

SOMA'S METAMORPHOSES  
(THE IDENTIFICATIONS IN THE  
OBLATORY RITES OF ŚATAPATHA-  
BRĀHMAṆA 12, 6, 1)

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The section on the expiatory oblations of a soma ceremony ŚB. 12, 6, 1, which is remarkable because of the minuteness and uniformity with which the 34<sup>1</sup> successive eventualities are described, begins by stating that the sacrifice, Prajāpati, is also identical with King Soma<sup>2</sup>. The deities to whom one offers and the oblations are forms of this god (1). “If some (irregular or ill-omened event) befalls any part of the sacrifice, one should make an oblation with regard to that deity for whom one may have intended (that part)...; for whatever joint (*parvan*) of the sacrifice fails, that breaks; and whichever then is the deity in that (part), through that deity one heals (*bhīṣajyati*) the sacrifice and puts it together again” (ŚB. 12, 6, 1, 2; likewise 4, 5, 7, 6, dealing with additional forms of the soma ritual). That means that if in acquiring, preparing, and offering the soma some mishap is impending expiatory oblations are to be presented to different deities according to the specific points of progress of the ceremonies. Although in several cases the relation between the stages in the preparation or offering is immediately clear, it seems worthwhile to contribute the following information and suggestions.

The 34 deities of the formulae accompanying the oblations – *paramēṣṭhine svāhā* etc. – are, together with the shortest possible indication of the occasions, succinctly enumerated in VS. 8, 54-59. In Mahīdhara’s commentary every item is, in conformity with ŚB. 12, 6, 1, 3 ff., explained by the statement that on that occasion, or rather at that stage, Soma is the god mentioned in the formula. Mention of these 34 oblations is also made in KŚ. 25, 6, 1 ff. and in ŚB. 4, 5, 7, 1: “Now, there are here 34 utterances (*vyāhṛtayaḥ*) called expiations (*prāyaścittayaḥ*)”; see also 3: “Now some call these (formulae) the bodies (forms, *tanvaḥ*) of the sacrifice, but they are rather its joints; this sacrifice, in being performed, is continually becoming these deities”. None of these texts gives information on the question as to why soma successively is identical with these deities. But the number 34 is explained in ŚB. 12, 6, 1, 37: “The above are the 33 oblations he makes; for there are 33 gods and Prajāpati is the 34<sup>th</sup>. With the help of all the gods he thus heals the sacrifice and puts it together again”. Prajāpati’s association with the number 34 (see, e.g., also ŚB. 4, 5, 7, 2; 5, 1, 2, 13; TB. 1, 8, 7, 1; PB. 10, 1, 16; 12, 13, 24; 24, 4, 3) means that he exceeds, surpasses and encompasses the totality constituted

1. Not 33 (J. Eggeling’s error, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* translated, V, Oxford 1900, p. 211 (ŚB. 12, 6, 1, 37)).

2. For similar ‘identifications’ and expiations (and the mantras belonging to them) in connexion with the *mahāvīra* pot of the *pravargya* ritual see KŚ. 26, 7, 50; VS. 39, 5 f.; with the *agnihotra* milk AiB. 5, 26.

by the 33 gods (cf. e.g. KB. 12, 6 (12, 7, 19 S.) "there are 33 soma drinking deities who depend on the soma libations").

Similar enumerations of ritual formulae occur also in TS. 4, 4, 9 and in KS. 34, 14-16. The former consists of 33<sup>3</sup> items intended to accompany, in the ritual of the *agnicayana* (the piling of the great fire-place), the so-called *yajñatanū* bricks (literally, "the bodies of the sacrifice"). On these see TS. 5, 4, 1, 2: "The sacrifice departed from the gods; they could not recover it; they saw these *yajñatanū* (bricks); they put them down, and by them they recovered the sacrifice. In that he puts them down the patron of the sacrifice by them wins the sacrifice and the gods who are 33 in number; he puts down 33 bricks". See also BŚ. 10, 46: 44, 16; ĀpŚ. 17, 6, 3. It is clear that the formulae under discussion, which are proper to and intended for the soma ritual, could be used also in connexion with the placing of certain bricks, called *yajñatanuvah*, in the *agnicayana* because – as stated in ŚB. 4, 5, 7, 3 (see above) – "some call these formulae the bodies (*tanuvah*) of the sacrifice". In this ritual also they seem to have been employed for making good errors in the performance of the rites. The passage TS. 4, 4, 9 differs a good deal from VS. 8, 54-59; identifications occurring in VS. are absent and vice versa, some of them are different.

The other passage (KS. 34, 14-16) occurs after a section dealing with the soma sacrifice of twelve days' duration and before a section dealing with the ritual significance of the *yajñatanuvah*. It differs considerably from the two others, mainly because it incorporates also many identifications relating to various ritual objects and implements, structures etc. on the sacrificial place, the animal sacrifice that belongs to a soma ceremony etcetera. In the following commentary these items will be left out of consideration.

A passage of about the same length and to a great extent of the same contents and composition as KS. 34, 14, 16 occurs in AthPrāy. (3, 1-3)<sup>4</sup>. Part of the deviations from the Kāthaka readings are due to corruption, others will, as far as is conformable with my present purpose, be mentioned in the following pages. Interestingly enough, this section introduces itself as "forms of Soma" (*somarūpāṇi*). In 3, 4 the same author instructs his readers in the ritual use of these formulae: "With respect to whatever deity Soma might fall into misfortune, to that deity one should present an unbloody sacrifice (*iṣṭi*) or an oblation of clarified butter. Then one should sacrifice". With reference to this ritual procedure under the heading *somarūpāṇi* and to an unidentified passage of the TB. the compiler elsewhere (6, 8) states that in the *brāhmaṇa* which deals with these formulae mention is made of 33 bodies of the sacrifice (*yajñasya tanuvah*) and that the

3. See below, p. 7 and p. 26.

4. Edited by J. von Negelein, *Atharvaprāyaścittāni*, in JAOS 33, p. 94 ff. See also the editor's notes in JAOS 34, p. 270 ff.



mantras, viz. *prajāpatir manasi* etc. (identical with 3, 1) are arranged in the mantra collection belonging to the Vājasaneyī-Brāhmaṇa (= ŚB.), i.e. the VS. This is incorrect.

Now, KS. 34, 17 (GB. 2, 2, 10) affirms that just as a chariot moves on firmly resting on its spokes, one after the other, so is the sacrifice firmly founded on its bodies, one after the other. Before proceeding (with the soma sacrifice) butter oblations should be offered in the *āgnīdhra* fire. The soma of him who knows this and establishes his sacrifice in the morning (in this way) will not be spilt. Neither the sacrifice that 'knows' these bodies (forms) nor the soma which he drinks (if he knows thus) will injure him. Thus the officiant who knows thus of a man who knows thus performs the expiation of the sacrifice (*yajñaprāyaścittim juhoti*) because of (induced by) a misfortune (calamitous occurrence) in sacrificing (*yajñārtiyā*). Thus he establishes (his) sacrifice firmly among the deities. He should perform additional oblations with a view to (neutralizing) the misfortune in the sacrifice (*yajñārtim pratijuhuyāt*) in order to maintain the common origin (starting-points, and hence relationship of the soma rites<sup>5</sup>). After stating that the 'bodies' of the sacrifice are 33 in number the author attempts to make the appropriateness of the formulae to both occasions (the placing of the fifth layer of the great fireplace and the soma sacrifice) understandable, saying that they consist of the 29 mantras called *stomabhāgas* (that is to say in the *agnicayana*, cf., e.g., TS. 4, 4, 1; in a soma sacrifice there are 33 of them<sup>6</sup>; they are considered to provide the sacrifice with a firm foundation, TS. 5, 3, 5, 5), the three soma services ('pressings'), and as the fourth (and consequently the thirty-third) the sacrifice itself<sup>7</sup>. "By means of the *stomabhāga* formulae as substitutes he thus fixes the bricks of that name (*stomabhāgair evaitat stomabhāgān pratiyunkte*), by the soma services the soma services, by the sacrifice the sacrifice. (Thus) all the 'bodies' of the sacrifice are employed, (all effects of their use are) obtained, and secured"<sup>8</sup>. It is clear that the formulae under discussion are intended to expiate, by way of general and anticipatory substitution, omissions, errors, and other shortcomings in the performance of the rites.

In the chapter on the expiations necessitated by the occurrence of irregularities in the performance of a soma sacrifice MŚ. 3, 6, 2 shows how to use the 'bodies of the sacrifice' enumerated in KS. 34, 14 ff. in ritual practice. "If there is a calamitous occurrence (accident, *ārti*) in a preceding (oblation) one should unite it with the following one, (and) then offer that (oblation) with *prajāpatir manasi*, *sārasvato vāci visr̥ṣṭyām svāhā* (the first and

5. For *sayonitvāya* compare, e.g., AiB. 4, 10, 6; TB. 3, 2, 2, 1; PB. 2, 1, 10.

6. See W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 16.

7. For the whole being equivalent to the sum of its parts plus one (the whole itself) see J. Gonda, *Triads in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1976, p. 8.

8. Cf. e.g., ŚB. 11, 2, 7, 1 ff.

the second of the 'bodies'); if there is one in the following oblation, with *sārasvato vāci viṣṣṭāyām, dhātā dīkṣāyām svāhā*. In the same way one should unite each (oblation), in which there is an accident, with the following one, and (then) offer it". By pronouncing two formulae one prevents the interruption of the sacrifice and maintains the relationship of the several ritual acts. The author adds a sort of general expiation by which to redress any accident: "or one should offer with the three sections (KS. 34, 14-16) three times with ghee (taken) four times".

In contrast to the MŚ. the Taittirīyas (BhŚ. 13, 1, 1 ff.; ĀpŚ. 12, 1, 1 ff.; see also VaikhŚ. 14, 20; 15, 1) give information on the moment at which these 'bodies of the sacrifice' – in their case those enumerated TS. 4, 4, 9 – should be used, viz. when, before the beginning of the morning service when all persons concerned have awakened in the dead of night (*mahārātre*), and even before the cups that are to be used are arranged in their proper places. Interestingly enough, the *yajñatanū* oblations are preceded by another general<sup>9</sup> precautionary rite, viz. the touching by the *adhvaryu* of the *āgnīdhra* shed, the *havidhāna*, the sacrificial ladles etc. with appropriate mantras dedicated to their several gods in order to perform the sacrifice in accordance with the deities and to prevent himself from falling a victim to them (TS. 3, 1, 6, 1). According to the above Taittirīya authorities the *adhvaryu* should offer, in the *āgnīdhra* fire, 33 *yajñatanū* oblations consecrated with the formulae enumerated in TS. 4, 4, 9. BhŚ. 4 adds the words *yajñārtim ca pratijuhoti* which is reminiscent of KŚ. 34, 17: 48, 3 (see above) indicating the purpose of this (additional) rite. The procedure is BhŚ. 4 described as follows: "After having recited quickly (each) former (*yajñatanū*) he offers with (each) latter", thus it is understood (in the *śruti*); but the first time with one (*yajñatanū*)" (*pūrvām anudrutytaraya juhōtī vijñāyate, ekayā tu prathamam*). This does not seem essentially to differ from the Mānava procedure. It can only mean that each time the *adhvaryu* has to use two formulae (in order to unite the several stages of the ritual; see above) but that the first time the double first formula *prajāpatiṛ manasāndho 'cchetaḥ*<sup>10</sup> should serve. Then indeed the *adhvaryu* will be able to make in this way 33 oblations with the 33 *yajñatanū* formulae<sup>11</sup> enumerated in TS. 4, 4, 9. This ritual use explains the peculiar form of the first *yajñatanū* in the tradition of the Taittirīyas. The other texts are less clearly worded<sup>12</sup>.

9. However, BhŚ. 13, 1, 3 observes that according to another view the *adhvaryu* should touch these objects not at this moment, but (only) when they are involved in a rite.

10. See below, p. 7.

11. They are translated in full by C.G. Kashikar, *The Sūtras of Bharadvāja*, II, Poona 1964, p. 355, to which the quotations (Kashikar, op. cit.) on the following pages refer.

12. And so is, as a consequence, Caland's translation of ĀpŚ. 12, 1, 3 (W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, Amsterdam Acad. 1924, p. 237; see also the note on p. 237 f.).

I now proceed to discuss the relevant data according to the tradition of the White Yajurveda.

ŚB. 12, 6, 1, 3, the first of the series, may be quoted in full: "If the sacrifice, resolved upon (*abhidhyātāḥ*) in his mind (*manasā*; the text refers to the *saṃkalpa*, the intention or mental resolve to perform a sacrifice), were not to incline to him (i.e. if untoward circumstances were threatening to prevent its performance), he should make an oblation with 'To Parameṣṭhin *svāhā*', for Parameṣṭhin he (Soma<sup>13</sup>) then is: he repels the evil, and the sacrifice inclines to him". Parameṣṭhin, literally "standing in the highest, or at the head, chief, principal", is one of the names of the supreme principle (e.g. TS. 4, 4, 3, 3), sometimes (e.g. AVŚ. 9, 7, 1; 10, 3, 24; 15, 6, 9; 15, 7, 2; ŚB. 8, 2, 3, 13; cf. also 8, 7, 3, 15) coupled with that of Prajāpati, sometimes (ŚB. 8, 4, 3, 19; PB. 19, 13, 3; cf. TS. 4, 3, 10, 3) used as an epithet of the latter. It seems as if the author, in consideration of the frequent combination of these names on the one hand and of 'mind' (*manas*) or thought and speech (*vāc*) (ŚB. 1, 4, 4, 2; 6, 1, 2, 6 ff.; 10, 5, 3, 4; 11, 2, 3, 6; 12, 9, 1, 11; TS. 2, 5, 11, 4 f.; cf. also ChU. 7, 4, 1) on the other, associated one name (Parameṣṭhin) with mind and the other (Prajāpati, 4) with speech<sup>14</sup>. TS. 4, 4, 9, 1 and KS. 34, 14 differ, the former combining this mantra with the following (ŚB. 5) and reading "Prajāpati in mind, when approached as the soma plant" (*prajāpatiṃ manasāndho 'cchetaḥ*<sup>15</sup>) the latter "Prajāpati in mind" (*prajāpatiṃ manasi*) and Sārasvata<sup>16</sup> when speech has been uttered (*sārasvato vāci viśṛṣṭāyām*), no mention being made of Parameṣṭhin<sup>17</sup>.

The formula "To Prajāpati *svāhā*" (4) accompanies the oblation if the sacrifice spoken about by (his) speech does not incline to the sacrificer, because at that moment Soma is Prajāpati (4). ŚB. 5, 1, 1, 16 Prajāpati is explicitly identified with the Lord of Speech (*vācaspati*); 1, 6, 3, 27 with speech (cf. also 6, 1, 2, 6). For the identity of Prajāpati and Soma see above, ŚB. 10, 4, 2, 1 (cf. 6, 2, 2, 16).

The formula used when those who have gone in quest of the plant do not come back with it (5) is easily intelligible, because *andhas* "the soma

13. Not, with the commentator Harisvāmin, "the sacrifice".

14. Places such as ŚB. 6, 2, 3, 5; 11, 1, 6, 16 ff. can hardly serve to construct an argument in favour of the close association of Parameṣṭhin and mind.

15. Kāshikar, op. cit., p. 355 translates the Taittiriya version "(Thou art) Prajāpati gone through spirit towards Soma". In the ŚB. the subject must be *somaḥ* (masculine); the neuter *andhas* cannot therefore be an accusative of the aim. See below, the comment on ŚB. 12, 6, 1, 5.

16. *sārasvata* "belonging to Sarasvatī or Sarasvat" is also the name of a son of the former (the goddess of a river and of speech).

17. The absence of references to this figure in ŚB. III and IV – which will often be quoted in the following pages – and some other differences between ŚB. 12, 6, 1 and the data furnished by these books may find their explanation in the different authorship and provenance of these books.

plant"<sup>18</sup> is sometimes clearly distinct from the soma that has been pressed out (e.g. RV. 6, 42, 4 *andhaso* ... *sutam*); compare 14. Obviously and rightly, the name *andhas* is preferred when those concerned are on their way to find the soma<sup>19</sup>. Likewise KS. 34, 14: 46, 2 *andho 'cchetaḥ* "(Soma is) *andhas* when one approaches him (to fetch him)"<sup>20</sup>.

At the next stage Soma is said to be Savitar (6). Since at ŚB. 3, 3, 2, 10 the officiant is stated to measure out the soma with a stanza addressed to Savitar (cf. the mantra TS. 1, 2, 6, b "That god Savitar..., him of true impulse I praise...") "so that Soma becomes for him impelled by Savitar to the purchase" and since this ritual act precedes the bargaining for the soma and the purchase or acquisition proper<sup>21</sup>, the translations proposed are misleading: "if, when acquired (*sātaḥ*, 6) (the soma) were to meet with any mishap one should offer an oblation with 'To Savitar *svāhā*', for then he is Savitar..." (Eggeling) and "Savitar in the partition" (*sanyām*, VS. 54, Griffith, following Mahīdhara, whose *sambhaktāu* should however, be taken to mean "when it is sorted"<sup>22</sup>). I would prefer to translate *san-* (in *sātaḥ* and *sanyām*) by "to get at". Both TS. and KS. read *savitābhrtyām* "Savitar in the bringing (probably of the soma to the place where it is to be sold)" (ĀpŚ. 10, 21, 13), AthPrāy. *savitā samdhīyamāne* "when it is placed together". As to the actions and the order in which they take place see KŚ. 7, 7, 5 ff.: sacrificer and officiants go to the soma stalks with a piece of cloth in which these are to be wrapped; they sit down; the *adhvaryu* spreads the cloth and then measures out the soma on it. Savitar is expected to impel and further the sacrifice (ŚB. 5, 1, 1, 14; 6, 3, 1, 20; VS. 11, 8; cf. ŚB. 5, 3, 1, 7); impelled by him one wins (5, 1, 1, 4); this god has also measured out whatsoever is on the earth and in the regions (6, 3, 1, 18; VS. 11, 8). When the *adhvaryu* measures out the soma he pronounces VS. 4, 25 "I praise god Savitar... of true impulsion, the procurer of precious things... who has measured the sky" (KS. 7, 7, 13; MŚ. 2, 1, 4, 3; BŚ. 6, 14: 171, 11; ĀpŚ. 10, 24, 9; cf. also Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on VS. 4, 25). The last words of the mantra accompany the tying up of the soma in the wrapper "for offspring (ŚB. 3, 3, 2, 18) or for (the good of) the living creatures" (viz. the priests present in the *sadas* (TS. 6, 1, 9, 6) who will also be benefited by the sacrifice); see KS. 7, 7, 21.

During the consecration (literally, on the consecration days<sup>23</sup>) Soma is

18. The translation "food" (R.T.H. Griffith, The texts of the White Yajurveda translated, Benares 1927, p. 81) causes confusion.

19. See e.g. ĀpŚ. 10, 20, 13; 10, 24, 2; W. Caland and V. Henry, L'agniṣṭoma, Paris 1906, p. 29 ff.

20. See also Caland's translation of ĀpŚ. 12, 1, 3 (Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, p. 237).

21. Cf. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 36 ff. (one sets out for the soma), p. 40 ff. (the soma is measured out); p. 43 ff. (the bargaining); p. 48 ff. (one goes back with the soma).

22. Cf. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 29 f.

23. There are any number of *dikṣā* days, if desired (see ŚŚ. 5, 4, 7; KB. 7, 3 (7, 4, 14 S.); cf. also ŚB. 13, 4, 4, 1; 13, 6, 1, 2).

Viśvakarman (7), who then receives an oblation if one gets into trouble. The formula *viśvakarmaṇe svāhā* occurs also in the expiatory rite described ŚB. 6, 6, 4, 12 (KŚ. 16, 7, 1; VS. 12, 43, *agnicayana* ritual) and ŚG. 5, 3, 3 on the occasion of the consecration of a garden. Viśvakarman is the god besought in AVŚ. 2, 35 (AVP. 1, 88) to make a badly performed sacrifice a good sacrifice: st. 1 (3), which is also TS. 3, 2, 8 f. (accompanying an oblation in the *agnīdh*'s fire); MS. 2, 3, 8: 36, 17. In AVŚ. 19, 58, a hymn invoking various blessings, st. 5 implores the gods to come in a favourable mood to this sacrifice that has been undertaken by Viśvakarman. These places may enable us to form an idea of the function the god, in the opinion of the author, fulfilled at the beginning of a soma ceremony. No special connexion between *dīkṣā* and Viśvakarman is known to me; this god is TS. 4, 2, 5, 2; ŚB. 8, 2, 1, 16 etc. identical with Prajāpati, or the noun *viśvakarman* is an epithet of the latter. Instead of Viśvakarman TS. and KS. have Dhātār "the Establisher"; AthPrāy. Vidhānam "Arrangement, Destiny". TB. 3, 7, 4, 15 Dhātār and Soma are invoked conjointly after Heaven and Earth.

If there is any mishap in regard to the cow given in exchange for the soma, it is Pūṣan who receives the oblation with *pūṣṇe svāhā*, for Soma then is this god (8); likewise TS. (after Savitar) and KS. (at a later moment, before the bargaining (10)). Intelligibly enough, because this god means or represents cattle (ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 9; 14), is their lord (5, 2, 5, 6) and protects them (RV. 6, 54, 5; 6; 10). The two places mentioned first comment upon the so-called *audgrabhaṇa* (elevating) formulae and oblations which are believed to raise the sacrificer who is being consecrated to heaven (VS. 4, 7), but at VS. 4, 19 (ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 19; TS. 1, 2, 4 i; ĀpŚ. 10, 22, 10) the god is requested to guard the paths of the cow used for purchasing the soma, when she is "sent to Soma to return together with Soma" (cf. ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 21): exactly the situation under discussion.

When Soma has advanced (stood up or near; is forthcoming for sale, *kṛayāyopoththitah*, 9) he is Indra and the Maruts. During the midday service of a soma ceremony these gods are invited to drink the juice (ŚB. 4, 3, 3, 10 ff.; 4, 3, 4, 27; ŚŚ. 8, 16, 1; ĀpŚ. 13, 8, 2), but at the moment meant here they do not, as far as I am able to see, appear in the texts. Since, however, Indra is RV. 3, 35, 9; 3, 47, 3 said to have given the Maruts, his friends, allies and assistants (in 10, 157, 3 his retinue), a share in the soma, and in 3, 47; 50; 51 drinks the beverage together with them (cf., e.g., also 1, 23, 7 f.) and since, on the other hand, the man who purchases King Soma with the mantra VS. 4, 24 (cf. KŚ. 7, 7, 9; ŚB. 3, 3, 2, 6) is TS. 3, 1, 2, 1 stated to become lord of his own (people), the author may perhaps have regarded Indra Marutvant as the divine counterpart of the patron of the sacrifice engaged in purchasing the soma stalks and as a 'momentary representative' of King Soma. TS. and KS. do not mention these deities.

If any mishap falls upon Soma while he is being bargained for, the formula is *asurāya svāhā* (10) and he then is (the) Asura. Instead of *asuraḥ paṇyamānaḥ*<sup>24</sup> TS. reads *asuraḥ krīyamānaḥ*, KS. *asuraḥ krītaḥ*. At first sight one might perhaps suppose that the author refers to ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 15; in explanation of VS. 4, 29 – which is to be recited when, after purchasing the soma, the patron goes with it towards the cart on which the stalks are to be conveyed – it is told here that when the gods, whilst performing a sacrifice, were afraid of an attack from the *asura-rakṣas* they beheld that stanza as a prayer for a safe journey and warded off the evil beings by means of it. See also 3, 3, 4, 2. But how and why, then, should Soma be (the) Asura? On second thoughts, however, it seems more probable that the ultimate sources of the author's inspiration were such stories as that of Soma the King who, being among the *gandharvas* (AiB. 1, 27), according to TS. 6, 1, 10, 4 f. its guardians<sup>25</sup>, was bought by the gods by means of Vāc (Speech) as a stark naked woman (*mahānagnī*) – notice that the sacrificer has to assign the purchase price for the soma to the *gandharvas* with the formula VS. 4, 27 (see ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 11; KŚ. 7, 8, 24; TS. 1, 2, 7 h; ĀpŚ. 10, 26, 15) –<sup>26</sup>; that of the gods pushing away the *asuras* from these worlds by means of King Soma, whom they had bought with a cow etc. (KB. 7, 10 (7, 11, 13 ff.)); and that of Indra who slew Vṛtra with the result that the soma which flowed out of the latter's nose became definite plants, which one may press out if no *pūtika* plants – these serve as substitutes if the soma has been taken away after it has been bought (cf. also TB. 1, 4, 7, 5; BŚ. 14, 24: 201, 17; ĀpŚ. 14, 24, 9; MŚ. 3, 6, 3) – are available (PB. 9, 5, 7; cf. 2 f.; JB. 1, 354, also TB. 1, 4, 7, 6); notice also that according to KS. 34, 3: 37, 13 the fluid that flowed out of Vṛtra's neck when it was torn off became the brown-tufted *arjunas*, which, being an asuric soma, should not be pressed out (as a substitute). The conclusion may be that (the) Asura mentioned ŚB. 12, 6, 1, 10 is nobody else than Vṛtra, the *asura* par excellence (cf. RV. 3, 29, 14; 10, 124, 3 f.)<sup>27</sup>, who ŚB. 11, 1, 5, 7 is said to be evil (*pāpman*) just as the soma-seller in AiB. 1, 12, 2 (*pāpo hi somavikrayī*). It may also be remembered that soma once was within Vṛtra<sup>28</sup>; that one of

24. Kashikar's translation "brought" is a printer's error.

25. On the mythical enemies of the soma see U. Schneider, *Der Somarab des Manu*, Wiesbaden 1971, p. 37 ff. – The identification "(Soma is) the divine (celestial) falcon when (he is) seen" KS. 34, 14: 46, 2 seems to be reminiscent of the story of the rape of Soma (RV. 4, 26 and 27) (cf. J. Gonda, *Vedic literature*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 120); cf. also ĀpŚ. 10, 30, 8 etc.

26. Cf. Eggeling, op. cit., II, Oxford 1885, p. 71; "The whole transaction (viz. the purchase of the Soma) was evidently a feigned purchase, symbolizing the acquisition of the Soma by the gods from the Gandharvas".

27. A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 156; E.W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 46.

the results of Indra's conquest of this demon was that this divine juice made its appearance (RV. 8, 3, 20; after he had slain Vṛtra Indra chose the soma draught for himself 3, 36, 8); and that Soma in ŚB. 3, 4, 3, 13 is explicitly said to be Vṛtra (cf. 4, 1, 3, 5 ff.). – KS. 34, 14 (*bhagaḥ paṇyamānaḥ*, followed by "Asura when bought") mentions the Dispenser, the god of wealth and happiness (cf., e.g., RV. 1, 141, 10; 2, 1, 7; 2, 38, 10; 3, 56, 6).

If the stalks meet with any mishap after they have been bought, Soma is – also according to TS. 4, 4, 9, 1<sup>29</sup> – Mitra (11). This is in harmony with ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 10 prescribing the use of VS. 4, 27 a "Come to us as a friend (*mitraḥ*<sup>30</sup>), making good friends", which is employed at BŚ. 6, 15: 172, 13; ĀpŚ. 10, 27, 3; MŚ. 2, 1, 4, 17 when the sacrificer takes the soma (or when it is handed over to him); see also KŚ. 7, 8, 21. Mahidhara gives his readers the option between an interpretation *mitra* = "friend" and Mitra as a god (the Sun) but there is also something to be said for the explanation in ŚB., l. cit., "Come to us, as a kind and propitious one" (*śivo naḥ śānta ehi*). According to TS. 6, 1, 11, 1 explaining the words (as 1, 2, 7 f) the soma when bought and bound (in the cloth) is connected with Varuṇa – also TS. 4, 4, 9, 1 and KS. 34, 14: 46, 3 *varuṇa upanaddhaḥ*; Varuṇa is the god of bonds and nooses; cf. also TS. 6, 1, 11, 2 – and the above words are to be spoken for the sake of appeasement (*śāntyai*), in order to prevent Varuṇa from entering the thigh (TS. 1, 2, 7 g) and to affect the sacrificer's health (cf. ĀpŚ. 10, 27, 3)<sup>31</sup>. It may be recalled that RV. 9, 77, 5 Soma is described as having been pressed out as Mitra among those who join in the sacrificial session; that according to KS. 24, 7: 97, 9 and KapS. 37, 8: 202, 10 f. one makes, by means of the mantra RV. 10, 37, 1 a, Soma Mitra. Compare also TS. 6, 4, 8, 1. There is in any case good reason to say that at this moment the right (and irrevocable) relation – denoted by the term *mitra* – between the soma and the purchaser has obviously been established<sup>32</sup>.

When seated on the sacrificer's (right) thigh Soma is Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa (12); likewise KS. 34, 14: 46, 4 *śipiviṣṭa urā āsādyamānaḥ*; TS. *śipiviṣṭa āsāditaḥ* "put in place" no doubt comes to the same thing. This placing follows immediately after the preceding action; cf. BŚ. 6, 15: 172, 15; ĀpŚ. 10, 27, 3; VS. 8. 55 as well as MŚ. 2, 1, 4, 18 identifying, in the

28. On the relevant texts see J. Gonda, *Dual deities in the religion of the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1974, ch. XII, passim; F.B.J. Kuiper, *Varuṇa and vidūṣaka*, Amsterdam Acad. 1979, p. 17 f.

29. As to KS. see above, sub 9.

30. On the meaning of this word see J. Gonda, *Mitra and mitra*. The idea of 'friendship' in ancient India, *Indol. Taur.* 1 (1973), p. 72 ff.

31. And Caland's note (*Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 181).

32. J. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972, p. 69.



mantra used (cf. VS. 4, 27), the sacrificer with Indra<sup>33</sup>. In ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 4, however, this particular ceremony comes before the leading of Agni and Soma to the *āgnīdhra* (cf. 16). The identification is difficult to understand, because Viṣṇu's epithet *śīpiviṣṭa* is obscure<sup>34</sup>. However, the sacrificer is during these ceremonies identified with Indra: " 'Sit down on the right thigh of Indra' (TS. 1, 2, 7 g, cf. VS. 4, 27), he says; the gods placed the soma which they purchased on the right thigh of Indra; now the sacrificer is Indra; therefore he says thus" (TS. 6, 1, 11, 1; KŚ. 7, 8, 23 f.; ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 10). The right side is the side of strength, auspiciousness and allegiance or benignity<sup>35</sup>; in the right thigh vital energy (*varcas*) was, or could be, concentrated (Kauś. 12, 12) and from that place, it was believed, a man's seed is discharged (PB. 12, 10, 12)<sup>36</sup>. The rite and the above quotation from TS. point therefore to a relation between Indra and Viṣṇu who, as is well known, is not only Indra's friend, but often also his ally (cf. also ŚB. 11, 1, 4, 3), companion and assistant<sup>37</sup>. Does TS. 3, 4, 1, 4 (see also ĀpŚ. 9, 19, 12) shed light on the occurrence of the epithet *śīpiviṣṭa*? "Viṣṇu Śīpiviṣṭa is the redundancy of the sacrifice, the abundance (multitude) of cattle, prosperity (opulence, *pustih*)"<sup>38</sup>. It is perhaps worth recalling that stanzas addressed to Indra and Viṣṇu seem to have been especially suited for expiations<sup>39</sup>.

When the stalks are carried about (*paryuhyamāṇaḥ*, but VS. 8, 56 *prohyamāṇaḥ*) Soma is Viṣṇu Naramdhiṣa (13); compare TS. *naramdhiṣaḥ prohyamāṇaḥ* "...when carried forward (in the cart to the *prācīnavamśa* (cf. 14) where the act mentioned in 15 is to take place) "(he is) "delighter of men" (Kashikar, ?). KS. reads instead "Brhaspati when he (Soma) has risen (viz. from the thigh), Vāyu when he is procured, the ruler (*adhipatiḥ*) when being carried forward (*prohyamāṇaḥ*)". Mahīdhara was already forced to guess at the meaning of the epithet: "destroyer or protector of the world", on VS. 22, 20 "man-praising"; modern scholars<sup>40</sup> more or less hesitatingly prefer "man-observing, watcher of men". Elsewhere

33. Eggeling's note (op. cit., V, p. 207) is misleading. See below.

34. See J. Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, <sup>2</sup>Delhi 1969, p. 24; 106; M. Mayrhofer, A concise etymological Sanskrit dictionary, III, Heidelberg 1964-1976, p. 337; S.A. Dange, in J. Ganganatha Jha Res. Inst. 25 (1969), p. 501. Cf. RV. 7, 99, 7; 7, 100, 5 f.

35. J. Gonda, The significance of the right side in Vedic ritual, Religion 2 (1972), p. 1 ff.

36. See H. Oertel, in JAOS 26, p. 188.

37. See Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, ch. V and VI; Dual deities, p. 331 ff.

38. For an identification of Viṣṇu with Soma see Gonda, Dual deities, p. 89.

39. Gonda, Dual deities, p. 335. For Viṣṇu Śīpiviṣṭa in expiatory rites see AthPrāy. 2, 2; 6, 4; 6, 6 (JAOS 33, p. 79; 138; 139).

40. R. Roth, in Petersb. Dict. IV, 57; A.B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus school, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 595; P.E. Dumont, in Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc. 92 (1948), p. 462; cf. Griffith, op. cit., p. 81 and see J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, II, 1, Göttingen 1906, p. 206; 220.



(VS. 22, 20; ŚB. 13, 1, 8, 6; TS. 7, 3, 15, 1; TB. 3, 8, 11, 2 etc.) it is an epithet of Pūṣan. Formulae addressed to Viṣṇu (TB. 3, 7, 7, j) are pronounced at an earlier moment (viz., when the cow which serves as the price for the soma is going to the soma-seller (ĀpŚ. 10, 23, 1)); Viṣṇu is ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 21 (see also 3, 6, 3, 19) said to be no other than Soma in connexion with the consecration offering when the *pratiprasthātā* goes to the front of the 'hall' (*śālā*). However, the key to the present identification may probably be sought in ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 15 and 22 where the cart on which the soma is conveyed is said to belong to Viṣṇu (*vaiṣṇavaṃ hi havirdhānam*). Notice also the use of many stanzas addressed to Viṣṇu (VS. 5, 14-20, etc.) in the section (ŚB. 3, 5, 3) that deals with the construction of the shed for the soma carts, and remember that this god by striding, traversing and pervading acquires pervading power for the sacrificer (VS. 1, 9, 3, 9).

When the stalks have reached (the 'hall') they are Soma (14, *yady āgataḥ*). TS. 4, 4, 9, 1 reads "He is the ruler on arrival" (*adhipatir āgataḥ*). Now he is no longer *andhas* (cf. 5) but should be welcomed as Soma. When the *adhvaryu* makes King Soma enter the hall (*śālā*, cf. KŚ. 7, 9, 31 f.) he causes the sacrificer to recite VS. 4, 37 "...making our household prosperous, furthering (lengthening our lives)..., come, O Soma, to (our) dwelling" (ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 30; KŚ. 7, 9, 32; BŚ. 6, 17: 175, 6). The stanza is also RV. 1, 91, 19 and TS. 1, 2, 10 b – its first half is used when the sacrificer (patron) takes the soma from the cart (BŚ. 6, 17: 175, 3) – and is ŚŚ. 5, 6, 6 prescribed when the *hotar* having accompanied the *adhvaryu cum suis* who have conveyed the soma stalks – after the cart has stopped before the hall – enters the hall after them. Cf. also AiB. 1, 13, 21; ĀśvŚ. 4, 4, 6.

When he is seated on the throne Soma is Varuṇa (15). Here TS. 4, 4, 9, 1 is silent on this point (see however above, sub 11), but KS. 34, 14: 46, 7 has "(He is) Varuṇa, the supreme ruler (*samrāj*) when he is placed on the throne". AthPrāy. likewise. "Soma, when brought and tied up indeed approaches the patron in the shape of Varuṇa" (TS. 6, 1, 11, 5 f.). Likewise Sāyaṇa in explanation of ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 25: "Soma when brought now indeed comes to be of Varuṇa('s nature) or to belong to Varuṇa" (*varuṇyo... bhavati*). After stating that four officiants take up the throne (see also KŚ. 7, 9, 27) ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 29 informs us that the *adhvaryu* touches it with VS. 4, 36 c "Thou art the rightful seat of Varuṇa" etc. (cf. also ĀpŚ. 10, 31, 2) and places Soma thereon with VS. 4, 36 d "Seat thee on the rightful seat of Varuṇa", because "he (Soma) now is *varuṇyaḥ*" (see above). BŚ. 6, 17: 175, 10 and ĀpŚ. 10, 31, 4 enjoin the *adhvaryu* (to adore Soma reverentially, BŚ., and) to pronounce the first part of TS. 1, 2, 10 d "Thou art Varuṇa who maintains the fixed patterns of conduct (*dhr̥tavrataḥ*)". See also MŚ. 2, 1, 5, 8. As long as the soma stalks are wrapped in the cloth (see above, sub 11) the *adhvaryu* adores them as Varuṇa, the guardian of *amṛta* which is often identical with the soma beverage (e.g. RV. 9, 74, 4). Remember that already in the R̥gveda Soma

and Varuṇa have the epithet "king" (*rājan*) in common (see, e.g., RV. 8, 79, 8; 10, 109, 2 and 1, 24, 7; 1, 156, 4) and that the throne is the navel and the womb of kingship, the proper cosmic birthplace of the ruler<sup>41</sup>.

When Soma is staying in the *āgnīdhra* he is Agni (16). The *āgnīdhra* is a small shed, situated to the north of the *haviṛdhāna* (the shed for the soma carts), in which the *dhiṣṇya*, a seat for the officiant called *agnīdh* or *āgnīdhra* is constructed and on which a fire is installed<sup>42</sup>. Here TS. has "Prajāpati when being led on (*prañīyamānaḥ*); Agni at the *āgnīdhra*; Bṛhaspati on being led from the *āgnīdhra*"<sup>43</sup>; KS. 34, 15: 46, 13 (after many other identifications) like VS. 8, 56 only *agnir āgnīdhre*. Normally there now follow the rite for the reception of the soma stalks (*ātithyeṣṭi*), the so-called covenant (*tānūnaptra*, KŚ. 8, 1, 7-18 and 19-26)<sup>44</sup> – compare the formula KS. 34, 14: 46, 6 *atithir duroṇasad ātithye* "(he is a) guest seated in the house (but see ŚB. 6, 7, 3, 11) on the occasion of the hospitable reception", preceded by *agnīṣomīyaḥ paśau* "(he is) the Agnisomīya ceremony at the animal sacrifice" – the animal sacrifice offered to Agni and Soma, etc.<sup>45</sup>. The present paragraph of ŚB. no doubt refers to ŚB. 3, 9, 3, 1 ff.: When on the pressing day the officiants have waked up (cf. KŚ. 9, 1, 1), performed their ablutions etc. they proceed together to the *āgnīdhra* where they put down the portions of ghee which they have with them. Then the *adhvaryu* takes down (to the earth) King Soma, who, according to KS. 8, 9, 24 f., has in the previous evening been placed on a seat in the *āgnīdhra* where the sacrificer had to watch over him during the night<sup>46</sup>. Since however this detail is not mentioned in the ŚB. one might also conclude from § 3 (beginning) that the stalks are taken down from the cart (but see under 18 below) or (with the above quotation from TS.) that they are brought down from the *āgnīdhra*<sup>47</sup>, which however is not in perfect harmony with the present § 16. As to Agni, TS. 6, 1, 11, 6 observes that when they bring Soma, he is firmly established (*prati tiṣṭhate*) (together) with Agni; then "they in uniting overpower the patron of the sacrifice". In that the patron – who has for long been holding himself ready to be sacrificed (cf. ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 19) – offers an animal to Agni and Soma (see KS. quoted above) he

41. See J.C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht, Leiden 1957, p. 149 (Prajāpati, Bṛhaspati, Soma and Varuṇa are the legs of the throne on which the king is consecrated (see sub 16 below)). For the significance of the throne see J. Auboyer, Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne, Paris 1949, esp. p. 105 ff.

42. See Eggeling, op. cit., II, p. 148; Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 104. As to the significance of the *āgnīdhra* see, e.g., ŚB. 3, 6, 1, 29; 3, 6, 3, 10; 4, 5, 7, 6.

43. On Prajāpati and Bṛhaspati see n. 41 above.

44. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 57 ff.

45. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 78 etc.

46. Cf. J. Gonda, The Vedic morning litany, Leiden 1981, ch. II.

47. Cf. Eggeling, op. cit., II, p. 227, n. 1.

buys off himself'' (cf. also AiB. 1, 30, 11). Moreover, when King Soma is being brought forward one recites a triplet to Agni, viz. RV. 3, 27, 7-9 (AiB. 1, 30, 7; ĀśvŚ. 4, 10, 3; see also KB. 9, 5 (9, 5, 14); ŚŚ. 5, 14, 11 prescribing also RV. 1, 1, 7-9, likewise in praise of Agni). Another Agni mantra, viz. RV. 1, 189, 1 (VS. 5, 36), is prescribed in ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 11, whereas VS. 5, 37, another prayer to Agni, accompanies the laying of the fire on the *āgnīdhra* hearth and the putting down of the pressing stones, the soma trough etc. in its shed (KŚ. 8, 7, 7 ff.; cf. ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 11 ff.). ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 9 the names of Agni and Soma are so to say interchangeable, some authorities prescribing ''Recite for Agni'', others ''Recite for Soma''<sup>48</sup>.

Whilst being in the *havirdhāna* Soma is Indra (17). The same identification TS. 4, 4, 9, 1. Now, according to ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 17 f. the *adhvaryu* makes Soma enter the *havirdhāna* shed<sup>49</sup> and places him on a black deer-skin that he has spread on the enclosed part of the southern soma cart. According to BŚ. 7, 1<sup>50</sup> the officiants concerned wake up (immediately) after midnight<sup>51</sup> and go to the patron, the *adhvaryu* gives directions to the other priests and touches the *āgnīdhra* with the Agni stanza RV. 8, 44, 16, the *havirdhāna* – which belongs to Viṣṇu (TS. 1, 2, 13 o; ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 2) – with the Viṣṇu stanza TS. 3, 1, 10, 3 etc. and the *sadas* – an oblong shed to accommodate the priests (cf. also ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 5) – with an Indra stanza (BŚ. 7, 1: 200, 13) which, as far as I am able to see, seems to guide us to the solution of the puzzling problem of the above identification. In this stanza (RV. 1, 11, 1; TS. 4, 6, 3 m; 5, 4, 6, 5) Indra is described as the best charioteer of charioteers (*rathīlāmaṃ rathīnām*, quoted ŚB. 8, 7, 3, 7; likewise RV. 8, 45, 7). The epithet *rathīlāma* is RV. 9, 66, 26 given to Soma, who 9, 64, 10 is compared to a charioteer. Remember that Soma has been conveyed and placed on a cart. Was the identification suggested by the mistaken idea that the mantra, 1, 11, 1 was recited in praise of Soma, Indra's allied (capable) companion (VS. 19, 3; ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 9)?

When Soma is taken down from the cart for being pounded he is Atharvan (18). After ''Indra...'' TS. 4, 4, 9, 1 reads: ''(He is) Aditi when set down (put in place); Viṣṇu when being taken down; Atharvan when made wet'', referring to the soma being removed from the cart, placed on the pressing boards and moistened with the water that has been kept overnight (*vasatīvārī* water). As to Aditi, this goddess is in those chapters of the ŚB. which deal with the soma ceremonies said to be the earth (3, 2, 3, 6; 3, 3, 1, 4; 4, 1, 2, 6; 4, 5, 1, 2; 4); at 4, 3, 4, 1 the enclosed space of the

48. In the oldest parts of the Veda Agni and Soma have much in common; see A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, I, Paris 1878 (21963), p. 166; J. Gonda, in *JRAS* 1979, p. 140.

49. Cf. also Gonda, *The Vedic morning litany*, p. 17; 20.

50. Cf. Caland and Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

51. See Gonda, *The Vedic morning litany*, p. 2 f.

cart is in the mantra (VS. 4, 30) identified as Aditi's seat (*sadas*); "he thereby places him (Soma) on that safe and firm foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*)". Sacrificial material is taken out "for Viṣṇu" (VS. 5, 1; ŚB. 3, 4, 1, 9 ff.; cf. also 4, 2, 3, 10); the two Soma carts are propped with VS. 5, 18 (= RV. 1, 154, 1; ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 21 f.); ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 12 the formula "agreeable to Viṣṇu" is said to mean "agreeable to Soma". – The name Atharvan denoting the head of a semi-divine family of mythical priests<sup>52</sup> occurs, *inter alia*, in connexion with the fact that he (as the first) rubbed or produced fire (RV. 6, 16, 13; 10, 21, 5; AiB. 1, 16, 8; ŚB. 6, 4, 2, 2 etc.) and that he first, by means of sacrifices, established or rather, arranged (sc. everything<sup>53</sup>, RV. 10, 92, 10); as an originator he also occurs 1, 83, 5 "by means of sacrifices he first extended the paths; then the sun was produced". Is the supposition too bold that these references to origins – of the ritual, and, by means of the ritual, of the established order – suffice to establish the hypothesis that Soma is now identified with Atharvan because he is, so to say, on the point of re-creating what the latter in mythical time had originated?<sup>54</sup> And was the author of TS. 4, 4, 9, 1 (or his predecessor) of the opinion that the Atharvans (Atharvan family) who RV. 9, 11, 2 are said to have mixed the juice of the soma with sweet fluid set an example to Soma who allows himself to be moistened with the water that had been standing overnight? Anyhow, the injunction that the putting down of the soma stalks should be consecrated by VS. 6, 25 "...raise aloft the sacrifice and the invocations into heaven to the gods" (ŚB. 3, 9, 3, 4 f.; KŚ. 9, 1, 5; TS. 1, 3, 13 a b; 6, 4, 3, 1; BŚ. 7, 1: 201, 4; MŚ. 2, 3, 1, 22) is not devoid of interest.

When Soma has been thrown down (on the pressing-boards)<sup>55</sup> in (the shape of) the soma stalks he is the Viśve Devāḥ (19). TS. does not mention this identification here (see sub 27). ŚB. 3, 9, 2, 16 and KŚ. 8, 9, 23 ff. furnish us with the following information: The *adhvaryu* places the jar containing the *vasatīvarī* water inside the *āgnīdhra* shed with the mantra VS. 6, 24 c "Ye are due as a share (*bhāgadheyī*) to the Viśve Devāḥ" ("whereby he makes the Viśve Devāḥ enter it", ŚB.). He then places the soma also inside this shed (cf. 16 above) where the consecrated patron protects it during the night. See also TS. 1, 3, 12 c; BŚ. 6, 33; ĀpŚ. 11, 21, 5; MŚ. 2, 2, 5, 34. Since the water was intended for the soma ceremonies – it is used in the extraction of the soma juice (ĀpŚ. 12, 7, 10) – the above identification was apparently regarded as obvious.

When they make Soma swell (*āpyāyamānaḥ*, by moistening the stalks), he

52. See e.g. Macdonell, op. cit., p. 141.

53. *vi dhārayat* "a fait les arrangements divers (du monde)" (L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, V, Paris 1959, p. 61).

54. See e.g. M. Eliade, *Myth and reality*, London 1964, esp. ch. II and III.

55. Not, with Griffith, op. cit., p. 82 "offered in the scattered fragments".

is Viṣṇu Āprītapā (20). This identification is not found in TS. and KS. Viṣṇu, "the Guardian of those who are satisfied or propitiated", rather than "(the) Guardian when (he is) propitiated", seems to occur only here and VS. 8, 57<sup>56</sup>. On this ceremony, the *āpyāyanam*<sup>57</sup>, AiB. 1, 26 (cf. ŚB. 3, 4, 3, 11), citing those who say that "they do, so to say, a cruel thing in the neighbourhood of King Soma in that they offer the ghee in his neighbourhood, for by ghee as a thunderbolt Indra slew Vṛtra" (cf. TS. 6, 2, 2, 4 "the gods making the ghee (their, a) weapon smote Soma" KS. 24, 9: 100, 13); "in that they make the king to swell, pronouncing the formula (ĀśvŚ. 4, 5, 6 = VS. 5, 7), they make swell by this whatever cruel as it were they do in his neighbourhood; then they cause him to grow" (cf. KS., l.c.). The *āpyāyanam*, which is performed before the soma juice is extracted, consists in touching the stalks or in sprinkling water over them (BŚ. 6, 19: 178, 1; ĀpŚ. 11, 1, 11; MŚ. 2, 2, 1, 12; KŚ. 8, 2, 6; ŚŚ. 5, 8, 3). The mantra is VS. 5, 7 in which Soma is requested to swell for Indra..., and to "make us (his) comrades to swell". The above identification is the more curious as Viṣṇu appears in none of the relevant texts and Soma is ŚB. 3, 4, 3, 13; KS. 24, 9: 100, 14 said to be identical with Vṛtra (cf. also ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 2 and 3 where the pressing stone is said to be a *vajra*; 4, 1, 4, 8). Has the author (or one of his predecessors) rejected this identification and substituted the other, viz. Soma is Viṣṇu Āprītapā? Viṣṇu often figures as a protector<sup>58</sup>; is his epithet *āprītapā* to be taken as referring to those comrades of the god (i.e. his present worshippers) who are made to swell (VS. 5, 7) and consequently are satisfied?

When the stalks are pressed out Soma is Yama (21). Likewise TS. In the relevant passages of the ritual books the name Yama does not occur. The only guess I would venture is that the co-existence of some mythical themes and ritual doctrines led to the conclusion that at the moment of pressing Soma is Yama: Soma is said to have maintained friendly relations (RV. 9, 10, 5; 9, 14, 5) with Vivasvant<sup>59</sup>, a primaeval and typical sacrificer (1, 31, 3; 1, 58, 1; 2, 13, 6; 6, 8, 4) and the father of Manu, the first of men and the first of sacrificers (10, 63, 7), and of Yama (10, 14, 5; 10, 58, 1); the name of Vivasvant is used instead of that of his son Yama (8, 67, 20): could Yama also be regarded as the first sacrificer?; Yama was also the first of the mortals that died (AVŚ. 18, 3, 13) and like Soma, called a king (ibid.; 18, 1, 49) – RV. 10, 14, 13-15 enjoin sacrificing and

56. Mahidhara explains: *ā samantāt prītān svasmin prītimato bhaktān pāti rakṣatīty āprītapāḥ sadguṇaviśiṣṭah*.

57. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 62 f. (to their references to the texts add AiB. 1, 26; TS. 6, 2, 2, 5; MS. 1, 2, 7; KS. 2, 8; KapS. 2, 2; GB. 2, 2, 4).

58. See Gonda, Aspects, p. 119 f.

59. See A.B. Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 112 f.; 171.

pressing soma for him –; it is Soma who produces the beverage himself (9, 110, 4); according to ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 2 “in pressing Soma they slay him”<sup>60</sup>.

When Soma – i.e. the beaten soma stalks (ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 19) – is gathered together he is Viṣṇu (22). This identification is foreign to TS. and KS. The explanation is furnished by ŚB., 1. cit.: “Three times he presses, three times he gathers together”<sup>61</sup>. The number three is often characteristic of Viṣṇu, the god of the three strides, which are the essential feature in his character: he wins the three worlds with three syllables (VS. 9, 31); he receives a cake on three pieces of pottery (TS. 1, 8, 8, 1; 1, 8, 17, 1); he has “deposited himself” in three places (viz. the three provinces of the universe, 2, 4, 12, 3) and so on<sup>62</sup>.

When the juice is being purified (*pūyamānaḥ*, strained) Soma is Vāyu (23). The same identification is TS. 4, 4, 9, 1 preceded by “Drinker of unpurified (soma) when being stirred and cleansed”<sup>63</sup> (*apūtapā ādhūyamānaḥ*), which must refer to the *ādhavanam*, the stirring of the wet and pounded stalks in an earthen tub before the juice is poured through a strainer (cf. KŚ. 9, 5, 6; 17; ŚB. 3, 9, 3, 30). No other occurrences of the above drinker are known to me. According to KS. 34, 16: 47, 5 Soma is Vāyu on the occasion of the *bahiṣpavamāna*<sup>64</sup>, a *stotra* chanted outside the *sadas* while the soma is becoming clarified. As to Vāyu, the god of wind is in the Ṛgveda often connected with Soma<sup>65</sup> of which he is, *inter alia*, said to be the guardian or protector (10, 85, 5); he is (e.g. 10, 108, 2) called *śucipa* “drinking the clear (soma)”, receives the first draught as his portion (5, 43, 3; VS. 7, 7); at 9, 25, 2 Soma is requested to enter him. Because of his blowing activity he is often described as a purifier (cf. ŚB. 4, 1, 3, 7; the mantra in KG. 63, 13 and JG. 2, 1: 26, 18), and sometimes both meanings combine or fuse (ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 19 f., where a strainer (*pavitram*) consists of one stalk because the one who *pavate*, i.e. the wind, is one single divine being). For the straining of the soma<sup>66</sup> see, e.g., PB. 6, 6, 12; JB. 1, 81; LŚ. 1, 10, 20; DŚ. 3, 2, 27; ĀpŚ. 12, 12, 12 f.; MŚ. 2, 3, 4, 19; KŚ. 9, 5, 14 f. Obviously Soma is here temporarily identical with Vāyu who brings about his purification<sup>67</sup>.

60. Since the (native) derivation of the name Yama from *yam-* “to restrain” is not in keeping with the ideas of the oldest texts, places such as RV. 9, 24, 3; 9, 34, 3; 9, 68, 4 giving evidence of the use of *yata-* in connexion with the pressing of the soma cannot lead to a solution of the problem.

61. See Eggeling's, op. cit., II, p. 244, n. 2; ĀpŚ. 12, 12 with Caland's notes (Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, p. 264 f.).

62. Gonda, Aspects, p. 55 ff.; Triads in the Veda, p. 24 f.; 42 f. etc.

63. Kashikar, op. cit., p. 355: “the sun purifying the impure...”,? (J.G.).

64. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 177 ff.

65. See J. Nobel, Register zu Geldner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, Cambridge Mass. 1957, p. 137; Macdonell, op. cit., p. 56; 82.

66. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 159 f.

67. For the curious passage VS. 10, 31 *vāyuh pūtaḥ pavitreṇa pratyāṇ somo atisrutaḥ* see J. Gonda, The mantras of the agnyupasthāna and the sautrāmaṇī, Amsterdam Acad. 1980, p. 80 f.

When the juice has been purified (*yadi pūtaḥ*) Soma is Śukra (24). Not in TS. and KS., but with ŚB. 24-26 compare KS. 34, 16: 47, 3 *śukraśrīḥ kṣīraśrīḥ kakuhas saktuśrīḥ pātreṣu* “(he is) ‘mixed with clear soma’ (which seems to mean “pure”) mixed with milk, excellent or first-rate (cf. RV. 9, 67, 8; TS. 3, 3, 3, 1) mixed with (barley) meal, (when he is) in the (diverse) vessels”. Here AthPrāy. reads: *suśukraśrīḥ manthaśrīḥ saktuśrīḥ kṣīraśrīḥ kakubhaḥ pātreṣu*<sup>68</sup> – “The juice which trickles down into the *droṇakalaśa* – the bucket that has been covered with the strainer – is called Śukra (the clear or pure soma)” (KŚ. 9, 5, 19). Cf. ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 9; BŚ. 7, 6: 210, 3; ĀpŚ. 12, 1, 12; 12, 14, 13. At ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 1 Śukra is identified with the Sun (“the Bright One”). According to KŚ. 9, 5, 20 the other cups may (also) be filled from the trickling juice called Śukra unless there is a special instruction.

When the juice is mixed with milk (*kṣīraśrīḥ*) Soma is (again) Śukra (25). TS. reads instead: “(He is) Mitra when mixed with milk”. The explanation is furnished by ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 8 f.: when the gods were about to slay Soma who was Vṛtra they persuaded Mitra to join them but the cattle taking offence at his behaviour left him; by mixing the soma with milk the gods supplied him again with cattle. The milk in this mixture belongs to Mitra, the Soma to Varuṇa. The mantra (VS. 7, 10) contains a prayer to Mitra and Varuṇa for a milch-cow (cf. ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 10). This cup of soma (*graha*) is intended for this dual deity (ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 7 prescribing the use of VS. 7, 9 which states this fact; cf. KŚ. 9, 6, 8). In the ritual manuals it precedes the *śukragraha* which is closely associated with the *manthigraha*<sup>69</sup>; see also ŚB. 4, 3, 3, 2. Did the author of ŚB. 12, 6, 1 wish to avoid mentioning Mitra again (see § 11)? – For KS. see above (24).

When the juice is mixed with groats of barley meal (*saktuśrīḥ*) Soma is Manthin (i.e. Soma juice with meal mixed in it by stirring, 26; VS. 8, 57). Likewise TS. (*manthī saktuśrīḥ*). See ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 2: “He mixes it (the juice) with barley meal; thus he makes it to be gruel (*mantha*, a mixed beverage); that is why it is (called) Manthin”. According to the mythical tale narrated in ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 11 Varuṇa once struck King Soma in the eye; from a tear that fell down the barley sprung which therefore is held to belong to Varuṇa. The juice is drawn with VS. 7, 16 and mixed with 7, 17 (ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 10; 12). The identification of Manthin with the moon (4, 2, 1, 1; TS. 6, 4, 10, 2) is another indication of the close association of this *graha* and the preceding one (see also 4, 2, 1, 3; 4; 13; 14; 21; 5, 4, 4, 20 f.).

When the juice is taken out (of the vessel) into the cups (*camasa*) he is the Viśve Devāḥ (27). Notice that this identification has already been

68. The reading *supūtaḥ pūtabhṛti* (preceding the words quoted in AthPrāy.) “well purified on the vessel that receives the strained juice” is preferable to the emendation *supūtaḥpūḥ* in KS. 34, 16: 47, 4.

69. Cf. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 163 f.



mentioned in 19. TS. likewise, reading *vaiśvadeva* ("belonging to the Viśve Devāḥ") *unnītaḥ*; KS. 34, 16: 47, 6 *vaiśvadeva unniyamānaḥ*. The references are to the *āgrayanagraha*, a libation offered to the Viśve Devāḥ (ŚB. 4, 2, 2, 1 ff.; esp. 3; 16; KŚ. 9, 6, 15 f.; VS. 7, 19 f.; cf. also ĀpŚ. 12, 1, 14 and TS. 3, 1, 6, 3 "the Viśve Devāḥ are the deity..., thou art the vessel (*pātram*) for the *āgrayana*").

When the juice is held up to be offered as an libation (*homāyodyataḥ*) Soma is Asu (28). This identification is not found in KS. which has instead "he belongs to Indra and Agni when he has been taken out (of the vessel and poured into another vessel, *unnītaḥ*)"; this is explained by ŚB. 4, 2, 2, 14 (KŚ. 9, 6, 16; VS. 7, 21): he should place down the cup after having pronounced the mantra containing the words "for these (representatives of) *brahman* and *kṣatra*" which are represented by Agni and Indra. TS. has further on, before 34, *asur āttaḥ* "Asu when taken". – As to Asu, the breath of life or animal life, this identification may perhaps be regarded as based on the explanation of the *ukthyagraha*, the soma libation to be offered after the *āgrayanagraha* (see 27), in ŚBM. 4, 2, 3, 1 (ŚBK. 5, 2, 3, 1): "This *ukthya(graha)* is his undefined *ātman* (M., *prāṇa* "vital breath" K.), and as such it is that self (*ātman*) of his; for this undefined *prāṇa* is the *ātman*; it is his *āyus* ("vital power, (a complete) duration of life"). For the formula *asave svāhā* see TS. 3, 10, 7, 1; ĀpŚ. 19, 13, 9. Remember that Soma is often said to give vital energy or to extend the term of life (e.g. ṚV. 1, 91, 6; 7; 18; 19; 8, 48, 11; 8, 49, 4).

If he meets with any mishap when being offered as an oblation (*hūyamānaḥ*) Soma is Rudra (29). Likewise KS. 34, 16: 47, 6; TS. "Rudra when offered" (*āhutaḥ*). This conclusion is no doubt based on the consideration that what is done incorrectly or erroneously (*āviddham*) in sacrificing belongs to Rudra (ŚB. 1, 7, 4, 9), the god who, whilst being deprived of a regular share in the soma ceremonies, may be presented with the remainder of the *manthigraha* (ĀpŚ. 12, 23, 11; MŚ. 2, 4, 1, 25 etc.) and according to GG. 1, 4, 31 should be given a *bali* offering of chaff, the scum of boiled rice, and water<sup>70</sup>. So if an attempt at offering some soma proves abortive, the deity concerned must be Rudra.

When the soma juice has approached (*abhyāvṛttaḥ*)<sup>71</sup>, i.e. has returned to the *havirdhāna* where the cups from which the libations have been made are placed, cf. ŚB. 4, 1, 2, 24; KŚ. 9, 6, 5) he is Vāta (the wind, mainly as the natural phenomenon, 30). According to KS. he now is the troop of the Maruts<sup>72</sup>, which comes to the same thing. TS.<sup>73</sup> reads: "Vāyu when

70. For other instances see E. Arbman, Rudra, Uppsala 1922, ch. III, passim.

71. Mahīdhara on VS. 8, 58 explains: *homaśeṣibhūtaḥ sadaḥ prati bhakṣaṇārtham ānītaḥ*.

72. AthPrāy. reads *vāto māruto gaṇo* etc., no doubt arisen from *vāg ghuto m. g.* etc. (KS).

73. In A. Dhupkar's edition, Pardi 1957 with which Sāyaṇa's explanation is in harmony. Keith (Veda of the Black Yajus School, p. 348 f.), translating *āvṛtaḥ* "covered up" observes that this "is at least natural with the following *pratikhyaṭaḥ* "revealed".



turned back (towards the *sadas*)” (*vāyur āvṛttaḥ*). Among the possibilities of explanation the following seems worthy to be considered. On the one hand, the wind (*vāta*) is ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 14 said to be breath (*prāṇaḥ*, cf. 10, 6, 4, 1), on the other, among the formulae that according to KŚ. 9, 6, 5 accompany this ritual act, viz. VS. 7, 6, also is *udānāya tvā* “thee for the upward breath”, whereas the parallel VS. 7, 3 ends with *prāṇāya tvā vyānāya tvā* “thee for out-breathing, thee for the circulating breath (*vyāna*)”. See also TS. 1, 4, 3 h “This is thy birthplace (*yoni*), thee for the downward breath (*apāna*)”, with which the *antaryāma* cup is laid down on the *khara* (a small mound made of earth in the *haviṛdhāna* shed on which the soma cups are placed) next to the *upāṃśu* pressing stones<sup>74</sup>. The significance of this act is explained TS. 6, 4, 6, 4: “The *upāṃśu* and the *antaryāma* cups are *prāṇa* and *apāna*, the *upāṃśu* pressing stone is *vyāna*. ...If he desire of a man, ‘May he live all his days’, he should set them down for him in contact; verily he connects his *prāṇa* and *apāna* with his *vyāna*; he lives all his days”. See also parallels such as TS. 1, 1, 6 i (ĀpŚ. 1, 21, 6).

If the beverage meets with any mishap after being looked at (*pratikhyaṭaḥ*), one should offer an oblation to Soma in the form of Nṛcakṣas, the “One who beholds or watches men” (31). Likewise TS., translated by Keith “the gazer on men when revealed”, but KS. *mitraḥ pratikhyaṭaḥ* pointing to the god’s friendly disposition<sup>75</sup>. Mahīdhara, on VS. 8, 58, explains: “Soma, requested with a view to being consumed with (the formula) ‘O brahman, invite me’ etc., is Nṛcakṣas, that is ‘he looks at men, i.e. human beings, who perform good and evil deeds...’” Here ŚŚ. 7, 4, 4, dealing with the filling of the vessels for drinking the soma (*camasonnayana*) etc.<sup>76</sup> is of interest: when the *hotar*, being prompted to recite an oblatory stanza has done so he has to look at the cup containing the soma with the formula ‘To thee, who beholdest men, I who behold the man<sup>77</sup>, look’ (*nṛcakṣasaṃ tvā nṛcakṣāḥ pratikṣe*), which is a variant form of TS. 3, 2, 5 c “With clear sight may I gaze upon thee, O god Soma, who regardest men” (*nṛcakṣasaṃ tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeyam*). For the use of this mantra see ĀpŚ. 12, 24, 7; the officiant who has to drink the beverage invites it to enter him for his benefit, looks at it with this mantra and consumes it; cf. MŚ. 2, 4, 1, 34<sup>78</sup>. In the R̥gveda *nṛcakṣas* is an epithet of several gods, among them the Sun, Agni and Soma. It has been variously translated: “beholding or watching men” (cf. AVŚ. 4, 16, 7) but 3, 53, 9 f., where the *ṛṣis* are invited to drink the soma, with “looking after men,

74. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 160; 93; see, e.g., ĀpŚ. 11, 13, 8; 12, 1, 6; 12, 14, 9.

75. See above, sub 11 (p. 11).

76. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 204 ff.

77. Soma; W. Caland, Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra translated, Nagpur 1953, p. 169 “the men”.

78. Cf. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 212 ff. and see KŚ. 9, 11, 6 ff.; ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 29 ff.

i.e. leading or guiding them" (Roth, Pet. Dict., s.v.; Monier-Williams); "Männer (be)schauend, erleuchtend, leitend" (Grassmann); "mit dem Herrenauge" (1, 91, 2), "mit dem Herrscherauge" (3, 53, 9 f.), "Aufseher" (8, 48, 9), "männlich blickend" (9, 86, 23, Geldner); "qui regarde les hommes" (3, 53, 9 f.), "qui regarde en maître" (Renou, E.V.P.) etc. The idea underlying the application of epithets such as *vicakṣaṇa* "clear-sighted, wise, experienced" to Soma (e.g. 9, 12, 4; 9, 107, 7) seems to be that the god – who is clear-sighted and a giver of inspiration per excellence – was able to help man to inspiration and an extraordinary faculty of sight because he was 'clear-sighted' himself. But this proposition may also be inverted: he was regarded as wise and a possessor of supranormal insight because he provided inspiration<sup>79</sup>. Moreover, when forms belonging to the root *caṅs-*, among them *caṅsas* "look, sight, eye" and *caṅsus* "eye", are applied to the visual faculty of the gods the idea of "seeing" often implies attention and interest. The eye and the look may also have a creative function (RV. 6, 7, 6); 9, 89, 3 Soma is described as exerting a protective influence (*caṅsasā pāri pāti*). So the prayer "the endless far-sightedness which is in Aditi, let the men-beholding Soma place that in (give that to) me", ĀśvŚ. 5, 19, 4 (see also PB. 1, 5, 19) is no great surprise. The occurrence of the epithet is not due to chance: by beholding the person speaking the god is expected to transfer to him Aditi's sharpness of sight. RV. 9, 86, 38 Soma, said to behold men everywhere, is besought to give, whilst being clarified (and by means of that process), to those speaking gold and property. Notice that the one who at ĀpŚ. 12, 24, 7 drinks the beverage (see above) prays to Soma for insight, ability, welfare etc. Is it completely irrelevant that he invites Aditi to enjoy the juice also?

When the beverage is on the point of being consumed he is Bhakṣa "Drink" (32). KS. 34, 16: 47, 8, like VS. 8, 58, *bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ*<sup>80</sup>. Here TS. reads: "the drink when he has come" (*bhakṣa āgataḥ*). For *bhakṣa* as a common noun see, e.g., ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 29; 4, 3, 1, 20; 4, 4, 2, 16; 4, 4, 3, 10; ŚŚ. 9, 6, 21.

When the beverage is in the Nārāśamsa (cups, *nārāśamseṣu sannah*) he is the Nārāśamsaḥ Pitarah (33). According to Mahīdhara on VS. 8, 58 *pitaro nārāśamsāḥ* – and cf. (in 59) *sannah* – this means: "When after having been consumed he is seated (*sannah*), i.e. placed (*sāditah*) on the several *khara*s"<sup>81</sup> he becomes the *nārāśamsāḥ pitarah*..."; compare Griffith's translation "deposited, the Nārāśamsa Fathers". KS. has before the preceding item *indra āsannah* and after it *sakhā bhakṣitaḥ, pitaro nārāśamsaḥ* (here (*ā*)*sannah* is

79. J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 30 ff.

80. M. Bloomfield, A Vedic Concordance, Cambridge Mass. 1906, p. 662 records *bhakṣamāṇaḥ*.

81. See above, sub 30.

absent). AthPrāy. reads: ...*nārāśaṃsā(h)*. TS. reading *pitṛnām nārāśaṃso* was translated “the famed of the fathers” (Keith) and (better) “Nārāśaṃsa among the Pitṛs” (Kashikar). Nārāśaṃsa<sup>82</sup>, though occasionally identified with Agni, probably was, in accordance with his name, the divine representative of the solemn priestly praise and as such a god who “in der Sphäre des Opfers sein Wesen treibt” (Oldenberg)<sup>83</sup>. RV. 9, 81, 5 Nṛśaṃsa (*sic*) is one of the gods expected to delight in the soma which is being clarified. The interesting stanza 10, 57, 3 “Now we call the mind (of a person) by means of the soma that has been dedicated to Nārāśaṃsa (*nārāśaṃsena somena*) and by (means of) the prayers of the Fathers” shows that already at a comparatively early moment Soma, Nārāśaṃsa and the Fathers could appear in the same context and so to say co-operate. It seems therefore that the so-called *nārāśaṃsa* cups which are deposited under the axle of the southern soma cart – remember that the South is the region of the Fathers – five times during a soma ceremony (cf., e.g., ŚŚ. 7, 5, 21 and see also MŚ. 2, 4, 1, 47; TS. 6, 4, 9, 5; BŚ. 7, 15: 224, 18; 7, 17: 229, 8)<sup>84</sup> owe their name (cf. also LŚ. 2, 5, 13; DŚ. 5, 1, 15) to situations such as the above in which Nārāśaṃsa is a drinker of soma. It is worth noticing that the depositing of these cups is at TB. 2, 7, 1, 3; PB. 17, 11, 2 followed by the presentation of *dakṣiṇās* (*prātaḥsavane sannesu nārāśaṃseṣu ekādaśa dakṣiṇā nīyante* etc.<sup>85</sup>). In AVŚ. 20, 127, 1; ĀśvŚ. 8, 3, 10; ŚŚ. 12, 14, 1 *dakṣiṇās*, offerings given to priests and reciters after they have fulfilled their duties, follow the invitation to listen to the eulogy on Nārāśaṃsa. These cups contain certain remnants of soma libations (cf. KŚ. 9, 12, 7 f.; ĀpŚ. 12, 25, 24 f.)<sup>86</sup>. They belong to the Fathers: “in that the *nārāśaṃsa* cups stand (*śīdanti*) with the soma carts, thereby he offers to the Fathers; thereby the Fathers exist” (ŚB. 3, 6, 2, 25; cf. also ŚŚ. 8, 2, 14); “...the *agniṣvāta* (sc. Fathers) who drank soma from the *nārāśaṃsa* cup” (VS. 19, 61)<sup>87</sup>. According to ŚŚ. 7, 5, 22 the formula accompanying the partaking of the soma in these cups begins with “Thou art the god Nārāśaṃsa” (*devo 'si nārāśaṃsaḥ*, also 18, 21, 12). ĀpŚ. 12, 24, 7 however enjoins replacing the formula “drunk by Indra” (*indrapītaḥ*) – which is also used in case other gods have consumed the soma (9) – by “drunk by

82. Cf. A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II, Breslau 1899, p. 98 ff.; <sup>2</sup>I, Breslau 1927, p. 108 ff.; H. Oldenberg, in *ZDMG* 54 (1900), p. 49 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, I, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 41 ff.); in *Nachr. Göttingen* 1915, p. 210 ff.; Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 164 ff.

83. Eggeling's translation (op. cit., I, p. 136, n. 1) of *nārāśaṃsa* “the hope or desire (*āśaṃsā*) of man” is wrong.

84. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 219 (§ 147 e); 235 (morning service); 288; 305 (midday service); 350 (afternoon service); ĀpŚ. 12, 25, 26.

85. Cf. also Oldenberg, in *ZDMG* 54, p. 56 (48).

86. Cf. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 220; 235.

87. Cf. Gonda, *Mantras of the... sautrāmaṇī*, p. 180.

Nārāśaṃsa when one is partaking of the contents of the *nārāśaṃsa* cups. Likewise MŚ. 2, 4, 2, 32 (cf. 2, 4, 1, 44). The complete mantras (containing both compounds, *indrapīṭasya* and *nārāśaṃsapīṭasya*, of which only one is pronounced) for the morning, midday, and evening pressings are found (as g, h, i) in TS. 3, 2, 5, 2 f.: “Of thee, O god Soma, ...who art drunk by Indra, who art drunk by Nārāśaṃsa, who art drunk by the Fathers..., I being invited, drink”. It is perfectly clear that these texts distinguish between the Fathers (in general, or even without exceptions) and a deity Nārāśaṃsa. This statement is not contradicted by the *bhakṣamantras* quoted AiB. 7, 34, 1 “O god Soma, of thee that has been drunk by Nārāśaṃsa ...that has been partaken of by the Fathers..., I partake”; VaitS. 20, 7 “Of thee..., who has been drunk by Nārāśaṃsa, has been praised by (the) men, ..., has been partaken of by the Fathers who are helpers (cf. AiB., l. cit.; ŚŚ. 7, 5, 22), I partake...”; PB. 1, 5, 9 “Of thee that has been partaken of by the nearest (during the morning service), by the Ūrva (the name of the Fathers during the midday service) (and) the Kāvya (in the afternoon) Fathers..., that art dedicated to Nārāśaṃsa (Caland translated “that art Nārāśaṃsa”)... I partake”<sup>88</sup>. So the conclusion seems to be warranted that at this stage in the ritual proceedings Soma is regarded as being dedicated to Nārāśaṃsa, one of the deities who consume the juice (TS. 3, 2, 5 g; ĀpŚ. 12, 24, 7), and that that is why he is called *nārāśaṃsa*; that incidentally (ŚŚ. 7, 5, 22) Soma could at this moment even be identified with Nārāśaṃsa and that the cups – as soon as they are to be called *nārāśaṃsa* cups (ĀpŚ. 12, 25, 25) – are dedicated to the Fathers. This conclusion may help to explain the divergent and at first sight curious readings of TS. 4, 4, 9, 1 and KS. 34, 16: 47, 8 in which a reference to the stage in the ritual proceedings (*sannaḥ*, *āsannaḥ*) seems to be missing. It would appear to me that the reading of KS. should be translated “(when he is Soma) Nārāśaṃsa (see above) he is the Fathers”, that the reading of VS. *prima facie* means “(when) seated (Soma is) the *nārāśaṃsa* Fathers” (or, originally, “the *nārāśaṃsa* cups are (and Soma when seated is) the Fathers”?), and that the explanation of ŚB. “for the *nārāśaṃsa* Fathers he then is” is based on a secondary interpretation (on the conviction that a definite group of Fathers is meant), whereas the reading of TS., though unclear, admits of the translation “as Nārāśaṃsa he belongs to the Fathers”. – As to the words *indra āsannaḥ* in KS. (see above) these are, I would suppose, to state that Soma, after having been put down (ĀpŚ. 12, 25, 7) before the cups bear the name Nārāśaṃsa (12, 25, 24 f.; cf. MŚ. 2, 4, 1, 46; 56), is Indra (because he is *indrapīṭaḥ*, see above); from BŚ. 7, 15: 224, 17 ff.; MŚ. 2, 4, 1, 46 and 47, it may, however, be inferred that the cups are already made *nārāśaṃsa*

88. See Sāyaṇa's commentary and W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, p. 8.

when they are set down. Is the statement *sakhā bhakṣitaḥ* "(Soma is) a comrade when he has been consumed" in KS. a reminiscence of the idea expressed in RV. 8, 48, 9 and 10 (TS. 2, 2, 12 n; KS. 9, 19: 123, 5) viz. that Soma is the worshippers' comrade?

When Soma is ready (prepared) for the final (purificatory) bath (*avabhṛtha*) he is Sindhu (the River, 34). TS. reads "the River, when going down to (*avaprayan*) the final bath"; KS. (after other items) 34, 16: 47, 13 *varuṇo 'vabhṛthe* (see below). The text obviously refers to the sacrificer's being prepared for the purificatory bath as described in ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 1 ff. setting forth that the sediment or residue of the soma, i.e. the stalks after the juice has been pressed out (*ṛjīṣa*), are sapless but are taken down to the water – which is sap – in order to become full of sap again. See also BŚ. 8, 19: 259, 17 and 8, 20: 261, 12 (*ṛjīṣaṃ praplāvayanti*)<sup>89</sup>. The word *sindhu* is, however, not found in ŚB., l. cit., which (§ 3) speaks of "water" (*āpaḥ*). Varuṇa is three times mentioned in the accompanying mantra VS. 8, 23.

When the soma draught is taken down (to the water, *avahriyamāṇaḥ*; VS. 8, 59 reads *abhyava-*) Soma is Samudra (the Sea, 35). TS. reads *samudra avagataḥ* "when having gone down..."; KS. (after the preceding item) *samudra ṛjīṣe* "(he is) the Sea when he is in the sediments" (see above). In ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 1 the verb *avaharati* is used to explain the term *avabhṛtha*. When the *adhvaryu* floats (*plāvayati*) a jar containing the sediments he has to recite VS. 8, 25 (KŚ. 10, 9, 1): "Thy heart is in the sea (*samudre*), within the waters. The plants and the waters must get commingled with thee..."; "for the sea is the waters, and water is sap, and that sap he now puts into him (Soma)" (ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 20).

At the following moment, when the soma (ŚB., i.e. the jar containing the sediments) is floating away (*praplutaḥ*) he is Salila (the Waves, 36, rather than the water (Kashikar) or "the Flood" (Eggeling), because this English word might suggest that the water is overflowing or is collected in an unusual place). TS., like VS. 8, 59, reads *salilaḥ praplutaḥ*; KS. does not mention this item. The word *salila* is not found in ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 20 f. and VS. 4, 26, but the words *deva somaiṣa te lokaḥ* "This, O god Soma is thy 'world', i.e. selected position, a place or sphere of safety and sanctity"<sup>90</sup>, spoken by the officiant when he lets the jar go and reverently adores the Waters ("devīr āpaḥ, this is your embryo") as well as Soma (KŚ. 10, 9, 2), make it clear that the latter is now regarded as being in the water and forming so to say part of the waves.

It may be noticed that after the preceding act KŚ. 10, 9, 3 enjoins the *adhvaryu* to make the jar containing the sediments sink to the accompaniment of VS. 4, 27 in which the *avabhṛtha* is addressed and the

89. Cf. also Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 393 and 399.

90. Cf. J. Gonda, *Loka. World and heaven in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966.

wish is expressed that the stain of sin against the gods may be wiped out with the help of the gods (i.e. with the help of King Soma, ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 22) etc. This rite could have induced the authors of VS. and TS. to add another item to the above series. However, for reasons stated in the introduction they obviously did not want to exceed the limit reached by the thirty-fourth or thirty-third identification. TS. 4, 4, 9, 1, on the other hand, adds, as the thirty-third, one more item that is absent in VS. – remember that Prajāpati and the *andhas* constitute its first item –, viz. “(he is) the heaven(ly world) when he has arrived at the end (conclusion, state of completion”, *svar udṛcam gataḥ*)<sup>91</sup>. KS. 34, 16 ends with the following statements: the bathing-place upstream is (represents, corresponds to) the *prāyaṇīya* (i.e. the introductory rite of the soma ceremonies), downstream the *udayaṇīya* (the concluding rite)<sup>92</sup> – divergent as to grammatical subject and syntactic structure –; (Soma) belongs to Viṣṇu (*sic, vaiṣṇavam*) in (on the occasion of) the barren cow (*vaśā*, to be offered to Varuṇa and Mitra after the concluding rite<sup>93</sup>); he is the *brahman* on the occasion of the completion (of the sacrifice)<sup>94</sup>.

91. For Soma and the heavens see the ṛgvedic places collected by Nobel, op. cit., p. 234; in RV. 9, 52, 1 he is called “heavenly” (*dyukṣaḥ*).

92. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 28 f.; 405 f.

93. Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 406 f.

94. *samiṣṭyām*, cf. TB. 3, 3, 9, 6 *yajñasya samiṣṭyai*; ŚB. 4, 4, 4.