharvas' the thieves have a lower hierarchical status than the bereft.

In narrative form, this structure arises: the sustenance is located in heaven ('Birds', 'Garuḍa', and S-KSS 27-J), at the Gandharvas ('Gandharvas'), or at the *asuras* (KYV KS 37.14 from 'Indra *amṛta*' and 'Churning'). The theft is motivated by losing a contest ('Birds', 'Garuḍa', and S-KSS 27-J), the simple desire for the sustenance (all except S-KSS 27-J), or remorse (S-KSS 27-J). Either the sustenance is stolen by a creature with a lower hierarchical position ('Gandharvas', 'Birds', and 'Garuḍa'), or the hierarchical order is ambiguous ('Indra *soma*', KYV KS 37.14 of 'Indra *amṛta*', and 'Churning'). When the sustenance is stolen back a trick is used (absent in 'Birds', 'Garuḍa', and S-KSS 27-J), which can involve a woman ('Gandharvas' and 'Churning'). The thieves are punished by exclusion of goods ('Gandharvas') or violence (all others except 'Garuḍa' and S-KSS 27-J). If there is only one theft, the thief is rewarded besides access to the sustenance ('Birds', 'Garuḍa', and S-KSS 27-J).

4. Greek Variants of A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*:*

Food of the gods stolen

In this chapter I analyse the Greek variants of A153.1. This motif is found in 24 texts, spread over three different categories: Prometheus or Tantalos steal food from the gods (4.2); Herakles steals the apples of the Hesperides (4.3); and birds stealing sacrifice. The categorization is based on the stealing actant. The chapter starts off with a description of the stolen sustenances, *ambrosia*, *nektar*, or sacrifice (4.1), and concludes with a comparison (4.5) and a summarizing conclusion (4.6).

4.1 Foods and drinks for the gods

In the Greek stories under discussion, there are three things that are stolen: *ambrosia*, *nektar*, or sacrifices. These are the three things the gods eat. To start with the latter, the sacrifices reach the gods by means of smoke.[276] Sacrifices of wine and barley are known,[277] but the main sacrifices are meat and bones.[278] There are some restrictions on the gods consuming meat,[279] but it is understood that only the aroma of the burned meat and fat reaches the gods.[280]

The other two substances, *ambrosia* and *nektar*, are better known as food of the Greek gods. Their distinction, however, is more difficult, and changes throughout Greek history.[281] In Homeric poetry, the earliest phase in the conception of these foods, *ambrosia* and *nektar* are identical to each other.[282] Later Homeric and Hesiodic works make a distinction: *ambrosia* becomes the food of the gods, and *nektar* the drink. Even later there is an alternative tradition (by Sappho, Alkman, Anaxandrides, and Euripides), which ignores

[276] Giulia Sissa and Marcel Detienne, *The Daily Life of the Greek* Gods, trans. Lloyd (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 5.
[277] Sissa and Detienne, *Daily Life*, 69-70.
[278] Sissa and Detienne, *Daily Life*, 71-72, 175.
[279] Sissa and Detienne, *Daily Life*, 75, 77.
[280] Sissa and Detienne, *Daily Life*, 74.
[281] Jenny Clay, "Immortal and Ageless Forever," *The Classical Journal* 77.2 (1982): 114; Wilhelm Roscher, "Ambrosia und Nektar," in *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie. Erster Band*, ed. Roscher (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1884), 208-281; West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 158.
[282] Wilhelm Roscher, "Ambrosia und Nektar," 280.

nektar, and names *ambrosia* as a drink found in the pool at the garden of the Hesperides.[283] Whatever their identity, their function seem to be the same. *Ambrosia* and *nektar* do not provide immortality, but they give sustenance and prevent aging. Gods who do not consume it lose motion and speech.[284] In addition, both can preserve dead bodies and restore beauty.[285]

Etymologically, *ambrosia* is, just as Sanskrit *amṛta*, related to Proto-Indo-European **ṇ-mṛ-to(s)-*.[286] For *nektar*, things are a little more complicated, since its etymology is unclear[287] and debated. West gives a Proto-Indo-European form **neḱ-tṛh$_2$-*, with the meaning 'getting across death' or 'overcoming death'.[288] Pokorny agrees on the meaning of **neḱ-* as 'death',[289] but does not reconstruct the latter part **tṛh$_2$*. Mallory gives three different debated reconstructions: **neḱ-tṛh$_2$-*; **Hneḱ^{h}-t^{h}ṛH-*; and the close variants **nik, *nik^h*, **nek*, and **nek^h*.[290]

4.2 Prometheus or Tantalos steals food from the gods[291]

Greek mythology tells us about three different generations of deities. The primordial deities are the first generation, and the third one is active during Greek antiquity, the Olympian deities. Prometheus is a Titan, a member of the second generation.[292] Prometheus is most known from Thompson's motif A1415 *Theft of Fire* or Berezkin's motif D4A *Theft of Fire.*[293] There is another narrative, which is not as well known,[294] even if authors as Homer and Hesiod were well-read:[295] Prometheus tricks Zeus and thereby deprives the gods of their

[283] Roscher, "Ambrosia und Nektar," 281.
[284] Clay, "Immortal and Ageless Forever": 115; Sissa and Detienne, *Daily Life*, 79.
[285] Clay, "Immortal and Ageless Forever": 116; Roscher, "Ambrosia und Nektar," 281; Sissa and Detienne, *Daily Life*, 79-80.
[286] Mallory, "Sacred Drink," 494; Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2089; West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 157.
[287] Clay, "Immortal and Ageless Forever": 114.
[288] West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 158.
[289] Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 762.
[290] Mallory, "Sacred Drink," 495.
[291] Part of this subsection is pending for publishing in a dual issue of *Comparative Mythology* and *Kosmos.*
[292] Gustav Schwab, *Griekse Mythen en Sagen,* trans. Van den Brink (Houten: Het Spectrum, 1994), 11-17.
[293] Berezkin, "World mythology and folklore."
[294] Matthew Macleod, "Two Notes on Lucian: II. A Note on Lucian's Prometheus Es in Verbis," *The Classical Quarterly* 6.3-4 (July - October 1956): 237.
[295] Francisco Frias et al., "Greek Mythology and Education: From Theory to Practice," *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences* 197 (2015): 595 – 599. 596.

food. This story is quite alike the story in which Tantalos steals *ambrosia* and *nektar* from the gods.

4.2.1 Texts

There are seven texts that (possibly) deal with this topic:

1. Hesiod's *Theogony* 521-616;[296] (H-Theog)
2. Hesiod's *Work and Days* 42-105;[297] (H-WoDa)
3. Fragments of Cratinus' *The Wealthgods*;[298] (Crat-W)
4. Pseudo-Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*;[299] (PsA-PB)
5. Lucian's *Prometheus on Caucasus*;[300] (L-PC)
6. Lucian's *A Literary Prometheus*;[301] (L-LP)
7. Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 1:54-66.[302] (P-OO1)

The story about Prometheus is a Hesiodic tale. The only complete version can be found in H-Theog, and only L-LP clearly refers to the story. H-WoDa and A-P refer to a theft, but it remains unclear whether this is a theft of food or of fire. Then there are two texts which might refer to the narrative of theft: Crat-W is unclear because it is a fragment; and L-PC only refers to the bones within fat of the narrative. I ignore Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautika* 2.1246-1259[303] and Fragment 551 from Callimachus,[304] since these only

[296] English translation: Catherine Schlegel and Henry Weinfield, trans., *Hesiod: Theogony and Work and Days*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), 39-42; English translation and Greek original: Glenn Most, ed. trans., *Hesiod: Theogony, Work and Days, Testimonia*, (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 44-53.
[297] English translation: Schlegel and Weinfield, *Theogony and Work and Days*, 58-60; English translation and Greek original: Most, *Hesiod*, 90-95.
[298] English translation and Greek original: Ian Storey, *Fragments of Old Comedy: Volume I, Alcaeus to Diocles* (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2011), 348-351.
[299] English translation and Greek original: Alan Sommerstein, ed. trans., *Aeschylus: Persians, Seven Against Thebes, Suppliants, Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2008), 442-503.
[300] English translation and Greek original: Austin Harmon, trans., *Lucian: Volume 2* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), 242-265.
[301] English translation: Henry Fowler and Francis Fowler, trans., *The Works of Lucian of Samosata, Volume 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 10; Greek original: Karl Jakobitz, ed., *Luciani Samosatensis Opera: Volume I* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1896), accessed 13 July, 2017, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0522%3Asection%3D7.
[302] English translation and Greek original: Race, *Pindar*, 52-53.
[303] English translation and Greek original: William Race, ed. trans., *Apollonius Rhodius: Argonautica*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 210-213.
[304] English translation and Greek original: C.A. Trypanis, ed. trans., *Callimachus: Aetia, Iambi, Hecale and Other Fragments. Musaeus: Hero and Leander* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 265.

mention Prometheus' punishment. Similarly, Tantalos' story is only attested in Pindar's *Olympian Odes*, while Homer's *Odysseus* 11.582-592 only mentions his punishment in detail.[305]

Greek texts are easier to date than Indian texts, and are also often attributed to a certain author (pseudepigraphically or not). Hesiod's epic poems, *Theogony* and *Work and Days*, can be dated from 750 to 600 BCE.[306] Pindar wrote the first *Olympian Ode* for Hieron of Syracuse, who won in the single horse race of the Olympiads (ancient Olympic Games) in 476 BCE.[307] The comedy playwright Cratinus was active from the 450s up to the 420s BCE.[308] Dating the tragic play *Prometheus Bound*, which is attributed to Aeschylus, differ. Herrington believes the play was written in the last years of Aeschylus' life, so between 458 and 455 BCE.[309] West, however, rejects Aeschylus as the author, and dates *Prometheus Bound* between 445 and 435 BCE.[310] Lucian worked in the second century CE.[311] Based on these dates, it seems like the myth was better-known in 5th-century BCE Greece, after which we find a long gap in transmission until Lucian gives us a full version again in the 2nd century CE.

4.2.2 Structural analysis

I first give a textual summary of the story is given, which is schematically presented in figure 4.1. If a punishment is mentioned, it always starts off the narrative. Hesiod's narratives make a distinction between the collective punishment of humanity (which is found at the end of his narratives), and the individual punishment of Prometheus (which is more often mentioned). Prometheus is bound (A-PB mentions to a rock), either by Zeus, Hephaistos, or Hephaistos and Hermes together. In L-LP Prometheus regrets his fate, while in A-P Hephaistos regrets having to bind Prometheus. An eagle comes to eat Prometheus' liver. This either kills him (L-LP), or the liver regrows again so that the eagle can come back the

[305] English translation: Walter Shewring, trans., *Homer: The Odyssey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 141; Greek original: Guilelmus Dindorf and C. Hentze, ed., *Homeri Odyssea: Pars I, Odysseae I-XII* (Leipzig:Teuber, 1930), 187-188.
[306] Schlegel and Weinfield, *Theogony and Work and Days*, 1-2.
[307] Race, *Pindar*, 44.
[308] Emmanuela Bakola, *Cratinus and the Art of Comedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3.
[309] John Herrington, "Introduction to Prometheus Bound," *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics, New Series* 1.4(1974): 645.
[310] Martin West, "The Prometheus Trilogy," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 99 (1979): 128, 147-148. 130-148.
[311] Adam Bartley, "Introduction," in *A Lucian for our Times*, ed. Bartley (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), ix.

next day to repeat this torture. L-PC mentions that someone comes to save Prometheus, which is Herakles in H-Theog. Tantalos in P-OO1 is punished by a rock which is suspended above him. He wants to cast it away but cannot, and this causes him suffering.

Then the motivation for Prometheus' punishment is explained: he is commissioned to divide up the meat (H-Theog specifies it as an ox) for a meal between men and the gods, to celebrate an unspecified pact between them at Mekone. H-Theog mentions that Prometheus tries to trick Zeus: he puts the good meat in the unappealing stomach of the ox, while he covers the inedible bones by the delicious-looking fat. Tantalos in P-OO1 simply steals *ambrosia* and *nektar* from the gods, without a trick involved. This *ambrosia* and *nektar* will make him immortal, and he shares it with his drinking companions. This more directly reflects Prometheus' theft of fire, which he shares with humanity. But again, Tantalos does not use trickery, while Prometheus hides the fire in a hollow fennel stalk (*Theogony* 565-569).[312] A narrative which more closely resembles the concealment of food is found in P-OO1:24-53, where Pindar mentions a rumour that Tantalos served his son Pelops as a dish at the feast. Pindar rejects this story, stating that Pelops' disappearance is explained due to Poseidon, who fell in love with him and abducted him.[313] This story does not involve a concealment of the food of the gods, since it is not clear that any deities were present at this feast.

Prometheus allows Zeus to pick the dish and Zeus, although he knows that he is being deceived, still picks the fat and bones. Zeus turns livid, and humanity is deprived of fire (in both Hesiodic accounts) and the means of life (H-WoDa), and all kinds of evil are also unleashed upon them (H-WoDa). Prometheus responds by stealing fire, and these two combined acts is why Prometheus is bound. Humanity is punished by sending the Venerable Maiden or Pandora to them, who, like Zeus, unleashes evils upon mankind. In P-OO1 there is no collective punishment, but Pelops is sent back to the humans. This implies that both Tantalos and Pelops were at the place of the gods when the theft was committed. It is unclear to me whether this is meant as an extra punishment for Tantalos, or a collective punishment for humanity, whereby humanity is symbolically demoted by Pelops being dismissed by the gods.

[312] Schlegel and Weinfield, *Theogony and Work and Days*, 40-41.
[313] Race, *Pindar*, 48-53.

A-PB and L-LP give warnings about this fateful meal. The chorus in A-PB sings to not bring an ox to a feast of the gods. In L-LP Prometheus fears that Zeus would have punished him even more severely, if he would have deprived Zeus of a whole ox, instead of just the meat. In the fragment Crat-W it is only known that something is stolen from Zeus: what is stolen and by who is unknown, since that part of the text has not survived.

4.3 Herakles steals the apples of the Hesperides

The theft of fruit is a common theme in Indo-European mythology. We also find it in Old Norse, Irish, and Ossetic sources.[314] It is also found outside the Indo-European area, as in the story in which Sun Wukong steals peaches (see 4.2), but most famously in Genesis 3:1-6, in which Adam and Eve eat the fruit from the forbidden tree in Paradise.[315] In Greek mythology, it is Herakles who steals fruit (apples) from the Hesperides, a group of nymphs who tend to the garden in which these apples hang.

4.3.1 Texts

There are eight texts that deal with this topic:

1. Panyassis' *Fragment 10K.*[316] (P-10K)
2. Euripides' *Herakles* 491-505;[317] (Eu-H)
3. Pseudo-Eratosthenes' *Katasterismoi* 4;[318] (PsE-K)
4. Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* 4:1389-1460;[319] (AR-A)
5. Diodorus of Sicily's *Library of History* 4.26:2;[320] (DS-BH)

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[314] West, *Indo-European Myth and Poetry*, 159.
[315] *Bijbelvertaling Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap*, 10.
[316] Victor Matthews, *Panyassis of Halikarnassos: Text and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 66-67.
[317] English translation: Tom Sleigh and Christian Wolff, *Euripides: Herakles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 44-45.
[318] English translation: Theony Condos, trans., *Star Myths of the Greeks and Romans: A Sourcebook, Containing* The Constellations *of Pseudo-Eratosthenes and* The Poetic Astronomy *of Hyginus* (Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, 1997), 101.
[319] English translations: Richard Hunter, trans., *Apollonius of Rhodes: Jason and the Golden Fleece (The Argonautica)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 131-133; Peter Green, trans., *The Argonautika by Apollonios Rhodios* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 187-189; English translation and Greek original: Race, *Argonautica*, 440-445.
[320] English translation and Greek original: Charles Henry Oldfather, trans., *Diodorus Siculus: The Library of History, Volume 2: Books II.35-IV.58* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), 426-427.

6. Pseudo-Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca* 2:113-114;[321] (PsAp-B)
7. Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines* 2:21;[322] (PE-I)
8. Quintus Smyrnaeus' *Posthomerica* 6:256-258;[323] (QS-PH)

The reconstructed nature of Panyassis' works make it impossible to date the fragments, but a lifespan for him from 505/500 to 455/450 BCE seems likely.[324] The fragment is reconstructed from Germanicus' *Aratea* BP 61.2, Hyginus' *Poetica Astronomica* 2.6, Interpres Germanici's *Aratea* 42, Eratosthenes' *Katasterismoi* 4, and Avienus' *Phaenomena* 2.169-193.[325] The tragedy *Herakles* by Euripides is dated between 417 and 414 BCE.[326] *Katasterismoi*, a collection of constellation myths based on the work of Eratosthenes from the end of the 3rd century BCE, is handed to us in a collection compiled by an unknown scholar (hence the name Pseudo-Eratosthenes) from the 1st or 2nd century CE.[327] Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* is usually dated between 270 and 240 BCE,[328] but was probably finished during the 240s.[329] Two sources embed the story within a wider narrative context. The first is Diodorus of Sicily's *Library of History*, written between 60 and 30 BCE.[330] The second is the *Bibliotheca*, traditionally credited to Apollodorus but nowadays heavily doubted, composed in the 1st century BCE or CE.[331] Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines*, composed in the early 3rd century CE, is essentially a secondary source, which describes different paintings,[332] one of which depicts Herakles stealing the apples from the Hesperides.

[321] English translation: Michael Simpson and Leonard Baskin, trans., *Gods and Heroes of the Greeks: The Library of Apollodorus* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 98-99; English translation and Greek original: James Frazer, trans., *Apollodorus*, *The Library: Volume 1* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921), 218-233.
[322] English translation and Greek original: Arthur Fairbanks, trans., *Elder Philostratus: Imagines. Younger Philostratus: Imagines, Callistratus, Descriptions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), 224-225.
[323] English translation and Greek original: Arthur Way, trans., *Quintus Smyrnaeus: The Fall of Troy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913), 272-273.
[324] Matthews, *Panyassis*, 12-19.
[325] Matthews, *Panyassis*, 66-67.
[326] Sleigh and Wolff, *Euripides: Herakles*, 4 (note 2).
[327] Theony Condos, "The *Katasterismoi* (Part I)," *Astronomical Society of the Pacific Leaflet* 496 (1970): 361.
[328] Jackie Murray, "Anchored in Time: The Date in Apollonius' *Argonautica*," in *Hellenistic Poetry in Context*, ed. Harder, Regtuit, and Wakker (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 247.
[329] Murray, "Anchored in Time," 270.
[330] Thomas Scanlon, *Greek Historiography* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2015), 241.
[331] Apollodorus, *Gods and Heroes of the Greeks*, 1.
[332] Michael Squire, "Apparitions Apparent: Ekphrasis and the Parameters of Vision in the Elder Philostratus's *Imagines*," *Helios* 40.1-2 (Spring/Fall 2013): 97-140. 98.

The poem by Quintus Smyrnaeus titled *Posthomerica* or *Fall of Troy* dates from the 3rd century CE.[333]

Pseudo-Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca* is an odd text for three reasons. First of all, it actually contains two variants of the story under analysis here, the second of which is a mere summary of its plot, in which Herakles plucks the apples himself after killing the guardian snake (*ophin*).[334] Secondly, the longer version of the tale is not found in any other sources, where Herakles tricks Atlas in getting the apples. Thirdly, in all other sources the apples are described as golden, but not in PsAp-B.

There are two texts which are omitted here, since they would not contribute to the analysis. The first of those is Strabo, who mentions Herakles' Labour in *Geography* 2.3.13.[335] Secondly, in Panyassis' fragment 32 we find a description of the *drakōn* which Herakles kills.[336]

4.3.2 Structural Analysis

I give a textual summary of the narrative, which is schematically presented in figure 4.2. PsAp-B and DS-BH frame the story as one of the tasks of Herakles, the context of which is provided by Homer in *Iliad* 19:95-124: Zeus promises that the man to be born on a certain day is to become king. This man was supposed to be Herakles, but Hera, who is Herakles' arch-enemy,[337] prevents this from happening. Instead, she causes Eurystheus to be born before Herakles. Eurystheus thus becomes king, which means that Herakles must obey him.[338] In this guise, Eurystheus has ordered Herakles to perform the Twelve Labours of Herakles. In PsAp-B, stealing the apples of the Hesperides is the eleventh task, while in DS-HB it is the final one (number not specified), and P-10K does not mention which task it was.

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[333] Manuel Baumbach and Silvio Bär, "An Introduction to Quintus Smyrnaeus' *Posthomerica*," in *Quintus Smyrnaeus: Transforming Homer in Second Sophistic Epic*, ed. Baumbach and Bär (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 1; Calum Maciver, *Quintus Smyrnaeus' Posthomerica : Engaging Homer in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1.
[334] Frazer, *Apollodorus,* 230-231.
[335] Howard Jones, trans., *Strabo: Geography, Books 3-5* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923), 56-57.
[336] Matthews, *Panyassis*, 66-71, 142-143.
[337] Philip Slater, *The glory of Hera. Greek mythology and the Greek family* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 349.
[338] English translation: Robert Fitzgerald, trans., *Homer: The Iliad* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 340-341.

Three sources specifically include the idea of Herakles traveling. In PsAp-B it becomes apparent that the apples are not in Lybia (the continent Africa[339]), and the deity Nereus tells Herakles where to find the apples. In DS-BH Herakles sails to Lybia, while Eu-H states that Herakles goes to the west. Three sources name the apples are a gift from Gaia (Earth) to Zeus and Hera for their marriage, and two sources mention that Hera plants these apples at the garden of the gods near mount Atlas. From P-10K it becomes impossible to reconstruct the place of the garden of the Hesperides, since the different sources claim different locations.[340]

There are some paradigmatic differences involving the guardian and the guarded item. Most commonly, the apples are guarded by a *drakōn*, a dragon or serpent.[341] AR-A mentions that the apples are guarded by Ladon, who is later on in the text identified as an *ophin*, which has the more specific meaning 'serpent'.[342] Next to the *drakōn*, PsAp-B mentions that the apples are guarded by the Hesperides themselves. DS-BH notes two varying traditions concerning the guarded item: either the Hesperides herd a flock of sheep which are also called 'golden apples', or there is a shepherd named Drakōn who herds golden sheep. PsE-K and P-10K (which are close to identical) mention that Hera places the *drakōn* both as a guardian in the garden and as a constellation in the sky. Zeus, then, places the constellation Herakles above the constellation Drakōn, to remind everyone of their struggle, from which Herakles emerged victoriously.

PsAp-B contains a variant not attested anywhere else. Herakles, on his way to get the apples, kills the eagle which torments Prometheus, and subsequently frees Prometheus, fulfilling the promise from Lucian's *Prometheus on Caucasus*.[343] In thanks, Prometheus tells Herakles to trick Atlas in getting him the apples. Atlas is a Titan who was condemned by Zeus to hold up the sky (Hesiod's *Theogony* 517-520).[344] Atlas asks Herakles to hold up the sky while he fetches the apples. Getting three apples, Atlas offers to bring them himself to Eurystheus, so that Herakles' task is finished. Feigning to agree, Herakles asks Atlas to take

[339] Rosalind Thomas, *Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science, and the Art of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 78.
[340] Matthews, *Panyassis*, 70-71.
[341] Henry Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 448.
[342] Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 1279.
[343] Harmon, *Lucian: Volume 2,* 264-265.
[344] Schlegel and Weinfield, *Theogony and Work and Days*, 39.

over the sky just for a brief moment, so that Herakles can put a pad on his head for comfort. Once Atlas holds the sky again, Herakles runs off with the apples.

Three sources (PsAp-B, Eu-H, and P-10K) state that Herakles kills the *drakōn*, while Eu-H specifies that the kill was accomplished by arrows, and P-10K by club.[345] AR-A states that Herakles kills Ladon using arrows which were dipped into the Hydra's poison, a monster Herakles had to slay for one of his Labours.[346] QS-PH describes a scene in which the *drakōn* is already dead, but Herakles still has to claim the apples. QS-PH does not specify whether the *drakōn* is slain by Herakles. PE-I describes that Herakles has both won over, not specifically killed, the *drakōn* and the Hesperides. DS-BH is a bit harder to interpret, for it states that Herakles kills the guardian (*phulax*) of the apples, which could be a *drakōn*, the Hesperides, or the shepherd Drakōn. However, since the guardian of the apples is killed, we are perhaps left with two options: either the *drakōn* is killed, or the Hesperides, whose flock is dubbed 'golden apples'. My own preference goes towards *drakōn* being killed, because he is the guardian of the literal apples, and because this agrees with most other sources.

Herakles gets the apples, with PsAp-B, Eu-H, and P-10K specifying that he picks them from a tree, while AR-A states that he steals them. This is not the first time this happens, since three sources state that Atlas' daughters constantly steal apples from the garden. Two sources state Herakles fulfils the task by bringing the apples back to Eurystheus. In DS-BH this is Herakles' final task, and he now awaits the gift of immortality as foretold by Apollo. In PsAp-B Eurystheus does not want the apples any longer, so Herakles gives them to Athena, who gives them back to the Hesperides.

4.4 Birds steal sacrifice

In this type of story, the birds either steal the sacrifice for the gods or they prevent this sacrifice from reaching the gods. This is a type of story which is not often considered when analysing A153.1. This has two different reasons. First of all, when analysing this motif, scholars often only consider *ambrosia* and *nektar* to be food of the gods, while the smoke coming from the sacrifice is also meant as food for them.[347] Secondly, scholars often only look at material which is intuitively classified as myth. The narratives which are analysed

[345] Matthews, *Panyassis*, 69.
[346] Schwab, *Griekse Mythen en Sagen*, 146.
[347] Sissa and Detienne, *Daily Life*, 5.

here are not traditionally considered to be myths, but rather belong to the genres of fable (Aesop), legend (Plutarch), and comedy (Aristophanes).

4.4.1 Texts

There are four texts which deal with birds stealing sacrifice:

1. Pseudo-Plutarch's *Greek and Roman Parallel Stories* 35;[348] (PsPlu-Par)
2. Archilochus' *The Eagle and the Fox*;[349] (Arch-EF)
3. Babrius' *The Eagle and the Fox*;[350] (Bab-EF)
4. Aristophanes' *Birds*, which can be subdivided into six narratives:
    a. Verses 518-519;[351] (Aris-B1)
    b. Verses 561-569;[352] (Aris-B2)
    c. Verses 1230-1261;[353] (Aris-B3)
    d. Verses 1266-1267;[354] (Aris-B4)
    e. Verses 1494-1552;[355] (Aris-B5)
    f. Verses 1565-1693.[356] (Aris-B6)

The text *Greek and Roman Parallel Stories* tells stories found in varying forms in Greek and Roman culture. This collection is found in the fourth book of Plutarch's *Moralia*, but it has been contested whether Plutarch is really the author or compiler of these short stories.[357]

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[348] English translation and Greek original: Frank Babbitt, trans., *Plutarch: Moralia, Volume IV*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 306-307.

[349] English paraphrase and commentary: Martin West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974), 132-134; English translation and Greek original: Douglas Gerber, trans. *Greek Iambic Poetry: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 184-197; Greek original: Martin West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci: Ante Alexandrum Cantati* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 62-70.

[350] English translation: see Appendix 8; Greek original: Otto Crusius, ed., *Babrii: Fabulae Aesopeae* (Leipzig: Teuber, 1897), 168-169.

[351] English translations: Stephen Halliwell, *Aristophanes: Birds and Other Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 35; Ian Johnston, trans., *Aristophanes: Birds* (Arlington: Richer Resources Publications, 2008), 41; Greek original: Nan Dunbar, ed., *Aristophanes: Birds* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 60.

[352] English translations: Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 36; Johnston, *Birds*, 43; Greek original: Dunbar, *Birds*, 61.

[353] English translations: Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 61-62; Johnston, *Birds*, 79-81; Greek original: Dunbar, *Birds*, 86-87.

[354] English translations: Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 62; Johnston, *Birds*, 81; Greek original: Dunbar, *Birds*, 87.

[355] English translations: Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 69-71; Johnston, *Birds*, 93-97; Greek original: Dunbar, *Birds*, 95-97.

[356] English translations: Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 72-76; Johnston, *Birds*, 97-104; Greek original: Dunbar, *Birds*, 98-102.

The second text, Archilochus' *The Eagle and the Fox*, is placed by modern scholars in the Aesopic tradition, and is found in Perry's index on Aesopic fables as Perry 1.[358] Aesop was a freed slave who was active in the 6th century BCE,[359] but left no textual testimonies himself, and might be a mytho-historical figure. The stories from this tradition are widely dispersed into European and Near-Eastern cultures.[360] Archilochus and Babrius provide two versions, respectively dated to 650 BCE (so before Aesop)[361] and the second half of the 1st century CE.[362] The text by Archilochus is a reconstruction made by West[363] based on several fragments.[364] The text by Babrius has not been translated so far, and a translation is prepared in Appendix 8. Next to reflecting A153.1, it also reflects motifs K2295.2 *Treacherous Eagle*[365] and L315 *Small animal overcomes large*[366] according to Perry.[367] We also find a direct reference to the fable in Aristophanes' *Birds* 652-653[368] and an indirect reference in Aeschylus' tragedy *Agamemnon* 48-54.[369]

Aristophanes's comedy *Birds* was first performed at the Dionysia (a celebration in honour of the deity Dionysus) of 414 BCE in Athens.[370] This play seems to have been influential: its songs were sung all over the Mediterranean,[371] and there are two vases depicting scenes from it.[372] The motif of birds stealing sacrifice appears six times in the narrative, which is why I divided the narrative up for analysis. Still, *Birds* can also be considered as one unit of story, and the progression of the narrative is seen throughout the different narratives analysed here. Of the narratives from *Birds*, four are full narratives (Aris-

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[357] Babbitt, *Plutarch: Moralia, Volume IV*, 253-254.
[358] Ben Perry, *Aesopica: A Series of Texts relating to Aesop or ascribed to him or closely connected with the Literary Tradition that bears his name, volume 1: Greek and Latin Texts* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1952), 321.
[359] R. Worthington, trans., *Aesop's Fables*, (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2009), 10.
[360] Laura Gibbs, trans., *Aesop's Fables* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), x.
[361] Gibbs, *Aesop's Fables*, 80.
[362] Ben Perry, trans., *Babrius and Phaedrus: Fables* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), xlvii.
[363] In: Gerber, trans. *Greek Iambic Poetry,* 184-185.
[364] West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci,* 62-70.
[365] Thompson, *Motif-index of folk-literature,* accessed 24 April, 2018, http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/thompson/.
[366] Thompson, *Motif-index of folk-literature,* accessed 24 April, 2018, http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/thompson/.
[367] Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus,* 422.
[368] Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 40; Johnston, *Birds*, 48.
[369] Martin West, "The Parodos of the *Agamemnon*," *The Classical Quarterly* 29.1 (1979): 1.
[370] Edith Hall, "Introduction: Aristophanic Laughter across the Centuries," in *Aristophanes in Performance 421 BC-AD 2007*, ed. Hall and Wrigley (London: Modern LEGENDA, 2007), 6.
[371] Hall, "Introduction," 8.
[372] Hall, "Introduction," 5-6.

B2, 3, 5, and 6), and Aris-B1 and 4 merely mention the motif shortly. I ignore two narratives (lines 889-892[373] and 975-992[374]) which depict a failed attempt at theft. The failure by birds to grab offerings is also attested in Genesis 15:11.[375]

A related narrative is found in Homer's *Odysseus* 12.59-65, which mentions rock doves[376] who bring *ambrosia* to Zeus. Everytime the birds fly to Zeus, some rocks called the Wanderers (*amphitritēs*) always kill one bird, which Zeus then replaces with another bird.[377] Since no theft is involved, this story is not analysed here.

4.4.2 Structural analysis

Most stories provide a setting, except the short notices (Aris-B1 and 4). In PsPlu-Par Sparta is struck by a plague; in the Aesopic fables (Arch-EF and Bab-EF) a fox and an eagle become friends and decide to live near each other; in Aris-B3, 5, and 6 an envoy arrives from the gods, consisting respectively of Iris, Prometheus, or Poseidon, Herakles, and a Triballian god (probably stemming from a central Balkan tribe[378]); and in Aris-B2 the birds want to restore their kingship and build a city, Cloudcuckooland, and send a herald as envoy to the humans. Aristophanes might have taken this idea from early Greeks and Cretans, who considered birds to be epiphanies of the deities.[379] In Homeric epic poetry the gods are only in their real form among themselves, and turn into specific birds of prey in the presence of humans.[380] Aristophanes reflects some of these elements in *Birds*: birds are mentioned as kings who are older than any of the generations of the gods (468-470),[381] and humans used to swear oaths to them in the past (520).[382]

A scene follows which motivates the story. In PsPlu-Par an oracle given by a deity (who is not identified) states that each year a maiden should be sacrificed. In that fateful

[373] English translations: Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 48; Johnston, *Birds*, 60; Greek original: Dunbar, *Birds*, 73.
[374] English translations: Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 51-52; Johnston, *Birds*, 64-66; Greek original: Dunbar, *Birds*, 76-77
[375] *Bijbelvertaling Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap*, 18.
[376] John Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 59.
[377] English translation: Shewring, *Odyssey*, 144; Greek original: Dindorf and Hentze, *Homeri Odyssea*, 192.
[378] Fanula Papazoglu, *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times: Triballi, Autariatae, Dardanians, Scordisci and Moesians* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1978), 58-61.
[379] Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, 155.
[380] Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, 159.
[381] Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 32.
[382] Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 35.

year it is Helen's turn, the beautiful maiden who one day would be a cause for the Trojan War by leaving her husband Menelaos for Paris.[383] The Aesopic fables state that the eagle snatches either one (Arch-EF) or all (Bab-EF) cubs from the fox to let her chicks dine on them. In *Birds* we see a line of development. It starts with an explanation in Aris-B1 that the gods carried birds around, because birds would get the first of the sacrifice. The humans-turned-birds Peisetairos and Euelpides want to reinstate this, and their consequent demands are increasingly more daring. In Aris-B2 they demand that the sacrifice first goes to the birds, then to the gods. In Aris-B3 the birds deny the divinity of the Olympian gods, claiming that the birds are the new gods. Thus the sacrifice should not go to the gods, but only to the birds. In Aris-B6 the birds demand to rule, instead of the Olympian gods. Aris-B1, 4, and 5 lack such a motivation. Aris-B1 and 4 are too short for it, and in Aris-B5 it is because the threat of violence from the Triballian gods towards the Olympian gods is the motivation for the movement of the narrative.

The reaction to the motivation follows, which often boils down to some form of violence. In PsPlu-Par the eagle steals the sacrificial sword with which Helen was to be sacrificed. In Arch-EF the fox curses the eagle, and the eagle steals a burning entrail from a goat of the sacrificial altar, which will do her a lot of harm. In Bab-EF the eagle carries off an unclear amount of the sacrificial victim, while carrying a burning charcoal along. In *Birds* there are three forms of harm done. First of all, the city Cloudcuckooland, which the birds build in the sky, blocks the smoke of the sacrifice from the humans, which cannot reach the Olympian gods now (2, 4, and 5). Secondly, actors threathen with real violence: in Aris-B2 the birds threaten to declare war if Zeus does not grant them kingship; in Aris-B3 both the divine envoy Iris and the bird-human Peisetairos threathen each other; and in Aris-B5 the Olympian gods are threathened by the Triballian gods. The Olympian gods normally give part of their sacrifices to the Triballian gods, but since the Olympian gods are now devoid of human sacrifices, the Triballian gods do not receive anything. The third way of violence is directed from the birds to the humans: when given kingship, the birds will punish the breakers of vows among the humans, as well as those who withhold sacrifices.

For the protagonists, this will entail a happy outcome. In PsPlu-Par the eagle drops the sacrificial sword on a heifer, killing the cow instead of Helen. In the Aesopic fables the burning sacrificial entrails or charcoal burns down the nest of the eagle. The chicks fall out of

[383] Schwab, *Griekse Mythen en Sagen*, 224-225.

the nest and are eaten by the fox out of revenge. Arch-EF adds to the cruelty by stating that the fox eats the chicks while being watched by the eagle. Aris-B5 and 6 see some of the gods taking the side of the birds. In Aris-B5 this is Prometheus, who is still sulking over the harm in which Zeus put him (see 4.2). In Aris-B6 Herakles joins the side of the birds by being offered a meal. One subdemand of becoming kings is that Peisetairos marries Princess (*Basileia*), which essentially means taking over kingship from the Olympian gods. In Aris-B6 Herakles agrees to this by being offered a meal. The Triballian god says something unintelligible, which Herakles interprets as agreeing as well. Poseidon objects, stating it sounds more like the tweeting of birds, which Herakles uses to claim that sounding like a bird means agreeing with their demands. Frustrated, Poseidon leaves. Aris-B1 and 4 are too short to mention any outcome, and the outcomes of Aris-B2 and 3 are not necessarily beneficial for the birds. In Aris-B3 the divine envoy Iris is chased off by Peisetairos, and in Aris-B2 the positive effects are for the humans: the birds will eat harmful insects to protect their crops, will guide them to riches, and provide for their health by these riches.

Some narratives provide conclusions. PsPlu-Par states that the eagle, by slaying a heifer and not Helen, caused the Spartans to stop sacrificing virgins. Bab-EF ends with a moral lesson about how justice always prevails, which cannot be reconstructed for Arch-EF. The individual narratives as found in *Birds* are not rounded off, since in the play they are directly followed up by a new scene or a chorus. But the whole play itself is concluded in a victorious tone: Peisetairos, carrying Zeus' thunderbolt, marries Princess, and the chorus proclaims the birds as rulers of the universe (1706-1761).[384]

4.5 Comparison

Figure 4.4 presents the structural analysis of the narratives analysed in this chapter. 'Prometheus' refers to 4.2, except P-OO1, the story about Tantalos. 'Herakles' refers to 4.3. 4.4 is split in three parts: PsPlu-Par; 'Aesop' refers to Arch-EF and Bab-EF; and *Birds* refers to Aristophanes' *Birds*. There do not seem to be any significant complexes of stories, except those already noted due to being paired together in the same category. The most obvious food of the gods is only stolen in one narrative: only in P-OO1 are *ambrosia* and *nektar*

[384] Halliwell, *Birds and Other Plays*, 77-78.

stolen by Tantalos. In 'Prometheus' and 'Herakles' other normal food is stolen, while in PsPlu-Par, 'Aesop', and *Birds* we find the theft of sacrifice.

The setting and motivation are the same syntagmatic moment in most Greek narratives. 'Prometheus' and P-OO1 use the resulting punishment to get the story moving, by explaining why the protagonist is punished. In 'Herakles' fetching the apples of the Hesperides becomes one of Herakles' Labours, which could be interpreted as a punishment by reference to PsAp-B: there Eurystheus disqualifies two of the Labours performed by Herakles, and orders two new ones.[385] PsPlu-Par is ambiguous: Sparta is struck by a plague, but it is not clear whether this should be a punishment. *Birds* often mentions arriving envoys as a setting, but also the request of a sacrifice, which is also present in PsPlu-Par. 'Aesop' and PsPlu-Par mention the harm done to children: the loss of cubs from the fox, and the apparent sacrifice of the maiden Helen.

The theft itself happens in different ways. Prometheus tricks Zeus in 'Prometheus', while a normal theft occurs in P-OO1, PsPlu-Par, and 'Aesop'. Herakles has to kill a guardian in 'Herakles', and in *Birds* the city Cloudcuckooland blocks the sacrifice from reaching the Olympian gods. Some narratives refer to the idea that the stolen sustenances are shared. This is clearest in P-OO1, where Tantalos shares the *ambrosia* and *nektar* with his drinking companions. It can also be found in 'Herakles', since Herakles gives the apples to Eurystheus, and in 'Aesop', in which the eagle shares the sacrifice with her chicks. It is not directly found in 'Prometheus', but we do find it in a closely related narrative where Prometheus shares fire with humanity. Neither do we find it directly in 'Birds', but it can be argued that in the narratives from *Birds* the sacrifice will be a common good to all birds.

It can be said that all narratives contain some kind of reward. This is food and fire for 'Prometheus'; immortality for P-OO1 and DS-BH of 'Herakles'; and the institution of sacrifices for *Birds*. Quite interestingly, some of the rewards or positive outcomes pertain to the non-thieves. This is the case of vengeance for the fox in 'Aesop', and the institution of sacrifice in PsPlu-Par. This institution of sacrifice is also found in H-Theog of 'Prometheus': because of Prometheus concealing the bones within the fat and giving that to the gods, this exact sacrificial practice is instituted in human (Greek) society (556-557).[386]

[385] Frazer, *Apollodorus*, 218-221.
[386] Schlegel and Weinfield, *Theogony and Work and Days*, 40.

The punishment for a thief appears in two groups. First of all there is a uniform punishment in 'Prometheus' and P-OO1, although the details differ. First of all, a rock is involved: Prometheus is bound to it, and it is suspended above Tantalos. This will, secondly, impair their movement. Then there is also the punishment of others. This is a bit dubious in 'Prometheus'. Humanity is punished by the gift of the Venerable Maiden or Pandora, but it is unclear if this is a consequence due to the concealed food, or due to the theft of fire. In P-OO1 Pelops, Tantalos' son, is sent back to the other humans. In 'Aesop' the eagle loses her chicks by accidentally setting the nest on fire herself, which causes the chicks to fall out and to be eaten by the fox as vengeance. P-OO1 and 'Aesop' therefore share the punishment of the child or children of the thief.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I analysed 24 texts from Greece which use A153.1. These stories are spread over three different categories: Prometheus or Tantalos steal food from the gods (4.2); Herakles steals the apples of the Hesperides (4.3); and birds stealing sacrifice (4.4). When compared, we see that all narratives partake in the same syntagmatic moments: the setting and motivation (which is the same structural moment in the Greek narratives); the theft itself; the reward for the thieves; and the punishment of the thieves. Frustratingly, however, other generalizations outside of the categories already noted are not pertinent.

The structure of the story forms this narrative. The setting and motivation includes a punishment ('Prometheus', P-OO1, and perhaps 'Herakles'), the request for a sacrifice (PsPlu-Par and *Birds*), the theft of children ('Aesop'), or the arrival of an envoy (*Birds*). The theft itself can happen by a trick ('Prometheus'), violence ('Herakles'), a blockade (*Birds*), or is not specified (P-OO1, PsPlu-Par, and 'Aesop'). The sustenance which is stolen can be shared with others (P-OO1, 'Herakles', and perhaps 'Prometheus'). The thief can be rewarded ('Prometheus', P-OO1, and 'Herakles'), but sometimes the victim is rewarded ('Aesop'). Some stories provide the institution of a sacrificial practice (PsPlu-Par, 'Aesop', *Birds*, and perhaps in H-Theog from 'Prometheus'). The punishment of the thief involves a rock, the impairment of movement, and the punishments of others ('Prometheus' and P-OO1), or the punishment of their children (P-OO1 and 'Aesop').

5. Chinese Variants of A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*:* *Food of the gods stolen*

In this chapter I analyse Chinese variants of A153.1, which is found in 42 texts spread over four different categories: theft of fruit (5.2); theft of wine (5.3); theft of elixir (5.4); and multiple thefts (5.5). All categories are based upon the stolen item. The chapter starts with a description of the stolen goods (5.1), and concludes with a comparison (5.6) and a summarizing conclusion (5.7).

5.1 Elixirs and Fruit

Three kinds of food are stolen in the Chinese stories: fruit, wine, and elixirs. At first sight, these seem to be wholly different sustenances. The fruit and elixirs grant immortality among other effects, but the wine is merely particularly good. Two foods are human products (the wine and elixirs), while the fruit is a natural product. What unites these foods is that they cannot be consumed straight-forward, but need to be processed. For the wine this seems obvious, as well as for the elixirs of immortality, which are prepared by Taoists and are promised as one of the roads to immortality.[387]

Similarly, the stolen fruits are not simply picked, but first of all take a long time to ripen. Different traditions record that the fruits need 3,000,[388] 6,000,[389] 9,000,[390] or 24,000[391] years to grow and ripen. Unlike in India, in China large numbers are supposed to be accurate.[392] Quite often the fruits are grown for the Immortal Queen Mother's Peach

[387] Poo Mu-Chou, "A Taste of Happiness: Contextualizing Elixirs in *Baopuzi*," in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Sterckx (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 123.
[388] Glen Dudbridge, *The Hsi-yu Chi: A Study of Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 37; Lionel Giles, *A Gallery of Chinese Immortals: Selected Biographies* (London: John Murray, 1948), 48; Roger Greatrex, *The Bowu Zhi: An Annotated Translation* (Stockholm: Föreningen för Orientaliska Studier, 1987), 93; Anthony Yu, trans., *The Journey to the West: Revised Edition, Volume 1* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 161.
[389] Edward Werner, *Myths and Legends of China* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1922), 137-138; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 161.
[390] Yu, *Journey to the West*, 161, 453.
[391] Charles Wivell, trans., "The story of how the monk Tripiṭaka of the great country of Tang brought back the sūtras." In *The Columbia anthology of traditional Chinese literature*, ed. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 1196.
[392] Olga Leontovich, "The world of Chinese fictional narratives: content, characters and social impact," *International Communication of Chinese Culture* 2.3 (2015): 311.

Banquet.[393] Of the fruits, the ginseng fruit needs special handling. It must be cut off by a golden tool,[394] and caught in silk material.[395] If the fruit falls on something made of gold, wood, water, fire, or earth, it will perish immediately.[396]

5.2 Theft of fruit

The theft of fruit mainly refers to the theft of peaches, in Chinese culture considered to be the symbol of immortality.[397] The theft often happens in the context of the Queen Mother's Peach Banquet organised every so many thousand years when the peaches ripen. This was a common theme in Chinese theatre, especially around birthday celebrations.[398] The ginseng fruit is the other stolen fruit.

5.2.1 Texts

There are nine texts which deal with the theft of fruit:

1. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* (*Xiyouji*) chapter 5;[399] (JW 5A)
2. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 17;[400] (JW 17)
3. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapters 24-26;[401] (JW 24-26)
4. *The Story of How the Monk Tripiṭaka of the Great Country of Tang Brought back the Sūtras* (*Da Tang Sanzang Qujing Shishua*) chapter 11.[402] (Trip)
5. *The Interpreter Pak* (*Pak T' Ongsa Ŏnhae*) 297-306;[403] (PTOO 297-306)
6. Zhang Hua's *Record of Strange Events* (*Bowuzhi*) chapter 3;[404] (ZH-Bo)
7. *Precedents of Han Emperor Wu* (*Han Wu (Di) Gushi*);[405] (HWG)

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[393] Werner, *Myths and Legends of China,* 137-138.
[394] Yu, *Journey to the West*, 461.
[395] Yu, *Journey to the West*, 462.
[396] Yu, *Journey to the West*, 461-462.
[397] Leontovich, "Chinese fictional narratives": 311.
[398] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 37.
[399] William Jenner, trans., *The Journey to the West* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1993), 63-64; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 160-162.
[400] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 247-249; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 352-354.
[401] Jenner, *Journey to the West,* 347-382; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 453-478.
[402] Wivell, "Monk Tripiṭaka," 1195-1197.
[403] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 181-182.
[404] Giles, *Gallery of Chinese Immortals,* 48-49; Greatrex, *The Bowu Zhi*, 92-93.

8. Zhu Youdun's *The Assembled Immortals Celebrate Longevity at Flat-Peach Meeting* (*Qunxian Qingshou Pantao Hui*);[406] (ZY-QQP)
9. Zhu Youdun's *The Immortal Officials of Happiness, Wealth, and Longevity Gather in Celebration* (*Fu Lu Shou Xianguan Qinghui*).[407] (ZY-XQ)

The main text that is analysed in all Chinese categories is *The Journey to the West* (JW), one of the major novels of China,[408] containing prose and original poetry.[409] This work reached its current form in the Shidetang edition from 1592,[410] but has older written[411] and probably oral[412] predecessors. The story is traditionally credited to Wu Cheng'en,[413] but he was probably only the final compiler.[414]

Monkey King is the protagonist in the majority of the sources analysed in this chapter. He is a trickster figure who is still popular in the Chinese cultural area.[415] He is known under different names. Sun Wukong is his name in JW, which combines the tradition of monkeys listening to Buddhist *sūtras* (teachings)[416] and the monk Wukong, the last monk to make the western pilgrimage to India.[417] Alternative names are Monkey Pilgrim in Trip (5.2),[418] Sun Xingzhe in PTOO (5.2 and 5.5),[419] the Sage Equal to Heaven (*Qitian Dasheng*) in ESQD (5.5, but also mentioned as a title in JW), and Tongtian Dasheng in Zaju (5.4 and 5.5).

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[405] Robert Campany, *Making transcendents: Ascetics and social memory in early medieval China* (Honolulu: University Of Hawai'I Press, 2009), 126 (paraphrase); Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 37.
[406] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 37-38 (paraphrase); Idema, *Dramatic Oeuvre*, 80-81 (paraphrase), 82-83.
[407] Wilt Idema and Stephen West, "Zhong Kui at Work: A Complete Translation of *The Immortal Officials of Happiness, Wealth, and Longevity Gather in Celebration*, by Zhu Youdun (1379-1439)," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 44.1 (May 2016): 17-18.
[408] Whalen Lai, "From Protean Ape to Handsome Saint: The Monkey King," *Asian Folklore Studies* 53.1 (1994): 31.
[409] Yu, *Journey to the West*, 33.
[410] Chih-Tsing Hsia, *The classic Chinese novel: A critical introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 116.
Hera Walker, "Indigenous or Foreign? A Look at the Origins of the Monkey Hero Sun Wukong," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 81 (September 1998): 52; Anthony Yu, "The Formation of Fiction in *The Journey to the West*," *Asia Major: Third Series* 21.1 (2008): 18; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 18, 20.
[411] Chang, "Monkey hero": 193; Walker, "Indigenous or Foreign?": 72; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 7, 15-16, 30-31.
[412] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 4-7.
[413] Yu, *Journey to the West*, 21.
[414] Lai, "Protean Ape": 31.
[415] Roberts, *Chinese Mythology*, 86.
[416] Lai, "Protean Ape": 33; Yu, "Formation of Fiction": 26; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 10.
[417] Chang, "Monkey hero": 192; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 1.
[418] Ching-Erg Chang, "The monkey hero in the Hsi-yu chi cycle (Part 1)," *Chinese Studies* 1.1 (1983): 196.
[419] Yu, *Journey to the West*, 17.

Suggestions for the origin of Monkey King are white demonic monkeys,[420] the water spirit Wizhiqi,[421] and even Hanumān from the Indian Epic *Rāmāyaṇa*,[422] but all inconclusive.

The Story of How the Monk Tripiṭaka of the Great Country of Tang Brought back the Sūtras is the oldest text belonging to the JW tradition, and is also known as its Kōzanji version.[423] Although uncertain, its written origin seems to be in the 13th century CE.[424] The second oldest text is the *Pak T' Ongsa Ŏnhae* (Chinese *Pu Tongshi Yanjie*). It is a Chinese text with Korean glosses and translations and Chinese commentary, meant to be a reader of colloquial Chinese texts from the 13th and 14th century CE.[425] The collection itself dates from before 1424 CE,[426] but the fragments which now remain stem from 1677 CE.[427]

The other texts have Dongfang Shuo as its protagonist, a scholar who lived in the 2nd century BCE and was later on mythologized.[428] *The Record of Strange Events* (*Bowuzhi*) was written or compiled between 249 and 300 CE by Zhang Hua.[429] *Precedents of Han Emperor Wu* is a mytho-historical work of heavily contested authorship dated between the 1st century BCE and the 7th century CE.[430] The two other texts are *zaju* (variety) plays[431] by Zhu Youdun: *The Assembled Immortals Celebrate Longevity at Flat-Peach Meeting* (*Qunxian Qingshou*

[420] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 114-128; Walker, "Indigenous or Foreign?" 54-60; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 9.
[421] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 139-154; Lai, "Protean Ape": 32-39; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 9.
[422] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 164-167; Ramnath Subbaraman, "Beyond the Question of the Monkey Imposter: Indian Influence on the Chinese Novel *The Journey to the West*," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 114 (March 2002): 3-10; Walker, "Indigenous or Foreign?": 2-16, 50, 70; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 10, 13-15.
[423] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 25; Yu*, Journey to the West*, 7.
[424] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 29.
[425] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 62.
[426] Chang, "Monkey hero": 194; Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 60; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 16.
[427] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 60-61; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 16.
[428] David Knechtges, "Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (fl. 140–130 b.c.e.), zi Manqian 曼倩," in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature Online: A Research Guide*, ed. Knechtges and Taiping (Leiden: Brill), accessed 5 May, 2018, http://chinesereferenceshelf.brillonline.com/ancient-literature/entries/SIM-300073;jsessionid=414AAF9F2E8E4F5D6200A8B9C2D1E3F5.
[429] Robert Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 49; Greatrex, *The Bowu Zhi*, 6, 8.
[430] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 37; David Knechtges, "Liu Che 劉徹 (156–87 b.c.e.)," in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature Online: A Research Guide*, ed. Knechtges and Taiping (Leiden: Brill), accessed 11 May, 2018, http://chinesereferenceshelf.brillonline.com/ancient-literature/entries/SIM-300231;jsessionid=8A2D87F3F2CEFD9B984C969820EB6DDF; David Knechtges, "Han Wu gushi 漢武故事 (Precedents of Emperor Wu of the Han)," in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature Online: A Research Guide*, ed. Knechtges and Taiping (Leiden: Brill), accessed 11 May, 2018, http://chinesereferenceshelf.brillonline.com/ancient-literature/entries/SIM-300146;jsessionid=73535C6F3A9117EDC9E54307B3C51959.
[431] Wilt Idema, *The dramatic oeuvre of Chu Yu-tun (1379-1439)* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 24-25; Patricia Sieber, *Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, and the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama, 1300-2000* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), xiv.

Pantao Hui), first performed in 1429 CE,[432] and *The Immortal Officials of Happiness, Wealth, and Longevity Gather in Celebration* (*Fu Lu Shou Xianguan Qinghui*), first performed in 1433 CE.[433] These plays were written for specific annual events, perhaps even performed only once, and provided a narrative retelling of the rituals performed around it.[434]

5.2.2 Structural Analysis

I first give a textual summary, which is schematically presented in figure 5.1. Two distinct protagonists can be found in this category: Monkey King, who is called Sun Wukong (JW 5A, JW 17, and JW 24-26), Monkey Pilgrim (Trip), or Sun Xingzhe (PTOO 297-306), and Dongfang Shuo (ZH-Bo and HWG).

Eight stories are elaborate enough to give a setting. In JW 5A Sun Wukong becomes the guardian of the Garden of Immortal Peaches in Heaven, which belongs to Queen Mother. In JW 17 Sun Wukong recounts how he gained the title 'Sage Equal to Heaven'. In JW 24-26 monk Tripiṭaka and his entourage arrive at Five Villages abbey, where two disciples of abbot Zhenyuan welcome them and present Tripiṭaka with two ginseng fruits. They do not offer these fruits to Tripiṭaka's entourage, since Zhenyuan warned his disciples against Sun Wukong's malicious nature. Tripiṭaka refuses to eat the ginseng fruits, since they look like human foetuses. The two disciples therefore eat the ginseng fruits, and Idiot, one of the other companions in the form of a pig, sees the disciples eating the fruits. In Trip Tripiṭaka and his entourage travel to Queen Mother's pools, where peaches of immortality grow. In PTOO 297-306 Tripiṭaka and his entourage are challenged by Taoists in a competition of wondrous feats, because the Taoists claim that Sun Xingzhe stole their tea and peaches which they were going to sacrifice, and when confronted Sun Xingzhe beat up two of their disciples. In ZH-Bo Queen Mother visits Emperor Han, and they eat her peaches there. ZY-QQP and ZY-XQ describe how the Queen Mother holds a Peach Banquet.

JW 5A describes how Sun Wukong desires to eat the peaches in the Garden. ZY-QQP describes how Dongfang Shuo states he wants to steal one peach. JW 24-26 and Trip delegate this desire to someone else, respectively Idiot and Tripiṭaka. ZH-Bo does not give a

[432] Idema, *Dramatic Oeuvre*, 80.
[433] Idema and West, "Zhong Kui at Work": 4.
[434] Idema and West, "Zhong Kui at Work": 7.

statement of desire, but just like in JW 24-26, where Idiot spied on Tripiṭaka and the two disciples, Dongfang Shuo also spies on Queen Mother and Emperor Han eating peaches. In Trip Tripiṭaka commissions the theft of peaches from Monkey Pilgrim, but Monkey Pilgrim discourages this by showing Tripiṭaka a child who fits in the palm of his hand, and asks whether Tripiṭaka wants to eat him. When refusing, the child turns into a jujube fruit, which Monkey Pilgrim eats. This refusal to eat a child-shaped fruit is also found in JW 24-26.

Before the actual theft, some preliminary work needs to be done. In JW 5A Sun Wukong sends his entourage in the Garden away, falsely claiming that he wants to take a nap. In ZY-QQP the Immortal Maidens go to take a nap, and Dongfang Shuo takes this opportunity to steal a peach. First he changes into a tortoise, but is caught before reaching the peaches and beaten, after which he flees. The second time he transforms into a crane, eats a peach, and is beaten again. In PTOO 297-306 the Buddhists are challenged during the contest to guess correctly what is inside a sealed box. Sun Xingzhe shrinks as to enter the box secretly, eats the peach which is inside while leaving the pit, then goes back and tells to Tripiṭaka that a pit resides in the box, winning that part of the contest. ZY-XQ gives a similar trick, in which Dongfang Shuo changes into a small insect to enter the Peach Banquet to steal peaches. JW 24-26 is more violent: Sun Wukong steals equipment with which he needs to steal the ginseng fruit, and he beats up a garden deity when he fails to obtain one fruit he cut off. This violence is also found in PTOO 297-306, but only after Sun Xingzhe has stolen the peach from the Taoists. Similarly, in JW 24-26 Sun Wukong destroys the ginseng tree after the disciples accuse him of stealing the fruit. Trip tells that earth deities are guarding Queen Mother's peach trees, but in this narrative Monkey Pilgrim does not engage them. The real theft in this narrative is him recounting an earlier theft, and in the current situation, when asked by Tripiṭaka to fetch a fruit, Monkey Pilgrim will not do so. Similarly, in all instances where the story of the theft is merely recounted (JW 17, ZH-Bo, and HWG), no preliminary conditions are given.

Most narratives state that the fruit was either stolen in three sessions, or three pieces were stolen (JW 5A, JW 24-26, ZH-Bo, and HWG). In Trip ten peaches were stolen, in PTOO 297-306 two, and in ZY-QQP one, although it is stated that Dongfang Shuo stole peaches three times before. JW 17 and ZY-XQ are non-committal about the number, although in ZY-QQP Dongfang Shuo only wanted to steal one peach. Only JW 5A seems to

suggest that Sun Wukong nearly depleted the peaches: when picking peaches for the Peach Banquet, the Immortal Maidens can only gather five baskets from all 3,600 trees.

In JW 5A Sun Wukong is awakened from the state which the consumption of peaches brought upon him. After eating most peaches, Sun Wukong takes a nap. He is woken up by the Immortal Maidens picking peaches for the Peach Banquet, either because a branch snaps back when they pick a peach (Yu's translation),[435] or because Sun Wukong has transformed himself into a peach, which is then picked by the Immortal Maidens (Jenner's translation).[436]

After the theft, most narratives include tortures or challenges. This is absent in ZH-Bo and HWG due to the brevity of those narratives, and the paraphrase of ZY-QQP simply mentions that Dongfang Shuo is punished. In JW 5A punishment is present, but only later in the narrative, which is analysed as JW 5-7 in 5.5. Sun Wukong defeats the first army of the Immortals that was send out to catch him in JW 17, but he is caught eventually by Erlang Shen. ZY-XQ does not mention whether Dongfang Shuo is caught, only that all the guards and attendees of the Peach Banquet chase after him. In JW 24-26, Tripiṭaka and his entourage are locked up when Sun Wukong destroyed the ginseng tree. At night, however, Sun Wukong puts the disciples in a deep sleep by means of magical sleeping insects, and they escape. Shortly afterwards they are caught again by abbot Zhenyuan in his sleeve. This time they are bound. In JW 17 Sun Wukong is also bound.

The first torture is with weapons. In JW 17 Sun Wukong is unharmed by them. This is also true for JW 24-26, where Sun Wukong is being flogged, but at the end of the day he changes willow trees into replicates of the group, so they can escape. Eventually, however, they are caught again in the same way: abbot Zhenyan catches them in his sleeve. Quite interestingly, in Trip Monkey Pilgrim claims he was harmed by the blows he received, and still has not fully recovered from them. Similarly, in ZY-QQP Dongfans Shuo is beaten up.

Next there is a torment by fire. Sun Wukong describes in JW 17 how Laozi's Eight Trigrams furnace does not harm him. In other narratives he evades the fire. In JW 24-26 he exchanges himself for a stone lion, which gets fried in the cauldron. In PTOO 297-306 he goes a step further: not only does Sun Xingzhe disappear just before entering the cauldron,

[435] Yu, *Journey to the West*, 163.
[436] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 64-65.

making it seem as if he really dove in, he also prevents his Taoist rival Deerskin from leaving the cauldron, thereby killing him.

Eventually our protagonists are punished in some narratives. In JW 17 Tathāgata (the historical Buddha) binds Sun Wukong under Five Phases Mountain, only to be freed when Tripiṭaka passes by. In Trip Monkey Pilgrim is banished to Flower Fruit Mountain for stealing ten peaches. Similarly, Dongfang Shuo is banished from Heaven for stealing peaches in HWG. In JW 24-26 Sun Wukong's punishment is far less extreme: he has to restore the ginseng tree back to life, which is done by Guan-Yin, a *bodhisattva* (a Buddha-figure of the Mahāyāna tradition of Buddhism). The idea of bringing about trees also occurs in Trip and ZH-Bo. Twice we have a victory for the protagonist: in PTOO 297-306 the Buddhists win the contest from the Taoists, and in ZH-Bo Dongfang Shuo is regarded as an Immortal.

5.3 Theft of wine

The theft of wine is a narrative that rarely appears independently. As a full narrative we only find it in JW, and it is mentioned independently in one song from a *zaju* play.

5.3.1 Texts

There are three texts which deal with the theft of wine:

1. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 5;[437] (JW 5B)
2. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 5;[438] (JW 5E)
3. *Long-Ji Shan Ye-Yuan Ting Jing* act 2.[439] (YTJ)

The *Long-Ji Shan Ye-Yuan Ting Jing* is a *zaju* play.[440] Its authorship is unknown, and it is found in the collection of *zaju* plays from the Yuan and Ming dynasties,[441] dating it anywhere between 1271 and 1644 CE.

[437] Jenner, *Journey to the West,* 64-67; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 162-165.
[438] Jenner, *Journey to the West,* 68; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 167.
[439] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 136.
[440] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 134.
[441] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 134 (note 1).

5.3.2 Structural analysis

A brief textual summary is provided below, and the structural comparison is presented in figure 5.2. These two narratives are pretty simple. In JW 5B Sun Wukong hears he is not invited Queen Mother's Peach Banquet. He tricks the Immortal Bare Feet to go to another place, while Sun Wukong takes on his shape so he can enter the Banquet anyway. Sun Wukong smells wine and desires to get some while the other guests have not arrived yet. Sun Wukong uses magical sleeping insects to put the wine makers to sleep, and then consumes wine and other delicacies. Becoming drunk, Sun Wukong realizes what he has done and that he might be punished for his theft, and decides to go back to his home on earth, Flower Fruit Mountain.

After stealing the elixir pills (JW 5C, analysed in 5.4), Sun Wukong finally returns to Flower Fruit Mountain. Telling his fellow monkeys about his adventures in Heaven and tasting the disgusting coconut wine, he promises to bring them wine from Heaven. Finding the wine makers still asleep, Sun Wukong steals four barrels of wine, and returns to earth.

Dudbridge only translated one fragment from YTJ, which only clearly refers to the theft of wine. The fragment might also mention some other thefts. It is mentioned that Sun Wukong caused an uproar in Heaven over the peaches; whether this was caused by him eating them is unclear. Also, Sun Wukong mentions that he has elixir in his belly which guards him against old age. Again, it is unclear whether Sun Wukong stole this elixir from Laozi.

5.4 Theft of elixir

While we do find the theft of elixir in JW, it is traditionally connected to the figure Zhang E, the personification of the moon.[442] Stories about her flight to the moon start spreading widely in the early Han dynasty (2nd century BCE).[443]

[442] Birrell, *Chinese Mythology*, 144; Whalen Lai, "Recent PRC Scholarship on Chinese Myths," *Asian Folklore Studies* 53.1 (1994): 154.
[443] Lai, "Recent PRC Scholarship": 154.

5.4.1 Texts

There are fifteen texts which deal with the theft of elixir:

1. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 5;[444] (JW 5C)
2. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 7;[445] (JW 7A)
3. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 39;[446] (JW 39)
4. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 50;[447] (JW 50)
5. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 71;[448] (JW 71)
6. *The Journey to the West* as *zaju* play;[449] (Zaju B)
7. *The Storehouse of All Things* (*Guizang*) excavated fragment;[450] (SAT)
8. *The Master of Huainan* (*Huainanzi*) 6.9.16b;[451] (HN)
9. *Sources for Beginning Scholarly Studies* (*Chu Xue Ji*) 1.4a;[452] (CXJ)
10. *Wen Xuan* fragment;[453] (WX)
11. Lemma 'Returning Bride' in a Tang divination manual;[454] (RB)
12. Li Shangyin's *To the Moon Goddess*;[455] (LS-MG)
13. Yuan Jiao's *Moon*;[456] (YJ-M)
14. Li Qunyu's *Feeling Excited*;[457] (LQ-FE)
15. Cao Tang's *Xiao Youxian*.[458] (CT-XY)

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[444] Jenner, *Journey to the West,* 67; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 165-166.
[445] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 93-94; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 195.
[446] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 543-544.
[447] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 705.
[448] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 989-991.
[449] Chang, "Monkey hero": 215.
[450] Christine Welch, "Where Does the Legend of Chang'e Come From?" last modified 8 September, 2013, http://ancientchinesemythology.blogspot.nl/2013/09/where-does-legend-of-change-come-from.html.
[451] Charles Le Blanc, *Huai-Nan Tzu: Philosophical Synthesis in Early Han Thought* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1985), 184.
[452] Anne Birrell, *Chinese Mythology: An Introduction* (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 145
[453] Welch, "Chang'e?"
[454] Welch, "Chang'e?"
[455] Witter Bynner, *Tang Shi San Bai Shou (300 Tang Poems)* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1920), accessed 4 May, 2018, http://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=Chinese/uvaGenText/tei/300_tang_poems/HanTang.xml;chunk.id=HanTang.15.303;toc.depth=100;brand=default; Hugh Grigg, trans., "303 李商隱 嫦娥 translation: Chang'e, by Li Shangyin," last modified 16 March, 2012, https://eastasiastudent.net/china/classical/li-shangyin-chang-e/; James Liu, *The Poetry of Li Shang-yin: Ninth-Century Baroque Chinese Poet* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), 99.
[456] Christine Welch, "Literature in Translation: Chang'e in Tang Dynasty Poetry," last modified 7 September, 2013, http://ancientchinesemythology.blogspot.nl/2013/09/literature-in-translation-change-in.html.
[457] Welch, "Literature in Translation."

The Journey to the West has also been adapted to a *zaju* play. Its authorship and date are heavily disputed,[459] although it is probably written before 1568 CE.[460] *The Storehouse of All Things* (*Guizang*) is dated to the 5th century BCE,[461] and the excavated fragments stems froms around 200 BCE.[462] *The Master of Huainan* (*Huainanzi*) is a compendium of knowledge compiled under direction of Liu An, king of Huainan, and finished in 139 BCE.[463] *Sources for Beginning Scholarly Studies* (*Chu Xue Ji*) is a compilation of myths gathered by Xu Jian around 700 CE.[464] The *Wen Xuan* fragment comes from a compilation of Qin and Han dynasty literature compiled in 520 CE.[465] The Tang divination manual must be dated somewhere between 618 and 907 CE, which is the Tang dynasty.

Many poets from the 4th to the 9th century CE use the theme of Zhang E.[466] *To the Moon Goddess* is written by Li Shangyin, who lived from 813 to 858 CE.[467] The poem *Moon* is one of four surviving poems by Yuan Jiao, who was active from 859 until 873 CE.[468] The poem *Feeling Excited* is by Li Qunyu, who lived from 813 to 860 CE.[469] The poem *Xiao Youxian* is by Cao Tang, who was active in the 9th century CE.[470]

5.4.2 Structural analysis

I first give a textual summary, which is schematically presented in figure 5.3. The stolen elixir is described in different ways. In most of JW's narratives is comes in the form of a pill, except in JW 71, where the form is not described. It is also a pill in JW 19, 24, 52, 55, and 81 (see 5.5). It might be a pill in CT-XY, where it is a piece of cinnabar. In WX and LS-MG it is a drink. All other narratives do not describe the form, but some provide other qualifications. In JW

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[458] Yanning Wang, *Reverie and Reality: Poetry on Travel by Late Imperial Chinese Women* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 40.
[459] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 77-79; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 16-17.
[460] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 79.
[461] Lai, "Recent PRC Scholarship": 157; Yang and An, *Handbook of Chinese Mythology*, 88.
[462] Welch, "Chang'e?"
[463] John Major et al., *The Essential Huainanzi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 1.
[464] Virginia Schomp, *The Ancient Chinese* (New York: Benchmark Books Marshall Cavendish, 2010), 59.
[465] Welch, "Chang'e?"
[466] Welch, "Literature in Translation."
[467] Yang and An, *Handbook of Chinese Mythology*, 88.
[468] Weiguo Cao, "Hongzian," in *Tang Dynasty Tales: A Guided Reader*, ed. Nienhauser (Singapore: World Scientific, 2010), 25.
[469] Fusheng Wu, *The Poetics of Decadence: Chinese Poetry of the Southern Dynasties and Late Tang Periods* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 81.
[470] Wang, *Reverie and Reality*, 33.

5C, JW 39, and Zaju B the elixir is golden, as well as in JW 5-7, 55, and Zaju A (see 5.5). In HN, CXJ, SAT, WX, RB, YJ-M, LQ-FE, and CT-XY it is an elixir of immortality, as well as in JW 5-7 and 52 (see 5.5). While the immortality function is apparent in the other narratives as well,[471] it is only explicitly mentioned in these narratives.

Most narratives are brief, but some narratives give the setting of the story. In JW 5C and 71, Sun Wukong is drunk because of the consumption of wine (see 5.3); in JW 5C and 39, while wanting to go back to Flower Fruit Mountain, he ends up at Laozi's Tuṣita Palace. In JW 71 Sun Wukong has started a rebellion against Heaven, and the Jade Emperor tries to appease him by awarding to him the title 'Sage Equal to Heaven'. In CT-XY it is described how the elixir is stored in a jade pot within the inner palace.

While most narratives just mention the theft of elixir, some propose a more honest approach. In JW 39 Sun Wukong asks Laozi for some elixir pills to restore the life of a king. In HN and CXJ the archer Yi, the husband of the thief Zhang E,[472] asks the Queen Mother for some elixir. While not asking for consent, Sun Wukong does show some constraint in JW 5C by wondering whether he should get some elixir pills while Laozi is absent. The theft in CT-XY is successful due to negligence: someone left the door to the inner palace unlocked.

Almost all narratives involve the theft of elixir, with the exception of JW 50, where a demon king notes that Sun Wukong would have been able to steal elixir. The theft is committed by either of the two protagonists. In all JW narratives and Zaju B this is Sun Wukong, although Zaju B uses the alternative name Tongtian Dasheng. In these narratives, the elixir is stolen from Laozi. In JW 39 Sun Wukong comes to Laozi to ask for elixir pills, but Laozi warns his disciples that Sun Wukong stole all his elixir some 500 years ago. JW 5C specified this amount as either five (Yu's translation) or ten (Jenner's translation) gourds of elixir pills.[473] The other protagonist is Zhang E. Two alternative names are found: Niang E in RB, and Heng O in HN, CXJ, and SAT.

Twice it is specifically mentioned that the elixir is consumed. In JW 5C Sun Wukong eats all the elixir pills, and in WX Zhang E drinks all elixir belonging to Queen Mother. Sun Wukong is a bit more neficious in JW 39. He says he will leave if Laozi has no elixir for him. Laozi gets nervous that Sun Wukong will come back to wreck his Tuṣita Palace, so he quickly

[471] Mu-Chou, "A Taste of Happiness": 123.
[472] Birrell, *Chinese Mythology*, 144; Yang and An, *Handbook of Chinese Mythology*, 88.
[473] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 67; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 166.

gives Sun Wukong the only elixir pill that is left. Teasingly, Sun Wukong pretends to eat the pill, only afterwards revealing to a furious Laozi that he has a pouch under his chin where he stores the pill. In CT-XY it is implied that Zhang E consumed the elixir, for she gained eternal life on the moon. Feng Yi simply received it from Queen Mother in RB, only to be bereft from it by Niang E.

A couple of things can happen after the theft: a flight; the elixir has some sort of effect; or a punishment. The flight is found in JW 5C, when Sun Wukong realizes the consequences of his theft, and decides to go back to Flower Fruit Mountain. It is also found in HN, CXJ, SAT, WX, and RB, where the protagonist runs off to the moon. This might happen in CT-XY too, where it states that Zhang E won eternal life on the moon. YJ-M has Zhang E fleeing from the human world to Toad Palace, which might be a synonym for the moon.[474] This text also mentions that the heavens hold trickery, but it does not become clear whether this trickery pertains to the theft or to the hiding of the thief. LQ-FE gives a more general description, stating that Zhang E flees into space.

The effect of the elixir is either positive or ambiguous. In JW 5C Sun Wukong sobers up from the wine of JW 5B by eating the elixir pills, and in Zaju B gains a strengthened body, which is described in a similar fashion to JW 19 (see 5.5), 34,[475] and Zaju A (see 5.5),[476] where different body parts are refined to metal counterparts. In CT-XY Zhang E gains eternal life on the moon, perhaps due to consuming the stolen elixir. Ambiguous are Heng O changing into the striped toad Chan Chu in CXJ, and therefore becoming the essence of the moon,[477] or Zhang E becoming a moon fairy in WX.

JW 7A, 39, and 71 mention a specific punishment for Sun Wukong. It also belongs to JW 5-7, the continuation of JW 5C. JW 7A merely mentions that Sun Wukong is punished, and asks when he will be free again. JW 71 is the most elaborate, mentioning all punishments. The army of the gods besieges Sun Wukong, but he is only caught by Erlang Shen. Once caught, he is unharmed by the weapons meant to torture him, and likewise escapes from Laozi's Eight Trigrams furnace after spending a not-specified amount of time in it. Sun Wukong is finally caught by Tathāgata Buddha, who binds him at the end of Heaven,

[474] Birrell, *Chinese Mythology,* 144-145; Leontovich, "Chinese fictional narratives": 311; Yang and An, *Handbook of Chinese Mythology*, 88.
[475] Not alanysed: Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 485.
[476] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 110.
[477] Birrell, *Chinese Mythology,* 144-145; Leontovich, "Chinese fictional narratives": 311; Yang and An, *Handbook of Chinese Mythology*, 88.

only to be freed when Tripiṭaka passes by after 500 years. JW 39 mentions the army and that Sun Wukong was boiled in Laozi's Eight Trigrams furnace for 49 days before escaping. Perhaps a punishment is implied for Zhang E as well in LS-MG, but this is rather ambiguous when looking at different translations. Bynner translates the line as a question, asking whether Zhang E is sorry for stealing elixir.[478] Grigg is a bit ambiguous, either stating that it is possible that Zhang E regrets theft, or that she should regret,[479] just like Liu's translation.[480]

5.5 Multiple thefts

While stories of the theft of sustenances can stand on their own, they also often appear together in condensed form. We only find narratives with Monkey King as the protagonist.

5.5.1 Texts

Fifteen texts include the theft of multiple items:

1. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 5;[481] (JW 5D)
2. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 5;[482] (JW 5F)
3. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 5-7;[483] (JW 5-7)
4. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 7;[484] (JW 7B)
5. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 19;[485] (JW 19)
6. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 24;[486] (JW 24)
7. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 51;[487] (JW 51)
8. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 52;[488] (JW 52)
9. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 55;[489] (JW 55)

[478] Bynner, *Tang Shi San Bai Shou*.
[479] Grigg, "Chang'e."
[480] Liu, *Li Shang-yin*, 99.
[481] Jenner, *Journey to the West,* 68; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 167.
[482] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 71; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 170.
[483] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 68-93; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 167-195.
[484] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 98-99; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 199-200.
[485] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 279; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 384.
[486] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 355; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 461.
[487] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 718.
[488] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 723-726.
[489] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 767.

10. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 75;[490] (JW 75)
11. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 81;[491] (JW 81)
12. Pseudo-Wu Cheng'en's *The Journey to the West* chapter 83;[492] (JW 83)
13. *The Journey to the West* as *zaju* play;[493] (Zaju A)
14. *The Interpreter Pak* (*Pak T' Ongsa Ŏnhae*) 293-294;[494] (PTOO 293-294)
15. *Erlang Shen Fetters the Great Sage, Equal to Heaven* (*Erlang Shen suo Qitian Dasheng*);[495] (ESQD)

We have seen fourteen of these texts earlier in the analysis: only *Erlang Shen Fetters the Great Sage, Equal to Heaven* (*Erlang Shen suo Qitian Dasheng*) is new. It is a *zaju* play whose authorship eludes determination.[496] It was written from somewhere between 1420 CE and the 17th century CE.[497]

There are at least four more variants of this story, but I have no access to them because no translation exists:

1. *The Newly Printed Record of the Procurement of Scriptures by the Master of the Law, Tripitaka, of the Great Tang* (*Xindiao Da Tang Sanzang Fashi Qujingji*);[498]
2. *The Complete Account of Sanzang's Career* (*Sanzang Chushen Quanzhuan*);[499]
3. *Xinqie Quanxiang Tang Sanzang Xiyou Shini Zhuan*;[500]
4. *The True Explanation of the Westward Journey* (*Xiyou Zhenquan*);[501]

5.5.2 Structural analysis

I first give a textual summary, which is schematically presented in figure 5.4. 'Multiple thefts' does not mean that each stolen item is mentioned in all narratives. Most narratives mention

[490] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 1058.
[491] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 1132.
[492] Jenner, *Journey to the West*, 1168.
[493] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 110 (translation); Chang, "Monkey hero": 212 (paraphrase); Yu, *Journey to the West*, 17 (paraphrase).
[494] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 184.
[495] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 129.
[496] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 129-130.
[497] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 130-133, 136-137.
[498] Mentioned in: Yu, *Journey to the West*, 7
[499] Mentioned in: Glen Dudbridge, "The Hundred-Chapter Xiyouji and Its Early Versions," *Asia Major* 14 (1969): 155-157; 159 (content); Yu, *Journey to the West*, 17.
[500] Mentioned in: Dudbridge, "Hundred-Chapter Xiyouji": 157-158; 163 (content).
[501] Mentioned in: Yu, *Journey to the West*, 51.

the theft of wine, except PTOO 293-294, and elixir, except JW 7B. Peaches are also quite often mentioned, except in JW 5D, 5F, 81, and ESQD. Delicacies are also also stolen, but always in combination with at least wine and elixir. The delicacies are identified in JW 51 and 52 as phoenix bone marrow and dragon liver.

Some narratives provide circumstantial details rather than a proper setting, since they are recounted by Sun Wukong himself. Most motifs we have seen before in previous sections, but two motifs deserve a comment. First of all, in JW 5E Sun Wukong steals wine from Heaven to share with his fellow monkeys on Flower Fruit Mountain, which is a motif also found in JW 5-7 and ESQD. Quite interestingly, we found a contradictory statement from Sun Wukong in JW 24. When stealing the ginseng fruit, one of them falls on the earth and disappears. Sun Wukong then summons a garden deity and threathens him for stealing the ginseng fruit, stating that no one dared to share with him before in his booty from Heaven. Secondly, Sun Wukong gains the title 'Sage Equal to Heaven' in JW 5-7, 52, and 83. In ESQD, however, this is just the name of the monkey protagonist (*Qitian Dasheng*).

Next follows the battle and persecution of Sun Wukong. An army of Immortals unsuccessfully fights against Sun Wukong in five texts. Sun Wukong is caught by Erlang Shen, who is aided by Guan-Yin and Laozi in JW 5-7 and 52. Naṭa is the one to catch Sun Wukong in Zaju A.[502] It is possible that ESQD recounts the battle between Erlang Shen and Sun Wukong, but I do not have enough information to confirm the details.[503] Only JW 5-7 mentions that Sun Wukong is tied to a pole. Four texts mention that Sun Wukong is unharmed by the torture by weapons. The next torture is being boiled in Laozi's Eight Trigrams furnace. JW 5-7 and 52 explicitly mention that he escapes from this furnace. While emerging unharmed in JW 55, in JW 5-7 Sun Wukong has irritated eyes. In JW 19 and 52 the effect is merely positive, because the furnace has hardened Sun Wukong's body like metal. The Buddhist ideal of the novel therefore proclaims that Sun Wukong as a protector of Buddhism cannot be overcome by a Taoist like Laozi,[504] which makes the furnace ineffective.

Eventually Sun Wukong is caught. Five texts provide the story, but JW 5-7 gives the most elaborate version. Tathāgata Buddha has caught Sun Wukong in his hand, but strikes a deal with him: if Sun Wukong can somersault to the edge of the universe, he is free to go.

[502] Yu, *Journey to the West*, 17.
[503] Chang, "Monkey hero": 194.
[504] Lai, "Protean Ape": 39-40, 55.

Sun Wukong does so, seeing five pillars at the edge of the universe. As proof he marks the site with a painting and by his urine. Somersaulting back, Tathāgata Buddha reveals that Sun Wukong never left his hand, thus having written and peed near his five fingers, which were the pillars. Sun Wukong is consequently bound under Five Phases Mountain, only to be freed when Tripiṭaka comes along to take him in as a disciple. The only differentiation made in these texts is due to the identity of the Buddha-figure. In JW it is Tathāgata Buddha, while in Zaju A and PTOO 293-294 it is Guan-Yin. JW 7B and PTOO 293-294 add the detail that Sun Wukong is to be fed on iron pellets and molten copper. While Sun Wukong normally seems to fail his plea for freedom, in ESQD Qitian Dasheng succeeds, only being reprimanded to improve his behaviour.

5.6 Comparison

Figure 5.5 presents the structural analysis of the narratives as analysed in this chapter. 'Fruit' refers to 5.2; 'Wine' refers to 5.3; 'Pills' refers to JW 5C, 7A, 39, 50, 71, and Zaju B (5.4); 'Moon' refers to HN, CXJ, SAT, WX, RB, LS-MG, YJ-M, LQ-FE, and CT-XY (5.4); and 'Multiple' refers to 5.5.

Two things should be noted from the start. First of all, many of the motifs as noted do not appear in the majority of the narratives as analysed, which explains the overt presence of '/' in figure 5.5. Secondly, most narratives do not provide a setting, since they often are a short recounting of another narrative mentioned more elaborately elsewhere. When provided with a setting, no interesting generalization can be made except for noting the motifs as they appear in the categories themselves. Then it appears that 'Pills' and 'Moon' lack such a setting. 'Multiple', however, contains all settings at least once, for it recounts the stories as told in the other categories. The two other categories both contain a set of two settings, which is not present in the other. In 'Fruit' Sun Wukong is given both the task of maintaining the Peach Garden as well as the title 'Sage Equal to Heaven', and in 'Wine' the Queen Mother does not invite Sun Wukong to the Peach Banquet, so Sun Wukong tricks Bare Feet.

The next syntagmatic moment is the desire for the stolen item or a request for it. The protagonist desiring an item is found in some narratives from 'Fruit', 'Wine', and 'Pills'. JW 39 of 'Pills' and HN and CXJ of 'Moon' describes the protagonist requesting an item. This

syntagmatic moment is absent in ‘Multiple’, which only mentions the normal theft of the item, which is the most common description in the other narratives as well. Only some narratives from ‘Fruit’, ‘Wine’, and ‘Pills’ mention a theft by trick, and it is perhaps present in YJ-M of ‘Moon’. When elixir is requested, it is also received, but a theft is always involved. In JW39 the protagonist has stolen elixir in the past, and now asks to get some in a peaceful manner (although he uses a small trick to get it). In HN and CXJ this is reversed: first the actor requests the elixir and gets it, and only then it is stolen by another actor. Using violence in the theft is mentioned in JW 24-26 and PTOO 297-306 of ‘Fruit’.

Fleeing after the theft is a staple from ‘Moon’. It is absent from ‘Fruit’, but is mentioned in JW 5D of ‘Multiple’, JW 5C of ‘Pills’, and in JW 5B and 5E of ‘Wine’. Following a flight we sometimes find an ineffective punishment, which is however absent from ‘Moon’, where the flight-motif is most present, as well as from ‘Wine’. This motif is well-represented in ‘Multiple’, ‘Fruit’, and ‘Pills’: the protagonist defeats the army of the Immortals, only to be caught by Erlang Shen (or Naṭa in Zaju A). The two next punishments, being tortured by weapons and being boiled or fried in some sort of cauldron, are ineffective.

In some narratives we find side-effects that are sometimes positive, other times ambiguous. If the food is consumed, then the implied positive effect is always the acquisition of immortality, although no narrative states this outright. In Zaju B of ‘Pills’ and JW 19 and 52 of ‘Multiple’ the body is strengthened. The effect is more ambiguous in ‘Moon’, where the thief is transformed when coming to the moon. The effective punishments are less ambiguous. The motif of realization of the consequences or downright regret is found a few times in all categories except ‘Fruit’. The most common motif is being bound by a Buddha-figure, which is only absent from ‘Wine’ and ‘Moon’. The protagonist is banished in Trip and HWG of ‘Fruit’.

The punishment is not everlasting. In some narratives from ‘Fruit’ and ‘Multiple’ the protagonist is promised freedom when Tripiṭaka comes by to claim him as a disciple. In JW 24-26 from ‘Fruit’ Sun Wukong can buy his freedom by restoring the destroyed ginseng tree, which he manages with the help of Guan-Yin. Planting seeds is more often found in ‘Fruit’, but without this redemptive connotation. In ESQD from ‘Multiple’ Qitian Dasheng is even given freedom after begging for it. Another outcome is a positive increase in status in ‘Fruit’, with the Buddhists winning a contest from the Taoists in PTOO 297-306, and Donfang Shuo being regarded as an Immortal in ZH-Bo.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I analysed 42 texts from China which use A153.1. These stories are spread over four different categories: theft of fruit (5.2); theft of wine (5.3); theft of elixir (5.4); and multiple thefts (5.5). Many stories are rather short references to the main narrative, and this causes many of the motifs to be absent in other variants. Motifs that often occur are the statement of desire or request (except in 'Multiple'), the theft (most often as a normal theft), and the effective punishment.

In a narrative form, the structure of the story takes on this form. After setting the stage, the protagonist desires an item ('Fruit', 'Wine', and 'Pills'), requests an item ('Pills' and 'Moon'), or is commissioned by another to get a certain item ('Fruit' and 'Wine'). The theft itself often happens in a normal fashion (all categories), but sometimes involves a trick ('Fruit', 'Wine', 'Pills', and perhaps YJ-M of 'Moon'). Sun Wukong can flee to Flower Fruit Mountain after the theft (in 'Wine' and some narratives from 'Pills' and 'Multiple'), and Zhang E flees to the moon (in 'Moon'). After an ineffective punishment ('Fruit', 'Pills', and 'Multiple') an effect befalls the thief (in some narratives from 'Pills', 'Moon', and 'Multiple'). The thief is effectively punished by being bound by a Buddha-figure ('Fruit', 'Pills', and 'Multiple'), by banishment (in Trip and HWG of 'Fruit'), or by regret or realizing the consequences of the theft (all but 'Fruit'). Sometimes the thief is let free ('Multiple') or promised to be later freed ('Fruit' and 'Multiple'). Planting a seed is sometimes redemptive (in 'Fruit'), and sometimes the thieves are only rewarded and not punished (in 'Fruit').

6. The Grand Comparison

In this chapter I compare all data from India, Greece, and China in order to analyse the structural similarities and differences found between all the variants under consideration. To do this in a clear way, the analysis is conducted treating one syntagmatic moment at a time (6.1). I compare the different cultural areas in 6.2, and I discuss the implications of the results of this analysis and comparison in 6.3.

6.1 Structural analysis of syntagmatic moments

These syntagmatic moments are divided in setting and motivation (6.1.1), the theft (6.1.2), the punishment (6.1.3), and rewards (6.1.4).

6.1.1 Setting and Motivation

I first give a textual analysis, which is schematically presented in figure 6.1. This is perhaps the most divergent syntagmatic moment for all stories. Settings of stories seem to be highly flexible, which is why there are many different motifs which are only attested a few times. These motifs can be organized in three groups: the setting of location (the motif of travel and guarding), the negative motivation (the motif of exclusion, punishment, or being bereft of something), and the positive motivation (the motif of gaining something (occasionally status), the desire for the sustenance, or the commission of the sustenance or a sacrifice).

The motif of travel is present in two ways: either the thief travels close to the sustenance to be stolen (India's 'Garuḍa', Greece's 'Herakles', and China's 'Wine' and some narratives in 'Pills' and 'Multiple'), or an envoy arrives (three times in Greece's *Birds*). The idea of travel is also found elsewhere, but then belongs to syntagmatically different moments. It can happen as part of the theft (India's 'Birds' and Greece's 'Aesop'), or as the flight after the theft (India's 'Gandharvas' (where Vāc flees the *gandharvas*) and China's 'Moon', but also in 'Wine', 'Pills', and 'Multiple'). Location is often found in the Chinese stories because Chinese narratives often note the place of action.[505]

[505] Leontovich, "Chinese fictional narratives": 308.

The guarding motif is present in two ways: the sustenance is locked up somewhere (India's 'Garuḍa' and CT-XY in China's 'Pills'), or a creature is guarding it (the *gandharvas* ŚB 3.9.3 and KB 12.3 in India's 'Gandharvas', Drakōn or Ladon in Greece's 'Herakles', and the two disciples in JW 24-26 and the earth deity in Trip in China's 'Fruit'). Rather than a guardian, Sun Wukong becomes the gardener of the Garden of Immortal Peaches in Heaven in JW 5A (China's 'Fruit') and JW 5D (China's 'Multiple').

Three motifs deal with a negative motivation. The first one is exclusion, which is found in two forms. Indra can be excluded from *soma* at the sacrifice (India's 'Indra *soma*'), and Sun Wukong can be excluded from joining the Peach Banquet (China's JW 5B of 'Wine' and JW 5D and 52 of 'Multiple'). This motif is also found in syntagmatically different moments, when the *gandharvas* do not receive *soma* during the sacrifice (India's ŚB 4.4.2 of 'Gandharvas'), and when the birds exclude the gods from receiving the sacrifice (in Greece's *Birds*).

The second one is the motif of punishment. It is clearly found in India's 'Indra *soma*', where Indra is punished for beheading Tvaṣṭṛ's son, and in Greece's 'Prometheus' and P-OO1, where the punishment of the thief is used to start the narrative. Other narratives are more ambiguous. Garuḍa feels remorse in India's S-KSS 27-J, but this is not clearly described as an externally-inflicted punishment. The same goes for Greece's PsPlu-Par, where it is not clear whether the plague which hits Sparta is to be understood as a punishment of some kind. In Greece's 'Herakles' it is unclear whether the extra Labour with which Herakles is burdened is due to any shortcoming of Herakles himself, or rather due to Eurysthes' dislike of Herakles.

The third one is motif of being bereft of something. This is mainly an Indian theme, where it functions as the first theft. This motif is clearly found in 'Gandharvas' and 'Churning'. It is perhaps found in 'Indra *amṛta*', if one argues that the narratives from 'Garuḍa' work as the setting for this narrative, meaning that Garuḍa's theft of *amṛta* sets the stage for Indra's theft. If one would argue that *soma* always belongs to Indra, then this motif is also present in 'Indra *soma*', which would mean that all negative motivations are present in the narratives from 'Indra *soma*'. This motif is only twice found in Greek narratives: in both narratives of 'Aesop' the fox's cubs are eaten by the eagle.

Four motifs deal with positive motivations. The first is the motif of gaining something. This is clearest in the Chinese narratives, where we find that Sun Wukong gains the title

‘Sage Equal to Heaven’ (JW 17 of ‘Fruit’ and JW 5-7, 52, and 83 of ‘Multiple’). In India it is essentially found in ‘Indra *amṛta*’, where Garuḍa befriends some deities and gains the boon of eating *nāgas*. We can state that this motif also belongs to ‘Garuḍa’, where it is the conclusion of that narrative and thus a syntagmatically different moment. In S-KSS 27-J the moment is modified: Garuḍa strikes a deal with the *nāgas*, who sacrifice one of them each day to Garuḍa.

The second motif is the statement of desire. This motif is found in all Indian categories except S-KSS 27-J, and in all Chinese categories except ‘Multiple’. It is absent from Greek narratives except for L-LP of ‘Prometheus’, where Hermes states that Prometheus wants to keep the biggest portion of the meal for himself. The third motif is the thief being commissioned, found in India as the loss of a contest (‘Birds’ and ‘Garuḍa’), and as a normal commission in some Chinese narratives (from ‘Fruit’ and JW 5E of ‘Wine’). The fourth motif, requesting a sacrifice, is only found in Greece (PsPlu-Par and *Birds*).

6.1.2 Theft

I first give a textual analysis, which is schematically presented in figure 6.2. The first set of motifs show the hierarchical relation between the thief and the bereft. The thief always inhabits a lower hierarchical position in the Chinese narratives. Hierarchies are quite clear in Chinese cosmology, and the owners of the stolen sustenance are all high-ranked Immortals, while the thieves are not. In the Indian stories some narratives have thieves of lower hierarchical status (‘Gandharvas’, ‘Birds’, and ‘Garuḍa’), some are ambiguous (‘Indra *soma*’, KYV KS 37.14 of ‘Indra *amṛta*’, and ‘Churning’), and it is completely unclear in S-KSS 27-J. In the Greek stories most thieves have a lower hierarchical status by being human (Tantalos in P-OO1), half-gods (‘Herakles’), or birds (PsPlu-Par, ‘Aesop’, and *Birds*). The status is ambiguous in ‘Prometheus’, since the Titans are not yet subdued by the Olympian gods.

Most of the times, the theft is not described elaborately, which is marked as a normal theft in figure 6.2. Two other types of theft appear. The first one is the theft by a trick. In India we find this combined with using women in ‘Gandharvas’ and ‘Churning’. A female thief is also found in India’s ‘Birds’ (when Gāyatrī is the thief) and in China’s ‘Moon’, but in this case no trick is involved. In ‘Indra *amṛta*’ we find the placing of food (*amṛta* or honey) as the trick. In Greece only Prometheus plays a trick on Zeus by hiding the meat in a stomach. It

is sometimes present in Chinese narratives. We find it most commonly in 'Fruit', where the protagonist transforms (PTOO 297-306, ZY-QQP, and ZY-XQ) or sends his entourage away (JW 5A). In JW 5B of 'Wine' Sun Wukong uses a sleep-inducing bug to put the preparers of the wine to sleep, which are also used to escape the two disciples in JW 24-26 of 'Fruit'. In JW 5E of 'Wine' these wine preparers are still asleep. In JW 39 of 'Pills' Sun Wukong uses his old reputation of disruptor to get an elixir pill from Laozi. The poem YJ-M of 'Moon' is ambiguous whether a trick is involved in the theft.

Use of violence is found in India's 'Garuḍa' and in JB 2.155 of 'Indra *soma*', in Greece's 'Herakles', and in JW 24-26 and PTOO 297-306 of China's 'Fruit'. The theft from sacrifice is a common theme in Greek narratives (in PsPlu-Par, 'Aesop', and *Birds*), and once found in China (PTOO 297-306 of 'Fruit'). If one considers Tvaṣṭṛ excluding Indra from the sacrifice as a theft, then it can also be found in India's 'Indra *soma*'.

The consumption of the stolen sustenance is apparent in some narratives of India's 'Indra *soma*' and 'Churning'; Greece's 'Prometheus', P-OO1, and 'Aesop'; and China's 'Fruit', 'Wine', 'Pills', and 'Moon'. The *nāgas* in MBh-I and S-KSS 27B-HE of 'Indra *amṛta*' also consume some *amṛta*, but are not the thieves in this syntagmatic moment. The sustenance is shared in many narratives (India's 'Garuḍa', S-KSS 27-J, and 'Churning'; Greece's P-OO1, 'Herakles', 'Aesop', and *Birds*; and China's 'Fruit', 'Wine', and 'Multiple'). It is indirectly found in 'Prometheus', where Prometheus shares fire with humanity.

6.1.3 Punishments

I first give a textual analysis, which is schematically presented in figure 6.3. The punishment can be administered individually or to a group. Doubtful cases are found in Greece's PsPlu-Par, where Sparta might be collectively punished at the beginning of the narrative. In China's LS-MG of 'Moon' there might be an individual punishment of remorse. Following, there is the punishment by impaired movement (Greece's 'Prometheus' and P-OO1, and China's 'Fruit', 'Pills', and 'Multiple'). The motif of punishment by eating is structured differently in the Indo-European data than in China, which is explained in 6.2.1.

Banishment is found in Greece's P-OO1 and China's 'Fruit'. Being bereft of something as a punishment is found in India's 'Gandharvas' (the *gandharvas* are bereft of Vāc and *soma*) and Greece's 'Prometheus' (humanity is bereft of fire). Indra is also bereft of *soma* in

‘Indra *soma*’, but this belongs to a different syntagmatic moment. Remorse is a self-inflicted punishment, and it is found in India’s S-KSS 27-J and China’s ‘Wine’, ‘Pills’, and ‘Multiple’, while it is doubtful whether it is present in LS-MG of ‘Moon’.

Successful bodily harm is found in India’s ‘Garuḍa’, ‘Indra *soma*’ and ‘Churning’, Greece’s ‘Prometheus’ and ‘Aesop’, and China’s ‘Fruit’. More often, the bodily harm fails: it is completely or partially nullified (India’s ‘Birds’ and China’s ‘Fruit’, ‘Pills’, and ‘Multiple’). In India’s S-KSS 27-J we find a reversal: the lives of the eaten *nāgas* are restored.

The Indo-European narratives can have collateral damage. Others are punished in India’s ‘Garuḍa’ and ‘Indra *amṛta*’, and in Greece’s ‘Prometheus’, P-OO1, and ‘Aesop’. It is present in JW 24-26 of China’s ‘Fruit’ threathens with violence to Tripiṭaka’s entourage, but Sun Wukong makes sure that no one but himself is harmed. In PTOO 297-306 Sun Xingzhe makes sure his enemy Deerskin perishes in boiling oil.

6.1.4 Rewards

I first give a textual analysis, which is schematically presented in figure 6.4. There are four different sorts of rewards for the thieves. A reward is constructive when it is beneficial to a person or creates something beneficial. This can pertain to an individual, but also to other people or the world in general. In two cases both are found within the same category. In India’s ‘Birds’ the metre Gāyatrī gains four syllables (individual) and her cut-off claw or feather (or *soma*-leaf) becomes a plant or animal (general). In Greece’s P-OO1 Tantalos becomes immortal (individual) as well as shares the *ambrosia* and *nektar* with his drinking companions, who therefore possibly become immortal (general).

In India’s ‘Garuḍa’ we find the individually constructive motif in that Garuḍa becomes friends with certain *devas*, which entails an increase in status. In Greece most constructive rewards are general. Humanity gains fire in ‘Prometheus’, Tantalos’ drinking companions gain *ambrosia* and *nektar* in P-OO1, and a sacrifice is instituted in ‘Aesop’ and *Birds*, which could also be argued for H-Theog of ‘Prometheus’ (556-557). In DS-BH of ‘Herakles’ there is a promised individual constructive reward, for Herakles will gain immortaly from Apollo.

In the Chinese narratives most constructive rewards pertain to the protagonist, although it is a rare phenomenon regardless. In ‘Fruit’ we find raised statuses: the Buddhists win the contest in PTOO 297-306, and Dongfang Shuo is regarded as an Immortal in ZH-Bo.

In JW 5C and Zaju B of 'Pills' the elixir strengthens the protagonist's body, while in JW 19 and 52 of 'Multiple' this is caused by Laozi's Eight Trigrams furnace. In CXJ, WX, and CT-XY of 'Moon' the flight to the moon causes a transformation. In CXJ and WX this is a transformation of ambiguous outcome. In CT-XY the transformation is beneficial, for the thief gains immortal life on the moon. Whether the planted seeds are beneficial in any way in Trip and ZH-Bo of 'Fruit' is ambiguous.

The status quo can also be restored as a reward. We find two forms of it in Indian narratives. The debt caused by a contest is resolved in 'Birds' and 'Garuḍa', and the lives of the *nāgas* which were eaten by Garuḍa are restored in S-KSS 27-J. In Greece we find it in PsAp-B of 'Herakles', when the stolen apples are in the end brought back to the Hesperides, and in DS-BH, where Herakles finishes his final Labour. This is not the case in PsAp-B, because a twelfth Labour follows: fetching Kerberos from Hades.[506]

In Chinese narratives we find two instances of restored status quo. In JW 24-26 of 'Fruit' Sun Wukong makes Guan-Yin restore the ginseng fruit tree that he destroyed, while planting does not restore the status quo in Trip and ZH-Bo. The other instance is found in ESQD of 'Multiple', where Qitian Dasheng begs for mercy after being caught, and is freed after being reprimanded. Sun Wukong's freedom when Tripiṭaka comes (in China's JW 17 of 'Fruit' and five narratives of 'Multiple') does not restore the status quo, since Sun Wukong's subjugation under Tripiṭaka and Guan-Yin is new.

A reward is destructive when it causes negative effects for others. Two instances of this are found. In India's 'Garuḍa' Garuḍa receives the *nāgas* as his source of food as a boon from the *devas.* The effects of this destructive reward are restored in S-KSS 27-J, where Garuḍa restores the lives of the *nāgas* (a general constructive reward). In Greece's 'Aesop' revenge is a destructive reward: the fox eats the chicks from the eagle, just as the eagle ate her cubs before.

6.2 Comparison

Now I anlyse the points of correspondence between the different cultural areas. Logically, four groups for comparison can be distinguished: 'universal', meaning India, Greece, and China (6.2.1); the Indo-European pair, meaning India and Greece (6.2.2); the India-China pair

[506] Frazer, *Apollodorus*, *Library: Volume 1,* 232-237.

(6.2.3); and the Greece-China pair (6.2.4). Paragraph 6.2.5 discusses the motifs that are uniquely found within one cultural area. Motifs that appear in the 'universal' group also appear in all the other pairs, which reflects West's remark that when something is universal, it also pertains to specific situations.[507] To maintain clarity, the shared motifs are not repeated, and attention is paid only on what makes each pair unique.

The motifs, as present, can be split up in major and minor motifs. Major motifs appear in multiple narratives from a cultural area, and therefore are more relevant for reconstructing a general version. A weak major motif barely complies with the criteria of being at least present in two categories of each culture under consideration, and they are therefore less relevant for reconstructing a general version.

6.2.1 'Universal' motifs

Some of the motifs appear in narratives from all cultural areas under discussion here. The major and minor motifs found 'universally' are presented in figure 6.5. In narrative form, using the major motifs, the story looks like this. A thief steals the sustenance from hierarchically superior creatures. The theft occurs in a normal fashion, after which the sustenance is consumed and shared with others. The thieves are punished individually. The minor motifs add some details: the thief, who is commissioned by someone else, has to travel towards the sustenance, which is guarded. Sometimes, a punishment involves eating. The thief might be individually rewarded, or a previously upheaved situation might get rectified as the status quo is restored.

Of the minor motifs, four are rather weak. Traveling only occurs in one category of India ('Garuḍa'). For the other two motifs of the syntagmatic moment setting and motivation, we are dependent on Greece's 'Herakles' for it to be universal, although the motif occurs quite strongly in these narratives. The restoration of the status quo seems to be mainly an Indian motif, for it is only found twice in Greek narratives (PsAp-B and DS-BH of 'Herakles') and twice in Chinese narratives (JW 24-26 of 'Fruit' and ESQD of 'Multiple').

A comment should be made about the punishment of eating. While is it present in all three cultures, it is treated in really specific ways in the Indo-European cultures, on the one hand, and China, on the other. In Indo-European cultures the punishment entails being

[507] West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 21.

eaten by a bird-like creature. In India's 'Garuḍa' Garuḍa eats his commissioners, the *nāgas*. In Greece's 'Prometheus' the thief himself, Prometheus, is punished: an eagle comes to eat his liver. In 'Aesop' this is turned around: a fox eats birds as a punishment to the eagle-thief. This connects the motif of bodily harm also to the motif of punishment of eating. In India's 'Garuḍa' the *nāgas* are bodily harmed by eating, although this is not the case in other categories ('Indra *amṛta*' and 'Churning'). When the motif of bodily harm is present in Greek narratives, then the motif of being eaten is present too.

In China the motif is quite different. While the thief is not being eaten (which is why the motif is not marked as often in figure 6.5), the thief is prepared as if he were food, by being boiled in a cauldron or furnace ('Fruit', 'Pills', and 'Multiple'), but which is ineffective. In 'Multiple' we also find a different punishment, in which the thief is forced to eat iron pellets and drink molten copper. Also, the motif of bodily harm is never connected to the motif of punishment of eating. Thus the motif of eating is in different ways both 'universal' and Indo-European.

A couple of categories hold a lot of 'universal' motifs: 'Birds', 'Garuḍa', and to a lesser extend S-KSS 27-J for India, and P-OO1, 'Aesop', and to a lesser extend 'Herakles' and *Birds*, for Greece. In China all categories contain between six and nine 'universal' motifs, although this is explained by the divergent nature of the Chinese narratives, which causes a certain 'universal' motif to just appear only a few times within a certain category.

6.2.2 Indo-European motifs

There are certain motifs which are uniquely shared between India and Greece, and are therefore Indo-European. The major and minor motifs are presented in figure 6.6. In narrative form, using the major motifs, the story runs like this. The thief is at the start punished for something. The hierarchical relation between the thief and the to-be-bereft is ambiguous and can shift in the course of the story. Others are punished as well for the theft, sometimes in a bodily manner. Minor motifs add some details. At the start the thief is bereft of something. The theft can happen by means of violence. The punishment can be collective, and can entail being bereft of something, or being eaten by a bird-like creature. A reward for the thief is either generally constructive, or can be destructive for others.

There are eleven motifs which make the Indo-European group unique in comparison with the other group. However, the major motifs are not especially everpresent within the categories, and likewise the minor motifs are not strong either. Two motifs could have been quite strong. The collective punishment is present in four Indian categories, but only certainly in one Greek category, and perhaps (but in a syntagmatically different moment) in PsPlu-Par. The general constructive reward is present in four out of six Greek categories, but only in one Indian category.

Next to that, five motifs (two major and three minor) have a few Chinese parallels, but too few or too different to be truly 'universal' motifs. The minor motif of using violence is also found in two Chinese narratives of 'Fruit' (JW 24-26 and PTOO 297-306), but both times violence is only a part of the process of the theft, while in the Indo-European categories violence, when present, is central to the theft. The collective punishment and punishment of others is also found in China's JW 24-26 of 'Fruit', although the punishment in unsuccessful. The bodily harm is found in two Chinese texts from 'Fruit', Trip and ZY-QQP, which break from the standard Chinese motif where the protagonist is not harmed by bodily abuse. A general constructive reward might also be found in Trip and ZH-Bo of 'Fruit', where a fruit tree is grown, although it does not become clear in the narrative if this is beneficial.

Four categories hold a great number of 'unique' Indo-European motifs. These are 'Garuḍa' of India, and 'Prometheus' and 'Aesop' of Greece. Indra is considered to be a prototypical Indo-European deity,[508] which makes it odd that there are relatively few Indo-European motifs associated with his narratives. India's 'Churning'[509] and Greece's 'Prometheus'[510] are considered by Dumézil to be a prototypical Indo-European narrative. For 'Garuḍa' and 'Aesop' this is a bit different, and it is tempting to conclude that the theft by bird-figures is quite Indo-European, sharing the motifs of punishment by bodily harm and eating, and a destructive reward. There are, however, two big rebuttals. First of all, none of these motifs are present in the other Indo-European categories of stories which contain birds (India's 'Birds' and Greece's PsPlu-Par and *Birds*). Secondly, 'Garuḍa' and 'Aesop' also provide a lot of 'universal' motifs (respectively eight and five). While 'universal' motifs are

[508] James Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 131-133.
[509] Dumézil, *Le Festin d'Immortalité*, 3-10.
[510] Dumézil, *Le Festin d'Immortalité*, 92-107.

also Indo-European motifs,[511] this shows that the theft by a bird-figure is not exclusively Indo-European, nor does it pertain to all stealing bird-figures in Indo-European narratives.

6.2.3 Shared motifs between India and China

Five motifs are uniquely shared between India and China, which are presented in figure 6.7. The narrative form using the two major motifs states the desire of the thief, who uses a trick to steal the sustenance. Minor motifs add some details. The sustenance can be denied from the thief at the start. Sometimes the punishment entails remorse of the thief, and sometimes there is failed bodily harm. China's 'Wine' and 'Pills' seem to be the main contibutors of motifs, with four motifs each.

These are only five motifs, and three are quite troublesome. The motif of desire and theft by trick, which are the two major ones, could be universal, because they are both found in 'Prometheus'. These are the only times that they appear in Greek narratives though, and these motifs occur quite often in India and China, which justifies their inclusion here. The motif of remorse is harder to justify. It is commonly found in Chinese narratives but not exclusively so, because we also find it in India's S-KSS 27-J. In S-KSS 27-J it is a punishment which motivates to restore the status quo. In China's JW 24-26 of 'Fruit' we also find a punishment that moves Sun Wukong to restore the ginseng tree back to life. Both narratives share the motif of punishment which motivates to restore the status quo, but in India's S-KSS 27-J this happens to be internally inflicted remorse, while in China's JW 24-26 this is an externally inflicted punishment.

6.2.4 Shared motifs between Greece and China

There are only two motifs, both quite weak, which are uniquely shared between Greece and China. These are presented in figure 6.8. One is a major motif, the punishment by impaired movement. The other one is a very minor motif, the banishment as punishment. Both motifs are found in Greek's P-OO1 and China's 'Fruit'. The theft from a sacrifice could be added as a motif here. This is essentially a unique Greek motif (found in PsPlu-Par, 'Aesop', and *Birds*), if it were not for PTOO 297-306 of China's 'Fruit'.

[511] West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 21.

6.3 Results and implications

Based on the analyses in 6.2 there are eleven 'universal' motifs, five of which are major and six minor; eleven Indo-European motifs, three of which are major and eight minor, although all are pretty weakly attested; five motifs shared between India and China, two of which are major and three minor; and two motifs shared between Greece and China, one which is major and the other one minor. This is also the order of the strength of each group, starting with the strongest. Four hypotheses were presented in 2.4:

1. The stories are too different to be a ground for detailed comparison between cultural areas;
2. It is impossible to reconstruct a singular structure for all variants within a cultural area;
3. The Indo-European stories are more similar;
4. Either the India-China or Greece-China pair is more similar.

Based on the data presented above, these hypotheses can be commented upon. The first hypothesis is disproven. Using an acceptable level of abstraction, motifs could be uncovered which could then be compared with those of other cultural areas. This process of abstraction does mean that a lot of the distinctness of individual narratives is lost, especially with regards to the actors, who are often only considered by their roles and general characteristics.

Some cultures did harbour unique motifs, or at least unique in the narratives under analysis here, but this never impaired comparison. There are two unique syntagmatic moments found. In India there is the double theft, in which the first theft is retaliated with another theft. In China there is the ineffective punishment.Greece harbours the unique motif of the request for sacrifice in PsPlu-Par and *Birds*. China harbours the gain of status in 'Fruit' and 'Multiple' uniquely when it belongs to the syntagmatic moment of setting and motivation. Otherwise it is also found in Indian stories as a reward.

The second hypothesis does not seem to be completely warranted. For all cultural areas we are able to reconstruct a basic structure based on syntagmatic moments. At the same time no motifs were found that would pertain to all situations. The structures that arose were always based on syntagmatic moments, in which a limited number of diachronic choices could be made.

Looking at the number of motifs and major motifs, it might be concluded that the Indo-European versions are more similar than the India-China or Greece-China pair, thus proving the third hypothesis. This conclusion is justified to an extent by eliminating the fourth hypothesis. The Greece-China pair is especially weak, with only the unique similarity of the punishment of impaired movement being striking. The India-China pair is a bit more convincing, since the two major motifs (desire and theft using trick) are quite strong. Historically the connection is not odd, for cultural exchanges are well-documented from 200 CE onward,[512] especially concerning Buddhism and Buddhist texts.[513] The *Journey to the West* has been based on pilgrimages of monks to India.[514] A number of scholars have searched for the origins of the Sun Wukong in India as well.[515] While there do seem to be historical connections, India and China only share five unique motifs. Still, this might warrant more comparative research between Chinese narratives and other (non-Buddhist) narratives from India.

In this regard, the Indo-European similarities seem to arise victorious, with eleven unique similarities, although most of them are rather weak. This can be taken as a clue that the Indo-European theoretical frame and the resulting comparisons are valid, by having been tested now using Puhvel's criteria of both positive affirmations and a negative control.[516]

However, so far only the unique motifs have been discussed. When we look at the 'universal' motifs, the conclusion becomes different. There are eleven universal motifs, which is the same number as the Indo-European group, but these motifs are all more strongly attested. Since 'universal' motifs also belong to the different cultural pairs that are discussed, we get some different numbers. This information is presented in figure 6.9. Using this information, we actually see that the relative number of major and minor motifs is spread differently in all groups. Focusing on the Indo-European group and the India-China pair, the India-China pair has a stronger relative presence of major motifs, which is about the same relative presence as the 'universal' group. And keeping in mind that the major motifs in the India-China pair are more strongly attested than those in the Indo-European pair, it could be concluded that the India-China pair is relatively stronger.

[512] Moritz Rudolf, *India and China: Markets – Competitors – Partners* (Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag, 2011), 4
[513] Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road: A New History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 199-200.
[514] Chang, "Monkey hero": 192; Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 11-12; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 1.
[515] Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 164-167; Subbaraman, "Beyond the Question": 3-10; Walker, "Indigenous or Foreign?": 2-16, 50, 70; Yu, *Journey to the West*, 10, 13-15.
[516] Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology*, 4.

Notwithstanding their relative strength, in the end the absolute numbers are valid. Those numbers tell us that the 'universal' and Indo-European group are the strongest, with the universal group having stronger major motifs. This warrants the following conclusions. While Indo-European comparisons still stand strong and are valid, the strength of the 'universal' group does indeed compel scholars to examine non-Indo-European material in the future as well. While Indo-European cultures share some unique motifs (although weak in this case study), there are stronger motifs which are also present in non-Indo-European cultures.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I carried out the grand comparison. The categories of narratives from India, Greece, and China have been compared, subdivided into the syntagmatic moments of setting and motivation, theft, punishment, and reward. These results were then used to analyse the strength of similarities between four different groups, which are here presented starting with the strongest: the 'universal' group (India, Greece, and China); the Indo-European group (India and Greece); the India-China group; and the Greece-China group. Reflecting on the hypotheses, two conclusions are drawn. First of all, using China as a negative control, the Indo-European theoretical frame and comparisons are still warranted. Secondly, this case study is an incentive for scholars to use non-Indo-European data as well.

7. Conclusions

In this chapter the main conclusion is given (7.1), as well as directions for future research (7.2).

7.1 Main conclusion

This thesis discusses the main research question '**how is the motif A153.1 *Theft of* ambrosia*: Food of the gods stolen* instantiated and structurally related to one another in different contexts?'** This thesis had three goals: to reassess the Indo-European theoretical framework by considering the difference of the spread of languages and stories; to reassess it by including data from non-Indo-European cultures, in this case China; and to increase our understanding of the motif. In order to attain these goals, the structure of this motif was discussed with regards to Indian (chapter 3), Greek (chapter 4), and Chinese (chapter 5) texts. The main methodological approach is an adapted form of Frog's structuralism.

The strength of the relations between the different cultures can be tested by counting the number of shared motifs within the same syntagmatic moment. In this case the 'universal' relations (meaning the relations between the Indian, Greek, and Chinese versions) is the strongest, followed by the Indo-European relations, which are just slightly weaker. Then follows the Indian-Chinese pair, which is still relatively strong. The Greek-Chinese pair is the weakest, especially in the number of unique motifs.

Presented with this data, we can conclude two things. First of all, a proper negative control is established for the Indo-European reconstruction by including Chinese data. Regarding this case-study, Indo-European reconstructional practices are not discredited by this thesis, since the Indo-European reconstruction is sufficiently strong in this thesis. But, secondly, due to the strength of 'universal' relations, this case-study indicates that it is very fruitful for scholars to also include non-Indo-European material in their analyses. My suggestion for future endeavours within the field of Indo-European reconstructive studies is to keep up the negative control by means of non-Indo-European material: negative controls can establish whether something is uniquely Indo-European, and it can establish how certain motifs are spread wider than the genealogical Indo-European link would suggest.

7.2 Directions for future research

This research has shown that Indo-European reconstructions are still valid, and therefore this avenue of research should be continued. If this specific case-study is to be extended, then other Indo-European material could be included, such as is found in Nordic, Ossetic,[517] Abazan,[518] and perhaps Irish sources.[519] Of course someone with more explicit knowledge could improve on the Chinese sections by using original and untranslated sources. A153.1 can be explored further outside Indo-European areas as well: there are possible parallels in Zambia[520], Japan,[521] Mesopotamia,[522] and the Bible.[523] Pictorial data should also be considered, which is present in all cultures under analysis here,[524] but which is hardly ever discussed by textual scholars. Only by including these sets of data, it becomes possible to give an informed opinion about possible polygenesis for this motif.

This thesis mainly treats sources up to the 17th century CE. Of course modern sources could also be consulted, in which case the domain also spreads to film, television, and comics. Similarly, one could also look at the spread of stories to other cultures, while these stories retain the identity of their culture of origin. In pictoral terms there are, for example, the depictions of the churning of the ocean at the Ankhor temples in Cambodia,[525] and for textual sources there are many rewritten versions of Greek myths, such as the fable 'The Fox and the Eagle' as found in the work of Saxon author Nane van der Molen.[526] Like eternal life, research never stops.

[517] West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 159-160.
[518] Colarusso, *Nart Sagas from the Caucasus,* 183.
[519] Wilson, *Ploughing the Clouds*, 75-92; Knipe, "Heroic Theft": 339.
[520] Van Binsbergen, "Continuity of African and Eurasian mythologies," 179-180, 188-190.
[521] Barbaro, "Brides and Grooms."
[522] Knipe, "Heroic Theft": 340-341; Oosten, *War of the Gods*, 70.
[523] *Bijbelvertaling Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap,* 10.
[524] For India: https://www.tripadvisor.nl/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g1676035-d498375-i138560973-Halebidu_Temple-Halebid_Hassan_District_Karnataka.html, accessed 11 June, 2018; for Greece: Hall, "Introduction," 5-6; for China: Dudbridge, *Hsi-yu Chi*, 22-23, 47-51.
[525] Michael Freeman and Claude Jacques, *Ancient Angkor* (Bangkok: River Books Ltd., 1999), 62-64; Eleanor Mannikka, *Angkor Wat: Time, space, and kingship* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 161-172.
[526] Nane van der Molen, *Tusssenbaaidemìnnen op t Hogelaand: Korte verhoalen, òfwizzeld mit foabels en gedichten* (Warffum: Sikkema, 2017), 10.

8. Bibliography

8.1 Bibliographical and transliterational conventions

I use the Chicago Notes and Bibliography style for references. Footnotes are only used for references. It is customary in China to state the family name first, and then the personal name. To retain uniformity, the order of names as customary in Western Europe is retained. So, for example, the name of the Chinese scholar Lai (family name) Whalen (personal name) becomes Whalen Lai in the footnotes, and Lai, Whalen in the bibliography.

For Sanskrit transliteration the IAST system is used. This same system is also used for the transliteration of Greek words, which means that the ēta (η) becomes ē, and the ōmega (ω) becomes ō. Greek proper names are not transliterated in this way, since it is not customary to do so. All Chinese names and concepts are transliterated using the Hanyu Pinyin system. This can create confusion when consulting the bibliography, in which the titles of works sometimes bear Chinese words as transliterated by the Wade-Giles system.

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Appendix: unpublished translations

Each section provides the source for the original text, the number(s) of the paragraph(s) in which the text is analysed, the original text itself with my translation line by line, and some comments (if applicable), organized by verse number. Verses with comments (placed below the text) are marked by an asterisk (*). In some places more texts is translated than is used in the analysis: this is to provide proper context, and possibly to aid future students and researchers. Variant translations, textual corrections, and grammatical remarks are noted between square brackets. Comments are given below the translation, giving explanation, context, and debates. All texts in this appendix are translated with the help of Leo Tepper.

Appendix 1: KYV MS 3.7.3

Sanskrit original: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā: Die Saṃhitā der Maitrāyaṇīya-Śākhā, Buch 3,* edited by Leopold von Schroeder. 77-78. Leipzig: Verlag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1881-1886. Accessed 11 July, 2017. http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/ms/ms.htm.

Verses 1-8a are analysed in 3.4; verses 8b-19 are analysed in 3.3.

1.1 Translation

1ab	*iyáṁ vaí kadrū́s vā́k suparṇī́*	This is indeed the story about Kadrū and Suparṇī
1c	*chándāṁsi saúparṇāni gāyatrī́ triṣṭúb jágatī*	The hymns [metres] Gāyatrī, Triṣṭub, and Jagatī belong to Suparṇī
2a	*sā́ vaí kadrū́ḥ suparṇī́m ātmā́nam ayajat* [read: *ajayat*[527]]	Kadrū indeed had beaten [conquered] Suparṇī herself
2b	*sā́bravīt*	She spoke:
2c	*sómam ā́hara*	'Steal *soma*

[527] *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, *Buch 3,* 77.

2d	*ténātmā́naṃ níṣkrīṇīsvéti*	Buy yourself off with him [*soma*]’
3a	*sā́ chándāṁsi praiṣyat*	She commanded the hyms [metres]
3b	*amútaḥ sómam ā́harata*	You stole *soma* from up high
3c	*téna mā níṣkrīṇītéti*	Let me buy myself off with him [*soma*]
4a	*táto jágaty údapatat*	Thereupon Jágatī flew up
4b*	*sā́ paśúbhiś cā́gachad dīkṣáyā ca*	She went with cattle [plural] and with *dīkṣā*
5a	*tásmāt paśávā íti jágatīm āhus*	That is why they say: Jágatī goes with cattle [plural]
5b	*tásmād yadā́ paśū́n vindáté 'tha dīkṣate*	When the cattle [plural] is found by her, then she is consecrated
6a	*tátas triṣṭúb údapatat*	Thereupon Triṣṭub flew up
6b*	*sā́ dákṣiṇayā cā́gachat tápasā ca*	She went with sacrificial gifts and with *tapas*
6c*	*tásmāt triṣṭúbho loké dákṣiṇā dīyante*	That is why sacrificial gifts are given to Triṣṭubh on earth
7a	*tásmād u madhyáṃdine tápas tapanī́yam íti*	That is why *tapas* must be practiced in the middle of the day
7b	*táto gāyatry údapatat*	Thereupon Gāyatrī flew up
8a	*sā́ sómam ā́harat*	She stole *soma*
8b	*tám āhriyámāṇaṁ sāmigandharvó viśvā́vasur ā́muṣṇāt*	The *gandharva* Viśvāvasu, *soma* being stolen, stole him [*soma*] back
8c*	*sá tisró rā́trīr úpahṛto 'vasat*	After that he [*soma*] was stolen, he [*soma*] remained for three nights
9a*	*tásmāt tisró rā́trīḥ krītó vasati*	That is why that which is bought remains for three nights
9b	*tè 'bruvan*	They [the *devas*] spoke:
10a	*púnar yācāmahā íti*	‘Let us ask back’
10b	*té devā́ abruvan*	The *devas* spoke:
10c	*strī́kāmā vaí gandharvā́s*	‘The *gandharvas* are lovers of women
10d	*vā́cam evá saṃbhṛtya yáthā yoṣíd*	So [let us] present Vāc as a woman; with

	anapakṣeyátameva táyā níṣkrīṇāméti	her we will buy back the unwithered one [*soma*]'
11	*táṁ vaí nírakrīṇan*	She [Vāc] indeed bought *soma* back
12a	*tásmād āhus*	It is said by him: [that is why is said:]
12b	*vā́g vaí somakráyaṇī*	'Vāc is indeed the price for *soma*
12c*	*vā́caṁ vā́ etád gávā níṣkrīṇātīti*	This here buys off Vāc with the cow'
13a	*tè 'bruvan*	They [*gandharvas*] spoke:
13b	*ánv ṛtīyāmahā íti*	'Let us pursue'
13c	*tā́m ánv ā́rtīyanta*	She [Vāc] went back [to the *devas*]
13d	*tád ánṛtasya jánma*	This is the origin of untruth
14*	*tád yá eváṁ vidvā́nt satyānṛtā́ṁ vā́caṁ vádati ná hainaṃ druṇāti*	So the one who is wise speaks the spoken according to righteous [correct] truth, and does not twist the verse
15a	*tè 'bruvan*	They [*devas* or *gandharvas*] spoke:
15b	*víhvayāmahā íti*	'Let us compete in calling forth
15c	*tā́ṁ vyáhvayanta*	Let us call her'
15d*	*gā́thāṃ devā́ ágāyan bráhma gandharvā́ avadan*	The *devas* sang a song, the *gandharvas* spoke a hymn [spell]
16a	*sā́ devā́n upā́vartata*	She [Vāc] went to the *devas*
16b	*tásmād vivāhé gā́thā gīyate*	That is why people sing songs at weddings
17a	*tásmād gā́yant striyā́ḥ priyás*	Because women love singers [that is why a lover of women sings] [that is why someone who is dear to women sings]
17b	*tád yá eváṁ vidvā́n gā́thāṃ gā́yan hástaṃ gṛhṇā́ti*	The one who is wise sings songs to gain the hand [of a woman]
18a	*sáṃ hí jīryátaḥ*	They become old together
18b	*sárvam ā́yur itas*	They go through the complete life [They go through life completely]
18c	*nā́rtiṃ nītas*	They both lead a dance
18d	*tád āhus*	They said:

18e	*ấ vaí sấ púnar agachat*	'She [Vāc] went back again [to the *devas*]
19	*naívá kíṃ caná somakráyaṇ́ti*	So nothing else [will be accepted] as the price for *soma*'

1.2 Comments

4b: *Dīkṣā* is a technical term which can either refer to preparations made for a sacrifice, or personal religious observances for some other goal.[528] In this case, it most probably refers to bringing the cattle to the place of sacrifice.

6b: *Tapas* is a technical term, which is directly translated as 'heat', but is better explained as the positive power gained from religious observances, or refers to those observances itself.[529] Here it probably refers to the positive effects from bringing sacrificial gifts.

6c: The spelling 'Triṣṭubh' (with aspirated 'b') is the more commonly occurring spelling, except in this text, in which verses 1c and 6a use the alternative spelling 'Triṣṭub'.

8c-9a: These verses refer to the quarantaine period initiated by the *gandharvas*, as stated by Kuiper.[530] Oberlies, building forth on this idea, describes the role of the *gandharvas* as those who escorts things from the outside to within, in which these substances lose their dangerous potential. This liminal period lasts for three days, after which that which was once dangerous now is pacified and inculturated.[531] Verse 9a mentions that *soma*, after purchase, must also be held back for three days. This must happen because *soma* was brought from outside, by a different cultural group than the Vedic priests, who then bought it through a ritual sale.[532] This seems to counter my own conclusion: where I once speculated that the *gandharvas* were the mythological reflection of the salesman of *soma*, in this regard they rather seem to be accomplices of the Vedic priests, working within the Vedic culture rather

[528] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 480.
[529] Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 437.
[530] Frans Kuiper, "Gandharva and Soma," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 20 (1996): 252.
[531] Thomas Oberlies, "Der Gandharva und die Drei Tage Währende 'Quarantäne'," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 48 (2005): 104-106.
[532] Staal, "Psychoactive Substance": 756.

than outside it.[533] Rather, I propose now that the *gandharvas* function more like a group at the border, who functions as a buffer between the Vedic culture and other, non-Indo-European, groups. This fits in with the idea of the *gandharvas* as outsiders to the proper order of Vedic culture.[534]

12c: Just as Vāc is bought with a cow, so the salesmen of *soma* are offered a cow in first instance. This price should be first refused, after which other valuables are offered. When these valuables are also ritually refused, the salesmen are ritually driven off.[535]

14: While this verse could simply refer to the fact that wise men should not lie, it could also refer to the doctrine that Sanskrit verses should be pronounced perfectly in order to have the proper ritual effect.[536]

15d: While it is conceivable that the *gandharvas* lost from the *devas* because the *devas* always win,[537] here another option is available. The normal order of things is upturned by the *gandharvas* saying a hymn, which normally belongs to the domain of the *devas*. This does not clarify why the *devas* win, though, except when considering that the *gandharvas* do not perform the hymn in the right manner. The verb used here for speaking is derived from *√vad-*, which refers to ordinary speech.[538] When one recites hymns correctly, a verb derived from *√vac-* is used.[539] My conclusion would therefore be that the *gandharvas* lose because they do not perform the hymn in the right way.

[533] Sterken, "Strangers in a Familiar Land": 100-105.
[534] Sterken, "Strangers in a Familiar Land": 79-82.
[535] Staal, "Psychoactive Substance": 756.
[536] Gonda, *Religionen Indiens I*, 22-23.
[537] Van der Velde, *Nachtblauw*, 165.
[538] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 916.
[539] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 912.

Appendix 2: KYV MS 4.1.1

Sanskrit original: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā: Die Saṃhitā der Maitrāyaṇīya-Śākhā, Buch 4,* edited by Leopold von Schroeder. 1-2. Leipzig: Verlag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1881-1886. Accessed 11 July, 2017. http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/ms/ms.htm.

Verses 4-5 are analysed in 3.3.

2.1 Translation

1a*	*vánaspátīn vā́ ugró devá údauṣat*	The powerful *deva* has heated the kings of the wood
1b	*tā́ṁ śamyā́ ádhyaśamayan*	This wooden stick will be eaten
1c	*tā́ñ śamyā́ḥ śamītvám*	These wooden sticks made from *śami*-wood
2a	*yā́ñ śamīśākhāyā vatsā́n apākaróti*	So with this *śami*-branch he drives away the calves
2b	*śā́ntyai*	To peace
2c	*parṇávatī kāryà*	The possessor of leaves did [this]
3a	*paśūnā́ṁ vā́ etád rūpám*	Or this form of the cattle [plural]
3b	*paśumā́n bhavati*	He is related to the cattle [plural]
3c	*yád aparṇā́ syā́d daṇḍásya tád rūpā́ṁ vájro daṇḍó vájreṇa paśū́n abhiprávartayet*	May they who are without leaves, [which is] the shape of the stick which is lightning, [may they] drive forth the cattle [plural] with lightning
4	*tṛtī́yasyāṁ vaí diví sóma āsīt*	Indeed, *soma* sits in the third heaven
5a	*táṃ gāyatrī́ śyenó bhūtvā́harat*	Gāyatrī, who became a *śyena*, stole it [*soma*]
5b	*tásya parṇám achidyata*	A feather was cut off from her [Gāyatrī]
5c	*tátaḥ parṇó 'jāyata*	Out of [the feather] the *parṇa*-leaf was

		born
6a	*tát parṇásya praṇatvám*	This gives the *parṇa*-leaf breath
6b	*tásmāt sárve 'nyé vánaspátayaḥ parṇínas*	This is why all other kings of the wood have leaves
6c	*áthaiṣá parṇá ucyate*	Now this *parṇa*-leaf is content
7a	*yát parṇaśākháyā vatsắn apākaróti*	Just as he drove forth the calves with a *parṇa*-leaf
7b	*tám evá sómam ávarunddhe*	In the same way he locked up *soma*
7c*	*devắ vaí bráhman* [read: *bráhma*[540]] *sámavadanta*	Indeed, the *devas* spoke a hymn [spell] together
8a	*tát parṇá úpāśṛṇot*	The *parṇa*-leaf listened to it
8b	*suśrávā vaí nắmaiṣá*	Indeed, he listened to this name [the hymn or spell]
8c	*ná badhiró bhavati yá evắṁ véda*	He who is not deaf knows this
9a	*bráhma vaí parṇás*	Indeed, the *parṇa*-leaf is the hymn [spell]
9b	*yát parṇaśākháyā prārpáyati*	Just as movement is caused by the *parṇa*-leaf
9c	*bráhmaṇaivaínāḥ prắrpayati*	In the same way the hymn [spell] causes movement
10a	*iṣé tvéti*	He [unclear referent] goes into the juice
10b	*íṣam űrjaṁ yajñé ca yajñápatau cādhāt*	He [unclear referent] placed the very juicy one in the sacrifice and in the sacrificial hearth
10c	*vāyávaḥ sthéti*	'Winds, stand [still]!'
10d	*vāyúr vắ antárikṣasyắdhyakṣas*	The wind is the eyewitness from the middle region
11a	*antarikṣadevatyầḥ paśávas*	The divine cattle [plural] comes from the middle region
11b	*vāyúr evaínān antárikṣāya páridadāti*	The wind entrusts these [the cattle] from the middle region

[540] *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, *Buch 3,* 1.

12a	*prá vā́ enān etád ā́karoti yád vāyávaḥ sthéty āha*	This one [the priest reciting verse 10c] drives away [the cattle], because he told the winds to stand [still]
12b	*ā́raṇyasyeva hí vāyús*	Surely the wind belongs to the woods
13a	*devó vaḥ savitā́ prā́rpayatv | íti*	The *deva* Savitṛ has to cause you all to move
13b	*savitṛprasūta evaínāḥ prā́rpayati*	Just as they, encouraged by Savitṛ, are caused to move
14a	*śréṣṭhatamāya kármaṇā | íti*	Through the most excellent action
14b	*yajñó vaí śréṣṭhatamas*	Is the sacrifice indeed excellent
14c	*yajñā́yaivaínāḥ prā́rpayati*	Just as movement is caused by these sacrifices
15a	*ā́pyāyadhvam aghnyā devébhyā | íti*	The cow was filled by you all with the *devas*
15b	*vatsébhyaś ca vā́ etā́ manuṣyèbhyaś ca purā́pyāyante*	The town was filled by the calves or by that human
16a	*áthaitárhi devébhya evaínā ā́pyāyayati*	Nowadays he causes that they [the calves] are filled with the *devas*
16b	*mā́ vaḥ stená īśata mā́ghāśaṁsā | íti*	May a thief not be the supervisor over your gifts and praise [plural]
17a	*āśíṣam evā́śāste*	I prayed a prayer
17b	*dhruvā́ asmín gópatau syāta bahvī́r | íti*	May both enormous amounts [of gifts and praise] be steady [in number] among the lord of the cowherds
18	*praívá janayati*	In the same way as he causes to exist
19	*śuddhā́ apáḥ suprapāṇé píbantīḥ | íti*	The clear water is drunk at the good watering hole
20	*punā́ty evaínāḥ*	In the same way as he cleans them [these]
21*	*rudrásya hetíḥ pári vo vṛṇaktu | iti*	May you evade the shot from Rudra
22a	*rudrā́d evaínās trāyante*	In the same way they have to be saved from Rudra

22b*	*pūṣā́ vaḥ paraspā́ áditiḥ pretvarīyā́ índro vó 'dhyakṣó 'naṣṭāḥ púnar éta | íti*	Pūśan is your protector, Aditi goes forth with the enemy, Indra is again visibly indestructible
23a	*tráyo vā́ imé lokā́s*	These [*devas*] are these three worlds
23b	*ebhyá evaínā lokébhyaḥ púnar ā́vartayati*	In the same way as these [*devas*] again cause these worlds to turn
24a	*yájamānasya paśū́n pāhíti*	He protects the cattle [plural] of the sacrifice
24b	*yájamānasyaivá paśūnā́ṃ gopīthā́yāhiṁsāyai*	The cattle [plural] of the sacrificer is protected as to that no harm may befall them
25a	*pratícīṁ śā́khām úpagūhati*	He hides, being turned towards the branch
25b	*tásmād grāmyā́ḥ paśávaḥ sāyám áraṇyād grā́mam ā́yanti*	The cattle [plural] which is produced by the village goes in the evening out from the wilderness into the village
26	*pratyáñca enaṃ paśávo bhavanti yá eváṁ véda*	The cattle [plural] is oriented towards that, as he knew

2.2 Comments

1a: the powerful *deva* is probably Indra or Rudra.

7a: contrary to KYV MS 3.7.3:15d and KYV KS 24.1:16 and 17b, here the *devas* are successful when reciting a hymn or spell in connection to the verb *(sam-)√vad-*.

22b: Aditi is the mother of the Ādityas, who are also known as the *devas*. The father is Prajāpati, who had another wife, Diti. Diti brought forth the Daityas, who are also known as the *asuras*.[541] The *devas* and *asuras* therefore share a father, and the statement that Aditi 'goes forth' with the enemy might mean that she and the enemy (Diti) share a household, that of Prajāpati.

[541] Van der Velde, *Nachtblauw*, 162.

Appendix 3: KYV KS 24.1

Sanskrit original: *Kāṭhaka: Die Saṃhitā der Kaṭha-Śākhā, Zweites Buch*, edited by Leopold von Schroeder. 89-90. Leipzig: Verlag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1909. Accessed 27 July, 2017. http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/ks/ks.htm.

Verse 9 is analysed in 3.3; verses 10-18 are analysed in 3.2. Some of the verses in this text are very cryptic, and I will provide explanatory comments wherever I am able to give some clarification.

3.1 Translation

1a*	*yā śyetākṣī kṛṣṇavālā kṛṣṇaśaphā na tayā krīṇīyāt*	May he not buy because of her the one having red-white eyes, a black tail, and black hooves
1b*	*hataṃ vā asyā etat paripiṣṭam*	Or this being beaten and crushed by her
2a*	*pitṛdevatyā sā*	She [is] the sacrifice to the *pitṛs* [or: she has the *pitṛs* as [her] gods]
2b*	*pramāyukas syāt*	Being perishable [or: probably perishable]
2c*	*yā dvirūpā na tayā krīṇiyāt*	Those who have two colours, do not let [her] buy by her
3a	*vartraghnī sā*	She is the conqueror of obstacles
3b	*jināti vā jīyate vā*	She overpowers or is overpowered [by another]
3c*	*uta tayā rājanyasya krīṇīyāt*	And may he buy of the kingly [*soma*] with her
4a	*na hi tasyāntarāsti*	She is surely not among them
4b	*jināti vā hi sa jīyate vā*	Or she overpowers, or she is overpowered [by another]

4c	*yādhīlodhakarṇī tayā ṣoḍaśinaṃ krīṇīyāt*	May she, this one with red ears, buy with her that barrel of *soma*
5	*atiriktaṃ vā etad rūpāṇām atiriktaṣ ṣoḍaśī*	This barrel of *soma* is superfluous, of these things which are superfluous
6a	*atiriktenaivātiriktam āpnoti*	Just as he with the superfluous [things] gains the superfluous [things]
6b	*yā babhrur ekahāyanī tayā krīṇīyāt*	This brown heifer, she bought with it
7a	*vāg vai somakrayaṇī*	Vāc is indeed the price for *soma*
7b	*puruṣo vāg*	Vāc [has the form of] a human
7c	*yad ekahāyanyā krīṇāti*	That is why she buys with the heifer
7d	*tasmād ekahāyanaḥ puruṣo vācaṃ vadati*	That is why the human, being the heifer, says the word [spell]
8a*	*yaj jyāyasyā krīṇāti*	He buys from the conquered ones
8b*	*tasmāj jyāyān vadati*	That is why the conquered ones speak
9	*chandāṁsi vā amuṣmāl lokāt somam āharan gāyatrī śyeno bhūtvā*	The hymns [metres] or the *śyena* Gāyatrī stole *soma* from the other world
10a	*taṃ gandharvā antarā paryamuṣṇan viśvāvasus*	The *gandharva* Viśvāvasu stole him [*soma*] back later [or: the other *gandharvas* stole him [*soma*] back later]
10b*	*sa tisro rātrīr upahṛto 'vasat*	He [*soma*] remained three nights after he [*soma*] was stolen
11a*	*tasmāt tisro rātrīs somaḥ krīto vasati*	That is why *soma* remains three nights, being bought
11b	*taṃ devāḥ punar ayācanta*	The *devas* asked him [*soma*] back
11c	*tam ebhyo na punar adadus*	They [*gandharvas*] did not give him [*soma*] back
12a	*te 'bruvan gavā niṣkrīṇāmeti*	They [*devas*] spoke: ‘let us buy back with the cow’
12b	*te 'manyanta yajñena vikreṣyāmahe yad gavā niṣkreṣyāma iti*	They [*devas*] thought: ‘just as we will sell with the sacrifice, so we will buy back

		with the cow'
13	*te 'bruvan strīkāmā vai gandharvā vācaṁ striyaṃ kṛtvā māyām upāvāsṛjaṁs* [read: *upāvasṛjāmeti*[542]]	They [*devas*] spoke: 'the *gandharvas* are lovers of women; let us send Vāc, who has been made a woman by illusion'
14	*te 'manyanta prajayā vyakreṣmahi ye vācā vyakreṣmahīti*	They [*devas*] thought: 'just as we sold with the birth, so we sold Vāc'
15a	*te 'nvārtīyantāsmākaṁ somo 'smākaṁ somakrayaṇīti*	They [*gandharvas*] followed us [*devas*], *soma* to the price for *soma* of us [Vāc]
15b	*te gandharvā abruvan vihvayāmahā iti*	The *gandharvas* spoke: 'let us compete in calling forth'
16*	*te brahma gandharvā avadann agāyan devas*	They, the *gandharvas*, spoke a hymn [spell]; the *devas* sang
17a	*sā devān gāyata upāvartata*	She [Vāc] goes to the *devas* who sang [or: she [Vāc] went to the *devas*, you all have to sing]
17b*	*tasmād gāyantaṁ strī kāmayate na brahma vadantam*	That is why the woman loves the singing one, not the one who speaks spells
18a	*adruhyad dhi sā brahmaṇe*	She is hostile towards the hymn [spell]
18b	*tasmād āhur akrītas somo na* [read: *akrītā somena*[543]] *somakrayaṇy asti devān hi sā punar upāvartateti*	That is why people say: 'this is the *soma*-purchase with the unbought *soma*, and she [Vāc] went back to the *devas*'
19*	*te 'bruvan strīkāmā vai gandharvā bahu vai gandharveṣu mithunībhavantī saṃbhavanty acārīr apaḥpraviśyodehīti*	They [*devas*] said: 'the *gandharvas* are fervent lovers of women. They [women or *apsarases*?], intermingled with the *gandharvas*, make the incoming waters rise'
20	*tasyā yad dhataṃ paripiṣṭam āsīt taj jaratī kūṭā bhūtvodait*	In that way is of this placed and ground, this, having become old and useless, she must go up
21	*te 'bruvan pitṛdevatyā vā iyam iti*	They [unclear referent] spoke: 'she is

[542] Martin Mittwede, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā* (Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1989), 114.
[543] Mittwede, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā*, 114.

		connected to the *pitṛs*'
22a	*tasmāt tāṃ pitṛbhyo ghnanti*	That is why they beat her in favour of the *pitṛs*
22b	*te 'bruvan punaḥ praviśyodehīti*	They spoke: 'she, having come in, must rise up again'
22c	*sā paṣṭhauhī vārtraghnī dvirūpā bhūtvodait*	She will have become the two-coloured heifer, who conquers obstacles, she has to come up
23a	*sā tena rūpeṇāpāspṛṇuta*	She has to redeem with this form
23b	*tasmāt sā varo 'tivaro 'nyas* [read: *'tivareṇyo*[544]]	That is why she is a wish greater than other wishes
24a	*nainaṃ varo hinasti ya evaṃ vidvān varaṃ vṛṇīte*	This wish does not harm the one who chooses this wise wish
24b	*te 'bruvan punaḥ praviśyodehīti*	They said: 'she has to go up'
25a	*sā babhrur ekahāyanī bhūtvodait*	She, having become the heifer, has to go up
25b	*tayākrīṇan*	They have bought with her
25c	*tasmāt sā somakrayaṇī*	That is why she is the price for *soma*
26	*tad asyā rūpam*	That is why she has this form

3.2 Comments

1a-2c: these verses seem to qualify the characteristics of the cow with which *soma* is bought in the ritual purchase. Verse 7 states that this cow is Vāc, using the elaborate argumentation that Vāc is the price for *soma* in human form, and the human form stands for the heifer, which is thus Vāc and the price for *soma*. As we have seen in KYV MS 3.7.3:19 (Appendix 1), Vāc is the only price that should be accepted for *soma*.

3c: *soma* is often described as being kingly,[545] and it is also received as a king when the substance first arrives at the sacrifice.[546]

[544] *Kāṭhaka, Zweites Buch*, 90.
[545] Gonda, *Religionen Indiens I*, 65.

8ab: these verses describe how the Vedic priests buy from the salesmen of *soma*, who are a non-Indo-European group about which the Vedic priests imagine that they have subjugated them. This 'conquered' group is involved in a ritualized dialogue,[547] which is why it is mentioned that they are speaking.

10b-11a: this reflects the period of quarantaine, which is also discussed on the note on KYV MS 3.7.3:8c-9a (Appendix 1).

16 and 17b: the use of *√vad-* causes the *gandharvas* to perform the hymn or spell wrong, which causes their defeat; see also the note on KYV MS 3.7.3:15d (Appendix 1).

19: the verses referring to water are all cryptic. The only sense I can make out of this verse is the connection of the *gandharvas* to the *apsaras*, nymphs who became the wives of the *gandharvas*[548] and are said to dwell in water.[549]

[546] Staal, "Psychoactive Substance": 757.
[547] Staal, "Psychoactive Substance": 756-757.
[548] Sterken, "Strangers in a Familiar Land": 87-88.
[549] Sterken, "Strangers in a Familiar Land": 83.

Appendix 4: KYV KS 34.3

Sanskrit original: *Kāṭhaka: Die Saṃhitā der Kaṭha-Śākhā*, *Drittes Buch*, edited by Leopold von Schroeder. 37-38. Leipzig: Verlag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1910. Accessed 27 July, 2017. http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/ks/ks.htm.

Verses 4-5 are analysed in 3.3; verse 10b is analysed in 3.5.

4.1 Translation

1a*	*yady akrītam apahareyur anyaḥ kretavyas* [read: *krītavyas*[550]]	When that which is not bought is carried off, then the other must be bought
1b*	*yadi krītaṃ yo nediṣṭhaṁ syāt sa āhṛtyābhiṣutyas*	When that which is bought is the closest, then it must be pressed [squeezed]
2	*rājāhārāya tu kiṃcid deyam tenāsya* [variant: *dīyate nāsya*[551]] *sa parikrīto bhavati*	That must be given to the bringer of *soma*; due to him he [*soma*] is bought from him [the bring of *soma*]
3a*	*yadi somaṃ na vindeyuḥ pūtīkān abhiṣuṇuyur*	When you cannot find *soma*, then you must press the *pūtīkas*
3b*	*yadi na pūtīkān ārjunāni*	And when there are no *pūtīkas*, then *ārjunas*
4a	*gāyatrī vai somam apāharac chyeno bhūtvā*	Gāyatrī, who became a śyena, stole *soma*
4b	*tasya* [variant: *tasyāḥ*[552]] *somarakṣir anuvisṛjya nakham acchinat*	The guardian of *soma* has cut off a claw off her [Gāyatrī] by shooting
5a	*tato yo 'ṁśur amucyata sa pūtīko 'bhavat*	Thus the stalk, which was let loose, became the *pūtīka*
5b	*ūtīkā vai nāmaite*	Also called *ūtīka*

[550] Mittwede, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā*, 141.
[551] Mittwede, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā*, 141.
[552] Mittwede, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā*, 142.

6a	*yad ūtīkān abhiṣuṇvanti*	When they press the *ūtīkas*
6b	*ūtim eva yajñāya kurvanti*	They make it an aid during the sacrifice
6c	*indro vai vṛtram ahan*	Just as Indra defeated Vṛtra
6d	*tasya yal lohitam āsīt tāny ārjunāni lohitatūlāny abhavan*	That which was red [from Vṛtra], that became these red-flowered *ārjunas*
7	*atha yo grīvābhyaḥ pravṛḍhābhyo rasas samasravat tāny ārjunāni babhrutūlāny abhavan*	Just as thereupon the colour ran out of the swollen necks, in the same way the flowers from these *ārjunas* became deep red
8*	*somo vā eṣo 'surya iva tu*	But *soma* is divine [or: but *soma* belongs to the *asuras*]
9a	*tasmān nābhiṣutyaḥ*	That is why he was not pressed [before]
9b	*pratidhuk ca prātaḥ pūtīkāś ca*	Not in the evening, nor at morning glory
9c	*dadhi madhyandine*	The *pūtīkas* [are pressed] in the afternoon
10a	*pūtīkāś ca śṛtaṃ cāparāhṇe pūtīkāś ca*	The *pūtīkas* are boiled late in the afternoon
10b	*indriyeṇa vā eṣa somapīthena vyṛdhyate yasya somam apāharanti*	This one grows because of *soma*-drinking companion of Indra, from whom they steal *soma*
11	*sa oṣadhīś ca paśūṁś ca praviśati*	He possesses the herbs and the cattle [plural]
12a	*yad etad ubhayam abhiṣuṇvanti*	Just as both these species are pressed
12b	*oṣadhibhyaś caiva paśubhyaś cādhi somapīthaṃ punar avarunddhe*	In the same way he conquers the *soma*-drinker again due to the herbs and the cattle [plural]

4.2 Comments

1ab and 3ab: These verses name two substitutes for the lost or unavailable *soma*: *pūtīka*, also called *ūtīka* (see verse 5b), both of which the real-life correspondent is unknown so

far;[553] and *ārjuna*, the plant *Sinapis Ramosa*,[554] which has not been previously identified as a substitute for *soma*.

8: this verse illustrates how closely related the *devas* and *asuras* seem to be, since it can be translated as that *soma* belongs to the *devas* (by being divine), or that *soma* belongs to the *asuras*.

[553] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 221, 641.
[554] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 160.

Appendix 5: KYV KS 37.14

Sanskrit original: *Kāṭhaka: Die Saṃhitā der Kaṭha-Śākhā*, *Drittes Buch*, edited by Leopold von Schroeder. 94-95. Leipzig: Verlag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1910. Accessed 27 July, 2017. http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/ks/ks.htm.

Verses 1-9a are analysed in 3.5.

5.1 Translation

1a	*devāś ca vā asurāś ca saṃyattā āsan*	The *devas* and *asuras* were in conflict
1b*	*asureṣu tarhy amṛtam āsīc chuṣṇe dānave*	At that moment *amṛta* was at the *asuras*, at the *dānava* Śuṣṇa
2a	*tac chuṣṇa evāntar āsye 'bibhar*	Śuṣṇa kept him [*amṛta*] in his mouth [or: Śuṣṇa kept him [*amṛta*] between his jaws]
2b*	*yān devānām aghnaṁs tad eva te 'bhavan*	In this way he [Śuṣṇa] was not killed by the *devas*
2c*	*yān asurāṇāṃ tāñ chuṣṇo 'mṛtenābhivyānīt*	Thus Śuṣṇa breathed with *amṛta* on the *asuras*
3a*	*te samānan*	They are equals
3b	*sa indro 'ved asureṣu vā amṛtaṁ śuṣṇe dānava iti*	He, Indra, knew that *amṛta* was at the *asuras*, at the *dānava* Śuṣṇa
4a	*sa madhvaṣṭhīlā bhūtvā prapathe 'śayat*	He [Indra] lay there on the road, having become a lump of honey
4b	*tāṁ śuṣṇo 'bhi vyādadāt*	Śuṣṇa swallowed him [honey-Indra]
5a	*tasyendraś śyeno bhūtvāsyād amṛtaṃ niramathnāt* [read: *niramuṣṇāt*[555]]	Indra became a *śyena* and stole *amṛta* from him [Śuṣṇa]
5b	*tasmād eṣa vayasāṃ vīryāvattamas*	That is why this one [*śyena*] is the

[555] Mittwede, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā*, 149.

		mightiest among the birds
6a	*indrasya hy eṣaikā tanūr*	One such body [from the *śyenas*] surely belongs to Indra
6b	*amṛtam eṣa bibharti ya evaṃ veda*	This [body] carried *amṛta*, as he [Indra or people in general?] knew
6c	*yaṃ kāmayetāmayāvinaṃ jīved iti taṃ vyādāyābhivyanyāt*	He who called forth this wish of mine, he lived, he breathed with open mouth [or: he who called forth due to my desire]
7	*amṛtenaivainam abhivyaniti*	In the same way as he [Śuṣṇa] breathed with *amṛta*
8a	*Jīvati*	He lives [because of verses 6c and 7]
8b	*sarvam āyur eti*	All life goes
8c	*na purāyuṣaḥ pramīyate*	He does not destroy whose life is high
8d	*devāś ca vā asurāś ca saṃyattā āsan*	The *devas* and *asuras* were in conflict
9a	*te devā asurān aghnan*	They, the *devas*, killed [defeated] the *asuras*
9b	*teṣāṃ ya udaśiṣyanta*	They [*asuras*] who remained
9c	*te devān anvarohan*	They [*asuras*who remained] rose up to the *devas*
10a*	*ta enān vṛñjānāḥ pratyasyamānā āyan*	They, having been beaten, went to them [*devas*], having turned
10b*	*te devās samitim akurvata*	These *devas* assembled together
10c	*ta etau brahmayātuṃ ca devayātuṃ cāpaśyan*	And saw both the *brahma-yātus* and the *deva-yātus*
11a	*tā ebhyaḥ pratyavāsṛjan*	They left them
11b	*tā enān niradahatām*	Both of them burned them
12a	*tā enān vṛñjānau pratyasyamānā aitām*	Both of them, being defeated, went from them turned
12b	*teṣāṃ ye 'tyamucyanta te manuṣyān prāviśan*	Those of them who escaped, entered the humans
13a	*tajjanmāno yātudhānāḥ kravyāda itare*	The origin of the *yātu*-species is eating the

		flesh of others [dead bodies]
13b*	*na ha vā asya yātudhānā na kravyādo na piśācā na rakṣāṁsīśate*	He is surely not the ruler over them, [over] the *yātus*, the eater of dead bodies, the *piśacas*, the *rakṣasas*
14	*nainaṁ śaptaṃ nābhicaritam āgacchati ya evaṃ veda*	The one who knows this will not be enchanted and cursed
15	*tad yady enaṃ yātudhāna iti brūyur nāpahnuvīta*	'What is this *yātu*-species?' they spoke [discussed] elaborately
16a	*etau hy eva tasya yātū*	'As both of you are clearly *yātus*
16b	*ko 'si katamo 'sīti*	Which of both are you?'
16c	*eṣa vai brahmayātus*	This is the *brahma-yātu*
16d	*tasmā evainam apidadhāti*	That is why he hid him because of this one
17a	*sa tvaṃ no deva gāyatreṇa cchandasāhne paripāhīti*	He, the *deva*, has to protect you all on this day by means of the Gāyatrī, which is a song
17b	*ahna evātmānaṃ paridadāti*	Because he awards the soul during the day
18a	*mṛḍo 'si mṛḍase dvipade catuṣpada iti*	You are mercyful towards the quadruped and the biped
18b	*dvipadaś caivāsmai catuṣpadaś ca paśūn paridadāti*	The biped gives the cattle [plural] and the quadruped to them
19	*ādityo 'si vṛṣṇo aśvasya reto devānāṃ yātur asi yātur me 'sy asumaddhitaṃ jahīti*	You are the Āditya, the seed of the horse, the *yātu* of the *devas*, you are my *yātu*, you are the breath which is good for me, and which he kills
20a	*eṣa vai devayātus*	This is the *deva-yātu*
20b	*tasmā evainam apidadhāti*	That is why he hid him because of this one
21	*sa tvaṃ no deva traiṣṭubhena cchandasā rātryai paripāhīti*	He, the *deva*, has to protect you during the night against the desire, formulated by the triṣṭubh-metre
22a	*rātryā evātmānaṃ paridadāti*	Because he awards the soul during the

		night
22b	*mṛṇo 'si mṛṇāmuṣya dvipadaś catuṣpada iti*	You have been killed, oh quadruped, the biped is killed by you
23a	*dvipadaś caivāsmai catuṣpadaś ca paśūn apidadhāti*	The biped gives the cattle [plural] and the quadruped to them
23b	*skambho 'si bleṣko 'sīti*	You are the pillar, you are the noose
24a	*etau vai yamaśvā ahaś ca rātrī ca*	Both of them, day and night, are the dog of Yama
24b	*tā idaṃ manuṣyān vṛñjānau pratyasyamānā itas*	Both of them are turned towards the humans, casted forth out of there
25a	*tābhyām evainam apidadhāti*	He has hidden him for both of them
25b	*tā enaṃ vṛñjānau pratyasyamānā itas*	In that way both of them are turned towards here, having been casted out
26*	*yadā pravlayavyathita* [read: *pravlayavyathitam*[556]] *iva manyetāgnaye vītamanyave svāheti juhuyāt*	He who is crushed [overwhelmed] by anger, may he call out free from anger 'svāha'!
27a	*īśvaro vā abhicaro* [read: *abhicaritor*[557]] *'śāntaḥ pratyaṅṅ etoś* [read: *etā*[558]]	This lord or servant are satisfied [because of the ritual]
27b	*Śāntyai*	To peace [rest]

5.2 Comments

1b: Śuṣṇa is identified as a *dānava*, which is an alternative name for the Daityas or *asuras*, but then seen as the children of Danu and Kaśyapa.[559]

2bc: because Śuṣṇa has *amṛta* in his mouth, this rejuvenates him, making it impossible for the *devas* to kill him. By breathing *amṛta* upon the other *asuras*, Śuṣṇa also rejuvenates them, essentially providing the *asuras* with an immortal army.

[556] Mittwede, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā*, 149.
[557] Mittwede, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā*, 149.
[558] Mittwede, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā*, 149.
[559] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 474.

3a: this verse could mean two things: either the battle is stalled because both sides are equally powerful; or it is emphasized how the *devas* and *asuras* are equals and not so different from each other.[560]

9c and 10ab: the cryptic phrases 'rose up to the *devas*' in verse 9c, and 'having turned' in verse 10a, refer here to the idea that the *asuras* who were defeated but still living switched sides, now submitting their loyalty to the *devas*.[561] In this sense, the *devas* who assembled in verse 10b also includes the new *devas*, those who were formerly *asuras*.

13b: the creatures mentioned in this verse all belong to the *yātu*-species, as mentioned in verse 13a. They are scavengers, eating the raw flesh from dead bodies. These different kinds of creatures are quite closely related, and their characteristics are often interchangeable.[562] The *rakṣasas* are to be distinguished from the *rakṣas*, or guardians.

26: *svāha* is an exclamation conferring hail or blessing.[563]

[560] Van der Velde, *Nachtblauw*, 162-165.
[561] Van der Velde, *Nachtblauw*, 162-165.
[562] Melton, *The Vampire Book,* 370.
[563] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1284.

Appendix 6: TB 1.1.3:10-11

Sanskrit original: *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa,* edited by Matoko Fushimi. Accessed 27 July, 2017. http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/tb/tb.htm.

Verse 10f-10j is analysed in 3.3. This edition has already resolved *sandhis*, and also included other reading aids.

6.1 Translation

10a	*devā́ vā́ ū́rjaṃ vyàbhajanta*	The *devas* divide the juice [power]
10b*	*táta udumbára údatiṣṭhat*	There the *udumbara*-tree stood
10c	*ū́rg vā́ udumbáraḥ*	The *udumbara*-tree is powerful
10d	*yád áudumbaraḥ saṃbhāró bhávati*	That which belongs to the *udumbara*-tree, that he brought together
10e	*ū́rjam evá ávarunddhe*	That keeps away the juice
10f	*tṛtī́yasyām íto diví sóma āsīt*	*Soma* is in the third heaven
10g	*táṃ gāyatryā́ aharat*	He [*soma*] was stolen by Gāyatrī
10h	*tásya parṇám acchidyata*	A feather was cut from him [*soma*]
10i	*tát parṇó 'bhavat*	That became the *parṇa*-leaf
10j	*tát parṇásya parṇatvám*	In that way the *parṇa*-leaf arose [became] from a feather
11a	*yásya parṇamáyaḥ saṃbhāró bhávati*	That which is made from the *parṇa*-wood which he brought together
11b	*somapīthám evá ávarunddhe*	That keeps away the drinker of *soma*
11c	*devā́ vái bráhmann avadanta*	The *devas* and Brahma said [this]
11d	*tát parṇá úpāśṛṇot*	The *parṇa*-leaf heard this
11e	*suśrávā vái nā́ma*	The name is worthy to be heard
11f	*yát parṇamáyaḥ saṃbhāró bhávati*	That which is made from the *parṇa*-wood, that he brought together
11g	*brahmavarcasám evá ávarunddhe*	In that way he keeps away divine glory

11h*	*prajā́patir agním asṛjata*	Prajāpati emitted fire [Agni]
11i	*sò 'bibhet prá mā dhakṣyati íti*	He was afraid that it would not burn
11j	*táṁ śamyā́śamayat*	He was caused to be quiet because of this

6.2 Comments

10b: the *udumbara*-tree has been identified as the *Ficus Glomerata* or cluster fig.[564]

11h: the deity Agni and fire are often equated or even identical.[565]

[564] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 186.
[565] Gonda, *Religionen Indiens I*, 67.

Appendix 7: TB 3.2.1:1-2

Sanskrit original: *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa,* edited by Matoko Fushimi. Accessed 27 July, 2017. http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/yvs/tb/tb.htm.

Verse 1a-1e is analysed in 3.3. This edition has already resolved *sandhis*, and also includes other reading aids.

7.1 Translation

1a	*tṛtī́yasyām itó diví sóma āsīt*	*Soma* is in the third heaven
1b	*táṃ gāyatry ā́harat*	He [*soma*] was stolen by Gāyatrī
1c	*tásya parṇám acchidyata*	A feather was cut from him [*soma*]
1d	*tát parṇò 'bhavat*	That became the *parṇa*-leaf
1e	*tát parṇásya parṇatvám*	In that way the *parṇa*-leaf arose [became] from a feather
1f	*bráhma vái parṇáḥ*	The *parṇa* is the hymn [spell]
1g	*yát parṇaśākháyā vatsā́n apākaróti*	Just as he drives away the cattle [plural] with the *parṇa*-branch
1h*	*bráhmaṇā eváinān apā́karoti*	In that way the Brahmin drives away these ones
1i	*gāyatró vái parṇáḥ*	The hymn is the *parṇa*
1j	*gāyatrā́ḥ paśávaḥ*	The hymns are the cattle [plural]
2a*	*tásmāt trī́ṇi trīṇi parṇásya palāśā́ni*	That is why there are three times three leaves of the *parṇa*
2b*	*tripádā gāyatrī́*	[She is] the three-feeted Gāyatrī
2c	*yát parṇaśakháyā gā́ḥ prārpáyati*	He who causes the cows to move with the *parṇa*-branch
2d	*sváyā eváinā devátayā prā́rpayati*	She herself causes these to move due to the *devī*
2e	*yáṃ kāmáyeta apaśúḥ syād íti*	He who may choose, may he be deprived

		of cattle [singular]
2f	*aparṇắṃ tásmai śúṣkāgrām ắharet*	May he, because of this, have stolen her, she without feathers with dry ends
2g	*apaśúr evá bhavati*	So that [just as] he does not receive cattle [singular]
2h	*yáṃ kāmáyeta paśumắnt syād íti*	He who may choose, may he be rich in cattle
2i	*bahuparṇắṃ tásmai bahuśākhắm ắharet*	May he, because of this, have stolen many feathers and many branches
2j	*paśumántam eváinaṃ karoti*	Just as he drives off the possessor of much cattle

7.2 Comments

1h: a Brahmin (Sanskrit *brámaṇa*) is a generic name for a Hindu priest, without any specification of his function during a ritual or in daily life. Nowadays, they are considered to belong to the highest cast in Hindu civilization.[566]

2ab: the three-feeted Gāyatrī refers to the Gāyatrī-metre having three stanzas (feet or *pada*[567]) of eight syllables.[568] This might also give a clue as how to resolve an ambiguity in verse 2a. The pair *tríṇi trīṇi* can mean 'three and three', or 'three times three'. Since the Gāyatrī-metre has three *pada*, I think the translation 'three times three' is more likely. This gives the meaning that there are three sets of three leaves, just like that there are three sets (*padas*) of syllables. A translation as 'three and three' would only give two sets, which does not correspond to any numerical value associated with the Gāyatrī-metre (three and eight).

[566] Rodrigues, *Introducing Hinduism*, 58-59.
[567] Staal, *Discovering the Vedas*, 76.
[568] Staal, *Discovering the Vedas*, 89.

***Appendix 8: Babrius'* The Fox and the Eagle**

Greek original: Otto Crusius, ed. *Babrii: Fabulae Aesopeae*. Leipzig: Teuber, 1897, 168-169.

This text is analysed in 4.4.

8.1 Translation

1*	Φιλίαν ἐσπείσατο πρὸς ἀετὸν ἀλώπηξ.	A fox befriended an eagle
2	Καὶ ὃ μὲν εἶχε τὴν καλιὰν ἐπάνω τοῦ δένδρου, ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ῥίζαν.	And as [the eagle] had the nest to the top of the tree, so the fox had it under the root.
3	Ὁ δὲ ἀετὸς ἐπιορκήσας τοὺς σκύμνους τῆς ἀλώπεκος <gap> τοῖς δὲ νεοσσοῖς θοίνην ἔδωκεν.	[The eagle], having sworn false [friendship] before, gave the cubs of the fox as meal to her chicks.
4*	Ἄλλοτε δὲ ἱερεῖον ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἁρπάσας μετὰ ἄνθρακος ἔθετο εἰς τὴν καλιήν·	At another time [the eagle] snatched [a/some] sacrificial victim out from the altar along with [some] charcoal and put it in the nest.
5	Ἡ δέ <γ' εὐθὺς> ἐξήφθη καὶ οἱ νεοσσοὶ κατέπεσον·	But immediately the nest was set on fire and the chicks fell down:
6	Καὶ ἡ ἀλώπηξ θήραν ἐποιήσατο τὸ συμβάν.	and the fox made prey [on the chicks], as it happened.
7*	Ὅτι δίκη τις ἐφορᾷ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόρκους ἀμύνεται καὶ ἀποδίδωσι κατ' ἀξίαν.	Thus some law looks out for human business, for those who swear falsely will be judged appropriately

8.2 Comments

1: the text formally lacks a title. For convenience's sake, the traditional title is added: 'The Fox and the Eagle'. An alternative title would have been the first sentence of the text: 'A Fox befriended an Eagle'.

4: the amount of sacrificial victim which is carried off by the eagle is unclear. It could be the whole animal, or just a piece. My preference goes to just a piece, since it is to be expected that special notice would have been made if the whole animal was taken.

7: the fable is concluded by an *epimythium* or moral lesson that the fable wants to convey. According to Ailius Theon this is the most important function of a fable, which can persuade people to lead proper lives.[569]

[569] Gert-Jan van Dijk, "De Theorie van de Fabel in de Griekse Oudheid," in *Mijn Naam is Haas: Dierenverhalen in Verschillende Culturen*, ed. Idema, Schipper, and Schrijvers (Baarn: Uitgeverij Ambo, 1993), 26-27.

Figures

Legend:

/ = motif only appears in a subset of the narratives in the category

? = unsure whether the motif appears in the narrative/category

* = motif appears in this narrative/category, but in a different syntagmatic moment

Figures from chapter 3

Figure 3.1: Gandharvas *steal* soma

	KYV TS 6.1.6	KYV TS 6.1.11	KYV KKS 37	KYV MS 3.7.3	KYV KS 24.1	ŚB 3.2.4	ŚB 3.9.3	ŚB 4.4.2	AB 1.5	KB 12.1	KB 12.3	VB 47	BP 35
Gandharvas guard *soma*							■				■		
Viśvāvasu steals *soma*	■	■	■	■		■						■	
Gandharvas steal *soma*					■								■
Rakṣasas guard the waters										■			
Soma stolen for 3 nights	■		■	■	■							■	
Devas want *soma*					■	■	■		■				■
Gandharvas love women	■		■	■		■	■		■		■	■	■
Devas with wives to *Gandharvas*; steal soma							■						
Vāc's plan: buy *soma* with Vāc									■				■
Vāc turned into woman	■		■						■			■	
Vāc sold for *soma*	■		■	■	■				■			■	
Vāc send to return with *soma*						■							
Vāc runs away from *Gandharvas*	■		■	■								■	
Gandharvas follow Vāc back				■		■							
Gandharvas want to trade *soma* for Vāc						■							
Summoning contest	■		■	■	■	■						■	
Kavaṣa uses hymn to defeat *rakṣasas*										■			
Vāc/Sarasvatī goes to *devas*	■		■	■	■	■			■			■	■
Punishment: *Gandharvas* lose Vāc/Sarasvatī and *soma*	■		■	■	■	■			■			■	■
Punishment: *Gandharvas* get only *ghī,* no *soma*								■					

Figure 3.2: Birds steal soma*: the location of* soma

	ṚV 1.80	ṚV 1.93	ṚV 3.43	ṚV 4.18	ṚV 4.26	ṚV 4.27	ṚV 6.20	ṚV 8.82	ṚV 8.100	ṚV 9.68	ṚV 9.77	ṚV 9.89	ṚV 10.11	ṚV 10.144	KYV TS 3.5.7	KYV TS 6.1.6	KYV MS 3.7.3	KYV MS 4.1.1	KYV KS 23.10	KYV KS 24.1	KYV KS 34.3	ŚB 1.7.1	ŚB 3.2.4	ŚB 3.6.2	ŚB 4.3.2	ŚB 11.7.2	AB 3.3	PB 8.4	TB 1.1.3	TB 3.2.1	JB 1.187-189
Soma in heaven					■	■		■	■		■												■	■		■					
Soma in third heaven															■	■		■	■										■	■	■
Soma in another world																				■							■				
Soma on rock		■																													
Soma in fortress						■			■																						
Soma far away					■					■				■																	
Soma kept in two golden cups																								■							■

Figure 3.3: Birds steal soma*: Kadrū and Suparṇī*

	ṚV 1.80	RV 1.93	RV 3.43	ṚV 4.18	ṚV 4.26	RV 4.27	RV 6.20	ṚV 8.82	ṚV 8.100	RV 9.68	RV 9.77	RV 9.89	ṚV 10.11	RV 10.144	KYV TS 3.5.7	KYV TS 6.1.6	KYV MS 3.7.3	KYV MS 4.1.1	KYV KS 23.10	KYV KS 24.1	KYV KS 34.3	ŚB 1.7.1	ŚB 3.2.4	ŚB 3.6.2	ŚB 4.3.2	ŚB 11.7.2	AB 3.3	PB 8.4	TB 1.1.3	TB 3.2.1	JB 1.187-189
Devas want *soma*																							■	■			■				
Metres want *soma* for sacrifice																															■
Devas create Kadrū and Suparṇī																							■	■							
Kadrū and Suparṇī contest																■			■					■							
Kadrū defeats Suparṇī																■	■		■					■							
Punishment: Suparṇī steals *soma*																■	■		■					■							
Devas let metres bring *soma*																											■	■			
Suparṇī's children are metres																■	■		■					■							
Mother Gāyatrī is Anuṣṭubh																															■
Suparṇī lets children steal *soma*																■	■		■												
Jagatī fails																■	■		■						■		■	■			■
Triṣṭubh fails																■	■		■						■		■	■			■

Figure 3.4: Birds steal soma*: Gāyatrī steals* soma

	ṚV 1.80	ṚV 1.93	ṚV 3.43	ṚV 4.18	ṚV 4.26	ṚV 4.27	ṚV 6.20	ṚV 8.82	ṚV 8.100	ṚV 9.68	ṚV 9.77	ṚV 9.89	ṚV 10.11	ṚV 10.144	KYV TS 3.5.7	KYV TS 6.1.6	KYV MS 3.7.3	KYV MS 4.1.1	KYV KS 23.10	KYV KS 24.1	KYV KS 34.3	ŚB 1.7.1	ŚB 3.2.4	ŚB 3.6.2	ŚB 4.3.2	ŚB 11.7.2	AB 3.3	PB 8.4	TB 1.1.3	TB 3.2.1	JB 1.187-189
Gāyatrī is *śyena*																		■		■	■					■	■				
Gāyatrī flies towards *soma*															■	■	■		■			■	■		■		■				■
Soma brought	■		■		■	■		■	■	■		■	■	■											■						■
Honey brought				■	■																										
Soma stolen		■					■				■				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	
Stolen by Gāyatrī															■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Stolen by *śyena*	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■																	
Stolen by Suparṇa					■				■					■																	
Hymn for journey Gāyatrī																											■				
Gāyatrī wins 4 syllables																■			■						■		■	■			■
Soma brought to Indra			■	■			■	■	■																						
Soma brought to Manu					■																										
Impelled to drink *soma*			■					■																							
Soma used to smash Vṛtra	■																														

Figure 3.5: Birds steal soma*: Gāyatrī is shot at*

	ṚV 1.80	ṚV 1.93	ṚV 3.43	ṚV 4.18	ṚV 4.26	ṚV 4.27	ṚV 6.20	ṚV 8.82	ṚV 8.100	ṚV 9.68	ṚV 9.77	ṚV 9.89	ṚV 10.11	ṚV 10.144	KYV TS 3.5.7	KYV TS 6.1.6	KYV MS 3.7.3	KYV MS 4.1.1	KYV KS 23.10	KYV KS 24.1	KYV KS 34.3	ŚB 1.7.1	ŚB 3.2.4	ŚB 3.6.2	ŚB 4.3.2	ŚB 11.7.2	AB 3.3	PB 8.4	TB 1.1.3	TB 3.2.1
Kṛśānu shoots at Gāyatrī						■																					■			
Footless archer shoots at Gāyatrī																						■								
Soma-rakṣa shoots at Gāyatrī																					■									
Feather cut off Gāyatrī						■												■				?				?				
Claw cut off Gāyatrī																					■						■			
Feather cut off *soma*															■							?				?			■	■
Feather becomes *parṇa*															■			■				■			■				■	■
Claw becomes porcupine																											■			
Soma-shoots become *pūtīka*																					■							■		

Figure 3.6: Garuḍa steals amṛta *in MBh-G, Rām, and S-KSS 27-HB*

	MBh-G	Rām	S-KSS 27B-HB
Boon Kadrū and Vinatā by Kaśyapa	■		
Kadrū and Vinatā contest	■		■
Kadrū trick: *nāgas* make tail horse black	■		■
Nāgas refuse; *nāgas* cursed by Kadrū	■		
Kadrū defeats Vinatā	■		■
Punishment: Vinatā slave of Kadrū	■		■
Garuḍa wants to be free	■		■
Nāgas want *amṛta*	■		■
Garuḍa wants to get *amṛta*		■	
Garuḍa eats Niṣādas	■		
Garuḍa kills Nisādas		■	
Garuḍa eats tortoise and elephant	■	■	
Garuḍa defeats Viśvakarman	■		
Garuḍa defeats *devas*	■		
Garuḍa destroys fortress *amṛta*	■	■	
Garuḍa grabs *amṛta*	■	■	■
Amṛta in Indra's palace		■	
Garuḍa befriends Viṣṇu and Indra		■	
Boon Garuḍa: immortal and above Viṣṇu	■		
Boon Garuḍa: *nāgas* as food		■	■

Figure 3.7: Indra steals soma *in ṚV 3.48, ṚV 4.18, KYV TS 2.4.12, ŚB 1.6.3, and JB 2.155*

	ṚV 3.48	ṚV 4.18	KYV TS 2.4.12	KYV KS 34:3	ŚB 1.6.3	JB 2.155
Tvaṣṭṛ's son is slain by Indra			■		■	
Tvaṣṭṛ excludes Indra from *soma*			■		■	■
Soma stolen from Indra's drinking companion				■		
Indra craves *soma*	■		■			
Indra decides to kill Tvaṣṭṛ						■
Tvaṣṭṛ takes refuge at wives; Indra does not follow						■
Indra drinks *soma*		■				■
Indra steals *soma*	■				■	
Tvaṣṭṛ asks if any *soma* is left; Indra gives leftovers						■
Punishment: Indra concealed; *devas* abandon Indra		■				
Punishment: *soma* hurts Indra					■	
Punishment: Tvaṣṭṛ sacrifices *soma* in fire			■		■	■
Sacrificial formula: 'Grow, have Indra as your enemy'					■	
Soma turns into Vṛtra			■		■	■
Tvaṣṭṛ and Viṣṇu help Indra defeating Vṛtra			■			
Indra slays Vṛtra because of formula					■	
Waters released by Indra bring mercy to Indra		■				

Figure 3.8: Indra steals soma *in KYV KS 37.14, MBh-I, and S-KSS 27B-HE*

	KYV KS 37.14	MBh-I	S-KSS 27B-HE
Amṛta at *asuras*	■		
Indra wants *amṛta* back		■	■
Garuḍa places *amṛta* on *kuśa*-grass		■	■
Indra turned into lump honey; Śuṣṇa swallows Indra	■		
Nāgas go to river to purify		■	
Indra steals *amṛta* off *kuśa*-grass		■	■
Indra turns into *śyena*; steals *amṛta*	■		
Nāgas lick *kuśa*-grass; forked tongues		■	■
Garuḍa eats *nāgas*; one *nāga* every day			■
Devas beat *asuras*	■		

Figure 3.9: Churning of the Ocean

	MBh-Ch	AP	BhP	MP	PP 1.4	PP 4.10	VP
Dhanvantari arises with *amṛta*	■	■	■	■	■		■
Moon arises with *amṛta*						■	
Asuras claim *amṛta*	■	■	■		■		■
Devas and *asuras* claim *amṛta*				■			
Devas drive off *asuras*						■	
Viṣṇu takes on female form	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Asuras ask Viṣṇu to divide *amṛta*		■	■				
Asuras give *amṛta* to Viṣṇu	■	■	■	■	■		
Viṣṇu steals *amṛta*							■
Devas drink *amṛta*	■						■
Viṣṇu only gives *amṛta* to *devas*		■	■	■	■		
Rāhu takes on form *deva*	■		■	■			
Rāhu takes on form moon		■					
Rāhu consumes *amṛta*	■	■	■	■		■	
Sun and moon warn Viṣṇu against Rāhu	■		■	■		■	
Viṣṇu cuts off head Rāhu	■	■	■	■		■	
Devas defeat *asuras*	■	■		■	■		■
Devas give *amṛta* to Viṣṇu for safekeeping	■			■			

Figure 3.10: Indian versions of A153.1 Theft of Ambrosia: Food of the Gods stolen

		Gandharvas	Birds	Garuḍa	S-KSS 27-J	Indra *soma*	Indra *amṛta*	Churning
Setting	Gandharvas guard *soma/amṛta*	/						
	Location: *soma/amṛta* in heaven			/				
	Location: *soma/amṛta* in fortress		/					
	Location: *soma/amṛta* at *asuras*						/	
Motivation	Contest Kadrū and Suparṇī/Vinatā							
	Desire for *soma/amṛta*							
	Remorse							
	Exclusion from sacrifice					?		
Theft	Theft by creature lower in hierarchy				?			
	Theft; hierarchy ambiguous						/	
	Exclusion from sacrifice					?		
	Theft by violence					/		
Stealing back	*Devas* use women							
	Indra steals/drinks *soma/amṛta*			*				
Punishment thief	First thieves bereft of *soma/amṛta*							
	Gandharvas bereft of Vāc/Sarasvatī							
	Claw/feather cut off							
	Remorse							
	Soma/amṛta harms Indra							
	Garuḍa eats *nāgas*							
	Viṣṇu cuts off head Rāhu							
	Asuras defeated by *devas*						/	
Rewards thief	Fulfilling demand after contest							
	Gāyatrī gains four syllables							
	Claw/feather restored as animal/vegetation							
	Boon							
	Restoring lives							
	Remorse relieved				?	/		

Figures from chapter 4

Figure 4.1: Prometheus or Tantalos steal food from the gods

	H-Theog	H-WoDa	Crat-W	PsA-PB	L-PC	L-LP	P-OO1
Zeus binds Prometheus	■						
Hephaistos binds Prometheus				■			
Hephaistos and Hermes crucify Prometheus						■	
Hephaistos regrets and protests				■			
Prometheus regrets and protests						■	
Zeus drives bonds through pillar	■						
Hephaistos drives bond through rock				■			
Rock suspended above Tantalos							■
Bondage	■		■	■		■	
Eagle eats liver so that Prometheus dies						■	
Eagle eats regrowing liver	■						
Tantalos constantly weary and without joy							■
Herakles slays eagle	■						
Someone will come to save Prometheus					■		
Prometheus divides up ox	■						
Prometheus commissioned to divide meat						■	
Chorus: do not bring ox to feast gods				■			
Prometheus: what would punishment be if whole ox?						■	
Meat and innards in stomach	■						
Bones within fat	■				■	■	
Bones within fat burned by Prometheus				■			
Zeus knows he is being deceived	■						
Zeus gets to pick	■						
Tantalos steals *ambrosia* and *nektar*							■
Zeus angry	■	■					
Prometheus keeps best share for himself						■	
Ambrosia and *nektar* make Tantalos immortal							■
Prometheus stole from gods and gave to humans				■			
? steals from Zeus			■				
Punishment: no fire	■	■					
Punishment: no means for life		■					
Punishment: evils for humans		■					
Prometheus creates humans						■	
Prometheus steals fire	■	■		■		■	
Tantalos shares *ambrosia* and *nektar* with companions							■
Zeus angry seeing fire among humans	■						
Punishment: Venerable Maiden/Pandora	■	■					
Punishment: Pelops send back to humans							■

Figure 4.2: Herakles steals the apples of the Hesperides

	P-10K	Eu-H	PsE-K	AR-A	DS-BH	PsAp-B	PE-I	QS-PH
Labour: steal apples of Hesperides	■				■	■		
Apples not in Lybia						■		
Nereus tells Herakles location of apples						■		
Herakles sails to Lybia					■			
Herakles goes west		■						
Apples gift from Earth at marriage Zeus and Hera	■		■			■		
Hera plants apples at garden of the gods near mount Atlas	■		■					
Apples guarded by *drakōn*	■		■		■	■		
Apples guarded by Ladon				■				
Apples guarded by Hesperides						■		
Hesperides herd sheep dubbed 'golden apples'					■			
Shepherd Drakōn herds golden sheep					■			
Drakōn placed by Hera in garden of Hesperides	■		■					
Drakōn placed by Hera among stars	■		■					
Zeus places constellation Herakles above Drakōn as reminder of struggle	■		■					
Herakles kills eagle						■		
Prometheus tells Herakles to trick Atlas						■		
Herakles asks Atlas to get apples						■		
Herakles holds sky						■		
Atlas receives 3 apples from Hesperides						■		
Atlas offers to bring apples to Eurystheus						■		
Herakles asks Atlas to hold sky so that Herakles can put pad on his head						■		
Herakles takes 3 apples and leaves Atlas with sky						■		
Herakles kills *drakōn*	■	■			?	■		
Herakles kills *drakōn* with arrows		■						
Herakles kills *drakōn* with club	■							
Herakles kills Ladōn with arrows dipped in poison of Hydra				■				
Drakōn is dead								■
Herakles kills guardian of apples					■			
Herakles wins over *drakōn*							■	
Herakles wins over Hesperides							■	
Herakles gets apples	■	■		■		■	■	
Daughters Atlas constantly steal apples	■		■				■	
Herakles brings apples to Eurystheus					■	■		
Eurystheus gives apples back to Herakles						■		
Herakles gives apples to Athena						■		
Athena gives apples back to Hesperides						■		
Herakles waits on gift immortality Apollo					■			

Figure 4.3: Birds steal sacrifice

	PsPlu-Par	Arch-EF	Bab-EF	Aris-B1	Aris-B2	Aris-B3	Aris-B4	Aris-B5	Aris-B6
Sparta struck by plague	■								
Fox and eagle live near each other		■	■						
Birds want to build city and restore kingship					■				
Envoy of birds send to humans					■				
Envoy of gods arrive						■		■	■
Oracle: plague will cease when maiden sacrificed; Helen as sacrifice	■								
Eagle snatches fox cubs for food		■	■						
Gods receive sacrifice; birds eat before Zeus				■					
Birds demand sacrifice goes first to them, then to gods					■				
Birds contest claim divinity Olympian gods; birds new gods						■			
Birds demand that sacrifice goes to them, not to gods						■			
Birds demand to rule instead of Olympian gods									■
Eagle snatches away sacrificial sword	■								
Fox curses eagle		■							
Eagle snatches burning entrail from sacrificial goat on altar		■							
Eagle snatches sacrificial victim from altar with charcoal			■						
Smoke of sacrifice cannot reach gods due to Cloudcuckooland					■		■	■	
Threat of violence					■	■		■	
Birds will punish breaker of vows now instead of gods									■
When withholding sacrifice, kite will snatch 2 sheep									■
Eagle drops sacrificial sword on heifer	■								
Nest catches fire; chicks drop out of tree; fox eats chicks		■	■						
Birds will be good to humans					■				
Envoy chased off						■			
Prometheus helps birds								■	
Peisetairos convinces Herakles									■
Interpretation Triballian words									■
Spartans abstain from slaying maidens	■								
Moral of the story: justice will come to oath-breakers			■						

Figure 4.4: Greek versions of A153.1 Theft of Ambrosia: Food of the Gods stolen

		Prometheus	P-OO1	Herakles	PsPlu-Par	Aesop	*Birds*
What is stolen?	Food	■		■			
	Ambrosia and *nektar*		■				
	Sacrifice				■	■	■
Setting and/or Motivation	Punishment	■	■	?	?		
	Labour			■			
	Request of sacrifice				■		■
	Theft of children					■	
	Envoy						■
Theft	Trick	■					
	Normal theft		■		■	■	
	Kill guardian			■			
	Blockade						■
	Shared with others	?	■	■		■	■
Reward	Food and fire	■					
	Immortality		■	/			
	Vengeance (for victim)					■	
	Institution of sacrifice	/			■		■
Punishment	Rock	■	■				
	No movement	■	■				
	Punishment others	?	■			■	
	Punishment child		■			■	

Figures from chapter 5

Figure 5.1: Theft of fruit

	JW 5A	JW 17	JW 24-26	Trip	PTOO 297-306	ZH-Bo	HWG	ZY-QQP	ZY-XQ
Sun Wukong given task of maintaining Garden	■								
Sun Wukong gains title 'Sage Equal to Heaven'		■							
Perceiving fruit			■	■					
Contest between Buddhists and Taoists					■				
Queen Mother visits Emperor Wu; eat peaches						■			
Queen Mother holds Banquet								■	■
Sun Wukong wants to taste peaches	■								
Protagonist commissioned to steal fruit			■	■					
Dongfang Shuo spies on Queen Mother and Emperor Wu						■			
Dongfang Shuo declares intention to steal one peach								■	
Tripiṭaka refuses to each child-like fruit			■	■					
Sun Wukong sends his entourage away	■								
Immortal Maidens pretend to sleep; Dongfang Shuo transforms								■	
Sun Wukong steals equipment; abuses garden deity			■						
Accused, Sun Wukong destroys ginseng tree			■						
Earth deities guard peaches				■					
Sun Xingzhe beats up disciples					■				
Sun Xingzhe shrinks and enters box					■				
Dongfang Shuo changes into insect									■
Stealing peaches	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Eating peaches	■		■		■			■	
Immortal Maidens pick peaches; wake up Sun Wukong	■								
Army of Immortals chases thief		■							■
Sun Wukong captured by Erlang Shen		■							
Tripiṭaka and entourage locked up			■						
Sun Wukong puts disciples to sleep; escape			■						
Sun Wukong bound to pole		■							
Tripiṭaka and entourage caught twice again; bound			■						
Sun Wukong unharmed by weapons		■							
Bound Sun Wukong flogged; ineffective; escape			■						
Protagonist harmed				■				■	
Sun Wukong to be burned in Laozi's furnace; ineffective		■							
Sun Wukong to be fried; stone lion fried			■						
Sun Xingzhe lets Deerskin perish in hot oil					■				
Sun Xingzhe to take bath in hot oil; disappears					■				
Tathāgata binds Sun Wukong under Five Phases Mountain		■							
Protagonist banished				■			■		
Guan-Yin restores tree on Sun Wukong's request			■						
Monkey Pilgrim spits out seeds; becomes ginseng tree				■					
Emperor Wu wishes to plant peach seeds						■			
Sun Wukong to be freed when Tripiṭaka comes by		■							
Buddhists win contest					■				
Dongfang Shuo regarded as Immortal						■			

Figure 5.2: Theft of wine

	JW 5B	JW 5E	YTJ
Queen Mother does not invite Sun Wukong to Banquet	■		
Sun Wukong trick Bare Feet and takes on his form	■		
Sun Wukong returns to Flower Fruit Mountain		■	
Sun Wukong smells wine	■		
Sun Wukong promises to bring wine to monkeys		■	
Sun Wukong puts wine makers to sleep	■		
Wine makers are still asleep		■	
Sun Wukong consumes wine	■		■
Sun Wukong consumes delicacies and wine	■		
Sun Wukong steals 4 vats of wine		■	
Sun Wukong realizes consequences	■		
Sun Wukong returns to Flower Fruit Mountain	■	■	

Figure 5.3: Theft of elixir

	JW 5C	JW 7A	JW 39	JW 50	JW 71	Zaju B	SAT	HN	CXJ	WX	RB	LS-MG	YJ-M	LQ-FE	CT-XY
Elixir pills	■	■	■	■											?
Elixir drink										■		■			
Golden elixir	■		■			■									
Elixir of immortality							■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■
Sun Wukong is drunk	■				■										
Sun Wukong ends up at Laozi's Tuṣita Palace	■		■												
Sun Wukong gains title ' Sage Equal to Heaven'					■										
Elixir stored in pot in palace															■
Laozi is absent; Sun Wukong contemplates eating elixir	■														
Sun Wukong asks for elixir to restore life king; Laozi refuses			■												
Yi asks for elixir from Queen Mother								■	■						
Palace room unlocked															■
Stealing elixir	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■
Consuming elixir	■		?							■					?
Receiving elixir			■								■				
Sun Wukong could steal elixir				■											
Sun Wukong realizes consequences	■														
Sun Wukong goes to Flower Fruit Mountain	■														
Fleeing to moon							■	■	■	■	■				
Fleeing to Toad Palace; trickery													■		
Fleeing into space														■	
Elixir sobers up Sun Wukong	■														
Elixir refines and strengthens body						■									
Transformation on the moon									■	■					
Eternal life on the moon															■
Sun Wukong punished		■			■										
Army of Immortals against Sun Wukong					■										
Sun Wukong captured by Erlang Shen			■		■										
Sun Wukong unharmed by weapons					■										
Sun Wukong boiled in Laozi's Eight Trigrams furnace; escapes			■		■										
Sun Wukong caught by Tathāgata Buddha					■										
Sun Wukong bound at the end of Heaven for 500 years					■										
Zhang E regrets stealing elixir												?			
Who knows when Sun Wukong will be free again?		■													
Sun Wukong freed when Tripiṭaka comes by					■										

Figure 5.4: Multiple thefts

	JW 5D	JW 5F	JW 5-7	JW 7B	JW 19	JW 24	JW 51	JW 52	JW 55	JW 75	JW 81	JW 83	Zaju A	PTOO 293-294	ESQD
Theft peaches			■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	
Theft wine	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■
Theft delicacies	■		■				■	■		■					
Theft elixir	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Sun Wukong given task of maintaining Garden	■														
Queen Mother does not invite Sun Wukong to Banquet	■							■							
Sun Wukong gains title ‘ Sage Equal to Heaven’			■					■				■			?
Sun Wukong trick Bare Feet and takes on his form			■												
Sun Wukong realizes consequences	■														
Sun Wukong goes to Flower Fruit Mountain	■														
Sun Wukong shares booty with monkeys			■												■
No one brave enough to share from booty						■									
Army of Immortals against Sun Wukong		■	■					■					■	■	
Sun Wukong captured by Erlang Shen			■		■			■						■	■
Sun Xingzhe captured by Naṭa			■		■			■					■	■	■
Guan-Yin and Laozi aid Erlang Shen			■					■							
Sun Wukong bound to pole			■												
Sun Wukong unharmed by weapons			■		■			■	■						
Sun Wukong boiled in Laozi’s Eight Trigrams furnace			■		■			■	■						
Sun Wukong escapes from Laozi’s Eight Trigrams furnace			■					■							
Irritated eyes			■												
Strengthened body					■			■							
Unharmed									■						
Sun Wukong caught by Tathāgata Buddha			■	■				■							
Sun Wukong caught by Guan-Yin													■	■	
Sun Wukong bound under Five Phases Mountain			■	■				■					■	■	
Sun Wukong fed iron pellets and molten copper				■										■	
Sun Wukong freed when Tripiṭaka comes by			■	■				■					■	■	
Qitian Dasheng begs for mercy; reprimanded and freed															■

Figure 5.5 Chinese versions of A153.1 Theft of Ambrosia: Food of the Gods stolen

		Fruit	Wine	Pills	Moon	Multiple
Setting	Sun Wukong given task of maintaining Garden	/				/
	Queen Mother does not invite Sun Wukong to Banquet		/			/
	Sun Wukong gains title 'Sage Equal to Heaven'	/				/
	Sun Wukong tricks Bare Feet and takes on his form		/			/
Desire / Request	Protagonist desires item	/	/	/		
	Actor requests item			/	/	
	Protagonist commissioned to get item	/	/			
Theft	Normal theft		/			
	Using trick	/	/	/	?	
	Using violence	/				
	Receiving elixir			/	/	
Flight	To Flower Fruit Mountain			/		/
	To Moon					
Ineffective punishment	Army of Immortals	/		/		
	Captured by Erlang Shen	/		/		
	Unharmed by weapons	/		/		
	Unharmed by cauldron/furnace			/		
Effect	Strengthened body			/		/
	Transformation	*			/	
Effective punishment	Bound by Buddha-figure	/		/		
	Banished	/				
	Realizing consequences / regret		/	/	?	/
Freedom	Freed when Tripiṭaka comes	/				
	Planting	/				
	Let go					/
Other outcomes	Increase in status	/				

Figures from chapter 6

Figure 6.1: Syntagmatic moments: setting and motivation

	India							Greece						China				
	Gandharvas	Birds	Garuḍa	S-KSS 27-J	Indra *soma*	Indra *amṛta*	Churning	Prometheus	P-OO1	Herakles	PsPlu-Par	Aesop	*Birds*	Fruit	Wine	Pills	Moon	Multiple
Travel	*	*										*				/	*	/
Guarding	/													/		/		/
Exclusion	*												*		/			/
Punishment										?	?							
Bereft					?	?												
Status / Gain		*	*	*		*								/				/
Desire								/						/	/	/	/	
Commission														/	/			
Request of Sacrifice																		

Figure 6.2: Syntagmatic moments: theft

	India							Greece						China				
	Gandharvas	Birds	Garuḍa	S-KSS 27-J	Indra *soma*	Indra *amṛta*	Churning	Prometheus	P-OO1	Herakles	PsPlu-Par	Aesop	*Birds*	Fruit	Wine	Pills	Moon	Multiple
Lower hierarchy																		
Ambiguous hierarchy						/												
Normal theft			/												/			
Using trick														/	/	/	?	
Using women		?						*									?	
Using violence					/									/				
Theft from sacrifice					*									/				
Consumption					/	*								/		/	/	
Shared with others								*						/	/			/

Figure 6.3: Syntagmatic moment: punishments

	India							**Greece**						**China**				
	Gandharvas	Birds	Garuḍa	S-KSS 27-J	Indra *soma*	Indra *amṛta*	Churning	Prometheus	P-OO1	Herakles	PsPlu-Par	Aesop	*Birds*	Fruit	Wine	Pills	Moon	Multiple
Individual punishment														/	/	/	?	
Collective punishment											?			/				
Impaired movement														/		/		
Eating																		/
Banishment														/				
Bereft					*													
Remorse															/	/	?	/
Bodily harm														/				
Failed bodily harm				*										/		/		
Punishment others														/				

Figure 6.4: Syntagmatic moments: rewards

	India							**Greece**						**China**				
	Gandharvas	Birds	Garuḍa	S-KSS 27-J	Indra *soma*	Indra *amṛta*	Churning	Prometheus	P-OO1	Herakles	PsPlu-Par	Aesop	*Birds*	Fruit	Wine	Pills	Moon	Multiple
Individual constructive										/				/		/	/	/
General constructive														?				
Status quo										/				/				/
Destructive																		

Figure 6.5: 'Universal' motifs

		India							Greece						China					Class
		Gandharvas	Birds	Garuḍa	S-KSS 27-J	Indra *soma*	Indra *amṛta*	Churning	Prometheus	P-OO1	Herakles	PsPlu-Par	Aesop	*Birds*	Fruit	Wine	Pills	Moon	Multiple	
Setting / Motivation	Travel	*	*										*				/	*	/	Minor
	Guarding	/													/		/		/	Minor
	Commission														/	/				Minor
Theft	Lower hierarchy																			Major
	Normal theft			/												/				Major
	Consumption					/	*								/		/	/		Major
	Shared with others								*						/	/			/	Major
Punishment	Individual punishment														/	/	/	?		Major
	Eating																		/	Minor
Reward	Individual constructive										/				/		/	/	/	Minor
	Status quo										/				/				/	Minor
Complete presence		1	6	8	5	2	-	3	3	6	4	2	6	4	2	3	2	2	3	
Partial presence		1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	7	4	5	2	6	
Doubtful presence		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
Syntagmatically different moment		1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	

Figure 6.6: Indo-European motifs

		India							Greece						Class
		Gandharvas	Birds	Garuḍa	S-KSS 27-J	Indra *soma*	Indra *amṛta*	Churning	Prometheus	P-OO1	Herakles	PsPlu-Par	Aesop	*Birds*	
Setting / Motivation	Punishment										?	?			Major
	Bereft					?	?								Minor
Theft	Ambiguous hierarchy						/								Major
	Using violence					/									Minor
Punishment	Collective punishment											?			Minor
	Eating														Minor
	Bereft					*									Minor
	Bodily harm														Major
	Punishment others														Major
Reward	General constructive														Minor
	Destructive														Minor
Complete presence		3	1	6	1	3	2	4	8	3	2	1	5	1	
Partial presence		-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Doubtful presence		-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	
Syntagmatically different moment		-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Figure 6.7: Shared motifs between India and China

		India							China					Class
		Gandharvas	Birds	Garuḍa	S-KSS 27-J	Indra *soma*	Indra *amṛta*	Churning	Fruit	Wine	Pills	Moon	Multiple	
Setting / Motivation	Exclusion	*								/			/	Minor
	Desire								/	/	/	/		Major
Theft	Using trick								/	/	/	?		Major
Punishment	Remorse									/	/	?	/	Minor
	Failed bodily harm				*				/		/			Minor
Complete presence		2	2	1	1	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	
Partial presence		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4	4	1	2	
Doubtful presence		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	
Syntagmatically different moment		1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Figure 6.8: Shared motifs between Greece and China

		Greece						China					Class
		Prometheus	P-OO1	Herakles	PsPlu-Par	Aesop	*Birds*	Fruit	Wine	Pills	Moon	Multiple	
Punishment	Impaired movement							/		/			Major
	Banishment							/					Minor
Complete presence		1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Partial presence		-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	
Doubtful presence		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Syntagmatically different moment		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Figure 6.9: Absolute number of shared motifs including percentages

	Total	**Major**	**Minor**
'Universal'	11	5 (45,45%)	6 (54.55%)
Indo-European	22	8 (36.36%)	14 (63.64%)
India-China	16	7 (43.75%)	9 (56.25%)
Greece-China	13	6 (46.15%)	7 (53.85%)