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THE MANTRAS OF THE
AGNYUPASTHĀNA AND THE
SAUTRĀMAṆĪ

BY

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THE MANTRAS OF THE AGNYUPASTHĀNA CEREMONY

Among those interesting and often neglected major problems which concern the ṛgvedic *mantra* collections as much as the *brāhmaṇa* literature and the ritual manuals is that of the so-called applicability of the hymns, groups of stanzas or individual stanzas quoted in the *brāhmaṇas* and *sūtras*. In many monographs on Vedic ritual or translations of *brāhmaṇas* or *kalpasūtras* the *mantras* are either left as they are found in the original texts, that is untranslated, or quoted only in an abridged form; if they are translated in full they are as a rule not explained. It is true that many scholars have taken great pains to collect the innumerable 'Vedic variants' and presented grammatical and stylistic studies of the variant readings in the *mantras* of the Vedic tradition but in acquitting themselves of this meritorious and necessary task they often failed to study the function of the *mantras* in the texts where they are quoted. Another, closely related question which has not yet attracted the attention it deserves concerns the interpretation of these ṛgvedic stanzas by the ritualists to whom we owe the *brāhmaṇa* literature. The books on the main Vedic rituals which have been published in the course of the last century, however voluminous they sometimes are, have often confined their remarks on the *mantras* employed to the fact of their occurrence and to indications of their presumable origin, neglecting to account for their meaning, use and suitability and omitting a discussion of their interpretation by the ritualists. Yet it seems worth while to examine these problems and to focus attention for instance on questions such as the following ¹.

How far do the ṛgvedic stanzas fit in well with the contexts in which they are quoted and prescribed? What is in each particular case the relation between the ṛgvedic stanza, the identical or different form in which it occurs in the other *saṃhitās* and the quotations in the manuals of the ritualists? That is to say, what are the differences in function, meaning, context between a *mantra* as found in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā and the same or virtually the same words when they occur in the ritual texts? More than once scholars have, without basing their judgments on close and extensive investigations, been of the opinion that many *mantras* used in the ritual *sūtras* do not fit in well with the contexts in which they are prescribed ². However, a close study of definite *mantras* and contexts has

¹ See also my articles on the *mantras* of Kauśika-Sūtra 10-52, in *Studia Orientalia* 47 (Volume P. Aalto), Helsinki 1977, p. 71 ff. and on the *mantras* in the *pravargya* ritual in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 21 (1979), p. 235 ff.; compare also *Hymns of the Ṛgveda* not employed in the solemn ritual, Amsterdam Acad. 1978, *passim*.

² See e.g. M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, I, Leipzig ²1909, p. 236; E. W. Fay, *The Rig-Veda mantras in the Gṛhya-Sūtras*, Thesis J. Hopkins University, Roanoke 1899, p. 14; L. Renou, in *Journal asiatique* 236, p. 132; compare also W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. VIII.

in some cases shown that the so-called inapplicability of the *mantras* has been exaggerated. We should guard against simplification of the problems and hasty conclusions. It would, for instance, be recommendable to distinguish between *mantras* that are completely unsuitable and have nothing to do with the ritual context in which they are handed down or quotations from the Ṛgveda the suitability of which was demonstrated in a very artificial and unconvincing way on the one hand and *mantras* that have something in common with their context or are for some reason or other not altogether difficult to explain in connexion with the ritual act to which they belong on the other. If a ṛgvedic *mantra* that is quoted in a ritual manual does not at first sight fit in well with the context in which it appears it should not be taken for granted that it has been misunderstood or purposely misinterpreted. Nor is the assumption always self-evident or even warrantable that all *mantras* prescribed in a definite ritual are borrowed directly from the *saṃhitā* of the school to which the ritual text belongs and which had copied a considerable part of its contents from the *Samhitā* of the Ṛgveda. In part of the cases the probabilities appear to favour the supposition that *mantras* used in some ritual were borrowed from other rituals performed by the followers of the same or a related school irrespective of whether they were secondarily to form a separate section of the *saṃhitā*.

There are more problems to be considered. For instance, from what source or sources did the authors of the *brāhmaṇas* derive their justifications, explanations or other information? To what extent were these the products of their own invention? To what extent may they be regarded as being based on genuine tradition or even as reflecting the views of those who first prescribed the use of definite *mantras* in a given ritual context? In view of the considerable difference between the schools of the White and Black Veda and between those of the latter individually it is no exaggeration to say that school traditions were in the Vedic period far from being invariable. While part of the school collections developed from one common source, they were, after their separation, subject to change or variation and were amplified according to similar principles³. Is it possible to distinguish, in a definite ritual, 'original' *mantras* that, being pre-eminently suited to it, may be supposed to have accompanied it from the beginning and 'secondary' *mantras* which, though not necessarily unsuitable, may have been incorporated only in the course of time? As to rituals such as that which will be the subject of this publication it seems warranted to suppose that those *mantras* which are prescribed by all schools—as far, of course, as their manuals make mention of the ritual—stand a good chance of belonging to the former category. Why are some *mantras* preferred and others entirely neglected? How are the former explained and is their employment justified? Why is the use of many

³ For particulars see J. Gonda, *Vedic literature*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 323 ff.

mantras in the *brāhmaṇas* justified by means of one single characteristic, for instance the occurrence of a definite word, or why is a certain analogy assumed to exist between some element of the *mantra* and a ritual detail or something within our daily experience? Why is in justifying a *mantra* emphasis placed upon one word while there are other words in the same quotation that impress us as answering the ritual purpose equally well? Why are other *mantras* with the same characteristics neither prescribed nor discussed? How far are the interpretations and justifications in our eyes probable or open to severe criticism? Are there arguments to be derived from the ritual in favour of the appropriateness of some *mantras* irrespective of what the authors of the *brāhmaṇas* have observed? Finally, can the ritual use of the *mantras* give us some information on the history and development of the ritual in which they are prescribed?

It may be remembered that in quoting the Ṛgveda it was not the purpose of the ritualists to whom we owe the *brāhmaṇas* to exhibit their learning or philologically to explain stanzas, hymns or difficult passages. In drawing on traditional matter that they had, or believed to have, in common with the *ṛṣis* (the poets of the Ṛgveda) they liked to quote these inspired sages in order to establish a connexion with the wisdom of the latter and to corroborate their own views. However, because of their more general character many ṛgvedic texts, though well adapted for invitations or attracting the gods' attention, are as a rule hardly utilizable for more than allusive descriptions of the post-ṛgvedic ritual acts⁴. This explains not only why the authors of the *brāhmaṇas* had to add long explanations to show the 'symbolical value' of the *mantras* and their adaptability to their ritual use but also why in doing so they often went in different directions, disagreeing as to many particulars and proposing various interpretations of the same texts. For although it is often stated that "that ritual act in sacrificial worship is perfect which is perfect in form and which as it is performed the *mantra* declares"⁵ it is clear that in many cases the stanzas borrowed from the Ṛgveda-saṃhitā, like passages of the basic texts of other religions, were, because of a tendency to broad and general formulation, liable to be interpreted in more than one way and to be used in various circumstances. It is, I think, a legitimate assumption that the existence of two or three different interpretations or ritual explanations of a ṛgvedic stanza—based for instance on emphasis placed upon a special meaning supposed to be expressed by one of the words it contains—does not necessarily prove one or two of them to be wrong or a product of the author's fantasy. The different uses made in different Vedic schools of one and the same stanza or collection of stanzas may—notwithstanding much controversial argumentation on the part of the ritualists—point also to what in the eyes of many believers was a

⁴ For particulars and references see *ibidem*, p. 39.

⁵ See e.g. *AiB.* 1, 16, 8; 17, 2; and see Gonda, *Vedic literature*, p. 345.

richness of content and a depth of thought. It seems therefore sufficiently clear that it is wise to start from the assumption that the ritual situations in which the stanzas and formulae were used are an important source of information concerning the meaning or meanings conveyed in the opinion of the worshippers and ritualists by these texts, or at least of the interpretation they were in their eyes capable of, irrespective as to whether or not modern scholars are inclined to agree with them. That is why in the following pages there will be ample opportunity of studying the occurrence in other rituals of the *mantras* quoted in the *agnyupasthāna* in order to gain an insight into their general applicability and the meaning they could convey or function they could fulfil under various circumstances, to become better informed of the possibilities of transference of a text from one ritual to another, and more satisfactorily to understand why a definite *mantra* has been chosen to consecrate a definite ritual act.

The many references to *sūtra* texts are in the following pages not only added for the sake of completeness⁶—neither Bloomfield's Concordance⁷ nor Dumont's book on the Agnihotra⁸ could quote the manuals of the Bhāradvāja and Vārāha schools; the author of the former work had to ignore also Baudhāyana—but also because they provide some additional information. Although the *brāhmaṇas* and *śrautasūtras* discuss the same liturgy from entirely different angles—the former endeavouring to explain the origin, meaning and *raison d'être* of the ritual acts and to prove their validity, the latter aiming at a systematic description of every ritual in its natural sequence—the *śrauta* texts are for the main part based on the *brāhmaṇas*. Those portions of the *brāhmaṇas* in which the rituals proper are described constitute, generally speaking, the nuclei of the corresponding sections of the *sūtras*⁹.

The *agnyupasthāna*, "adoration or worship of the sacred fires", is—at least according to part of the authorities—an optional¹⁰ ceremony of homage to Agni, represented by the ritual fires; the worshipper is standing erect. The motive of this adoration is a (prayer for) blessing or benediction (*āśis*): "The performance of the *agnyupasthāna* is Agni's food. This is made his food. One adores in the evening, not in the morning . . . The performance of the *agnyupasthāna* is the benediction (*āśis*) of every sacrifice (act of sacrificial worship); (in that one adores the fires) one prays for that

⁶ The following survey includes also the *yajus* formulae prescribed in the *agnyupasthāna*.

⁷ M. Bloomfield, A Vedic concordance, Cambridge Mass. 1906. The text of BSS. was published in the years 1904; 1907; 1913.

⁸ P. E. Dumont, L'agnihotra, Baltimore 1939.

⁹ Cf. J. Gonda, The ritual sūtras, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 496 f.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. KSS. 4, 12, 1 f. 'In the evening, when the oblations have been offered the sacrificer adores both fires . . . or (he does) not (do that)'. Compare also ĀpSS. 6, 19, 4, referring to TS. 1, 5, 9, 6 'Should the fire be adored or not?', they say. According to MSS. 1, 6, 2, 4 the ceremony should take place once a year.

benediction of the *agnihotra*'¹¹; or 'The sacrificer (worshipper) sacrifices (worships) for the sake of the *āsis*. The adoration of the (sacred) fire is the *āsis* of the one who has established his (sacred) fires. Therefore (the fire) should be adored'¹². Elsewhere¹³ however it is argued that the ceremony protects the worshipper from the effect of imprecation and from (an early) death. Or it is asserted that Agni being praised makes a man go to the world of heaven after having lived all his days¹⁴. The ceremony is usually performed at the night service only¹⁵. The motive given for the preference for the evening adoration is the following: '... at night the observances of ceremonies (rules of conduct, functions, *vratāni*) are mingled; the bad and the good exist together. The fire is the light, the night (evening) is the darkness. In that he adores by night he overcomes the darkness by light'¹⁶. The much shorter morning ceremony, which is not free from atharvanic or 'domestic' elements, does indeed impress us as a less important practice and a secondary ritual.

Our sources are first and foremost the *brāhmaṇas* and *sūtras* belonging to the White and Black Yajur Veda, in the second place also the Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra¹⁷. The adoration of the *āhavanīya* fire—the fire taken from the householder's perpetual fire and intended for receiving the oblations—and that of the *gārhapatya* fire—on which the oblations are prepared—are in this order the essential elements of the ceremony. However, the ritual works, whilst exhibiting a considerable number of diverse amplifications, do not fail to draw attention to the possibility of variation in the practice even of one and the same school¹⁸. For instance, the Vājasaneyins (adherents of the White Yajurveda) could carry out the ceremony according to the simple ritual of Āsuri¹⁹ or follow the longer and more complicated method of Vatsapri²⁰ who required a considerable larger number of ritual acts and consecratory stanzas and formulae some of which are to be recited three times, and in addition to the reverence paid to the fires, among other things adoration of the cow from which the milk for the main *agnihotra* offering was taken, and the invocation

¹¹ KS. 7, 5: 66, 19 ff.; KapS. 5, 4: 53, 15.

¹² TS. 1, 5, 9, 5 f. Translations of *mantras* and formulae are placed between " ", those of *brāhmaṇas*, *sūtras* and commentaries between ' '.

¹³ MS. 1, 5, 8: 76, 15 ff.; cf. 1, 5, 7: 75, 13. See also W. Caland, in Acta Or. 2, p. 144 (Vādhūla-Sūtra).

¹⁴ TS. 1, 5, 9, 4 f.

¹⁵ Cf. TS. 1, 5, 9, 5 f.; MS. 1, 5, 7: 75, 1; KS. 7, 5: 66, 20; KapS. 5, 4: 53, 15; ĀpŚS. 6, 19, 5; HŚS. 6, 6; ŚŚS. 2, 13, 9.

¹⁶ TS. 1, 5, 9, 5 f.

¹⁷ Though essentially a manual of recitation for the use of the *hotar* this work comprises also sections in which this officiant does not function. For some details mentioned elsewhere see Dumont, L'Agnihotra, Table synoptique, no 177 ff.

¹⁸ See e.g. ĀpŚS. 6, 19, 7.

¹⁹ Cf. ŚB. 2, 4, 1, 1.

²⁰ Cf. ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 9-41; KŚS. 4, 12, 1.

of divine assistance; at the end of the ceremony the sacrificer has to mention the name of his son who is to succeed him in his ritual duties. Yet, the schools of the Black Yajur Veda prescribe *mantras* which are absent in Vatsapri's ritual. Nor are the authorities always unanimous in interpreting the stanzas quoted and in providing explanations of their employment. There are moreover differences in order. The result is that the relevant texts differ not only in the exposition of the practices of the schools to which they belong but also in length and in the number of the stanzas and formulae employed. That does not however alter the fact that almost all *mantras* used in the *agniyupasthāna* ceremony seem to fit their ritual contexts well and that the interpretations and justifications found in the *brāhmaṇas* or *brāhmaṇa* portions of the *saṃhitās* of the Black Yajur Veda are intelligible or even probable. As to the chronology of the ceremony, the common nucleus creates the impression of being older than all the texts in which it is contained. Nevertheless the stanzas employed correspond with stanzas found in different books of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā which does not contain an *agniyupasthāna-sūkta*.

In the following pages insignificant variations of the text of the *mantras* or of the order in which they occur in the several *saṃhitās*, *brāhmaṇas* and *sūtras* will not always be specially mentioned. Nor will attention be invited to the controversies of the ancient authorities on those points which do not concern the interpretation and ritual employment of the *mantras*²¹. Since it will be my endeavour to avoid repeating what may be found in the secondary literature on the subject²² those *mantras* which are accessible in English or German translations will as a rule not be rendered in full²³, and no ritual acts other than those regarding the use and significance of the *mantras* will be discussed. Nevertheless references to the ritual contexts in which the *mantras* are prescribed could not always be omitted lest the function of the latter should become incomprehensible.

ṚV. 1, 89, 9 "There are a hundred autumns (i.e. years) before us, O gods,

²¹ See e.g. Dumont, L'agnihotra, p. 113, no 122.

²² See e.g. A. B. Keith, Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925; Dumont, L'agnihotra.

²³ See especially J. Eggeling. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa according to the text of the Mādhyandina school translated, I, Oxford 1882; Delhi 1963; A. B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus school, Cambridge Mass. 1914; W. Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba . . . übersetzt, I, Göttingen and Leipzig 1921; J. M. van Gelder, The Mānavaśrautasūtra translated, New Delhi 1963; C. G. Kashikar, The Śrauta . . . sūtras of Bharadvāja . . . edited and translated, II, Poona 1964. For the sūtras see also the French translations in Dumont, L'agnihotra (this book does not refer to the *brāhmaṇas*; since it describes the ritual as taught in each individual *sūtra* work separately it keeps the reader in the dark on the relations between these works, etc. Yet the synoptic table on p. 211 may be successfully consulted by those who wish to be informed on the order of the various ritual acts, the distribution of the *mantras* etc.).

during which you have brought about the decay of our bodies, during which sons become fathers; cause no loss of life half-way" is at ŚBM. 2, 3, 3, 6 (not found in K.) explained so as to fit the context, viz. the adoration of the ritual fires: 'for he (i.e. Agni) who is the son now in his turn becomes the father; this, then, is why one must establish (his) two fires'. That is to say, the stanza is not explained in detail, but, being in sense adapted to suit the present context by the author's predecessors, given a general, though secondary, meaning and motivation. For another ritual re-interpretation see GB. 1, 4, 17 where a father-son relation is assumed to exist between the *abhiplava* and the *prsthya* (definitive periods of six days in a long *soma* sacrifice, which are to occur first in this and then in the reverse order): the stanza is quoted in corroboration of the conclusion that in early life sons are dependent on their father and in later life the father is dependent on his sons. — The stanza occurs also at VS. 25, 22 (horse sacrifice); MS. 4, 14, 2: 217, 13 (sacrificial formulae); KS. 35, 1: 50, 13; ĀpŚS. 14, 16, 1 (in other ritual context) and in domestic texts; e.g. at HGS. 5, 5, 12 where the teacher recites it over his pupil as a blessing.

The following is in ŚB. a case of preliminary remarks to account for the applicability of a stanza and a subsequent quotation and explanation of the same. In connexion with VS. 3, 11, that is RV. 1, 74, 1 *upaprayānto adhvarām* . . . (addressed to Agni): "Whilst approaching a sacrificial rite let us utter a *mantra* (hymn, text) to Agni, who hears us even from afar", which is to be quoted in the next paragraph, it is in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 9 (ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 7²⁴) taught that one has to 'begin one's prayer—cf. KŚS. 4, 12, 3—with the stanza containing the word *upa*' (K. *upavatyā prathamayopatiṣṭhate*). The text continues 'Now *upa* ('upon') means this (the earth), in a twofold way *upa* is the earth; for whatever comes into existence here, comes into existence (*upajāyate*) on the earth, and whatever decays is buried in (*upopayate*, M., or 'scattered on', K.) the earth. Hence there is day and night ever-increasing undecaying (abundance) (and) with that undecaying abundance (M., *akṣīyeṇa* K.) he begins (his prayer)'. That means: 'He begins (undertakes) his adoration with abundance that is free from decay' (comm.). The explanation of the stanza in 10 (8) runs as follows: "Entering upon the sacrificial ceremony": 'sacrificial ceremony (*adhvara*) means worship (*yajña*)'; "we would like to pronounce a formula to Agni": 'for he is now about to pronounce a formula to him'; "to him who hears us even from afar": 'although thou art afar from us, yet do thou hear this (prayer) of us, consider it thus well (M., 'thus it must be', K.)'. — This stanza which is characterized by the preverb *upa* (*upavati* ṛc ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 9; 16) occurs also in TS. 1, 5, 5, 1 a—where "to Agni" is by the commentator (Mādhava but actually his brother Sāyaṇa) explained as 'to Agni's satisfaction'—with the explanation in 1, 5, 7, 1: 'with the

²⁴ In the edition the headlines of the pages containing 1, 4, 1, 6–1, 4, 1, 18 are erroneously printed as 1, 1, 4, 6–1, 1, 4, 18.

first words he yokes (i.e. employs) a *stoma*²⁵ for him, for there is no sacrifice without a *sāman*²⁶. ‘“Towards” (*upa*) he says; offspring and cattle (come) towards this world; verily he approaches cattle and offspring and this world’; MS. 1, 5, 1: 65, 6 with an explanation at 1, 5, 5: 72, 3 ff.: ‘To whose *agnihotra* a *stoma* is yoked (employed), it goes (leads) for him to heaven. This indeed is no (real) sacrifice to which no *stoma* is yoked. “Entering upon the sacrificial ceremony”: ‘promotion (? , *upoti*?²⁷) means this (earth). From here (the earth) he yokes a *stoma*; this (earth) he yokes as a *stoma* to (it; i.e. he employs as) a *stoma*. Therefore he yokes (employs) as a *stoma* the creatures that having come into existence bear names’; KS. 6, 9: 58, 16, with an explanation in 7, 4: 65, 13 ff.: ‘To the *agnihotra* a *stoma* is to be yoked (i.e. connected, employed). He to whose *agnihotra* a *stoma* is yoked is all the better for it’. (Quotation): ‘*upa* (means) these creatures; they are the right (?) *stoma*; these he yokes’. Similarly, KapS. 5, 3: 52, 8. In the explanation of the ritual MS. 1, 5, 6: 74, 3 the stanza is said to accompany and consecrate the scattering (viz. of seed in Agni, TS. 1, 5, 9, 1, which see). The stanza seems to owe this function only to the fact that, like the scattering, it is the first of a series. – For the ritual use of the *mantra* see BŚS. 3, 8: 76, 17; BhŚS. 6, 1, 8; ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 4; HŚS. 6, 6, 18: 535; VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 26, 15; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 4; VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 4; ŚŚS. 2, 11, 2; MŚS., VaikhŚS. and VārŚS. excepted, as the first of a series of six stanzas. – Other ritual uses of RV. 1, 74, among them in the beginning of the *prātaranuvāka*²⁸ (ĀśvŚS. 4, 13, 7; ŚŚS. 6, 4, 1), need not detain us. The statement ‘the word *pra* (in *upaprayāntaḥ*) is a symbol of the first day’ (i.e. of the beginning: AiB. 4, 29, 3; KB. 22, 1, 9) is worth noticing. – The stanza must have been very well known and is in itself extremely suitable for its purpose. It has however been largely reinterpreted. It may also be recalled that the hymn contains several references to Agni’s protective and ritual functions. However, attention may be drawn to another explanation, which likewise adopts the obviously widespread identification *upa*=this (earth), see KB. 11, 3, 9 ff. (*prātaranuvāka*, Soma sacrifice): “Entering . . .” ‘(with this) he continues’. “Upon (*upa*, towards)” is the symbol of this world, “coming forth” (*prayantaḥ*) is that of yonder (world); *upa* is the symbol of Agni, *prayantaḥ* that of yonder sun. So in all the introductory formulæ . . . the first utterance is in every case the symbol of Agni, the second of yonder sun’.

The following stanza (VS. 3, 12) is in ŚB. quoted in full, not explained in detail but, as to its general meaning and applicability, elucidated by

²⁵ One of the forms in which the hymns of praise (*stotra*) are chanted.

²⁶ Chants to be sung to certain fixed melodies.

²⁷ See the long note 10 by L. von Schroeder, in *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, I, Leipzig 1881; Wiesbaden 1970, p. 72.

²⁸ See W. Caland and V. Henry, *L’agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, p. 131; 132; 417 f.; 428.

a comparison. In connexion with VS. 3, 12=ṚV. 8, 44, 16 (dealing with Agni as Apām Napāt, a manifestation which is left out of consideration, and praising the god as the head of heaven and the lord of the earth) ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 11 observes: 'He thus follows (*anudhāvati*, i.e. 'goes after, praises', comm.) him, even as a supplicant would speak auspiciously, 'surely you are the descendant of So-and-so, surely you are able to do this', so this (stanza does)'. Omitting 'he thus . . . him' ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 9 reads after 'are able . . . this': 'being about to delight (him) he would honour him with praise, so also this (stanza does)'. The stanza is also found in other ritual contexts as VS. 13, 14 a-c; 15, 20; ŚBM. 7, 4, 1, 41; 13, 4, 1, 13. – It occurs also in TS. 1, 5, 5, 1 c with an explanation in 1, 5, 7, 1: "Agni . . .": 'Verily he makes him (the sacrificer) the head of his equals—the most eminent, (distinguished) one', Sāyaṇa —, and 'verily from the world of the gods he has a firm foundation in the world of men' ^{28a}; MS. 1, 5, 1: 65, 8 and 1, 5, 5: 73, 7; 8 where the two parts of *pāda* a are explained as 'going (leading) to heaven with him' and *pāda* b as 'forming a pair with him', *pāda* c (see above) as 'rich in seed (*retas*, semen), relating to cattle, entirely perfect (or successful)'; with the addition: 'He (Agni) is adored with a *gāyatrī*, Agni is connected with the *gāyatrī*, his metre is the *gāyatrī*; he is adored with his own metre'. MS. 1, 7, 4: 113, 4, after quoting *pāda* a: 'The one who is desirous of offspring or of cattle (cf. ĀpŚS. 5, 28, 11 f.²⁹) should perform (it) instead of (a butter oblation to Soma; as to 'forming a pair' on that account it possesses generative power, as to 'rich in seed', on that account it relates to Soma'. After quoting *pāda* a KS. 7, 4: 65, 19; KapS. 5, 3: 52, 13 (see also KS. 6, 9; 58, 20; KapS. 4, 8: 47, 6) observe: 'forming a pair, rich in seed, relating to cattle'. Similarly KS. 9, 2: 105, 13; KapS. 8, 5: 84, 3. That the reference to semen in *pāda* c has contributed much to the suitability of the stanza appears from KS. 7, 5: 67, 7 'with this (stanza) he sheds semen' and MS. 1, 5, 6: 74, 3. 'with this (stanza) he places semen (i.e. impregnates)'. See also SVidhBr. 1, 7, 11 where the stanza is used to atone for an abnormal ejaculation. – At MS. 1, 5, 6: 74, 3 and MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 4 it is a complement of the preceding stanza. In ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 4 it is the third in the series, in ŚŚS. it is replaced by ṚV. 8, 75, 4 in which Agni is likewise praised as a head and a lord ³⁰. – These and the following *mantras* are not individually mentioned in the *sūtras*.

In the following case the complete stanza is in the ŚB. followed by the identification of one of the names that occur in it and by a reference to the ritual application which consists in a prayer addressed to its deity.

^{28a} See J. Gonda, *Pratiṣṭhā*, in *Selected studies*, II, Leiden 1975, p. 338 ff., esp. p. 341.

²⁹ In the section on the *punarādheya*. "Der Vers wird empfohlen wegen der Erwähnung des Wortes 'Samen'" (W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, Göttingen and Leipzig 1921, p. 174).

³⁰ Both ṚV. 8, 44, 16 and 8, 75, 4 occur in TS. 4, 4, 4, 1 in another ritual.

Although VS. 3, 13=RV. 6, 60, 13 is directed to the dual deity Indra-and-Agni who, as such, is explicitly invoked “for winning (re)generative power” (*vājasya sātāye*) ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 12 (ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 10), after quoting the stanza in its entirety observes: ‘Indra, doubtless, is the one who gives out heat here (i.e. the sun); when he sets, then he enters the *āhavanīya* (fire)’. The author is however well aware of the significance of the unity of the two gods as a source of strength, because he continues: ‘Hence he now reverentially approaches these two that are united, thinking, ‘These two, united, must grant me (favours, requests)’. This is why the Indra-Agni (stanza is used)’. ŚBK. differs from M. in placing the identification ‘Indra is the sun’ before the quotation, in stating that this deity enters Agni (the fire), and adding ‘that is why it (the stanza used) belongs to Indra-and-Agni’—a statement which adds to the clearness of the passage. After the quotation K. adds: ‘The two will no doubt give me; being united do you give!’—The stanza is also found in TS. 1, 5, 5, 2 e, the explanation at 1, 5, 7, 2 being ‘verily he secures creative (authoritative) and physical power’³¹—according to Sāyaṇa both *pāda* c and *pāda* d refer to food and riches—; also at TS. 1, 1, 14, 1 in another context; MS. 1, 5, 1: 65, 10; 1, 5, 5: 73, 11 with the explanation: ‘These both together; this one (Agni) enters yonder (the sun) when it becomes day; that is why he (the sun) shines by day; yonder (enters) this one (the fire)³² by night; that is why he (it) (emits light) by night. In that he says “You two . . .” he adores both of them so as not to make a failure. He emits light in both worlds, viz. this one and the other (world)’, and 1, 1, 6: 74, 4 with a different explanation: ‘Indra-and-Agni are *prāṇāpānau*, the two complementary vital breaths³³; thus expiration and inhalation are placed in the mouth of (in front of) the sacrifice’; KS. 6, 9: 59, 1 with an explanation in 7, 4: 65, 20: ‘Indra is the sun (Sūrya); he (the sun) enters Agni (fire) by night. He indeed praises both of them together . . .’; also KapS. 5, 3: 52, 15. — The stanza is also the third of the series of *mantras* in ŚSS. 2, 11, 2, the fifth in ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 4. — For ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 5 etc. see below. Other occurrences need not be discussed.³⁴

The only explanation added in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 13 (ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 11) to the completely and literally quoted VS. 3, 14 is ‘possessions (*rayim*) means affluence (wealth, increase)’ and the résumé of the contents: ‘make us this affluence more and more, that is what he thereby says’. With reference to the stanza ŚBK. adds: ‘cause that to increase’. The ṛgvedic version of the stanza VS. 3, 14—which is also prescribed in other texts—

³¹ See above.

³² I read *imam* instead of *imām*.

³³ Similarly ŚB. 4, 3, 1, 22 f.; see J. Gonda, The dual deities in the religion of the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1974, p. 295 f. On *prāṇāpānau* see W. Caland, in Z.D.M.G. 55, p. 261 ff.

³⁴ See Gonda, Dual deities, p. 287 f.

differs from that used in the ritual works in that it (RV. 3, 29, 10) reads *ā sīda* "sit down" instead of *ā roha* "ascend" and *gīrah* "words of praise" (this also JB. 1, 61)³⁵ instead of *rayīm* "wealth, possessions". — Other occurrences are TS. 1, 5, 5, 2 f.; 1, 5, 7, 2 with the comment: 'Wealth is (means) cattle' (*paśavo vai rayīḥ*)³⁶; MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 4; 1, 5, 5: 74, 1 with the comment: 'This indeed is his proper (regular) place of birth, Agni the Sun's (Sūrya's)'; KS. 6, 9: 59, 5; KapS. 5, 3: 52, 18; also KS. 7, 4: 66, 4 'This indeed is Agni's place of birth, Agni the Sun's (Sūrya's)'. "This" (*ayám*) is variously explained: the kindling-stick (*araṇi*: Sāyaṇa on RV.), this or the sacrificer (comm. AVŚ.), the *gārhapatya* fire (U., Mah.), the *āhavanīya* fire (Sāyaṇa, p. 794, 18). See also MS. 1, 5, 6: 74, 7. — For the ritual use see ŚŚS. 2, 11, 2 (as the 4th), ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 4 (as the 6th or last). — For uses in other ritual contexts see, inter alia, VS. 12, 52 (the ritual of Agni of the fire-pan); 15, 56 (accompanying the laying of one of the bricks, likewise *agnicayana*). In the *agnicayana* rite also in ŚBM. 7, 1, 1, 28 (on VS. 12, 52) with the explanation 'this (*gārhapatya*) is thy perpetual (primeval) birth-place (womb), whence born thou wert enkindled'; as to line 2 'as the formula (*yajuh*) so its connexion and relation with the Unseen (*bandhu*)'³⁷; also 8, 6, 3, 24. The stanza is appropriately used to accompany the placing of the embers on the pieces of wood used for kindling fire (*araṇi*): TS. 3, 4, 10, 4; JB. 1, 61. — Since RV. 3, 29, addressed to Agni, is a "Lied zur feierlichen Erzeugung und Einsetzung des Opferfeuers im Beginn der Opferhandlung"³⁸ the use of this stanza in connexion with the kindling-sticks (*araṇi*)—see ĀpŚS. 5, 8, 5; 6, 28, 9; MŚS. 1, 5, 2, 8; 1, 6, 3, 2; ŚŚS. 2, 17, 3; ŚGS. 5, 1, 3; Kauś. 40, 11—may be regarded as original, and that in connexion with the *gārhapatya* (see also ŚBM. 7, 1, 1, 28) as secondary. At PGS. 2, 4, 5 it accompanies the putting on of the fuel (in the section dealing with the Veda student). The reading "possessions" in *pāda* d contributed to making it suitable for both the rite under discussion and combination with RV. 10, 141—that is constituting AVŚ. 3, 20³⁹—in which various gods are implored for wealth (see AVŚ. 3, 20, 3; 5; 8; cf. 2; 6; 7; also Kauś. 41, 8).

The comparison found in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 11 etc. recurs in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 14 (ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 12) in connexion with VS. 3, 15=RV. 4, 7, 1 "Here has he first been established by the establishers..." relating the first

³⁵ Properly speaking JB. 1, 61 makes mention of both readings, that of the YV. (*rayīm*) and that of the RV. *gīrah*; see W. Caland, in W.Z.K.M. 28, p. 64.

³⁶ With reference to *pāda* d, I suppose, not to *rtviyaḥ* in *pāda* a as assumed by A. B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Cambridge 1914, p. 76.

³⁷ For *bandhu* (the effect of a ritual act upon the powers of cosmos and nature) see J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 176; 193; Vedic literature, p. 340.

³⁸ K. F. Geldner, Der Rig-Veda (übersetzt), Cambridge Mass. 1951, I, p. 362.

³⁹ See W. D. Whitney and Ch. R. Lanman, Atharva-veda Samhitā (translated), Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 121.

foundation of Agni and stating that he (fire) is mightily omnipresent⁴⁰ in every settlement, the paragraph ending with the observation: 'And what he (Agni) really is, as such he speaks of him when he says "...", for he is indeed mightily (omni)present in every settlement of men'. K.: similarly and as above. From U. and Mah. it appears that the stanza was ritually explained: 'The pronoun *ayam* ("this, here") is said to refer to the *āhavanīya* fire, established as the first, viz. with regard to the *dakṣiṇāgni*; the "placers, founders" (*dhātubhiḥ*) are said to be the *adhvaryus* (U.), those who perform the placing and kindling (*ādihāna*) of the sacred fire' (Mah.). – See also TS. 1, 5, 5 d; 1, 5, 7, 2 with the comment 'verily he makes him the principal' (remember the word "first" in the *mantra*); MS. 1, 5, 1: 65, 12; 1, 5, 5: 73, 14 with the comment 'for Agni was placed (established) (as the) first on this (earth)'; 1, 5, 6: 74, 5 with the remark: 'he has placed an embryo'; KS. 6, 9: 59, 3; 7, 4: 66, 2 with the comment: 'for Agni is here in this world established (as the) first'; 7, 5: 67, 9 and KapS. 5, 4: 54, 1 'with this (stanza) he places an embryo'. In MS. 1, 5 the *pādas* b, characterizing Agni as a *hotar*, and c "whom Apnavāna (and) the Bhṛḡus caused to shine" are stated to be in accordance with fact; *pāda* d is said to signify that Agni is this All, all-pervading and has been adored by means of a *jagatī* stanza (4 × 12 syllables). It may be noticed that the reference to those who introduced the cult of Agni (the Bhṛḡus, see RV. 10, 46, 9; 122, 5) and to the first establishment of the fire cult have contributed much to the applicability of the stanza. – For the ritual use see ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 4 (the fourth); for MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 4 see below. – For other ritual employments see VS. 15, 26 (*agnicayana*, accompanying the laying down of certain bricks); 33, 6; MS. 2, 7, 3: 77, 19 (*agnicayana*); 2, 13, 5: 154, 3 (id.). See also AiB. 1, 28, 10 f. reading as follows: 'He should recite this *jagatī* stanza for a *vaiśya*; the *vaiśya* is connected with the *jagatī*; verily thus he makes him (the sacrificer) prosper with cattle'.

The above stanza TS. 1, 5, 5 d is in Miss van Gelder's edition of MŚS.⁴¹ 1, 6, 2, 4 said to be addressed to Indra and Agni and to be employed in the dark half of the month. This must be a mistake because ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 5 repeats for this purpose the stanza quoted as 6, 16, 4 e (the fifth of the seven, TS. 1, 5, 5 e)⁴². See also HŚS. 6, 6, 18: 535. – MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 4 prescribes the use of RV. 1, 93, 5 in the light half of the month. Being

⁴⁰ The term *vibhu*—translated by "spreading" (Griffith, Eggeling), "zu haben" (Geldner), "se manifeste" (Renou)—implies ideas such as "all-pervading existence, might and excellence"; at MuṇḍUp. 1, 1, 6 it is applied to the imperishable source of all existence. Cf. also U.: *vibhūtiśaktiyuktam* (*vibhūti* "manifestation of universal might" etc.).

⁴¹ The *Mānavasrautasūtra* edited by J. M. van Gelder, New Delhi 1961.

⁴² For the more elaborate ritual (the use of a larger number of *mantras*) and the repetition of this stanza see also W. Caland's note in *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, p. 198 f.

directed to Agni-and-Soma⁴³ this stanza states inter alia that this dual deity has placed the lights in the sky. Its suitability is beyond doubt (see also below). – This stanza is elsewhere quoted among invocatory and consecratory stanzas (TS. 2, 3, 14, 1 ff.) for rites for special wishes (2, 3, 3, 3 f.). See also AiB. 2, 9, 5: ĀśvŚS. 1, 6, 1; ŚŚS. 1, 8, 10; 5, 18, 11. – Āp. 6, 16, 5 and HŚS. 6, 6, 18: 535 however prescribe RV. 1, 93, 1 “O Agni-and-Soma, do hear . . . my invocation. Accept gladly (my) hymns . . .” for which see under MS. 1, 5, 1: 67, 3⁴⁴. – KS. 7, 5: 66, 13—in all probability known to Āp. (and H.)—sheds light on the use of these stanzas: ‘One (he, the sacrificer) should adore in the light half of the month with a (stanza) addressed to Agni-and-Soma. One should know that the full moon sacrifice is the share due to Agni-and-Soma⁴⁵; to them he (the officiant) entrusts him (the sacrificer); they protect him without going away from him. With a (stanza) addressed to Indra-and-Agni in the dark half of the month. One should know that the new moon sacrifice is the share due to Indra-and-Agni⁴⁵. To them . . . etc.’

According to BhŚS. 6, 1, 10 the stanza addressed to Indra-and-Agni (TS. 1, 5, 5 e) should in the bright half of the month be replaced by the stanza RV. 1, 93, 6=TS. 2, 3, 14, 2 k which, after referring to Mātariśvan and the falcon⁴⁶, eulogizes Agni and Soma who have made ample space for sacrificial worship. In TS. the stanza belongs to a series of *mantras* used in special sacrifices. See also MS. 4, 14, 18: 248, 4; KS. 4, 16: 43, 3. At AiB. 2, 9, 7; ĀśvŚS. 1, 6, 1 it is the offering (consecratory) stanza for the cake which during the animal sacrifice represents the victim; although the text does not mention the second half of the stanza it seems clear that the reference to ample space for sacrificial worship is the very reason for using it, just as the words “set free when held fast” in RV. 1, 93, 5 which is quoted in the preceding part of the section are pronounced in order to set the sacrificer free from all the deities.

The stanza VS. 3, 16 which is identical with RV. 9, 54, 1—stating that the milk (=juice) was drawn from the *ṛṣi* (Soma) who wins a thousand (gifts)—is an example of a stanza which is on the strength of one of the terms it contains adopted and then re-interpreted in different ways and adapted for its ritual purpose. At ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 15 (ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 12) it is literally quoted; the thousandfold (gift) is said to be the highest of acquisitions (gifts); and the words “the *ṛṣi* etc.” are said to be pronounced ‘in order to obtain that (giver)’. U. and Mah., referring as to the milk to ŚBM. 2, 2, 4, 15, where Agni united with the cow, viz. the sacrifice, ‘and his seed became that milk of hers’, interpret the stanza as praise dealing with Agni—although U. and Mah. give us also the option between

⁴³ See Gonda, Dual deities, p. 372 ff.

⁴⁴ Below, p. 24.

⁴⁵ Because on that occasion they receive the second sacrificial cake.

⁴⁶ See e.g. Gonda, Vedic literature, p. 120 f.

cow, Agni, and milk. The word *áhrayaḥ* “not shy, not ashamed, i.e. dauntless”⁴⁷ of the stanza which no doubt refers to those who prepare the *soma* juice—‘officiants’ (Sāyaṇa on TS.)—is explained as a descriptive name of the cows. The “ancient splendour” is said to be closely connected with the cow (U.) and Agni (Mah.). – See also TS. 1, 5, 5, 1 b; 1, 5, 7, 1 with a comment focussing on the word “ancient”: ‘(The) ancient is the world of heaven; verily he ascends to the world of heaven’⁴⁸; MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 2; 1, 5, 5: 73, 1 with a comment which arrives at the conclusion that having yoked (employed) the gods who are the ancient, the worshipper reaches the heavenly world; 1, 5, 5: 73, 18 with the same comment as TS., except for ‘... he has a firm foundation in the w. of h.’; 1, 5, 6: 74, 6 with the comment: ‘he has made an udder’ (remember the word “milked” in the *mantra*); KS. 6, 9: 58, 18; 7, 5: 67, 9 ‘with this (stanza) he makes an udder’ (KapS. 5, 4: 54, 1 is similar); KS. 7, 4: 65, 15 ‘the ancient is the gods ... these he set in motion (activated, employed) in order to reach heaven’. – For the ritual employment see ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 4 (the second) and ŚŚS. 2, 11, 2 (the last of the series). – The words “ancient splendour” in *pāda* a no doubt facilitated the re-interpretation of the stanza and its use in this context.

After quoting and discussing the stanzas VS. 3, 11–16 ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 16 and ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 13 recapitulate and add a motivation. Stanza 11 is identified with the earth, st. 16 containing the word “ancient” (*pratnām*) with ‘yonder (sky)’—‘for as many gods as there were anciently, in the beginning, so may gods there are (also now, K.)’. That is why this ‘(group of ritual invocations) of six *ṛcaḥ* to be collected (from the R̥gveda-Saṃhitā)’ is recited. ‘Now within these two (worlds) all desires (are contained), (to them he announces this, K.) and these two are in accord with each other for his (viz. the sacrificer’s) benefit, and concede all his wishes’. The commentary on ŚBM. explaining the term “to be collected” (*samāhāryam*) etc. calls the collection of stanzas a *sūkta*, the usual name of the so-called Vedic hymns. He adds that the text justifies the application of the term “ancient(ly)” to the sky by means of “as many etc.” – The recapitulation found in TS. 1, 5, 7, 2 ff. is different and longer: ‘He adores with six (stanzas); the seasons verily are six (in number); on the seasons he has a firm foundation. With six subsequent (stanzas) he adores. They make up twelve. The year is twelve months; on the year he has a firm foundation. Just as a man, a horse, a cow, are worn out, so the fire when established wears out. At the end of the year he adores it with (stanzas) containing the words Agni and purifying (*pū-*); verily he renews it, and makes it free from decay, and also purifies it’. One should notice that the six stanzas g–m enumerated in TS. 1, 5, 5, 2 f. contain all of them

⁴⁷ Cf. also Renou, E.V.P. VIII, p. 86 f.

⁴⁸ It may be recalled that the stanza which in TS. 1, 5, 7, 1 precedes is VS. 3, 11 (see above).

the name Agni and forms of the roots *pū-* or *śuc-* “to be bright, to shine”. See also MS. 1, 5, 6: 74, 7 f.: ‘He adores with six (stanzas). The *pr̥sthā*⁴⁹ verily are six. He has arranged the *pr̥sthā*’. After some comment which runs in a way parallel with the above TS. passage this work adds (74, 16): ‘He adores with twelve (stanzas). The year is twelve months. It is the year that he obtains and secures. With (a stanza) addressed to Agni-and-Soma he (the Fire) is to be adored with the thirteenth. The thirteenth month, it is this one that he obtains and secures with this (stanza)’. At the end of the relevant sections KS. 7, 4: 66, 7 ff. and KapS. 5, 3: 53, 3 ff. read as follows: ‘Agni verily is cattle. Just as a cow, a horse, a human person are worn out, so he, being established, wears out. He is to be adored by means of stanzas of the *agnyādheya* (= *agnyādhāna*) ceremony. These indeed are his bodies. With these he makes him new again. That he adores him with metrical texts belonging to the Veda with these he makes him new again . . . just as established in the beginning . . .’. KS. and Kap. wind up by stating that this adoration is the worshipper’s method implying a request, just as if he pays homage whilst offering (a present) to a more distinguished person.

It may be recalled that in the *brāhmaṇa* sections of MS., KS., KapS. the order of the above six stanzas is VS. 3, 11; 12; 13; 15; 16; 14. MS. 1, 5, 6: 74, 3 ff.; KS. 7, 5: 67, 7 ff.; KapS. 5, 4: 53, 22 ff. explain them as a whole, regarding each succeeding stanza as indicating a further stage in a generative process. With the first stanza of the series the worshipper scatters (M.; ‘becomes united with it’, viz. the stanza, which is grammatically feminine, KS., KapS.); with the second he places the semen, i.e. he impregnates (M.; ‘he scatters semen with her’, KS., KapS.); with the third the two breaths called *prāṇa* and *apāna* are placed in the mouth of the sacrifice; with the fourth he has placed the embryo; with the fifth he has made a female breast; with the sixth ‘he has generated and caused to grow’ (M.; ‘generates and causes . . .’, KS., KapS.). Notice that the words “approach” in the 1st, “seed” in the 2nd, “placed” (“established”) in the 4th, “milk” in the 5th, and “womb (place of birth)” in the last one made the stanzas adapted for this specific ritual purpose. Stanza 3 is considered suitable on the strength of the identification Indra-and-Agni = *prāṇāpānau*. ‘The man who knowing thus adores the fire will have well-made offspring’ (KS., KapS.).

In MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 6; KS. 6, 9: 59, 7; KapS. 4, 8: 47, 13 the stanza RV. 4, 39, 6 is found after the stanza *ayāṃ te yónir . . .* (VS. 3, 14; TS. 1, 5, 5 f) and before *agnā āyūṃsi . . .* (TS. 1, 5, 5 g). Belonging to the

⁴⁹ The name of particular arrangements of *sāmans* employed at the midday libation of a Soma sacrifice and formed from six different melodies. As to the ‘thirteenth’ or the ‘baker’s dozen’ see J. Gonda, Reflections on the numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ in ancient Indo-European languages, Utrecht 1953, p. 46 f.; Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, p. 124 f.

triad of hymns that eulogize the heroic horse Dadhikrā⁵⁰ it expresses the wish that this animal may give the person speaking a fragrant mouth—hence the designation *surabhimatī* (१८) “the fragrant (stanza)” for this stanza (TB. 3, 9, 7, 5)—and length of days. Being often quoted and ritually employed this stanza is used as a purifier after foul language (VS. 23, 32; VSK. 35, 37; ŚB. 13, 2, 9, 9; 13, 5, 2, 9; TS. 7, 4, 19 q; TB. 3, 9, 7, 5; MS. 3, 13, 1: 168, 9; AiB. 6, 36, 8; PB. 1, 6, 17; ĀpŚS. 20, 18, 7). This purificatory function is no doubt also the reason why this stanza was used in the *agniyupasthāna* in this place, before the series of stanzas with forms of the verb “to purify”. According to the explanation MS. 1, 5, 6: 74, 8 ‘he adores with a stanza relating to Dadhikrā; this indeed is Agni’s dear body relating to (consisting of) Dadhikrā, relating to cattle, entirely successful (prosperous); with this (stanza) he goes to Agni’s dear presence; then he becomes rich in cattle; then (also) the sacrificer purifies himself with it’. The author adds the statement that one thus adores with seven stanzas, that the *śakvari* metre consists of seven *pādas*, that cattle relates to the *śakvari*, and that the worshipper therefore secures cattle, etc. In the commentary KS. 7, 4: 66, 6 KapS. 5, 3: 53, 2 the D. stanza is said to be Agni’s body relating to (consisting of) cattle; ‘this (body) of his he takes (lays hold of), cattle is approaching him, Agni indeed is cattle. Just as a cow becomes decrepit . . . etc.’ (see p. 19). – At ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 6 this stanza is prescribed as the eighth *agniyupasthāna* formula. – The stanza is also found in other contexts, e.g. TS. 1, 5, 11, 4 l; ŚŚS. 4, 13, 2 ‘(to be used) if he is desirous of becoming prosperous’.

Between the Dadhikrāvan stanza which follows the set TS. 1, 5, 5 a–f and the series TS. 1, 5, 5 g–m ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 7; HŚS. 6, 6: 536, 1; MŚS. 6, 2, 1, 5 insert the first four stanzas of the so-called *vihavya sūkta* RV. 10, 128; – compare also BhŚS. 6, 1, 9; VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 1 which mentions them at the very beginning of this ritual to accompany the washing of the hands. According to tradition RV. 10, 128 is called after its supposed author Vihavya Āngirasa and dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ. In reality it may however owe its name to the clear references to rival invocations of gods (*vihava*), who are implored to appear at the eulogist’s call and not at that of rival sacrificers⁵¹. In this *sūkta*—which begins with “Be brilliant vital power (*varcas*⁵²) mine O Agni . . .”—a sacrificial priest implores the gods to grant him protection and success in sacrificing, to realize various hopes and to make his patrons victorious⁵³. Being

⁵⁰ For particulars see J. Gonda, Hymns of the R̥gveda not employed in the solemn ritual, Amsterdam Acad. 1978, p. 100 ff.

⁵¹ Cf. Gonda, Vedic literature, p. 80.

⁵² See fn. 59. Cf. also the use of the hymn in ŚŚS. 13, 5, 17.

⁵³ ‘In that the *hotar* recites the *vihavya* he takes away Indra from them’ (PB. 9, 4, 14); ‘in that the *vihavya* is recited, the sacrificer appropriates his adversary’s complete command of his physical and psychical faculties’ (TS. 3, 1, 7, 3; cf. 5, 4, 11, 3; 7, 5, 5, 2).

atharvanic in character it occurs, with some variants, some more stanzas and another order of the stanzas also as AVŚ. 5, 3 and AVP. 5, 4 and is as such employed in rites for vital power or energy (KauśS. 12, 10), prosperity (id. 22, 14) etc., whereas in VaitS. 1, 12 it—or st. 1—accompanies the addition of fuel to the three sacrificial fires (cf. ŚŚS. 4, 2, 7; ĀśvGS. 3, 9, 2; AVPar. 37, 13; 46, 2, 1); at 1, 14 stanza 1–4 constitute a separate whole (cf. ṚV. 10, 128, 1; 6; 2; 4) used in propitiating the gods on commencing a sacrificial rite. It may be surmised that the poet of AVŚ. 7, 5, 4 meant to say that a sacrifice performed with this hymn is very effective⁵⁴. See also AVPar. 17, 2, 9; 18, 3, 2; 20, 4, 1; 32, 18; 28; 46, 2, 1. – The ṛgvedic hymn is more than once employed in sacrificial rites (e.g. TS. 4, 7, 14; KS. 40, 10; ĀpŚS. 17, 21, 1) and occurs especially at the beginning of sacrifices: thus at the beginning of the rites of full and new moon⁵⁵ (see e.g. ĀpŚS. 1, 1, 4 and cf. MS. 1, 4, 1: 47, 1; 1, 4, 5: 52, 11; MŚS. 1, 4, 1, 7). Among the directions bearing upon the task of the sacrificer it (or st. 1–8) is at ĀpŚS. 4, 8, 6 prescribed when he touches the oblations. Not infrequently the four initial stanzas are prescribed, not the complete *sūkta* (GB. 2, 2, 24; ĀpŚS. 6, 20, 2; 22, 1; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 17 at the end of the ritual under discussion; ŚŚS. 4, 2, 7). – In RgVidh. 4, 6, 2 it is stated that a twice-born man, prompted by all kinds of desire, may, in order to realize his ambitions, mutter this hymn whilst offering clarified butter.

Proceeding now to discuss the *mantras* enumerated in TS. 1, 5, 5 g–m I regard the first “O Agni, thou purifiest full lifetimes; do thou bring forth invigorating food and refreshing drink (comfort) to us; drive ill-fortune far away” as perfectly suitable. Being ṚV. 9, 66, 19 it occurs also MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 8; for MS. see also above. There is of course no need for us to follow every interpretation of later commentators; Sāyaṇa’s explanation “army of the enemies” for “ill-fortune” is for instance inadequate. – The second is ṚV. 9, 66, 21—where in *pāda* c “giving possessions (wealth) (and) prosperity to me (*dādhad rayim māyi pōsam*)”, which is also found in texts of the White Yajurveda (VS. 8, 38 c; VSK. 29, 38 etc.) and TĀ. 2, 5, 1 as against *d. p. r. m.* (also MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 13)—is also quoted in full at MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 12. Praying to Agni, “the good worker” for illustriousness consisting in eminent men as well as wealth and prosperity it is likewise suitable for its purpose. – The third *mantra* is ṚV. 5, 26, 1, inviting Agni—to whom the hymn is addressed—to bring the gods and to be an intermediary in the sacrificial worship. See also MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 14. It is also used in other contexts, in the White Yajur Veda at VS. 17, 8 (to produce, among *mantras* used in the

⁵⁴ The commentary and Whitney and Lanman, op. cit., p. 392 (otherwise).

⁵⁵ See A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena 1880, p. 2. (Cf. also ŚGS. 1, 4, 2).

Śatarudriya ceremony, appeasement and propitiation; see ŚB. 9, 1, 2, 30); also TS. 1, 3, 14, 8, and compare also (in another context) the explicative passage 5, 4, 4, 4 'as to (verses) containing (the word) purifying, the purifying (one) is food; verily by food he calms its glow (pain)'. – The fourth stanza is a similar invitation: RV. 1, 12, 10 (an Agni hymn). See also MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 16. – The fifth is RV. 8, 44, 21 (likewise an Agni hymn) emphasizing the purity of the god of fire. See also MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 18. – The last is stanza 17 of the same hymn, in which Agni's purity and brightness are praised. See also MS. 1, 5, 1: 67, 1. The last two are often found together (TS. 1, 3, 14, 8 etc.; MS. 4, 10, 2: 147, 12, etc., see below). – Other particulars can be omitted. It may however be noticed that in TS. 1, 5, 7 these six stanzas are referred to, but not explained or commented upon individually.

As to the oft quoted stanza 1 it may suffice to notice that at ŚBM. 13, 8, 4, 8 where it figures as VS. 35, 16, it is used as an invitatory formula when an oblation is offered to Agni Āyusmat who is said to rule over a full lifetime, and that at PB. 6, 10, 1 ff. it is the first of a triplet (SV. II, 868–870=RV. 9, 66, 19–21) to be used in a ceremony for those consecrated persons amongst whom one dies in order to purify them; in pronouncing the words "full lifetimes" one puts a new lease of life into them so that they will not die before they have reached old age (cf. also PB. 9, 8, 12).

Stanza 2 (TS. 1, 5, 5 h) is not quoted separately but with the preceding one prescribed in other contexts, e.g. at ĀpŚS. 4, 16, 2 (adoration of the *gārhapatya*); see also ĀśvŚS. 2, 1, 20; ŚŚS. 2, 2, 5—where they are invitatory and offering stanzas⁵⁶ for an offering to Agni Pāvaka (the Pure One) in the *agnyādheya* ritual—, and as the last of a triplet MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 8–13 (cf. MŚS. 1, 5, 3, 17) to consecrate the setting up of the flaming fire on the *gārhapatya*. Compare also MGS. 2, 17, 7; ĀpŚS. 5, 17, 2.

Stanza 3 is likewise only quoted separately in connexion with other rites: MŚS. 5, 1, 2, 2; ĀśvŚS. 2, 1, 25; ŚŚS. 2, 2, 9 (the placing of the sacred fire); it constitutes a pair of invitatory and offering *mantras* with the following one. – The stanzas 5 and 6 are prescribed as invitatory and offering formulas at MS. 4, 10, 2: 147, 11; MŚS. 5, 1, 2, 2 (ritual of the setting up of the sacred fires); AiB. 7, 7, 3: in case a man's ritual fires have come to be united with a fire used to burn a human corpse an expiatory rite should be performed with these two stanzas which are obviously meant to restore the fire's purity; similarly if one's fires were to come into contact with impure (profane) fires (ŚB. 12, 4, 4, 5). They fulfil the same function in a rite in honour of Agni Śuci (the Bright One): ĀśvŚS. 2, 1, 25; ŚŚS. 2, 2, 10).

So it appears that this series of six stanzas consists of three smaller

⁵⁶ For pairs of stanzas ritually employed to invite the gods concerned and consecrate the offerings see Gonda, Vedic literature, p. 326 and The ritual sūtras, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 504.

groups which as such were also used as invitatory and consecratory formulae. Interestingly, they occur also in the same order as the last of a long series of invitatory and consecratory stanzas for special sacrifices (*kāmyeṣṭi*) in TS. 1, 3, 14 (7 f. x-cc), which are described in TS. 2, 2, 2, 3-2, 2, 4, 3. The six stanzas under examination belonging to 2, 2, 4, 2 f.: for Agni Pavamāna (the Purifying One), Agni Pāvaka (the Purifier) and Agni Śuci (the Pure One) there are three oblations with the *mantras* 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6 respectively, and the oblations are to be performed on behalf of a person who is long ill or of a person who is desirous of sight. Then the god is expected to bestow, in his respective functions or aspects, upon the patient breath, speech and a full lifetime in the first, and breath, speech and sight in the second case. Like other stanzas used as invitatory and consecratory formulae they are (with one exception) practically identical with the stanzas as they occur in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. In this these formulae contrast with other stanzas which the ṛgvedic and yajurvedic *saṃhitās* have in common. The hypothesis seems therefore legitimate that the use of these six stanzas as TS. 1, 5, 5 g-m was a secondary one; being addressed to Agni they were to enable the sacrificer to adore the fire, not with the number of stanzas which corresponds with that of the seasons but with that of the year so that he came to be firmly established on the year (TS. 1, 5, 7, 2 f.). The six stanzas occur also in the beginning of a series of formulae in KS. 19: 17, 8 ff., only the fourth—which has not been mentioned earlier in this work—being quoted in full. In MŚS. 5, 1, 2, 2 the four stanzas 3-6 are prescribed (sacrifices for setting up the fires) for two of Agni's three functions; stanza 1 meant for the first of the above functions combines with another stanza.

As to the ritual handbooks in which these stanzas are prescribed, BŚS. 3, 8: 76, 18 only states that (the) six formulae containing the name Agni and the verb *pū-* "to purify" (*āgnipāvamānībhīḥ*) (the stanzas TS. 1, 5, 5 g-m) are to be pronounced also. BhŚS. 6, 1, 11 mentions three *āgnipāvamānī* stanzas (viz. g-i; cf. 5, 10, 8) to be addressed to the *gārhapatya* and in 12 all six of them to be used in addressing the *āhavanīya*: ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 8; HŚS. 6, 6, 18: 536, 3 ('all six', only the first *pratīkena*). As to VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 26, 15 ff. after stating that one should adore the *āhavanīya* in the evening with the section (*anuvāka*) TS. 1, 5, 5 a-f, it inserts particulars about stanzas to be used in the two fortnights of the month to add that one should also use g-m, but every year (i.e. once a year) (only) the first two of them in honour of the *gārhapatya* (or offer two oblations to Agni Pavamāna). According to VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 6 one has with these six stanzas to adore the *āhavanīya* regularly, and the *gārhapatya* yearly.

Between the stanzas known as TS. 1, 5, 5 g and h MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 10 inserts ṚV. 9, 66, 20, which means that it employs the complete triplet ṚV. 9, 66, 19-21. The stanza, which may be taken to state the identity of Soma Pavamāna (the *soma* which is clarifying itself) with Agni, contains

a prayer for a great household. The stanza is neither commented upon nor explicitly prescribed in this ritual. – AiB. 2, 37, 6 the quotation is followed by the comment: '(since (Soma) who clarifies himself is Agni), therefore, although he proceeds with stanzas relating to Agni, still he follows in recitation the stanzas to Soma, the One who clarifies himself'. – Elsewhere this stanza belongs to the formulae connected with the lunar sacrifices (VS. 26, 9), with the placing and preparing of the sacred fires MS. 1, 6, 1: 86, 11; MŚS. 1, 5, 3, 17 in the order of the stanzas 1, 2, 3; ĀpŚS. 5, 17, 2 in the order 1, 3, 2; see also MGS. 2, 17, 7.

It is worth recalling that the triplet RV. 9, 66, 19–21 is prescribed at ĀśvŚS. 2, 3, 29 (*agnihotra* ritual, every year on the day on which the sacred fires are established); see also ĀpŚS. 5, 17, 3.

After the stanza TS. 1, 5, 5 m there follow in MS. 1, 5, 1: 67, 3 ff. three more *mantras* the first of which is identical with RV. 1, 93, 1, which, belonging to the only ṛgvedic *sūkta* which is exclusively dedicated to the dual deity Agni-and-Soma, is an invocation arresting the gods' attention⁵⁷ and asking them to be an enjoyment to the worshipper. It is one of the five stanzas of this hymn which are used by the Taittirīyakas as invitatory and consecratory formulae in rites for special wishes (see TS. 2, 3, 14, 2). – It is in connexion with the *agniyupasthāna* prescribed in MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 6; ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 5, where it is said to be the seventh formula to be used when the moon is on the increase, a peculiarity which may have been borrowed from the Kāṭhakas⁵⁸. In this connexion KS. 7, 5: 66, 13; KapS. 5, 4: 53, 9 are worth reading from which it appears that one should adore Agni in the first half of the month with a stanza addressed to Agni-and-Soma, because the full moon sacrifice is the share of that deity (then Agni and Soma obtain the second cake), 'to these he entrusts him; they guard him not going away from him'. In the second half of the month one should adore Agni with a stanza addressed to Indra-and-Agni, because the new moon sacrifice is their share (they then obtain the second cake), etc. The texts add that Agni-and-Soma entrust him to the first, Indra-and-Agni to the second half of the month. 'All the gods entrust him completely, do not go away from him and protect him who knowing thus adores Agni' (KS., somewhat otherwise KapS., MS.). The diverging text of MS. 1, 5, 7: 75, 10 is less intelligible: 'He (Agni) is to be adored with a stanza to Agni-and-Soma in the first half of the month (because) the first half is related to that deity; he entrusts him to the latter half (sic) of the month; with a stanza addressed to Indra-and-Agni he is to be adored in the latter half . . . etc.'. – See also ĀpŚS. 6, 22, 1. Other uses – e.g. MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 26; ŚŚS. 1, 8, 6; 5, 18, 9—may be omitted.

⁵⁷ See Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 372 ff.; 387 f.

⁵⁸ I refer to Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āp.*, I, p. 198, who refers to KS. 7, 5: 66, 13 speaking, in general, of a stanza addressed to Agni-and-Soma, but not quoting this one.

The second *mantra* imploring Agni of sharp fiery energy to burn the demoniac power and to drive away the wicked, and the third, invoking Agni (the god) who prevails over rivals, to overwhelm the worshipper's antagonists, occur only here (MS. 1, 5, 1; 67, 5; 7) and MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 6 (see above).

The *yajus* formulae (U. Mah.) contained in VS. 3, 17 "Thou, O Agni, art the protector of bodies; protect my body. Thou . . . the giver of complete lifetimes; give me a complete lifetime. Thou . . . the giver of prestige;⁵⁹ give me prestige⁶⁰. O Agni, what is deficient in my body, supply that for me!" are quoted in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 19 (ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 15 introduced by 'He adores:'), introduced (M. 18; K. 14) with 'what he does wrongly either in word or deed' (M., 'either in word or deed he speaks falsehood or acts falsely' K.), thereby he (cuts off from . . ., i.e.) injures either his own body (*ātmanah*) or his lifetime or his prestige, or his offspring'⁶¹; after the quotation these words are repeated (M. 20 with 'he injures'; K. 15 with 'we have injured') and followed by 'make that again (complete i.e.) good for me, he thereby says, and accordingly that (defect) is again made good for him'. – The four component parts of VS. 3, 17 recur in TS. 1, 5, 5 n o in the order "lifetime", "prestige", "bodies", "whatever is deficient". The explanation in TS. 1, 5, 7, 4 confines itself to: 'For he is a giver of life . . .', the last formula being explained: 'Whatever is deficient in my offspring and cattle, do thou make that complete for me, he says in effect'. (The commentator, arguing that in one of the former formulae 'bodies', includes 'cattle' bases himself upon the last-mentioned formula). Moreover, the formula forms part of a longer series. As to MS. see 1, 5, 2: 67, 16 etc.; 1, 5, 9: 77, 1 ff. in the same order as TS. but with 'protector of eyes . . ., of ears . . .' between 'prestige' and 'bodies'. In the explanation of the last formula: 'himself, offspring, cattle'. See also 4, 1, 14: 20, 1 ff. KS. 6, 9: 59, 15 f. corresponds with TS. 1, 5, 5, 3 f., except for "vigour" (*vayas*) instead of "prestige"; both formulae are found in the series KapS. 4, 8: 47, 21 ff.; for the explanation see KS. 7, 6: 68, 4 ff.; KapS. 5, 5: 54, 18 ff.: 'For himself he pronounces this prayer for blessing' (three times) and after the last formula: 'What is deficient for him that he makes complete for himself'. – The formulae are, in the order 2; 3; 1; 4 prescribed in BŚS. 3, 8: 77, 3 (in adoring the *āhavanīya*) BhŚS. 6, 2, 1; ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 10; HŚS. 6, 6: 536; cf. also Vaikh. 2, 7: 27, 4 (only the first of the four formulae is quoted); MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 7; not in VārŚS. ŚB. 2, 11, 3. Also in the order 1; 2; 3; 4 in PGS. 2, 4, 8 (accompanying the wiping of one's mouth after putting on fuel, in the section dealing with the Veda student).

⁵⁹ The untranslatable *varcas* is also rendered by "brilliance, brilliant vital power, illustriousness, energy, vigour etc." (or *vaidikānusthānaprayuktam tejo varcaḥ; vidyaisvaryaḍiprayuktatejaḥ*, Mah. on VS. 3, 17; 20).

⁶⁰ Notice the triadic structure.

⁶¹ Notice the addition.

The *mahāpañkti* stanza VS. 3, 18 (see KŚS. 4, 12, 4) is line for line quoted and explained in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 21 f. and ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 16 f. (with a somewhat different order of words). Line 18 a “Shining, illustrious (or kindling)⁶² may we kindle thee, the bright one, through a hundred winters (years)” is followed by the comment ‘he thereby says, ‘may we (M., ‘I’ K.) live a hundred years’ and ‘so long we kindle thee, the great one’ he says, when he says, ‘we kindle thee, the brilliant one’.’ The following “we being vigorous, thee the invigorating . . .” are explained as wishes: ‘May we be vigorous, mayest thou be . . ., may we be victoriously powerful, thee the giver of victorious power’. Line 18 c “O Agni, thee, the undeceivable deceiver (uninjurable injurer) of rivals, (we) not deceived (injured)” is explained as a prayer (or an intention K.): ‘With thee may we (M., ‘we will, expect to’ K.) render our rivals worse off’⁶³. The authors, after stating in § 22 (§ 17 K.) that line 18 d “O thou, rich in various lights, may I successfully reach thy end”⁶⁴ is to be muttered three times, explain: ‘She that is rich in brilliant lights (*citrāvasu*) is the night, because this one, after gathering together these (K.) bright objects stays (overnight); hence at night (K., not in M.) one does not see clearly (*citram*) from afar’. In M. 23 and in somewhat more felicitous wording in K. 17 it is added that thus (K., ‘with this’ M.) the *ṛṣis* of old (K.) reached successfully the end of the night; thus the danger of night (viz. the demoniac powers M.) did (K., do M.) not find them; thus also he now reaches successfully the end of the night, thus the danger of night viz. t. d. p. M.) does not find him. Compare the reference to the aetiological myth in KS. 7, 6: 67, 13 ff.; KapS. 5, 5: 54, 4 ff.: when the fear of universal darkness was upon all beings, cattle seized Agni from behind (a ritual gesture by which sacred power is transmitted) with the *mantra* TS. 1, 5, 6 b etc., men with TS. 1, 5, 5 q, VS. 3, 18 etc. In K. the formula is repeated. Mah. observes that this is a prayer addressed to Night for fear that the demons might enter the place of offering like thieves who at night enter a house when the inhabitants are asleep. – With the last line of VS. 3, 18 corresponds TS. 1, 5, 5 p which in 1, 5, 7, 5 is explained: “That of various lights (splendour) is the night. The brahmins formerly feared its not dawning; verily he secures the breaking of dawn’. The identification also MS. 1, 5, 9: 77, 13. – For the ritual use: BŚS. 3, 8: 77, 5 and VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 27, 4 (whilst adoring Night); BhŚS. 6, 2, 1 and ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 11 (in the evening); HŚS. 6, 6: 536; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 7; VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 8. – The corresponding *mantra* TS. 1, 5, 5, 4 q differs from VS. 3, 18 in reading, in the first line,

⁶² The form *indhānāḥ* is used as a medium proper (U., Sāyaṇa on TS.) or as a passive (Griffith, Eggeling following Mah. who explains ‘shining (illustrious) by thy favour’. Both interpretations are possible (in ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 12 Caland: “entflammt”, in ŚŚS. 2, 11, 3: “kindling”), the sense may be literal or ‘metaphorical’.

⁶³ *pāpiyasah* “to a high, considerable degree characterized by evil, the results of sin, misfortune etc.”.

⁶⁴ The supernumerary *citrāvasu* formula (ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 10).

dyumantaḥ “(we being) brilliant” (the commentator subsequently explains: ‘May we in the world become completely celebrated’), in line 2, *yaśasvanto yaśaskṛtam* “(we being) glorious (renowned), (thee) the one who confers renown” instead of “. . . victorious(ly) power(ful)” (2 ×) and, in lines 3 and 4: “(we) well supplied with energetic men, (thee the) undeceivable one, O Agni, the deceiver of rivals in the highest firmament”. The explanation follows in TS. 1, 5, 7, 6: ‘Man lives a hundred years (*śatāyuh*) and has a hundredfold command of his physical and psychical faculties (*indriya*). Verily he is firmly founded on a complete lifetime (*āyus*) and on a complete command of his . . . faculties’. There follows a ritual application based on the last part of the *mantra*: ‘This verily is a glowing stake⁶⁵ with projections. By it the gods used to crush the *asuras* a hundredfold. In that he places firewood on the fire with this (stanza) the sacrificer hurls the hundred-slaying (stanza) as a bolt against (his) adversary to lay (him) down without fail’. KS. 6, 9: 59, 12 and KapS. 4, 8: 47, 18, on the whole agreeing with TS. read, in line 2, *vayasvinam* and *yaśasvinam* “possessed of . . .” and omit the last words “in the . . .”. According to the explanation (KS. 7, 6: 68, 1 ff.; KapS. 5, 5: 54, 14 ff.) Dāśarma and Āruṇi discussed how to adore Agni, the latter informing the former of the *agniyupasthāna* and of the use of this formula: “The adversary and rival of him who adores (him) with this (stanza) will get off worse than he; he (will) reach a complete lifetime, until (the end of his) life he (will) eat(s) food’. Compare also MS. 1, 5, 2: 67, 12 ff. and 1, 5, 8: 76, 3 ff. with the comment: ‘This invocation is victorious in battle. With this a royal personage should adore (Agni)’. Whether or not one is a royal personage one should adore (Agni) with it when one wishes to carry the day in battle, being safe and sound, and wishes to be successful, being safe and sound. – For the ritual use see BŚS. 3, 8: 77, 6; BhŚS. 6, 2, 3; ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 12⁶⁶; HŚS. 6, 6: 536; VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 27, 5; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 6 (a *kṣatriya* has to employ it); not in VārŚS. It appropriately accompanies the putting on of fuel. See also ŚŚS. 2, 11, 3.

After VS. 3, 18; TS. 1, 5, 5 q MS. 1, 5, 2: 67, 15 ff. has a longer series of brief formulae. Not all of them occur also in the Kāthaka text. They are successively: “Thou art the firewood of Agni; protect me from (the effect of) imprecation” which at 1, 5, 8: 76, 13 is said ‘to protect him from imprecation’—see also the aetiological myth related before the quotation: the man who knowing this adds fuel to the fire overthrows a wicked rival—and occurs also KS. 6, 9: 59, 14 (after the formula VS. 3, 17, last line TS. 1, 5, 5 o) and 7, 6: 68, 8; ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 12; “Thou art the firewood of Soma; be my protector”: ‘it becomes his protector’ (1,5, 8:

⁶⁵ Thus, ‘a glowing iron stake with holes (pierced)’ Sāyaṇa, p. 809; see also Keith, *Veda Black Yajus school*, p. 77, n. 2; Keith translates ‘pipe’ but it is difficult to say what sort of pipe is meant.

⁶⁶ See Caland’s note, *Śrautasūtra des Āp.*, I, p. 200.

76, 14); also KS. 6, 9: 59, 17 (cf. 7, 6: 68, 8); ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 12; "Thou art the firewood of Yama; protect me from death": 'it protects him from death' (1, 5, 8: 76, 15); also KS. 6, 9: 59, 18 with a comprehensive comment in 7, 6: 68, 9: 'these protect him from everything'. For the formulae see also BhŚS. 6, 2, 3; VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 7. The afore-mentioned *sūtras* prescribe the use of these three formulae when some logs of wood are placed on the fire.

In MS. 1, 5, 2: 67, 16 ff. now follow the formulae TS. 1, 5, 5 n 1 and 2; then "Thou, O Agni, art, O Agni, the protector of eyes; protect my eye (sight)"; 'he protects his eye (sight)' (1, 5, 9: 77, 2), a formula which in its entirety occurs also at VS. 2, 16 (in connexion with the three sticks laid round a sacrificial fire, ŚB. 1, 8, 3, 19 explaining that when the officiant pronounces this formula while touching himself (his eyes, comm.) he does not throw himself into the fire after definite objects which are thrown into it; similarly, 1, 9, 2, 17; see also KŚS. 3, 6, 15; TB. 3, 3, 9, 5); TS. 1, 1, 13 k (addressed to the *āhavanīya* fire); its second part is found VS. 14, 17; TS. 1, 2, 1 i; MS. 1, 2, 1: 10, 6 and elsewhere; next MS. 1, 5, 2: 68, 1 "Thou art, O Agni, the protector of ears; protect my ear (sense of hearing)"; 'he protects his ear' (1, 5, 9: 77, 4)—also in another context MS. 4, 1, 14: 20, 2, the second part also elsewhere —; then follow "thou art the protector of the body (of bodies...)" (=TS. 1, 5, 5 n) and TS. 1, 5, 5 o. The next formula is almost identical with AVŚ. 2, 19, 1 imploring Agni to destroy enemies: "O Agni, with thy heat be hot (in return) against him who hates us and whom we hate" (see KauśS. 47, 8 employing AVŚ. 2, 19–23); also KS. 6, 9: 59, 18 (immediately after "protect me from death") and ĀpŚS. 6, 21, 1. It is followed by "O Agni, with thy glow..." (AVŚ. 2, 19, 4); also KS. 6, 9: 59, 19; ĀpŚS. 6, 21, 1; "O Agni, with thy ray of light..." (AVŚ. 2, 19, 3); also KS. 6, 9: 59, 21; ĀpŚS. 6, 21, 1⁶⁷; "O Agni, with thy flame (or rage, anger)..." (AVŚ. 2, 19, 2); also KS. 6, 9: 59, 22; ĀpŚS. 6, 21, 1; and (MS. 1, 5, 2: 68, 6. "O Agni, with thy brilliant energy..." (AVŚ. 2, 19, 5); also KS. 6, 9) 59, 20; ĀpŚS. 6, 21, 1. It is worth noticing that the order of these five formulae is *tapas, śocis, arcis, haras, tejas* in MS., *tap., ś., tej., a., h.* in KS; *a., ś., tap., h., tej.* in ĀpŚS. There is hardly any doubt that these five stanzas—which are also found as 2, 48 in AVP. in the order *tap., h., ś., a.*, the fifth being *jyotiḥ* ("light")—constituted an old or widespread set of formulae intended to stimulate the god of fire to a destructive activity, and that it was secondarily included by the Maitrāyaṇīyas, the Kāṭhakas and Āpastambins in their *agniyupasthāna* ceremony. The formulae are commented upon comprehensively in MS. 1, 5, 9: 77, 7 ff.: "These verily are Agni's luminous bodies. This indeed Aruṇa Aupaveśi (the pupil of Upaveśa, cf. ŚB. 10, 6, 1, 1) used to say: 'If, with respect to adversaries

⁶⁷ See below.

who are more excellent (opulent) (and) distinguished than ourselves we came to understand that they were standing against (us, ?) we overthrew them by means of Agni's luminous bodies? He overthrows the evil adversary who knowing thus adores Agni (the fire)'. And in KS. 7, 6: 68, 10; KapS. 5, 5: 54, 22, after repeating the first formula at full length: 'With this he is hot (in return) against, he glows against ⁶⁸, he shines against, he flames (rages) against. This indeed Āruṇi ⁶⁹ said: 'With this I overcome all rivals, all adversaries'. Ever more distinguished one becomes oneself, ever more worse off (the one) who hates him, who has hostile intentions against him, if one knowing thus adores Agni (the fire)'. These explanations corroborate the above supposition with regard to the original function and character of these five stanzas and the reason why they were included.

The texts, MS. 1, 5, 2: 68, 7 and KS. 6, 9: 60, 1, continue with "O Agni, lord of splendours, homage to thy splendour, do place splendour in me", explained in MS. 1, 5, 9: 77, 11 'Averting evil he places splendour in himself; he becomes rich in brilliant energy, in brahminical illustriousness' and KS. 7, 6: 68, 14 'After having appeased all glows (pain, sorrow) he places splendour in himself'. There is a lacuna in KapS. The formula occurs also ĀpŚS. 6, 22, 1 as the first of a long series. The next one is TS. 1, 5, 5 p (VS. 3, 18, last line), followed by MS. 1, 5, 2: 68, 8; KS. 6, 9: 60, 2 "O thou whose wealth is on this side (i.e. who offerst wealth, *arvāvaso*), may I reach the end of thee in safety" which is explained at 1, 5, 9: 77, 13 ff. 'the day is the one who offers wealth' and (together with the preceding one): 'The night is Agni, the day yonder sun. These are breaks ⁷⁰, these he praises. He repeats (it) three times, because the gods are trebly truthful ⁷¹. Of him sacrificial worship or *brahman* ⁷² is splendid who knows thus'. And in KS. 7, 6: 68, 15 ff. (after the repetition of both formulae and the same identifications): 'This is an enclosure ⁷³ of day and night; neither by night nor by day does he who knows thus fall into calamity. These indeed are breaks of sacrificial worship, viz. Agni (who is) night (and) yonder sun (who is) day. These very breaks he praises. He who knows thus is able to perceive the past and the future'. – The two formulas beginning with *citrāvaso* and *arvāvaso* occur also in ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 11; cf. MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 17; HŚS. 6, 6, 18: 536 mentions only the first.

⁶⁸ Notice the form *pratityakti*.

⁶⁹ The son of the above Aruṇa Aupaveśi.

⁷⁰ Interruptions, viz. of the daily sacrificial worship, which takes place in the morning and in the evening; see below.

⁷¹ See TS. 6, 3, 10, 1; MS. 1, 4, 8: 56, 3; 3, 6, 3: 63, 8; 3, 6, 9: 72, 2; 3, 10, 2: 132, 4; 4, 1, 3: 5, 3; 4, 1, 6: 8, 9; 4, 1, 7: 9, 4, and comm. on ŚB. 1, 1, 9 '(The gods are true threefold): in thought, word and deed'.

⁷² Sacred texts, spiritual knowledge, 'holiness' etc.

⁷³ The word *pariti* seems to be a hapax which may be equivalent to enclosure, encirclement, fence.

With regard to the latter Mādhava, on TS., p. 796 rightly observes that it is a *mantra* of another Vedic school (*sākhāntara*).

It should be noticed that KapS. 4, 8: 47, 23–48, 6 is identical with KS. 6, 9: 59, 17–60, 2.

In MS. 1, 5, 2: 68, 9 and KapS. 5, 1: 49, 1 now follows what in TS. is 1, 5, 6 b.

Hereafter HSS., l. cit. has the formula “So-and-So (i.e. the names of his sons), good fortune” (twice), which in ĀpŚS. occurs in 6, 22, 1.

The use of the formulae of VS. 3, 19—to be pronounced while seated (because they are related to sunset) (M., not in K.)—is set forth at ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 24 (ŚBK. 1, 1, 4, 18 read 1, 4, 1, 18): “Thou, O Agni, hast come together (become united) with Sūrya’s brilliant energy (*varcas*)” is recited, ‘because, (in setting M.) the sun enters it’ (K., ‘the *āhavanīya*’ M.); “with the eulogy of the *ṛṣis*” ‘because he (himself) adores (M., ‘him’ K. viz. Agni, the fire)’; “with (his) dear presence”⁷⁴: ‘his dear presence is the oblations, with the oblations, he thereby says’ (M., ‘having offered he says this, his d. p. is an oblation’ K.); “may I be united with a complete lifetime, brilliant energy, offspring, increase of property” is explained: ‘Even as thou didst become united with those (qualities, M.; with this K.) so may I (by your favour U., Mah.) . . . with these, viz. . . . increase of property’ (‘that is to say, with prosperity’, M., not in K. where ‘be coming together’⁷⁵ . . . with offspring’ and the explanation ‘increase of property is prosperity’ is placed at the end). – The first half of VS. 3, 19 (KŚS. 4, 12, 4) recurs also in the texts of the Black Yajurveda (only KS., KapS. *jyotiṣā* “with light” instead of *varcasā*). See TS. 1, 5, 5, 4 r—Sāyaṇa explaining *varcasā* by *tejasā* and *dhāman* by “place” (*sthāna*), viz. the *āhavanīya*—with the comment in 1, 5, 7, 6: ‘that thou art, this (thus) may I be, he says in effect’. The second half, reading “Thou, O Agni, hast the brilliant energy of Sūrya (the sun), do thou unite me with a full lifetime, brilliant energy, (and) offspring” (TS. *ibidem* s) induced the comment (1, 5, 7, 6): ‘Thou, O Agni, hast the radiance of Sūrya (etc.), he says; verily he pronounces this prayer for a blessing’. In MS. 1, 5, 2: 67, 9 ff. the *mantra* reads as follows: “Thou, O Agni, hast . . . ; do thou unite me . . . ; thou, O Agni, hast come” and the second half: “With the eulogy of the *ṛṣis*, with . . . may I be united” (as in VS.⁷⁶), and at 1, 5, 8: 75, 15 the comment: ‘He pronounces this prayer for a blessing with a view to a more excellent condition’. The formula “Thou hast united with the light of the sun” is

⁷⁴ *prīyeṇa dhāmnā* not “favourite abode (or dainty)” (Eggeling) etc.; see J. Gonda, The meaning of the Sanskrit term *dhāman*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967; for this place, p. 65. The text seems to say that Agni who is expected to convey the oblations which are thrown into the fire (*āhuti*) to the gods makes or considers them his *dhāman* by entering them.

⁷⁵ *saṅgacchamāno bhūyāsam*.

⁷⁶ Only *gmīya* instead of *gmiṣīya*.

explained: 'These two are then indeed conjointly lights (dual)'; "with the eulogy . . ." (identical with KS. below); "with (Agni's) dear presence": 'solemn rites accompanied with oblations are A.'s d. p.; he causes him to be abundantly furnished with s. r. a. w. o.'. The last formula is said to be a prayer for blessing. See also KS. 6, 9: 59, 9 and KapS. 4, 8: 47, 15 (similar). In the explanation, KS. 7, 6: 67, 17 ff. and KapS. 5, 5: 54, 8 ff. it reads: "Thou, Agni hast . . .": 'he addresses this prayer for a blessing to Agni'; "do thou . . .": 'he pronounces this p. . . for himself'; "thou . . . hast come . . .": 'he addresses this . . . to Agni'; "with the eulogy . . .": 'the eulogy of the ṛṣis is the metrical texts of the Veda; he causes him to be abundantly furnished with the m. t.'; "with (his) dear presence": 'cattle verily are Agni's dear presence; he causes him . . . furnished with cattle'; the last words are said to be a prayer for himself. — As to the ritual application see BŚS. 2, 8: 77, 9; BhŚS. 6, 2, 3; ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 12 (the formula as found in TS.); HŚS. 6, 6: 536; VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 27, 6; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 6; ŚŚS. 2, 11, 5 (the formula as found in VS.).

In this connexion BhŚS. 6, 2, 4; ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 12 d, and HŚS. 6, 6, 18: 536 prescribe the use of a stanza pronounced by the worshipper when he wipes his mouth (Sāyaṇa on TB. 2, 4, 2, 7: I, 528). It corresponds with RV. 10, 57, 6, the last stanza of the first hymn of the Gaupāyanas who, protesting against the suspicion of their integrity, pronounce a sort of charm: "O Soma, may we, bearing under thy ordinance (rule, *vrata*) our mind in our bodies, possessed of progeny, associate ourselves (be devoted to thee)" (thus RV.; TB. etc. "reach (thee), *aśimahi*")⁷⁷. In VS. 3, 56 this stanza is—after formulae invoking the Fathers, with whom Soma is sometimes closely connected⁷⁸—part of a series of *mantras* for the presentation of the Sākamedha offering⁷⁹. At KauśS. 89, 1 it belongs to the *piṇḍapitṛyajña* (the oblations to the deceased ancestors on the eve of new moon). The stanza occurs also in TB. 2, 4, 2, 7 (among *mantras* for subsidiary sacrifices); 3, 7, 14, 3 (with ĀpŚS. 14, 32, 2) in expiatory rites belonging to the Soma sacrifices; in MŚS. 11, 4, 5 it is one of the *sūtras* to be used in the rite concerning the lunar mansion Āśleṣa and pronounced to consecrate an offering to Soma.

The stanza "I gaze on offspring, the descendants of Idā, sprung from Manu('s race)⁸⁰; they must be safe and sound⁸¹ in our house" which occurs—as 1, 5, 6 a—in TS. between 1, 5, 5 s and 1, 5, 6 b to accompany

⁷⁷ Thus Caland, Śrautasūtra des Āp. I, p. 200; Sāyaṇa and C. G. Kashikar, Sūtras of Bharadvāja, II, Poona 1964, p. 138 "enjoy".

⁷⁸ Cf. e.g. RV. 8, 48, 13; VS. 2, 29; ŚB. 2, 4, 2, 13.

⁷⁹ See J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, Stuttgart 1960, p. 146.

⁸⁰ For Manu and Idā (who represents the essence of the sacrificial food) see ŚB. 1, 8, 1, 1 ff.

⁸¹ For *sarva* see n. 110 below.

the worshipper's looking at his house⁸² is according to the explanation at 1, 5, 8, 1 intended to 'win all the domesticated animals'. (According to Sāyana, p. 812 the descendants of Iḍā are cows, horses etc.). It is also found in MS., viz. as 1, 5, 3: 70, 1 with an explanation in 1, 5, 10: 79, 1 ff. (where it is repeated in full): 'These creatures are the descendants of Iḍā and Manu; these he secures; he has made them his food'; and in KS. 7, 1: 62, 14 where in c "they must be many in our house"; similarly, KapS. 5, 1: 49, 6.

KS. 7, 8: 69, 16 adds the explanatory note, on "I gaze . . .": 'he secures all offspring', on "descendants . . .": 'for (they are) sprung from Iḍā, from Manu', giving moreover the information that this formula is a means of keeping cattle in this world when the animals are liable to enter yonder world. – As to the ritual application see BŚS. 3, 8: 77, 15; BhŚS. 6, 2, 5; ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 1; HŚS. 6, 6: 536; VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 27, 7; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 10.

As regards the formulae (*yajus*) of VS. 3, 20 (cf. KŚS. 4, 12, 5) the explanation in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 25 (ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 19) consists in replacing the nouns occurring in it by synonyms. 'He approaches (M., goes towards K.) the cow with: "Herbs (food, *andhas*) ye are; may I obtain as my share⁸³ your herbs . . .": *andhas* is explained as energies (*vīryāṇi*), *mahas* "greatness, majesty" by its plural (M., in the reverse order K.), the formulation being 'whatever energies (M.) are yours, whatever . . ., may I (by your favour, Mah.) obtain as my share them'. Similarly, *ūrja* "invigorating food" and the "strength or vigour" resulting from it is explained as *rasa* "essential juice, the best sap of anything" and *rāyaspoṣa* "increase of property" by *bhūman* "abundance, opulence". Mah. observes that the cow(s) (being addressed) are the deity of the formulae; a commentary on ŚBM. informs us that the cow is meant which gives the milk for the *agnihotra*, adding that *andhas* is a word for "food" and designates indirectly also the energy produced by it. The first of the above four *mantras* is only found in VS., ŚB. and KŚS. 4, 12, 5. – The corresponding formulae in TS. 1, 5, 6, 1 b are 'Water (*ambhas*) ye are; may I . . .; majesty (*mahas*) ye are; may I . . .; overwhelming might (*sahas*) . . .; vigour (*ūrjas*) . . .'. Explaining these terms with reference to the cows Mādhava, p. 799, annotates: *ambhas*: 'the energy of those who have drunk water', . . . *ūrjas*, viz. milk etc.'. The only comment in 1, 5, 8, 1 is a four times repeated "for they are water, etc." According to Mādhava, p. 812 all four terms (water etc.) metaphorically denote cows. In MS. 1, 5, 2: 68, 9 the 'concepts' mentioned are *ambhas*, *mahas*

⁸² For the ritual significance of gazing (special contact, attraction etc.) see J. Gonda, *Eye and gaze in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1969. "His house" (*yajamānagrha*), Dhūrtasvāmin on ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 1; *asmākaṃ grhe*, Sāyana, p. 799; not with A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 74.

⁸³ U. and Mah. draw attention to the fact that *bhakṣīya* derives from *bhaj-* "to divide, apportion", not from *bhakṣ-* "to eat, consume, enjoy".

úrjas ⁸⁴ and *rāyaspoṣaḥ* (see VS.) successively. The comment (1, 5, 9: 77, 15) is similar to that in TS. KS. 7, 1: 62, 9 has the same formula with the same comment in 7, 7: 68, 20. Quoting the words “Water ye are” again KS. 7, 7: 69, 5 adds ‘water is cattle (cf. 7, 6: 67, 15); the intermediate space (between heaven and earth) is cattle; it is cattle on which he is firmly founded; cattle fear the gods; he who adores Agni becomes one of the gods’. KapS. 5, 1: 49, 1 has the same series of formulas as KS. and at 5, 5: 54, 6 the ‘identification’ ‘(water is) cattle’. – As to the ritual use see BŚS. 3, 8: 77, 17; BhŚS. 6, 2, 5; ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 2 (according to TS.) accompanying the adoration of the place where the cow is standing (or cow-pen); HŚS. 6, 6, 19: 536; VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 27, 7; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 8 with the two following *mantras* (TS. 1, 5, 6 b-e), to be pronounced while touching the calf (cf. 1, 6, 1, 14); VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 8; ŚŚS. 2, 11, 6 (with the following *mantra*) while approaching the cow (comm.). In another rite MGS. 2, 3, 6 prescribes the first five words when a cow is fed.

In ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 26 (ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 20) it is stated that cattle are opulent, for which reason he pronounces the formula VS. 3, 21 “Ye prosperous ones, be glad (sport)”; the following words “in this place of origin or rest (*yonau*) ⁸⁵, in this fold, in this open space (treeless place) ⁸⁶, in this dwelling-place” (M., in quoting K., following VSK. 3, 3, 12, has d. and o. s. in the reverse order) are left unexplained. “Remain here, do not go away (from here K.)”: “This he says with reference to himself”; K. adds: ‘may I be dear to you’. – TS. 1, 5, 6 c has (after the preceding *mantras*) the same words in the order . . . open place, fold, dwelling, place of origin. In the *brāhmaṇa* section 1, 5, 8, 2 it reads: “The opulent ones are cattle (Sāyaṇa’s comment, p. 812, being ‘they have valued objects such as milk’) verily he makes cattle stay with himself” (i.e. ‘in his house’, Sāyaṇa), the last line (*ihaiva steto* . . . as against *ihaiva sta* VS.) being explained: ‘Verily he makes them constant, not departing’. In MS. 1, 5, 2: 68, 10; 1, 5, 9: 77, 18; KS. 7, 1: 62, 10; 7, 7: 68, 21; KapS. 5, 1: 49, 2; 5, 5 the formula is: “Ye . . . be glad in this place of origin, in this fold” with the comment ‘In (their) own place of origin, in (their) own fold he causes them to lie down’ (MS.). Instead of the last part of the *mantra* these texts read: “This is your connexion (*bandhu*): do not go away from here”; in MS. also: “Become numerous; do not leave me”, words said to be a prayer for blessing (MS. 1, 5, 9: 77, 19). In KS. 7, 7 the whole formula is explained as follows: “The prosperous ones are cattle; cattle is that which is between

⁸⁴ Notice that VS. has the noun *úrja*; TS., MS., KS., Kap. *úrjas* and *úrjam*; *úrjas* means “strength, vigour”.

⁸⁵ U. and Mah. explain ‘place of birth of the herd of cattle’ and ‘place of milking’ respectively.

⁸⁶ This is probably the meaning of *loka* which according to U. stands for ‘(in my) sight, range of vision’, according to Mah. ‘within the reach of the sacrificer’s eyes’ which comes to the same thing. See J. Gonda, *Loka*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 11; 14 and in I.I.J. 15 (1973), p. 205.

the two fires. He has set them at rest (delighted them) in their own fold'. "In this place of origin": 'This indeed is their place of origin . . . ; this indeed is their fold'. "This . . . connexion . . .". 'To him cattle come (always) near, they do not go away (from him) who knowing thus adores Agni', continuing: 'He goes away from this world who adores the fire with (the formula) "Water ye are": Water is cattle, the intermediate space is cattle. He is firmly established on cattle. Cattle were afraid of the gods. He is one of the gods who adores the fire'. – For the ritual see BŚS. 3, 8, 18; BhŚS. 6, 2, 5; ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 3, with the direction that the formula is to be pronounced between the *āhavanīya* and *gārhapatya* fires HŚS. 6, 6: 536; VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 27, 8; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 8; VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 9; at ŚŚS. 6, 11, 6, while approaching the cow (comm.).

The content of the *mantra* VS. 3, 22 a (KŚS. 4, 12, 6) "Thou art furnished (with) . . . (?)⁸⁷, of all outward appearances (colours)" accompanying in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 27 (ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 21) the touching of the cow (cf. KŚS. 4, 12, 6) is confirmed: 'For cattle are indeed of all . . . (colours)', M. adding: 'therefore he says 'of all . . . (colours)'. The following "Enter me with invigorating food (and) possession of cows" induces the explanation 'when he says "with invigorating food" he means with (essential) juice, when he says "with possession of cattle" he means with abundance'⁸⁸. Mah.'s comment is 'by thy favour manifold juice, manifold ownership of cows must fall to my share'. – In TS. 1, 5, 6, 2 d the formula is longer: "Thou art . . . , with possession of cows, with increase of wealth". Also MS. 1, 5, 2: 68, 12; KS. 7, 1: 62, 12; KapS. 5, 1: 49, 4 adding "with offspring". According to TS. 1, 5, 8, 2 'he strokes the calf (with these words); verily he piles it (the fire) up (on his own behalf) (and) makes it (in his own interest⁸⁹) piled with cattle'. The term 'piles' presupposes an implicit simile: 'just as one fire(place) is made by taking and piling up bricks, another fire is made by 'taking up' a head of cattle; by touching the calf he piles up the fire(place)' (cf. Sāyaṇa, p. 813). MS. 1, 5, 9: 78, 2 after stating that she (the cow) is composed (furnished) with all outward forms (colours) observes: 'He makes her abundantly furnished with o. f. (colours)'. According to KS. 7, 7: 69, 7 (there is a lacuna in KapS.), quoting the *pratīka*, 'these are the names of the cow: *saṃhitā* (of mixed

⁸⁷ The word *saṃhitā* is variously explained: ŚBK. supplies *sarvaiḥ kāmāiḥ* "abounding in all objects of desire and pleasure", Mah.: "engaged in ritual work with a view to giving oblations in the form of milk, sacrificial butter etc.", U. "concerned in what is related to sacrificial worship" or alternatively "she improves the bad condition (*saṃdadhāti*) of weakened living creatures by means of its fluids". The most probable translation seems to be "motley", although Mādhava's (Sāyaṇa's) explanation 'accompanied (*sahitā*) by (your) mother' is interesting; his explanation of *viśvarūpīḥ* is: 'you (the calf) appear as having various forms as you run again to suck the udder on the right and left (sides)'.

⁸⁸ The text of K. runs as follows: *raseneti tad āha yad āhorjeti gaupatyeneti bhūmnety evaitad āha.*

⁸⁹ The two verbs are in the medium.

colour), *viśvarūpā* (dappled cow), *gauḥ* (cow). These he mentions for him (? , *asya*, Agni?) in order to prevent frightening (her)' (cf. KS. 7, 7: 69, 6 'They are liable to flee in terror'); the author adds the explanation which is found in MS. MS. continues: 'He has mentioned their (fem.) names; he has made friends with them (fem.); for even when one mentions the name of a friend, one makes friends with him'. After quoting the second part of the first line KS. continues: 'She, entering, sits down (in, or takes possession of, me)'. – For the ritual use see BŚS. 3, 8: 78, 1; BhŚS. 6, 2, 7; ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 4; HŚS. 6, 6: 536 (in both texts and in VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 27, 8; VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 10; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 8) to accompany the touching of the calf or the cow; ŚŚS. 2, 12, 1 (the touching of the forehead of the cow).

In TS. the formula is immediately followed (or extended) by "May I prosper with your thousandfold prosperity; your possessions must rest in me" (1, 5, 6 e). See also MS. 1, 5, 2: 69, 1 where the words "your p. m. . . ." precede "may I attain your thousandfold prosperity" which occur also 1, 5, 3: 70, 4. Similar, but ". . . may I prosper with y. th. p." KS. 7, 1: 62, 13 and 63, 10 and KapS. 5, 1: 50, 3. For explanations see MS. 1, 5, 9: 78, 1: 'This one indeed disposes of (is a master of) prosperity a thousandfold. He who knows thus prospers a thousandfold, is not deprived of a thousand'; KS. 69, 10 'He smears himself with (i.e. converts to his use) prosperity a thousandfold. He touches the calf—cows are affectionate towards their offspring—in order to desecrate cattle. Cows come to him'. – As to the *sūtras* see BŚS. 3, 8: 78, 2; BhŚS. 6, 2, 7; ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 4; VaikhŚS. 2, 8: 27, 16 "Thou art the inhabited world . . . w. th. p."; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 8. – For use in another ritual context see HGS. 1, 18, 4. – A similar formula is VS. 4, 26 etc., ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 8 explaining 'Thereby he implores a blessing: a thousand meaning abundance, he thereby means to say, 'May I obtain abundance'.'

The second part of VS. 3, 22 is identical with RV. 1, 1, 7: "We approach thee, O Agni . . . day by day with an inspired sacred text (*dhiyā*), paying homage"⁹⁰ is at ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 28 and ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 22 introduced by 'he then approaches the *gārhapatya* fire' and followed by 'he thus (M., with this stanza K.) renders homage', M. adding: 'in order that it may not injure him'. This point is elaborated in a commentary on ŚBM. For VS. 3, 22–26 see KŚS. 4, 12, 7. – The *mantra* is also found in TS. 1, 5, 6, 2 f. As to this and the two following quotations (see below) there is in TS. no explanation of details but the statement 1, 5, 8, 3 'He falls from (is deprived of) this world who adores the *āhavanīya* (because, according to another sacred text quoted by Sāyana, this is heaven). He adores the *gārhapatya*; verily he is firmly founded on this world and also he makes amends to the *gārhapatya*. He adores with *gāyatrī* stanzas; the

⁹⁰ See J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 241 and Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 72.

gāyatrī is brilliant energy (*tejas*, 'because it had, together with fire, issued from Prajāpati's mouth', Sāyaṇa); verily he confers *tejas* upon himself. Moreover in that he repeats the triad (of stanzas), (this serves) for continuity'. See also MS. 1, 5, 3: 69, 3 with the explanation at 1, 5, 9: 78, 9 'as to (the fact) that he adores with this triad of *gāyatrī* stanzas, the *gāyatrī* is this (earth); he is firmly founded on this (earth)'; KS. 7, 1: 62, 16 with the explanation at 7, 8: 69, 21: "To thee, O Agni, day by day": 'he appeases (extinguishes) it for (the sake of) those who are being born (coming into existence)'; the rest of the stanza: 'he has adored, with a stanza containing the word 'homage' (*namas*)'; KapS. 5, 1: 49, 8 (the *brāhmaṇa* portion containing the explanation is missing). – As to the ritual application, BŚS. 3, 8: 78, 4; BhŚS. 6, 2, 7; ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 7; HŚS. 6, 6: 536; VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 27, 9; VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 11 like ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 28 now pass on to the adoration of the *gārhapatya* (see also TS. 1, 5, 8, 3), BŚS., BhŚS. and Āp. quoting the three stanzas mentioned above (TS. 1, 5, 6 f-h); MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 9 (making mention of 8 stanzas); also ŚŚS. 2, 12, 2 (quoting the triplet *pratīkena*). – The three stanzas are in AiB. 1, 30, 10 f. combined with RV. 9, 67, 29 and in another ritual used 'to prevent injury to himself (the officiant) or the sacrificer'; otherwise KB. 9, 5, 14 ff.; see also ĀśvŚS. 4, 10, 3; ŚŚS. 5, 14, 11. In another context: KS. 22, 10: 67, 3; ĀpŚS. 17, 24, 1, to be pronounced, no doubt for personal safety, by one who sees the ritual fires of other persons.

The stanza VS. 3, 23=RV. 1, 1, 8 "thee that) rulest the sacrificial ceremonies . . . thriving (increasing) in thine own abode" gives occasion to the comment (ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 29; ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 22) 'whereby he means to say, "Thine own abode is this (house) of mine (M., 'ours' K.); make that ever more prosperous' (K., not in M.), K. adding 'cause that to increase for us'. With reference to the words "guardian of Ṛta" in the stanza U. and Mah. observe: 'Taking, in the presence of the fire, a vow upon himself, he speaks the truth'. – As to the Black YV. see TS. 1, 5, 6, 2 g (see above; no comment in the *brāhmaṇa* portion; Sāyaṇa, p. 801 explains "in his own abode" by 'in the house of the *agnihotra*'); MS. 1, 5, 3: 69, 5; KS. 7, 1: 63, 1, repeated 7, 8: 70, 1 with the explanation 'with a stanza containing (the idea of) "growing" '; KapS. 5, 1: 49, 10. – For the ritual use see under the preceding *mantra*; not in VārŚS.

The stanza VS. 3, 24=RV. 1, 1, 9 "Be thou easily accessible to us, as a father to his son, O Agni; stand by us for (our) well-being" is at ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 30 (ŚBM. 1, 4, 1, 22) quoted and for the greater part repeated with the insertion 'and the latter (i.e. the father) in no wise injures him . . .' (M.) or addition 'just as he (the father) in no wise injures him' (K.) ' . . . let us in no wise injure thee' (M. K.). – The stanza occurs also TS. 1, 5, 6, 2 h; MS. 1, 5, 3: 69, 7; KS. 7, 1: 63, 3; 7, 8: 70, 2 with the addition 'thus with (a stanza containing) the word well-being'; KapS. 49, 12. For the first *pāda* see also, in another context and with "sons" (*putrebhyaḥ*)

instead of "son" (*sūnave*) KS. 21, 14. – For the ritual use see under the preceding but one; not in VārŚS.

The paragraphs ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 31–33 and ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 22 (last part)–23 differ from what precedes and follows in that first the two stanzas VS. 3, 25 and 26—being RV. 5, 24 (VS. 25=RV. 24, 1; 2; VS. 26=RV. 4; 3 (*sic*))—are quoted in full (ŚBM. 31; K. 22) and the following explanation is mainly concerned with the metrical structure of these *mantras*. In ŚBM. 32 (K. 23) it is stated that in contrast to the *mantras* used in adoring the *āhavanīya* (VS. 3, 11–22 a) which were in metres of different size, because then one prayed for cattle and cattle are (as it were M.) of great and small size, the first tristich used in adoring the *gārhapatya* (VS. 3, 22, second part; see ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 28)—then (one prays M.) for men—is in the *gāyatrī* metre, which is Agni's metre⁹¹; 'thus he adores him with his own metre'. In M. 32; K. 23 the argument is continued: 'Thereupon (he mutters the *dvipadā* (two-footed) metres' (i.e. VS. 3, 25 and 26) (M., 'with the *dv.*' K.). The *dvipadā* is man's metre, since man is two-footed and he with that prays for men', M. inserting 'and since he now prays for men, therefore (he uses) *dvipadā* stanzas'. 'And whosoever, knowing this, adores (the two fires), becomes possessed both of cattle and men'. Other uses are: the verses RV. 5, 24, 1; 2; 4 as VS. 15, 48 (*agnicayana*); 25, 47 (horse sacrifice). – Cf. also KŚS. 4, 12, 7. – In TS. 1, 5, 6, 2 i the *mantra* reads RV. 5, 24, 1; 4; 2; verse 3 is absent ('found in (an)other school(s)', Sāyaṇa). In MS. 1, 5, 3: 69, 9–12 the *sūkta* is complete, the order of the verses being 1, 4, 2, 3; also 1, 5, 10: 78, 10 with the explanation: 'This verily is Agni's dear body not to be laid low, which affords protection; to him he goes forward; one who treats him as an enemy does not lay him low. With four two-footed metres he adores; cattle verily is four-footed, the sacrificer is two-footed. The *gārhapatya* fire is a house. He is firmly founded on both house and cattle'. KS. 7, 1, 63, 5–8 and KapS. 5, 1: 49, 15 are identical with the above MS. 69, 9–12; for the explanation see KS. 7, 8: 70, 6: 'this is Agni's dear body which affords protection; he has adored him with his dear body, with two-footed (verses). Man is two-footed; the *gārhapatya* fire is the house; he is firmly founded on the house. The former stanzas are three; these are four; they (make) seven. (There are) seven tame animals; these he secures'. From a preceding discussion between Divodāsa Bhaimaseni and Āruṇi who had established the (ritual) fire it appears that the latter authorities had taught the use of these *mantras* in adoring the *gārhapatya* fire. See also TS. 1, 5, 8, 3 'After (in consequence of) the *gārhapatya* energetic men (*virāh*) are born with two feet; to him who, knowing thus, adores the *gārhapatya* with (verses of) two feet an energetic son is born'. – As to the ritual use see BŚS. 3, 8: 78, 7 (verses 1; 4; 2); BhŚS. 6, 2, 7 (id.); ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 7 (in

⁹¹ For these homologations of metres etc. see J. Gonda, *Vedic literature*, p. 371 f. See also the above section on VS. 3, 22.

contrast to TS. 1, 5, 6, 2 all four verses in the order 1; 4; 2; 3; cf. KS. 7, 8; 70, 8; MS. 1, 5, 10: 78, 12); similarly, MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 9; also ŚŚS. 2, 12, 2 quoting a *dvipadā* triplet (comm.) after the preceding triplet “We approach thee”; implicit in HŚS. 6, 6: 536; VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 27, 10; not in VārŚS. – Compare also ĀsvŚS. 2, 19, 36. – For uses in other ritual contexts see TS. 4, 4, 4, 8; MS. 2, 13, 8: 158, 6 (*agnicayana*) etc. In other rites: ŚŚS. 3, 17, 5; 12, 11, 2. – RVidh. 2, 15, 7 informs us that RV. 5, 24 should be recited by those who worship the ritual fire for the sake of life, when they are desirous of wealth and a full lifetime. In SVidhBr. 1, 8, 13 it belongs to a group of texts used in a rite for recovery from an illness.

After 1, 5, 3: 69, 9 (corresponding with TS. 1, 5, 6 i) MS. has, as already observed, RV. 5, 24, 3 and then inserts a stanza which, with or without some variation, is also found as TS. 4, 2, 8 a (to accompany, in the ceremonious preparation of the ground for the fire, the horse being made to advance); MS. 1, 6, 2: 87, 2 (establishment of the sacred fire); KS. 39, 1: 117, 9; MŚS. 1, 5, 4, 11: ĀpŚS. 5, 14, 14; see also AVŚ. 16, 9, 1 and 2 where *pāda* 3 is absent. In translation it runs as follows: “I have withstood all fighters (and) spirits of malignity; that Agni says, that, too, Soma says, Bṛhaspati, Savitar, Indra say that; Pūṣan has placed us both in the sphere of ritual and religious merit”⁹². It is no doubt a later insertion and is not explained in MS. 1, 5, 10. – Intelligibly enough it is in this context only used in MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 9 and 1, 5, 4, 11.

At this point the texts of the Black Yajur Veda prescribe a number of formulae which—accompanying the worshipper’s gazing at his house or cattle—are absent in the White Yajur Veda. The first formula “With vigour (*urjā*, invigorating food) I gaze on you; gaze (plur.) on me with vigour (invigorating food)” occurs at TS. 1, 5, 6, 3 k and 1, 5, 8, 4 where it is said to be the invocation of the blessing (expressed by these words). Sāyaṇa, p. 802 explains: ‘I gaze at you motivated by the best of milk etc. and increase of property; do you also gaze thus at me’. Also MS. 1, 5, 3: 69, 15 and 1, 5, 10: 78, 14 with the explanation ‘with vigour (i.f.) he gazes on them, with v. they g. on him’; KS. 7, 1: 63, 9 with an explanation at 7, 8: 70, 9 “he places vigour in (his) house, (his) cattle (and) in himself”; KapS. 5, 1: 50, 2. – As to the ritual use see BŚS. 3, 9: 78, 11; BhŚS. 6, 3, 1 (here these two *sūtra* works begin a new section); ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 9 (while looking at his house or cattle); HŚS. 6, 6: 536; VaikhŚS. 2, 8: 27, 11; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 10; VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 12.

The second formula is “With increase of possessions . . .” in TS. 1, 5, 6, 3 k (no special explanation; for Sāyaṇa’s note see above) and KS. 7, 1: 63, 9; KapS. 5, 1: 50, 2 and “With property . . .” in MS. 1, 5, 3: 69, 16 and 1, 5, 10: 78, 15 ‘with property he looks at them . . . etc. (see above)’. – As to the ritual use, see above but not mentioned in HŚS., VaikhŚS., MŚS., VārŚS.

⁹² For *sukṛtāśya loké* see Gonda, Loka, p. 115; 130; 142.

The third formula (pronounced for the same purpose) "You are refreshing draughts (*idāh*), making sweetness; enter (plur.) me gently, refreshing drinks, exhilarating liquor' (TS., or 'delighting drink' MS. etc.): TS. 1, 5, 6, 3 1; MS. 1, 5, 3: 70, 3 and 1, 5, 10; 79, 4, stating that they are indeed r. d. and d. d.; KS. 7, 1: 63, 10 with the same comment in 7, 8: 70, 10, followed by a repetition of 69: 10-12; KapS. 5, 1: 50, 3. – Ritually used: BŚS. 3, 8: 78, 12; BhŚS. 6, 3, 1; ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 9; VārŚS. 1, 54, 13; implicit in MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 10.

In TS. 1, 5, 6 1 the second and last formula is "May I prosper with your thousandfold prosperity . . ." which, though repeated from 1, 5, 6 e, is quoted at full length. Thus BŚS. 3, 9: 78, 13; BhŚS. 6, 3, 1; cf. MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 10—MS. 1, 5, 3: 70, 5 has after the preceding formula and "May I attain your prosperity a thousandfold" (cf. KS. 7, 8: 70, 12) the words "Thou art the inhabited world (*bhuvanam*) thriving (increasing) a thousandfold", with an explanation 1, 5, 10: 79, 5 'for this inh. w. is thr. a th. . .'. For the ritual use see ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 6 with an imperative ". . . thrive a th.", to accompany the touching of a (the) male calf. HirŚS. 6, 6: 536 has a longer formula: "Thou art the inhabited world. May I (enjoy an) increase in prosperity a thousandfold. Thou disposedst of prosperity a thousandfold. May we from thee (i.e. the cow or the calf being touched) receive the most as our share". – These words are followed by MS. *ibid.* "From that give us" (which together with the following sentence is in KS. 7, 3: 65, 5; ĀpŚS. 6, 25, 10 found among the further particulars) and "Of that from thee may we be partaking", which is also as 6, 79, 3 d part of a text in AVŚ. that is to secure abundance at home⁹³. See MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 10 and for "Thou art the world" (*pratīkena*) VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 13. MS. 1, 5, 10: 79, 6 explains both formulae as a unity and a prayer for blessing (*āśis*).

The next formulae are MS. 1, 5, 3: 70, 6 "Thou art *Idā*⁹⁴, bearing the patterns of functional conduct or observance (*vrata*); in thee is the *vrata*; thou art the one who bears the *vrata(s)*", statements which in the explanation 1, 5, 10: 79, 7 are only affirmed. Compare ĀpŚS. 6, 3, 8 (*agnihotra*; the second part is different; the formula is addressed to the cow which is to give the milk for the oblations). It may be noticed that the milk of the so-called *vrata*dughā cow (the cow "which gives the *vrata* milk")—which may be mixed with some rice or barley—is the only food to be taken by a sacrificer who has undergone the *dīkṣā* (initiation). Further, the essence of sacrificial food (*idā*) is explicitly identified with cattle (AiB. 2, 9, 11; KB. 3, 9, 5); according to TS. 1, 7, 2, 1 *Idā*'s body is the cow. The formula is not mentioned in the *agnyupasthāna* sections of the *sūtras*.

The formulae VS. 3, 27 are at ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 34 (ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 24)

⁹³ For the text of the formula see Whitney and Lanman, AthV. Samhitā, p. 340.

⁹⁴ For *Idā* see above, n. 80.

discussed as follows: "O Iḍā, come here. O Aditi, come here (, O Kāmyā (Desire), come here K.⁹⁵ as against *kāmyā eta* "come, desired ones" in VSM.)", 'for I. is a cow, A. is a cow (K. is a cow, K.)' ⁹⁶. ('He touches her with "Come (plural), ye desired ones"' M.). For men's objects (M., object K.) of desires have (M., has K.) entered into (i.e. are, is fixed on) them. (Let there be M.) for me the fulfilment of desire from you. (Hence he says, 'Come here, ye desired ones' M., not in K.). Thereby he says, 'May I be dear to you'. U. and Mah., recalling Iḍā's and Āditi's identity—Manu's daughter and the mother of the gods—add the notes: 'Come to us as I. to Manu and as A. to the gods'. Mah. again refers to the favour of the deities (the cows) addressed. — Cf. KŚS. 4, 12, 8 f. — At VS. 38, 2 we find the formula "Iḍā, come here. Aditi, come here. Sarasvatī, come here" ⁹⁷ (*pravargya* ritual ⁹⁸). See ŚBM. 14, 2, 1, 7 where the formulae are quoted: 'the cow is I., the cow is A., the cow is S.' — In the same form it occurs in TS. 1, 6, 3, 1 (rites of full and new moon), and in ĀpŚS. 15, 9, 3 (*pravargya*). In ŚŚS. 2, 12, 3 and 4 dealing with the adoration of the *gārhapatya* (that is the ceremony under discussion) the third goddess is Sūnṛtā, in ĀpŚS. 6, 3, 8 (*agnihotra*), Śraddhā. — The second line occurs only in VS. 3, 27; ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 34; ŚŚS. 2, 12, 4.

After an introductory remark on the position and gesture required the authors quote in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 35; ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 25 the three stanzas VS. 3, 28–30=RV. 1, 18, 1–3 ⁹⁹ in their entirety. Their deity is Brahmanaspati who is implored for favour and protection. The motivation of their use in M. 36, K. 26 does not enter into particulars: after having adored the *āhavanīya*, that means, adored the sky, and the *gārhapatya*, that means, the earth, 'hereby he now (adores K.) the intermediate region; (that is why he adores, with a triplet dedicated to Brahmanaspati K.) for this region is Bṛhaspati's (M., Brahmanaspati's K.) ¹⁰⁰; he (thus) adores this region; (that is why he mutters a text dedicated to Bṛhaspati M.)'. For VS. 3, 28–36 see KŚS. 4, 12, 10. — The first stanza "Make famous him who presses *soma*" occurs also at TS. 1, 5, 6, 4 n—Sāyaṇa, p. 802, identifies Bṛhaspati with Agni, describes Kakṣivant as an originator or promoter of ritual work and explains *svaraṇa* (usually translated by "presser") by "teacher"—with the explanation at 1, 5, 8, 4: ... 'Verily he secures the *soma* draught'; ... 'verily he secures brahmanical

⁹⁵ For this word see e.g. PB. 20, 15, 15 where it is among the names of a cow used for ritual purposes. Compare also TB. 3, 9, 4, 2.

⁹⁶ For Iḍā and Aditi see Gonda, *Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 102.

⁹⁷ For three goddesses see Gonda, *Triads in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1976, p. 69 f.

⁹⁸ For particulars see J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The pravargya*, Poona 1968, p. 95.

⁹⁹ For the interpretation of these stanzas see Geldner, *RV. üb.*, I, p. 18; Renou, *E. V. P. XV*, p. 46; H. P. Schmidt, *Bṛhaspati und Indra*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 96 f.

¹⁰⁰ For Bṛhaspati and the upper region see ŚB. 5, 1, 1, 4; 5, 3, 1, 2 etc.

illustriousness (*brahmavarcasa*)'. The last words "(even as thou, i.e. Brahmanaspati made famous) K. Au." are here, in MS. and KS. left unexplained. See also MS. 1, 5, 4: 70, 13; 1, 5, 11: 79, 11 with the comment: 'He adores with a (stanza addressed) to Brahmanaspati; he is firmly founded on Brahman; moreover, he secures brahmanical illustriousness. He who competes with (a man) who is firmly founded on Brahman falls down before him', adding: 'the gods of both groups reckon on (depend on, hope for) the one who performs the *agnihotra*, (viz.) both (those) to whom he sacrifices and (those) to whom he does not (sacrifice)'; KS. 7, 2: 63, 18; (KapS. 5, 2: 50, 11) KS. 7, 9: 70, 18 'a (stanza addressed) to Brahmanaspati, with this he places brahmanical illustriousness in himself. These (formulae) belong to all the gods. These creatures belong to all the gods. From Brahman's womb the creatures are born. As to the fact that this (stanza) belongs to Brahmanaspati, he procreates them (the creatures) from the womb of Brahman . . .'. It is further stated that 'Aditi (in the mythical tale) followed her sons with her looks when they went and fetched the *soma* from yonder world and returned successfully with it. Whatever object of desire one wishes that one wins. If one wants somebody to return successfully one should follow him with one's looks while pronouncing this *mantra*'. – For the ritual see BŚS. 3, 9: 78, 15; BhŚS. 6, 3, 3 (second formula); ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 1 b; HŚS. 6, 6: 537, 2; VaikhŚS. 2, 7: 27, 12; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 11; ŚŚS. 2, 12, 5 (all three stanzas with the direction: 'he addresses the *dakṣiṇāgni* from the north').

The following stanza VS. 3, 29=ṚV. 1, 18, 2 is not found in TS. but is quoted in MS. 1, 5, 4: 70, 15 and KS. 7, 2: 63, 20 (without an explanation in the *brāhmaṇa* sections); KapS. 5, 2: 50, 13. See also ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 12; HŚS. 6, 6: 537, 3; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 11. The last stanza quoted in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 35 is in the Black Yajur Veda only found in KS. 7, 2: 64, 1 and ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 12; HŚS. 6, 6: 537, 4, drawing on KS.¹⁰¹; for ŚŚS. 2, 12, 5 see above.

After the stanza which corresponds with VS. 3, 29 and before that which is identical with VS. 3, 34 a MS. 1, 5, 4: 70, 17 inserts ṚV. 3, 59, 6 (part of the only ṛgvedic hymn addressed to Mitra), reading (with other texts of the Black YV.) *śravo* "fame" instead of *avo* "assistance, favour" (which occurs also VS. 11, 62 b): "The fame of Mitra, the god who supports (people settled as) cultivators, assures (our) gain, illustriousness (which brings) most brilliant fame". The comment is, MS. 1, 11: 79, 15: 'He adores with a stanza addressed to Mitra; from both sides he procured for himself helpful benevolence (*mitram*)¹⁰², viz. from this side (i.e. from this world) and from yonder side (i.e. from the heavenly world)'. See

¹⁰¹ See J. Gonda, The ritual sūtras, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 498; 500; 521.

¹⁰² For this concept see e.g. J. Gonda, The Vedic god Mitra, Leiden 1972, p. 78 and passim; Mitra and mitra: the idea of 'friendship' in ancient India, Indologica Taurinensia, 1, Turin 1973, p. 71 ff.

Sāyana's note on TS. 1, 5, 6: 802: 'The stanzas RV. 3, 59, 6 and 2 are not handed down here'. — See also ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 1 c; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 11. — Like MS. itself other authorities however quote this stanza (in one of its forms) in different ritual contexts; see e.g. TS. 3, 4, 11 p (special sacrifices); 4, 1, 6, 3 (the fire in the fire-pan, in order to secure the god's benevolent assistance); cf. also MS. 2, 7, 6: 81, 17; KS. 16, 6: 226, 18; MS. 3, 1, 8: 10, 14; KS. 19, 7: 8, 12 etc.; VS. 11, 62 likewise as one of the many formulae used in constructing ritual fireplaces; see also ŚB. 6, 5, 4, 10 commenting upon the use of VS. 11, 62: 'As often as he attends to (the fire by adding fresh fuel) he attends to it with the (i.e. this) prayer relating to Mitra, for a *mitra* ('friend') does not injure any one...'. It may be surmised that the Maitrāyaṇīyas, knowing this employment of the stanza (see above), introduced it into their *agniyupasthāna* ritual because they wished to invoke, on this occasion also, Mitra's aid.

ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 1 is alone in prescribing now TS. 3, 4, 11 r (a section connected with special sacrifices)=RV. 3, 59, 2 "Let that mortal man, O Mitra, be distinguished . . . who exerts himself for thee . . . He who is aided by thee is not slain, nor overpowered; distress reaches him neither from near nor from afar". The stanza—which in Āp. is the fifth of a series of seven—is also quoted among invitatory and consecratory stanzas in MS. 4, 10, 2: 146, 13; KS. 23, 12: 88, 20. See also ĀpŚS. 13, 4, 6 etc.

The *sūkta* RV. 10, 185 is in its entirety found also as VS. 3, 31–33¹⁰³. It is a prayer for protection addressed to Mitra, Aryaman, Varuṇa and their mother Aditi. The comment added to the complete quotation in ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 37; ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 26 confines itself to the essential words "nor on dangerous paths" (*nādhvasu vāraṇēsu*) in VS. 32 b (sc. "has the wicked enemy power over them"); this is in accordance with the general purport of the stanzas which as RV. 10, 185 is in the R̥gvidhāna 4, 23, 3 prescribed for the sake of auspicious progress, and in BD. 8, 86 f. is said to be intended for appeasement of evil influences and considered to be benedictory in the valediction of travellers (see also U. and Mah.)¹⁰⁴. In SVidhBr. it belongs to a number of *sūktas* which conduce to a life of a hundred years and protect from decrepitude. 'In this (text) he says, No on . . .; for dangerous indeed are the paths that lie between heaven and earth; these he now adores (*upatiṣṭhate*, which however means also "places himself near, approaches")' followed in M. by 'and therefore he says, Nor . . .' and in K. by 'thus on these dangerous paths no dangers (and) demoniac powers find him'. — These three stanzas are foreign to TS. Cf. BhŚS. 6, 4, 4: 'According to some teachers, he should pray only with

¹⁰³ There are some variants, among them: VS. 3, 33 a *té hi* (also MS. 1, 5, 4 a: 70, 11) as against RV. 10, 185, 3 a *yāsmāi* (also KS. 7, 2 a).

¹⁰⁴ See also J. Gonda, *The R̥gvidhāna*, Utrecht 1951, p. 119.

the *māhitra* triad of stanzas'. In MS. they are to be found at 1, 5, 4: 70, 7; 9; 11 (with different *pādas* b and c and therefore reading as follows: "For these sons of Aditi grant perpetual security (and) treasures to the worshipper", the first also at 1, 5, 11: 79, 9 with the explanation: 'He adores with a triplet sacred to Prajāpati. These creatures verily belong to P. These he secured. These he has made his food. Moreover, he approaches P. He is firmly founded on P., on the gods'. The first stanza occurs also in KS. 7, 2: 63, 12 and 7, 9: 70, 16: 'This is a triplet sacred to P. These creatures belong to P. He secures all creatures. These verily (are) P.¹⁰⁵. Having approached P., obtained all, secured all . . .'. See also KapS. 5, 2: 50, 5. The second stanza occurs also KS. 7, 2: 63, 14; KapS. 5, 2: 50, 7 without explanations. The third stanza is in KS. 7, 2: 63, 16; KapS. 5, 2: 50, 9 completely identical with RV. 10, 185, 3; MS. 1, 5, 4: 70, 11 joins VS. in reading *te hi putrāso* . . . (cf. RV. 8, 18, 5). – For the ritual application see ĀpSS. 6, 17, 10 where the three stanzas are said to be sacred to Prajāpati and (according to the commentator Dhūrtasvāmin) are recited in honour of the *āhavanīya*. Also HŚS. 6, 6: 536 (*māhitreṇa tṛcenopatiṣṭhate*); VaikhŚS. 2, 8: 27, 18; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 11. See also ŚŚS. 2, 12, 6 where the whole hymn (after the initial words called *māhitram*) is stated to be muttered between the *gārhapatya* and *āhavanīya*. – For other ritual uses see MGS. 1, 5, 4; ĀśvGS. 3, 10, 7.

VS. 3, 34=RV. 8, 51 (Vāl. 3), 7 is an example of a stanza addressed to Indra that is interpreted so as to suit this ritual context. It is at ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 38; ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 27 briefly introduced and line for line quoted and, as to its general content, explained: 'Now (a stanza) to Indra, for Indra is the deity of sacrificial worship; he now makes the adoration of Agni (the fire(s)) connected with Indra'. "At no time thou art barren¹⁰⁶, nor, O Indra dost thou fail¹⁰⁷ the (thy) worshipper": 'The worshipper (the one who honours or serves the gods, *dāśvān*) is the sacrificer' (M.); not (M., never K.) dost thou seek to harm the worshipper, that is what he thereby says. "Thy, the god's liberality, O thou who art active for the advantage of man¹⁰⁸, increases more and more": 'What is near (to us?) here thriving (abundant) for us make that for us more' (K.), (or 'make more and more for us this abundant, he thereby says' M.); 'make that increase for us (K.)'. The stanza recurs as VS. 8, 2 (evening pressing of the *soma*, ŚB. 4, 3, 5, 10) and partly in VS. 33, 27. – In the Black Yajur Veda it is used at TS. 1, 5, 6 o and commented upon at 1, 5, 8, 4 f.: 'No barren night does he pass, who knowing thus adores

¹⁰⁵ Cf. ŚBM. 11, 1, 6, 17: P. is everything endowed with breath.

¹⁰⁶ The explanation 'barren means injurious' (comm. ŚBM.) can be misleading.

¹⁰⁷ For the verb *sascasi* (not understood by U. and Mah.) see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, III, Heidelberg 1964–1976, p. 418 (with a bibliography).

¹⁰⁸ For the meaning of the epithet *maghavan* see J. Gonda, *Epithets in the Rgveda*, 's-Gravenhage 1959, p. 42 ff.

the fire', a 'barren night' being, according to Sāyaṇa, p. 814, 'one beset with thieves, scorpions etc.'—according to the same commentator, p. 802 f., Indra's name stands for Agni's ('Agni endowed with supreme lordship') or 'Agni is like Indra'—; MS. 1, 5, 4: 71, 2 quotes two stanzas (in the same metre), viz. the above and RV. 8, 52, 7 "Never art thou neglectful; thou guardest both races . . ." ¹⁰⁹ (here also Indra is addressed); see 1, 5, 11: 79, 16: 'he adores with two stanzas in *bṛhatī* metre. Cattle verily belongs to Indra. These he secured. These he has made his food'; KS. 7, 2: 64, 3 (only the first stanza) and 7, 9: 71, 1; 2: 'This verily Āruṇi said, 'I did not pass a barren night as long as I heard this Vedic stanza (*ṛcam*)'. He who knows thus does not pass a barren night. Agni verily belongs to the *gāyatrī*, his metre is the *gāyatrī*. Him one deprives of (his) metre when one knowingly adores him with (other) metres. Since this *gāyatrī* is the last he causes him to be furnished with his own metre. He who adores the fire goes to heaven after having obtained completeness ¹¹⁰, secured completeness' (see also below, on the stanza "Thine inviolable . . ."); KapS. 5, 2: 50, 17. — As to the second half of this stanza "Now thy liberality . . . increases more and more", according to MS. 1, 5, 5: 73, 4 the beginning (*upa*) represents a word for the earth (KS., *upotiḥ* MS.), and the worshipper comes 'to have a firm foundation (*pratītiṣṭhati*) on the earth' (KS. 7, 4: 65, 17; KapS. 5, 3: 52, 11 add 'after having gone to heaven'). Moreover 'as to the fact that he pronounces a word containing *upa*, the creatures (descendants) who will come into existence, these he yokes (employs) as a *stoma* (eulogium)' (MS.); 'the cr. . . are *upa*, these he employs' (KS.). — It may be noticed that the stanza which corresponds to RV. 8, 52, 7 (see above) combines in other ritual contexts with RV. 8, 51, 7 (see e.g. VS. 8, 2 and 3; TS. 1, 4, 22, 1). Sāyaṇa, p. 803, notices its absence. — As to the ritual use see BŚS. 3, 9: 78, 17 (1st stanza only); BhŚS. 6, 3, 3 (1st stanza); ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 1 e (both stanzas); HŚS. 6, 6: 537 (both stanzas); VaikhŚS. 2, 8: 27, 12 (1st stanza); MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 12 (both stanzas, not explicitly mentioned); ŚŚS. 2, 12, 7 (1st stanza). — At SVidhB. 2, 4, 7 the stanza is used in order to return home alive and successfully. — For other uses see TS. 1, 4, 22, 1 (in the section on the *soma* cups); MS. 1, 3, 26: 39, 1 (id.); KS. 4, 10: 35, 8 (id.); ĀpŚS. 13, 9, 5 etc.

After the stanza TS. 1, 5, 6 o (VS. 3, 34) TS. inserts p=RV. 10, 87, 22 where however *pāda* d runs as follows: *hantāram bhaṅgurvatām*. The *sūkta* is addressed to Agni, the killer of demons, and the stanza expresses the wish to surround oneself with the god of fire like a stronghold (of course not, with Sāyaṇa, *puram* 'giving plentifully (*pūrakam*) objects longed for'). Like the next *mantras* (q) it refers to the *gārhapatya*. The explanation

¹⁰⁹ That means "of gods and men".

¹¹⁰ *sarvam*, i.e. the totality, a condition of wholeness, completeness, being safe and sound etc. See J. Gonda, *Sarva* in Vedic texts, *Indian Linguistics* 16 (1955, Chatterji Jub. Vol.), p. 53 ff. (=Selected Studies, II, p. 495 ff.).

at TS. 1, 5, 8 informs us that 'verily he sets him around (like) an enclosure, in order to prevent spilling'¹¹¹. (MS. 1, 5, 4: 71, 3 and KS. 7, 2: 64, 5 have here RV. 4, 9, 8 (VS. 3, 36) which likewise begins with *pari*¹¹²). – The stanza TS. p is prescribed at BŚS. 3, 9: 78, 18; BhŚS. 6, 3, 3; ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 1 g; HŚS. 6, 6: 537; VaikhŚS. 2, 8: 27, 13. – It is found also in other ritual contexts: VS. 11, 26 (*agnicayana*) and ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 25 explaining: 'In thus praising Agni he makes a bulwark (defensive armour) for him by means of (stanzas) containing the word around (*pari*), for all round, as it were, (run) the ramparts; (he does so by means of stanzas) relating to Agni: a stronghold of fire he thus makes for him (the sacrificer), and this stronghold of fire keeps blazing'¹¹³. For further uses see TS. 4, 1, 2, 5 u (in the ritual concerning Agni in the fire-pan, accompanying the marking out of the clay pit with the spade, each outer being the larger line); MS. 2, 7, 2: 76, 8; KS. 16, 2: 222, 15; MŚS. 6, 1, 1, 21 (the same); see also VaitS. 28, 8. As AVŚ. 7, 71, 1 it is in KauśS. 2, 10 used to accompany the carrying of fire three times about the offering; cf. also AVŚ. 8, 3, 22.

At ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 39; ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 28 the famous Savitrī stanza (RV. 3, 62, 10) is, as VS. 3, 35, quoted after an introductory explanation: 'Then (a stanza) to Savitar, Savitar indeed is the impeller of (among) the gods, and thus all his (viz. the sacrificer's) wishes are now completely fulfilled, impelled by Savitar'. The stanza occurs also VS. 22, 9; 30, 2; 36, 3 in other contexts. – See also TS. 1, 5, 6, 4 m¹¹⁴ and 1, 5, 8, 4: '(recited) for instigation'; in this ritual context not in MS., KS., KapS. – As to the *sūtras* see BŚS. 3, 9: 78, 14 (1st *mantra* of the series); BhŚS. 6, 3, 3 (1st *mantra*); ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 1 a; HŚS. 6, 6: 537, 1; VaikhŚS. 2, 8: 27, 11; and also ŚŚS. 2, 12, 7 (and 2, 10, 2, otherwise, in the *agnihotra*, in three parts and interrupted). To mention only this, the stanza occurs also in the section on generalities RVidh. 1, 12, 5.

The stanza VS. 3, 36 = RV. 4, 9, 8, addressed to Agni, is accordingly at ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 40; ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 29 (from VSK. 3, 3, 28) announced as belonging to that god. 'And by this he now finally entrusts himself to Agni for protection'. The stanza: "Thine inviolable chariot must encircle us from all sides, with which thou protectest the worshippers" is explained: 'The worshippers indeed are the sacrificers; (with his most unassailable chariot he protects the sacrificers M., not in K.). (So M.) thine un. ch. with which th. p. (M., guardest K.) the s., with that do thou guard us from all sides, he thereby means to say' (M.), M. adding: 'he mutters this (stanza) three times'¹¹⁵. – See also MS. 1, 5, 4: 71, 3; 1, 5, 5: 73, 6:

¹¹¹ On spilling see e.g. ŚB. 13, 1, 3, 1; 4; 5; PB. 6, 7, 21.

¹¹² See below.

¹¹³ See Gonda, Triads, p. 23.

¹¹⁴ Sāyaṇa, overlooking the subjunctive *pracodayāt*, follows the secondary interpretation '... we should like to meditate on Savitar's fiery energy'.

¹¹⁵ For threefold recitation see Gonda, Triads, p. 101; 143 etc.

a ritual note based on "from all sides": 'with this (stanza) he takes hold on both sides of the *stoma* (song of praise) employed'; 1, 5, 11: 79, 17 'yonder sun is an inviolable chariot. He indeed visits both these worlds; he embraces (takes possession of) the completeness (*sarvam*) with this (stanza)'; KS. 7, 2: 64, 5; 7, 4: 65, 18 (the same ritual note); 7, 9: 71, 1 (quoted and explained together with the stanza "At no time..."; KapS. 5, 2: 50, 18; 5, 3: 52, 13. – For the ritual see ĀpŚS. 6, 17, 12 c; HŚS. 6, 6: 537, 7; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 11; ŚŚS. 2, 12, 7. – According to RVidh. 2, 13, 2 the fire voluntarily protects from all sides the man who worships it with this stanza. – As already noticed, TS. 1, 5, 6, 4 p has instead RV. 10, 87, 22 (with two variants). "We would like to set thee around us, O Agni...", which is explained at 1, 5, 8, 5: 'verily he sets around a barrier, that nothing be spilt'¹¹⁶ and is prescribed at ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 1.

After the stanza MS. 1, 5, 4: 71, 3 (VS. 3, 36) the Maitrāyaṇīyas employ a long series of formulae beginning with 71, 5 "Thou art a crusher; may I crush him who hates us and whom we hate" which in 1, 5, 11: 79, 19 is repeated and commented upon: 'He shall press down (the earth) with his heel, if he happens to compete with someone who is worse off (than he is himself)'. In quoting the formula MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 12 and VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 14 refer to this *brāhmaṇa* passage, which was no doubt borrowed by the author of ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 2¹¹⁷ (1st formula)—see also HŚS. 6, 6: 537—who adds the adjective 'right' to 'heel'. – This formula occurs also (with a variant: "I crush") KS. 7, 2: 64, 7 with the comment at 7, 9: 71, 10: 'with the words "Thou art a crusher" he presses him down, who is his adversary from behind'. It is preceded by 7, 2: 64, 7 "Uncut is the thread of the gods; let that of men not be cut off", which according to 7, 9: 71, 9 means 'He comments the world (sphere) of the gods with the world (sphere) of men; he conquers both worlds'—and occurs also at MS. 1, 4, 2: 49, 2 dealing with the part of the sacrificer in sacrificing (with a similar explanation: 1, 4, 7: 55, 12, a context from which it may have been borrowed); also ĀpŚS. 4, 16, 4; in both places it is followed by "Let me not be cut off from the presence of the divine nor of (that of) the human". Both formulae occur in HŚS. 6, 6, 20: 538, 4 where they are followed by "To the light..." (see below, KS. 7, 2: 64, 17; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 15). – The second formula is: "Thou art superior (*abhibhūr asi*); may I surpass... (etc.)", repeated with a comment MŚ. 1, 5, 11: 79, 21: '(His) foot shall press down (the earth) with its right side, if he competes with someone who is his equal'. – Also ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 2 and HŚS. 6, 6: 537, 3rd formula but 2nd comment (and MŚS., VārŚS., 1. cit., where this and the following formulae are not explicitly mentioned). – Curiously enough,

¹¹⁶ Cf. e.g. TS. 2, 5, 8, 6; 6, 3, 8, 1.

¹¹⁷ See also Caland, Śrautasūtra des Āp., I, p. 203 (note on 6, 18, 2).

KS. 7, 2: 64, 8 reads instead: "Thou art a match for (*vibhūr asi* ¹¹⁸)", but continues with "may I surpass (*abhy . . . bhūyāsam*)" and explains 7, 2: 71, 11 'With "Thou art superior (*abhibhūr asi*)" he surpasses him who is his equal'. – The third formula reads: "Thou art a master (*prabhūr asi*); may I have power over (*pra . . . atibhūyāsam*) him . . . etc.", repeated and commented upon 1, 5, 11: 80, 2: 'He shall press down (the earth) with the forepart of the foot, if he contends with someone who is better off (than he is himself)'. Similarly, KS. 7, 2: 64, 9 with the comment in 7, 9: 71, 12: 'He overcomes him who, (being) his adversary, has overcome him first'. – Also ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 2 and HGS. 6, 6: 537, 2nd formula but 3rd comment and implicit at MŚS., VārŚS. 1. cit. – The comment in MS. continues: 'He surpasses all of them, he excels all of them, he overcomes all of them'. – The probably secondary insertion of this triplet ¹¹⁹ of formulae was no doubt originally intended to achieve some particular object in connexion with the worshipper's rivals. – It may be observed that the first half of the second formula (*abhibhūr asi*) is more frequently found than the other elements of these formulae, e.g. MS. 2, 3, 2: 29, 12; KS. 12, 2: 163, 11 among the rites for special wishes to which it may have originally belonged; VS. 10, 28 a (cf. ŚB. 5, 4, 4, 6); TS. 1, 6, 2 c (the sacrificer's part in sacrifices, from where it may also have been borrowed), with a comment in 1, 6, 10, 1: 'he throws under himself the one who rises against him'. – The whole passage from "Uncut" up to and including the last formula occurs also in KapS. 5, 2: 50, 20–51, 1.

Now follows, with some variants, a triad of formulae invoking Pūṣan: MS. 1, 5, 4: 71, 8; KS. 7, 2: 64, 10; ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 3 a; HŚS. 6, 6: 537, 20; MŚS. 1, 6, 3, 13: "Pūṣan, the protector of the ways (MS., MŚS.; "on the way, on a journey" KS.; "protector of cattle" Āp.), must protect me; P., the p. of cattle (MS., KS.; "of the ways" Āp.), must . . . ; P., the ruler, must . . ." ¹²⁰. According to the *brāhmaṇa* MS. 1, 5, 11: 80, 4 these three formulae represent the earth, the intermediate space, and yonder region (the heavens), (because) he (P.) visited these worlds ¹²¹; he (the worshipper) entrusts ¹²² himself to these worlds in order to be safeguarded against harm; KS. 7, 9: 71, 13. 'Pūṣan on the way is the earth . . . ; these worlds protect him; he kindles the (sacred) fire for continuation' ¹²³. In MŚS., 1. cit., it is observed that 'with (these), one by one, he adores the earth, the intermediate space (and) the heavens'; ĀpŚS., 1. cit.: 'having adored (with these) the (three) worlds'.

¹¹⁸ This is no doubt to be corrected; see also KapS. 5, 2: 50, 21.

¹¹⁹ As to triplets (*trcas*) see Gonda, Vedic literature, p. 189 f. etc.

¹²⁰ Āp. adds a superfluous fourth formula invoking P. *adhipatiḥ* (after P. *adhipāḥ* in c).

¹²¹ For Pūṣan as a traveller see A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 35.

¹²² The text has *paridhatte*, one might expect *paridatte*.

¹²³ The concept of continuity is of special importance in Vedic ritual. See e.g. ŚB. 1, 3, 5, 13; 3, 2, 2, 7; 26; 6, 3, 1, 5.

After this reference to the threefold universe which, as is well known, figures most frequently in the homologations of the *brāhmaṇas*, there follows a set of formulae based on the fivefold division of the universe into the four cardinal quarters and the zenith (the *disaḥ*) and mentioning the names of the gods who are correlated with them: MS. 1, 5, 4: 71, 9; KS. 7, 2: 64, 11. The formulae, as well as their first parts, are bipartite. The two elements of the first part are often found in other contexts; the second half is considerably rarer. In MS. 1, 5, 4: 71, 9 the first formula reads: "The eastern quarter (direction), Agni (is) the deity; he who attacks me (treats me as an enemy) from this quarter (direction) must meet with Agni (fall to Agni's share)", the others run completely parallel, the gods correlated with the South, West, North and Zenith being Indra, the Maruts, Mitra-and-Varuṇa and Soma respectively¹²⁴. The formulae are at 1, 5, 11: 80, 7 briefly and comprehensively commented upon: 'With "the e. q., A. th. d." he entrusts himself to the regions of the protectors of the body. Then he with whom he competes, or against whom he mutually commits offences (such as sorcery, injury etc.), that one having met these gods perishes first'. In the corresponding set of formulae in KS. 7, 2: 64, 11-17 there are some differences: the positions of the principal and subordinate clauses in the second part of the formula are reversed. Soma is brought into relation with the western direction, Mitra-and-Varuṇa with the north, Bṛhaspati with the zenith; there is moreover a sixth direction, called *iyam diś* (i.e. the nadir) with Aditi as its (tutelary) deity. The comment in KS. 7, 9: 71, 15 is: 'Having met these deities he perishes who attacks him from these directions'. For the same *mantras* see KapS. 5, 2: 51, 2-8. It may be taken for granted that the succinct statement in MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 14 "The eastern direction, Agni the deity" thus in every direction according to the tenor of the sacred text' is in harmony with MS. On the other hand, the six formulae in ĀpŚS. 6, 18, 3b are in complete agreement with KS.; the *sūtra* adds the direction: 'Having with these (formulae) adored the regions of the universe in accordance with the characteristic words'. Interestingly enough, the wording of the formulae in HŚS. 6, 6, 20: 537 is in agreement with MS., but there is an extension: "Agni etc. must from that direction act for me like a herdsman"; there are moreover six formulae, the gods of the last ones being Bṛhaspati and Aditi. Cf. also VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 15. - The same series of six formulae, with the same correlations, but in a somewhat extended form occurs in TB. 3, 11, 5, 1-3 in a section dealing with the so-called Nāciketa-cayana, i.e. the construction of the fireplace of, or

¹²⁴ This enumeration of the relations between gods and the cardinal points of the compass deviates from the usual system (East: Indra; South: Yama; West: Varuṇa; North: Soma or Kubera). - For classifications and correlations in the Veda see e.g. Gonda, Vedic literature, p. 251; 374; 431. For an enumeration of the cardinal points in a prayer for protection RV. 10, 131, 1.

according to, Naciketas (see TB. 3, 11, 1 ff.; ĀpŚS. 19, 14, 1 ff.¹²⁵): "The southern direction, Agni (is) the deity. He must meet the god Agni, among the deities of the directions, (he) who from that direction wishes to attack me". Etc.

These formularies belong together with AVŚ. 3, 26 and 27 (AVP. 3, 11 and 24), known as 'homage to the gods of the quarters with imprecation on enemies'¹²⁶, TS. 5, 5, 10, 1 ff.; MS. 2, 13, 21¹²⁷ to a class of texts intended to afford protection against dangers (such as enemies, snakes, etc.) impending from any direction: imprecations of this kind "connected with the directions" (KauśS. 14, 25) could be used in independent rites, for instance to gain the victory over a hostile army (KauśS. 14, 25), to guarantee that one's journey or business will be prosperous (KauśS. 50, 13), or combine with various rites for bringing about what in texts of the Hindu period is called *digbandhana* ("fastening or bolting the regions")¹²⁸. Thus the formulae TS. 5, 5, 10, 1 ff. are included in the ritual of the piling of the great fireplace and the deities mentioned in them as overlords of the directions are believed to guard the fire when kindled (*ibid.*, 3); 'if he were not to offer libations to them, they would suck the *adhvaryu* and the sacrificer; in that he offers these libations he soothes them with their proper portion; (then) neither *adhvaryu* nor sacrificer goes to ruin'. The presence of a formulary of this kind in some versions of the *agniyupasthāna* may, I think, have been prompted by similar motives.

In the *brāhmaṇa* MS. 1, 5, 11: 80, 8 the following note is added: "There are seven powers in man. These verily are to be praised (implored) by him. They are (identical with) the seven *ṛṣis*. The seven *ṛṣis* are the vital breaths (vital powers, *prāṇāḥ*)¹²⁹. Thus verily he praises (implores) the vital powers. He praises his own vital powers, he twists off (removes) the vital powers of his adversary, attacking him he lays (him) low, (he) who knows thus'. Though intelligible in itself¹³⁰, this passage seems to be misplaced or (what seems more probable) to comment upon a *mantra* that has got lost¹³¹. In MS. 1, 5, 4: 71, 14 the next formulae are not easy to understand. The first one literally says: "Dharma must protect me from *dharma*", which is not explained in 1, 5, 11: 80, 12. It occurs also in MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 14, ĀpŚS. 6, 19, 1 and HŚS. 6, 6, 20: 538, 1 reading

¹²⁵ Cf. P. E. Dumont, The special kinds of *agnicayana* according to the Kāthas in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa, Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 95 (1951), p. 644 ff.

¹²⁶ See Whitney and Lanman, *op. cit.*, p. 131 ff.

¹²⁷ In AVŚ. 3, 27; AVP. 3, 24 the gods are Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Viṣṇu, Bṛhaspati; in TS. 5, 5, 10: Agni, Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Yama; in MS. 2, 13, 21 Agni, Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Bṛhaspati.

¹²⁸ Remember also RV. 10, 131, 1 referred to above (n. 124).

¹²⁹ See also J. Gonda, The savayajñas, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 284.

¹³⁰ Cf. ŚB. 8, 4, 3, 6; KS. 37, 16: 66, 11.

¹³¹ See below on MS. 1, 5, 11: 80, 16.

“from the one who obeys the *dharma* (*dharminah*), where it is together with the two following formulae held (Dhūrtasvāmin) to belong to the adoration of the *āhavanīya*, but is not commented upon. Caland¹³² translated: “Das Recht soll mich vor der Verfügung schützen”, Miss van Gelder¹³³: “. . . right . . . order”. The conjecture *dharṃo mādharmāṇaḥ pātu* “Dh. must protect me from demerit (*ādharma*)” would, because of the following *mantra*, be improbable, so that an interpretation such as “(The) observance of (my) duties (religious or ritual merit) must protect me against (infringements of) the universal law” seems worth considering. – The next formula, likewise left unexplained, runs parallel: *vidharṃo mā vidharmanāḥ pātu* which may mean: “Departure from (my) duties must protect me against (the consequences of) departure from the universal law”¹³⁴ rather than “. . . Verteilung . . . Verteilung” (Caland) or “. . . distribution . . . distribution” (van Gelder). Also ĀpŚS. 6, 1, 19; HŚS. 6, 6, 20: 538 reading “. . . against the one who transgresses the un. law”. – It seems¹³⁵ that in the next formula the hapax *uruka(h)* —for which ĀpŚS. 6, 19, 1 and HŚS., l. cit. have *uruga(h)* “the wide-striding”—is the subject and the verb *pātu* is to be supplied: “(My) full lifetime and continued lifetime¹³⁶, (my) sight and clear-sightedness, (HŚS. inserting “(my) expiration and inspiration”) (these) the wide-striding one (?) (must protect) in front and behind”. Also presupposed in MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 14 and quoted in ĀpŚS. 6, 19, 1; HŚS. 6, 6, 20: 538 with some minor variants. – The last *mantra* is “May we by the word of thee, the wide-striding one¹³⁷, become associated with what has been divided, O Agni, Lord of the house”, also BŚS. 3, 9, 6: 79, 2 ff.; MŚS., l. cit.; and, without the vocatives, ĀpŚS., l. cit. The *brāhmaṇa* section, MS. 1, 5, 11: 80, 13, after quoting the *mantra* “(My) full . . .” explains: “This one verily is *uruka(h)*. He distributes. That which he divides he allots again to him. “O Agni, Lord of the house”: The sacrificer kindles the fire. The fire indeed belongs to the sacrificer. The sacrificer belongs to Agni¹³⁸. Thus he makes himself, so to say, a proper place (regular or functional position, basis, destination¹³⁹)”¹⁴⁰.

The last explanatory note in MS. 1, 5, 11, viz. 80, 16 concerns a formula

¹³² Caland, Śrautasūtra des Āp., I, p. 203.

¹³³ J. M. van Gelder, The Mānava Śrautasūtra translated, New Delhi 1963, p. 37.

¹³⁴ There may be cases in which it might be better to abstain from a meritorious act if this act would have painful effects, threaten a certain equilibrium, be hateful to the people etc. See e.g. R. Lingat, The classical law of India, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1973, p. 189 ff.

¹³⁵ See Caland, l. cit.

¹³⁶ Or “increased vitality”: *prāyus*, which does not seem to occur elsewhere.

¹³⁷ HŚS. reads *rkasya* (i.e. *arkasya* “of the sun”) instead of *urukasya*.

¹³⁸ Cf. ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 21.

¹³⁹ For the term *āyatana* see J. Gonda, *Āyatana*, Adyar Library Bulletin 33 (1969), p. 1 ff. (= Selected Studies, II, p. 178 ff.), esp. p. 44 (221).

¹⁴⁰ It seems that the last formula at least is intended for the *gārhapatya* fire. There has been some uncertainty on this point (Dhūrtasvāmin, on ĀpŚS., l. cit.).

that in this context is absent in this work (see 1, 5, 4: 72, 2) but is found in KS. 7, 2: 64, 17; KapS. 5, 2: 51, 8 where it runs as follows: "To the light, to the thread (i.e. continuity) I pronounce¹⁴¹ my prayer for blessing, O So-and-so (here the name of the sacrificer's son is to be substituted) continue me (i.e. propagate my race)". Whereas at MS. 80, 16 it reads: "To the light, to the thread thee¹⁴²", after having taken his seat between the two fires he should speak. The prayer for blessing which he has pronounced before and that (which he pronounces) afterwards this he places in himself', KS. 7, 9: 71, 16 observes "To the l. . . I pr. . .", thus he pronounces a prayer for blessing. He should mention the name of him who is his dear son. In him he places the blessings¹⁴³. – For the ritual use see MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 15, quoting the *mantra* with "thee" and being in accordance with the *brāhmaṇa* section of MS. HŚS. 6, 6, 20: 538, 5: ". . . thee" and "continue me with light". – The formula "To the light . . . thee" occurs also at MS. 1, 4, 2: 49, 4 (on the sacrificer's part) and ĀpŚS. 4, 16, 4; 6 (likewise). VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 17 employs it in the *agniyupasthāna*, where it is followed by "Thou art rain (*vr̥ṣṭih*); cut asunder (*vr̥śca*) my evil (bad luck)" which accompanies the touching of water and in other ritual contexts occurs at TB. 3, 10, 9, 2; ĀpŚS. 4, 16, 16; 6, 11, 4; 6, 14, 6; 19, 13, 21; ĀśvŚS. 2, 3, 23, after a libation or at the end of a sacrificial rite (of the *iṣṭi* type) for purification. The formula "O So-and-so . . ." also at MS. 1, 4, 2: 49, 2; MŚS. 1, 4, 3, 15; ĀpŚS. 4, 16, 4 and elsewhere. The significance of these formulae which invoke the continuation of the sacrificer's family and divine favour on behalf of his son(s) is clear. For the formulation: "I pray for this blessing accompanied by light¹⁴⁴ for the sake of myself, So-and-so, I pray for this blessing for the sake of So-and-so, of So-and-so (viz. his sons)" see BŚS. 3, 4, 10: 79, 4. In BhŚS. 6, 3, 7 the relevant formula runs as follows: "The divine cord is unbroken; let not the human (cord) be broken. Let me not be severed from the divine presence, not from the human" (cf. MS. 1, 4, 2: 49, 2; 1, 4, 7: 55, 12; ĀpŚS. 4, 16, 4). This is to "win this world (the subject is in the dual) and to be together (dual) in the heavenly world" (MS.). VaikhŚS. 2, 8: 27, 16 prescribes a *mantra* "To the thread a (*mantra*) rich in light . . ." to a man who has no sons, and "To So-and-so a (*m.*) r. in l. . ." to the man who has sons, the reference to light being obviously a permanent element. The relevant section of ŚŚS. (2, 12, 9 ff.) reads as follows: "Thou art the thread of the gods; I take hold of thee; let me not be severed from thee (with this formula he touches the glowing coals to the south of the *āhavanīya*). Stretched art thou; a thread art thou

¹⁴¹ Thus KS. 7, 9: 71, 17; KapS. (*āśāse*) and Devapāla, commenting upon KGS. (see Raghū Vira, *Kaṣīṭhala-Kaṭha Saṃhitā*, Lahore 1932, p. 51), but KS. 7, 2: 64, 18 "he pronounces . . ." (*āśāste*).

¹⁴² See below.

¹⁴³ See above, TS. 1, 5, 6 q.

¹⁴⁴ Viz. of the sacred fire.

(cf. VSK. 2, 6, 9; KŚS. 3, 8, 25); continue me with offspring, cattle, welfare, the possession of many children, of valiant sons. Thou art the thread of men; take hold of me; be not severed from me, So-and-so". In conclusion this text prescribes a purification (2, 12, 12) with the formula: "Through (with) the truth (reality) I descend (into the lustral bath), into the waters the vow (*vratam*)".

As compared to ŚBM. 2, 3, 4, 41 ŚBK. 1, 4, 1, 30 enters into some details. Whereas M. confines itself to the statement that he (the sacrificer) has to pronounce his son's name in the formula "That this son of mine will carry on this virility¹⁴⁵ of mine" K., quoting the corresponding but somewhat different formula "(My) son must carry on this (ritual) work, this virility of mine" from VSK. 2, 6, 10, adds: 'Thus (his) son carries on this (ritual work), this virility of his'. The formula found in M. occurs also in other ritual contexts ŚBM. 1, 9, 3, 21¹⁴⁶ and 5, 4, 2, 8, not elsewhere. The other formula is mentioned also in KŚS. 3, 8, 25; 15, 6, 10. – TS. 1, 5, 6, 4 the name of the son is to be mentioned at the end of a series of formulae beginning with "O Agni, lord of the house, through thee as lord of the house may I be a good lord of the house" (see also VSK. 2, 6, 6 and VSM. 2, 27), with the explanation at 1, 5, 8, 5: 'He utters the name of his son; verily he makes him an eater of food. "This blessing I invoke which brings light for the thread (continuation of my family), he should say who has no son born. This blessing I invoke bringing light for N.N.", he should say who has a son born. Verily he confers upon him brilliant energy and brahmanical illustriousness'. Also KS. 7, 3: 65, 9. – For ritual use in this connexion see BhŚS. 6, 3, 4; ĀpŚS. 6, 19, 2; VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 16.

The following are the *mantras* used in performing the matutinal *agnyupasthāna*.

The four *vihavya* stanzas (see ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 7) are to be repeated first (ĀpŚS. 6, 20; also HŚS. 6, 6, 21: 539). They are indeed suitable for this occasion because the morning ablution enables the worshipper to obtain what he has not yet obtained and to secure what he has not yet secured (MS. 1, 5, 7: 75, 7). The formula which is to consecrate the threefold pouring out of water, quoted in full at ĀpŚS. 6, 20, 2; VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 19, and *pratikena* at HŚS. 6, 6, 21: 539 "O Lord of the waters, here is thy share of the water", does not appear to occur elsewhere. The next formula makes the function of this *mantra* intelligible: the lord of the waters is invoked (cf. e.g. ŚB. 5, 5, 3) and water poured out for exorcizing etc. (cf. e.g. ŚB. 7, 2, 1, 17 "he pours out a jarful of water; water is a thunderbolt: with a thunderbolt he thus separates himself from evil,

¹⁴⁵ *vīryam* does not only stand for "manly deed" (Eggeling) but also for "virility, manly power, strength or energy in general" as well as for manly seed and procreative power.

¹⁴⁶ See J. Eggeling's note in *The Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa translated*, I, Oxford 1882, Delhi 1963, p. 273.

corruption"; 13, 8, 4, 5 water is taken with the joined hands and thrown in the direction of the enemy). The following "The evil spirits (who disturb man's good intentions: *arātayah*) are besprinkled (by way of opposition)" to be pronounced three times occurs *ĀpŚS.* 6, 20, 2; *HŚS.*, 1. cit., and *MŚS.* 1, 6, 2, 17 where it is st. 4 b and c (repetition), preceded by "I slew rivals, enemies" (not found elsewhere) and followed by "may we walk unharmed", which is also part of a formula used in the *upanayana* ceremony (the initiation of a Veda student) as *MGS.* 1, 22, 2 c; *HGS.* 1, 5, 1 c. The following "For time, for victory, for success in (my) undertakings, for food, I wash you and for ritual merit . . . ; may I become superior to my adversaries (and) rivals, like the water because of the helpful benevolence of the Waters"¹⁴⁷ (*ĀpŚS.*, 1. cit., in full, *HŚS.*, 1. cit., *VārŚS.* 1, 5, 4, 20; 21 *prat.* accompanying the washing of the hands) is not known to me from elsewhere. Time (*Kāla*) is rarely a divine person; see *AVŚ.* 19, 53 and 54 where it is eulogized as a cosmogonic force. The formula "Here I wash away the noxious food" accompanying the sipping of water for purification occurs only in *Āp.*, *HŚS.* 6, 6, 21: 540, 1, and *VārŚS.* 1, 5, 4, 20. The subsequent "O Establisher (*Dhātar*) place prosperity (distinction, *śrī*) in me; make me a lord of *śrī*" and the metrical invocation of Indra (a prayer for honour and renown, *yaśas*) as well as "Burnt by *Atharvī*¹⁴⁸ . . . , the plant¹⁴⁹ which destroys the curses, just as water dirt, has washed away on us the curses" are found only in *Āp.*, although the two last elements are the first and last *pādas* of a stanza which is largely identical with *AVŚ.* 2, 7, 1, a text used to counteract, by means of a plant (*viruc* . . . instead of *viduc* . . . in b), curses and cursers; see the healing rite *KauśS.* 26, 33-35 where it also accompanies the binding on of an amulet against curses or the evil eye. The appropriate formulae accompanying the touching of his body—the first four are to produce their optimum condition—are quoted in full by *Āp.*, whereas *H.* and *Vār.* 1, 5, 4, 22 confine themselves to part of the first. The first does not seem to occur elsewhere (cf. however *AVŚ.* 16, 2, 2 and 3, parts of a text dealing with speech, hearing (ears), and sight. The expression "the imperishable divine light" in the second formula is found also in *ŚŚS.* 8, 22, 1 (likewise, and also "eagle eye": *AVŚ.* 16, 2, 5). The formula "ears well-hearing" is part of *AVŚ.* 16, 2, 4; the following "hearing the gods"¹⁵⁰ does not occur elsewhere, but *AVŚ.* 16, 2, 4 has "ears hearing what is excellent (*bhadra-*)". "The hair consists of sacrificial grass" and "The sacrificial couch tuft (of the hair)"—instances of the well-known tendency to 'identification' (homologation) with ritual entities: for an identification

¹⁴⁷ *apām maitrād ivodakam*; *āpaḥ*: "the divine Waters", *udakam* "water".

¹⁴⁸ ?; cf. *RV.* 1, 112, 10?

¹⁴⁹ For *viduc*. I read *viru(c)*. (*AVŚ.*)

¹⁵⁰ *devaśrutau karnaū*, not "audible to or heard by the gods" (Monier-Williams); these words not in Chinnaśwāmī Śāstri's edition, Baroda 1955.

of the *barhis* and the hair of a sacrificial cow see AVŚ. 10, 9, 2—do not appear to occur in other works but the beginning of the following *mantra* “arrange yourselves in your respective (accustomed) places auspiciously to the (my) heart” is reminiscent of ŚB. 14, 9, 4, 5 (=BĀU. 6, 4, 5) and AVŚ. 7, 67, 1 d (which is a text for recovery of one’s physical and psychical faculties, employed by Kauśika for several purposes¹⁵¹, the second line of which runs as follows: “Let the fires of the sacred hearth again officiate just here in their respective (accustomed) places”). The last words “(the part of my body) so-and-so’ must not abandon me” are found in ĀpŚS. and VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 23.

ĀpŚS. 6, 21 enumerates the *mantras* used in adoring the sacred fires. The first “Thou art brilliant energy (*varcas*) (; place *varcas* in me)” occurs in other contexts: VS. 10, 25; ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 25; TS. 1, 8, 15, 2; MS. 2, 6, 12; 71, 3; KS. 15, 8: 215, 3; see also MS. 4, 4, 6: 56, 3; TB. 1, 7, 9, 5 (*rājasūya*, accompanying the touching or taking ornaments of precious metal). “Place *varcas* in me” also TB. 1, 7, 9, 5 in the same context and TS. 1, 66, 1 where it is one of the *mantras* accompanying the reverence to the sun (rites of full and new moon); also PB. 1, 3, 10. The next, viz. O Producer of a complete lifetime (and) mistresses of a complete lifetime, O (thou) rich in *svadhā* (?)”¹⁵² represents the formula AVŚ. 5, 9, 8 “. . . rich in *svadhā*”, a text to invoke the gods’ protection used in a remedial rite (KauśS. 28, 17), also found in the series of formulae in KS. 37, 15: viz. 65, 18 (corrupt). As to “Be my protectresses” cf. KS. 37, 15 “Be our protectors . . .”. “Guard (plur.) me, protect me”: also AVŚ. 5, 9, 8 (see above); VS. 5, 34 (in addressing the fires of the subordinate fireplaces (*dhiṣṇyas*)); VaitS. 18, 8 (in addressing some ritual fires, the sun etc.). As to “You are dwelling in myself” cf. AVŚ. 5, 9, 8 “Be (dual) . . .”. “Let nobody slay us, let us not perish prematurely”: also KS. 37, 15. The words “Near the traditional, near, *bhūr bhuvah swah*; hold (back) my full lifetime” occur also ĀpŚS. 6, 8, 11 (*agnihotra*); for the last words compare MS. 1, 8, 4: 120, 10; KS. 6, 5: 53, 18; KapS. 4, 4: 41, 10; MŚS. 1, 6, 1, 33 (while putting a log on the *āhavanīya* fire; *agnihotra*).

With the following chapter (*anuvāka*) the worshipper adores the *āhavanīya*: “O two Heats¹⁵³, two Firm Ones (*jaṭharau*), make (dual) me today an eater of food among these men”—here VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 24 has a *pratīka gharṃ jaṭhare*, which has been corrected into the reading of Āp.—and the following “May I be an eater . . . men; no eater of food the one who hates us” do not occur elsewhere. There follow two parallel

¹⁵¹ I refer to Whitney and Lanman, op. cit., p. 433.

¹⁵² *svadhāvaḥ* (Caland, op. cit., p. 205: “*svadhā* (sei) euch (Plur.!) (?), J.G.). AVŚ. intelligibly *svādhāvantaḥ*; *svadhā*: “the state, condition, institution which is proper to or characteristic of a god etc.”, also “sacrificial offering (due to each god)”.

¹⁵³ As observed by Caland, l. cit., the duals in the beginning of this series of *mantras* are not well adapted to the adoration of the *āhavanīya*. — The two heats may be sun and fire (cf. Sāyaṇa on RV. 10, 114, 1; ŚB. 11, 6, 2, 2).

invocations praying for possession of cattle and renown, addressed to the figures of Kavi (in the dual) and Mātariśvan (in the dual), and Yama and Aṅgiras¹⁵⁴ (both in the dual) respectively. As far as I am able to see these formulae do not occur in other works. — The third quarter of the next *mantra*—likewise quoted in full, 13, 11, 11, 11 syllables—is identical with AVŚ. 7, 108, 2 c, part of a prayer to Agni for destruction of enemies; as to d cf. RV. 10, 87, 17 d; AVŚ. 8, 3, 17 d (addressed to Agni, the killer of demons). Thereupon follow the five formulae “O Agni with thy ray . . .” (in the order *arcis, śocis, tapas, haras, tejas*) which have already been dealt with¹⁵⁵. — Special attention may be drawn to the close relations between the above use of these formulae and their occurrences in the Atharvaveda as well as the domestic ritual represented by some *grhyasūtras*.

The final section (ĀpŚS. 6, 22 f.) begins with “O Agni, lord of splendours” which, as has already been mentioned¹⁵⁶, follows also in MS. 1, 5, 2: 68, 7. Here the author (and HŚS. 6, 6, 21: 540 and MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 17) continues with the three times completely quoted formula “O thou whose wealth is on this side . . .” which has already been used in Āp. 6, 16, 11¹⁵⁷. See also BhŚS. 6, 2, 1. The first part of the following “Thou art the thread; (being) stretched do not break” occurs also elsewhere: VSK. 2, 6, 9; cf. KŚS. 3, 8, 25; TS. 3, 5, 2, 3 among *mantras* accompanying the laying of definite bricks for the great fireplace in a chapter containing miscellaneous supplements, and in sections on that rite TS. 4, 4, 1, 2; KS. 17, 7: 250, 9; KapS. 26, 6: 108, 18; PB. 1, 10, 1; VaitS. 25, 1 where it is always followed by “For offspring thee; quicken offspring” which makes its meaning clear. See also GB. 2, 2, 13: 179, 5, and especially ŚŚS. 2, 12, 10 “Stretched art thou, a thread art thou, unite me with offspring, cattle, welfare, the possession of many children . . .” addressed to the *āhavaniya* fire (comm.). The second half is exclusively proper to ĀpŚ. 6, 22, but together with the following “So-and-so (to be replaced by the names of his sons), it be well with thee” (three times repeated, twice in VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 25 where it occurs also) is reminiscent of ŚŚS. 1.c. “. . . be not severed from me, So-and-so”. The formula “It be well with you who are after me” does not seem to occur elsewhere. Of “The six wide (worlds) . . .”¹⁵⁸ must protect me from distress” there exist several variants. In ĀśvS. 1, 2, 1; ŚŚS. 1, 6, 4 heaven and earth, day and night, the waters and the herbs are invoked after the six worlds (full and moon sacrifices, accompanying the *hotar*’s loosing his hold of the shoulders of two other officiants); in

¹⁵⁴ *Kavi*, the inspired sage and poet; for Mātariśvan see J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 69; 94; for Aṅgiras A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 96 f.

¹⁵⁵ See above, p. 28.

¹⁵⁶ See above, p. 29.

¹⁵⁷ See above, p. 29.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Eggeling, *op. cit.*, I, p. 136, note.

the Bibl. Ind. ed. of *Āp.* day and night are omitted but vigour, refreshment (*ūrj*) and youthful force (*sūnṛtā*)¹⁵⁹ are added; Chinnaswāmi's ed. has all eight terms. For another variant with the explanation 'i.e. the deities must protect me from painful occurrences' see ŚB. 1, 5, 1, 22. The following stanza is practically identical with ṚV. 4, 12, 6 (addressed to Agni) and 10, 126, 8 (the last stanza of a hymn addressed to the Ādityas, especially Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman): "Even as you . . . did set free the buffalo cow bound by the foot, so do thou remove from us distress. Let our life be prolonged further, O Agni". The stanza occurs also TS. 4, 7, 15, 7 among the *mantras* for the oblations of the *mṛgāreṣṭi* of the horse sacrifice¹⁶⁰ to accompany the *sviṣṭakṛt* oblation destined for Agni. Also MS. 3, 16, 5: 192, 9; KS. 2, 15: 21, 16; among formulae used, in connexion with the ritual fire, for expiation: *Āp*ŚS. 9, 12, 10; at ŚŚS. 1, 15, 5 it is one of the formulae accompanying the sacrifices to the wives of the gods (with some of the gods); see KB. 3, 11, 1 ff.; at ŚŚS. 8, 8, 9 it accompanies the gazing at the secondary fireplaces; in HGS. 1, 8, 3 dealing with the Veda student the stanza is to be recited when one wipes with one's wet hand round the fire before sprinkling water round it. The next *mantra* is ṚV. 10, 73, 11, the final stanza of an Indra hymn, a prayer for light to see and liberation from darkness. It occurs also TB. 2, 5, 8, 3 (an *upahoma mantra* addressed to Indra during the midday service of a *soma* sacrifice); compare AiB. 3, 19, 12 ff.; *Āp*ŚS. 15, 17, 12 (used by those who in the morning adore the sun); 15, 20, 10 (in adoring the sun). According to ṚVidh. 3, 14, 2 the man who mutters it obtains bliss; to SVBr. 1, 7, 13 it is a means of expiation after taking food in the house of a *vaiśya*.

Thereupon the author prescribes the stanzas used in 6, 16, 8 a and b, 16, 6; the four stanzas of 6, 16, 7; the stanza "O Agni-and-Soma" of 6, 16, 5 as well as ṚV. 5, 82, 1-6 (in a different order: 1; 2; 4; 5; 6; 3), stanzas addressed to Savitar in which the god is implored for treasures, children, fortune, etc. These stanzas are (as 1-3; 4-6) the strophe and antistrophe of the Vaiśvadeva Śastra (see especially KB. 16, 3 and AiB. 4, 30, 3 etc.; ŚŚS. 8, 3, 8). Stanza 1 is in the domestic ritual also used in the *mantha* sacrifice by which one hopes to attain greatness (ŚGS. 6, 4, 8). It is not surprising that Savitar, the divine Impeller, who raises and distributes the immortal light among all creatures (cf. ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 12; 10, 2, 6, 5) should continue to engage the author's attention because this ritual is performed in the early morning: (in *Āp*ŚS. 6, 23) the following *mantra* is ṚV. 6, 71, 6, the final stanza of a Savitar hymn imploring the god for "what is pleasant (prosperity) today and tomorrow". It is one of the formulae required for the third or evening service of a *soma* sacrifice:

¹⁵⁹ See J. Gonda, Epithets in the Veda, 's-Gravenhage 1959, p. 98.

¹⁶⁰ See *Āp*ŚS. 20, 23, 2-4.

VS. 8, 6 (cf. ŚB. 4, 4, 1, 6; KŚS. 10, 5, 13); TS. 1, 4, 23, 1; ĀpŚS. 13, 13, 1 and as a *mantra* used in a rite for the fulfilment of a special desire: TS. 2, 2, 12 k; at ŚŚS. 6, 10, 10 it consecrates the immolation of a victim to Savitar. The following *mantra*, a *tristubh* stanza beginning with "Initiation, austerity of *manas* (the seat of the mental powers and of feeling and volition) ¹⁶¹ . . . must be within me" and ending with "Agni-and-Soma must place renown in me", was considered ¹⁶² to be exclusively proper to Āpastamba. So was the next, the sequence of five times eight syllables "That by which Agni shines (is illustrious) . . . may I be illustrious by that . . .", although it is partly identical with a stanza (11) that is transmitted as belonging to ṚV. *khila* 4, 6 (before 10, 129) ¹⁶³, a text which according to ṚVidh. 4, 9, 1 gives a complete lifetime and vigour conducive to the duration of life; it is advised to mutter it while wearing a golden amulet (to gain good luck); in ĀśvGS. 3, 8, 21 it is prescribed on behalf of a person desiring to go home ¹⁶⁴. However, both formulae are also found in the section on the obligations of the Veda student, especially the ablutions to be performed by him on becoming a householder as found in BhGS. 2, 20 (with an amplification in the second). If appearances are not deceptive we have to do here with a combination of formulae which because of their general character and great possibilities could be used under various circumstances.

A reference to the sacred tradition at the end of the ritual "He becomes rich in fiery energy and brahminical illustriousness" is also found at the end of Hiraṇyakeśin's rules: 6, 6, 21: 541.

It remains to mention those *mantras* which, being foreign to this section of Āpastamba's work, are used in other *sūtras*. After Āpastamba's "O Agni, lord of splendours" HŚS. 6, 6, 21: 540, 4 has the section TS. 1, 5, 5 repeated ¹⁶⁵. Thereafter comes a prayer addressed to the six wide regions to give width ¹⁶⁶, to protect the children from death and those speaking from victorious enemies, that is ṚV. 10, 128, 5 (coming after the four *vihavya* stanzas ¹⁶⁷); it occurs also in TS. 4, 7, 14, 2 in connexion with the *vihavya* bricks; for another employment (worship of the quarters, stars and moon) see ĀpGS. 5, 12, 13.

As to MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 17, the four stanzas beginning with "The spouses of Sūrya, the goddesses, ran near, coming from Uṣas; they, the mothers of sacrificial worship, must sprinkle me with brilliant vital power (*varcas*)"

¹⁶¹ The combination *dikṣā ca tapaś ca* is not rare: TS. 4, 7, 9, 1; MS. 2, 11, 6: 144, 1 etc.

¹⁶² By Caland, op. cit., I, p. 207.

¹⁶³ J. Scheftelowitz, Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda, Breslau 1906, p. 118 f.

¹⁶⁴ For further particulars see J. Gonda, The Ṛgvidhāna, Utrecht, 1951, p. 106 f.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Dumont, L'agnihotra, p. 117.

¹⁶⁶ For the importance of wide space etc. see J. Gonda, Loka, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 18 ff. etc.

¹⁶⁷ See above, p. 52.

pronounced at the very beginning of the matutinal adoration as briefly mentioned in this work are quoted *pratikena* in VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 24, where it accompanies the sprinkling of water after the worshipper has washed his hands. In Vār. there follows a *mantra* which I cannot identify: "A buffalo frequently fresh (wet)" (?) accompanying the pouring out of an oblation. There are however some atharvanic affinities or reminiscences and the last *pāda* (4 d) is also used in the domestic ritual. These are 2 d "Let me not be the subject to those who hate (me)": cf. AVŚ. 17, 1, 6 d; 24 d (a prayer to Indra and the Sun); 3 d: "I am a *vajra* ('thunderbolt weapon'), slaying rivals": cf. KauśS. 47, 16 where it is the beginning of a text to be recited by a man who wishes to cast spells over an enemy and bring him to ruin. The words "The evil spirits have been poured upon" occur also in ĀpŚS. 6, 20, 2. For "We would like to walk about unharmed" see MGS. 1, 22, 2 where it is part of a formula used in the *upanayana* ceremony (the initiation of a Veda student); HGS. 1, 5, 1 (similarly). As a whole the four stanzas are very appropriate and far from uncommonly worded. To a sacrificer who is not prosperous the advice is given to recite, not four stanzas of the *vihavya* hymn (RV. 10, 128¹⁶⁸ and the *khila* stanza occurring after this hymn¹⁶⁹) but the whole of it (as found in TS. 4, 7, 14 e-k where it belongs to the ritual concerned with the *vihavya* bricks). The stanzas 6 ff.¹⁷⁰ request Agni to ward off the evil intentions of the antagonists and to "guard us on all sides", invoke Savitar—otherwise in RV.—overcoming enmity, implore protection, and the defeat of enemies etc.; in the last (*khila*) stanza Indra, "the winner of cows, prizes (booty) and horses" is requested to come and to "accept this sacrifice at our *vihava*".

Attention may finally be drawn to ŚŚS. 2, 13 where this ritual is optional. The *āhavanīya* is to be adored with *bhūr bhuvah svah*¹⁷¹; part of the following formulae are (with some variants) identical with VS. 3, 37 "May I be rich in offspring . . ." ¹⁷². "There must be safety for thee, safety for us"—which is used also in the subsequent *sūtras* 4; 5; 6 in connexion with the other fires—does not seem to occur elsewhere, although similar formulae beginning with "safety" (*abhayam*) are not rare. I do not know other occurrences of the formula "With 'mind' (*manasā*) I adore thee" and "I approach the world (*lokam*) and heaven". In adoring the *gārhapatya* fire the worshipper replaces these two *mantras* by "With the voice I adore thee . . ." and "I approach offspring and cattle" (2, 13, 4), of which there are, as far as I know, no parallels. In adoring the *dakṣiṇāgni* he uses "With exhalation . . ." and "I approach the diffused or circulating breath (*vyāna*) ¹⁷³ and a complete lifetime" (2, 13, 5). All fires together

¹⁶⁸ See above, p. 52; 57 (ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 7).

¹⁶⁹ See Scheftelowitz, op. cit., p. 112, sub III.

¹⁷⁰ For st. 5 invoking the six divine regions see above, p. 57.

¹⁷¹ See p. 59.

¹⁷² See p. 59.

¹⁷³ One of the breaths which are supposed to exist and function in the body.

are addressed by "With desire . . ." and "I approach acquisition and prosperity": the same comment.

Attention may finally be invited to a short form of the ritual under discussion, to some generalities and a few additions.

According to ŚB. 2, 4, 1, 1 f. there is a short form of fire-worship which like the longer form that has been discussed in the preceding section is a prayer for blessing (*āśis*), by which one may obtain 'all', that is 'completeness' or a safe and sound condition (*sarvam*)¹⁷⁴. The first formula mentioned is the frequently used "Earth, Atmosphere, Sky" (*bhūr bhuvah svaḥ*): VS. 3, 37 a¹⁷⁵—cf. KŚS. 4, 12, 12 f. A man who (in the evening ŚBK., not in M., optionally) adores his fires with this formula is said 'to render his speech successful¹⁷⁶ by means of the truth (reality: *satyena*) and with that speech thus rendered successful he invokes a blessing, viz. the following formula which is said to be a prayer for offspring, energetic men and prosperity' (ŚBM. 2, 4, 1, 1; ŚBK. 1, 4, 2, 1, explaining 'prosperity and abundance'): "May I be well supplied with offspring, w.s. with energetic men; w.s. with prosperity-and-abundance (*poṣaiḥ*)" (ŚBM. 2, 4, 1, 1; similarly, 4, 6, 9, 24). The formula is VS. 3, 37, second element, reading like ŚBM. *syām* against *bhūyāsām* in VSK. 3, 4, 1; ŚBK.; U. specifies the idea of prosperity: 'landed property, cattle, gold, corn etc.'. As to the former formula, according to ĀpŚS. 9, 7, 1 the words *bhūr bhuvah svaḥ* are in an expiation to be pronounced in adoration of the fire; they are followed by an oblation offered to Varuṇa. See also ĀpŚS. 9, 7, 3; 4; 9, 8, 2. Devasvāmin (the oldest commentator on Āśvalāyana), on ĀśvŚS. 2, 4, 1 observes '(by adoring the fires in this way and with this *mantra*) they become new again, thus the sacred tradition'. Some other explanations of the function of the former formula are: ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 6 it is according to some (ritualists) to strengthen and heal the sacrifice (*yajñam āpyāyāmo yajñam saṃdadhmaḥ*), but the author does not subscribe to this view; in 12, 4, 1, 8 it is said to be used as a means of propitiation or expiation. Cf. also ĀpŚS. 15, 17, 6. — At ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 18 the author advises against the practice of consecrating the sacrificer by this formula which, being all this (universe), according to others brings about a consecration by means of the universe. At TB. 3, 7, 6, 3; ĀpŚS. 3, 18, 4 this formula is identified with *brahman*. According to MS. 1, 8, 5: 120, 21 it is *brahman*, truth or reality (*satyam*, see above), and universal order (*ṛtam*); without it there is no sacrifice. The combination of these so-called "three utterances" (*vyāhṛti*) and the *mantra* "May I be well-supplied . . ." was to enable a brahmin to formulate

¹⁷⁴ For the idea of 'completeness', i.e. an unimpaired condition, corporeal and spiritual integrity etc. etc. see Gonda, *Sarva in Vedic texts*, quoted above (n. 110).

¹⁷⁵ See also VS. 3, 5; 8, 53 likewise followed by "May we be rich in offspring . . ."; 36, 3 followed by a prayer; TS. 1, 6, 2, 2 (similarly) etc.

¹⁷⁶ *samardhayati* implies also "makes accomplished, prosperous, auspicious".

more than one wish: see e.g. *ĀpŚS.* 21, 12, 4 b and 5. The former are sometimes immediately followed by other specified wishes; see e.g. *MS.* 4, 9, 13: 134, 5. – *ŚŚS.* 2, 12, 8 has this formula pronounced on the occasion of an adoration of the sacred fires during the *agnyādheya* (establishment of the fires).

In a reference to this rite of the Vājasaneyins *ĀpŚS.* 6, 19, 7 quotes the second formula in a somewhat longer form, with “well supplied with brilliant energy (*varcas*)”¹⁷⁷ before the last element (and *bhūyāsam*). The formula occurs, with some variation, also in *ŚB.* 4, 5, 6, 4 (in a section dealing with additional forms of the *soma* sacrifice) as a prayer for blessing after part of the sacrifice; also *ŚBK.* 5, 6, 3, 4 f; see also *ŚŚS.* 2, 13, 2¹⁷⁸; at *ĀśvŚS.* 2, 3, 27 after *bhūr bhuvah svah* where it precedes the formulae constituting the *agniyupasthāna*, to be pronounced while gazing at the fires by the sacrificer who has to express his special wish¹⁷⁹; in another ritual context but with the same function *ŚBM.* 4, 6, 9, 24 (*VS.* 8, 53); *ŚBK.* 5, 8, 3, 24 (*VSK.* 9, 6, 6) in a section dealing with ritual of the *gavām ayana*¹⁸⁰. The formula may also be used in the twelve days’ *soma* ritual (*ĀpŚS.* 21, 12, 5) by a brahmin sacrificer who desires to express more than one wish (the normal formula being “May I have, possess, this or that”). It is also one of the formulae enumerated in the section dealing with the gazing at the *soma* and addressing the same (*TS.* 3, 2, 3 q)¹⁸¹. In the domestic ritual the teacher mutters it into the right ear of the pupil whom he is initiating (*ĀpMB.* 2, 3, 25; *ĀpGS.* 4, 10, 12 where the verb, intelligibly enough, is in the singular second person: “May you be . . .”; see also *HGS.* 1, 5, 13). – In an alternative formula *ĀpŚS.* 6, 19, 7 expresses the wish “May I be able to maintain you”; *BhŚS.* 6, 4, 1; 2, *Āp.* and *HŚS.* 6, 6, 21: 539 also “Faith¹⁸² must not go away from me” which do not seem to occur elsewhere.

The formula “To Indra, to the *āhavanīya* (fire)” mentioned in *KŚS. paddhati* p. 414 on 4, 14 and “To Yama, the king, to the *gārhapatya* fire” in *KŚS.*, *ibidem*¹⁸³, are, as far as appears from Bloomfield’s Concordance, not found elsewhere. It may be remembered that the *āhavanīya* fire is said to be the world of the gods (*ŚB.* 7, 3, 1, 10) or the sky (9, 2, 3, 14) with which Indra is said to be connected (12, 8, 2, 10) whereas the *gārhapatya* is regarded as corresponding or related to the world of men

¹⁷⁷ “Gesundheit”, Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āp.*, I, p. 204.

¹⁷⁸ See below, p. 62.

¹⁷⁹ For particulars see Dumont, *L’agnihotra*, p. 170 f. (48).

¹⁸⁰ A *soma* sacrifice of one year’s duration consisting of two symmetrical periods, the latter being in many respects the reverse of the former.

¹⁸¹ For particulars see Keith, *Veda Black Yajus school*, p. 240.

¹⁸² The term *śraddhā* implies trust, confidence and especially an active, positive and affirmative attitude towards religious acts including the confidence in their transcendental effects.

¹⁸³ See Dumont, *L’agnihotra*, p. 22; 31.

(ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 10; 9, 2, 3, 14; 12, 4, 1, 3) which is under Yama's authority (13, 8, 2, 4).

VārŚS. 1, 5, 4, 2 prescribes the use of the formulae "Thou art lightning; destroy¹⁸⁴ my evil (bad luck)" which the worshipper has to pronounce while touching, in an erect position, water for ablution. Both formulae occur together also in ĀpŚS. 4, 1, 6 (TB. 3, 10, 9, 2); 6, 5, 3; 6, 9, 3 (likewise at the beginning of a ritual); 19, 13, 19, always while bringing oneself into contact with water. See also ĀśvŚS. 2, 3, 16 and ŚŚS. 4, 8, 3 b (dealing, like ĀpŚS. 4, 1, 6, with the part of the sacrificer at sacrificial rites) pronounced while adding fuel to the fire. The second formula accompanies the sipping of water during the *agnihotra* ritual in ŚŚS. 2, 7, 18. The function of the formulae is clear, their use in this *sūtra* work is in accordance with that in the above texts.

We are in a state of uncertainty as to whether the text called *vātsapra* in ĀpŚS. 6, 19, 8—cf. also VaikhŚS. 2, 8: 28, 1; KŚS. 4, 12, 1 f.—is the hymn of Vatsapri, TS. 4, 2, 2, or the *vātsapra sāman*¹⁸⁵. In the former case ṚV. 10, 45, 1-4; 7; 6; 5; 9-11; 8 (with variations) is meant, which, being ascribed to Vatsapri Bhālandana, is dedicated to Agni, praising his birth-places, forms, abodes, deeds, characteristics and imploring him to make his worshipper prosperous and, together with his sons, dear to Sūrya and Agni as well as successful¹⁸⁶. In ĀśvŚS. 6, 19, 9 mention is made of the *gośūkta* and *aśvasūktasāmans*, the text of the former being TB. 2, 8, 8, 11 f. (ṚV. 6, 28), a blessing of the cows, the latter the thirteen stanzas a-n (=ṚV. 1, 163) of the three sections (*anuvāka*) TS. 4, 6, 7-9 (35 stanzas; VS. 29, 12-24; 25, 24-45), praising the horse which is offered in the *aśvamedha* ritual¹⁸⁷.

As already observed the formula "May I be well supplied with offspring . . ." occurs also in ĀśvŚS. 2, 3, 27 after the formula mentioned in the *prayoga* (a text containing the practical courses of the procedures) "For Prajāpati this, not for me". The name of the god Prajāpati in the dative is often found at the beginning of ritual formulae, e.g. in the frequent *prajāpataye svāha*. Here the worshipper resigns his claims to the results of the adoration and entrusts himself to the god. After the formula "May I be . . ." he has, according to the *prayoga*, to recite the six stanzas dedicated to Agni ṚV. 1, 12, 1-6, which eulogize the god as a messenger, a *hotar*, the one who bears the oblations to the gods, imploring him to burn the malignant beings and stating that one (ritual) fire is lighted at another one. As to the function of these stanzas see e.g. TS. 2, 5, 8, 5 "The man for whom, knowing thus (an officiant) repeats st. 1 prospers

¹⁸⁴ Here and elsewhere the text of the formula reads *vidya*; the translation is based on a reading *vidhya*.

¹⁸⁵ I refer to Dumont, L'agnihotra, p. 70.

¹⁸⁶ As to the Vātsapram (*sāman*) see Ārṣeya-Brāhmaṇa, 3, 9, 5 (317).

¹⁸⁷ For the use of the *gośūkta* and *aśvasūktasāmans* see JŚS. 22 (ed. by D. Gastra, Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Vedische ritueel, Thesis Utrecht 1906, p. 28).

himself, his enemy is defeated'; see also ŚB. 1, 4, 1, 34. It belongs to the stanzas recited while the sacrificial fire is kindled (*sāmidhenī*). Once a year, when one establishes one's sacred fires, one recites the three stanzas RV. 9, 66, 19–21 ¹⁸⁸.

In ŚSS. 2, 11, 1; 2, 13, 8–9 no mention is made of formulae ¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁸ Which is discussed on p. 23f. (MS. 1, 5, 1: 66, 8–13).

¹⁸⁹ As to VaitS. 7, 25 see Dumont, *L'agnihotra*, p. 209.

THE MANTRAS OF THE SAUTRĀMAṆĪ

CHAPTER I

Introduction, general observations, conclusions

The *sautrāmaṇī* ritual has been described by Hillebrandt and Dandekar, and in a more succinct form by Keith and others¹. Its *mantras* as collected by the followers of the Black and White Yajurvedas exist in English translations by Dumont and Griffith². Āpastamba's version of the ritual is accessible in Caland's German rendering of that work³. The ritual theory of the ancients pertaining to this sacrifice can, in the version of the White Yajurveda, be read in Eggeling's translation of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa⁴.

The *sautrāmaṇī* has two distinct forms (ĀpŚS. 19, 5, 1 f.; LŚS. 5, 4, 20), the *caraka* variety which is performed at the end of the *rājasūya* (ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 1 ff.) ceremonies or after the piling of the great fireplace⁵ (and on other occasions that will be mentioned below), and the *kaukilī* ritual which, being independent, can be either obligatory, or incidental, or optional. In the ancient ritual manuals both forms are described separately, first the *caraka* and afterwards only the changes and additions occurring in the procedure of the *kaukilī* (cf. e.g. ĀpŚS. 19, 5, 2). Although this sacrificial rite is usually classified as one of the seven divisions of the *haviryajña* (LŚS. 5, 4, 23)—also called *iṣṭi*, non-animal and non-*soma* sacrifices—it is in reality a combination of that type of rite, an animal

¹ A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur. Vedische Opfer und Zauber*, Strassburg 1897, p. 159 ff.; R. N. Dandekar, in *Śrautakośa*, edited by C. G. Kashikar, English section, II, Poona 1962, p. 899 ff. with English translations of the relevant *sūtra* texts (for the original texts see the same work, Sanskrit section, I, Poona 1958, p. 698 ff.); A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 352 ff.; P. E. Dumont, *L'asvamedha*, Paris and Louvain 1927, p. 232 ff.; P. V. Kane, *History of dharmaśāstra*, II, Poona 1941, p. 1224 ff.; L. Renou (and J. Filliozat), *L'Inde classique*, I, Paris 1947, p. 359; J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960 (21978), p. 173; see also A. Weber, *Über die Königsweihe, den rājasūya*, Berlin Acad. 1893, p. 92 ff. and G. U. Thite, *Sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa-texts*, Poona 1975, p. 83 ff.

² P. E. Dumont, *The Kaukilī-Sautrāmaṇī in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc. 109, 6 (1965), p. 309 ff.; R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 205 ff.

³ W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III, Amsterdam Acad. 1928, p. 162 ff.

⁴ J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated*, III, Oxford 1894, p. 129 ff.; V, Oxford 1900, p. 213 ff.

⁵ Cf. also Jaimini, *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra* 4, 3, 29 ff.; 9, 3, 40 f.

sacrifice (ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 10; 21) ⁶, and a third element, its chief characteristic, viz. the offering of a spirituous liquor called *surā* ⁷ which imparts to it a certain—and no doubt an intended—resemblance to the *soma* sacrifice. The procedure prescribed in preparing the *surā* ⁷ and the terminology used in connexion with this process and the liquor which is obtained by it as well as the wording and the function of many *mantras* give evidence of the tendency to imitate the *soma* sacrifice. There is hardly room for doubt about the original function of part of those *mantras* that create the impression of being transferred from that sacrificial ritual. For instance, the formula “O seller of *surāsoma*, for this lead let me buy *surāsoma* ⁸ from you” which is only found at MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 3, is no doubt an imitation of MS. 3, 7, 7: 84, 12 (MŚS. 2, 1, 4, 8) “O seller of *soma*, let me buy *soma* from you” which is employed in the *soma* sacrifice. BŚS. 17, 31: 310, 3 prescribes the formulae “This (lead) is yours, these (sprouts) are mine” and “purchased is the *surāsoma*”, the latter one being reminiscent of, or modelled on *krītaḥ somo rājā* or *krītaḥ* in KŚS. 7, 8, 13; ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 3; MŚS. 2, 1, 4, 10. Cases are not absent either in which other rites, e.g. the *pravargya* ⁹, required the same *mantras* which then may likewise be supposed to have primarily belonged to the *soma* ritual. Yet, in spite of ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 1 ‘the *sautrāmaṇī* is (the same as) the *soma* (sacrifice)’; 12, 7, 3, 6 ‘he distils it (the *surā*) with a view to (its being like) the *soma*-pressing’; 12, 8, 2, 12, the *sautrāmaṇī* does not pretend to be a *soma* ceremony. BŚS. 17, 38: 316, 9 is, for instance, quite explicit in stating that one should not use the *mantra* “O divine Waters, this (viz. the *soma*) is your (new-born) child” which at TS. 1, 4, 45 h; VS. 8, 26; ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 21 is prescribed in the chapter on the *soma* ritual. Jaimini, PūrvamīmS. 8, 2, 1–9 even declares that although the *surā* offered in the rite under discussion is spoken of as *soma* and although several obligatory actions such as the purchase of the sprouts—one of the ingredients of the *surā*—are common to *soma* and *surā*, the general procedure followed in the *sautrāmaṇī* is that of the rites of full and new moon and not that of the *soma* ritual.

The whole performance takes four days. During the first three of these the liquor is prepared, a bull is offered to Indra etc.; the main sacrifice takes place on the fourth day which is no doubt modelled on the fourth-day *soma* sacrifice. The chief oblations offered are three cups of milk—which

⁶ According to ĀpŚS. 19, 1, 2 the ritual of the *caraka sautrāmaṇī* is that of the separate animal sacrifice (*nirūḍhapasubandha*, see W. Caland, on ĀpŚS. 7, 1, 1, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, I, Göttingen and Leipzig 1921, p. 222) as described in ĀpŚS. VII; the duties of the *hotar* c.s. in respect of the animal offering should be similar to those of the animal sacrifice (MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 37; ĀpHautraPur. 2, 3, 1).

⁷ The methods of preparing *surā* as described in the texts are different in several details but in principle identical. For some details see Kane, op. cit., II, p. 1225.

⁸ For the term *surāsoma* used in this connexion see below, p. 68 f.

⁹ For the *mantras* of the *pravargya* see my article in Indo-Iran. Journal 21 (1979), p. 235 ff.

are identified with *soma* (ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 8; 17—and as many of *surā* to the Aśvins, Sarasvatī, and Indra respectively; three animal victims (a he-goat, a ram, and a bull) to the same deities; and thirty-three libations of fat gravy obtained from the cooking of the victims. Just as in the *soma*-sacrifice there is a concluding bath and at the end of the ritual a third bull is offered to Indra.

As appears from the myth on which the ritual is founded (see RV. 10, 131; ŚB. 5, 5, 4 and 12, 8, 3) the Aśvins and Sarasvatī healed Indra when he was decomposed and had lost the command of his psychical and physical faculties by means of the first *sautrāmaṇī*. The mythical story is re-enacted when for the benefit of a sacrificer, who then acts the part of Indra, the *sautrāmaṇī* is performed. The author of ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 15 ff. is quite explicit on this point: 'it was the Aśvins who cured him (Indra) and in the same way does he (the officiant) now cure him (the sacrificer) through these same Aśvins . . .'.

On the subject pursued by a sacrificer who wishes to undertake a *sautrāmaṇī* sacrifice some authorities supply various pieces of information. ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 30 very briefly states that this object is restoration to health: there is an oblation for Savitar, because impelled by this impeller of the gods the officiant 'heals' (or 'acts as a physician' *bhiṣajyati*), viz. the sacrificer (who is left unmentioned; cf. also 12, 7, 2, 3). In 33 the author specifies: 'if he would heal one purged by *soma* (*somātipūtam*) . . .' and this patient is, besides the one who has vomited *soma* (*somavāmin*) and after the one who is desirous of success (*ṛddhikāma*), mentioned also in Kātyāyana's *sūtra*-work (19, 1, 1; 2, comm.) where the ritual is explicitly said to be exclusively intended for brahmins (cf. ŚB. 12, 9, 1, 1). In ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 2 it is stated that 'it is not owing to *soma* when a brahmin vomits *soma*', (because) 'he who vomits *soma* is one who, whilst being fit to (gain) prosperity (*bhūlim*), does not gain prosperity'. According to the Maitrāyaṇīyas the rite should be performed by one who is excessively purged by *soma* juice¹⁰, one who is consecrated a king by means of the *rājasūya* ritual—in KŚS. 19, 1, 3, with comm. and ŚB. 12, 9, 3, 1 ff. the *sautrāmaṇī* is performed for a man who had been expelled from his ancestral kingship —, one desirous of prosperity (*bhūti*) or one who has long been ill (MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 1 on the *caraka* ritual); in addition to these the *kaukilī* rite is to be performed also for one who has vomited *soma* (5, 2, 11, 1). In a longer introductory *sūtra* VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 1 adds 'the one who is desirous of nourishment, the one is desirous of cattle, the one who has rivals or the one who is calumniated'; the not too clear compound *somābhivyajanasya* 'for one who has given evidence of *soma*' (?) may perhaps represent the unmentioned person who has been excessively purged by *soma* (*atipāvitasya*). Other authorities (KŚS. 19, 1, 2, with the comm.; 4)

¹⁰ That is, one who discharges *soma* through nose, ears, anus etc. (KŚS. 19, 1, 2, comm.).

add the man who has prepared his sacred fireplace—cf. TS. 5, 6, 3, 4 ‘he who piles the fireplace is consecrated; he should sacrifice with the *sautrāmaṇī*; verily, he collects a full command of his faculties (*indriyaṃ vīryam*) and places it in himself’; ĀpŚS. 17, 24, 1—and has performed a *soma* sacrifice (also VaitS. 30, 2) as well as the one who, though capable of possessing cattle, is bereft of cattle. Āpastamba again confines himself to those who have vomited and otherwise discharged *soma* and a ruler who has been expelled from his kingdom (cf. also VaitS. 30, 2), adding those who have been consecrated or will be consecrated (a king; cf. also KS. 12, 10: 172, 19 ff., speaking of a brahmin or a royal person, and the more elaborated MS. 2, 4, 1: 38, 14 ff.). According to VaitS. 30, 1 the one—no doubt a royal person—who has piled a sacred fireplace and vomited etc. *soma* is consecrated by means of the *sautrāmaṇī* (*agnicit somātīpūtaḥ somavāmī sautrāmaṇyābhiścicyate*).

It might comprehensively be said that the *sautrāmaṇī* was a means of warding off, counteracting or annihilating various manifestations of evil in the personal sphere of the sacrificer. This purpose of the sacrifice is already clearly indicated in RV. 10, 131, 1, a prayer addressed to Indra in which the god is requested to drive away the enemies from all points of the compass and to enable those speaking to live, full of joy, under his broad shelter. Introducing his brief section on the sacrifice under discussion Śāṅkhāyana (ŚS. 14, 12, 2) narrates the story of Indra who, wishing to reach the complete duration of life (*āyuskāmah*), performed austerities. Having done so he saw this sacrificial rite, viz. the *sautrāmaṇa* (sic). ‘This he took, with this he worshipped’. Having done so he became long-lived. He imparted this (rite) to Bharadvāja who was worn out’ and advised him to perform it also. Bharadvāja—whose name will be mentioned once or twice in the following pages—did so and became long-lived. ‘He lives a complete duration of life who knows thus and who performs this sacrificial rite’.

Among those questions concerning the *sautrāmaṇī* which remain to be inquired into are first and foremost the meaning and structure, function and ritual significance or applicability, origin and mutual relations of the *mantras*¹¹ used in this ritual, and last but not least, the various other uses—if there are any—made of them, because these are often helpful in deepening our insight into the significance attached to them. The very fact that the complicated rites are constructed not only from some special and characteristic elements but also from many component parts that are at the same time essential elements in other rituals should indeed

¹¹ “A *mantra* is a group of words used in sacrificial rituals through which a complete sense is conveyed” (HŚS. 1, 1); it includes stanzas and formulae taken from the Rg-, Yajur- and Sāmavedas as well as *nigadas* (*yajus* spoken loudly as commands); see KŚS. 1, 3, 1. See also J. Gonda, *The Indian mantra*, Oriens 16 (1963), p. 244 ff., esp. p. 256 f. (=Selected Studies, IV, Leiden 1975, p. 248 ff., esp. p. 260 f.).

induce us systematically to examine the mutual relations of the *mantras* used in the several parts of a sacrificial rite and to try to answer the various questions to which their occurrence in more than one sacrifice may give rise. Is it, to mention only this, possible to trace the 'history' and 'original use' of the non-specific *mantras* that are prescribed in a definite ritual context? Is it not worth while to discuss the interesting problem of whether the ritual use of the *mantras* can give some information on the history and development of the ceremonies to which they belong? Other topics of interest are the relations between the different versions in which the *mantra* collections have been handed down, the use made of stanzas that are taken from the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā and the problem presented by the ṛgvedic hymn 10, 131. With regard to this *sūkta* the opportunity may be taken to verify the statements made by Geldner¹² in the introductory note to his translation: 'Einige Strophen des Lieds werden in der späteren Sautrāmaṇī-Zeremonie . . . verwendet und enthalten die Elemente (dieses) Ritus . . . Dasz das Lied ursprünglich zu diesem Zwecke gedichtet ist, soll damit nicht gesagt sein'. While it is on these questions that in the following pages attention will be focussed, it may briefly be noticed that, although Griffith and Dumont have translated the relevant portions of the Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā and the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa, their explanations are too succinct; the renderings of the former are moreover in many places antiquated and capable of improvement. The other basic texts have not yet found a translator.

The *mantras* and comparatively brief *brāhmaṇa* portions relating to the *caraka sautrāmaṇī* are found in the Taittirīya, Maitrāyaṇīya and Kāṭhaka recensions of the Black Yajurveda, which also contain the *mantras* of the *kaukīlī* ritual, without the relevant *brāhmaṇas*¹³. The authors of the White Yajurveda give the *mantras* relating to both varieties of *sautrāmaṇī* in the Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā and the comparatively long *brāhmaṇa* portions in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa¹⁴. Notwithstanding the differences in the order of the several subdivisions, the number of the *mantras* prescribed, and the absence of some sections in the Maitrāyaṇīya- and Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitās the basic texts are to a considerable extent similar and the *mantras* which they have in common are largely identical. Important textual variants are few in number; in many cases there are not even minor variants. The conclusion seems therefore legitimate that the four authorities have drawn on an older tradition which as to the main features of this ritual and the formulary that belonged to it was in the time of

¹² K. F. Geldner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, III, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 362.

¹³ A detailed survey of the latter and some other particulars will be found just before the end of this chapter. The *sautrāmaṇī* is not among the subjects treated in the Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha recension.

¹⁴ For the texts of the *brāhmaṇa* portions see also Śrautakośa (see n. 1 above), Sanskrit section, I, p. 717; 726; 732; 740.

the authors of the above basic texts already fixed and in regard to the presentation of the *mantra* material virtually identical with these. This is not to say that the liturgy and the prescribed actions of the four individual schools or traditions were, in each of them, completely homogeneous. From Baudhāyana's so-called Dvaidhasūtra (BŚS. XX–XXIII) it is for instance apparent that in the author's time several details of the best method of performing this ritual were not beyond controversy (BŚS. 23, 16). It is in Baudhāyana's Śrautasūtra, chronologically the earliest of the *sūtra* work of the Taittirīyas, that in all probability the oldest version of the *caraka sautrāmaṇī* has been preserved (17, 31–38); his treatise does not however contain a section relating to the *kaukili* forms of the sacrifice. The ritual acts are rather elaborately described¹⁵ and the *mantras* are also more numerous (thirty-six including some cases of composite *mantras*) than those prescribed by Āpastamba.

In view of Baudhāyana's priority in time and the individual features which distinguish his Śrautasūtra from the other works of this class it may be worth while now already to invite attention to part of his *mantras*. The first formula prescribed (BŚS. 17, 31: 310, 3), viz. "This (lead) is yours, this (the tender sprouts) is mine" pronounced by the *adhvaryu* who is to buy the sprouts is not known to me from elsewhere. It has already been observed that the answer of the seller "the *surāsoma*¹⁶ has been bought" seems to be an imitation of "Soma the king has been bought" in the *soma* sacrifice (ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 3; KŚS. 7, 8, 13; cf. MŚS. 2, 1, 4, 10). Some other *mantras* are, it is true, found elsewhere but only in rites other than the *sautrāmaṇī*. The three formulae accompanying the three *samiṣṭayajus* oblations and indicating the completion of the sacrificial rite—"O sacrifice (worship, *yajña*), go to the sacrifice; this is thy sacrifice, O lord of the sacrifice; ye path-finding gods"—are elsewhere prescribed at the end of a *soma*-sacrifice (VS. 8, 21 f.; MS. 1, 3, 38: 44, 16) or of an animal sacrifice (TS. 1, 4, 44, 3; ĀpŚS. 7, 27, 15). The *mantra* "Let them ascend . . . the Fathers . . ." (BŚS. 17, 36: 314, 16) is in the *sautrāmaṇī* used in other schools (MS. 4, 10, 6: 157, 4; VS. 19, 49; VaitS. 30, 14) but not by the other Taittirīyas. Nor is the employment of the stanzas beginning with TB. 2, 6, 3 j "Let him who purifies himself, who was born in heaven . . ." (BŚS. 17, 36: 314, 14; see also 14, 30: 203, 3) enjoined in Āpastamba's section on the *sautrāmaṇī*. The long composite direction (to an officiant, *sampraiṣa*) which is to be pronounced at the preparatory stage of the animal sacrifice (BŚS. 17, 33: 311, 19) is for the greater part and with some variants also used in ĀpŚS. 2, 3, 11 (see also MŚS. 1, 2, 4, 23) when, in dealing with the ceremonies on the days of full and new moon the author makes mention of the sprinkling water,

¹⁵ On Baudhāyana's style etc. see J. Gonda, *The ritual sūtras*, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 517.

¹⁶ For *surāsoma* see above, fn. 8.

the firewood, the *barhis* (sacrificial grass), the sacrificial ladles, the girdling of the sacrificer's wife; however, the elements "(cleanse) the ladle for the clotted butter (*prśadājya*) without reciting any formula (*tūṣṇīm*)" and "O *pratiprasthātā* (an assistant of the *adhvaryu*), take (part of) the *surāsoma*" do not occur in Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance. The four parallel formulae prescribed by Baudhāyana at the final stage of the rite when the utensils are placed upon the border of the water (BŚS. 17, 38: 316, 2 ff.), which are to avert Varuṇa's anger are variants—with *pāśo brahman pratiṣṭhitah*—of TB. 1, 4, 2, 3 f; ĀpŚS. 19, 4, 9; there is a fourth one, beginning *yas te deva varuṇānustupchandāḥ*, which is not mentioned in the Concordance. It is moreover worth mentioning that all *mantras* collected in the section TS. 1, 8, 21 are known to Baudhāyana. Some of his *mantras* are elsewhere used in the *kaukili sautrāmaṇi*: thus the formula which in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa is 2, 6, 11 m (VS. 21, 42 etc.) and is to be used by the *maitrāvaruṇa* on the occasion of the offering of cups of *surā* (BŚS. 17, 35: 314, 2; cf. ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 18 where this detail is lacking). TB. 2, 6, 16 h, BŚS. 17, 36: 314, 16 is at MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 16 a *kaukili mantra*. Likewise: MS. 4, 10, 6: 157, 2 and BŚS. 17, 36: 315, 1 (TS. 2, 6, 12 k, not in ĀpŚS.). This is not to infer that Baudhāyana has used *kaukili mantras* in his *caraka* ritual but rather that the *mantras* of both varieties of the ritual were not always kept absolutely distinct and that the compilers of the *sūtra* works enjoyed, here also, a certain freedom of choice¹⁷.

Having led up to the subject of the *mantras* as they are found in the basic collections and employed in the *sūtras* I now proceed to summarize the main results of the researches carried on in the following chapters. One of the most important facts that have emerged in the course of these investigations is the high degree of suitability of almost all *mantras* prescribed, a result which once again contradicts the assertions of those scholars who are inclined to take the inapplicability of a considerable number of stanzas quoted in the *sūtra* works for granted¹⁸. The *mantras* of the *sautrāmaṇi* are on the whole in perfect agreement, not only with the basic myth of the ritual but also with the 'philosophy' and mythology of the Veda as far as these have a bearing on the ritual described. It is true that part of the *mantras*, especially when they are torn from their context, are briefly worded and hard to understand but then they may

¹⁷ As has been demonstrated by C. G. Kashikar. The revised *sautrāmaṇi* text of the Varāha-Śrautasūtra, in J.B.B.R.A.S. (N.S.), 1, p. 10 ff. (see also Gonda, The ritual sūtras, p. 527, n. 110) portions relating to the *caraka* and the *kaukili* rituals have been mixed up in the printed text of the Varāha-Śrautasūtra (ed. by W. Caland and Raghu Vira, Lahore 1933 (1934), ²Delhi 1971) and the sequence in the latter portion which has crept into the *caraka* ritual is also disordered. Moreover, the readings of some *sūtras* are corrupt.

¹⁸ To those quoted earlier I add Chitrabhanu Sen, A dictionary of the Vedic rituals, Delhi 1978, p. 10 "the verses of the YV. are mostly borrowed from the RV. . . ., in many cases without any real propriety . . .".

be regarded as presupposing familiarity, on the part of the human and divine audiences, with the events alluded to or the objects pursued. Many *mantras* used in performing the ritual under discussion occur only here and should therefore be regarded as especially devised for this purpose. Their suitability is beyond controversy. Others are adapted to the special ritual context and therefore not, or at least not in exactly the same form, found in the formularies belonging to other rites. There is, to mention only a striking peculiarity, the tendency to insert in a formula the names of the three deities of the ritual, the Aśvins, Sarasvatī, and Indra. See for instance the variants of the frequent and well-known Savitar formula "On the impulse of god Savitar (*dévasya tvā savitūḥ prasavé . . .*), with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan . . ." which in TB. 2, 6, 5 g-i, where it is quoted three times, continues: ". . . with the healing power of the Aśvins . . .", ". . . w. t. h. p. of Sarasvatī", ". . . with Indra's command of his faculties". Among those peculiarities that throw light on the method adopted by the compilers of ritual formularies are also the numerous reminiscences of other texts, especially the borrowings of words and expressions used in the *āprī* hymns of the R̥gveda (1, 13; 142; 188 etc.), which were also in their structure and the order of the deities mentioned the models of sections of eleven stanzas each that accompanied the animal sacrifice¹⁹. The long series of brief *mantras* TB. 2, 6, 5 l etc. which do not occur in other rites create the impression of being modelled on a pre-existent series of identifications. There can indeed be no doubt that in many cases the compiler of the yajurvedic *sautrāmaṇī* has drawn on material that existed prior to his time. It must however be conceded that not a few of those *mantras* which in all probability were not made for the *sautrāmaṇī* are very well suited for their function.

Whereas this ritual is no exception in that it has besides other material incorporated *mantras* which because of their general character and wide applicability are also used to accompany similar ritual acts in various other sacrifices, some formulae occur, in the same or varied forms, so often and in so many rituals—a good instance is the above *dévasya tvā savitūḥ prasavé . . .*—that it is impossible to trace their origin or to draw probable conclusions with regard to borrowings or transferences. In other cases the same *mantras* could meet the requirements, not only of the *sautrāmaṇī* but of a limited number of other sacrificial rites where they are prescribed to accompany similar actions. Especially in those sections which contain the *mantras* for the animal sacrifices—it may be recalled that the animal sacrifice offered to Indra-and-Agni is regarded as the model and basic ritual among the animal sacrifices (BŚS. 24, 5: 188, 9)—and the sacrifices to the Fathers there is much that may be regarded as

¹⁹ Compare for instance the use of VS. 29, 1-11; TS. 5, 1, 11 a-1 etc. as the *āprī* hymn for the *aśvamedha*; see P. E. Dumont, *L'aśvamedha*, Paris and Louvain 1927, p. 165 ff.

'common property'. It may safely be assumed that these parts of the liturgy originally belonged to the *paśubandha* (animal sacrifice) and were borrowed or adapted. The composite character of the *sautrāmaṇi* which is also apparent from the many parallels with and reminiscences of ritual acts belonging to the *soma* ceremonies explains also the cases in which *mantras* belonging to both sacrifices are similar. The very purport of the passage VS. 19, 12-31 is, according to the ancient commentators, to show the close interconnexion of both rituals. The connexion with the *rājasūya*²⁰ makes the cases of parallelism in word and action between this ritual and the *sautrāmaṇi* intelligible. At times a mantra used in the latter is also found in the *pravargya*, the *vājapeya* (see e.g. MŚS. 7, 1, 1²¹), one of the seasonal sacrifices *vaiśvadeva* and *varuṇapraghāsa*, the full and new moon ceremonies. When for instance the *adhvaryu* is tracing out the sacrificial bed (*vedi*) and holding the wooden sword crosswise in it he addresses the *agnīdhra* to put down the sprinkling (*prokṣaṇi*) water etc. with a formula which under circumstances is used in the full and new moon ritual (ĀpŚS. 2, 3, 11; MŚS. 1, 2, 4, 23; VS. 1, 28; ŚB. 1, 2, 5, 20 f.) and in the *mahāpitryajña* belonging to the *sākamedha*, one of the seasonal sacrifices (ŚB. 2, 6, 1, 12). This *mantra* is however also a good example of a formula which varies with the circumstances under which it is used. When, at ĀpŚS. 11, 3, 1; MŚS. 2, 2, 1, 22 it is prescribed in the *agniṣṭoma* it is shorter, no injunction being given with regard to the spreading of the sacrificial grass which has already been strewn and to the girdling of the sacrificer's wife because this action does not take place (cf. also MŚS. 2, 2, 2, 9).

Proceeding now to venture a hypothesis on the history of this ritual I would—as far as the texts permit conclusions—be strongly inclined to distinguish three stages in its development. There is, it would appear to me, hardly room for doubting, with Geldner, whether the *sūkta* RV. 10, 131 was intended for a form of the *sautrāmaṇi* ritual; for uncertainty as to whether it proves the existence of a probably comparatively simple *sautrāmaṇi* in the period preceding the codification of that corpus. The hymn does not only refer to the main elements and personages (the beverage, Indra's recovery, Namuci, the Aśvins, Sarasvatī, Indra) of the fundamental myth, it also contains those stanzas which in the versions of the ritual that are known from the *brāhmaṇas* and the *śrautasūtras* are considered to be most important, essential and indispensable. It may for instance be recalled that st. 4 and 5²² which relate the central events of the myth are employed as *yājyānuvākyās* accompanying the main and characteristic oblations of the ritual, viz. the offering of the *surā*

²⁰ See above, p. 65 and below, p. 74.

²¹ See below, p. 128; see also p. 84 f.

²² On these stanzas see also p. 72; 87 ff.; 170.

(ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 19). The fact that some stanzas of this *sūkta* do not refer to the rite—or rather do not mention it explicitly—cannot be adduced as an argument to the contrary because it is normal that only part of the stanzas of a ṛgvedic hymn deal with or refer explicitly to a definite ritual occurrence. Nor can the use made of these stanzas or of the hymn in its entirety on other occasions be alleged to disprove any connexions with a *sautrāmaṇī* ritual.

In a chapter on the hymns of praise to be recited (*śastra*) by the *hotrakas* (the *hotar* and his assistants) the author of AiB. 6, 22, 1 ff. (see also ĀśvŚS. 7, 4, 7; KB. 29, 4, 13; ŚŚS. 12, 3, 5) states that RV. 10, 131, 1 is to be recited day by day before the hymns, because it is a manifestation of freedom of fear (*abhayasya rūpam*), and this is what he desires as he proceeds. KB., l. cit., has the stanza recited in order to remove evil (*pāpmana evāpanuttyai*), which, by the way, is also the aim of those who perform the *sautrāmaṇī*. Compare also ŚŚS. 12, 13, 1. A similar use of st. 1 is according to AiB. 8, 10, 8 to be made by a ruler who, after having a rite performed which makes him victorious and restored to his kingdom—this also is one of the objects of those who execute a *sautrāmaṇī* rite—worships, goes home, pronounces this stanza in order to drive away the enemies and has his priest offer in the domestic fire three butter libations to Indra for freedom from distress, injury, loss, and danger. “Then from all sides freedom from enemies and safety become his, prosperity ever increasing he attains, he attains sovereignty and overlordship over people . . .”. Mention may also be made of ŚGS. 6, 4, 11 ff. where the advice is given to drive away evil before rising in the early morning to perform the obligatory expiation, to look at the sun, to rise with the formula “Together with Indra . . ., with power, with glory, with energy I will rise” and to pronounce other formulae, among them “Hereby I shake off the hater, the rival, the evil one . . .” as well as a considerable number of ṛgvedic stanzas, the first of which is the hymn 10, 131. While it is therefore a fact that this *sūkta* and its initial stanza were employed also on occasions other than the performance of a *sautrāmaṇī* sacrifice the supposition that this stanza once had fulfilled, or optionally could fulfil, the same function, viz. that it was to ward off evil, at the beginning of this ritual does not seem to be completely senseless.

Stanza 3²³ is another demand for Indra’s aid. After stating in the first hemistich (which occurs also as AVŚ. 20, 125, 3²⁴) that solitary enterprises yield no fruits, the poet “being desirous of cattle, desirous of horses, desirous of (re)generative power (*vāja*)” invokes the god. The god’s favour is indispensable; even Indra himself was in the mythical past (st. 4 and 5)

²³ On st. 2 see p. 82.

²⁴ On AVŚ. XX which consists almost entirely of literal borrowings from the Rgveda-Saṃhitā see J. Gonda, Vedic literature, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 269.

healed only through the help of the Aśvins and Sarasvatī. Geldner²⁵ is right in saying that 3 cd, which is identical with ṚV. 4, 17, 16 ab, suits the latter context (the Indra hymn 4, 17) better and may be a borrowing. Are these words inserted as a detailed description of success which, as stated above, is one of the aims of the one who has the rite performed (KŚS. 19, 1, 1; 2, comm. where (4) mention is made also of a man who is bereft of cattle)?²⁶

The stanzas 6 and 7, which are identical with ṚV. 6, 47, 12 and 13²⁷, are invocations of Indra Sutrāman—this epithet occurs in 6 a and 7 c—, requesting him to repel enmity, to bring safety and to aid and protect those speaking. They are often quoted together, and in VaitS. with 4 and 5 (as AVŚ. 20, 125, 4–7) regarded as a unit accompanying the oblations of milk and *surā*. As final stanzas they are very suitable. In 6, 47—the family hymn of the Bharadvājas²⁸—they are placed at the end of a prayer to and eulogy on Indra (st. 6–13) which is introduced by five stanzas (1–5) in praise of the *soma* juice which enables the god to conquer his opponents. The question of the original context of both stanzas (ṚV. 6, 47; 10, 131 or elsewhere) must for the time being remain without an answer. Nor does it as yet seem possible to advance a plausible suggestion concerning the relations between Divodāsa—one of the leading princes of the early Vedic age whose victory over Varcin and Śambara is memorized in ṚV. 6, 47—and the poet—Garga Bhāradvāja, a member of the Bharadvāja family with which this ruler seems to have been closely connected—on the one hand and the *sautrāmaṇi* ritual on the other. Does the poet implicitly attribute the victory to Indra Sutrāman? Or are the stanzas 12 and 13 to attest to the special relations between the Bharadvāja family and the god Indra in the capacity of “the (deity) of (characterized by) good protection”?

While ṚV. 6, 47 is silent on the *sautrāmaṇi* rite, it is interesting to notice the occurrence of the term *kārotarā* denoting the filtering vessel used to purify the *surā* in the Aśvin hymn ṚV. 1, 116, st. 7: in order to fulfil the desire of their worshipper Kaksīvat *kārotarāc chaphād āśvasya vṛṣṇaḥ śatam kumbhām asiñcataṃ sūrāyāḥ*. Following Sāyaṇa Geldner²⁹ translated: “Ihr (the Aśvins) schenket aus dem Hufe des Hengstes (wie) durch eine Seihe hundert Krüge Branntwein ein”. The story (*itihāsa*) handed down by the commentator Skandasvāmin—when the Aśvins were wandering about a group of boys who were drinking and had got drunk asked them for *surā*; the gods produced the above quantity from the

²⁵ Geldner, op. cit., III, p. 363.

²⁶ See also H. Oldenberg, Indra und Namuci, in Nachr. Göttingen 1893, p. 349 (= Kleine Schriften, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 642) explaining *śrāvas* in 3 b by a reference to ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 26 etc.

²⁷ I refer to p. 156 below on their occurrence as VS. 20, 51 and 52.

²⁸ See above, p. 66.

²⁹ Geldner, op. cit., I, p. 154.

hoof of their horse and gave it to them—has in all probability been concocted in order to enhance the intelligibility of the above hemistich. The mention of a hoof may however be of interest because the broth which is destined for the Ásvins etc. is offered in the hooves and the dew-claws of the victims (ĀpŚS. 19, 9, 5; ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 13). Anyhow, this hemistich does not weaken the argument in favour of the existence of a 'ṛgvedic *sautrāmaṇī*' based on the above interpretation of RV. 10, 131³⁰.

It is of course impossible to say with certainty whether there has ever existed a form of the *sautrāmaṇī* that could be performed with no more *mantras* than RV. 10, 131, 2 etc., or that at least did not require the use of all the *mantras* that are prescribed in the texts dealing with the *caraka* ritual. However, the fact that the authorities mention the employment of *mantras* which are also used in other sacrificial rites—and especially *soma* rites—may shed some light on its history without being inconsistent with its character. The *sautrāmaṇī* may in a way be called a pseudo-*soma* rite. Part of the terminology used, parallels with, and references to the *soma* ritual point in the same direction. Mention has already been made³¹ of the purchase of the sprouts required for preparing the *surā* which is at least in its present form an imitation of the purchase of the *soma*. There are further the offering on the fourth day of the rite and the animal offering preceding the oblations of the beverage, and so on. The *sautrāmaṇī* may probably be regarded as being originally a *surā* ritual—not necessarily 'practised among non-Aryan people or schismatics'³²—in which the Ásvins—*soma* drinkers, it is true, but not too prominent as such—played an important part. There is much to be said for the supposition that it has been remodelled on the basis of the *soma* sacrifice because it was under definite circumstances believed to have wholesome effects. Is it warranted to regard ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 14 as a reminiscence of a period in which the *sautrāmaṇī* was felt to be something extraordinary, something additional to the existing forms of sacrifice?³³: 'He who performs the *rājasūya* secures (the results or merit of) all sacrificial rites, all offerings . . . ; 'that offering be made by me with this one (the *sautrāmaṇī*) also; that I shall be consecrated by this one also', that is why the performer of the *rājasūya* executes this sacrifice' (which is also in ĀpŚS. and HŚS. 13, 8 ff.) treated after and in close connexion with the *rājasūya*³⁴. Those who had not

³⁰ For the Ásvins and Indra see RV. 8, 26, 8.

³¹ On p. 64 above.

³² Kane, op. cit., II, p. 1226. Cf. also Hillebrandt, op. cit., p. 159.

³³ Should any significance be attached to the fact that the redactors of RV. X have placed 10, 131 after a *sūkta* which deals with the origin of the sacrifice which in its turn comes after the famous cosmogony 10, 129?

³⁴ According to the Āp. Hautra Par. 2, 3 one should perform the *caraka sautrāmaṇī* after the (most important) *agnicayana*. In the interpolated passage KB. 16, 10 the one who has performed a *soma* sacrifice is given the advice to execute the *sautrāmaṇī* if he desires prosperity, offspring etc.

performed a *soma* sacrifice were not allowed to execute a *sautrāmaṇī* (VaitS. 30, 3).

One would probably not be far wrong if one regarded the *caraka* form of the ritual as representing, not the earliest but a later stage in the development of the rite. As to the *kaukilī* variety, every probability seems to favour the supposition that in this amplified ritual, characterized by a greater number of *mantras* and an almost complete set of formularies, the sacrifice under discussion has reached its final stage. An argument for this supposition is also the fact that only in that form of the ritual the chanting of a *sāman*, viz. the so-called *saṃśāna* to be chanted by the *brahman* (VaitS. 30, 16)—a departure from the rule—(see LŚS. 5, 4, 21; ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 26) is required; in the *caraka* ritual there is no *sāman* (see also BŚS. 17, 38: 316, 8 'one should not chant the *sāman*'). Whereas, moreover, the figure of Indra's antagonist Namuci³⁵ is in the *caraka sautrāmaṇī* (as dealt with in ŚB. 5, 5, 4 and 5, cf. 5, 5, 4, 25) only mentioned in the quotation from ṚV. 10, 131, 4, he plays a prominent part in the myth told in connexion with the *kaukilī* rite (ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 10 etc.), and is mentioned also in the *kaukilī mantras* TB. 2, 6, 3 c; 12 e; 13 a b e etc. — There is no sufficient evidence that AVŚ. 3, 3, 2 (AVP. 2, 74, 2), which despite some obscurities is a clear reference to the *sautrāmaṇī* presupposing Indra's friendship and performed for the restoration of a ruler, proves the existence of a full-fledged *kaukilī* ritual in the author's time; however, the occurrence of the names of the metres *gayatrī* and *bṛhatī* and of the term *arka* "song, chant" is noticeable (cf. Vait. 30, 16).

Chapter XXX of the comparatively late Vaitānasūtra³⁶ presupposes the *kaukilī* form of the ritual—it gives information inter alia on the *saṃśāna sāman* (30, 16 ff.)—but does not describe it completely. In accordance with the character of this work it deals with the task of the *brahman* priest (and of the other officiants and the sacrificer, when the *brahman* has to co-operate with them) and enumerates the *mantras* which he has to pronounce. The stanzas of ṚV. 10, 131 are quoted from AVŚ. 20, 125 and some others are added. Among the latter are AVŚ. 5, 2, 3 "... unite thou with what is tasteful ..." and 8, 7, not prescribed in the other texts and to be used when the *surā* is mixed with the herbs (VaitS. 30, 6); the stanza VaitS. 30, 12 which occurs also Āp. 18, 8, 10 and other *mantras* which will be mentioned below.

A few words may finally be said on the structure and composition of the relevant chapters in which the four basic texts deal with the *kaukilī* ritual. It is difficult not to see that the twenty sections of TB. 2, 6 constitute to a considerable extent a systematic whole. The sections 2, 6, 1–6 contain, in chronological order, the *mantras* to be pronounced by the *adhvaryu*, his first assistant the *pratiprasthātar*, the sacrificer and

³⁵ See M. Bloomfield, in J.A.O.S. 15, p. 143 ff.; Oldenberg, op. cit. (p. 342 ff., or 635 ff.).

³⁶ For a characterisation see The ritual sūtras, p. 543 ff.

occasionally the *āgnīdhra* (another assistant) and the *brahman* (cf. *ĀpŚS.* 19, 8, 11 and 12) when they have to perform ritual acts. The enumerations of this so-called *ādhvaryavam* are not interrupted by material belonging to the *hautram*, the office of the *hotar* cum suis. The *mantras* to be pronounced by the *hotar* and his first assistant the *maitrāvaruṇa* occupy the sections 7–20³⁷. They are likewise arranged in chronological order. The sections 7–10 relate to the animal sacrifice that should be offered to Indra before the preparation of the *surā*; 11–15 to the threefold animal sacrifice (he-goat, ram, bull) on the fourth day³⁸; 16 to the sacrifice offered, after the concluding bath, to the Fathers; 17–20 to the animal sacrifice in honour of Indra Vayodhās that takes place after the sacrifice to the Fathers. As far as they are required by these rites and inserted in this formulary the *mantras* to be pronounced by the *hotar* come after the ‘promptings’ of his assistant (section 8: 7; 12: 11; 18: 17); the *mantras* relating to the fore-offerings precede those which belong to the sacrifice proper; these are in their turn followed by the formulary for the after-offerings (7–10; 11–14; 17–20). In none of the other works the material is so well arranged.

Though irregular, the next best text is that of KS. which in 37, 18: 98, 14–38, 5: 107, 10—corresponding to TS. 2, 6, 1–6—contains the *mantras* for the *ādhvaryavam*. As to the *hautram*, the *praiśas* (‘promptings’) contained in TB. 2, 6, 7; 11; 14; 17; 20 are strikingly absent³⁹. The other material is in regular order collected in 38, 6–11 which are the counterparts of TB. 2, 6, 8; 9; 12; 13; 18 and 19 respectively. The material contained in TB. 2, 6, 10 and 15 is, however, found in KS. 19, 13 which—like the corresponding MS. 4, 13, 8—properly belongs to the independent animal sacrifice, the preceding sections 19, 1–12 dealing with episodes of the *agnicayana* ritual; that contained in TB. 2, 6, 16 in KS. 21, 14: 55, 3–56, 4, the first part of the last section of KS. XXI, the last *mantra*, which contains *kavyātāyōh* being followed by two ṛgvedic Agni stanzas with *kavyavāhanaḥ* (10, 11, 16) and *kāvya* and (4, 11, 3) other *mantras*. Like the corresponding section MS. 4, 10, 6 this section properly belongs to a sacrifice to the Fathers; cf. TS. 2, 6, 12.

The compiler of MS. has collected the *mantras* for the *ādhvaryavam* in 3, 11, 6–10: 148, 9–157, 14, but the order in which the various episodes are presented is very irregular: for TB. 2, 6, 1 see MS. 3, 11, 7: 149, 19–150, 15; for TB. 2, 6, 2 see MS. 3, 11, 6; for TB. 2, 6, 3 see MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 16–151, 5; 3, 11, 10: 155, 6–156, 18; for TB. 2, 6, 4 see MS. 3, 11, 9; for

³⁷ For the *mantras* relating to the office of the *hotar* cum suis mentioned in the *Āp.* *Hautra Pariśiṣṭa*, MŚS., KŚS. which give no occasion for special remarks see also *Śrautakośa*, I (Engl.), p. 939 ff.

³⁸ Needless to say that the *praiśas* and *mantras* of 2, 6, 11 and 12 etc. are pronounced alternately.

³⁹ On the absence of *praiśas* in the ritual practice of some schools see e.g. *Gārgya Nārāyaṇa* on *ĀśvŚS.* 3, 9, 9.

TB. 2, 6, 5 see MS. 3, 11, 8; for TB. 2, 6, 6 see MS. 3, 11, 10: 157, 1-14. In contrast to the disorderly arrangement of the *ādhvaryavam* the sections dealing with the *hautram* follow each other in the same order as they are found in TB., although the series is interrupted by three sections of MS. IV and four groups of *mantras* are wanting, viz. those corresponding to TB. 7 (see KS.); 15; 17 (see KS.); 20 (see KS.). Thus MS. 3, 11, 1: TB. 2, 6, 8; 4, 14, 18: 248, 9-249, 2 (the last stanzas of the work⁴⁰); TB. 2, 6, 9; 4, 13, 8: TB. 2, 6, 10; 3, 11, 2: 141, 2-143, 7 (and 3, 11, 4: 145, 15 ff.): TB. 2, 6, 11; 3, 11, 3: TB. 2, 6, 12; 3, 11, 4: 145, 1-146, 10: TB. 2, 6, 13; 3, 11, 5: TB. 2, 6, 14; 4, 10, 6: 156, 1-158, 1: TB. 2, 6, 16; 3, 11, 11: TB. 2, 6, 18; 3, 11, 12: TB. 2, 6, 19.

As to VS. the *mantras* of the *sautrāmaṇī* are contained in the books XIX-XXI; XXVIII, and, the last (supplementary) book excepted, the arrangement of the several sections is far from orderly. Yet, the greater part of the *ādhvaryavam* is found in XIX, the material of TB. 2, 6, 5 and 6 constituting the initial sections (1-13; 14-23) of XX. Book XIX contains successively 1-11: TB. 2, 6, 1; 12-31 an addition of the Vājasaneyins showing the close relations between the *sautrāmaṇī* and the *soma* ritual⁴¹; 32-48: TB. 2, 6, 3; 49-71: TB. 2, 6, 16 (the *mantras* to be recited at the sacrifices offered to the Fathers after the concluding bath; notice that in VS. they come after the *mantras* of TB. 2, 6, 3 that are to be recited when the deceased ancestors are given libations etc.); 72-79: TB. 2, 6, 2; 80-95: TB. 2, 6, 4; 20, 24-35 are an addition that does not belong to what precedes (see above) or what follows but to earlier ritual acts; 20, 36-46: TB. 2, 6, 8; 47-54 is a counterpart of TB. 2, 6, 9; 55-66: TB. 2, 6, 12; 20, 67-75: TB. 2, 6, 13; 20, 78-90 are some additions of the adherents of this recension, mainly consisting of praise and invitations addressed to the deities of the *sautrāmaṇī*; 21, 1-11 are other additions; 21, 12-22: TB. 2, 6, 18; 21, 23-28: TB. 2, 6, 19; 21, 29-42: 2, 6, 11; 21, 43-47 are additional *praiśas*; 21, 48-58: TB. 2, 6, 14; 21, 59-61: TB. 2, 6, 15; 28, 1-11: TB. 2, 6, 7 and 28, 12-22: TB. 2, 6, 10 are the *praiśas* belonging to the fore-offerings and after-offerings of the threefold animal sacrifice; 28, 24-34: TB. 2, 6, 17 and 35-45: TB. 2, 6, 20 are the *praiśas* relating to the fore-offerings and after-offerings of the animal sacrifice offered to Indra Vayodhās; 28, 23 and 46 are supplementary or alternative *mantras*. Leaving cases such as 19, 32-48; 49-71 and XXVIII out of account it seems difficult to say which considerations have weighed with the compiler in arranging his material in this way. In some cases

⁴⁰ Since the *yājyānuvākyaś* are meant for the use of the *hotar* they are not given a place among the other *mantras* which are to be pronounced by the *adhvaryu* c.s. but are appended to a chapter as its last section or sections. For a survey of the *yājyānuvākyaś* 'presenting curious features of dispersal' and being found at the end of the various *anuvākas*, see A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. LXVIII.

⁴¹ See above, p. 68.

a certain resemblance in content or use between a final *mantra* of a section and the first *mantra* of the following section may have suggested adding the latter group in a particular place (19, 48: 49; 20, 23: 24; 20, 46: 47). – As is well known, the *mantras* of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā are generally speaking more numerous than those collected in the recensions of the Black Yajurveda. Many of these additions are in fact stanzas from the Ṛgveda. So it is not surprising that the compiler has also in the books on the *sautrāmaṇī* incorporated ṛgvedic material that is foreign to the other basic books.

In the following chapters it has been the author's endeavour to arrange the material so as to suit the reader's convenience best. The *mantras* of the *caraka sautrāmaṇī* are generally speaking discussed in the order in which they occur in Āpastamba's Śrautasūtra which, being accessible in a Sanskrit text and in Caland's German translation⁴², enables the reader better to understand the ritual context. The stanzas and formulae of the *kaukilī* ritual are dealt with in the order in which they occur in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa which may easily be consulted in Dumont's transliterated edition and translation⁴³. Those *mantras* which belong to both forms of the *sautrāmaṇī* are discussed in chapter II. Repetition of what may be found in the secondary literature on the subject will be possibly avoided⁴⁴.

⁴² Edited by R. Garbe, Calcutta (Bibl. Indica) 1882-1902; translated by W. Caland, I (I-VII) Göttingen and Leipzig 1921; II (VIII-XV) and III (XVI-XXIV; XXXI), Amsterdam Acad. 1924; 1928. For further information see Gonda, The ritual sūtras, p. 520.

⁴³ See footnote 2 above.

⁴⁴ In translations passages from *mantras* are placed between "...", other quotations between '...'. . .

CHAPTER II

The Caraka Sautrāmaṇi

The *mantras* prescribed in Āpastamba's chapters on the *caraka sautrāmaṇi* (ĀpŚS. 19, 1-4), comparatively few in number, are the ten found in TB. 1, 4, 2, 1-3, the five contained in TS. 1, 8, 21—where this ritual is dealt with after the discussion of *rājasūya*—and a few others. There can be no doubt that all, or most, of them were regarded as essential.

The formula consecrating the important adding of the tender sprouts of barley to the *surā* called *parisrut*¹, that is the preparation of the special draught ('*soma*', TB. 1, 8, 5, 4; more correctly 'a form or manifestation of *soma*', ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 5)—which is the drink of the gods, *surā* that of men (TB. 1, 3, 3, 3)—for the three deities of the ritual, the Aśvins, Sarasvatī, and Indra Sutrāman (ĀpŚS. 19, 1, 9), viz. TS. 1, 8, 21 a *svādvīm tvā* . . . occurring in the parallel texts in four variant forms, is exclusively proper to this ritual. While pronouncing this formula the officiant bestows complete power of body and senses (*indriya*) as well as longevity (*āyus*) on the sacrificer (ŚB.). TS. 19, 5, 4 implicitly uses it also in the *kaukilī* ritual. See also BŚS. 17, 32: 311, 3; VaikhŚS. 11, 1: 122, 10; MS. 2, 3, 8: 35, 14; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 4; KS. 12, 9: 171, 8; and in the *kaukilī* ritual TB. 2, 6, 1, 1; KS. 37, 18; 98, 14; VS. 19, 1; KŚS. 19, 1, 21.

For the second part of this group of *mantras* "Thou art *soma*; become ripened for the Aśvins; b. r. f. Sarasvatī; b. r. f. I. S.", TS. 1, 8, 21 a; BŚS., ĀpŚS. etc. see also HirŚS. 13, 8, 1; VaikhŚS. 11, 2: 122, 12 (accompanying the touching of the mixed sprouts; likewise MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 5); the second part of the above *mantra* also VS. 10, 31, 1st half; KŚS. 15, 9, 29; ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 20 (separately, adding 'when that *parisrut* has come into being (i.e. is done) he proceeds with that (offering)'); VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 5 (while the draught is poured into a vessel) and in the *kaukilī* ritual: MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 2 (separately); ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 6 immediately after the former *mantras*, with the comment: 'for these were the deities who first prepared that sacrifice and with their help he prepares it now; and, moreover, he thereby provides these deities with their share. He prepares it with a view to its being the solemn preparation of Soma'.

MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 6 is alone in using the formula "Tomorrow the *surā* will be produced": for the ritual act, staying overnight for the animal sacrifice, see 1, 8, 1, 20.

The so-called *karaṇa mantra* accompanying the construction of the *vedi* (sacrificial bed), BŚS. 17, 33: 311, 14—used by Āp. 2, 2, 6 (full and new moon ceremonies); 11, 5, 1 (*agniṣṭomu*; see TB. 3, 7, 7, 13); BŚS. 5, 2;

¹ For this fermented liquor see e.g. ŚB. 5, 1, 2, 14; 5, 4, 19; TB. 2, 6, 2, d; i; 4 d (below); for its preparation ŚB. 12, 7 and Kane, Hist. Dharmasāstra, II, p. 1225.

129, 16; Vaikh. 5, 1: 52, 1; 14, 4: 176, 4; MŚS. 1, 2, 4, 19; Vār. 1, 3, 2, 1 — is not found in the *sautrāmaṇī* sections of the other texts.

Nor are the formulae “put down the *prokṣaṇī* waters” (BŚS. 17, 33: 311, 19) and “O *pratiprasthātar*, find out (whether) the *surāsoma* (is ready)” 312, 2 pronounced by the *adhvaryu* to two other officiants given in the parallel texts, although the first is prescribed in other rites (ĀpŚS. 2, 3, 11, cf. VS. 1, 28, full and new moon sacrifices; Āp. 11, 3, 1, *agniṣṭoma*, Vaikh., MŚS., Vār., etc.); the second is only utilizable in the *sautrāmaṇī*.

While pouring the draught through a filter made of hair (ĀpŚS. 19, 1, 18; HŚS. 13, 8, 2) the officiant (*adhvaryu*) pronounces TS. 1, 8, 21 b “Let the daughter of the Sun clarify for you the foaming (flowing round², *parisrutam*) *soma* . . .” which in this form (*pundtu*) occurs exclusively in the relevant texts of the Bl. YV.³ (BŚS. 17, 34: 312, 7; Vaikh. 11, 2: 123, 10; MS. 2, 3, 8: 35, 17; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 18; Vār. 3, 2, 7, 11; KS. 12, 9: 171, 11; in the *kaukili* ritual TB. 2, 6, 1, 2; MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 4; KS. 37, 18: 98, 19; in some texts also in the *vājapeya* ritual: Vaikh. 17, 9: 242, 6; MŚS. 7, 1, 1, 42; Vār. 3, 1, 1, 15; compare ŚB. 5, 1, 2, 14); in the form of RV. 9, 1, 6 (*pundti*) in the Wh. YV. (VS. 19, 4; ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 11; KŚS. 19, 2, 8). The daughter of the Sun is in all probability the genius of inspired religious poetry⁴, according to ŚB. Faith (Śraddhā), (“by faith this (liquor) becomes *soma* juice”); the person addressed (“you”) either Indra (Sāyaṇa on TS. 1, 8, 21, 1) or the sacrificer (Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on VS. 19, 4); in the RV. probably Soma being differentiated from the juice⁵; none of these explanations is impossible.

If the sacrificer has vomited *soma* an additional stanza should be recited (ĀpŚS. 19, 1, 19) which—irrespective of some variants⁶—the yajurvedic texts under examination have in common with the Atharvavedins, viz. “Vāyu has been purified by the purifier . . .”. Interestingly enough, the reading *vāyūh pūtāh* . . . occurs in the descriptions of the *caraka sautrāmaṇī* of the Wh. YV., in TS. and the *śrautasūtras* of the Taittirīyas (BŚS. 17, 34: 312, 8; Vaikh. 11, 3: 123, 12), in MS. and KS. and in the sections of TB. on the *kaukili* ritual, whereas the Atharvavedins (except AVP.!) and the Vājasaneyins in dealing with the *kaukili* ritual have “Purified with Vāyu’s purifier (strainer) . . .”; MS. and MŚS. use both texts in the *kaukili* rite. It is difficult to understand what those who introduced the *mantra* with the reading *vāyūh*, which already puzzled the commentators on VS. 10, 31 (KŚS. 15, 10, 11), meant by it: ‘Soma, in the form of Vāyu,

² After flowing down on the special strainer, see ĀpŚS. 19, 6, 5 with Caland’s note.

³ But cf. TB. 1, 8, 5, 5 *yājuṣā punāti vyāvṛtyai*.

⁴ Cf. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, II, Kommentar, Stuttgart 1909, p. 140; J. Gonda, *The vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague 1963, p. 273.

⁵ Cf. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass. 1951, III, p. 10.

⁶ For an (incomplete) survey see W. D. Whitney and Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 318 f.

purified' (Uvāta); 'Soma purified by Vāyu' (Mahīdhara); 'going quickly like the wind' (Sāyaṇa on ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 22); *vāyuh* 'inviting' (Pet. Dict., Eggeling, ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 22) are equally improbable. Identification of Vāyu and Soma? ⁷ Is a translation "The wind has been purified . . . ; Soma has gone overflowing forward" (VS.) worth considering?, and can the relation assumed by Indian physicians of a later period to exist between the wind in the human body and vomiting ⁸ give us a lead in solving the puzzle? Or have we to do with a corrupt reading that could only be tentatively explained? On the other hand, the reading with the genitive *vāyoh* is perfectly intelligible if it is remembered that the beneficent and healing power of wind is doubtless based on its purifying action ⁹. It is very probable that the stanza was anciently used in healing rites against diseases, especially against disorders arising from *soma* drinking (Keśava). Combining with two stanzas which correspond with ṚV. 10, 17, 10 and 7, 89, 5 it has, as AVŚ. 6, 51 (AVP. 19, 43, 4-6), this function in Kauś. 25, 20 f.¹⁰

Now, the *mantra* with *prāṇ somo* . . . "forward the *soma*" intelligibly used in case the sacrificer has vomited *soma* (Āp., Vaikh. 11, 3: 123, 13, implied in Vār. 3, 2, 7, 11), is in Āp., Vaikh. followed by the variant *pratyāṇ somo* . . . "backward the *soma*" which is to be used in case the sacrificer has been purged by *soma* juice (has evacuated it: *somātipavita*). However, TS. 1, 8, 21 b; MS. 2, 3, 8: 36, 1 (with *vāyoh*); KS. 12, 9 and VS. 10, 31 have, like AVŚ. 6, 51, 1, only one *mantra* (with *pratyāṇ*) which in ritual practice was obviously pronounced twice ¹¹, once with "forward" and once with "backward". Compare BŚS. 17, 34: 312, 8 stating only: "if (the sacrificer) is one who has evacuated *soma*, the *pratiprasthātar* —an assistant of the *adhvaryu*—should recite *vāyuh pūtaḥ pavitreṇa*"; mentioning both readings in the *dvaidhasūtra* ¹² 23, 16: 175, 1 the author adds that the order *prāṇ somaḥ: pratyāṇ somaḥ* is enjoined by himself, the reverse order by Śāliki. VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 12, without explicitly referring to a sacrificer who has vomited and the *mantra* with *prāṇ (prāk)*, observes that *pratyak soma* . . . has to be used in case the sacrificer has evacuated the juice. Neither the Mānavas (MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 18) nor the followers of the Wh. YV. (ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 22; KŚS. 15, 19, 11) mention the sacrificer at this moment of the *caraka* ritual. In dealing with the *kaukili* rite

⁷ Thus A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 130.

⁸ Cf. J. Jolly, *Medicin*, Strassburg 1901, p. 78.

⁹ A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 77; 82. Cf. (in connexion with the Maruts) ṚV. 7, 56, 12; 57, 5; 8, 20, 19; 10, 36, 7.

¹⁰ For other uses see the introductory note by Whitney and Lanman, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

¹¹ Otherwise Caland on ĀpŚS. 19, 1, 19.

¹² Cf. J. Gonda, *The ritual sūtras*, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 516.

TB. 2, 6, 1, 2; Āp. 19, 6, 12 (similarly, HŚS. 23, 1)¹³ mention both formulae in full, in the order *prāñ: pratyāñ*; MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 6; 8 and MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 13 curiously have *vāyuh . . . prāk . . .* and *vāyoh . . . pratyak*; KS. 37, 18: 98, 19 gives only the *pratīka vāyuh pūtaḥ punātu te*. The Wh. YV. has both formulae in the reverse order: VSM. 19, 3; VSK. 21, 3; KŚS. 19, 2, 9 and 10; ŚBM. 12, 7, 3, 9 and 10 adding that in both cases any loss of *indriyaṃ viryam* (the complete command of his faculties and his virtue-and-energy) caused by the vomiting etc. is restored to the sacrificer. This order of acts and *mantras* also in Vait. 30, 7 and 8 where in both cases the whole of AVŚ. 6, 51 is prescribed, with "foreward" in st. 1 in connexion with the direction of 8.

The next reference to *mantras* made by Āpastamba is found in the important *sūtra* 19, 2, 8: "For all (ladlefuls of the draught taken) there is one (and the same stanza to be used as) 'preliminary light'¹⁴ viz. the stanza TS. 1, 8, 21 d (=RV. 10, 131, 2) *kuvid aṅgá . . .* "Well then (don't you know), as men who(se fields are) full of barley reap the (ripe) barley removing it in order, so bring (sg. RV., plur. TS.) the food (objects of enjoyment, possessions) of those who have not gone to the reverential gathering of the sacrificial grass¹⁵ (i.e. those who do not sacrifice)". The *mantra* occurs also in BŚS. 17, 33: 312, 10; 14; 18 "After quickly reciting *kuvid aṅga* he (the *adhvaryu*) should take up (the draught) with (the cup) with (the next *mantra*)"; VaikhŚS. 11, 3: 124, 3 after a direction which corresponds to Āp. 19, 2, 7. KS. 12, 9: 171, 15 likewise. The same reading occurs in the sections in which the Taittirīyas deal with the *kaukilī sautrāmaṇī*: TB. 2, 6, 1 g; Āp. 19, 6, 15. KS. 37, 18: 99, 1 and Vait. 30, 10 quoting AVŚ. 10, 125, 2=RV. 10, 131, 2 likewise. – In MS. 2, 3, 8: 36, 3 and elsewhere the last *pāda* of the *mantra* runs as follows: *yé barhīṣā nāmaūktīm ná jagmūh* which changes the sense into ". . . who have not come to the utterance of homage (*nāmaūktīm*) with the sacrificial grass"; similarly, MŚS. (3, 5, 17) 5, 2, 4, 19 (the *adhvaryu* scoops the milk draughts holding the two strainers of sprouting grass above (them)); VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 15 (*pratīkena*). For the *kaukilī* rite: MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 13 (*pratīkena*); MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 15; VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 62. In VS. 10, 32 (KŚS. 15, 9, 33; 10, 13) however the sense of the second half of the stanza is entirely different: "of those who worship with regard to or, who consecrate the utterance of homage of (to) the sacrificial grass" (*yé barhīṣo nāmaūktīm*

¹³ The *sūtras* of B. and the Vaikh. do not contain sections on the *kaukilī* ritual. – For VārŚS. 3, 2, 8 see Śrautakośa I, 2, p. 928 (just as the *caraka* rite).

¹⁴ *Puroruc* (see also KS. 12, 9: 172, 2) is the name of certain preliminary formulae, in this case that preceding the stanza(s) uttered in ladling out the draught (*upayāma*). See I. Scheftelowitz, in Z.D.M.G. 73, p. 33; 74, 204.

¹⁵ As to *nāmaūktīm* ("rev. cutting of the straw" Keith; ". . . Umlegung des Barhis" Geldner, RV. üb. III, p. 362) compare *vṛktābarhis* (RV. 1, 40, 7 etc.) "having gathered and spread the sacrificial grass (and so prepared it to receive the gods)".

yājanti), both comm. explaining *barhiṣa upari* (?) and *havirlakṣaṇam (namo) annam ādāya uktim yājyām abhidhāya yajanti yāgam kurvanti* which of course cannot be the original sense¹⁶. Similarly ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 24 (Eggeling translating “. . . of them that offer up the devotional invocation of the *barhis*”). Cf. KŚS. 15, 10, 13. The same reading in the section on the *kaukilī* ritual: VS. 19, 6 (KŚS. 19, 2, 13); ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 13 with a (secondary) explanation: ‘barley(-stalks) are *soma*-stems, and milk is *soma*(-juice): by means of *soma* he thus makes it *soma*-juice’.

This stanza occurs also in other ritual contexts which seem to shed some light on a more original function and interpretation. ‘If’, TS. 3, 1, 3, 2 says, ‘people rend asunder (the parts of) one’s victim and one wishes of them ‘May they fall into misfortune’ one should sacrifice in . . . with the *ṛc* stanza containing the word *nāmovṛktim* (i.e. TS. 1, 8, 21 d) . . . Verily, one appropriates (*vṛñkte*) their *nāmovṛkti* (reverential gathering or whatever meaning the author of TS. attached to this word); suddenly they fall into misfortune’. Similarly but more elaborately ĀpŚS. 9, 18, 14; ŚŚS. 13, 3, 4 and succinctly VaikhŚS. 20, 37: 321, 5 and (with *nāma-uktim*) MS. 4, 8, 9: 118, 16 and MŚS. 3, 5, 17.

At a certain stage in the *vājapeya* sacrifice as described in MŚS. 7, 1, 1 the *adhvaryu* is instructed to scoop from a clear stream the seventeen draughts for Prajāpati to the accompaniment of this stanza (43, of course with *nāma-uktim*: MS. 1, 11, 4: 166, 3). The same direction is—probably under the influence of the Kāṭhakas¹⁷; cf. KS. 14, 2: 203, 2—given by Āpastamba 18, 2, 5. According to VaikhŚS. 17, 10: 242, 11; 12 the *mantra* accompanies two successive acts; the second time, the scooping of the *soma* (sic, similarly, MS. 1, 11, 4: 166, 3 ff. and cf. ĀpŚS. 18, 2, 6; BŚS. 11, 3: 67, 9; VārŚS. 3, 1, 1, 16); then it is followed by the formulae *upayāmagr̥hito 'si* (see below) and ‘For Prajāpati thee . . .’. Caland¹⁸ referring to TB. 1, 3, 3, 2 ff. observed: ‘Dasz dieser Vers hierzu dient, geht nicht aus TBr. hervor’. This is true but it should be remembered that what is scooped in Āpastamba’s ritual is *surū* which, as in the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual, has been bought in return for lead¹⁹—see also ŚB. 5, 1 2, 14 (on the *vājapeya*)—and that in the *brāhmaṇa* section on the *sautrāmaṇī* TB. 1, 8, 5, 5 it is stated that the officiant scoops (the draught) with a stanza which contains no explicitly mentioned indication (of its deity) and (therefore) is addressed to Prajāpati (*aniruktayā prājāpatyayā*).²⁰

¹⁶ Remarkably enough, Sāyaṇa explaining the Ṛgveda, proposes, partly with the same words, an explanation of the same tenor.

¹⁷ W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III, Amsterdam Acad. 1928, p. 111.

¹⁸ Caland, *ibidem*.

¹⁹ Cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 142.

²⁰ For this expression see TS. 2, 5, 7, 3; a stanza is *aniruktā* when the deity addressed is not explicitly indicated; it can be made *aniruktā* by changing the name

The author of TB. 1, 8, 5, 5 f. continues: 'It (the scooping with this stanza) serves to gain (reach, equal) Prajāpati. He scoops with one ṛc. He (thereby) places at once virtue-and-energy (*vīryam*) in the sacrificer'. In view of the contents of the stanza and the ritual context it may be recalled that the one who knows the seventeenfold Prajāpati as connected with sacrificial worship has a firm foundation on sacrificial worship; he is not deprived of it (TS. 1, 6, 11, 1); that Prajāpati is believed to give food (TS. 2, 3, 6, 1), but is also instrumental in 'taking a person's eating of food' (TS. 3, 4, 8, 6); he is also said to smite the demons with evil (ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 9); he is, moreover, described as having collapsed (fallen asunder) in consequence of an important performance so that his vital breath and virtue-and-energy left him and food flowed forth from him, and as being restored by the gods (ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 1 f.). Since every sacrifice is a repetition of a mythical first creative ritual act and the sacrificer is, according to the usual ritualistic theory, identified with Prajāpati²¹ the at first sight mysterious use of the stanza under discussion may, in the light of the interpretation of TB. 1, 8, 5, 6 be regarded as highly appropriate in case the sacrificer is to be 'restored'. Is there any room for the supposition that this view of the function of the stanza furnishes the clue to its puzzling occurrence in the *aśvamedha* where it is the last of the six *mantras* pronounced by the three queens (the sacrificer's wives) when they are marking out the lines for the dissection of the horse (the victim: e.g. ĀpŚS. 20, 18, 7)? See TS. 5, 2, 11 f.; MS. 3, 12, 21: 167, 13; KS. 5, 10, 15: 185, 15; VS. 23, 38. Anyhow, the horse is, also in other connexions, said to belong—like the *aśvamedha* (ŚB., 13, 2, 1, 1)—to (to be sacred to) Prajāpati (TS. 5, 1, 1, 2; 5, 3, 2, 2; 7, 4; ŚB. 6, 5, 3, 9; 13, 1, 2, 3; 9) and to represent this god (ŚB. 10, 6, 4, 1; BĀU. 1, 1 and 2, esp. 1, 2, 7); moreover, the queens in marking out the lines (knife-paths) supply the royal sacrificer with the third estate (his subjects) and royal power combined (ŚB. 13, 2, 10, 2) and while they are doing so he makes for himself a bridge to the heavenly world.

This is however not to say that the relation with Prajāpati can explain the original significance and oldest function of the stanza. In view of the purport of RV. 10, 131 and of the purpose of those who performed the *sautrāmaṇi* ritual it rather creates the impression of aiming at the enemies of the sacrificer (cf. RV. 10, 131, 1) and at evil-doers who interfere with the correct performance of a sacrifice. If so, TS. 3, 1, 3, 2 etc. may be regarded as furnishing a good specimen of the original ritual use of the stanza. There are perhaps grounds for surmising that in the *vājapeya*

into an epithet etc.; see e.g. ŚB. 1, 4, 1, 26; ĀpŚS. 22, 9, 8. Prajāpati is *anirukta* "undefined" (e.g. ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 13; 6, 1, 20; 6, 4, 1, 6). Like Prajāpati the *aniruktam* is the All, the Totality (*sarvam*; see e.g. ŚB. 7, 2, 3, 3).

²¹ For particulars and references see J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 182.

ritual it was together with its context borrowed from the *sautrāmaṇī*. The *surā* of the former is explicitly said to be *parisrut* (e.g. *Āp.* 18, 1, 10) and to be prepared according to the rule that is observed in making *surā* (*ibid.* 9, which seems to refer to 19, 5, 7 ff.) and the *mantra punātu te parisrutam* (see above) is in *BŚS.* 11, 3: 67, 3 and *VaikhŚS.* 17, 9: 123, 6 used when the *vājapeya surā* is filtered by means of a strainer consisting of hair of an animal (cf. *Āp.* 19, 1, 18; in *BŚS.* the two relevant passages 11, 3: 67, 1–4 and 17, 34: 312, 6–8 are literally identical; compare also *Vaikh.* 11, 2: 123, 10 and 17, 9: 242, 6).

The very frequent and typically yajurvedic formula *upayāmagr̥hito 'si* needs no comment. *Upayāmas* are earthen vessels for the cupfuls of *surā* (*Āp.* 18, 1, 17). Their name ('what is put under, support') is ritualistically explained in *ŚB.* 4, 1, 2, 6 ff.: they represent the earth which forms the support of food that she offers to men, cattle and trees. — Notice that the cupfuls are successively destined for the *Aśvins*, *Sarasvatī* and *Indra* and that the latter is in *Āp.* 19, 2, 9 named without an epithet but *Indra Sutrāman* ('Indra of good protection') in *BŚS.* 17, 34: 312, 19; *HirŚS.* 13, 8, 2; *VaikhŚS.* 11, 3: 124, 6; 7; 9 (cf. *MŚS.* 5, 2, 4, 21; *Vār.* 3, 2, 7, 15) and in the *kaukili* ritual in *Āp.* 19, 7, 1, 6 following *TB.* 2, 6, 1 h, etc.

The likewise frequent formula "This is thy womb"—with which the libations, after being drawn, are deposited in their proper place until they are used for offering—is at *ŚB.* 4, 1, 2, 9 ritualistically explained: 'why he deposits them in the womb, is that this earth is the womb of everything . . .'. In *BŚS.* 312, 13 ff.; *Āp.* 19, 2, 12; *Vaikh.* 124, 14 ff.; *MŚS.* 5, 2, 4, 21; *VārŚS.* 3, 2, 7, 23 the formula, repeated three times, is followed, once by the "for the *Aśvins*", once by "for *S.*", once by "for *I. (S.)*" (*amuṣmai tvā, Vār.*). In the *kaukili* ritual the corresponding direction is more elaborated. The above formula is followed by "for fiery energy (I deposit) thee", "for virtue-and-manly-energy thee", "for strength thee" and, after the acts which belong to them have been performed, by "Thou art fiery energy (etc.); place f. e. in me (i.e. give me f.e.) etc." (*TB.* 2, 6, 1 ij; *VS.* 19, 9 etc.; in *Āp.* 19, 7, 2 *uttarair yathāliṅgam upatiṣṭhate* 'he adores, in a standing position, (the three draughts) with the (in *TB.*) following (formulae) according to the characteristic words'). By these formulae the *adhvaryu*, who is speaking, invokes a blessing (cf. *ŚB.* 14, 3, 1, 28). The first formula (with *tejas*) is elsewhere—and no doubt originally—employed in addressing kindling sticks or fuel piled on a sacred fire: *AVŚ.* 7, 89, 4; *VS.* 20, 23; 38, 25; *TS.* 1, 4, 45 k; 6, 6, 3, 5; *KS.* 4, 13: 38, 10 etc.; also *TB.* 2, 6, 6, 5; *ŚB.* 12, 9, 2, 10; 14, 3, 1, 28; *ŚGS.* 2, 10, 4. For the complete third formula (with *balam*) cf. *AVŚ.* 2, 17, 3, where it is one of a set of similar phrases used to accompany the offering of different substances; elsewhere—like the second formula (with *vīryam*)—only in this connexion (*TB.*; *VS.* 19, 9). This is no doubt a case of triplication of a formula to create a suitable system of *mantras* for a threefold ritual

act relating to a triad of gods²². The 'concepts' of *tejas*, *vīryam*, *balam* are in ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 4 ff. explicitly co-ordinated with the Aśvins, Sarasvatī, and Indra (cf. RV. 10, 153, 2), who are said to be *tejas* etc., and also eyesight, breath and speech which (by offering a victim to these gods) are bestowed on the sacrificer, etc. — As to the *kaukili* ritual see Āp. 19, 7, 3 etc.

For the two invitations (and the variant of the second) addressed by the *adhvaryu* to the *maitrāvaruṇa*, ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 18 see also BŚS. 17, 35: 313, 15 (where *surāmṇām somānām*) and 314, 1 (where *sur. somān prasthitān*); Vaikh. 11, 4: 125, 2 (as Āp.) and 125, 4 (where *somān sur. prasthitān*); MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 26; 27 (similar); VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 28 (without *sur.*); ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 24 (without *som. sur.*) and 25 (*a. s. i. s. yaja*): original sacrificial formulae suitable for this occasion. They are in the *kaukili* section not explicitly repeated (ĀpŚS. 19, 8, 7 *uktah sampraiṣah*) and do not occur in TB. 2, 6, 1.

The three meditation formulae to be used by the *adhvaryu* "Let the glory of two lions (tigers, wolves) come to this one (me)" (cf. Āp. 19, 2, 11) seem to occur only in the Mānava tradition (MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 28).

According to TB. 1, 8, 6, 1—partly repeated in ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 19—the invitatory and sacrificial *mantras* for the sacrifice to the three deities refer to all the (relevant)—the three (Vaikh. 11, 3: 124, 5)—gods, so that in using them one satisfies (or propitiates) all of them. Āp. quotes both stanzas in full from TB. 1, 4, 2, 1. They are (except *āvataṃ karmaṇā* instead of *avāthuh kavyair* in 5 b and *abhīṣṇāt* instead of *abhīṣṇak* in 5 d) identical with RV. 10, 131, 4 and 5. They occur *pratīkena* or *sakalapāṭhena* at BaudhŚS. 17, 35: 313, 16 (see also 14, 23: 162, 4) and 314, 3; ĀpHPar. 2, 3, 3; Vaikh. 11, 3: 124, 5 where they are said to be the standing *mantras* for all oblations of *surā*—similarly, Āp. 19, 2, 8—; MS. 4, 12, 5: 191, 1; 3; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 39; 41; VS. 10, 33 and 34 (in conformity with RV.); ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 25; 26; ĀśvŚS. 3, 9, 3 (to be recited by hemistichs: 8, 3, 3); ŚŚS. 15, 15, 8; 12. (See also KS. 17, 19: 263, 9 and 13). Remarkably enough, these two stanzas are not found in the sections of the Taittirīya authorities on the *kaukili* ritual, but they do occur in MS. 3, 11, 4: 145, 13; 146, 3 and KS. 38, 9, 5; 7 (in their ṛgvedic form), not however in MŚS. and VārŚS. VS. includes them in a later place 20, 76; 77; KŚS. 19, 6, 20 (not in ŚB.). For these two stanzas and RV. 6 and 7 (AVŚ. 20, 125, 4–7) see Vait. 30, 11; for st. 4 alone in another context ŚGS. 6, 4, 2 where it is together with RV. 10, 63, 15–17 (an urgent prayer for fortune and well-being) repeated before the recitation of the esoteric *mahāvratā* chapter. It may be observed that there is some resemblance between the *sautrāmaṇī* and *mahāvratā* rituals in that the latter, inter alia, is to free sacrificers from the bonds of the gods (TS. 7, 5, 9, 2) and to remove their evil (*pāpman*, 10, 1); in the pertinent descriptions mention

²² I refer to my book *Triads in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1976, p. 66 ff. etc.

is also made of *indriyaṃ vīryam*²³ leaving the gods (7, 5, 8, 1), and of taking away food from those who had gathered it (9, 1).

Now the stanzas RV. 10, 131, 4 and 5 can be regarded as relating in a nutshell the central events of the myth which for the believers forms the basis of the *sautrāmaṇī* rite. Limited, as usual, to a decisive event and a few typical or characteristic details this reference to a myth could vouch for the effectiveness of the ritual and justify the action and expectations of those who being in the same predicament as the central figure in the myth wished to be delivered from evil by the rite. Leaving all those particulars which in this connexion should, or may, be regarded as irrelevant out of consideration the mythical drama resolves itself into this²⁴. When Indra had drunk *soma* which Tvaṣṭar had refused him (an ancient motif: cf. RV. 3, 48, 4) it did not agree with him: it flowed in all directions from his nose, ears etc.—what flowed from his upper opening was *parisrut*—, so that the god became emptied of all, for *soma* is all (*sarvam*). Being thus purged by *soma* (*somātīpūtaḥ*) ‘the Aśvins cured him by this (sacrifice), and caused him to be supplied with all, for *soma* is all. By sacrificing he indeed became better’. In conclusion the author gives the advice to cure a person who is purged by *soma* by means of this sacrificial rite (13). The story is told in the ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 7 ff. in explanation of the *caraka sautrāmaṇī* (see also 1, 6, 3, 7 f.). To the author’s etymology of the name of the ritual—12: ‘Indra was well-saved, (*sutrāta*), hence *sautrāmaṇī*’—I would add the remark that the usual translation of *sutrāman* “protecting well, the good protector” should be replaced by “of good protection” (for *trāman* see e.g. RV. 1, 53, 10). In connexion with the *kaukilī sautrāmaṇī* the same *brāhmaṇa* relates the story again but in a varied and elaborated form (12, 7, 1, 1 ff.; 3, 1 ff.). The first passage runs as follows: When Tvaṣṭar withheld from Indra *soma* that was suitable for offensive practices (*abhicāra*), ‘he (Indra) drank it by force thereby committing a desecration of the sacrifice. He went asunder in every direction and his *indriyaṃ vīryam* flowed away from every limb, his *tejas*²⁵ from his eyes . . ., his *vīryam* from his nostrils . . ., his *balam* from his mouth . . .’. Thereupon Namuci, the *asura*—who in 5, 5, 4, 7 ff. takes no part in the events—, robbed him, ‘by means of this

²³ See above, p. 82.

²⁴ For the myth of Indra and Namuci see M. Bloomfield, in J.A.O.S. 15 (1892), p. 143; K. Rönnow, in *Le Monde Oriental* 23, p. 113 ff.; H. Oldenberg, in *Nachr. Göttingen* 1893, p. 342 (= *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 635); Geldner, RV. übers. III, p. 363. — The material for the reconstruction of the myth must be gathered from the scattered *mantras* as well as the references in the *brāhmaṇa* and *sūtra* literature. One should however take account of the tendency of oral literature to variation and ‘looseness’ in the handling of the stories and also of the exigencies of the ritual practice which could necessitate adaptations and re-interpretations. — For another version handed down in ŚŚS. 14, 12 see below.

²⁵ See above, p. 85.

*surā*²⁶, of his *indriyaṃ vīryam*, his *soma* draught and food (similarly 12, 7, 3, 1). He lay there dissolved. The gods, saying that evil (*pāpman*) had befallen him, turned to the Aśvins and Sarasvatī for aid. Having taken the *indriyaṃ vīryam* from Namuci they restored them to him (*indra*) and saved him from evil (*pāpmano 'trāyanta*). It must be parenthetically observed that whereas according to 12, 7, 1, 14 the succouring gods simply took Namuci's *indriyaṃ vīryam*, in 12, 7, 3, 4 it is stated that *soma* juice mixed with blood was in his severed head and subsequently drunk (see below); according to other versions of the story it came forth from his abdomen²⁷, or was brought from Namuci and pressed out (VS. 19, 34; 20, 59; cf. TB. 2, 6, 12 c). The author concludes by stating that the *sautrāmaṇī*—which owes its name and existence to this mythical event (12, 7, 1, 4)—saves a person from death and repels evil (of him) who knows this saving nature (*sautrāmaṇītvam*) of the ritual. In 12, 7, 3, 4 it is added that Namuci is evil (*pāpman*). 'Let him who has an enemy perform the *sautrāmaṇī*. He thereby slays that evil, his hateful rival and wrests (*vr̥ṅkte*²⁸) from him his *indriyaṃ vīryam*'.

Two words occurring in RV. 10, 131, 4 remain to be discussed. First, the puzzling²⁹ *surādam*. My hypothesis would be that *surāma* originally was a compound of *su* and *rāma*, meaning 'very pleasant, very delightful'³⁰ and that as such it was an epithet of intoxicating beverages—cf. Mahīdhara, on VS. 10, 33 *surādam*: *suṣṭhu ramanīyaṃ somam*—and, 'euphemistically' for a substitute for *soma* such as *surā*³¹, which was often regarded as inferior³². The post-ṛgvedic *surāman* may contain an ancient 'synonym' of *rāma*, viz. **rāman*—cf. the Avestan *rāman* "rest, repose, peace"—and (or) have been introduced because of its similarity in sound to *suṭrāman*, just as both *surāma* and *surāman* could not fail to be 'etymologically' associated by the Vedic authors with *surā*³³. The expression *somāḥ*

²⁶ *etayaiva surayā*, how exactly remains to be guessed; cf. Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 346 (p. 639), fn. 2.

²⁷ Mahīdhara, on VS. 10, 33 (cf. the same on 19, 34) speaks of 'soma with *surā*, mixed with blood' which was drunk by the Aśvins, etc. (see below).

²⁸ Cf. RV. 10, 131, 2 d.

²⁹ See the remarks made by the authors cited in fn. 24 as well as J. Wackernagel and A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1, Göttingen 1905, p. 101; 116; II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 752; 764.

³⁰ See also Petersburg Dict.; Monier-Williams, Dict.; Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, s.s.v.v.; Eggeling, *ŚB. transl.*, III, p. 135 ('cheering'); R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 103 ('the draught that gladdens').

³¹ See H. Oertel, *Euphemismen in der vedischen Prosa und . . . in den Mantras*, München Acad. 1943.

³² Cf. MS. 1, 11, 6: 167, 14 *śrīr vai sōmah, pāpmā suropayāmā*; 2, 4, 2: 39, 4 *ānṛtaṃ sūrā*; 4, 2, 1: 21, 16; ŚB. 5, 1, 2, 10; 5, 4, 5; 12, 7, 3, 8; 8, 1, 5 etc.; see also RV. 7, 86, 6; 8, 21, 14 etc.

³³ R. Garbe, in *Kuhns Zeitschrift* 23, p. 524; A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, Breslau ²I, 1927, p. 482 f.

surāmānaḥ (VS. 21, 42; MS. 3, 11, 4: 145, 15; TB. 2, 6, 11 m; cf. KS. 17, 19; 263, 11; TB. 2, 6, 15 c³⁴) or *surāmṇām somānām* (MS. 4, 12, 5: 191, 2), though translated by “*somas*, rejoicing” or “delightful (delicious) *somas*”, may probably be regarded as synonymous with what is elsewhere called *surāsoma* “*soma* in the form of *surā*” (characterized by the quality “delicious”)³⁵: KB. 16, 10³⁶; ŚŚS. 14, 13, 4 (i.e. the *surā*, correctly Caland); 15, 15, 5 (i.e. the *surā* which here replaces the *soma*, Caland); BŚS. 17, 31: 310, 2; 4; 17, 33: 312, 3; 23, 16: 175, 9; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 3; KŚS. 19, 1, 18 etc.; Uvāṭa, on VS. 10, 33. It should however be borne in mind that this *surāsoma* actually consists of a preparation of tender barley sprouts and paddy—which bear already this name when they are bought (BŚS. 17, 31: 320, 2; 4; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 3)—mixed with various substances³⁷, among them coagulated milk or a mixture of water and buttermilk, and milk of one, two, and three cows. According to some authorities this *surā* may even be replaced by milk (ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 13; VaikhŚS. 11, 4: 124, 17)³⁸. The preparation of the *surā* and the terminology used give evidence of the tendency to imitate a *soma* sacrifice³⁹ or to make the *sautrāmaṇi* a sacrifice of the same value as such a ceremony. In the formula TS. 1, 8, 21 a accompanying the mixing of the ingredients the preparation is explicitly said to be *soma* and in 1, 8, 21 b the daughter of the Sun is invited to clarify *parisrutam somam*.

As to the forms of the verb *vi-pā-* (*pībati*) they sometimes express the idea of extracting juice from stalks in a way that resembles drinking (RV. 4, 16, 3; 7, 22, 4)⁴⁰ but in a larger number of cases ‘to drink separately two liquids that are or have been mixed, to drink so as to separate the components of the beverage’. See especially JB. 3, 229 where a certain Pañcavājas is said to have ‘drunk apart’ the two juices—the term used (*andhas*) usually applies especially to the *soma*—viz. the divine and the human (i.e. *soma* and *surā*⁴¹); compare also PB. 14, 11, 26 *andhaso vipānam*

³⁴ Griffith, op. cit., p. 238; Dumont, in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 109, p. 329; 334.

³⁵ The commentary on TB. 1, 4, 2, 1 defines *surāma* by *surayā sampādītam imaṃ pātrasthaṃ dravyaviśeṣam* und *s.s.i. rasaviśeṣam*. See also Mahīdhara, on VS. 21, 60 *surās ca somās ca tān surāmayān somān vā* (in explanation of *surāsomān*). Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. 2I, p. 483 translated *surāsomāḥ* by ‘Surābereitete Somas’.

³⁶ For this chapter see A. B. Keith, Rigveda Brahmanas, Cambridge 1920, p. 438 (who incorrectly translates “*surā* and *soma*”).

³⁷ See especially ĀpŚS. 19, 5, 7–6, 5; KŚS. 19, 1, 20–27; Mahīdhara, on VS. 19, 1; VS. 19, 35; ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 5; 6; TB. 2, 6, 3 b; 4 p; 11 k 1.

³⁸ ‘Milk is *soma* and the *surā* liquor food; through the milk he secures the *soma* drink’ (ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 8).

³⁹ See for instance VS. 19, 15 ff. where the *parisrut* is said to be a manifestation (*rūpa*) of *soma*; ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 6; 11; 8, 2, 3 ff.

⁴⁰ For “to drink at different times” (Petersburg Dict., Grassmann, Monier-Williams who do not mention the other meaning) see AiB. 3, 29, 5.

⁴¹ Cf. also ŚB. 5, 1, 2, 10, and see Geldner, on RV. 7, 96, 2 (RV. übers. II, p. 266).

where the singular indicates the draught before its analysis⁴². And see JB. 2, 6, 2 a *vipānaṃ śukram andhasaḥ* 'the pure drinking apart (drinking off⁴³) of the *soma* juice' (which is said to be identical with Indra's *indriyaṃ vīryam* (cf. ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 9⁴⁴). Compare also Uvaṭa's definition (on VS. 19, 72): *vipānaṃ viviktaṃ lohitaṃ somapānam*, and Mahīdhara, (ibid.) *vipānaṃ vivicya pānam*. Since the *surā* and the so-called *soma* had to be offered separately (see ĀpŚS. 19, 7, 1 ff.; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 2; 25; 29; KŚS. 19, 2, 21) this *vipāna* is an essential element of the ritual and its theory.

I now proceed to translate the important stanzas RV. 10, 131, 4 and 5 which are used as regular invitatory and consecratory *mantras*: "When, O Aśvins, (ye were) drinking off (apart) together (jointly) the *surāma* (which was) in Namuci of *asura* descent, ye, O lords of splendour, helped Indra in his deeds⁴⁵. As parents (aid) a son, so both Aśvins aided (thee), O Indra, with the manifestations of (their) wisdom⁴⁶ and marvellous skill. When thou hadst drunk (separately) the *surāma*, Sarasvatī, O benevolent One, healed thee with (her) might"⁴⁷. In explanation, Uvaṭa and, in a longer version, Mahīdhara, on VS. 10, 33, narrate a story based on ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 1 ff. When Namuci had drunk the *surā* (*soma* ŚB.) which was Indra's *indriyaṃ* or *vīryam* the latter applied for help to the Aśvins and Sarasvatī who gave him a *vajra* of foam with which he severed Namuci's head. The Aśvins (Mah.) drank the liquid which flowed forth from the *asura*'s head so that it became pure and gave it to Indra. In a succinct note on VS. 20, 76, where the stanza recurs, they make no mention of head, blood and *vajra*⁴⁸. This is no doubt a more original version, the story of the severed head being another Indra-Namuci episode in which all mention of the Aśvins and Sarasvatī is omitted (TB. 1, 7, 1 ff.; Sāyaṇa, on RV. 8, 14, 13).

Now, the stanzas RV. 10, 131, 4 and 5 mention all the dramatis

⁴² Compare W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 385. For the singular cf. TB. 3, 32, for the dual *andhasor vipānam* ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 4.

⁴³ Dumont, op. cit., p. 313.

⁴⁴ For particulars see Rönnow, op. cit., p. 154 ff.

⁴⁵ In these stanzas the exact translation of several words remains open: *surāmaṃ*, see above; *sacā* adverb, or with *nāmucau?* ('together with N.', Eggeling, ŚB. III, p. 135; 'beim asurischen N.', 'oder . . . , *sacā* mit Lokat.: 'von . . . her'? (Av. *hacā*)?', Caland, Śr. Āp. III, p. 169; 'near Namuci', 'at Namuci's?'; but compare the commentators on VS. 20, 76; 'in his deeds with N.', Griffith, op. cit., p. 103, but 'joint drinkers of . . .', ibid., p. 230.

⁴⁶ TB. 1, 4, 2, 1; ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 19 etc. *karmaṇā* 'with a deed, in very deed'.

⁴⁷ 'hadst drunk' (with Griffith, op. cit., p. 103): 'drankest', v. Gelder, MŚS. transl., p. 164; now the drink has already been 'analyzed', in any case not 'quaffedst' (Eggeling, ŚB. transl. 5, 5, 4, 26); *śāctbhiḥ* (in the same *pāda* c as *āpibaḥ!*) 'with (Indra's) might' Griffith; not 'by her services', Eggeling, l. cit. - For the use and other occurrences of these two stanzas see also Śrautakośa, I (Engl.), p. 919 ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. also VS. 19, 15; 34; 80; 20, 56.

personae: Namuci (who is 'evil', ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 4), Indra, the Aśvins (the physicians of the gods, ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 3⁴⁹), and Sarasvatī⁵⁰ (who is healing medicine, *ibid.*). So do TB. 2, 6, 13, 1; VS. 20, 67 etc. The Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra Sutrāman are explicitly said to have been the first performers of the *sautrāmaṇī* (ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 6). In this sacrificial ritual the sacrificer—who is to be restored—represents Indra in whose oblation he has a share (ĀpŚS. 19, 8, 12; KŚS. 19, 3, 13) and the officiants who consume part of the oblations destined for the Aśvins and Sarasvatī, these deities (ĀpŚS. 19, 8, 10; 11; KŚS. 19, 3, 10 f.). It may finally be recalled that Prajāpati himself is said to have drunk the milk (*payas*), *soma*, from the *parisrut* (VS. 19, 75) and to have been replenished by the performance of this sacrifice when he felt like one emptied out after performing a *soma* sacrifice; hence one should perform a *sautrāmaṇī* after a *soma* sacrifice (ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 1). This ceremony is however also recommended to a ruler who wishes to regain his lost kingdom (ŚB. 12, 9, 3, 1 ff.), or to a person who has lost his *indriyaṃ vīryam* (ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 3), is desirous of prosperity or has long been ill (MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 1 on the *caraka* ritual; cf. ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 2). It also enables a sacrificer to slay 'that evil, his hateful enemy' and to wrest from him his *indriyaṃ vīryam* (ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 4). That means that it serves such purposes as recovery or restoration.

When the *hotar* has to recite the stanza ṚV. 10, 131, 5 as the *yājyā* the *maitrāvaruṇa* addresses him with a formula which with much variation occurs in BŚS. 17, 35: 314, 2 *hotā yakṣaś aśvinā sarasvatīm indraṃ sutrāmāṇam* and in the texts enumerated in Bloomfield's Concordance, p. 1073.

For the formula "Enjoy (part) of the *soma*, O Agni" (ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 1) see also VaikhŚS. 11, 4: 125, 6 and compare BŚS. 17, 35: 314, 4; ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 26 and for a ritualistic explanation AiB. 3, 5 (and GB. 2, 3, 1); ĀśvŚS. 3, 9, 4 and in *soma* ritual also ĀśvŚS. 5, 5, 19; ŚŚS. 7, 3, 4; in another ritual context ŚŚS. 8, 8, 5; VaitS. 19, 10. MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 42 has "Accept O Agni, of the *surāman somas*".

ṚV. 10, 91, 15 (TB. 1, 4, 2, 1) "In thy mouth has the oblation been poured, O Agni . . . , give us wealth with energetic sons . . . (the last stanza of a eulogy on Agni)" is very suitably used in ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 2; BŚS. 17, 35: 314, 3; Vaikh. 11, 4: 125, 6, and in the *kaukili* ritual MS. 3, 11, 4: 146, 11; KS. 38, 9: 111, 1; VS. 20, 79; KŚS. 19, 6, 21.

The next stanza, ṚV. 10, 91, 14 (TB. 1, 4, 2, 2), being partly descriptive, states the poet's producing a lovely poem in honour of the god who drinks the dainty beverage (*kilālapā*, *kilāla* being considered to be similar to the *amṛta*, and occurring several times in the AV., see e.g. AVŚ. 4, 11, 10; 26, 6; 6, 69, 1; 7, 60, 5); see also BŚS. 17, 36: 314, 5; Vaikh. 11, 4: 125, 7;

⁴⁹ For the Aśvins and *surā* see ṚV. 1, 116, 7; AVŚ. 14, 1, 35.

⁵⁰ For Sarasvatī, who is also mentioned in ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 12, see ṚV. 7, 96 (with Geldner's note on st. 2); TB. 2, 6, 40, p; 11 k, 1; 12 c; VS. 20, 59.

MS. 3, 11, 4: 146, 13; KS. 38, 9: 111, 9 (before the preceding one!); VS. 20, 78 (same order as KS. (and KŚS.)); KŚS. 19, 6, 21. Yet the stanza, stating that the god accepts also animals, would suit an animal sacrifice better; see KŚS. *paśuṣv iṣṭakṛtaḥ* and Mah.'s note "this is an invitatory and *ahāvya* . . . a consecratory stanza accompanying an offering to Agni in an animal sacrifice". Notice the reverse order in TB. etc. and MS., no doubt under the influence of the expression *yājyānuvākya*. Not in MŚS. and VārŚS.

The two stanzas of Āp. 19, 3, 4 accompany the drinking of the remains of the oblation by a *brahman*, or, in particular cases, the sacrificer⁵¹. The first, beginning with "separately" (*nānā*) occurs with . . . *sado mitam* . . . in TB. 1, 4, 2, 2; Āp. 19, 3, 4 and (*pratikena*) BŚS. 17, 36: 314, 7; Vaikh. 11, 5: 125, 11 and with *sadas kṛtam* in MS. 2, 3, 8: 36, 11; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 29; KS. 37, 18: 99, 5; ĀśvŚS. 3, 9, 4 and in the *kaukili* ritual TB. 2, 6, 1 k; Āp. 19, 7, 3; MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 13; MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 23; VS. 19, 7; ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 14; KŚS. 19, 2, 21. A third variant (*nānā hi devaiś cakṛpe sado vām* . . .) occurs in KS. 17, 19: 264, 1. This stanza should be recited as *puroruc mantra* for all the draughts of *soma* before the formula which accompanies the drawing (the so-called *upayāma*); cf. ĀpŚS. 19, 7, 3 (*kaukili* ritual; cf. also VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 66), but in ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 3 ff. this direction is absent. However, from MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 29 it appears that this stanza accompanies the drinking (by smelling) of the *surā* draughts, the next stanza (which precedes) that of the milk draughts, after these fluids had been poured in two vessels (cf. KŚS. 19, 2, 21 f.). It is not in the *caraka* portion of VārŚS. This separate drinking is indeed what is expressed by this important *mantra*: "Separately (*nānā*), indeed, a seat agreeable to the gods⁵² has been prepared for you two"—as ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 14 correctly observes, the text refers to the two different sacrificial beds (*vedi*): see also U. on VS. 19, 7 *dve hi vedi bhavataḥ surāpayasor nānābhūte*—; "do ye not mingle in the highest heaven"⁵³—'this (is added) in order to keep the sacrificer from evil (*pāpman*)' (ŚB.): it would therefore be dangerous if the two beverages should mix; "thou art the impetuous *surā*"⁵⁴: this is no mere statement for 'he thereby makes *surā* to be *surā*' (ŚB.); the powerful word pronounced at the right moment can create; "and this is *soma*": 'he thereby makes *soma* to be *soma*' (ŚB.) also ĀśvŚS. 3, 9, 4 (AiB. 8, 8, 11): "do not injure me, when entering thine own birthplace": 'he thereby turns it (the *surā*) away to

⁵¹ See Caland, on ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 4; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 29.

⁵² U. and Mah. on VS. 19, 7 consider also the interpretation 'placed by the gods' (*devaiḥ sthāpitam*).

⁵³ Observing that the highest heaven and the *āhavanīya* are identical U. draws attention to the fact that the *soma* is poured in that fire, *surā* in the *dakṣiṇāgni*; similarly, Mahidhara.

⁵⁴ Uvaṭa on VS. 19, 7 observes that after drinking *surā* one becomes fierce or violent-minded, whereas the *soma* is free from passions (*śāntaḥ*).

its own seat for his own safety' (ŚB.). – Dealing, in the end of a section on the *rājasūya*, with the *sautrāmaṇi* the author of AiB. 8, 8 states, inter alia, that 'in that there is *surā*—which is a manifestation of lordly power (*ksatrarūpam*) and also the essence (*rasaḥ*) of food, he (the officiant) confers upon him (the royal sacrificer) the manifestation of lordly power and the essence of food' (5), to continue: 'Then he places in his hand a cup (vessel made of metal) of *surā* with ṚV. 9, 1, 1 "With thy sweetest, most intoxicating stream be thou purified, O Soma, pressed for Indra to drink". Thereupon he makes him recite the expiatory text (*śāntim*) *nānā* . . . (the *mantra* under discussion quoted in full), adding: 'This is the separation (discrimination, *vyāvṛttiḥ*) of the drinking of *soma* and that of *surā*. Having drunk he should offer it to him whom he deems generous, for that is a manifestation of active goodwill (*mītrasya rūpam*). Verily thus at the end he places it firmly in a *mītra* (i.e. one who continually gives expression to active benevolence); for he thus establishes himself firmly in a *mītra*. He establishes himself (on a firm foundation) who knows thus' (10–14).

As to the following *mantra*, this begins with *yad atra śiṣṭam* in the accounts of the *caraka* ritual in TB. 1, 4, 2, 3; BŚS. 17, 36: 314, 7; Āp. 19, 3, 4; Vaikh. 11, 5: 125, 11; MS. 2, 3, 8: 36, 9 (before the stanza beginning with *nānā*; see above); MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 29 (see above); VārŚS. 3, 2, 8, 7, when the *hotar* and the *adhvaryu* consume the remains; KS. 17, 19: 263, 22 where it is followed by a stanza which corresponds to ṚV. 8, 48, 7 (addressed to Soma) expressing the wish to enjoy the *soma* juice and the hope of continuation of life; it is not used in other texts and followed by the stanza beginning with *nānā* (see above). Unmistakably intended to accompany the drinking of the remains of *soma* the stanza is also found at AiB. 7, 33, 3 and followed by the explanation 'Auspiciously (*śivah*) to him this (sacrificial draught) . . . is consumed with auspicious mind . . .'. Interestingly enough, AiB. 7, 27 ff., constituting the chapter of the section on the *rājasūya* sacrifice, deals with the preparation of the sacrificial food which is proper to a *ksatriya* who sacrifices. In contrast to the brahmins who drink *soma* a *ksatriya* should press together the fruits (etc.) of the *nyagrodha*—which 'secretly' or 'mysteriously' (*parokṣam*) is *soma* (7, 31, 2)—and three other trees which are manifestations of invigorating food (or strength, *ūrj*), brilliant energy (*tejas*) and renown (or glory, *yaśas*). In preparing this 'food' one proceeds with rites that are similar to those⁵⁵ of the *soma* sacrifice up to the fast day' (7, 32, 4), that is to say, with pressing boards, a tub, a strainer etc. etc. The stanza is (AiB. 8, 20, 4) again employed in another chapter of the *rājasūya* ritual,

⁵⁵ The meaning of the term *prativesaiḥ* is somewhat uncertain. The word means 'neighbour(ing)'; Sāyana explains *prasiddhaiḥ kriyāviśeṣaiḥ* 'the well-known particular ritual acts', A. B. Keith proposes 'auxiliary', hence 'rites (prior to the first day' (Rigveda Brahmanas, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 316).

viz. in the section dealing with the great unction (*mahābhīṣeka*). After a bowl of *surā* has been placed in the hand of the royal sacrificer with RV. 9, 1, 1 in which *soma* is addressed (see above), the king should drink it with the stanza under discussion and RV. 8, 45, 22 in which Indra is invited to a *soma* feast. The author observes (*ibid.* 5 f.) that it is the *soma* drink which has gone into (is in) the *surā* that is drunk by the *kṣatriya* when anointed by this great unction. Having drunk it he should address it with "We have drunk the *soma*"; "be thou propitious to us" (RV. 8, 48, 3; 10, 37, 10), the former stanza, part of a Soma hymn stating that the person(s) speaking has (have) become immortal (*amṛtāh*), the latter belonging to a Sūrya hymn and invoking the deity's propitiousness. — This variant of the stanza occurs also in the *kaukili* section of MS., viz. 3, 11, 7: 151, 4, but MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 23 employs instead the stanza "The *soma* which the Aśvins (took) away from Namuci . . ." (MS. 151, 2), to which we shall have to revert (ĀpŚS. 19, 8, 10); VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 48 however uses it in the *kaukili* ritual to accompany the consumption of a portion of milk (which represents *soma*). — The other variant—with *riptam* "clinging" (viz. in the cup whose contents have been offered to Indra) instead of *śiṣṭam*—occurs in the *kaukili* ritual at TB. 2, 6, 3 d; Āp. 19, 8, 11 ("the *pratiprasthātar* and the *āgnīdhra* recite this stanza when they drink the rest of the milk prepared for Sarasvatī); KS. 38, 2: 101, 13; VS. 19, 35; ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 5 explaining that by this *mantra* he secures the juice (essence) of the extracted and distilled ⁵⁶ (*soma*) and that—by means of the *pādas* c d "that . . . I drink with auspicious mind"—he makes the beverage, which in itself is 'unpropitious, as it were, to a brahmin', propitious; 'thus it is king Soma that comes to be drunk by him'. That means that this stanza also is to transubstantiate the liquid that is to be drunk ritually. Mah. on VS. 19, 35 rightly observes that the accusative *somam* is used instead of the genitive: '(a portion of) *soma*'. See also KŚS. 19, 3, 14; ĀśvŚS. 3, 9, 5.

In case, after the libations, the rest of the juice should be poured down on an ant-hill (cf. TB. 1, 8, 6, 2; BŚS. 17, 36: 314, 8; for other possibilities: VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 76) one should on that occasion pronounce the stanza "I have heard of two paths of the Fathers, (viz. that) of the gods and (that) of the mortals . . ." (see ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 5). It corresponds with RV. 10, 88, 15, an oft quoted and oft explained stanza which in BĀU. 6, 2, 2 is quoted in a discussion on life after death and interpreted so as to enunciate the transmigration doctrine of the two routes, that of the gods (*devayāna*) meant for those who after following it will never return, and

⁵⁶ It seems that *ā-su-*, in contrast to *su-* 'to press out, extract' denotes variant manners of preparing drinks or liquids such as decocting or distilling (cf. e.g. ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 6; 12, 8, 2, 13); *āsava* is a 'decoction' or 'spirit distilled from sugar or molasses' etc.

that of the Fathers (*pitṛyāna*) which leads to another birth in this world (similarly, Sāyaṇa, on TB. 1, 4, 2, 3 as well as U. and Mah. on VS. 19, 47). However, the above translation⁵⁷ which would seem to imply the assumption that the doctrine of transmigration existed already at the time of the composition of ṚV. 10, 88⁵⁸, is far from certain, however natural it seems to be. Nor is the application of the stanza in ĀpŚS. perfectly clear, notwithstanding the fact that ant-hills were connected with the chthonian beings⁵⁹ and 'this *soma* drink' is at ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 6 said to fall 'to the share of the fathers and grandfathers of whoever drinks (or smells, KŚS. 19, 3, 15) it'. There are more observations to be made. Whereas all texts in dealing with the *kaukili sautrāmaṇī* follow the reading of the Ṛgveda⁶⁰ when they (TB., KS., VS., ŚB.) quote the *mantra* in full, and MS. 2, 3, 8: 36, 14 and KS. 17, 19: 264, 8 join them in dealing with *mantras* of the *caraka* ritual, the Taittirīyakas have another second line, viz. "On these two meets together all that lives in this world (*bhuvanam*) between the eastern and the western luminous sign", the last half of which is identical with ṚV. 10, 139, 2 d, which is part of a Sūrya hymn (also TS. 4, 6, 3 k). BŚS. 17, 36: 314, 8 has the preceding *mantra* accompany the pouring out of the *surā* on the ant-hill and that of the two paths the taking up of the utensils that are stained with *surā* in the final *avabhṛtha* section (17, 38: 315, 18). Vaikh. 11, 4: 125, 12 uses the *mantra* of the two paths in consecration of the alternative offering of a complete oblation (*iti vā sarvavahutaṃ juhuyāt*). In ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 21 *pāda* b is neither quoted nor commented upon and the interpretation of *pāda* a and d is of little use: 'two paths, viz. of the gods and of the Fathers' and 'along

⁵⁷ Proposed also by Dumont, op. cit., p. 315. For discussions of the difficulties and other translations see Geldner, RV. üb. III, p. 282; Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 92 f.; Dumont, l. cit. Caland, Śr. Āp. III, p. 170 made a mistake ('der Sterblichen: ... der Väter, der Menschen').

⁵⁸ Is this argument cogent?; does this interpretation really imply this doctrine? Has the poet perhaps meant to distinguish between Fathers who are deified and Fathers who remain human, and is it possible to compare ṚV. 10, 15, 8 and 2? Recently, K. Werner made an attempt to demonstrate that at least some Vedic poets believed in transmigration (Journ. of Ind. Phil. 5 (1978), p. 286). As to ṚV. 10, 88, 5 he confines himself to the statement that 'there is no reason whatsoever' why the traditional Indian interpretation 'should not be valid even for the ... Ṛgveda'. Quoting ṚV. 4, 54, 2 in substantiation of his view he translates *pādas* c d "Then, as a gift, Savitar, you opened successive lives for men". This is indeed the sense but the words need not mean 'successive lives of the same individual men'. It would appear to me that in this stanza the poet says that the gods enjoy continuance of life (*amṛtatvam*), but (since the span of human life is brief) men on the other hand follow each other in successive generations. See also Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 22 (not quoted by Werner) whose reference to ṚV. 1, 113, 6 (the only other occurrence of *jīvita* in the RV.) does not convince me.

⁵⁹ See e.g. J. J. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zürich and Leipzig 1937, III, p. 77.

⁶⁰ Instead of *srutī* (RV.) which literally means "streams", the Wh. YV. and KS. read *sṛtī* "paths"; some texts have *yābhyām* instead of *tābhyām*.

sky and earth (the father and mother mentioned in *pāda* d) he leads the Fathers to the world of heaven'. Quoting ŚB. Mah. on VS. 19, 47 (cf. also U.) adds the injunction 'Let there be well sacrificed along these two paths'. These commentators join ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 20 in stating that the stanza accompanies the offering, by the *adhvaryu*, of milk—which is vital breath and food in which they now come to be firmly established (ŚB.). – Quite otherwise in MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 30 where this stanza is the first of a series of four (MS. 2, 3, 8: 36, 14–37, 2), which are to accompany the same number of libations. The other stanzas, corresponding, except for order and variants with AVŚ. 2, 35⁶¹ (AVP. 1, 88) and TS. 3, 2, 8 c e f, are essentially prayers to Viśvakarman—a wise, all-seeing, benevolent god⁶²—for remission of sins committed by making mistakes in sacrificing. See e.g. p. 36, 17 "What was the expiation for the defect in their sacrifice V. must make that a good sacrifice for us". Now the stanzas AVŚ. 1–4 (st. 5 is not found in AVP.) are in TS. 3, 2, 8 followed by a stanza which while paying homage to the Fathers who, "being benignant deities, make the sacrifice and are desirous of it", implores them for forgiveness because "we have unintentionally failed to offer the obligatory ceremonial gift (*dakṣiṇā*)". The five stanzas TS. c–g are in Āp. 13, 7, 17 used in order to propitiate by means of five oblations to Viśvakarman those who are seated in the *sadas*⁶³ and are entitled to a *dakṣiṇā*. The reference to the *dakṣiṇā* makes the homage paid to the Fathers more intelligible because according to the ritualists 'the sacrifice goes to the world of the gods; after it follows the *dakṣiṇā*, and holding on to the *dakṣiṇā*, the sacrificer' (ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 1). Moreover, only those have a right to drink *soma* whose ancestors up to the tenth generation were 'drinkers of *soma*' (*somapa*, a title given not only to gods, e.g. AiB. 2, 18, 8 or to a class of Fathers ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 4, but also to *soma* sacrificers, see ŚB., l. cit.; PB. 18, 9, 4; ĀpŚS. 18, 21, 4). While it seems warranted to suppose that the stanzas 2–4 in MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 30 are here also to expiate errors⁶⁴ the occurrence of the stanza "I have heard of two paths..." may perhaps have fulfilled a function similar to that of TS. 3, 2, 8 g: homage to the deified ancestors into whose midst the sacrificer hopes to be admitted. VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 76 on the other hand, has only the stanza of the two paths in connexion with the pouring out on the ant-hill (*caraka* ritual). For its use of the stanza MS. 2, 3, 8: 36, 16 (TS. 3, 2, 8 f.) see below. – At the corresponding moment of the *kaukilī* ritual MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 30 f. prescribes the *mantra* under discussion as the third of a set of stanzas (MS. 3, 11, 10: 156, 11–17)

⁶¹ For a translation see also J. Gonda, *The savayajñas*, Amsterdam 1965, p. 113 f. and for a commentary, *ibidem*, p. 423 ff.

⁶² For particulars see Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 118.

⁶³ *Agniṣṭoma*, second service: I refer to W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, p. 289 ff.; 295 f.

⁶⁴ Cf. also my remarks in *Savayajñas*, p. 423.

to accompany the offerings of the *adhvaryu* and the *pratiprasthatar*. In this respect the texts of the White YV. (VS. 19, 45–48; ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 19–22; KŚS. 19, 3, 23–26) run parallel, although here it is the sacrificer who offers. The stanzas 1 and 2 are closely connected not only by an identical first *pāda* but also by complementary contents. The first prays for “room (a ‘world’, *loka*), homage, sacrifice among the gods for the benefit of the Fathers”, the second for prosperity in this world for a hundred years on behalf of “my people who live among the living”. By the first stanza ‘he commits the Fathers to Yama and he also conquers the world of the Fathers (*pitrlokam*)’ (ŚB. 19); by the second ‘he secures the good fortune (Śrī) of his own people and he also confers a long lifetime on them’ (ŚB. 20). The four stanzas are also mentioned in KS. 38, 2: 102, 16–103, 2.

The stanza on the two paths does not occur in Āpastamba’s *kaukili* section; st. 4 (viz. TB. 2, 6, 3 s) is at Āp. 19, 8, 12 prescribed to accompany the consumption of the remains of the milk offered to Indra by the *brahman* and the sacrificer, st. 1 and 2 consecrate (as TB. 2, 6, 3 p q) libations of melted butter offered by the *adhvaryu* and the *pratiprasthatar* after the sacrificer has paid reverence to the Fathers (Āp. 19, 9, 1). In TB. and Āp. st. 2 begins “My own people, who are of one and the same origin . . .” (*ye saajātāḥ*, not *ye samānāḥ*). It is at Āp. 1, 9, 12 employed when the sacrificer in the ceremonies in honour of the deceased Fathers on the evening of new moon (*piṇḍapitryajña*)⁶⁵ eats (the ‘rests’ of) a ball of rice offered to them; see also Āp. 1, 10, 13; and in the same rite in Kauś. 89, 1. The sacrificer intends to obtain, through the help of the Fathers, vigorous offspring. Between Āp. 19, 8, 12 and 19, 9, 1 mention is made of other ritual acts and *mantras*, viz. TB. 2, 6, 3 e–o, by which TB. 2, 6, 3 s and p q are separated from each other; moreover Āp. differs from the order of the stanzas found in TB. It is however worth observing that the *mantras* e–g accompany oblations to the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of the sacrificer and implore the Fathers etc. who are entitled to drink the *soma* to cleanse him, h–o being addressed to Agni, Soma, Savitar, the Viśve Devāḥ. The formulae of TB. 2, 6, 3 e are in the WYV. prescribed at an earlier moment (VS. 19, 36; ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 7; KŚS. 19, 3, 17) but, of course, likewise to accompany oblations and homage to the departed ancestors (‘whom he thereby places in their respective ‘worlds’’, ŚB.); in BŚS. 17, 37: 315, 5 at a later moment, viz. when the pots are placed upon the mound of old ashes, before the giving of a pregnant mare. BŚS. also prescribes (17, 37: 315, 9) the so-called *manotā*, i.e. the recitation of RV. 6, 1 (1–13) (which Āp. 19, 9, 2 uses in the *kaukili* ritual) to accompany the offering of the organs of four victims⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ See O. Donner, *Piṇḍapitryajña*, Berlin 1870; W. Caland, *Über Totenverehrung bei einigen der indo-germanischen Völker*, Amsterdam Acad. 1888, p. 3 ff.; Gonda, *Rel. Indiens*, I, p. 135 f.

⁶⁶ See below, p. 124.

In connexion with the three *samiṣṭayajus* oblations—‘for the completion of the sacrificial worship’ (TS. 6, 6, 2, 1)—of this animal sacrifice BŚS. 17, 37: 315, 14 employs also the following three *mantras*: “O sacrifice (*yajña*), go to the sacrifice . . .; go to thine own womb”, “This is thy sacrifice, O lord of the sacrifice . . .”, and “Ye gods that find the way . . ., go on the way”. They are TS. 1, 4, 44 g-i; Āp. 7, 27, 15; among the *mantras* for the concluding ceremony of the animal sacrifice⁶⁷ and found also TS. 6, 6, 2, 2 f. (at the end of a *soma* sacrifice) with the explanation: ‘he makes the sacrifice go to the lord of the sacrifice, to its own birthplace; he confers energy (*viryam*, cf. *sviryah* in the *mantra*) upon the sacrificer; he prevents the defeat of the sacrificer’; and (with variations and in the longer form, with TS. 1, 4, 44 k) MS. 1, 3, 38: 44, 16; KS. 4, 12: 37, 11 etc.; VS. 8, 22 and 21 (end of the *soma* sacrifice), with explanations in ŚB. 4, 4, 4, 13 f.: ‘the sacrifice, thus established (in its own womb), bestowing numerous energetic sons, together with the song of praise (mentioned in *mantra* h) he thereby finally establishes in the sacrificer’; and ‘having thus completed this sacrifice he establishes it in that sacrifice’ and as to “Ye gods . . .”: ‘with this (*mantra*) he dismisses them in due form’; MŚS. 1, 7, 4, 33 (at the end of the *varuṇapraghāsa* ritual). The *mantras* g and h are also AVŚ. 7, 97, 5 and 6 (AVP. 20, 34, 5 and 6) forming part of a series of six *mantras* accompanying the final offerings in the *parvan* (changes of the moon) sacrifice (Vait. 4, 13); AVŚ. 7, 97 accompanies in Kauś. 6, 3 the final oblations of that sacrifice. Mantra i, which often combines with g and h, is AVŚ. 7, 97, 7 and AVP. 20, 34, 7 (second parts), and occurs also TS. 1, 1, 13, 3 (end of the full and new moon ritual); MS. 1, 1, 13: 9, 5 (likewise; cf. 4, 1, 4: 20, 10); VS. 2, 21 (id.) with ŚB. 1, 9, 2, 28 (as 4, 4, 4, 13). Also PGS. 1, 2, 11. These are *mantras* that, as a rule as a group, were utilizable on similar occasions in several sacrificial rites. — Āp. 1, 9, 9 uses the above *mantras* to the Fathers also appropriately in the *piṇḍapitryajña* (see above). They are not in Vaikh., but Vār. 3, 2, 7, 49 (*kaukili*) has them after the stanza which corresponds with TB. 2, 6, 3 d. They occur also in KS.: 38, 2: 101, 15.

The stanzas 1 and 2 are also employed in the domestic rite called *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, that is the reception of a deceased person into the community of the Fathers to whom balls of rice (*piṇḍa*) are offered⁶⁸, as described in ŚGS. 5, 9, 4; 4, 3, 6; YājñDh. 1, 252 f.; the *mantras* are to accompany the uniting of the *piṇḍa* of the deceased person with the *piṇḍas* of his three ancestors⁶⁹. It is perfectly clear that these two stanzas

⁶⁷ For particulars see J. Schwab, *Das altindische Thieropfer*, Erlangen 1886, p. 160 f.; Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 391 f.

⁶⁸ For particulars see A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 91; P. V. Kane, *History of dharmasāstra*, IV, Poona 1953, p. 520 f.

⁶⁹ According to W. Caland, *Altindischer Ahnenkult*, Leiden 1893, p. 162 Śāṅkhāyana had borrowed this rite from the Vājasaneyins.

—notwithstanding the somewhat confused diversity of the school traditions —constituted one of those sets of *mantras* which could be included into the formulary of more than one ritual in order to consecrate acts of the same or similar purport. Those who introduced the *kaukili* ceremony may have borrowed them from the *piṇḍa* ritual in honour of the deceased. They essentially were to secure on behalf of the sacrificer and his ancestors a place in the hereafter as well as vigorous and fortunate offspring. Hence also their occurrence in the marriage *śrāddha* ⁷⁰ as described BGParihāṣā-Sutra 1, 8, 34 where they are to accompany the sprinkling of the balls of rice on the bed of sacrificial grass ⁷¹. — In stanza 4 (TB. 2, 6, 3 s etc., ‘a blessing given to the sacrificer’, U. and Mah.) the wish is expressed that “this sacrificial substance (*havis*, i.e. milk, Mah.) may be productive for me, bringing ten sons, life-winning, *loka* (a ‘world’, free space)-winning etc.”. For Āp. 19, 8, 12; MS. etc. see above. ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 22 (VS. 19, 48) observes that ‘productive indeed it is, whether it be milk or *soma*’. The explanations of “ten sons”, viz. ‘the vital airs’ etc. (ŚB., similarly, U. and Mah.) are no doubt secondary; *loka* is explained as ‘heavenly world’ i.e. ‘(a place of) safety’ ⁷². Uvāṭa’s explanation: ‘safety i.e. final exemption from transmigration’, though anachronistic, is not essentially incompatible with ŚB., l. cit., ‘in the heavenly world he thus finally establishes himself’. The *mantra* occurs also in the section on the task of the sacrificer (ĀpŚS. 4, 14, 1) who has to consume his evening milk with it and in the *agnihotra* ritual (Āp. 6, 11, 5). Cf. also Vaikh. 7, 12: 77, 8; Vār. 1, 1, 4, 17 and for a similar direction with the clarification ‘in case he is desirous of obtaining offspring’ ŚSS. 4, 13, 1. The stanza was obviously meant to make the sacrificer’s milk-draught ritually successful. At MGS. 1, 11, 23 it is during the marriage ceremonies uncommonly and no doubt secondarily used to accompany the offering of uncrushed grain and sour milk ⁷³.

After mentioning the *mantra* of the two paths and the acts belonging to it (3, 2, 7, 76) VārŚS. 77 enjoins the offering of three oblations with (the ?) three stanzas beginning with *ye bhakṣayantaḥ*. This *mantra* (these *mantras*?) is (are) no doubt based on MS. 2, 3, 8: 36, 16 which is part of a miscellaneous series of *mantras* for *kāmyeṣṭis* that is to accompany oblations in the fire of the *agnīdh* by the *adhvaryu*. As already noticed it corresponds with TS. 3, 2, 8 f. and AVŚ. 2, 35, 1. Since it begins with “They who consuming did not obtain goods, whom the fires of the hearths troubled . . . (see also above)” it was no doubt regarded as suiting the context: . . . the *adhvaryu* should discard the remains upon the fire, or a brahmin or the sacrificer himself should consume them.

⁷⁰ See e.g. Gonda, *Rel. Indiens*, I, p. 136.

⁷¹ See J. Gonda, in *Beiträge zur Indieforschung. Festschrift E. Waldschmidt*, Berlin 1977, p. 177.

⁷² See J. Gonda, *Loka*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 96.

⁷³ See also p. 116 below.

Returning to $\bar{A}p\acute{S}S.$ 19, 3 it can be observed that the *mantra* "That mind of mine which has gone away, or which has not gone away by means of King Soma we keep within us" is at TS. 6, 6, 7, 2 employed in order to prevent one's mind from going away; one should look at the oblation for Soma 'which is a means of purification' (animal offerings, *soma* sacrifice) while pronouncing the *mantra*. In $\bar{A}p.$ 19, 3, 7 and Vaikh. 11, 5: 125, 14 the *mantra* accompanies the placing of gold on the woollen filter. Gold, which represents 'immortality', i.e. continuance of life (cf. $\acute{S}B.$ 5, 2, 1, 20; 4, 1, 16 etc.) and removes evil (cf. $\acute{S}\ddot{a}yana$, on TB. 1, 4, 9, 6), is believed to cleanse or purify (12, 8, 1, 15; 22; $K\acute{S}S.$ 19, 3, 27). There is a parallel rite in the *rājasūya*. In the section on the preparation of the unction fluid ⁷⁴ the *adhvaryu* has to sink a piece of gold in the collective vessel in which the fluid is to be purified ($B\acute{S}S.$ 12, 9: 98, 12 ff.; $\bar{A}p\acute{S}S.$ 18, 13, 21 etc.), $\acute{S}B.$ 5, 3, 5, 15 explaining 'with (the gold) he purifies these consecration waters . . . , gold is a continued length of life (*amṛtam āyus*) that he lays into these (waters)'. On the relevant *sautrāmaṇī* rite $\acute{S}B.$ 12, 7, 2, 13 observes: 'There is gold to secure a handsome form (as a living human being); it weighs a hundred, for man has a life of a hundred and a hundred *indriyas*; a full lifetime and *indriyaṃ vīryam* he thus lays into his own self'. – It is interesting to notice that the above quoted passage TS. 6, 6, 7, 2 deals with the "mirage au chaudéau" (*agniṣṭoma*, evening service): "Au milieu du *caru* (the vessel containing the oblation) l'*adhvaryu* creuse une cavité, y verse du beurre liquide, et s'y mire . . . ; si son image ne lui apparaît point encore, c'est que sa vie touche à la fin" ⁷⁵. Then he has to mutter the above stanza in order to keep his *manas* within himself. For this rite and the stanza see $B\acute{S}S.$ 8, 14: 253, 16; $\bar{A}p\acute{S}S.$ 13, 14, 4; Vaikh. 16, 17: 229, 4. $MS.$ 4, 7, 2: 95, 7; $KS.$ 29, 2: 169, 15 ⁷⁶; $KapS.$ 45, 3: 269, 20; $M\acute{S}S.$ 2, 5, 2, 7; $\bar{A}śv\acute{S}S.$ 5, 19, 5; $L\acute{S}S.$ 2, 10, 6; $D\acute{S}S.$ 6, 2, 6 use a parallel *mantra*, viz. "If my mind that has gone to Yama . . ."; see also JB. 1, 167 and PB. 1, 5, 17. The former *mantra* is, on the other hand, prescribed in HGS. 1, 11, 6 when the young man who has taken the bath at the end of his studentship looks into a mirror ⁷⁷.

The other *mantras* of $\bar{A}p\acute{S}S.$ 19, 3, 7 accompany the pouring out of the remains of the *surā* (cf. TB. 1, 8, 6, 4 f.). The first is "O *soma*-faced Fathers become satiated" (TS. 1, 8, 21 g; TB. l. cit.; $B\acute{S}S.$ 17, 36: 314, 13; Vaikh. 11, 5: 125, 15; or, alternatively, the much longer *mantra*: "The

⁷⁴ See J. C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 79 ff., esp. p. 82.

⁷⁵ Caland and Henry, L'agniṣṭoma, p. 364.

⁷⁶ According to Caland, Śraut. $\bar{A}p.$ III, p. 70 perhaps the source of (this stanza in) $\bar{A}p.$ 19, 3, 7 (despite the difference in the *mantra*?).

⁷⁷ For this rite see W. Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 32, n. 7 (with references); J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, abr. ed., London 1957, p. 253.

s.-f. F. must revel (in the oblation)” (not in BŚS. and Vaikh.)—cf. KS. 29, 2 “The F. must r.; the *s.-f.* ones m. r.” which seems to have been Āp.’s source; HŚS. agrees completely with KS. —; “may we reach the lifetime appointed by the gods”—i.e. RV. 1, 89, 8 d (addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ), also in KS. 29, 2 quoted after the preceding words; otherwise used in VSM. 25, 21 (horse sacrifice); VSK. 27, 25; MS. 4, 14, 2: 217, 12; KS. 35, 1: 50, 8 (the source of ĀpŚS. 14, 16, 1; atonements for those who perform a *soma* sacrifice); MGS. 1, 1, 21 (when a person practising observances touches his limbs, an act that is to transmit the power inherent in the *mantra* to one’s body; also among the propitiatory *mantras* of TĀ. 1, 1, 1; 21, 3 —; “the (*soma*) drunk by Indra is splendid”—also KS. 1. cit. after the preceding —; finally, a repetition of the above “may we . . .” (just as in KS.).

The *śrautasūtras* of Lāṭyāyana (5, 4, 14) and Drāhyāyana (13, 4, 7)⁷⁸ are remarkable in that they enjoin those present to pronounce the prayer “They cleansing sieve, O Agni, that is spread out in the midst of thy fiery glow⁷⁹, with that O *brahman*⁸⁰, cleanse me” when the beverage is poured out into the sieve. This *mantra* is KS. 38, 2: 102, 8 (where “*br.* must cleanse me”); VS. 19, 41 (likewise); TB. 1, 4, 8, 2 (where “we purify ourselves” instead of “c. m.”); MS. 3, 11, 10: 156, 3 (likewise); the first *pāda* also in TB. 2, 6, 3, 4. It clearly belongs to the *kaulikī* ritual and is, except for *pāda* c (which is *b. t. punīhi nah*) identical with RV. 9, 67, 23⁸¹, where *brahman* in the sense of Vedic text, *mantra*, is the object.

The nine *mantras* which mention the Fathers (*pitṛmatīḥ*) and ‘are addressed to Soma’ (Āp. 19, 3, 8; cf. Vaikh., see below) are TS. 2, 6, 12 b–k, a chapter containing stanzas to be used as invitatory and consecratory *mantras* etc. at the sacrifice to the Fathers⁸²; cf. also TB. 2, 6, 16, 1. They are all in the RV., viz. as 1, 91, 1 (Soma hymn) praising Soma as an inspired sage and leader of the Fathers; 9, 96, 11 stating that the Fathers (“our fathers”) have performed their ritual deeds with Soma; 8, 48, 13 (to Soma) expressing the desire to worship this god, who is in agreement with the Fathers, with an oblation; 10, 15, 11 (to the Fathers), inviting them to be present and to eat the offerings that are placed on the *barhis*; 10, 15, 4 imploring them to come, to enjoy the oblations and to give those speaking happiness and welfare; 10, 15, 3 “I have found the Fathers . . . who sit on the *barhis*”; 10, 15, 5 “the Fathers being invited must come . . .; they must intercede for us and help us”; 10, 15, 1 “the . . .

⁷⁸ See J. Gonda, *The ritual sūtras*, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 538 ff.

⁷⁹ See e.g. RV. 9, 67, 23.

⁸⁰ I.e. truth (reality, *satyam*), endless knowledge embodied in the threefold Veda, or the Highest Brahman (comm.).

⁸¹ See J. Gonda, Agni in RV. 9, 66 and 67, JRAS 1979, p. 137 ff.

⁸² For details see A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 219 f.

Fathers, worthy of *soma*, who have lived their lives while knowing the universal Order must help us"; 10, 15, 2 homage to the Fathers. Content and use of these stanzas need no comment. They are in a somewhat different order—see also MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 6 ff., and KS. 21, 14 where only b–h⁸³—and with interruptions also found in VS. 19, 49; 52–57; 59; 68 (*kaukili sautrāmaṇī*), 19, 50 being RV. 10, 14, 6 (to Yama), 19, 51 RV. 10, 15, 8; 19, 58 being another invitation and prayer for help and 60–67 stemming mainly from RV. 10, 15. The same *mantras*—*pitṛmatibhiḥ saumibhiḥ yājyānuvākyābhiḥ*, the second word not in all manuscripts, the third not in Āp.—are prescribed in Vaikh. 11, 5: 125, 17. BŚS. 17, 36 differs from these texts in prescribing the use of the eight stanzas beginning with "The One who purifies himself, produced in heaven"⁸⁴, viz. TB. 1, 4, 8, 1 ff.; see also (in a different order) MS. 3, 11, 10: 155, 12 ff.; KS. 38, 2: 102, 4 ff. (where 7 and 8 are wanting); VS. 19, 42; 39–41; 43; 44 (only six); ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 13 (*agnistoma*); 14, 30, 1 (*prāyascittas, soma* sacrifice); they are successively RV. 9, 67, 22; 27; –; (the last *pāda* excepted) 23; 25; RVkhila 3, 11, 2; –; 9, 67, 26 and are unmistakably purificatory in character, every stanza expressing the wish to be purified by Soma, Agni or Savitar. BŚS. (17, 36: 314, 15) continues: 'If (the sacrificer) is excessively purged by *soma* (three officiants) adore (the god), standing erect, with the *yājyānuvākyās* of the Fathers', viz. RV. 10, 15, 1 (TS. 2, 6, 12 i); 3 (g); 2 (k), for which see above. – For the different stanzas of the *kaukili* ritual see ĀpŚS. 19, 8, 14 ff. – The *sūtras* of the Maitrāyaṇīyas disagree with Āpastamba etc. MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 31 and VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 79 (*caraka*) and 51 (*kaukili*) prescribe the use of twelve stanzas, according to the former at the (three) oblations and for the *sviṣṭakṛt* offerings⁸⁵. These stanzas, found in MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 6–158, 1, except the stanzas k and i (as observed in 5, 1, 4, 18), are the following: b, c, d, f, h, g of the above series of TS. 2, 6, 12; "Tasted by the (funeral fire), fostering the Universal Order, O Fathers, be gracious to us, for a complete lifetime, for life" —which according to the Concordance is not found elsewhere –; "We invite them, tasted by Agni . . . these wise ones must, well invoked, be gracious to us . . ." (cf. TB. 2, 6, 16, 1; VS. 19, 61); st. e of TS. 2, 6, 12; a stanza which is identical with RV. 1, 96, 1 (eulogizing Agni, the giver of desired good)—the quotation at AiB. 5, 15, 8 can be left undiscussed—and after RV. 10, 15, 9 (see below) and RV. 4, 11, 3 (to Agni; also KS. 21, 14: 56, 7) in ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 24 mentioned as *sviṣṭakṛt mantras* (, 25

⁸³ Part of them are also found among the funeral stanzas of AVŚ. XVIII.

⁸⁴ For these stanzas see my article on Agni in RV. 9, 66 and 67 (fn. 81 above).

⁸⁵ Cf. MŚS. 1, 7, 6, 6; 32–35 (sacrifice to the Fathers). – A (secondary) oblation is offered to Agni 'who makes well offered (viz. what has been given to the gods, *sviṣṭakṛt*)' at the end of the main offering in order to make this properly and formally executed. In the Mahāpitṛyajña it is replaced by an oblation to Agni Kavyavāhana; see ĀpŚS. 8, 15, 20 (with Caland's note, Śraut. d. Āp. II, Amsterdam Acad. 1924, p. 52); 19, 3, 11.

stating the identity of Agni *sv.* and Agni *kavyavāhana*); RV. 1, 96, 2 (eulogizing Agni who thanks to the ancient invocatory formula and the poetic art of Āyu, i.e. the performer of the traditional Soma cult procreated the human beings; on this stanza see AiB. 2, 33, 5 ff.); and RV. 10, 15, 9 (for 10, 15 see above) inviting Agni to approach together with the Fathers, and occurring also in TB. 2, 6, 16, 2, also—except for *pāda* c and variants—AVŚ. 18, 3, 47, employed in the atharvanic *piṇḍapitryajña* Kauś. 87, 22. RV. 10, 15, 9: ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 24 (see above); ŚŚS. 3, 16, 10 in the *pitryeṣṭi* at the *sākamedha* ritual; MŚS. 5, 1, 4, 17 also mentions them in that *pitryeṣṭi*, where it may have belonged earlier. With the exception of the stanzas 10 and 12 the above *mantras* are also given in KS. 21, 14: 55, 5–56, 4.

VārŚS. 3, 2, 8, 80 prescribes the use of a *mantra* “The Fathers must be pleased; may we attain the full span of life appointed by the gods”, the second half of which occurs also in ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 7 (see above), the former being in this form not known to me from elsewhere.

The formula prescribed by ŚŚS. 15, 15, 13 to accompany the partaking of the *surā*, viz. “The (*soma*) which the Aśvins took from the asuric Namuci, (which) Sarasvatī pressed out . . . this I here consume” occurs also in some cases with a variant, in TB. 2, 6, 3, 1 (c); MS. 3, 11, 7: 151, 2; KS. 38, 2: 101, 11; VS. 19, 34; ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 3, adding that ‘they (now) offer this *surā* liquor on the southern fire and thereby keep (the sacrificer) from evil’; also VaitŚ. 30, 12, and *pratikena* Āp. 19, 8, 10; MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 23; VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 48; KŚS. 19, 3, 10. Although LŚS. 5, 4, 15 and DŚS. 13, 4, 8 mention it, like ŚŚS., in their *caraka* sections the *mantra* clearly belongs to the *kaukili sautrāmaṇi*.

The *mantra* “When, O Agni, conveyer of oblations to the Fathers . . .” of ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 11 (TS. 2, 6, 12 m; also TB. 2, 6, 16, 2), found also at VaikhŚS. 11, 5: 126, 1—and 9, 8: 97, 7, sacrifice to the Fathers, *sākamedha*⁸⁶, and together with the following *mantra* ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 29; cf. ĀpŚS. 8, 15, 20—is a variant of RV. 10, 16 (addressed to the crematory fire), 11 (where “Agni carrying corpses”) which with “conveying obl. to the F.” occurs also as VS. 19, 65 and KS. 21, 14: 56, 5; the stanza expresses the expectation that this god will announce the oblations to the gods and the Fathers. The two other *mantras*—implied in Āp., but quoted *pratikena* in BŚS. 9, 8: 97, 7; 10 see above—are TS. 2, 6, 12 n and o representing RV. 10, 15, 12 where it is stated that Agni conveyed the oblations to the Fathers who ate them, and 10, 14 (addressed to Yama), 3 making mention of deceased ancestors whom the gods magnified etc. As to the former cf. VSM. 19, 66 (where “conveyer of obl. to the F.” instead of *jātavedas*); VSK. 21, 66; TB. 2, 6, 16, 2; AVŚ. 18, 3, 42 and Kauś. 89, 13 (*piṇḍapitryajña*); cf. also ŚŚS. 3, 16, 10 (*sākamedha*, see above). The latter occurs also as AVŚ. 18, 1, 47 (with a different *pāda* d); MS. 4, 14, 6: 243, 4; TB. 2, 6, 16, 2;

⁸⁶ For particulars see e.g. Keith, Religion and philosophy, p. 322.

AiB. 3, 37, 11 with \bar{A} śvŚS. 5, 20, 6; ŚŚS. 8, 6, 13 (addressed to Yama, after ṚV. 10, 15, 1–3 addressed to the Fathers, *āgnimāruta śastra*, *soma sacrifice* ⁸⁷). Obviously a group of stanzas that could be appropriately used on various occasions for worshipping the Fathers or sacrificing to them.

When the so-called ‘animal sacrificial cakes’ (*paśupuroḍāśa*, cf. \bar{A} pŚS. 19, 2, 15 f.) are offered (cf. \bar{A} p. 19, 4, 3) MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 43 prescribes the use of the following series of mantras (*pratikena*), which is not employed elsewhere not even in VārŚS.: 1, MS. 4, 12, 5: 191, 4, that is ṚV. 10, 131, 6 (which is identical with ṚV. 6, 47, 12, part of the family hymn of the Bharadvājas ⁸⁸, in which this stanza and the following (=ṚV. 10, 131, 7) join a stanza imploring Indra, the good protector and good helper, to show mercy and to restrain the enmity etc.); TS. 1, 7, 13 l (special sacrifices to Indra, forming with the following stanza a pair of *yājyānuvākyaś*, the *kāmyeṣṭis* being described in TS. 2, 2, 8, where a man who has recourse to Indra Sutrāman is said to be protected by the god and to become ‘unexpellable’); KS. 8, 16: 100, 17; 17, 18: 263, 1 in collections of *yājyānuvākyaś*: AVŚ. 7, 91, 1—used in Kauś. 59, 7 by one desiring a village; in 140, 6 to accompany an offering of butter in Indra’s festival ⁸⁹ and more appropriately reckoned to belong to a group of stanzas for safety (AVPar. 32, 12; see Kauś. 16, 8) and for auspicious progress (AVPar. 32, 11; see Kauś. 25, 36); and, in the *kaukilī sautrāmaṇi* VS. 20, 51 (where st. 50 is ṚV. 6, 47, 11; see above).

2, MS. 4, 12, 5: 191, 6, i.e. ṚV. 6, 47, 13; 10, 131, 7 (with an insignificant variant; see above), of which *pādas* a b=ṚV. 3, 1, 21 cd (Agni); 59, 4 cd (Mitra); ab also MS. 4, 14, 12: 235, 10; in MS. 4, 12 after the preceding; similarly in TS. 1, 7, 13, 5 m; KS. 8, 16: 100, 19; 17, 18: 263, 1; AV. 7, 92, 1 (for 91 see above) is the above ṚV. stanza with the inverted order of the two lines, regarded to belong to the *svastyayana* formulae (see above) and by the commentator combined with 7, 91. In the *kaukilī* ritual: VS. 20, 52. In ṚV. 10, 131, 6 and 7 Indra Sutrāman is besought to be merciful, to ward off enmity, and to grant his favour to those speaking.

3 is the famous *sāvitrī* stanza ṚV. 3. 62, 10, a prayer for spiritual illumination, likewise quoted *pratikena*, which is one of the *yājyānuvākyaś* of MS. 4, 10, 3 (: 149, 14), corresponding with TS. 4, 1, 11 g (on the occasion of the placing of the fire in the fire-pan, where it is unusual); though often quoted in Vedic texts it is elsewhere foreign to the *saotrāmaṇi* ritual.

4 is ṚV. 4, 54, 3, addressed to Savitar, praying the god to convince gods and men of the innocence of those speaking if they have unwittingly committed a sin; MS. 4, 10, 3: 149, 16 (after the preceding); TS. 4, 1, 11 h

⁸⁷ Cf. Caland and Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 372 ff.

⁸⁸ Cf. Gonda, *Vedic literature*, p. 131; 192.

⁸⁹ See J. Gonda, *The Indra festival according to the Atharvavedins*, JAOS 87 (1967), p. 413 (S.S. IV, p. 207).

(similarly), although utilizable in various contexts, likewise foreign to the *sautrāmaṇī*.

5 is the oft quoted stanza RV. 1, 25, 19 praying Varuṇa, to whom the *sūkta* is addressed, for mercy: MS. 4, 10, 2: 146, 8 (*sakalapāthena*); 4, 10, 4: 153, 5; 4, 12, 4: 188, 13 (*pratīkena*); 4, 17, 4: 246, 1 (*sak.*); TS. 2, 1, 11 (among the *yājyānuvākyaś* for *kāmyeṣṭis*); 2, 5, 12 1; 4, 2, 11 r (in another context). In the *kaukili sautrāmaṇī* only in VS. 21, 1 where it combines with the following (VS. 21, 2) to constitute the invitatory and consecratory stanzas for the offering of a rice-cake to Varuṇa. Though foreign to the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual they suit this particular context well.

6 is the likewise often found RV. 1, 24, 11, addressing Varuṇa and asking him not to be angry and to spare the speakers' life. It often combines with the preceding one—see TS. 2, 1, 11, 6 v and w; MS. 4, 10, 2: 146, 8; 10; 4, 14, 17: 246, 1; 3; KS. 4, 16: 43, 17: 19; ĀśvŚS. 2, 17, 15; in a domestic rite described in PGS. 1, 2, 8 (with VS. 21, 3; 4 and 4 other stanzas from KŚS. and VS.). Stanza 6 alone is in VS. 18, 49 used in a ritual concerning Agni with whom Varuṇa is now identified.

It is abundantly clear that the use of these six stanzas in this connexion is—as far as appears from the sources—proper to the Mānavas who had made a choice from suitable *mantras* known to them from other rituals and combined them so as to form a whole that was regarded as appropriate to the occasion: two stanzas are addressed to Indra Sutrāman, a central figure in this ritual, two to Savitar, the divine stimulator, two are prayers for mercy addressed to Varuṇa. It is worth noticing that in the *kaukili* ritual of the Vājasaneyins two pairs of these stanzas were adopted also.

According to Vār. ParS., Ākulapāda 7 the invitatory and consecratory stanzas relating to the animal cake for Varuṇa should be the frequently quoted stanzas MS. 4, 10, 4: 153, 9 and 153, 10. They are RV. 1, 24, 15 and 14, the final stanzas of a hymn addressed to Agni, Savitar and Varuṇa, in which the god mentioned last is praised and implored to forgive the sins of those speaking, to free them from his fetters, and to spare their lives. They are quoted together as TS. 1, 5, 11 k and i (*mantras* for an offering to Varuṇa: the *iṣṭis* dealt with in the chapter on the full and new moon ceremonies); 2, 5, 12, f e; MS. 4, 14, 17: 246, 5 and 7; TB. 2, 7, 16, 4 (consecration of a king); MŚS. 5, 1, 3, 26 (*varuṇapraghāsa*); ĀpŚS. 17, 22, 3 (*agnicayana*); ŚŚS. 6, 10, 11 (with other *mantras*, *agniṣṭoma*, victim immolated to Varuṇa) and 8, 11, 5 (*avabhṛtha* of a *soma* sacrifice; see above). Two prayers of unambiguous meaning which could be appropriately used in several sacrificial rites and were no doubt not specially made for the *sautrāmaṇī*.

The formula of Āp. 19, 4, 5 occurs also 7, 26, 8 where it properly belongs (animal sacrifice); 13, 16, 12 and 14, 2, 1 where the acts described in 7, 26, 8 ff. are likewise to take place; with Āp. 7, 26 corresponds Vaikh. 10, 20: 119, 11 (not in the *sautrāmaṇī*); KŚS. 6, 9, 7; MŚS. 1, 8, 6, 1 and VārŚS. 1, 6, 7, 21 (on the same occasion).

Of the five parallel stanzas of $\bar{A}p\acute{S}S.$ 19, 4, 9 (and without the fifth $B\acute{S}S.$ 17, 38: 316, 2 ff.) the former three, with which the vessels for the oblations offered to the $A\acute{s}vins$, $Sarasvat\bar{i}$ and $Indra$ are thrown into the water, are found in $TB.$ 1, 4, 2, 3 f.; the variants occurring in $MS.$ 2, 3, 3: 30, 10 ff. have "O king" instead of "O god", and here four *mantras* are given; see also $KS.$ 12, 6: 168, 19; the last only in $\bar{A}p.$, $Hir.$ and $Vaikh.$ 11, 6: 126, 7-10 (probably following $\bar{A}p.$). Compare also $M\acute{S}S.$ 5, 2, 1, 20; 3 dealing with *istis* with a special wish. The ritual act mentioned in $\bar{A}p.$ 19, 4, 9 is the counterpart of the *somaliptāpaplavanam* 'the washing off of (everything) smeared with *soma*' at the end of a *soma* sacrifice⁹⁰. Whereas sacrificers are delivered from $Varu\bar{a}$'s noose and in consequence are healthy and sinless by means of a $Varu\bar{a}$ praghāsa sacrifice ($\acute{S}B.$ 5, 2, 4, 2) this *mantra* states that they remove the noose—so as to be released from sinfulness—by means of the act described (cf. $\bar{A}p.$ 19, 10, 5 in the *kaukilī* ritual where the noose is said to be fettered in return (*pratiyutah*)). For an exposition of this theme, being freed from $Varu\bar{a}$'s noose at the end of a *soma* sacrifice ('whatever sin he has committed in the year before, that thereby he propitiates') see $TS.$ 6, 6, 3; $MS.$ 4, 8, 5 and cf. $\acute{S}B.$ 4, 4, 5, 1-22. For the part played by $Varu\bar{a}$ in this sacrificial ritual see also $\acute{S}B.$ 5, 5, 4, 31 'why there is an (oblation) for $Varu\bar{a}$? $V.$ is the injurer, and he (the officiant) thus heals (the sacrificer) even by him who is the injurer...'—Both the metres and the gods are enumerated here in their normal order; see e.g. $\acute{S}B.$ 6, 3, 1, 38; 7, 2, 13 and 12, 8, 3, 18, and above, $\bar{A}p\acute{S}S.$ 19, 1, 5⁹¹.

Before concluding its description $B\acute{S}S.$ 17, 38: 316, 10 ff. prescribes the use of some formulae in connexion with firewood that is to be placed on the *āhavanīya* fire etc. The formula "Thou art firewood; may we thrive" (*edho 'sy edhiṣimahi*) accompanying the taking up of (three) pieces of firewood occurs also at $TS.$ 1, 4, 45 k; 6, 6, 3, 5 (*soma* sacrifice⁹², also $MS.$ 1, 3, 39: 46, 11; 4, 8, 5: 113, 16; $KS.$ 4, 13: 38, 9; $KapS.$ 3, 11: 35, 12 etc., cf. $\acute{S}B.$ 12, 9, 2, 10) and in the *kaukilī sautrāmaṇi* at $VS.$ 20, 23 (at 38, 25 at the end of the *pravargya* ritual); $TB.$ 2, 6, 6, 4; $KS.$ 38, 5: 107, 4; in $M\acute{S}S.$ 1, 7, 4, 46 however at the end of the *varuṇapraghāsa* (lustral bath, see above).

The three pieces of fuel are laid on the *āhavanīya* with "Thou art fuel"; "Thou art fiery energy (*tejas*)"; "Place f. e. in me" ($B\acute{S}S.$ 17, 38: 316, 11) which often combine with the preceding one. 'He thereby kindles the

⁹⁰ See Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 399.

⁹¹ $B\acute{S}S.$ 17, 38: 316, 8 states that one should not chant the *sāman*, nor recite the formula "This, O divine Waters, is your embryo..." ($TS.$ 1, 4, 45 h; 6, 6, 3, 4; $VS.$ 8, 26 etc., at the end of *soma* sacrifice), $\acute{S}B.$ 4, 4, 5, 21 annotating 'for he (Soma) indeed is the child of the Waters'. Intelligibly enough, the other texts do not mention this formula in the *sautrāmaṇi* section.

⁹² I refer to Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 404.

fire, and thus kindled, it kindles him with fiery energy' (ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 10).

Thereupon they should adore the *āhavanīya* fire with (BŚS. 316, 12) "I have moved after the waters . . . , do thou unite me with brilliance-and-prestige (*varcas*)" which is a variant of RV. 1, 23, 23 (addressed to Agni as Apām Napāt) or of the identical RV. 10, 9 (addressed to the Waters), 9 and belonging to the same set of stanzas (cf. also JB. 2, 67 f.) follows in TS. as 1, 4, 45 l (and 46 f) the *mantra edho 'si* . . . ; see also TB. 2, 6, 6, 5 and the explanation in ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 9 'he thereby secures for himself the essence of the waters . . . (and) thereby invokes a blessing'.

The so-called *kusīda* stanza, with which the *adhvaryu* should offer the flour of parched barley on the fire and which is a prayer for remission of, and requital for, the debt to Yama which the sacrificer has contracted, is in the section on the final bath (*soma* sacrifice) found in TS. 3, 3, 8, 1 with an explanation in 4: 'having made requital of the loan to Yama, he goes freed from the debt to the world of heaven'; the sacrificer has become indebted to Yama because he had strewn the *vedi* with plants, which he has to burn in order to be freed from debt. This act and this stanza again belong to the final rites of the *soma* sacrifice⁹³; see TS. 1. cit.; ĀpŚS. 13, 24, 15; VaikhŚS. 16, 28: 237, 7; MŚS. 2, 5, 5, 18⁹⁴; see also BŚS. 4, 11: 126, 14 (animal sacrifice).

⁹³ Cf. Caland and Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 409 f.

⁹⁴ For a prayer for freedom from debt at the end of the ritual see MŚS. 2, 5, 5, 22. Notice also GGS. 4, 4, 26: if one cannot pay a debt one should perform a definite sacrifice with this stanza.

The Kaukili Sautrāmaṇī

The stanza TB. 2, 6, 1 b,¹ quoted Āp. 19, 5, 11 "Pour (plur.) around here the pressed, the *soma*, the supreme oblation; the *soma* . . . which has run within the waters, (the officiant) has pressed it out with the stones" which, accompanying the sprinkling of the *surā* that is being prepared with the milk of one cow, is to state the identity of the beverage (in this ritual context it is *soma*, not *surā*: *somaṃ pariśrudrūpam* and *somaṃ surārūpam āpannam*, Mah. on VS.) is RV. 9, 107, 1. In the same context also MS. 3, 11, 7: 149, 18; MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 4; VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 56; KS. 37, 18: 98, 17; VS. 19, 2 (KŚS. 19, 1, 22); ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 12 with the comment: 'he pours in (the milk) for the sake of (conformity with) the pressing of the *soma*'; 'he thus makes it to be the supreme offering'; 'for both with water and between it is he (Soma) pressed out . . . etc.'. The occurrence of the stanza in the *soma* ritual (the midday-*pavamāna*-laud of the 9th day) in PB. 15, 3, 3 is based on SV. I, 512=II, 663. For non-*śrauta* employment see SVidhB. 1, 4, 3 where the use of the *sāman* section with this text (taken from the SV.) is said to be equivalent to an *atirātra* ritual; according to 1, 7, 9 it should also be employed by a student of the Veda who has to do penance because he has broken his vow of chastity.

TB. 2, 6, 1 f "The brahminical order, nobility, fiery energy, the complete command of physical and psychical faculties purify themselves" (or, "are purified", or possibly also "He (the officiant) purifies (in his own interest) the b. o., n. etc."); "the pressed *soma* is with the *surā* distilled (cf. ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 6; 8, 2, 12) for (in order to become) intoxicating drink (and to bring about rapture, inspiration etc.). O god, satiate the gods with the clear (juice); give food with flavour to the sacrificer" accompanies the clarification of the *surā*; this process and the *mantra* are believed to bring about the purification of the brahminical order etc.: ĀpŚS. 19, 6, 13. MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 10 reads ". . . the p. *soma* of the *surā*"; MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 14 has it recited after (*anunigadati*) the *mantras* used in 13 for the benefit of a person who has vomited etc. *soma*, without an indication of a ritual act, but nevertheless intelligible: the preceding process is a sort of purification; in VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 59 it however accompanies the purifying of milk after the purification of the *surā*; KS. 37, 17: 98, 20; VS. 19, 5 (KŚS. 19, 2, 11) where it is used to clarify milk (see also ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 12), U. and Mah. interpreting the *mantra* so as to give *pavate* the active meaning and to explain it as 'to produce, create' (the sacrifice being the source of all things), to make the milk (*payas*) the object and the *mantra*

¹ The reader may once again be referred to Dumont, Proc. Am. Phil. Soc. 109, p. 309 ff.

the instrument, and to explain 'pressed out' as 'made sharp'. Pursuing this line of thought more or less esoterically ŚB., l. cit., says that 'he clarifies the milk; he thus produces the *ksatra* from out of the *brahman*, for from out of the brahminical order the nobility is produced'; 'he bestows *tejas* and *indriyam* (mentioned in the *mantra*) on him' . . . ; 'he secures both the joy (*mada*, in the *mantra*) of the *soma* and the joy of the *surā* . . . ; he thereby bestows sap and food on the sacrificer'. Etc. From the grammatical point of view highly questionable and departing from the traditional *sautrāmanī* doctrine in order to introduce the favourite theme of the relations between the social classes.

The stanza "Well then . . ." (*kuvid aṅga*) is at ĀpŚS. 19, 6, 15 quoted from TB. 2, 6, 1, 3 g (see above).

The formula "Thou art taken upon a support" is here followed by "I take thee as agreeable to the Aśvins" (TB. 2, 6, 1, 3 h; ĀpŚS. 19, 7, 1; 4, also KB. 37, 18: 99, 3); cf. ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 9. (For the parallel formulae (" . . . Sarasvatī", ". . . I.S.") see TB. *ibidem*, ĀpŚS. 19, 7, 1; 5; KS. 37, 18: 99, 3).

The non-specific formula "For fiery energy thee" after "This is thy birthplace" occurs TB. 2, 6, 1 i; Āp. 19, 7, 1; VS. 19, 6 accompanying the placing of a cup of milk for the Aśvins on the mound, also KS. 37, 18: 99, 4 and in another ritual context Āp. 2, 6, 5 (full and new moon ceremonies, when a vessel is taken from the fire); VaikhŚS. 5, 3: 54, 14; VS. 15, 8 (*agnicayana*, addressing a definite brick); KS. 40, 2: 135, 19. — The formula "For manly energy thee" (*vīrāya tvā*) for Sarasvatī occurs TB., Āp., VS., KS., *ll. cit.* and Vaikh. 15, 22: 203, 10 (*agniṣṭoma*); the last, "For physical power thee" for Indra Sutrāman, *ibidem* and TS. 4, 3, 7, 2 (*agnicayana*, in a series of similar formulae); similarly in AVŚ. 19, 37, 3 in connexion with an amulet, to receive various blessings. For the Aśvins and *tejas*, Sarasvatī and *vīryam*, Indra and *balam* ('qualities' which these gods are said to possess and to give) see VS. 20, 80; TB. 2, 6, 5, 2 f.; VS. 20, 3 etc.; MS. 3, 11, 8: 151, 13; for Indra and physical strength (*balam*) also ṚV. 1, 80, 8; 3, 53, 18; 7, 82, 2; 10, 153, 2 etc.

As to the three formulae of TB. 2, 6, 1, 5 l which accompanying the drawing of the three draughts of *surā* and the three formulae of TB. 2, 6, 1, 5 m with which the *pratiprasthātar* deposits them on the mound, they occur Āp. 19, 7, 4–6; Vār. 3, 2, 7, 67; KS. 37, 18: 99, 7; VS. 19, 8.

The three formulae of TB. 2, 6, 1 m (after *eṣa te yonih*), viz. "For delight (happiness, greatness) (I deposit) thee" occur also Āp. 19, 7, 4–6; KS. 37, 18: 99, 8; VS. 19, 8.

With the rest of TB. 2, 6, 1 and the nine stanzas of 2, 6, 2 the *adhvaryu* and the sacrificer must, standing, pay reverence (*upatiṣṭhate*) to the draughts of *surā* on the mound (Āp. 19, 7, 8). The former series consists of four non-specific, parallel double formulae, viz. "Thou art (re)creative (authoritative, inaugurative) power (*ojas*); place *ojas* in me"; ". . . ardour (spirit, passion, *manyu*) . . ."; ". . . greatness (eminence in power, genius etc.

(*mahas*²) . . . ”; “. . . overwhelming power (*sahas*) . . . ”, of which the third occurs only in TB. 2, 6, 1, 5 m; the second in TB. and VS. 19, 9—where the complete series consists of *tejas*, *vīryam*, *balam* (see above), *ojas*, *manyu*, *sahas*, triads being expected —; the first parts of the first and the last are often found elsewhere, their last parts being subject to variation. I only mention the occurrence of the formulae with *ojas*, *sahas* and *balam* in AVŚ. 2, 17, which is to be recited by a person who wishes to obtain various gifts. The commentary on TB. does not explain the addition of a fourth formula. Since however the three former formulae are to accompany the mixing of animals’ hairs in the beverage (Mah. on VS. 19, 9) the occurrence of the fourth formula seems to have been occasioned by the hawk’s feather (see below).

The stanza “Let Viṣūcikā (the deity of a serious illness, characterized by vomiting, diarrhoea etc.³), who protects (spares) these two, the tiger and the wolf, the winged hawk and the lion, protect this one (i.e. the sacrificer) from distress” (TB. 2, 6, 1 o) must be viewed in the light of Āp. 19, 2, 10, referred to in 19, 7, 7, where hair of a lion, a tiger and a wolf are respectively mixed in the *surā* destined for the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra (according to others the order of the animals is wolf, tiger, lion, Mah. on VS. 19, 9). Also MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 14; MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 20, where (the *adhvaryu*) is said to purify the sacrificer with the feather of a hawk, which explains the occurrence of the fourth animal in the *mantra*; KS. 37, 18: 99, 9; VS. 19, 10; ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 21 (without explanation); KŚS. 19, 2, 27 observing ‘in a way resembling the *dīkṣā*’. In the description of the *caraka sautrāmanī* ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 10 a lion sprang from what flowed from Indra’s nose when the *soma* flowed from the openings of his body, a wolf from what flowed from his ears, a tiger and other wild animals from that which flowed from his lower opening. Somewhat otherwise in ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 8 (*kaukilī* ritual): from his urine creative or inaugurative power (authority, *ojas*) flowed, and became the wolf: from the contents of his intestines his fury which became the tiger; from his blood his overwhelming power (*sahas*) which became the lion.

The two parallel lines TB. 2, 6, 1 p “Uniting ye are; unite me with happiness. Disunity ye are; disunite me from evil” occur in this form and in this ritual also at KS. 37, 18: 99, 11; VS. 19, 11 last part, Mah. observing that the cups of *surā* are addressed, and ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 22 (where only this portion of VS. 19, 11 is quoted) annotating that with the first half “he touches the cups of milk so as to endow him (the sacrificer) with prosperity and fame, with the second half he touches the cups of *surā*

² See J. Gonda, The meaning of Skt. *mahas* . . ., Journal Or. Inst. of Baroda, 8 (1959), p. 234 ff. (= Selected Studies, Leiden 1975, II, p. 448 ff.).

³ Although *viṣūci* (*ikā*) is usually equated with cholera and many cases of cholera may have been diagnosed as such, it is in all probability not that illness; see G. J. Meulenbeld, The Mādhavanidhāna, Thesis Utrecht, Leiden 1974, p. 622.

so as to keep him from evil; cf. KŚS. 19, 2, 29 f. – The double formula occurs also at TB. 1, 3, 3, 6; Āp. 18, 7, 1; Vaikh. 17, 17: 247, 6 and 7 in the *vājapeya* ritual when the *adhvaryu* moves with a cup of *soma* and the first half in the eastern direction and the *pratiprasthatar* with a cup of *surā* towards the west; similarly MŚS. 7, 1, 3, 30; Vār. 3, 1, 2, 36. – For a similar *mantra* see VS. 9, 4 (*vājapeya*).

As to the first half of VS. 19, 11 “When, a delighted boy, I bruised my mother (viz. with my feet, U., Mah.) as I sucked (her breast), so now, O Agni, I become thereby free from my debt . . .”, while pronouncing this the sacrificer has to look at the fire (Mah.); it is quoted without comment in ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 21. Act and *mantra* have nothing to do with the *sautrāmaṇī* but could be inserted almost anywhere: by reciting it in Agni’s presence (comm.) one becomes free from debt to one’s parents (cf. *pāda* d). VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 45 quotes it *sakalapāthena* at an earlier moment but it does not occur in TB. 2, 6, 1; MS.; KS.

With some exceptions, which have been mentioned, the formulae contained in TB. 2, 6, 1 are in the same order and wording also found in MS., KS., VS. They may therefore be regarded as inherited by the adherents of the Yajurveda. There are, on the other hand, differences in the length of the relative chapters and the number of the *mantras*. While TB. and KS. are in this respect fairly identical, MS. has after 3, 11, 7: 150, 14 which is TB. 2, 6, 1 o the four *mantras* which correspond with TB. 2, 6, 3 a–d; KS. 38, 2: 101, 7–14; VS. 19, 32–35 (see below).

The passage VS. 12–31 is of greater interest. As already observed by Uvāṭa, Mahīdhara and Griffith⁴ their purport is, generally speaking, “to show the close interconnexion of the *sautrāmaṇī* with the *soma* sacrifice (the conformity of both rituals, cf. U.), the sacrificial elements, vessels, implements, lauds and hymns that are used in the former being regarded as forms, types, symbols or reproductions of those employed in the latter”. The twenty stanzas are neither found in other texts nor quoted or explained in KŚS. and ŚB. We cannot therefore doubt that they constitute a later addition.

VS. 19, 12 can be described as a transitional stanza in which the mythical event is briefly recapitulated. Pāda a is ṚV. 10, 90, 6 b (part of the famous Puruṣa hymn which is incorporated in VS. as 31, 1–16) which occurs also as AV. 19, 6, 10 b (cf. 7, 5, 4 b a so-called mystic text on the significance of sacrificing). The other *pādas*—d has nine syllables—do not, as far as I am able to see, occur elsewhere. – Referring to Griffith’s translation and explanatory notes I confine my remarks to the following. The stanzas 13–16 are very much alike in structure. The words “the seat represents the throne of the king” (*āsandī rūpāṃ rājāsandyatī*) in 16 mean ‘the seat of the sacrificer is the counterpart of (stands in the place of) the throne of

⁴ R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, ²Benares 1927, p. 207.

King Soma' ⁵. – The translation of 17 a should be “By (constructing) the (present) sacrificial bed the s. b. (of the *soma* sacrifice) is completely acquired (i.e. one takes possession of the exact counterpart of the . . .)”. As to *indriyām* Griffith's translation “power” (between commas) is not clear; Mah. supplies *indriyeṇa samāpyate* “by *indriya vīrya* (Mah.) one . . .” and then “one is able to receive the fruits of both”. Is it not rather a passing reference to the belief that the one who performs the *sautrāmaṇi* restores his own *indriyam (vīryam)* and wrests it from his rival (cf. e.g. ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 4)? – Mantra 18: the meaning of *pāda a* is ‘(The fact that the ritual is connected with) the Aśvins leads to acquiring the oblation-receptacle (in which) the *soma* stalks (are conveyed)’ (cf. Mah.). *āgnīdhram*: the place where a sacrificial fire is kindled and the function of the officiant who kindles a sacred fire. *Pāda c* means ‘In that it is designed for Indra I.'s seat is acquired’. – The six sorts of food enumerated in 21 a and b represent *soma*. – On the three varieties of the jujube or fruits of the zizyphus jujuba mentioned in 22 and 23 (*kuvala, badara* and *karkandhu*) see KŚS. 19, 2, 17 ff.; ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 2 ff. ⁶. The word *parivāpa* (22 b) stands for fried or parched rice grain and is according to ĀpŚS. 12, 4, 13 synonymous with *lāja*; in the *soma* ritual this rice is scattered with the formula “for (agreeable to) Sarasvatī, for (agreeable to) Bharatī” (ibid. 6), whereas the scattering of other cereals is accompanied by formulae containing the names of other gods (see e.g. also RVkh. 5, 7, 4, 1–3). For the significance attached to cereals see e.g. TS. 6, 5, 11, 4; 7, 2, 10, 4; MS. 3, 10, 5: 137, 5. Remember also that according to the myth “from his (Indra's) marrow his drink, the *soma*-juice, flowed, and became rice”. – 25. *Nivid*: the technical name of eleven prose formularies consisting of a series of short sentences ⁷; U. and Mah. incorrectly explain the term by *nyūṅkha* ‘the change of the vowel of the second syllable etc. of a hemistich into an *o*’ (cf. e.g. ĀśvŚS. 7, 11, 5 ff.; ŚSS. 10, 5, 10 ff.). – 26. It may be remembered that Agni, Uṣas and the Aśvins are, in the *soma* ritual, the gods of the morning recitation (*prātaranuvāka*); the midday service is almost entirely Indra's; the Viśve Devāḥ take an important share in the evening service. – 29. Both U. and Mah. taking the stanza to be extremely succinctly worded explain: ‘by *idās* (the name of certain important libations between the fore- and after-offerings) one obtains *idās* etc.’ – 30. “Vow” or “observance” (*vrata*): that means, ‘by eating the remnants of the oblations’ (U. Mah.). Notice the succession and concatenation. *śraddhā* is by both commentators explained as *āstikya(-buddhi)* ‘the state of mind and mode of thinking

⁵ Compare U. and Mah. On the *rājāsandī* see W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'agniṣoma*, Paris 1906, p. 54.

⁶ See also J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* translated, V, Oxford 1900, p. 214, n. 3 and Meulenbeld, *The Mādhavanidāna*, p. 545; 580; 538 f.

⁷ Edited by J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 136 ff.; see also S. Niyogi, *A critical study of the nividis*, Calcutta 1961.

of him who believes in the Veda and the rites'. The *dakṣiṇā* ('the offering to be presented, at the end of a sacrifice, to the officiant(s)', not to be translated by 'fee') is based on *śraddhā* ('trustful faith' or 'confident belief' (TB. 3, 11, 9, 8; ŚB. 14, 6, 9, 21)⁸. – 31. *Brahmā*: according to Mah. identified with *Prajāpati*. This concluding stanza states the divine origin of the *sautrāmaṇī* as well as its being equivalent to the *soma* ritual.

TB. 2, 6, 2 a-i: these nine stanzas are implicitly indicated in ĀpŚS. 19, 7, 8. They correspond with KS. 38, 1: 100, 1-101, 6 (where the refrain is always repeated; there is only one significant variant, but *g* is missing); MS. 3, 11, 6: 148, 9-149, 17 (with the refrain, some variants, *g* missing and a different order, viz. a, c, b, d, e, h, f, i, MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 21 confining itself to the remark 'Purified he adores (*upatiṣṭhate* 'approaches reverently'; cf. KŚS. 19, 2, 25) the draughts with the chapter "King Soma . . .")'; VS. 19, 72-79 (with one significant variant, *g* missing and the same order as MS.; according to Mahīdhara the *adhvaryu* should adore the cups of milk and the cups of *surā* simultaneously, or either group of cups with four stanzas). While *g* does not occur in texts other than TB. the other eight stanzas are, as far as I am able to see, foreign to any other *śrauta* ritual or text. Stanza d beginning with "from food" (*annāt*) "by means of *brahman* nobility drank up separately the sap from the *parisrut* food; by the Universal Order . . ."⁹—is at MGS. 1, 20, 2 no doubt secondarily used as one of the *mantras* accompanying the first feeding of a child with solid food, the other *mantra* being the prayer for food and vigour MS. 2, 10, 1: 132, 5 (*agnicayana*). Elsewhere it is one of the *mantras* employed in offering food to the planets (Yājñ. 1, 300). – An interesting place is MGS. 1, 4, 15 where the study of e "Entering the vulva, *indriya*, i.e. semen, leaves the urine behind . . ." (MS. 3, 11, 6: 149, 4) is, in the neighbourhood of pregnant women, put under a ban¹⁰.

There can be no doubt whatever that this set of stanzas has been intentionally composed for the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual. Since it is in a fairly homogeneous form found in all four traditions it must be old. It expresses the main doctrines underlying the ritual, implicitly the identity of the *surā* which is the characteristic sacrificial beverage with the *soma*, the draught of continuance of life, and explicitly—and even continually—the idea of 'separate drinking' (*vipānam*), of the essential difference between two fluids or between the two components of one fluid¹¹. Uvāṭa and Mahīdhara, on VS. 19, 72, are unanimous in quoting the *śruti*, viz. ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 4 "In his (Namuci's) severed head there was the *soma* juice mixed with blood. They loathed it. They perceived that (means of) drinking separately (one of) the two liquids—quotation VS. 19, 72—and having

⁸ See J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, Stuttgart 1960 (#1978), p. 43.

⁹ For the refrain see below.

¹⁰ Cf. also J. S. Speyer, *Jātakarma*, Thesis Leiden 1872, p. 19.

¹¹ See above, p. 89 f.

thereby made that *soma* palatable, took it in (as food)". In stanza a it is clearly stated that "King Soma, having been pressed out, and—in consequence of that event (U.; Mah.)—having become *amṛta*, left Death behind with the *soma*-dregs"; b refers to the well-known example of drinking-so-as-to separate, the goose (*haṃsa*¹²)—enabled by (the power of the Veda, inherent in) the metrical text—drinking up (*vyapibat*) the *soma* from the waters; in c the other bird, the *kruñc*, drinking up by means of the power of inspiration (*dhī*) the milk from the waters¹³, is credited with the same ability; in d nobility, enabled by the power of *brahman* (i.e. the sacred words of the Veda), is said to have drunk up the juice (*rasa*) from the *parisrut* (in VS. 19, 75, which has one more *pāda*, viz. *payah somam prajāpatiḥ*, Prajāpati is the subject and nobility¹⁴, milk, *soma*, together with juice, object, in the other texts a translation "he drank . . . juice, (viz.) nobility, separating it from the *parisrut*" is also possible); in e it is stated that the semen when entering the vulva, leaves the urine behind and that the embryo leaves, by its birth, the enveloping membrane¹⁵: two other instances of separation; in f Prajāpati is described as separating (by drinking, *vyapibat*, MS., KS., VS.; *vyākarot* "separated", TB.) the two appearances, the real one and the unreal one¹⁶; in g, a sort of duplicate, the same god¹⁷ is said to have separated—by drinking, by means of *soma*, the *soma* that had been pressed out and the *soma* that had not been pressed out; h, repeating the contents of f, adds that the god put lack of faith (*āsraddhā*) into falsehood (*anṛta*), and faith (*śraddhā*) into truth (*satya*); in i Prajāpati, having seen the juice of the *parisrut*¹⁸ (i.e. the *surā*), is said to have drunk up the bright one (i.e. the *soma* juice) with the bright one (i.e. the milk); "he drank up (separately) the milk and the *soma* juice". As to the structure of this section it may be noticed that it begins with a reference to King Soma who leaves Death behind, and adds some striking examples of separating-by-drinking and some important instances of separation¹⁹ of something functional or valuable from something unimportant to introduce in the last stanzas the primordial

¹² Not with the secondary interpretations followed by U. and M. on VS. 19, 74 ("the sun"), or the comm. on TB. ("the individual soul").

¹³ See W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 268 f. on PB. 11, 10, 19.

¹⁴ *kṣatrasya pānam vaśikaraṇam* (U.).

¹⁵ The connexion between the two exemplifications is explained by the comm. on TB., I, p. 661: the embryo has developed from (is a *pariṇāma* of) the semen.

¹⁶ ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 12 mentions Prajāpati's inheritance, viz. "speech, truth and untruth (*satyānṛte*)".

¹⁷ One should not with the comm. on TB., I, p. 662 identify Prajāpati and Indra (the protector of creatures).

¹⁸ The comm. on TB. I, 661 explains *parisrut* by means of a simile: *yathā kṣatram kṣatriyajātīḥ brahmaṇā prauḍhena kṣīrājyādīnā yogāt paritaḥ sravantīti parisrut annam*.

¹⁹ *yathā ekakāraṇāni vasūni vivicyamānāni dṛśyante* (Uvaṭa, on VS. 19, 72).

figure of Prajāpati who performs two processes which are no doubt meant to run parallel, viz. the separation of the real and the unreal, and the separation (by drinking) of the two *somas*. Attention may be drawn to the repeated occurrence of the verb *vyapibat* (st. b, c, d, f, g, i). The long refrain, reminiscent of the basic myth, is especially characteristic: "By Universal Order (Rta)—and consequently by the truth inherent in the example²⁰—true command of one's faculties (*satyam indriyam*) (has been produced). (The relevant process is) the pure (clear) drinking-so-as-to-separate (*vipānam*)²¹ of the *soma* juice (*andhas*). This liquor, the tasteful beverage of continuance of life, is (as a result of the recitation of this *mantra*, i.e. now represents) Indra's *indriyam*".

The stanza "The sacrificial worship which is supplied with *surā*, that the great ones (i.e. the officiants²²) impel by their acts of reverence, placing the *soma* in heaven among the deities . . ." occurs TB. 2, 6, 3 a; Āp. 19, 8, 9—where it is recited by the *adhvaryu* when he pours (three, Mah.) libations of milk (into the *ahavanīya* fire) —; MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 16; MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 22; VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 45; KS. 38, 2: 101, 7; VS. 19, 32 (KS. 19, 3, 8); ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 2, explaining, inter alia, "act of reverence" (*namas*) by 'sacrificial worship' (*yajña*), observing that 'through the officiants he causes the sacrifice (*yajña*) to prosper, and through the sacrifice the sacrificer'; that by bestowing the *soma* drink upon him, they place him in heaven among the deities; that the words "may we enjoy ourselves" (*pāda* d) are explicable because 'he thus secures both the joy of *soma* and that of *surā*'. The stanza indeed explains the significance of the ritual act.

The stanza with which the *pratiprasthātā* pours out the libations of *surā* (see ĀpŚS. 19, 8, 8 f.), and which is addressed to the liquor, viz. "That which is thy sap, . . ., the . . . strength of *soma*, that has been pressed out along with the *surā* . . ., by that . . . do thou (O *Surā*) quicken the sacrificer, Sarasvatī, the *Aśvins*, Indra (and) *Agni*"—notice the addition of the sacrificer and *Agni* to the three gods of the ritual—is handed down at TB. 2, 6, 3, 1 (b); Āp. 19, 8, 9; MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 18; MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 22 (implicitly); VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 46; KS. 38, 2: 101, 9; VS. 19, 33 (KS. 19, 3, 9); ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 4 observing that this *surā* 'is the essence of both the waters and the plants', by the essence (*rasa*) of which he thus causes him (the sacrificer) to prosper; 'he thereby secures what strength there is in the *soma* juice and the *surā* liquor'. As to the names of the gods, these are ungrammatically taken to indicate that 'by deities he (the officiant) thus causes the sacrifice to prosper, and by deities and sacrifice the sacrificer'. As in the case of the preceding stanza, the author

²⁰ As appears also from U.'s and Mah.'s notes on VS. 19, 73 the examples were legend spells (see Gonda, Vedic literature, p. 145 f.) enabling the performers of the ritual to produce, hic et nunc, a similar result.

²¹ See above, p. 89 f.

²² Thus ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 2, U. and Mah.; according to the comm. on TB., I, p. 663 the sacrificers.

introduces an element of his sacrificial doctrine into a stanza that was unmistakably designed to accompany an oblation in the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual. ŚB. is silent on the addition of the sacrificial god Agni in the *mantra*. It should be noticed that in ŚB. VS. 19, 32 and 33 are separated by 34 which refers to the basic myth.

Mention has already been made²³ of the following *mantra* which should be recited by the *adhvaryu* when, after the libations, he drinks the remains of the milk beverage prepared for the Aśvins. Emphasizing that it is King Soma that comes to be drunk by him, ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 3 asserts that by offering the cups of *surā* on the southern fire²⁴ they keep him (the sacrificer) from evil. Notice that U. and Mah. in commenting upon the words "which Sarasvatī pressed out (*asunot*) for *indriya*"²⁵ explain: 'for Indra's virtue-and-manly energy (*viryāya*) and for remedy (healing efficacy)'. Note also that instead of *asunot* 'pressed out' ('distilled, prepared', viz. the *soma* mixed with blood which the Aśvins had taken away from Namuci) of the other texts the Taittirīyas and KS. read 'obtained' (*asanat*). The text of the first three *mantras* is otherwise handed down in a uniform manner.

Stanza TB. 2, 6, 3 d accompanying the drinking of the rest of the draught of milk prepared for Sarasvatī by the *pratiprasthātar* (and the *āgnīdhra*) occurs in this form also KS. 38, 2: 101, 13; VS. 19, 35; ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 5; ĀśvŚS. 3, 9, 5 and *pratikena* ĀpŚS. 19, 8, 11; KŚS. 19, 3, 14. MS. 3, 11, 7: 151, 4 reads, instead of *riptam*, *śiṣṭam* (*pāda* a) and, instead of *tad*, *tam* (*pāda* c). For this stanza see above (ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 4)²⁶.

According to ĀpŚS. 19, 8, 12 the stanza TB. 2, 6, 3 s (the last of the section) should be recited by the *brahman* (priest) and the sacrificer when they drink the rest of the draught of milk offered to Indra. It is a prayer: "This sacrificial substance (*havis*) must be productive for me, bringing sons, well-being, cattle etc." followed by a request made to Agni and the gods in general. It occurs with some variants and without the last line "Let (Agni) support in us increase of wealth . . ." in MS. 3, 11, 10: 156, 16 (MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 31 has the *pratiprasthātar* sacrifice to the Fathers with this stanza); KS. 38, 2: 103, 1; VS. 19, 48 (KŚS. 19, 3, 26); ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 22, and in a section on the part of the *yajamāna* in ŚŚS. 4, 13, 1. It has already been discussed²⁷. Being of a general character and utilizable in various rituals this *mantra* was no doubt not specially designed for the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual. It makes on the other hand a very suitable concluding prayer.

The formulae of TB. 2, 6, 3 e addressed to the Fathers—"To the Fathers"²⁸

²³ See p. 103 above.

²⁴ I refer to Eggeling, op. cit. V, p. 225, n. 1.

²⁵ Not "poured out for Indra" (Griffith, Texts of the White Yajurveda, p. 211).

²⁶ See p. 92.

²⁷ See, also for particulars, above, p. 99.

²⁸ The plural is 'either honoris causa or to include paternal uncles etc.' (U., Mah.).

(Grandfathers; Great-grandfathers) who are entitled to the *svadhā*-oblation, *svadhā!* homage! The Fathers have drunk . . . , O Fathers, be ye purified” with which the sacrificer gives the rest of the milk drink to his three ascendants by pouring it on the earth, on the southern side of the *āhavanīya* fire (Āp. 19, 8, 14²⁹) are, as far as I am able to see, only found in the *kaukilī* ritual: KS. 38, 2: 101, 15; VS. 19, 36 (in both texts without the last formula but one “the Fathers have cleansed themselves”); (KŚS. 19, 3, 17); ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 7 f., following VS. adds, inter alia, these notes: ‘he thereby places the Fathers (etc.) in the *svadhā*³⁰, in the world of the Fathers (etc.)’ (first half of the series of formulae), and ‘he thereby purifies all of them . . . for the *sautrāmanī* is a means of purification’ (second half). While lacking in MS. and MŚS. the formulae are—with the exception of the last but one and the last but two—quoted in full in VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 49 and 50, the first series being to accompany—after the offering of the *surū*—the taking of three pieces of charcoal out of the southern fire (cf. ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 6), the second to consecrate the pouring out of water (cf. ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 8) for the Fathers.

With TB. 2, 6, 3 f-o (10 *mantras*) the sacrificer should, standing, adore (*upatiṣṭhate*) his deceased ancestors (Āp. 19, 8, 15). The first (f) and the second (g) have three of their four component parts in common, viz. “The Grandfathers (the Great-g.) must cleanse me, with a means of purification (that gives) a life of a hundred years’—the last *pāda* of f is repeated because ‘this point is to be regarded carefully or is of particular interest’ (U.)—; before this f has “The Fathers must . . .”, after this g adds “I hope to attain a whole lifetime”. ‘Purification’ means ‘removal of evil’ (U.). — As to these formulae see also KS. 38, 2: 101, 18–102, 2 and VS. 19, 37 (KŚS. 19, 3, 20) which are exactly identical with TB.; MS. 3, 11, 10: 155, 6, where both sets of formulae are represented by a quadripartite combination omitting the great-grandfathers. Similarly, MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 29 and in the *śrāddha* ritual of the Mānavas in 11, 9, 2, 8. In VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 51 the formulae are *pratikena* quoted after the use of the twelve *mantras tvaṃ soma pra cikitaḥ*³¹ and the twelve (sic) beginning with *punantu mā pitarah* (MS. 155, 6–156, 10); these 24 *mantras* are to accompany the trickling of the beverage from the sieve into the southern fire and to be recited by four officiants, each of them successively pronouncing six *mantras*. In consideration of the wording of the initial formulae this use seems to be secondary, that of MŚS. (and the Vājasaneyins) —where it is the sacrificer who recites them at the same moment—original.

²⁹ See p. 102 above.

³⁰ *Svadhā* ‘natural disposition, l’institution qui est propre à . . . (L. Renou, Études sur le vocabulaire du Ṛgveda, Pondichéry 1958, p. 18 and E.V.P. III, p. 51), ‘autonomy, habitual state; sacrificial offering due to a definite god, esp. that offered to the Fathers; the exclamation or benediction pronounced on presenting such an oblation or used as a substitute for it’.

³¹ See above, p. 101.

In ŚB. the stanzas are neither quoted nor commented upon, but referred to in 12, 8, 1, 10 ff. and see especially: 'They purify him (the sacrificer) by means of the *surā*, for the *surā* is purified . . ., and even as the liquor, whilst being purified, is cleared of impure matter, so is that sacrificer thereby freed from all evil who, knowing this, performs the *sautrāmaṇi*, or who even knows this'. – MS. 155, 6 is also—no doubt secondarily—prescribed in the domestic ritual of the Mānavas: MGS. 1, 5, 5 in the so-called 'intermediate rite' (*antarakalpa*)³², which, referring to the *śrāddhakalpa* (1, 5, 7), seems to have been performed 'to satisfy one's teachers in the same way as is explained in the rite for the Fathers' (1, 5, 6); *ibid.* 1, 23, 18 in the *aśvamedha* observance which lasting twelve nights and days is one of the observances (*dikṣā*) to be undertaken before the study of special sections of the ritual: addressing water with 'the (same) four chapters (of *mantras*)' as are prescribed in 1, 5, 5 one should perform the drenching of the horse; *ibid.* 2, 6, 5 the horses are rubbed down to make them reliable after the waters are addressed with the same *mantras*. The other groups of *mantras* are MS. 2, 7, 13: 93, 1–94, 8; 2, 13, 1: 151, 3–153, 5; 3, 16, 5: 190, 6–192, 10. They belong likewise to *śrauta* rituals, namely successively to that of the ritual sowing, the *kumbheṣṭakā* ritual (one of the ceremonies relating to the piling of the great fire place) and to the *mrgareṣṭi* (*aśvamedha*).

The *mantra* TB. 2, 6, 3 h is RV. 9, 66, 19, a frequently used stanza in which Agni is said to give long terms of life while purifying himself, and requested for invigorating food and the removal of misfortune. In VS. 35, 16 it is used in a purification rite at the end of funeral ceremonies (cf. ŚB. 13, 8, 4, 8); see also MŚS. 3, 8, 4; PB. 9, 8, 12; according to PB. 6, 10, 3 one puts the normal term of life into those who are alive by pronouncing the word *āyāṃsi* of the *mantra*. In MŚS. 5, 2, 2, 14 it is one of the stanzas to be pronounced in a rite on behalf of a person who is ill and is desirous of longevity. From these and other uses³³ it may probably be concluded that it was 'originally' designed for averting peril of life caused for instance by contaminating contagion. Confining myself to the *sautrāmaṇi* I draw attention to its occurrences at MS. 3, 11, 10: 155, 11; KS. 38, 2: 102, 3; VS. 19, 38.

Whereas in TB., l. cit., the preceding *mantra* is followed by RV. 9, 66, 21, which, except for a variation in word order, is stanza i, MS. 155, 13 corresponds with RV. 9, 67, 22, and KS. 102, 4 as well as VS. 19, 39 with 9, 67, 27 which in TB. follow as j and k (with variants). – As to stanza i, a prayer for *varcas*³⁴, energetic sons and prosperity through

³² See M. J. Dresden, *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, Thesis Utrecht 1941 p. 191; P. Rolland, *Un rituel domestique védique. Le Vārāhagṛhyasūtra*. Aix-en-Provence 1971, p. 55.

³³ For a longer discussion of this stanza see J. Gonda, Agni in RV. 9, 66 and 67, JRAS 1979, p. 137 ff.

³⁴ See p. 107 above.

Agni's purificatory power—it may be recalled that purification makes a person fit to receive the fruits of his religious work (cf. U. on VS. 19, 37)—it is not infrequently used together with RV. 9, 66, 19;³⁵ individually as well as in combination it was obviously regarded as well suited to consecrating ritual acts that were to restore purity and, through Agni's intermediary, to secure longevity and freedom from evil. Other texts have not included it in their *sautrāmaṇī* formulary.

For st. j (RV. 9, 67, 22) see MS. 3, 11, 10: 155, 12; KS. 38, 2: 102, 10 and also TB. 1, 4, 8, 1 where it is the first of a series of sixteen *mantras* to be used by a sacrificer who, subjecting himself to the rite of consecration, is being purified (ĀpŚS. 10, 17, 12 and 13): intelligibly, because it is a prayer for purification, which together with two collections of *mantras* addressed to the wholesome and purifying waters (TS. 4, 1, 5 b-d; 5, 6, 1 a-d) is in HGS. 1, 10, 2 employed when at the end of his studentship a young Aryan has to wash himself with lukewarm water, with the same *mantras* in 1, 21, 5 when the bride is besprinkled with water, and at 2, 18, 9 in a bathing rite.

TB. 2, 6, 3 k, another prayer for purification, through the agency of the gods and by means of the inspiration (*mantras: dhiyā*) of men, is MS. 3, 11, 10: 155, 13 etc. (see above); VS. 19, 39 and KS. read *manasā dhiyaḥ* "inspirations with energy of mind" instead of *manavo dhiyā*; also TB. 1, 4, 8 b (see above), and, as AVŚ. 6, 19, 1 (for ceremonious purification) used in Kauś. and Vait.³⁶ (Vait. 30, 13 *sautrāmaṇī*).

The stanza TB. 2, 6, 3 l=1, 4, 8 c, a prayer to Agni Jātavedas corresponds with MS. 3, 11, 10: 156, 1; KS. 38, 2: 102, 6; VS. 19, 40; ŚŚS. 15, 15, 10 (to be muttered by those who have to look at the flowing *surā*); TB. has an initial *pāda* ("O Jātavedas, like a strainer") more³⁷.

TB. 2, 6, 3 m (where *punīmahe*)=1, 4, 8 d is RV. 9, 67, 23 (where *punīhi naḥ*); MS. 3, 11, 10: 156, 4 (as TB.); KS. 38, 2: 102, 8 (*punātu mā*); VS. 19, 41 (as KS.); LŚS. 5, 4, 14 (*punīhi mā*): in the Taittirīya and Maitrāyaṇī version stating that those speaking purify, by means of Agni's strainer spread out in his flames, the power inherent in their sacred words, elsewhere a prayer for purification.

TB. 2, 6, 3 n=1, 4, 8 e (*punīmahe*), addressed to Savitar, and with a similar variation of reading occurring RV. 9, 67, 25; KS. 102, 12 and

³⁵ See (also for the other occurrences of RV. 9, 66, 21) the article mentioned in n. 33.

³⁶ See the article quoted in n. 33.

³⁷ The words *krātvā krātūmr ānu* in the last *pāda*, translated 'with powers according to thine own' (Griffith, op. cit., p. 212) or 'willingly, according to thine intentions' (Dumont, op. cit., p. 315), may mean "with (through) (your) resourcefulness, according to (our) resources (consisting in sacrificial rites)"; cf. Mah. on VS. 19, 40.

VS. 19, 43 (*mām punīhi*); MS. 155, 17 (*mām punāhi*); AVŚ. 6, 19, 3 *asmān punīhi*.

TB. 2, 6, 3 o=1, 4, 8 f is (with variants)³⁸ RVkhila 3, 11, 2 (after 9, 86, 2); MS. 156, 5; KS. 102, 14; VS. 19, 44; the second half being AVŚ. 6, 62, 2 (with variants). Stating that a purifying goddess has come, those speaking express the wish to become through her lords of riches. The stanza is traditionally regarded as a 'riddle' (*pravahlikā*, U., Mah.) in that it, deviating from the rule according to which *mantras* are addressed to definite gods, keeps us in the dark about the identity of the goddess: the *surā* jar, the *sautrāmanī*, Speech (Vāc), or the vessel (*ukhā*) (U. Mah.)? I would suggest the *surā*, because the goddess—described as 'connected with all the gods, or with the Visve Devāḥ'³⁹ and as possessed of 'smooth-backed bodies'—reminds us of two ṛgvedic epithets, viz. *viśvadeva* 'belonging to, dear to, fit for all the gods' which in RV. 9, 92, 3 and 103, 4 is given to Soma and *triprsthā* 'with three backs or surfaces' which, though difficult to explain⁴⁰, is another characterization of that juice (e.g. RV. 7, 37, 1) and the god Soma, or at least the beverage viewed as a person (e.g. 9, 71, 7). Is the combination of the two epithets in stanza o meant to bring out the identity of *surā* and *soma* as well as the difference between both juices? However, the stanza occurs also in ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 12 f. (st. 6).

Recapitulating what has been said on the stanzas TB. 2, 6, 3 f—o these ten *mantras* no doubt belonged to a comparatively ancient *kaukili* tradition of the followers of the four branches of the Yajurveda whose texts have been quoted. The set of *mantras* is a conglomeration, two components of which—quoted *sakalapāthēna*—are not used in other *śrauta* rituals; six (j—o)—quoted *pratīkena*—were already enumerated in TB. 1, 4, 8; six occur also in RV. 9, 66 and 67 (and one in a *khila*); those belonging to the group h—o are also used in one or more than one other *śrauta* contexts; there are some cases of no doubt secondary employment in domestic rites. Yet, though not completely homogeneous, this collection of ten stanzas may be said to constitute, as a prayer for purification, a suitable whole. It may be recalled that the stanzas j—o are the first six of a group of sixteen *mantras* used in the purification described in Āp. 10, 7, 10 ff. (*agniṣṭoma*).

The stanzas p, q (ĀpŚS. 19, 9, 1) and r (ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 5) have already been discussed⁴¹.

From a comparison between the four basic texts it appears that while, as already observed, the stanzas corresponding with TB. 2, 6, 3 a—d

³⁸ See J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 98.

³⁹ According to U. and Mah.: *viśvebhya devebhya āgatā hitā vā*.

⁴⁰ I refer to A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, ²I, Breslau 1927, p. 364 f.: Geldner, *op. cit.*, II, p. 219.

⁴¹ See p. 94; 97 above.

constitute in MS. the last part of 3, 11, 7 and the other stanzas are found in 3, 11, 10, the compilers of the other corpora have placed them in the same chapter (TB. 2, 6, 3; KS. 38, 2) or mention them in uninterrupted succession (VS. 19, 32–48). As to the order in which they occur, about a–h and o–s the four authorities are unanimous; KS. and VS. concur also in mentioning the other *mantras* in the order k l m j n, while MS. prefers j k n l m. The stanza known as i in TB. is in this ritual found in no other work.

It is interesting to enumerate also those *mantras* which are used in the *śrautasūtras* and to indicate the order in which they occur. Āp. 19, 8, 9–9, 1 prescribes a b c d s e f–o p q; MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 21–31 the *mantras* a–c. d is replaced by MS. 2, 3, 8: 36, 11 (*pratikena* MS. 3, 11, 7: 150, 13) corresponding to TB. 2, 6, 1 k; VS. 19, 7⁴², thereupon follow the sections MS. 3, 11, 8: 151, 6–152, 14 and 3, 11, 9: 153, 1–155, 4 which in their turn are followed by f and g, p–s, stanza e being absent also in MS. As to VārŚS., the text of which is partly disordered, the *mantras* employed in 3, 2, 7, 45 ff. are a b c d, followed by the formula known as TB. 2, 6, 3 e quoted *sakalapāthena* (with the exception of *ātītrpanta p.*, *āmimrjanta p.*), the twelve beginning with MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 6 (TB. 2, 6, 16 d; ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 9 etc.), the twelve beginning with TB. 2, 6, 3 f. (that is, MS. 3, 11, 10: 155, 7–156, 10 including g h j k n l m o), the next four (p q r s), and the sixteen stanzas of MS. 3, 11, 9; 3, 11, 7: 149, 18 . . . , r . . . KŚS. 19, 3, 8 ff. prescribe the use of a b c d e f–o (i.e. VS. 19, 32–44); VS. 52–60, p–s (VS. 45–48).

Preceding now to survey those passages which, while being foreign to TB., are found in the three other basic texts, I first draw attention to the works of the Maitrāyaṇīyas. The so-called (ĀpŚS. 1, 20, 4) Savitar formula MS. 3, 11, 8: 151, 6 “On the impulse of god Savitar, with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan, I take thee” is very often used to accompany ritual acts and to signify that the performer is impelled by the impeller of the gods, that his arms now are those of the *adhvaryus* of the gods, and his hands now are those of the god who distributes the portions to his colleagues (cf. ŚB. 1, 2, 4, 4). – MS. 3, 11, 8: 151, 7–15 is a longer version (with some variants) of the formula TB. 2, 6, 5 o⁴³: here the personal pronoun is *tvā* (not *mā*): “the gods must help (favour) thee” (i.e. the sacrificer; cf. MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 24); after “the first ones with the second ones” the verb “must anoint (consecrate)” (*abhiṣiñcantu*) is added which, being repeated in l. 12, is also to be understood in what follows; the last parts of the formula in which the officiant states that he consecrates the sacrificer with the fiery energy (*tejas*) of the Aśvins in order to procure for him brahminical eminence (*brahmavarcaśāya*), with the virtue-and-energy (*vīrya*) of Sarasvatī in order to obtain fame or

⁴² See above, p. 109. Cf. also MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 29 etc.

⁴³ See below, p. 134.

glory (*yaśas*) and food, with Indra's (typical) faculties (*indriya*) to obtain authority (*ojas*) and strength (*bala*). MS. 151, 16–152, 8 is TB. 2, 6, 5 l (below) with *mītrām* instead of *cittām* in 152, 2; 152, 9–10 is TB. 2, 6, 5 p; 152, 11 is m with *dhīro* instead of *dhármo*; 152, 12–14 corresponds to n with variations: "I firmly establish myself in sacred knowledge and brahminical dignity (*brahman*), in worldly power (*kṣatra*) . . ., in offspring, in prosperity (read *puṣṭe*) . . ." (used also at MGS. 1, 14, 2, marriage ritual; ŚGS. 4, 18, 7, *āgrahāyaṇī*). MS. 3, 11, 9 is virtually identical with TB. 2, 6, 4.

As to the twelve stanzas prescribed by VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 51, viz. MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 6 ff. the first six correspond with TB. 2, 6, 16 d–h (in the order d e f g i h). The seventh, p. 157, 2, is RV. 10, 15, 2 (this hymn deals with the deceased ancestors; see also AVŚ. 18, 1, 46) and occurs also at VS. 19, 68 (*kaukīlī sautrāmaṇī*), TS. 2, 6, 12, 4 (sacrifice to the Fathers); it is prescribed at MŚS. 5, 1, 4, 18 (*sākamedha*). MS. 157, 4 is RV. 10, 15, 1 (AVŚ. 18, 1, 44; VS. 19, 49; TS. 2, 6, 12, 3; MŚS. 5, 1, 4, 18 etc.; also VaitS. etc.). The only other occurrence of MS. 157, 6 is KS. 21, 14 (see below) and of 157, 7 MGS. 1, 21, 6 d (tonsure of a child's head): "O Fathers who have been tasted by Agni, increasing Universal Order, be gracious to us, that (we may be blessed) with life, with longevity". MS. 157, 8 is TB. k with *vīprāsaḥ* instead of *ārvantaḥ* and *mṛḍantu* instead of *bhavantu*; see also VS. 19, 61. MS. 157, 10 is TB. j. The last stanza, MS. 157, 12, is RV. 1, 96, 1 which, being dedicated to Agni granting wealth (*draviṇoddh*), is, as far as I am able to see, not quoted or used in any other yajurvedic work. It may be noticed that the next stanza is RV. 1, 96, 2 which is followed by TB. q, and stanzas that are identical with RV. 6, 49, 4 and 7, 92, 3, both of them Vāyu stanzas emphasizing the wealth which he is expected to give to those speaking. Although the Agni stanzas are like those dealing with Vāyu not incomprehensible in this context the question may arise as to whether the original compiler of VārŚS. intended to include the two former ones and to exclude the stanza q. Since the next groups of *mantras* prescribed in VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 51 consist of those that are identical with TB. 2, 6, 3 f–o and p–s (MS. 3, 11, 10: 155, 7–156, 17, 16 stanzas) it follows that there are three more (i is absent). These are 155, 16, which is virtually identical with AVP. 19, 7, 12 and *pādas* a and b of which occur also at AVŚ. 6, 19, 2 (for ceremonious purification); 156, 7 corresponding with AVŚ. 6, 62, 1 (for purification, addressed to Agni Vaiśvānara) and AVP. 19, 30, 4: 156, 9 which appears in TB. 1, 4, 8, 3 and is (with a few variants) RV. 9, 67, 26⁴⁴. These three stanzas owe their presence to their being prayers for, or a statement of, purification. MS. 3, 11, 9 has already been dealt with. The present Vārāha text now prescribes the use of MS. 3, 11, 7: 149, 18=TB. 2, 6, 1 b (sic).

Turning now to the Kāṭhakas it may be repeated that KS. 38, 2

⁴⁴ See Gonda, Agni in RV. 9, 66 and 67 (n. 33).

corresponds with TB. 2, 6, 3; KS. 38, 3 with MS. 3, 11, 9 (TB. 2, 6, 4); KS. 38, 4 with MS. 3, 11, 8, although the formula *devāsya tvā savitūh* in the beginning is preceded by “Thou art the navel of lordly power; thou art the womb of lordly power etc.” which is TB. 2, 6, 5 c-f (with *syonāsi suṣadāsi* before *syonām dsīda*); see below. They are followed by TB. 2, 6, 5 g-k. In KS. 38, 4 the stanza corresponding with MS. 3, 11, 8: 152, 10 is placed at the end (106, 4) as in TB.

As to VS. and KŚS. the stanzas VS. 19, 52-60 which are inserted between TB. 2, 6, 3 a-o and p s are TB. 2, 6, 16 d-i (see above), a stanza beginning “Our Fathers, worthy of *soma* must come . . .” which—like the two stanzas that are to follow—is addressed to the Fathers who have been cremated (*agniṣvāttih*), and the last *pāda* of which is RV. 10, 15, 5 d (addressed to the deceased ancestors) etc.; 59 is TB. 2, 6, 16 j; the *pādas* of 60 are, respectively, TB. 2, 6, 16, 1 a; RV. 10, 15, 14 b and AVŚ. 18, 2, 35 b (funeral texts); AVŚ. 18, 3, 59 c; RV. 10, 15, 14 d and AV. 18, 3, 59 d. It may be recalled that VS. 19, 52-60 are, like the stanzas e-g (VS. 19, 36; 37) and p, r (45; 47), addressed to the Fathers or deal with them. The stanzas VS. 19, 49=RV. 10, 15, 1 (MS. 4, 10, 6: 157, 4; see above); 50=RV. 10, 14, 6 (from a hymn addressed to Yama, also AVŚ. 18, 1, 58, a funeral text); 51=RV. 10, 15, 8 are not employed in Kātyāyana’s manual. The first and the second belong as TS. 2, 6, 12 i and r to the collection of *mantras* used in sacrificing to the Fathers by the Taittirīyas.

Minor differences in the ritual application of the *mantras* need not be discussed: thus, for instance Āp. 19, 8, 10 instructs the *adhvaryu* to drink the rest of the draught of milk prepared for the Aśvins, whereas in Vār. 3, 2, 7, 48 and KŚS. 19, 3, 10 the verb is in the plural. It seems however worth noticing that, while the *mantra* known as TB. 2, 6, 3 r is according to Āp. 19, 3, 5 (*caraka* ritual) to be recited when the rest of the *surā* is poured out on an ant-hill (see also Vār. 3, 2, 7, 76), MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 31 and KŚS. 19, 3, 25 are silent on this detail. Mantra s is according to MŚS. *ibid.* to be recited by the *pratiprasthātar*, but in Āp. 19, 8, 12 more satisfactorily said to be pronounced by the *brahman* priest and the sacrificer. Of greater importance is the difference in the use made of TB. 2, 6, 16 d etc. which in TB. belong to a chapter containing the *mantras* to be recited at the sacrifice offered to the Fathers which takes place after the *avabhṛtha* but in Vār. 3, 2, 7, 51 is said to accompany the trickling down of the *surā* upon the southern fire: it should be observed that d e f address the *soma* draught (e even *soma* which is being clarified) while mentioning the Fathers, g addresses the Fathers and h i deal with them; k invokes the Fathers who have enjoyed the *soma* drink. It should be remembered⁴⁵ that the stanzas TB. 2, 6, 16 d (TS. 2, 6, 12 ff.) are at Āp. 19, 3, 9; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 31 also in the *caraka* ritual to accompany the flowing down of the liquid.

⁴⁵ See above, p. 101f.

ĀpŚS. 19, 9, 2 makes mention of the *manotā*, i.e. (the recitation of) the complete *sūkta* ṚV. 6, 1 (13 stanzas) which begins with the words "Thou, O Agni, (wert) the first inventor of this inspired hymn . . ." (*tvām hi agne prathamó manótāsyá dhivyáḥ . . .*). It is used in the animal sacrifice to accompany the cutting off of the oblations (cf. st. 3 d). See AiB. 2, 10; ĀpŚS. 7, 24, 1 f. etc. The hymn eulogizes Agni, stating that he is present as a sacrificial priest and praying to him for his favour and assistance⁴⁶. A reference to the *manotā* hymn occurs also in the description of the *caraka* ritual in BŚS. 17, 37: 315, 9: "Then he should go through the site of (the offering of the organs of) the four animals, beginning with the *manotā* . . .".

The eight stanzas TB. 2, 6, 4 a–h should be recited by the *adhvaryu* when, at the animal sacrifice connected with the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual, he offers, as additional offerings (*upahoma*), eight libations of the broth that has been prepared with the flesh of the victim (a he-goat) which is destined for the Ásvins. In these stanzas the gods—the Ásvins and Sarasvatī, assisted by Savitar and Varuṇa—ritually heal the bodily form of Indra, 'weaving' his inner shape and lovely figure by means of the ingredients and utensils used in preparing the *surā*. According to ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 13 sixteen *jagatī* stanzas are used, because animals are *jāgata* ('movable, related to the *jagatī*') and consist of sixteen parts⁴⁷; the officiant thus secures cattle and good fortune (*śrī*) for the sacrificer.

Stanza TB. 2, 6, 4 a is identical with MS. 3, 11, 9: 153, 1; MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 27; VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 54; KS. 38, 3: 103, 4; VS. 19, 80 (KŚS. 19, 4, 12). Whilst omitting any form of literal interpretation ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 14 expatiates upon the significance of the ritual acts including an obligatory rubbing down of the sacrificer. Although the wording of the *mantra* is not easy of explanation its general purport is clear: just as experts weave a web the gods mentioned weave the *sautrāmaṇī* rite in order to heal Indra. The objects enumerated, lead, wool and thread, are in this ritual used for buying the tender sprouts, the barley and the rice, required when one wishes to prepare *surā* (KŚS. 19, 1, 18; see also ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 10).

TB. 2, 6, 4 b (with *dadhuḥ*), identical with MS. 153, 3 and VS. 19, 81; KS. 103, 6 (with *daduḥ*). The line of thought of the preceding stanza is continued: the Ásvins and Sarasvatī restore his 'immortal' form to Indra, the above ingredients becoming his hairs, skin and flesh.

TB. 2, 6, 4 c (with *antarāḥ* and *māsaraiḥ*) is MS. 153, 5 (with *antaram* and *māsaram*); KS. 103, 8 and VS. 19, 82 (with *-am*, *-aiḥ*). Continuation. The epithet *rudravartanī* (dual) characterizes the Ásvins already in the

⁴⁶ For this place (ĀpŚS. 19, 9, 2) see also W. Caland's note, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III, Amsterdam Acad. 1928, p. 179.

⁴⁷ See also ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 17; 13, 3, 6, 5; Sāyana on PB. 19, 5, 6; Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, p. 507, n. 1; J. Gonda, *Change and continuity in Indian religion*, The Hague 1965, p. 120.

Rgveda (e.g. 8, 22, 1). It can be understood in more than one way: 'moving as it were on Rudra's path(s), (. . . like Rudra . . .)' or 'moving on the path of the diseased' (U., Mah.); whereas Renou⁴⁸ is under the impression that the first component is an adjective, Wüst⁴⁹, quoting Geldner: 'als Ärzte sind die Aśvin Konkurrenten des Rudra', is inclined to adopt the former translation. In any case more probable than translations such as 'borne on bright paths' (Griffith, VS.). – On the *kārotara* see RV. 1, 116, 7 (Aśvin hymn) and BŚS. 17, 31: 309, 15.

TB. 2, 6, 4 d is identical with MS. 153, 7; KS. 38, 10; VS. 19, 83. Continuation and resumption of the comparison with the process of weaving (st. a).

TB. 2, 6, 4 e is MS. 153, 9; KS. 38, 12; VS. 19, 84, with *payasā* in TB., KS., VS., *payasaḥ* in MS., *surayā* in TB., VS., *surāyā(h)* in MS., KS., *janayanti* in TB., KS., *janayanta* in MS., VS. Now Indra's body has been restored and the other gods are endeavouring to make it operate well.

TB. 2, 6, 4 f is identical with MS. 153, 11; KS. 103, 14; VS. 19, 85. The word *hrdayena* presents a difficulty: 'heart with this heart I. . . gendered' (Mah. and Griffith) is impossible, 'by the heart (of the victim)' (Dumont); 'with (through) his heart'?⁵⁰ because elsewhere it is either the other gods who utilize sacrificial requisites to bring Indra's body back to its former condition or these requisites are said to become parts of the god's body. Moreover, the victims of the animal sacrifice do not appear before the stanzas j–l, Indra cannot be supposed to have generated *satyam* in the sense of the efficacy of the sacrifice before he was whole again, and the reference to the sacrificial cake points to an advanced stage in the ceremony (cf. ĀpŚS. 19, 10, 3; 19, 4, 4 f.).

TB. 2, 6, 4 g is MS. 153, 13; KS. 103, 16; VS. 19, 86. The description of the recomposition of Indra's body is continued.

TB. 2, 6, 4 h is MS. 153, 15; KS. 103, 18; VS. 19, 87.

The following eight stanzas (i–p) are to be recited when libations made with the flesh of the victims sacred to Sarasvatī are offered (ĀpŚS. 19, 9, 8). They are MS. 3, 11, 9: 154, 2–155, 4; KS. 38, 3: 103, 20–104, 14; VS. 19, 88–95. The differences are very few in number and on the whole insignificant; only MS. 154, 13 *pāda* a is worth mentioning: here the no doubt original reading *aṅgāny ātman* has under the influence of *pāda* b been replaced by *aṅgair ātmānam*. – The description of the process is continued, in i with the transformation of some other ingredients into parts of Indra's body, in j–l with references to ingredients and the three victims which are

⁴⁸ L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, XVI, Paris 1967, p. 59; cf. *ibid.*, p. 24, on RV. 1, 158, 1.

⁴⁹ W. Wüst, *Rudra*, München 1955, p. 23, n. 20; see (R. Pischel and) K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, Stuttgart 1901, p. 71 f., and the same, *RV. übers.*, I, p. 215.

⁵⁰ Compare also J. Gonda, *The vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague 1963, p. 276 ff. On the heart etc. of the victim see e.g. ĀpŚS. 7, 22, 6.

successively offered to the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra. Whereas in j the Aśvins, and in k Sarasvatī are said to take an active part in the process the events mentioned in l—where Indra's victim, the bull, is said to become the god's bodily form, etc.—are for obvious reasons described by means of agentless constructions. This mode of expression continues in m, but in the last stanzas (n–p) the twin gods and Sarasvatī reappear. The recapitulation of the complicated process in the two final stanzas is interesting: Indra's restoration to his normal state is said to have been brought about by the King (i.e. Soma) who caused him to be born (again) in the waters, but the 'immortal' *soma* is described as having been produced from pressed and unpressed *soma* plants by the Aśvins and Sarasvatī who with *parisrut* and milk (had) prepared the tasty drink. The contribution of the fiery-energy-and-prestige (*tejas*) of the victims which is said to be an oblation (sacrificial substance) "possessed of a complete command of one's faculties" (*indriyāvat*) is not clearly stated. Most interesting is the interpretation of the part played by Sarasvatī (*mantra* o): "For the two Aśvins, Sarasvatī, their consort, bears in her womb the well-fashioned embryo".

This recitation, which should be delivered once again but then in its entirety for the libations of the broth which has been prepared with the flesh of Indra's victim (ĀpŚS. 19, 9, 9), is on the whole a fairly well structured description of the mythical event that is re-enacted in the ritual. It is—except for f which seems to be an interruption (referring, perhaps, to former events?)—orderly and homogeneous. Being designed for the *sautrāmaṇi* it is neither partly nor completely found in other ritual contexts.

After the observations made, at the end of the section TB. 2, 6, 3, on the corresponding portions of the three other basic works (MS. 3, 11, 9; KS. 38, 3; VS. 19, 80–95) nothing now remains to be said.

The following chapter (TB. 2, 6, 5) contains the formulae and stanzas required for the ritual acts described in ĀpŚS. 19, 9, 10–10, 2.

Āp. 19, 9, 11 following TB. 2, 6, 5 a–c seems to be alone in prescribing the use of the bipartite formula a "Thou art Mitra; thou art Varuṇa" to the *adhvaryu* when he places the throne-seat of the sacrificer south of the *āhavanīya* fire. To understand the use of these formulae it should be remembered that a nobleman is believed to belong to Varuṇa and Mitra by his two arms which are explicitly identified with these gods⁵¹. The formulae are primarily used in the *rājasūya* ritual, where they are prescribed when the arms of the sacrificer are—with some variations⁵² in particulars—raised (TB. 1, 7, 10, 1; MS. 2, 6, 9: 69, 10; 4, 4, 3: 53, 14; KS. 15, 7: 214, 3;

⁵¹ See ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 28; 4, 1, 15; 16; 3, 5; 27; and cf. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972, p. 19 f.

⁵² See J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht 1957, 's-Gravenhage 1957, p. 96 f.

VS. 10, 16; KŚS. 15, 5, 29) and again afterwards, in the counterpart of that rite, when they are to be lowered (TS. 1, 8, 16 a; MS. 2, 6, 12: 71, 4; 4, 4, 6: 56, 6; KS. 15, 8: 215, 4); see for the rite BŚS. 12, 14: 106, 10; ĀpŚS. 18, 14, 14 and 18, 1; HirŚS. 13, 6, 13 f.; MŚS. 9, 1, 3, 14; 4, 2; VārŚS. 3, 3, 2, 40; 3, 9; KŚS. 15, 5, 29; 6, 34. It is highly improbable that the sacrificer should keep his arms raised—this act belongs to the unction that, so to say, is framed between these two movements—also during the chariot race which is to follow⁵³. Nevertheless the stanza VS. 10, 16 “. . . mount ye the high seat (? , *garta*), O Varuṇa and Mitra . . .”⁵⁴ quoted at ŚB. 5, 4, 1, 15, is traditionally explained: ‘Mount ye the chariot (seat), O V. and M.’ (U., Mah., Sāyaṇa), and accordingly translated by Griffith and Keith (TS. 1, 8, 12 m). Now this stanza is a variant of RV. 5, 62, 8 where *garta* is translated by “Hochstuhl” (Geldner) or “trône à colonne” (Renou⁵⁵): cf. RV. 1, 124, 7 where it seems to mean something like “scaffold, platform”⁵⁶ and 5, 62, 7 where after mentioning a pillar (*sthūnā*) the poet uses the adjective *ādhigartyasya* “being on the ‘throne’ (on the pillar); not “. . . on the driver’s seat” (Monier-Williams). Whatever the exact meaning of *garta* in the ṛgvedic stanza and the idea formed of it by those who compiled the yajurvedic *mantras* it is beyond question that the bipartite formula *mitrō ’si varuṇo ’si* has been transferred from the *rājasūya* ritual to the *sautrāmaṇi* (cf. also Āp. 19, 9, 12) where however in Āpastamba’s text no explicit mention is made of the raising (etc.) of the sacrificer’s arms, attention being focussed on the seat.

The second formula (b) of TB. 2, 6, 5 “I (unite myself) with the Viśve Devāḥ” follows also in the *rājasūya* in 1, 8, 16, 1 (where it is used when the sacrificer lets his hands down over the clotted curds for the Viśve Devāḥ; Āp. 18, 18, 3; MŚS. 9, 1, 4, 4); TB. 1, 7, 10, 1; MS. 2, 6, 12: 71, 4; 4, 46: 56, 7.

Both parts of the bipartite formula c occur in the *rājasūya* ritual TS. 1, 8, 16, 1 (c) (where they are addressed to the garment of skin which is to be deposited on the seat: Āp. 18, 18, 6; cf. also MŚS. 9, 1, 3, 8; 9; Vār. 3, 3, 2, 30); TB. 1, 7, 10, 2; MS. 2, 6, 9: 69, 3 (where just as in MŚS. and Vār. a third parallel formula is used “thou art the amnion of lordly power”); 4, 4, 3: 52, 12 (three formulae); KS. 15, 7: 213, 19 (three);

⁵³ For a discussion of this point see Heesterman, op. cit., p. 97.

⁵⁴ See A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, III, Paris 1883 (21963), p. 324 f.; J. Auboyer, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l’Inde ancienne*, Paris 1949, p. 87; Heesterman, op. cit., p. 96, referring to L. Renou, *La maison védique*, J. as. 1939, p. 484 f., translates “inount the pit”, which is hardly imaginable. On this word see also M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, I, Heidelberg 1956, p. 327 (with references).

⁵⁵ Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 78. H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen 1951–1959, p. 340: 716 leaves *garta* untranslated. As to RV. 5, 62, 8 it would be interesting to know Lüders’ interpretation of the complete stanza (op. cit., p. 619 f.).

⁵⁶ Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 172.

VS. 10, 8 (four), ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 20 ff. annotating 'he thus causes him to be born out of what is the womb (etc.) of lordly power' and 'he thus places him in what is the navel of knighthood'. As is well known 'navel' can express ideas such as 'source or place of origin'. The second half of the formula is, together with the third, as TS. 1, 8, 12 f at another moment of the *rājasūya* used to accompany the sacrificer's donning a silken garment and a turban (cf. TB. 1, 7, 6, 4; Āp. 18, 14, 1), the second formula (VS. 10, 26) is in KŚS. 15, 7, 2 employed when the *adhvaryu* addresses a seat which has been placed on a tiger-skin (see also ŚB. 5, 4, 4, 3); the second and third formulae occur TS. 1, 7, 9 a in the *vājapeya* ritual when the sacrificer and his wife are clad in garments of silk and *darbha* grass respectively (ĀpŚS. 18, 5, 8). Transferred to the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual both formulae (the 1st and the 2nd) occur (in the reverse order) also in VS. 20, 1 when the seat is placed (KŚS. 19, 4, 7; 'for it indeed is the womb and navel of the lordly power' ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 8) and KS. 38, 4: 104, 16. The formula "Thou art the womb . . ." is also found in VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 29 (same context). In this connexion it may be recalled that the throne-seat is 'the proper cosmic birthplace of the king'⁵⁷. 'The one who has been anointed on a throne is worthy of (entitled to) the virtue and duties incident to the possession of certain (in casu, royal) qualities, viz. as the king' (cf. U. and Mah.). The formula ". . . navel . . ." is pronounced when the skin of the black antelope (see below) is spread (U.; KŚS. 19, 4, 8)⁵⁸. — In connexion with the *mantras* a-c Caland⁵⁹ observed: 'Es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, dass der Verfasser der Saṃhitā diesen Zweck (viz. the placing of the seat) für alle diese Sprüche im Auge hat'. From the above survey and the parallelism with the *rājasūya* ritual it may indeed be inferred that this author has expressed himself succinctly, omitting some details (cf. Āp. 19, 9, 12).

The double formula TB. 2, 6, 5 d likewise belongs to the *rājasūya*: according to Āp. 18, 18, 7 it is as TS. 1, 8, 16 d (cf. TB. 1, 7, 10, 2) used when the garment has been placed on the seat (see above) and the sacrificer approaches the seat, although the commentary makes it—more suitably—to be addressed to the person of the sacrificer. Also MS. 2, 6, 12: 71, 10 (also 2, 7, 16: 100, 17 in the *agnicayana* ceremonies); 4, 4, 6: 56, 15; MŚS. 9, 1, 4, 9 'he accompanies the sacrificer's mounting the seat'; Vār. 3, 3, 3, 15; KS. 15, 8: 215, 9; VS. 10, 26 (in addressing the seat): KŚS. 15, 7, 3 and ŚB. 5, 4, 4, 4 the *adhvaryu* makes the sacrificer sit down with it.

⁵⁷ Heesterman, op. cit., p. 149, referring also to H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the gods*, Chicago 1948, p. 43 f. See especially Auboyer, op. cit., p. 177 ff.: 'Le trône 'fait' le roi ou le chef'.

⁵⁸ On the religious significance of garments, covering etc. see e.g. F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 118 ff.

⁵⁹ Caland, Śr. Āp., III, p. 180.

The following bipartite formula TB. 2, 6, 5 e is mentioned and quoted in TS. 1, 8, 16, 1 (e) after the preceding one when the sacrificer sits down on the seat (*Āp.* 18, 18, 7; cf. TB. 1, 7, 10, 2: 'for safety') among the *mantras* of the *rājasūya* and KS. 38, 4: 104, 17; VS. 20, 1; KŚS. 19, 4, 8 (the seat is addressed); ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 9 (when the black antelope skin is spread on the seat, 'for this is the sacrifice'⁶⁰; 'thus it is spread for the safety of the sacrifice and of himself') in the sections on the *sautrāmaṇī*: another case of parallelism in word and action between these two rituals: see the statement in *Āp.* 19, 9, 12.

Mantra f is ṚV. 1, 25, 10 which, being part of a Varuṇa hymn, states that that god, who maintains the laws or rules of functional conduct (*dṛtavrataḥ*), has sat down in the aquatic abodes⁶¹ in order to wield the sceptre over the universe; occurring at TS. 1, 8, 16 f (likewise without variant; cf. TB. 1, 7, 10, 2) to be pronounced when the royal sacrificer who performs the *rājasūya* ritual is seated⁶²; MS. 2, 6, 12: 71, 11; 4, 4, 6: 56, 17 (MŚS. 9, 1, 4, 9; similarly used at Vār. 3, 3, 3, 15); KS. 15, 8: 215, 10; VS. 10, 27 (the *adhvaryu* touches the breast of the sacrificer with this stanza: KŚS. 15, 7, 4, ŚB. 5, 4, 4, 5 observing that the king and the brahmin versed in sacred writ (the *śrotriya*) are the upholders of *vratas* (*dṛtavrata*, see above) among men, and explaining the word *pastyā* by 'the third estate'. See also AiB. 8, 13 and 8, 18 (*rājasūya* and the ritual of the anointing of a king). The royal sacrificer being anointed impersonates Varuṇa; see ŚŚS. 15, 13, 4 "It is Varuṇa whom they anoint"; MS. 4, 4, 6: 57, 1. The *mantra* is also employed in placing the sacred fire (*ādhāna* ritual): MS. 1, 6, 2: 88, 10 (when Aryans are sitting around a new garment that has been spread on the ground in order to play dice for a cow with the sacrificer who has to win the game MŚS. 1, 5, 5, 8 ff.; Vār. 1, 4, 4, 11); KS. 7, 14: 78, 11; 8, 7: 90, 7; see also *Āp*ŚS. 5, 19, 2; interestingly enough, the offering of an oblation accompanied by the stanza dedicated to Varuṇa is omitted when the sacrificer is not a *kṣatriya*, and performed for a nobleman because 'Varuṇa is the king of the gods' and thus one 'secures royalty for him (the sacrificer)' (MS. 1, 6, 11: 104, 2); in the *agnicayana* ritual MS. 2, 7, 16: 100, 18. As to the use of the stanza in the *sautrāmaṇī* see VS. 20, 2 (KŚS. 19, 4, 9: to be used when the sacrificer sits down), ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 10 stating that 'he mounts the throne-seat with a stanza to Varuṇa, because Varuṇa is the king of the gods: by means of his own deity he thus consecrates him'. The stanza is in the same ritual context also prescribed in Vār. 3, 2, 7, 31, where it seems to have been borrowed

⁶⁰ Cf. ŚB. 1, 1, 4, 1 (with Eggeling's note); 6, 4, 1, 6; 7, 1, 6 etc.; this skin represents brahmanical worship and civilization. Cf. also Mah. on VS. 20, 1 *yajñādhyāsenā kṣṇājīnaṃ prārthyate*.

⁶¹ As to *pastyā*, cf. Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 13.

⁶² Remember that the *rājasūya* rite is also known as Varuṇasava. Varuṇa presides over the *rājasūya* unction. See Heesterman, op. cit., p. 85 f.

from the *rājasūya* ceremonies (see above); it occurs also at KS. 38, 4: 104, 18.

TB. 2, 6, 5 g-i are variants of a very frequent formula, the so-called Savitar formula (ĀpŚS. 1, 20, 4)⁶³ by which the officiant, while performing some ritual task, identifies, so to say, his arms and his hands with those of the most competent deities and intimates that the rite with which he is occupied is a reiteration of divine activity. He is impelled by the divine impeller Savitar, his arms are identified with those of the Aśvins who are the *adhvaryus* of the gods (see e.g. ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 17; 2, 4, 4; 4, 1, 5, 15), his hands with those of Pūṣan, the deity who distributes their portions to his colleagues (see e.g. ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 17; 2, 4, 4; U. and Mah. on VS. 1, 10). The formulae are in this ritual adapted to the context and therefore in exactly the same form not found in other sacrificial ceremonies. They are moreover only used by the authors of TB. (see also Āp. 19, 9, 13), KS. 38, 4: 104, 20 ff. (with an insignificant variant); VS. 20, 3 (likewise). In g the Aśvins occur twice, once because they are a fixed element of the formula and the second time because the three formulae mention respectively the healing power of these gods, that of Sarasvatī and Indra's *indriya* as a fourth form of divine influence by which to gain, on behalf of the sacrificer—who is meanwhile being sprinkled with the fat gravy of the three victims—those qualities, or rather power substances (in German *Daseinsmächte*⁶⁴), which are at least in part more or less characteristic of the three deities. For the Aśvins and *tejas*⁶⁵ see also ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 4; for Sarasvatī and the obtainment of food see ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 16; for Indra and the obtainment of *indriya vīrya*, ŚB. 5, 2, 3, 8; 12, 8, 2, 16, and for this god and strength or physical power (*bala*) 11, 4, 3, 3. For a shorter but most common form of the formula see MS. 3, 11, 8: 151, 6; it is in a brief and differently worded description of the rite quoted *pratikena* at VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 33. — It is interesting to observe that, in spite of the fact that the sacrificer for whose sake the *sautrāmaṇī* is performed is the 'counterpart' of Indra for whose special benefit the ritual was instituted in the mythical past, here again all three deities—Aśvins, Sarasvatī, and Indra—as well as their victims, etc. are equally required to contribute to accomplishing the sacrificer's purpose.

Formula j is quadripartite, the first component being the most frequent, and the others occurring only in combination with the first (also KS. 38, 4: 105, 2 *ko 'si ko nāmāsi kasmāi tvā kūya tvā*; compare 37, 13: 93, 17 *ko 'si katamo 'si* etc.). It should be recited by the *adhvaryu* when he touches the two hands of the sacrificer (Āp. 19, 10, 1); the Vājasaneyins prescribe it as VS. 20, 4 (first half) 'when: he takes hold of the sacrificer' (KŚS.

⁶³ See also p. 121 above.

⁶⁴ For this term see H. von Glasenapp, *Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens*, Halle S. 1940.

⁶⁵ See above, p. 109.

19, 4, 19, U., Mah.). The formula belongs (with a variant) in the *soma* ritual to a chapter describing the gazing at the *soma* and the different cups ⁶⁶ and is addressed to the *soma* (the *droṇakalāśa*, a large wooden *soma* vessel, KŚS. 9, 7, 14) or the *āhavaniya* fire (Āp. 12, 19, 1) before a prayer for fair offspring, splendour and abundance (TS. 3, 2, 3 q; see also VS. 7, 29; MŚS. 2, 3, 7, 1). This is one of the ritual practices that attest to a belief in the beneficial results of visual contact (see e.g. TS. 3, 2, 3, 3 f. "he who desires to prosper . . . , who is ill should gaze (at the offerings)"). However, the *sūtras* (BŚS. 14, 8; KŚS. 9, 7, 9 f.) inform us that the sacrificer must also successively touch the *soma* cups while pronouncing the so-called *avakāśa* formulae which are intended to be pronounced during the looking on these objects. The word "Who" (*ka*) in the formula is—in accordance with a well-known tradition ⁶⁷—explained as a name of Prajāpati (ŚB. 4, 5, 6, 4 on VS. 7, 29; similarly, U. and Mah.). The second sentence of the formula (*katamo 'si*) "who of many art thou?"—like the others interpreted as an affirmation, not as a question—presented difficulties; hence explanations such as *prajāpatitamaḥ asi* (U., adding that there are many Prajāpatis; cf. Mah.). The third question (*kasmai tvā*) "to whom (or what) thee?" is explained: 'in order to reach the position of Prajāpati I anoint thee' (Mah.), etc.⁶⁸. Those who brought the formula into use may have meant suggestively to inquire after the identity and intentions of the god who has been satiated and delighted with *soma* (TS. 3, 2, 3 q). The questions should, then, be viewed in the light of the belief that the true name of the deity is not like the common names used in the phenomenal world, but unknown or 'secret', and, on the other hand, of the conviction that the one who while knowing name and nature of a god worships him is able to realize his ambitions by exerting influence upon the god. It seems worth noticing that in ŚGS. 3, 2, 2 a similar formula, viz. "Who art thou? Whose art thou? To whom (*kāya*) do I, desirous of (dwelling in the) village, sacrifice thee?" is followed by an answer: "Thou art the share of the gods on this (earth) . . . The ruler has sacrificed, desirous . . . , not omitting anything that belongs to the gods". According to SMB. 1, 5, 14; GGS. 2, 8, 13; KhG. 2, 3, 9 the words *ko 'si katamo 'si* are to be muttered by a father when in giving his child a name he touches the latter's eyes, ears and nose. — The formula was in all probability transferred from the *soma* ritual to the *sautrāmaṇī*. As to the *soma* ritual compare also the use made of the first question in VaitS. 20, 6 where

⁶⁶ See Caland and Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, p. 183 f.; J. Gonda, *Eye and gaze in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1969, p. 47 f.

⁶⁷ Cf. RV. 10, 121, 10 after the refrain of 1-9.

⁶⁸ Following the commentators Griffith op. cit., p. 221 untenably translates "Thou art Ka. Noblest Ka art thou. Thee for the state and rank of Ka". Cf. also A. Debrunner and J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, III, Göttingen 1930, p. 567.

“who art thou?” is followed by the answer “thou art glory (*yasaḥ*)” and the words “thou art a giver of glory; give me glory”.

TB. 2, 6, 5 k “O thou of good fame! O . . . auspiciousness! O . . . of a true king”⁶⁹. Being tripartite it is employed in the *rājasūya* (TS. 1, 8, 16 k; TB. 1, 7, 10, 6; Āp. 18, 19, 6) when the royal sacrificer, after having gained the victory in a game of dice, has to address three functionaries with auspicious names⁷⁰. Interestingly enough, BŚS. 12, 15: 108, 9 ff. makes those addressed answer with “Thou O king, art of good fame etc.”⁷¹. According to TB. 1, 7, 10, 6 the king while pronouncing these names asks for a blessing. Āp. 19, 10, 2 dealing with the *sautrāmaṇi* explicitly states that the ritual of the *rājasūya* is to be followed (*rājasūyavat*). See also KS. 38, 4: 105, 2; VS. 20, 4 (2nd half) and KŚS. 19, 4, 20.

The long series of brief *mantras* TB. 2, 6, 5 l, constituting five stanzas, identifies the limbs and other parts of the sacrificer’s body with auspicious ‘qualities’ etc. According to Āp. 19, 10, 2 the sacrificer should with these *mantras* touch the different parts of his body as they are enumerated in the text. The collection of identifications is practically identical in TB. (where however *cittam* in 2, 6, 5, 5 as against *mitram* in the other texts), MS. 3, 11, 8: 151, 16–152, 8, KS. 38, 4: 105, 4–13, VS. 20, 5–9. For the ritual use see also MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 25; Vār. 3, 2, 7, 36; KŚS. 19, 4, 21 (‘he touches the parts of his body according to the characteristic words’). Except MŚS. 11, 2, 8 where one likewise touches the parts of one’s body with them (in a section dealing with prescriptions in connexion with expiations) these *mantras* do not occur in rites other than the *sautrāmaṇi*. One could easily be drawn to the opinion that they were from the beginning designed for the *sautrāmaṇi*, but (also in view of MŚS. 11, 2, 8) the possibility cannot be discounted that they were modelled on an existing series of identifications. Anyhow, they are in the *sautrāmaṇi* a suitable means of suggesting the rapid progress of the sacrificer’s recovery. Mah., on VS. 20, 5 rightly indicates the significance of the *mantras*: ‘the sacrificer, being anointed and now having the form of (being like) Indra, seeing that his person is complete says . . .’ (*indro ’bhiṣikta ātmānaṃ rāṣṭrībhūtaṃ paśyann āha*, Uvaṭa). In most cases the correlations are intelligible. As to the translation of some terms, *mano manyuḥ* does not mean “my mind be wrath” (Griffith) or “my mind is anger” (Dumont), but “the centre of my thoughts, emotions and volitions is (not “be”) ardour (zeal)”; *mitraṃ me sahaḥ*, not “conquering strength my friend” (Griffith) but “my overwhelming (conquering) power is active benevolence”; *apacitiḥ* is “honour” (*pūjā*, U.) rather than “expiation” (Dumont); notice that the

⁶⁹ The compound *sātyarājāṣṇ* is, like the two preceding ones, a *bahuvrīhi* but hardly translatable by “O thou of true rule” (Keith, TS. 1, 8, 16 k; Dumont). Mah. on VS. 20, 4 rightly: *satyo ’vināṣi rājā prabhur yasya saḥ*; U.: *s. anaśvaraḥ r. y.*

⁷⁰ I refer to Heesterman, op. cit., p. 146 f.

⁷¹ Where of course *satyarājā* (l. 12) must mean “a true king”.

frequent combination *indriyam viryam* has been split up and co-ordinated with arms and hands.

When the sacrificer descends from the seat he recites TB. 2, 6, 5 m (*Āp*ŚS. 19, 10, 2), which is also MS. 3, 11, 8: 152, 11 (where *dhīro* instead of *dharmo*) quoted at *Vār*ŚS. 3, 2, 7, 38; KS. 38, 4: 105, 14; VS. 20, 9 (last line). Being exclusively used in this ritual this *mantra* is, like the beginning of the following one, characteristic of a royal sacrificer. The 'symbolism' is clear: after having become complete and recovered on the seat he is now, standing erect, firmly established on the *viś* (i.e. the inhabitants of the country, 'subjects', the community etc.⁷²). According to Mah., on VS. 20, 9, these words mean, by implication, that the sacrificer now is the embodied *dharma* and consequently is firmly established on his subjects, because a king is firmly established on the *dharma*.

When he is about to offer the libation of fat gravy the sacrificer mutters the fivefold text TB. 2, 6, 5 n (*Āp*. 19, 10, 2). All five formulae occur in the same wording in TB., KS. 38, 4: 105, 15-17; VS. 20, 10 (and ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 22; cf. KŚS. 19, 4, 23) as well as SMB. 2, 2, 2-6 (in a somewhat different order), HGS. 2, 17, 4. ŚB. explains the first four in the same way: 'in . . . he thus establishes himself so as not to be deprived of . . .', the last by: 'he thus e. h. in heaven and earth within which is all this (universe)'. Mah., on VS., summarizes: '(now) he wishes to control everything, to be an owner of cattle, free from care and disease, prosperous-and-illustrious, and a performer of sacrificial rites'. The 1st and 2nd formula are in an expiation rite to be performed when a certain sacrificial cake has fallen and is put back into the dish at *Āp*. 9, 14, 2 quoted from TB. 3, 7, 10, 3 and followed by another parallel *yajus* "I firmly establish myself in offspring and being (including the future)". This 6th formula is the third in the series of MS. 3, 11, 8: 152, 12-14 but *pr̥sthe* "on the top(?)" (or *puste* "prosperity") instead of *bhavye*, where the first is "I f. e. m. in *brahman* (and) royal power" (formula 7), the 2nd=2, the 4th "I f. e. m. in the vital breaths, in the *ātman*" (cf. 4), the last=5; see MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 26 (pronounced when the sacrificer descends from the seat). - These formulae are found in several works on domestic rites: 1, 2 and 6 in *Āp*MB. (Mantrapāṭha) 2, 18, 3-5, quoted in *Āp*GS. 7, 19, 9 to accompany the lying down on a new layer (of straw) in the ritual 'redescent' from the high bedsteads in the winter; 1-5 in HGS. 2, 17, 4 pronounced by the householder when, also in the *āgrahāyaṇi* rite (performed when the danger from serpents is over), he has to wash his hands and touch the earth, no mention being made of the redescent proper⁷³; however, after the muttering the householder and the other persons present sit down. Similarly, GGS. 3, 9, 11 and KhGS. 3, 3, 19 where the householder touches

⁷² For this word see J. Gonda, *Triads in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1976, p. 137 ff.

⁷³ For the differences in the descriptions of the procedures see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, Poona 1941, p. 829.

the *barhis* and sits down, the others doing likewise. On the same occasion ŚGS. 4, 18, 7-10 mentions four formulae, viz. 7 (see above), 2, "I f. e. m. a. cattle, in prosperity", "I f. e. m. a. offspring, in food". In PGS. 1, 10, 2 the whole series of formulae of VS. 20, 10 is to be pronounced when the axle of the chariot of a king or a bride breaks and these persons are —after a sacrifice—made to sit down on another chariot. The formulae 7 and 2 are to be muttered by the bridegroom—or according to the commentary by the sacrificer—when he descends—or is made to descend—from the chariot on entering his house. All these passages deal more or less explicitly with some form of descent, coming down, lying or putting down. The considerable number of variants and the comparatively frequent use in rites other than the *sautrāmaṇī*—especially in the *āgrahāyaṇī* might possibly seem to supply argument for the hypothesis that those who produced the *sautrāmaṇī* formulary were not the authors of these formulae, but while borrowing pre-existing material adapted it to suit them best.

The first component of the next formula (TB. 2, 6, 5 o) is bipartite. The first half "Three times eleven are the gods" (*trayo* in some texts, elsewhere *trayā*), occurs also MS. 3, 11, 8: 151, 7⁷⁴ (quoted by Vār. 3, 2, 7, 33 when the officiant, gazing at the sacrificer⁷⁵, offers an oblation); KS. 38, 4: 105, 18; VS. 20, 11 (KŚS. 19, 5, 8; 7, 4⁷⁶; ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 28; 29). This statement is to announce the thirty-three libations of gravy. It also occurs at HGS. 2, 17, 4 (see above) where it has no doubt together with what precedes and follows been quoted (borrowed) from TB. It is moreover quoted in GB. 2, 5, 7 which, following ŚB. 12, 8, 23-28 and illustrating VaitS. 30, 16; 18, deals with the *sāman* chants at the *sautrāmaṇī* (for which see ŚB., 1. cit.). — The second half of the first formula—being an amplification of the same statement and, significantly, containing a reference to their domestic priest Bṛhaspati—follows also in MS., KS., VS. (ŚB.), HGS. — The second, and longer, component of the section is a prayer for divine help. — The following conglomeration of *mantras* consists of: a frequently occurring *pāda*, RV. 5, 82, 6 b (part of a prayer in a hymn addressed to Savitar) "(May we,) on the impulse of the god S., (receive everything pleasant)" (also ĀpŚS. 6, 23, 1 in the *agnyupasthāna*), which enters into the composition of some other *mantras*: AVŚ. 6, 23, 3 a "... let men do their (sacred) work"; VS. 11, 2 "... strive to merit heaven" (construction of the great fireplace, placing of the fire in the fire-pan; cf. also ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 14) and similarly TS. 4, 1, 1, 1; MS. 2, 7, 1: 73, 10; KS. 15, 11: 217, 6; also ŚvU. 2, 2; TS. 1, 1, 9, 3⁷⁷ "... disposers(?)⁷⁷ perform the ritual work" (full and new moon sacrifices, the tracing of

⁷⁴ For the Maitrāyaṇīya version see above, p. 121 f.

⁷⁵ For the significance of the ritually prescribed and consciously fixed look see Gonda, Eye and gaze, p. 24 ff. etc.

⁷⁶ For an explanation of the ritual use see Eggeling, op. cit., V, p. 257, n. 1.

the *vedi*); cf. also TB. 3, 2, 9, 8 and $\bar{A}p\acute{S}S.$ 2, 2, 7; M $\acute{S}S.$ 1, 2, 4, 18; TB. 3, 7, 7, 14 in an exhortation to the makers of the *vedi*; $\acute{S}S.$ 16, 17, 6 “. . . gain ye heaven” (to be muttered by the *brahman* priest after having, in the *vājapeya* ritual, taken place on the wheel). – In TB. 2, 6, 5 o; MS. 151, 8; KS. 38, 4: 105, 20; VS. 20, 11; $\acute{S}B.$ 12, 8, 3, 29 these words are followed by “the gods with (through) the gods must help me” which do not seem to be used in rites other than the *sautrāmaṇī* and HGS. 2, 17, 4 (see above), $\acute{S}B.$ adding the comment ‘for the gods indeed consecrate (*abhiṣiñcanti*) him through the gods’ and U. on VS. observing that ‘the deities through whom’ will be mentioned in what follows. – The following concatenation of parallel word groups, not used in any other ritual, occurs also, without variation and together with the prayer at the end, in KS. 38, 4: 105, 20–106, 3; VS. 20, 12 (with *ṛcaḥ puronuvākyābhiḥ p-ā yājyābhir yājyā(h)* . . ., likewise $\acute{S}B.$, which is more satisfactory, also because there should be eleven parallel sentences; see below); MS. 3, 11, 8: 151, 9–13 (Vār. 3, 2, 7, 34 *pratīkena*) with some variants: *p. tvā d. abhiṣiñcantu*, inserting everywhere *tvā*, and like VS. mentioning the *puronuvākyās*, adding, after *āhutibhiḥ*, *abhiṣiñcantu, te* instead of *me* in the last sentence. $\acute{S}B.$ 12, 8, 3, 30 explains: ‘for the first (gods, on earth) consecrate (*abhiṣiñcanti*) him along with the second ones (in the air) . . ., ‘the s. ones . . . the third ones (in the sky) . . .’, adding: ‘having thus consecrated him by means of those deities from first to last, he thus, by means of oblations, renders all his wishes successful’. U. and Mah. on VS. add a useful note: ‘the oblations, in this way in constant continuation guarded by the gods of three classes (those of the earth, of the intermediate space, of the heavenly regions), (three times) eleven in number, must fulfil my desires’. It is with these *mantras* that the sacrificer offers the libation of fat gravy to the gods ($\bar{A}p.$ 19, 10, 2).

Neither the whole of TB. 2, 6, 5 p (an *anusṭubh*) nor its component parts are found in other rituals. The latter also occur at MS. 3, 11, 8: 152, 10 (and Vār. 3, 2, 7, 37); KS. 38, 4: 106, 4; VS. 20, 13 (K $\acute{S}S.$ 19, 5, 10; $\acute{S}B.$ 12, 8, 3, 31). While pronouncing these formulae the sacrificer, after the offering, touches different parts of his body according to the characteristic words of the text (*yathāliṅgam*, $\bar{A}p.$ 19, 10, 2) but Vār. makes the *adhvaryu* present an oblation offered with a full ladle (*pūrṇāhuti*) with these formulae which are not suitable for this purpose. Nor does the application mentioned by Mah., on VS. (cf. U. and K $\acute{S}S.$ 19, 5, 10) seem original: ‘the sacrificer consumes the rest of the cupful’. – The interpretation presents some difficulties. The noun *prayati* (“effort and attempt”, Griffith; “endeavour”, Eggeling; “Gabe”, Caland, $\bar{A}p.$; “gift”, Dumont) seems to mean “devout surrender”⁷⁸. Why is *ānatiḥ* repeated?

⁷⁷ For *vedhasas* see Gonda, *Vision* p. 50 (with references).

⁷⁸ See J. Gonda, *Prayata*, in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 20–21 (1960–1961), p. 45 ff. (=Selected Studies, II, p. 393 ff.). Cf. VS. 18, 1.

Mah. explains the identifications as indications of the state of feelings of beings towards the (royal) sacrificer, winding up with the statement that the constituent elements of his body are able to make the world subject. Similarly, the comm. on TB., p. 683. ŚB. on the other hand says that he who is consecrated by the *sautrāmaṇi* enters the worlds (of safety, *lokān*) and (has access to) the deities; he now has himself invited amongst them, 'and thus he arises (in the said 'worlds' and among the deities) complete with a whole bodily form, and with all limbs'.

It may by way of recapitulation be observed that with this section (5) generally speaking correspond MS. 3, 11, 8 where however a-f j k are absent—part of them occurring elsewhere in MS. —, whereas instead of n this text has *p. prajāyām p. pr̥sthe, p. prāṇesu p. ātman dyāvāpṛthivyoḥ p. yajñe*; KS. 38, 4 which is practically identical with TB. 5, although the mantras a and b are absent; and VS. 20, 1-13 in which the same two as well as d are absent and st. 2 has a *pāda* more: "Save (me) from death; save (me) from lightning" which may be an ancient addition to this Varuṇa stanza: according to KŚS. 19, 4, 10 and 11 these words accompany the putting of silver or gold under the feet or above the head as a charm against death or lightning; see also ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 11. The first half occurs also in VS. 10, 15 (*rājasūya*; cf. ŚB. 5, 4, 1, 12 adding 'gold is continuance of life').

The *mantras* of TB. 2, 6, 6 are to be recited at the conclusive bath (*avabhṛtha*): Āp. 19, 10, 4⁷⁹. Stanza a is a variant of the first stanza of the so-called *devahedana sūkta* (AVŚ. 6, 114, or *kuśmāṇḍāḥ*) which in its entirety occurs among the *upahoma mantras* mentioned in TB. 2, 4, 4, 8 f. The version of c d is somewhat different; in AVŚ. the Ādityas are invoked. MS. 3, 11, 10: 157, 1 (MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 35, after mentioning the offering of thirty-three gifts and Vār. 3, 2, 7, 40 *pratikena*, including the stanzas b and c); KS. 38, 5: 106, 6; VS. 20, 14 (cf. KŚS. 19, 5, 13) agree precisely with TB. 2, 6, 6, stanza a. After stating in 12, 9, 2, 1 that those who have performed a *sautrāmaṇi* take a purificatory bath, because one does likewise after a *soma* sacrifice, 'and the *sautrāmaṇi* is the same as the *soma* (sacrifice)', ŚB. (2) explains this stanza as follows: 'he thereby delivers him from the sin committed against the gods'. As to the ritual details there is some difference of opinion between MŚS. and Vār. on the one hand and KŚS. (and U., Mah.), Vait. 30, 22 on the other. — With a different second line the *mantra* occurs also in TB. 3, 7, 12, 1; Āp. 10, 7, 14 (concluding bath of the *soma* sacrifice). See for this text against disability in sacrificing also Vait. 20, 15 (*soma* sacrifice); Āp. 14, 30, 1 (in a rite of atonement, *soma* sacrifice), quoting either TB. 3, 7, 12, 1 or TĀ. 2, 3; cf. also MS. 4, 14, 17: 244, 4. — For the use of AVŚ. 6, 114 (=AVP. 6, 49, 1-3)

⁷⁹ On the stanzas a-e see also S. Rohde, Deliver us from evil, Lund and Copenhagen 1946, p. 156 f.

in an atharvanic *sava* rite see Kauś. 67, 19⁸⁰. – As to the second half of this stanza compare AVŚ. 7, 64, 2 cd (in a text against the evil influence of a black bird); ĀśvŚŚ. 2, 7, 11; ŚŚS. 4, 17, 12 (*śūlagava*); TS. 1, 8, 5 k (*rājasūya*, the sacrificer with his wife reveres the *gārhapatya* fire); 3, 1, 4 i (immediately on the death of the victim, *soma* sacrifice). Etc. For *pāda* d see below. – These *pādas* combine, with or without variants, in various ways to form *mantras* for averting the evil results of mistakes etc. in sacrificing. It seems warranted to suppose that the *sautrāmaṇī* has in this respect also imitated the *soma* ritual.

Stanza b occurs only in the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual; see also MS. 3, 11, 10: 157, 5 (with *sūryo* instead of *vāyūr*); KS. 38, 5: 106, 8 (as TB.); VS. 20, 15 (with *vāyūr* which is no doubt correct; see below), ŚB., l. cit., observing that ‘he thereby delivers him from whatever sin he commits by day and by night’. *Pāda* a appears also in TB. 2, 4, 4, 9 (among *upahomamantras*); b=AVŚ. 6, 115, 1 b (for relief from sin). – The last *pāda*, part of the refrain which together with some striking cases of parallelism (*responsio*⁸¹) welds the stanzas a, b, and c together, occurs also in TS. 3, 1, 4 i (*soma* sacrifice, the slaying of the victim⁸²; also MŚS. 1, 8, 3, 34; KŚS. 25, 9, 12); see moreover ĀpŚS. 7, 21, 6 (animal sacrifice); MŚS. 7, 2, 5, 5 (if no he-goat for Sūrya can be sacrificed); Kauś. 44, 17 (*vaśāsamana* rite); ŚŚS. 4, 17, 12: SMB. 2, 2, 8 (cf. GGS. 3, 10, 28). The wording needs no comment.

Stanza TB. 2, 6, 6 c is without variant found also as KS. 38, 5: 106, 10; VS. 20, 16, ŚB., l. cit., observing ‘what is awake is men, and what is asleep is the Fathers; he thus delivers him from guilt against men and Fathers’, and with “if in sleep (*svāpan*), if waking” and *vāyūr* instead of *sūryo* (see above) MS. 3, 11, 10: 157, 3. The three gods Agni (st. a), Vāyu and Sūrya (or Āditya) constitute a triad of considerable prominence; in the relevant speculations Agni represents this (our) world, Vāyu the atmosphere, Sūrya the sky⁸³. – For *pāda* a b see AVŚ. 6, 115, 2 (cf. AVP. 16, 49, 5).

Stanza d occurs in all four basic texts, but there are differences: at MS. 3, 11, 10: 157, 7 it is quoted *pratikena* because it is—in another form it is true, more precisely only the components a, b, d, e, and a variant of f, and amplified by three other *pādas*—mentioned already in 1, 10, 2: 141, 14 (seasonal sacrifices, *varuṇapraghāsa*; see below); KS. 38, 5: 106, 12 (=TB.); VS. 20, 17 (*yād énas* . . . in c). The difficult word is *indriyé*, taken to refer to sin against the gods in ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 3 (quoted by U., see also Mah.) and similarly 2, 5, 2, 25, translated by Keith (TS. 1, 8, 3; see below) by

⁸⁰ Cf. J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 110; 398.

⁸¹ J. Gonda, *Stylistic repetition in the Veda*, Amsterdam 1959, p. 166 ff.

⁸² For this stanza see A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 227.

⁸³ For particulars see J. Gonda, *The dual deities in the religion of the Veda*, Amsterdam 1974, p. 220 f.

“members” (with the note: ‘no doubt intended as a foil to *sabdhāyām* ‘in full assembly’); by Caland (Āp. 8, 6, 24): “wider die eigene Person”; by Griffith: “corporeal sense”, Dumont: “in our individual power”; Rohde: “by ourselves”; rightly Mah., on VS.: ‘with regard to any object of the senses, (that is) speaking ill of others, looking at another’s women (wives, daughters etc.) and so on’. – According to Āp. 19, 10, 4 the stanzas a–e should be muttered by the *adhvaryu* when he offers five libations of melted butter in the water; according to Mah. on VS. 20, 17 the pitcher is addressed, according to Vār. 3, 2, 7, 41 he cleanses himself; to MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 36 he offers in the water. – This *mantra* is, as rightly observed by Keith⁸⁴, a general penitential formula, in which the pronoun “we” is natural, despite the fact that here and in the *varuṇapraghāsa* ritual (TS. 1, 8, 3 d; cf. TB. 1, 6, 5, 3; Āp. 8, 6, 24⁸⁵; MS., 1. cit.; MŚS. 1, 7, 4, 15; Vār. 1, 7, 2, 32; KS. 9, 4: 107, 13; KapS. 8, 7: 85, 21; VS. 3, 45 with KŚS. 5, 5, 11) the husband and his wife alone say it, or the variant; in this context it accompanies an oblation to Indra-and-Agni and other gods. TB. 1, 6, 5, 3 interestingly states that by pronouncing this stanza the sacrificer satisfies (and removes) Varuṇa by an act of worship (*varuṇam avayajate*): that means that the god is induced to deliver him from his ‘sin’.

Stanza e has been misunderstood: *śapāmahe* should not be translated by “whatever oath we have sworn” (Keith, TS. 1, 3, 11 f.), “we swear our oath” (Griffith, VS. 6, 22⁸⁶), “if we swear” (Dumont) etc.⁸⁷, but by “we curse”⁸⁸. It occurs also KS. 38, 5: 106, 15; VS. 20, 18 in the *sautrāmaṇī* as well as in the *soma* ritual: VS. 6, 22 in addressing the stick on which the victim’s heart has been roasted and which is now buried (ŚB. 3, 8, 5, 10 ‘thereby he delivers him from every noose of Varuṇa . . .’). The *mantra* occurs also in TS. 1, 3, 11, 1; MS. 1, 2, 8: 82, 5; KS. 3, 8: 27, 1, where it is preceded by “from every place where thy authority manifests itself, O King Varuṇa, from that set us free” (pronounced when water is poured over the above heart spit); similarly MS. 3, 11, 10: 157, 7 (*pratīkena*; see below); ĀśvŚS. 3, 6, 24; ŚŚS. 8, 12, 11 etc. The whole stanza⁸⁹ is

⁸⁴ Keith, Veda Bl. Y. School, p. 115.

⁸⁵ See Caland’s note, Śr. Āp., II, Amsterdam 1924, p. 26 (where “Kampf” should be replaced by “Dorf”).

⁸⁶ Adding a note, op. cit., p. 56: ‘Perhaps, Save us from our enemies’ blame when they find fault with us for swearing by cows and by Varuṇa, when an oath on cows alone would be sufficient’. Cf. e.g. ṚV. 10, 97, 16; AVŚ. 2, 7, 2. Curses are often mentioned as being invoked to recoil on the curser himself.

⁸⁷ W. D. Whitney and Ch. R. Lanman, Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 968: ‘if we have called these divinities to witness an untruth’.

⁸⁸ See also the commentator on TS. 1, 3, 11, 1 explaining ‘thus we solicit thee (O Varuṇa, to avert evil from us)’ and Eggeling, op. cit., II, p. 216 (on ŚB. 3, 8, 5, 10).

⁸⁹ For explanations see Eggeling, op. cit., II, p. 216 (on ŚB. 3, 8, 5, 10; Keith, Veda Bl. Y. School, p. 47 (“rule, order”); Griffith, op. cit., p. 56; Mah. on VS. 6, 22

found also in AVŚ. 7, 83, 2 (AVP. 20, 32, 5⁹⁰); in the shorter form AVŚ. 19, 44, 9.

TB. 2, 6, 6 f, with which the sacrificer should address the *avabhytha*⁹¹ before bathing, states that this substance-power, viz. the stream of fresh water in which the sacrificer is to take his bath, has removed the double sin, viz. that against gods and that against men. The expressions *devaír devákṛtam énaḥ* and *mártyair márt yakṛtam* have given occasion for difference of opinion⁹². Uvaṭa, on VS. 3, 48 explains: 'the 'sin' (mistakes made, etc.) relating to (against the gods, committed with the gods as companions and that relating to (against) men, committed with the officiants as companions', Mah., ibidem, 'the sin committed by the deities, viz. our organs of sense (*indriya*), against the gods who are entitled to the oblations and that committed by men, viz. the officiants, (my companions) against those who have come to see the sacrifice'. However, the words rather mean: with the help of the gods (men) thou hast removed by sacrifice the sin committed against the gods (men), as translated by Eggeling (VS. 2, 5, 2, 47) and Dumont⁹³. Keith's⁹⁴ interpretation—*devaír devákṛtam* taken as an emphatic 'god wrought', i.e. the sins of the gods, though grammatically possible, is highly improbable. — As appears from its contents this *mantra* was specially designed for the lustral bath at the end of a sacrifice and could not reasonably serve any other purpose. It may have been transferred from the *soma* sacrifice—where it is employed in TS. 1, 4, 45, 2 (immersion of all that the *soma* has touched) (cf. ĀpŚS. 13, 19, 10 accompanying an oblation); MS. 1, 3, 39: 45, 11 (MŚS. 2, 5, 4, 30); KS. 4, 13: 37, 22; KapS. 3, 11: 35, 1; VS. 8, 27 (KŚS. 10, 9, 3); and see ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 22; also TS. 6, 6, 3, 4 (propitiation of Varuṇa); MS. 4, 8, 5: 113, 2; KS. 29, 3: 171, 15; LŚS. 2, 12, 9 and DŚS. 6, 4, 8 (the lustral bath of the chanters at the end of a *soma* sacrifice)—to other rituals VS. 3, 48 and ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 47 with KŚS. 5, 5, 30 (seasonal sacrifices) and TB. 2, 6, 6 f, Āp. 19, 10, 5; VS. 20, 18; ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 4; KS. 38, 5: 106, 15–17

(taking, like U., *dhāman* to mean 'place' (*sthāna*) 'from every place taken by thy noose which we fear, free us from that'; U. '... infested by evil...'; similarly, Sāyaṇa, on TS.; *sarvasmād rogasthānāt*, comm. on AVŚ. 7, 83, 2. The Indian commentators are not wide of the mark: in my opinion *dhāman* means 'a location or receptacle of divine power, a hypostasis or refraction in which such power is believed to be active or to manifest itself'; see my book *Dhāman*, Amsterdam 1967, p. 76.

⁹⁰ See also the note by Whitney and Lanman, op. cit., p. 450.

⁹¹ For the concluding lustral bath as a special occasion for the expiation of mistakes and 'sins' see Rodhe, op. cit., p. 155 ff.

⁹² For the interpretation of this *mantra* see also A. Parpola, *The Śrautasūtras of Laṭyāyana and Drāhyāyana and their commentaries*, I, 2, Helsinki 1969, p. 269.

⁹³ In the sense of "to do anything for the advantage or injury of another" *kr. + loc.*; for 'a compounded locative': J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leiden 1886, p. 159.

⁹⁴ Keith, *Veda Bl. Y. School*, p. 66.

to the *sautrāmaṇī*. Variants and differences in ritual application can be left out of consideration.

In part of the relevant texts the two following stanzas are used independently of each other. The first (g), which is more frequently found, accompanies the burying of the stick on which the victim's heart has been roasted and which is requested to do no damage to water and plants (VS. 6, 22⁹⁵; ŚB. 3, 8, 5, 11; TS. 1, 4, 45 g; ĀpŚS. 7, 27, 16; MS. 1, 2, 18: 28, 10; KS. 3, 8: 27, 5; ŚSS. 8, 12, 11)⁹⁶, and occurs as a purificatory formula in the sacrifice to the Fathers when those concerned are bathing and throwing water in the direction of their enemies (VS. 35, 12; ŚB. 13, 8, 4, 5); similarly in the *pravargya* ritual (TĀ. 4, 11, 8 (23); ĀpŚS. 15, 16, 10; MŚS. 4, 4, 22; VS. 38, 23; ŚB. 14, 3, 1, 27; cf. VS. 36, 23⁹⁷). See also BŚS. (7, 9: 215, 5 cf.) 4, 7: 120, 19; LŚS. 2, 2, 11; DŚS. 4, 2, 2 etc. in connexion with the cleansing to be performed at the *cātvāla* trench⁹⁸; ĀpŚS. 8, 8, 15 (TS. 1, 4, 45 g): *avabhṛtha* of the *varuṇapraghāsa*; 13, 21, 1: of the *agniṣṭoma* (likewise BŚS. 8, 20: 261, 9). The second is—with some variants, the most important of which is *āpah* ‘the waters’ in TB. 2, 6, 6 h, KS., VS. instead of *viśve* ‘all’—AVŚ. 6, 115, 3 (part of a *sūkta* to be recited for relief from ‘sin’; also AVP. 16, 49, 6 with *viśvād*); TB. 2, 4, 4, 9 where it is an *upahoma mantra* addressed to Agni. According to ĀpŚS. 19, 10, 5 both *mantras* are to be recited by the sacrificer who performs the *kaukilī sautrāmaṇī* when he is immersing himself in the water of the final bath. They appear together also in VS. 20, 19 (second part) and 20, ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 7 observing that ‘he causes his garment to float away; cf. KŚS. 19, 5, 16; VaitS. 30, 23, where st. h is prescribed: even as one would pluck out a reed from its sheath, so he plucks him from out all evil; he bathes and (thereby) drives the darkness (of ‘sin’) from himself’ (ŚB. 6 is identical with 13, 8, 4, 5); KS. 38, 5: 106, 19 ff. MS. 3, 11, 10: 157, 11 has only h (with *viśve*). While admitting of various applications the use of these stanzas is always—also in the ritual under discussion—perfectly clear.

With TB. 2, 6, 6 i the sacrificer, after bathing, pays homage to the sun (ĀpŚS. 19, 10, 5). This is—with *paśyanto jyotiḥ* instead of *j. p.*—the oft quoted ṚV. 1, 50, 10 which is part of a hymn addressed to Sūrya. See also KS. 38, 5: 107, 2; VS. 20, 21 with the comment in ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 8 ‘darkness is evil (*pāpmā*) which he thus keeps away; Sūrya, the highest light, is the heavenly world, in which he thus finally establishes himself (*pratitiṣṭhati*)’ and the interesting explanation of *pāda* b ‘seeing the higher light’: ‘this (i.e. the terrestrial) world is higher than the water;

⁹⁵ See also Griffith, op. cit., p. 56.

⁹⁶ Cf. J. Schwab, *Das altindische Tieropfer*, Erlangen 1886, p. 162.

⁹⁷ See J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The pravargya*, Poona 1968; J. Gonda, *The mantras of the pravargya ritual*, Indo-Ir. J. 21, p. 235 ff.

⁹⁸ For particulars see Parpola, op. cit., I, 2, p. 179 f.

it is on this world he thus establishes itself', which seems to mean that the sacrificer's stepping on dry land 'symbolizes' his becoming established on this world. For other uses see BŚS. 8, 20: 261, 17 (*avabhṛtha* of a *soma* sacrifice); JB. 2, 68: *avabhṛtha* after a *sattra* or long *soma* sacrifice, the author adding that the sun is the deity which is never struck by calamity; by touching this deity one 'rises' (*udeti*); VS. 27, 10 (see TS. 4, 1, 6 below); 35, 14: sacrifice to the Fathers (with ŚB. 13, 8, 4, 7 where "the gloom" is explained as the world of the Fathers, from which 'they now indeed approach the light, the sun'); 38, 24 (ŚB. 14, 3, 1, 28) when, in performing the *pravargya*⁹⁹, the sacrificer returns from the *cātvalā*—i.e. the hole in the ground serving the purposes of those who perform a purification—and goes to the north-east (cf. e.g. ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 12)—i.e. the region of gods and men where is the gate to heaven (ŚB. 6, 6, 2, 3 f.)—; TS. 4, 1, 7 k where it is the last of a series of ten *sāmidhenī* stanzas—i.e. verses relating to the kindling of the sacrificial fire—to accompany an offering of five animals (similarly MS. 2, 12, 5: 149, 12; KS. 18, 16, 1: 277, 1 (with the word order of the RV.); KS. 18, 16: 277, 1; KapS. 29, 4: 132, 10) with an explanation in the *brāhmaṇa* section TS. 5, 1, 8, 6: 'the darkness is evil (*pāpmā*): verily from him he smites away evil. . . , verily he attains unity with the sun', and an additional classification: 'The year does not lag, prosperity (*śriḥ*) does not lag for whom these are performed. He recites the last (stanza) with the word 'light' in it; verily he bestows on him light above, to reveal the world of heaven'; TB. 3, 7, 11 and ĀpŚS. 3, 11, 2 (5th *mantra*, accompanying the 'integral expiations' (*sarvaprāyaścittāni*) required in the ritual of full and new moon); ĀpŚS. 8, 8, 18 accompanying the adoration of the sun (*varuṇapraghāsa*), likewise 13, 22, 5 (*agniṣṭoma*); 9, 8, 7 (*prāyaścittas*); 9, 12, 3 (*prāyaścitta*: when the sun is not visible during the establishment of the ritual fire) 15, 16, 10 and 17, 12 (*prāyaścitta*: *pravargya*); and 16, 7, 7 where it is said to be a concluding stanza (a direction based on the above TS. 5, 1, 8, 6). In a rite of atonement involving the adoration of the sun and resulting in deliverance from old age and death also SVB. 2, 4, 9. Etc. In this case also a survey of the various uses of the *mantra* enables us to deepen our insight into its significance which those who performed the rite attached to it.

Both parts of the bipartite *mantra* j are quoted also at KS. 38, 5: 107, 4 (in the reverse order) and TS. 1, 4, 45 i describing the concluding rite of the bath (*agniṣṭoma*). According to ĀpŚS. 19, 10, 5 the sacrificer while pronouncing it pushes back (with his foot, *pratyasyati*) the bank of the water where the bath has taken place. Similarly, TB. 1, 6, 5, 6; ĀpŚS. 8, 8, 18 (*varuṇapraghāsa*) and cf. BŚS. 8, 20: 261, 18 (final bath of a *soma* sacrifice). Other places quoting the first half are TS. 6, 6, 3, 5 and ĀpŚS. 13, 22, 5 (final bath of the *soma* sacrifice stating the significance

⁹⁹ See van Buitenen, op. cit., p. 132.

of a ritual act performed to avoid being seized by Varuṇa; cf. MS. 4, 8, 5: 113, 6 and KS. 29, 3: 171, 20 quoting the second half). The second half is in other ritual contexts quoted at TS. 1, 2, 8, 2 and ĀpŚS. 10, 28, 1; MS. 1, 2, 6: 16, 2; MŚS. 2, 1, 4, 40; in a section corresponding with the above TS. 1, 4, 45 MS. 1, 3, 39: 46, 3; KS. 4, 13: 38, 5; KapS. 3, 11: 35, 6, in a *varuṇapraghāsa* section MŚS. 1, 7, 4, 42.

There is no use in discussing all the occurrences of the elements of the quadripartite formula *k*, with which the sacrificer and his wife put fuel on the *āhavanīya* fire (ĀpŚS. 19, 10, 7, referring to 7, 27, 16 where in the description of the animal sacrifice this formula quoted by its first part is prescribed after the *mantra g* and prayers for safeguarding against 'sin' addressed to Varuṇa; see above). For the complete quadripartite set in passages dealing with the *sautrāmaṇī* see also KS. 38, 5: 107, 4; VS. 20, 23 with KŚS. 19, 5, 19 (U.: *tvām samindhanaṃ upādāya edhiṣimahi* 'may we prosper after having taken (in addition) you, firewood'; 'with "thou art fuel (*samidh*)" he places it on the fire' (Mah., cf. U.)) and ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 10 (with an essentially identical explanation and the comment: 'he thereby kindles the fire, and thus kindled, it kindles him with fiery energy (*tejasā saminddhe*')). The MS. description does not include this *mantra* which pseudo-etymologically suggests a connexion between *edhas* 'fuel' (root *indh-*) and the verb *edh-* 'to thrive, prosper'¹⁰⁰. The complete *mantra* occurs also at TS. 1, 4, 45, 3 (concluding bath, *soma* sacrifice; after a formula on Varuṇa's noose¹⁰¹); in JB. 2, 68 (the same rite, with ritual instructions but without an interpretation) in VS. 38, 25 (*pravargya* ritual; see above sub *mantra i*) and at ŚGS. 2, 10, 3 in the chapter on the study of the Veda and the sub-section on the fire where it is followed by a prayer for prosperity in offspring and wealth addressed to Agni. Attention may be drawn to the variant of the second element *samid asi sam edhiṣimahi* (e.g. ĀpMB. 2, 6, 3-5, the complete formula being prescribed at ĀpGS. 4, 11, 22 in the circumstances referred to in ŚGS. 2, 10, 3). TS. 6, 6, 3, 5 omitting the second element states that 'he bestows fiery energy (*tējah*) upon himself'. In ĀpŚS. 8, 8, 18 (*varuṇapraghāsa*); 8, 18, 10 (*tryambaka*); 13, 22, 6 (final bath of the *soma* sacrifice) the first element is quoted but the whole *mantra* meant. For the ritual mentioned last see also BŚS. 8, 20: 261, 19 with the above ritual directions. While the meaning and application of the *mantra* are perfectly clear it is difficult to say in which ritual it was used first, although the supposition seems warranted that the *pravargya*, the *sautrāmaṇī* etc. borrowed it from the *soma* ritual.

With the next *mantra* (l), likewise quadripartite or rather fivefold, the sacrificer and his wife, standing erect, pay reverence to the *āhavanīya* fire after they have put a piece of fuel on it (ĀpŚS. 19, 10, 7 repeating 7, 27, 16 on the animal sacrifice; see also KŚS. 19, 5, 18, U. and Mah.). It is a

¹⁰⁰ See also Keith, Veda Bl. Y. School, p. 66, n. 7 (and p. 65, n. 6).

¹⁰¹ Cf. Caland and Henry, L'agniṣṭoma, p. 401.

variant of RV. 1, 23, 23 and 10, 9, 9, where it, respectively, is part of a section imploring the help and favour of the Waters in a *sūkta* addressed to various deities and of a hymn to the Waters (10, 9, 6–9=1, 23, 20–23 with the exception of 20 d). “Der atharvaartige Schluss (1, 23, 16–24) begleitet ein Opfer für die Flüsse und das Reinigungsbad, das wie der spätere *avabhṛtha* die heilige Handlung beschlieszt”¹⁰². The main differences between RV. and TB. etc. are *pāda* c “Come, O Agni, rich in milk (i.e. the essence of the water, *páyasvān*)” and “I have come, O A., r. in m.” and the addition “with offspring and wealth” in the latter text. Another variant—“I have honoured” (*acāyīṣam* in a; *sāmapṛkṣmahi* “we have been mingled” in b; c=TB. c, no additions but compare st. 2 b)—occurs as AVŚ. 7, 89, 1, the above *mantra* k (*édho* ‘*si* etc.) being AVŚ. 7, 89, 4; and as AVP. 1, 33, 1 with *adyānvacāriṣam* (also in VS. 20, 22 etc.) in *pāda* a and *rasena samasṛkṣmahi* (like TB. etc.) in b. The Kauśika-Sūtra makes various use of this *sūkta* and of its several stanzas; in 42, 13 it is ‘at the margin of water’, addressed to the holy water when the Veda student returns home; in 42, 14 it accompanies the laying of fuel on the fire after sunset; the commentaries reckon the *sūkta* as ‘intended by the stanzas to be recited at the bath taken after the death of one’s teacher’ (the so-called *snānīyāḥ*). According to VaitS. 24, 6 st. 1 (or more) is in the *agniṣṭoma* repeated on approach to the *āhavanīya* fire¹⁰³. Notice the occurrence of the stanza in connexion with water as well of fire in a way reminiscent of the use of st. TB. 1 etc. in the *avabhṛtha* ritual. This stanza (AVŚ. 7, 89, 1) recurs as 10, 5, 46 in a long *sūkta* dealing with the preparation and use of ‘water-thunderbolts’. The *pādas* TB. cd are moreover identical with AVŚ. 9, 1, 14 cd (addressed to the ‘honey-whip’). In connexion with the *sautrāmaṇī*: KS. 38, 5: 107, 6 (in b *sam aganmahi*; in c *āgamam*, no 5th *pāda*), VS. 20, 22 (in b *sām asṛkṣmahi*, with the 5th *pāda*) with ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 9 observing that ‘he thereby secures for himself the essence of the waters’ and ‘invokes a blessing’. In the *soma* ritual: TS. 1, 4, 45 l, (no 5th *pāda*); BŚS. 8, 20: 262, 2; ĀpŚS. 13, 22, 6; LŚS. 2, 12, 13, (as KS.); DŚS. 6, 4, 12¹⁰⁴; with some ritual details JB. 2, 68 (in a *apo* ‘*dyānvacārṣam*, b and c as TB., no 5th *pāda*). In the *varuṇapraghāsa*: MS. 1, 3, 39: 46, 12 with MŚS. 1, 7, 4, 47 (adoration of the *āhavanīya*); KS. 4, 13: 38, 12; KāpS. 3, 11: 35, 10; ĀpŚS. 8, 8, 18; for 8, 18, 10 see above. The stanza recurs, as TS. 1, 4, 46 f, in a section containing invitatory and consecratory *mantras* for special sacrifices (*kāmyeṣṭi*): according to 2, 2, 4, 4 the man whose desire it is to be possessed of essence (*sap*, *rasa*) should offer an oblation to Agni *rasavān* (cf. the wording of the *mantra*). As ĀpMB. 2, 6, 6 it is one of the twelve *mantras* to be recited when (twelve) pieces of wood are put on the fire used at the *upanayana* (chapter on the Veda student). The formula is in MGS. 1, 1, 17; 11, 25; 2, 2, 26

¹⁰² Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 22.

¹⁰³ For further particulars see Whitney and Lanman, op. cit., p. 453.

¹⁰⁴ For the readings see Parpola, op. cit., I, 2, p. 271.

on various occasions prescribed when the fire is worshipped, also in case no mention is made of a previous bath.

TB. 2, 6, 6 m, a perfect concluding *mantra*, is only found in the *kaukili sautrāmanī*. See also MS. 3, 11, 10: 157, 13 (with *samdvrt*, without *sām u viśvam idāṃ jāgat*, and with *vyāsiya*); KS. 38, 5: 107, 8 (in these two texts the words “and the whole world . . .” are not found); VS. 20, 23 (reading *vibhūn kāmān*). According to ĀpŚS. 19, 10, 7 it is to be addressed to the *āhavanīya* fire, according to MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 38 the sacrificer recites it while offering with the spoon in the *gārhapatya* fire, to KŚS. 19, 5, 20 he sacrifices with it. The statement “the earth . . . and the whole world has returned (come home)” no doubt means that because of the transitoriness of the world (cf. Uvāṭa) it now has disappeared (*naśyati*, Mah.), that is to say as far as the sacrificer is concerned, who now wishes to “have (Agni) Vaiśvānara”—i.e. the god of fire as the fire and light of the sun that descends in the world and the *āhavanīya* fire which is regarded as identical with the sun—“as his light”.

With *bhūh svāhā* the sacrificer offers a libation of melted butter in the *āhavanīya* (ĀpŚS. 19, 10, 7; for MŚS. and KŚS. see above). The word “earth”, the first of the *vyāhrtis* (‘earth, atmosphere, sky’), is often used to accompany an oblation, especially when in sacrificing there has been a failure in respect (of the *mantras*) of the Ṛgveda (AiB. 5, 32, 5; 34, 4; ŚB. 11, 5, 8, 6; ĀpŚS. 9, 16, 4; 14, 32, 7), but also in other cases (e.g. AiB. 8, 7, 6, if it is desired that the sacrificer will eat food); for adoration of the *āhavanīya* with *bhūh* see ĀpŚS. 9, 1, 11; MŚS. 3, 1, 8; for other use: ĀpŚS. 9, 2, 4; MŚS. 3, 2, 7; see also ŚŚS. 2, 7, 7; ĀpŚS. 16, 23, 1; MŚS. 1, 5, 3, 15.

From a comparison it appears that TB. 2, 6, 6; KS. 38, 5 and VS. 20, 14–23 are to a considerable extent identical. TB. k corresponds with VS. 23, first part, and l with 22; moreover, TB. j does not occur in VS. VS. and KS. have in 19 a b and 106, 18 a hemistich that is absent in the other texts, viz. “Thy heart is in the ocean, within the waters; with thee let plants and waters be commingled”. ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 5 explains: (a) ‘For the ocean is the waters, and water is juice; with that juice he thus supplies him; (b) he supplies him with both kinds of sap, that which is in plants, and that which is in water’. There is no denying that this line suits the context, esp. *mantra* g, well. It is as VS. 8, 25 ab used when the one who has performed a *soma* sacrifice stepping into the *avabhṛtha* bath floats a jar containing the dregs of the *soma* (KŚS. 10, 9, 1; ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 20); see also TS. 1, 4, 45, 2 and 6, 6, 34 (likewise dealing with the concluding bath of the *soma* ritual); cf. also MS. 1, 3, 39: 45, 9; MŚS. 2, 5, 4, 29; KS. 4, 13: 37, 20; cf. ĀpŚS. 13, 20, 10; Āp. prescribes it also (8, 8, 12) in his description of the concluding bath of the Varuṇa-praghāsa ritual¹⁰⁵. See also MS. 4, 8, 5: 112, 18. MS. 3, 11, 10: 157, 1–14

¹⁰⁵ See Caland’s note, Śr. Āp. II, p. 32.

differs widely. There are no counterparts of TB. 2, 6, 6 e f g i j k l; MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 35 prescribes a b c in connexion with the offering of three libations (cf. Āp. 19, 10, 4). Similarly, VārŚS. 3, 2, 7, 40. This recension has, on the other hand, some *mantras* of its own. The *mantra* "from every place where authority manifests itself . . ." (*dhāmno dhāmno rājan . . .*), mention of which has already been made, quoted *pratīkena* at MS. 3, 11, 10: 157, 7, is at MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 36 employed when at the lustral bath the offering in the water takes place (remember the relation between Varuṇa, to whom the words are addressed, and the waters; cf. its use in MŚS. 1, 7, 4, 43 where those who use it cleanse themselves: *varuṇapraghāsa* ritual). With the *mantra* known as d (MS. 157, 7 *pratīkena*) MŚS. has the person concerned offer a second time. Vār. 3, 2, 7, 41 uses both texts for the same purpose (cleaning), without adding particulars. The *mantra*, which could be employed in connexion with the final bath of more than one ritual, has in this recension, probably replaced TB. e (see also above). After the two *mantras* quoted p. 157, 7 MS. has a *mantra* of five *pādas* which as such is not found elsewhere ("Thou art the means of purifying the sacrifice, the m. of p. the sacrificer; that must purify (deliver) me completely from every offence against the gods, from all o. a. the g."), although *pāda* d is AVŚ. 6, 96, 2 d (addressed to the herbs, "whose king is Soma" for relief from 'sin' and distress, also from that which comes from Varuṇa); 7, 112, 2 d; 8, 7, 28 d (to the plants, for restoration of health, not in AVP. 16, 14, 7; AVŚ. 6, 96 is in VaitS. 30, 6 prescribed for use in the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual when the officiant is mixing herbs with the *surā*) and e is RV. 10, 97, 16 d (eulogy on the medicinal herbs, also VS. 12, 90 d; AVP. 19, 12, 5 d; BŚS. 4, 7: 120, 18: animal sacrifice; cf. 7, 9: 215, 5; ĀpŚS. 7, 21, 6, 5 d when those concerned cleanse themselves at the *cātvāla*: animal sacrifice; LŚS. 2, 2, 11, 4 d (DŚS. 4, 2, 2, 4 d, *agniṣṭoma*, worshipping of the *dhiṣṇyas*, subordinate hearths)¹⁰⁶. The stanza is, together with TB. h, prescribed at MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 37 and Vār. 3, 2, 7, 42 to accompany the bathing. – It may be noticed that the hemistich MS. 3, 11, 10: 156, 18 which is not employed in MŚS. and VārŚS. is identical with part of TB. 2, 6, 3 s etc. (see above). – From the above annotations it appears that in this section also parallels between the *sautrāmaṇī* and other sacrifices (*soma* ritual, *pravargya* etc.)—that is, common property—are far from wanting.

In VS. there now follows a passage (20, 24–35) which is not found in the other basic texts. Part of it (viz. 24–26; 28; 34; 35) is, as far as I am able to see, exclusively proper to this work; some *mantras* are taken from the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. Of these twelve *mantras* seven are mentioned in the *śrautasūtra* of the Vājasaneyins; this shows that they belonged to their habitual ritual. They are not to be used in the *avabhṛtha* ceremonies, but relate, as more or less individual additional *mantras*, to preceding

¹⁰⁶ For particulars see Parpola, op. cit., I, 2, p. 180.

stages in the ritual performances belonging to the part of the sacrificer, of the *adhvaryu*, the *brahman*. — The application of 20, 24 is perfectly clear: it is in the beginning of the *sautrāmaṇī* rite to accompany the placing of three sticks on the *āhavanīya* fire (KŚS. 19, 1, 11; U., Mah.), an act to be performed by the consecrated sacrificer. St. 25 gives expression to the sacrificer's intentions: 'he wishes to go to heaven' (Mah.); *pāda* c = AVŚ. 9, 5, 16 c (accompanying the offering of a goat that is said to go to heaven). St. 26 continues 25; the same structure and repetitions in corresponding places. The word *sedīh* ("want and languor", Griffith) or "exhaustion, decay" is according to Mah. especially 'the sorrow resulting from want of aliment'. St. 27 is—except for *sómam* instead of *kāmam* in c, a change which makes the *mantra* fit for the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual—identical with TS. 1, 2, 6 a which in the *soma* ceremonies is to be pronounced by the *adhvaryu* or the sacrificer (Āp.) while touching the *soma* plant; *pāda* a accompanies the tying up of the *soma* in a cloth, b the loosing of the knot; with the second hemistich the sacrificer is made to look at the *soma*. See BŚS. 6, 14: 171, 6 ff.; BhŚS. 10, 16 5; ĀpŚS. 10 24 5 etc. (*soma* sacrifice). In the *sautrāmaṇī* rite the *surā* is of course addressed (U. Mah., referring to KŚS. 19, 1, 21) which is stated to be united with the *soma* stalks. St. 28: the subject of "he says" (*vadati*) is Indra. U. and M. draw attention to the fact that the *anustubh* metre is connected with Indra and the *soma*. The four verbs of the first hemistich denote successive phases of the process: pouring out in the vessel, pouring out into another vessel with the milk etc., drawing of the liquid etc. (comm.; see KŚS. 19, 2, 7). St. 29 is ṚV. 3, 52, 1, in which Indra is requested graciously to accept the *soma*, accompanied by other oblations, and a eulogy, which is offered to him in the morning. The *pādas* a and b recur as ṚV. 8, 91, 2 d e in the well-known hymn of the girl Apālā (cf. JB. 1, 220: here as well as in VS. 20, 29 the words create the impression of being a literal quotation from a ritual formulary (ṚV. 3, 52 or an identical 'text'; cf. AśvŚS. 5, 4, 2; ŚŚS. 7, 1, 2)). See also PGS. 2, 14, 7 (cf. Mah.); GGS. 3, 3, 6; SVB. 3, 3, 5. St. 30 is ṚV. 8, 89, 1, the initial words of an Indra hymn: the Maruts are requested to start a eulogy on Indra in order to strengthen him and to enable him to slay Vṛtra. The stanza is the beginning of the so-called *marutvatīya-śāstra* (AiB. 4, 31, 9; ŚŚS. 10, 13, 10 etc.). According to KŚS. 19, 5, 1 f. and VaitS. 30, 16 (see also Mah.) the *adhvaryu* has to prompt the *brahman* priest to execute the so-called *saṃśāna* ("sharpening")-*sāman* (LŚS. 5, 4, 16) on the *br̥hatī* stanza (36 syllables) under discussion (see SV. 1, 258). For a long explanation and motivation see GB. 2, 5, 7 —'the *sāman* is royal power, the essence of all the Vedas etc., by means of which the sacrificer is consecrated; by means of these sharpening *sāmans* the gods strengthened Indra etc.'—which is almost a copy of ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 23–28, where this section occurs between passages in which VS. 20, 10 and VS. 20, 11 ff. are quoted respectively. This act belongs to the unction of the sacrificer. (Cf. also LŚS. 5, 4, 16–19; DŚS. 13 4, 9 where the *udgātar*,

not the *brahman*, seems to be expected to perform this duty). St. 31 is —except for *ā naya* instead of *ā srja*—RV. 9, 51, 1, inviting the *adhvaryu* to purify by means of the strainer the *soma* that has been pressed. According to KŚS. 19, 2, 12 and VaitS. 30, 9 it is the *brahman* priest who pronounces the stanza prompting the *adhvaryu*. St. 32: *pāda* a also in TB. 3, 3, 2, 5 (disposal of the instruments for cleaning the sacrificial vessels); ĀpŚS. 3, 4, 8; cf. 3, 13, 1 in connexion with Rudra. The object (*tvām*) addressed is the thirty-third fat libation which completes the offerings to the thirty-three gods (KŚS. 19, 4, 24 and comm.). The preceding 32 libations have been offered to the accompaniment of VS. 19, 80–95. VS. 20, 33 is the formula “Thou art taken with a support . . .” (*upayāmāgrhito* ‘*si* etc.), for which see TB. 2, 6, 1 h; 1. St. 34, not found elsewhere, is pronounced when the officiants inhale the odour (*prāṇa-bhakṣam bhakṣayanti*) of the remains of the oblation (see KŚS. 19, 5, 9, U. and Mah.). Nor does the formula 35 occur elsewhere. The ladleful (*graha*) is addressed. ‘Invited’ (‘authorized’, *abhyanuññātaḥ*, U.) viz. by the officiants (Mah.); U. explains ‘I, being authorized by these deities, partake of thee, Soma, (that art) invited by the officiants’. The verb “made, prepared” refers to the mythical story.

At the end of his exposition of the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual Kātyāyana, after stating that those acts which have been left unmentioned have to take place in the usual manner, adds some *sūtras* on the use of VS. 21, 1 ff. as *yājyānuvākyaś*. The *gāyatrī* stanza 21, 1 invites Varuṇa when on the occasion of the final bath (Mah.) a rice-cake is offered to him. It is the oft recurring stanza RV. 1, 25, 19 (Varuṇa hymn), found for instance in the collections of *yājyānuvākyaś* for *kāmyeṣṭis* in TS. 2, 1, 11 (st. v), MS. 4, 10, 2: 146, 8 (MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 43; VārŚS. Par. Āk. 7, 2 prefers MS. 4, 14, 17: 246, 5=RV. 1, 24, 15 imploring Varuṇa to loosen the noose); 4, 14, 17: 246, 1 and *pratīkena* for instance TS. 2, 5, 12 l; in the rite of the placing of the heads of the victims (*agnicayana*) TS. 4, 2, 11 r; since it is often prescribed by compilers of *grhyasūtras*—e.g. HGS. 1, 3, 6; 1, 8, 16; 5, 2, 4—it must have been very popular. St. 2, a *trīṣṭubh*, suitably used as a *yājyā*, is another Varuṇa stanza (RV. 1, 24, 11) imploring the god not to be displeased and not to deprive the speaker of his life. It is very often quoted, for instance at VS. 18, 49 where it consecrates an offering in the *agnicayana* ritual, Varuṇa being now identified with Agni; in TS. 2, 1, 11 as st. w, after the preceding *mantra* (see above); MS. 4, 14, 17: 246, 3 (MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 43; VārŚS., l. cit., uses MS. 4, 14, 7: 246, 7=RV. 1, 24, 14 conciliating Varuṇa); KS. 4, 16: 43, 19; ĀśvŚS. 2, 17, 15 (similarly). St. 1 and 2 were probably found by the compiler of the *sautrāmaṇī* formulary as a pre-existing pair. — The stanzas 3 and 4 are RV. 4, 1, 4 and 5, in which Agni is requested to act as an intercessor or mediator, to appease Varuṇa, to aid those speaking and to be merciful, are another pair of *yājyānuvākyaś*. Both stanzas are—also in *grhya* works—frequently quoted and occur as a pair for instance in TS. 2, 5, 12, 3,

st. w and x (special sacrifices); MS. 4, 10, 4: 153, 12; 14; 4, 14, 17; 246, 9; 11; KS. 34, 19: 50, 1; 3; AiB. 7, 9, 5 (while offering a cake to Agni as Varuṇa: an expiation for errors in sacrificing); ĀpŚS. 9, 16, 10 (expiation). In all probability as an appropriate and widely used pair of *mantras* adopted by the compiler. – The following two stanzas accompany an oblation of a *caru* (porridge) offered to Aditi (whose name occurs in TB. 2, 6, 17 b). They are often found together and, to quote Whitney-Lanman, “closely kindred in application and expression”. St. 5 is AVŚ. 7, 6, 2 (a hymn addressed to Aditi); AVP. 20, 1, 8; TS. 1, 5, 11 s (special sacrifices in the chapter on the full and new moon ceremonies); MS. 4, 10, 1: 144, 10; AiB. 1, 9, 7; st. 6 corresponds with RV. 10, 63, 10; AVŚ. 7, 6, 3; AVP. 20, 1, 9; MS. 4, 10, 1: 144, 8; AiB. 1, 9, 7 (notice the difference in order). According to KŚS. 19, 7, 16 and Mah. st. 6 is to be used as the *anuvākya*, 5 as the *yājyā*. – St. 7 is an isolated *mantra* in which the sacrifice is represented as a ship that bears the sacrificer to heaven (see also the quotation in U. and Mah. from the *śruti*; cf. ŚB. 2, 3, 3, 15). PGS., which belongs to the same recension of the White YV., has the stanza used when going aboard a ship (3, 15, 10). – According to KŚS. 19, 7, 17 and Mah. st. 8 and 9 are to be employed as *yājyānuvākya*s in connexion with an offering of curds presented to Varuṇa and Mitra after one has come out of the bath. St. 8 is RV. 3, 62, 16, which occurs also as TS. 2, 5, 12 u (see above), etc. St. 9 is RV. 7, 62, 5. Both stanzas combine also as TS. 1, 8, 22 h and i (special sacrifices, after the *rājasūya*); MS. 4, 11, 2: 166, 11; 13 (likewise); KS. 4, 16: 42, 11; 13. MŚS. 8, 11, 5 has them used in the *dākṣāyaṇa* sacrifice (a modification of the new moon ritual; cf. ĀpŚS. 3, 17, 4) for the benefit of a person who wants to go to heaven; then they are to accompany the oblation of curds and whey to the Viśve Devāḥ. At MGS. 2, 3, 6 they accompany the offering of sour milk and ghee to Agni, Rudra, Paśupati and other gods before feeding the cows (*āsvayujikarma*). No doubt another much used and popular pair of *mantras*. – There can be no doubt whatever that st. 10 and 11 which, being RV. 7, 38, 7 and 8, express the wish that the horses may be propitious, ward off demons and afflictions etc. and implore their help properly belong to the *vājapeya* ritual, more precisely to the chariot race; with the first stanza the horses are addressed, with the second the request is repeated as they race forward to the goal. See TS. 1, 7, 8 k, g; MS. 1, 11, 2: 162, 10 and 12; KS. 13, 14: 166, 9 and 11; VS. 9, 16 and 18 with ŚB. 5, 1, 5, 22 and 24 and KŚS. 14, 4, 5. They are however also used together as TS. 4, 1, 11 v and w to accompany the so-called *vājina* offering of the *vaiśvadeva* rite (a seasonal rite, cf. MS. 4, 10, 3: 151, 10); likewise at a later moment of the seasonal rites (TS. 4, 2, 11 n and o: *varuṇa-praghāsa*): this offering of whey (*vājina*) is also at ĀpŚS. 8, 3, 16 accompanied by *mantras* that express the wish to be refreshed (strengthened) by the regenerative power (*vāja*) of the bearers of *vāja*, viz. the racehorses (*vājinaṃ*). See also MŚS. 5, 1, 3, 11 (*vaiśvadeva*); ĀśvŚS. 2, 16, 14; at

ŚSS. 3, 8, 23 the two *mantras* are used in the 'offering of whey to the coursers' (see 20) required in the *dākṣāyana* rite (see above). According to KŚS. 19, 7, 18 they had to serve the same purpose in the *sautrāmaṇī*: no doubt a borrowing and a peculiarity of the Vājasaneyins, and in any case an impressive closing prayer and benediction.

Always following the guidance of the compiler of TB. 2, 6 I now proceed to discuss the *mantras* contained in TB. 2, 6, 7 which the *maitrāvaruṇa*—an assistant of the *hotar*—should address to the latter in order to prompt him to recite the consecratory stanzas for the eleven fore-offerings of the animal sacrifice offered to Indra which is part of the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual (see also U. and Mah.). The formulae begin in the usual way, viz. "Let the *hotar* worship (by pronouncing his offering stanza) . . ." Disregarding a few variants (in e, f, k) the whole set is identical with VSM. 28, 1–11 (cf. VSK. 30, 1 ff.)—see KŚS. 19, 6, 12—which constitute the beginning of a collection of *mantras* that is closely connected with, and supplementary to VS. XIX–XXI. It is neither found in the *sautrāmaṇī* sections of MS. – MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 8 prescribes the use of normal *praiṣas* of an animal sacrifice—and KS. nor in the collections of *mantras* belonging to other rituals. The *hotar* is in every *mantra*, but sometimes in an indirect way, prompted to worship the god Indra, to whom the sacrifice is offered. At the end of every stanza he is again directed to worship, the words *hōtar yaja* being preceded by the wish 'Let him (them) enjoy (graciously accept) the butter offering'. Both elements are characteristic of the formulae in TB. 2, 6, 7 and 11 and the corresponding *mantras* in VS. XXI and XXVIII. In number of *mantras* (eleven) and in the persons and order of the deities that in these *mantras* are either explicitly or indirectly mentioned or referred to this chapter is in complete agreement with the ṛgvedic *āprī* hymns¹⁰⁷, the 'hymns of propitiation' of certain deities and sacrificial requisites regarded as divine. According to Uvaṭa the deities mentioned in the eleven *mantras* are to be regarded as manifestations (*vibhūtayah*) of Indra. Being constructed in the same pattern and characterized by fixed key words in corresponding places these *mantras* are to accompany the preliminary offerings (*prayāja*) of the animal sacrifice as consecratory formulae. As to wording however the text under examination is, notwithstanding the use of some identical terms which can be regarded as reminiscences of *āprī* hymns (*idās padé* (see below) in a, *iḍitām* in c, *vāsubhiḥ . . . ādityaiḥ* in d, *ṛtāvḍhaḥ* in e, *sudūghe* in f, *kavī* in g, *śamitḍram* and *dhiyāḥ* in j) widely different.

Mantra a: Uvaṭa incorrectly takes *hotar* in these *mantras* to denote the divine *hotar* (see e.g. the *āprī* hymn RV. 2, 3, 7 and *mantra* g) and, like Mahīdhara, the three locative groups to refer to the three provinces of the universe, earth, atmosphere and sky. The words *idās padé*, meaning "on the foot-print of invigorating food" (Dumont) or "au siège du repas-

¹⁰⁷ See J. Gonda, *Vedic literature*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 104.

rituel" (Renou)¹⁰⁸, are probably reminiscent of Iḍā's foot print (ŚB. 1, 8, 1, 7) which is said to be that of the cow, to become filled with butter when offered upon and to be the worshipping-ground of the earth (ŚB. 3, 3, 1, 4);¹⁰⁹ the expression occurs e.g. ṚV. 6, 1, 2; 10, 70, 1 (an *āprī* hymn: "and der Stätte der Opferspende" Geldner); 91, 1 (Agni); 191, 1; ṚVKh. 5, 7, 1, 1 (*praiśādhya*); VS. 15, 30. "The navel of the earth" is the sacrificial ground¹¹⁰. For the expression *divó vārṣman* "on the height (top) of the sky" (also ṚVkh. 5, 7, 1, 1, see above) see e.g. ṚV. 3, 5, 9; 4, 54, 4; 6, 47, 4; 10, 63, 4; in 10, 70, 1 (an *āprī* hymn) *vārṣman prthivyāḥ* "on the height of the earth" denotes the ritual fireplace (TS. 6, 2, 9, 3). – As to *ójiṣṭhaḥ* the noun *ójas* and the words etymologically belonging to it are in the Veda very often used with reference to Indra¹¹¹, but in connexion with the (probable) identification of Indra and Agni¹¹² it is worth noticing that in ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 6 (*aśvamedha*) these two gods are said to be 'the most *ójasvin* of the gods'.

Mantra b: There is in the *āprī sūktas* some variation with regard to the deity of the second stanza, which in part of them is Tanūnapāt, in others Narāsaṃsa. This text agrees with ṚV. 1, 142 in mentioning both manifestations of Agni, combining them however in the same *mantra*. U. and M. observe that the names of both figures are mentioned on the occasion of one and the same fore-offering which therefore is due to both. The phrase "unconquerable conqueror" characterizes Indra in ṚV. 1, 11, 2, Agni in 5, 25, 6, the compound "finding the light of heaven" (*s(u)varvid*) the former in ṚV. 3, 51, 2, the latter in 3, 3, 5; 26, 1.

Mantra c: *iḍābhiḥ* has been translated "with viands" (Griffith), "with nourishments" (Dumont). U. and M. consider it to refer to the god(s) of the fore-offerings, the comm. on TB. to Agni in the form of these deities, the plural being used honoris causa.

Mantra d: The commentaries are unanimous in regarding the term *barhis* 'the bed or layer of sacrificial grass' as a reference to the (next) deity of the fore-offerings. The *pāda vṛṣabhāṃ nāryāpasam* "the bull, the performer of manly deeds" occurs also, in connexion with Indra, in ṚV. 8, 93, 1 (and MS.3, 11, 2: 142, 11). For the combination Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas see e.g. ṚV. 7, 10, 4; in the *āprī sūkta* 2, 3, st. 4 mention is made of the Vasus and the Ādityas.

Mantra e: VS. 28, 5 has *asmīn yajñe* after *suprāyaṇā*. The explanation *oja indriyabalaṃ, vīryaṃ śārīrabalaṃ, saho manobalaṃ* (Mah.) is inadequate. For *mīdhvās* "merciful, bounteous, liberal, gracious, blessing" in connexion

¹⁰⁸ Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 35; cf. also p. 119.

¹⁰⁹ Compare the explanation offered by the commentator on TB., I, p. 688: 'in the foot-print of the cow Iḍā that is the cow that had served as the price of the 'soma', some dust of whose feet has been thrown on the *āhavanīya*'.

¹¹⁰ See J. Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, ²Delhi 1969, p. 84 ff.

¹¹¹ J. Gonda, Ancient-Indian *ojas*, Utrecht 1952, *passim*.

¹¹² See Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 321, n. 66.

with Indra see e.g. ṚV. 8, 76, 7¹¹³. The combination “the doors, fostering Rta” occurs also in the *āprī* hymns ṚV. 1, 13, 6; 142, 6¹¹⁴.

Mantra f: As to “yielding milk abundantly” (*sudūghe*) see, likewise in connexion with Dawn and Dusk, the *āprī* hymn ṚV. 2, 3, 6.

Mantra g: For the two divine *hotars* see the *āprī* hymns 1, 13, 8; 142, 8; 188, 7 etc.; in the Rgveda they are no physicians, but are in the above three texts called “inspired sages” (*kavi*), persons who mentally or (and) spiritually enter into contact with divine power, the transcendent and the world of the unseen. The two divine *hotars* have been explained as the human and the divine *hotar*, i.e. Agni, and more exactly as their prototypes, the dual of “divine” (*daīvyā*) being due to the well-known ‘Breviloquenz’¹¹⁵ Otherwise Mah.: “this (ritual) fire and that which is placed in the middle”; cf. his note on VS. 20, 42 (below, under TB. 2, 6, 8 g): Agni and Vāyu.

Mantra h: There can be no doubt that, in spite of the masculine plur. nom. *trāyah*, the expression “the three triple active ones” (*trayas tridhātavaḥ*) are the three goddesses¹¹⁶. Neither Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya (U. and Mah.) nor the three animals offered as victims—a he-goat, a ram, and a bull—play a part in the *āprī* hymns. As to *bhāratī mahī* see ṚV. 1, 13, 9 and 5, 5, 8 (another *āprī* hymn) where Mahī is used instead of Bhāratī who usually is the third goddess. In this connexion the word “Indra’s consort” is not found in the Rgveda-Saṃhitā.

Mantra i: Here Tvaṣṭar, the deity of the corresponding stanza in the *āprī* hymns, is identified with Indra. “Well-worshipping” (*suyāj*) and *ghṛtaśrī* “prosperous, brilliant with melted (sacrificial) butter” are in the Rgveda epithets of Agni: in 5, 8, 3 they are found together (*suyājam ghṛtaśrīyam*). “Multiform” qualifies, in the ṚV., Agni (5, 8, 5) as well as Indra (6, 47, 18), but in the *āprī* hymn ṚV. 10, 110, 9 Tvaṣṭar is said to have fashioned all worlds and their inhabitants with forms and in another *āprī* text (1, 13, 10) his epithet is “possessing all forms or shapes” (*viśvārūpa*). In the Rgveda Tvaṣṭar is a fashioner of living forms presiding over generation and bestowing offspring (e.g. 3, 4, 9), not a physician.

Mantra j is addressed to the sacrificial post; the term *yūpa* is also in the ṛgvedic *āprī* hymns replaced by “lord of the forest” (*vānaspāti*). The epithet *śamītār* “preparer, slaughterer” is applied to this object also in the *āprī sūkta* ṚV. 2, 3, 10. “Possessing resourcefulness a hundredfold” (*śatākratu*) is a well-known epithet of Indra; only in two cases it is in that corpus used to describe other deities¹¹⁷, *svadāti* “he is expected to make palatable” viz. in order to make it reach the gods (U., Mah.).

Mantra k: instead of *svāhā devdṃ ājyapdn svāhē ’ndram hōtrāj juṣāndh*

¹¹³ And see J. Gonda, Epithets in the Rgveda, 's-Gravenhage 1959, p. 127 f.

¹¹⁴ Cf. H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951–1959, p. 555.

¹¹⁵ See Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 14.

¹¹⁶ See Dumont’s note, op. cit., p. 322, n. 69.

¹¹⁷ See Gonda, Epithets, p. 36 ff.

(TB., corr. Dumont) VS. 28, 11 reads *svdhā devā ājyapā jusānd(h)*, which together with the following words is explained: *svāhākāreṇājyapā devāḥ prayājāḥ juṣānāḥ priyamānā bhavantaḥ santaḥ indraś cājyam vyantu pibantu* (Mah.).

The next chapter (TB. 2, 6, 8) contains the eleven consecratory *mantras* (*yājyās*) which, corresponding to the above series, should be recited by the *hotar* for the same number of fore-offerings. In contrast to the series contained in TB. 2, 6, 7 these *mantras* are in VS. enumerated in ch. 20, where they are st. 36–46, and occur also in MS. (3, 11, 1) and KS. (38, 6). U. and Mah. on VS. 20, 36 enumerating the deities of the stanzas, draw attention to the parallelism with the *āpri* hymns; see also KŚS. 19, 6, 12 *samidhā indra ity āpriyaḥ prathamasya*. The deities (of the *āpri*) are moreover mentioned in due order as qualifications of Indra who in this chapter is praised (cf. U. and Mah.). MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 7 states that when a bull is offered to Indra the *āpris* are to be found in the first section of the *sautrāmaṇī* (i.e. MS. 3, 11, 1): *śvobhūta aindra ṛsabhas tasyāpriprathamō nuvākaḥ*.

Mantra a: Except for *samidhā* in MS. there are no variants. As to the initial word *sāmidhah* “kindled” cf. the *āpri* texts RV. 1, 13, 1 *sūsamidhah* . . . : 142, 1 *sāmidhah*; 188, 1; 2, 3, 1 etc. *Idhma* ‘fuel (as used for the sacred fire)’ is the first of the eleven deities (U., Mah.). According to U. and Mah. the doors opened by Indra are (the openings of the cloud, i.e.) the place where the streams of water were imprisoned (before the god had slain Vṛtra); according to the comm. on TB. the doors of the heavens are meant. The combination *uśāsām ānīke* “in front of the dawns” occurs also in RV. 6, 47, 5, the family hymn of the Bharadvājas¹¹⁸.

Mantra b: Notice that here again both manifestations of Agni, Narāśaṃsa and Tanūnapāt are mentioned (see TB. 2, 6, 7 b). “Honey” is characteristic of the Tanūnapāt stanza of the *āpri* hymns; cf. RV. 1, 142, 2; 3, 4, 2; 5, 5, 2 and 1, 13, 2 (T.) and 3 (Narāśaṃsa). The hero is of course Indra as N. and T. (U.).

Mantra c: Notice the characteristic reminiscence *iḍitāḥ* (TB., VS.; *iḍitāḥ* MS., KS.) ‘reverentially implored’ (indicating the deity of the third fore-offering, comm. TB.): RV. 1, 13, 4; 142, 4; 5, 5, 3; cf. also 1, 188, 3. The participle *sārdhamānaḥ*, explained as “putting forth excessive strength” (U., Mah.), “showing his greatness” (Griffith), “the defiant one” (Dumont), is foreign to the RV. The deity invoked is given Indra’s epithets because he is not different from that god (comm. TB.). TB. is alone in reading *maghāvān* instead of *gotrabhid* (MS. *-bhīd*) (see RV. 6, 17, 2; 10, 103, 6).

Mantra d: The second *pāda* is a variant of RV. 10, 110, 4 a *p. barhiḥ p. p.* (an *āpri* hymn), the word *barhiḥ* occurring already in TB. etc. *pāda a.*

¹¹⁸ See p. 73 above.

The *pāda* is also found as AVŚ. 5 (which is ṚV. 10, 110 with almost no variants), 12, 4 a; VS. 29, 29 (VS. 29, 28–36 being taken from the same ṛgvedic *sūkta*); MS. 4, 13, 3; 202, 1; KS. 16, 20; TB. 3, 6, 3 (*āprisaṃjñakaprayājayājyoktīḥ*; likewise). Instead of *uruvyācāḥ* (TB., as an epithet of Indra also in the ṚV.) the three other texts have *uruprāthāḥ* (not in the ṚV.). The characteristic word is *barhīḥ* (ṚV. 1, 13, 5 etc.)—*syonām* “comfortable seat”, in ṚV. *syonā* is an adjective or epithet of *barhīḥ*: 10, 70, 8 (*āpri* hymn); 10, 110, 4 and 8 (*āpri* hymn).

Mantra e: The doors (*yajñagrhadvārah* U., Mah.) are the deity, cf. ṚV. 1, 13, 6 etc. As to *viśrayantām* cf. *vī śrayadhvam* (ṚV. 10, 70, 5, *āpri* hymn; cf. 10, 110, 5); as to *jānayaḥ* cf. the *āpri* text ṚV. 10, 110, 5. For *dvādro devīḥ* see AVŚ. 5, 27, 7; VS. 27, 16 etc. “Swiftly moving” (*dhāvamānāḥ*) i.e. “respectful, zealous” (*ādāravatyāḥ* U., cf. Mah.).

Mantra f: Dawn and Dusk are the deity. VS. 20, 41 c *tāntum tatām pēśasā saṃvāyanti* “weaving together (in concert) with ornament (embroidery) the extended thread (sc. warp)” as against the other texts “well adorned, weaving together, with the thread (warp)”. Cf. ṚV. 2, 3, 6 (*āpri* hymn) *tāntum tatām saṃvāyanti . . . pēśaḥ sudūghe páyasvatī*. The meaning is ‘they furnish Indra with ornaments (just as women who are weaving)’ (cf. Mah.).

Mantra g: Instead of *mānasā* VS. 20, 42 reads *mānuṣaḥ*. The two divine *hotars* are the deity. Notice the following reminiscences: ṚV. 10, 110, 7 *daivya hótārā prathamā suvācā mínānā yajñām mānuṣaḥ*; 1, 188 (another *āpri sūkta*), 7 *prathamā hī suvācasā hótārā daivya . . . yajñām*; 10, 110, 7 *prācīnam jyōtīḥ*; cf. 10, 37, 3; as to *mūrdhān yajñāsya* ṚV. 2, 3, 2; 9, 17, 6; see also *mantra* i below. According to U. and Mah. the two divine *hotars* are *ayam cāgnir asau ca vāyur madhyamaḥ* (*m.*: being between heaven and earth).

Mantra h: as to the three goddesses (*tisrō devīḥ*) see e.g. ṚV. 1, 13, 9; 2, 3, 8 etc.; as to Indra cf. TB. 2, 6, 7 h (above). The compound *viśvātūrīḥ* “all-surpassing” in *pāda* d appears also in ṚV. 2, 3, 8 d *ilā d. bh. v.*

Mantra i: as to *purūṇi* cf. ṚV. 1, 142, 10 *purū* (twice); *sāmanaktu*: 1, 188, 9 *samanajé*. For Indra’s impetuosity (*śuṣma*) see e.g. ṚV. 5, 32, 9. The *pratīka tvāṣṭā dādhat* occurs at MS. 4, 14, 8: 226, 12 and TB. 2, 8, 7, 4 (*yājyānuvākyaḥ*). *mūrdhān yajñāsya*: see above (*mantra* g).

Mantra j: there are some variants, inter alia VS. KS. *yajñām*: MS. TB. *havyām*. Compare ṚV. 2, 3, 10 *avasrjān*; 3, 4, 10 *áva srja*; 10, 110, 10 *updvasrja*; 2, 3, 10; 3, 4, 10 *haviḥ* (cf. *haviṃsi* in 10, 70, 10) as against *havyaīḥ*, *havyām* (cf. 10, 110, 10 *havyām*); 2, 3, 10 *sāmaktam*: *samañján* here and 10, 110, 10; 2, 3, 10; 3, 4, 10; 10, 110, 10 *samitā*; 2, 3, 10 *daivyaḥ* (as against *devāḥ*); 2, 3, 10; 3, 4, 10 *sūdayāti* (as against *svādāti* here and 10, 70, 10; *svādantu* 10, 110, 10); as to *pāda* d: 10, 110, 10 *svādantu havyām mádhunā ghr̥tēna*; as to *tmānyā* cf. 10, 110, 10. “Delivered from his fetters”, sc. ‘in prison’ (comm. TB.).

Mantra k: The exclamation *svāhā* is the deity. *Pāda* c is identical with

RV. 2, 3, 2 c (only *mádhunā* in TB. and *gh. m. módamānaḥ* in VS.). For *mūrdhan yajñasya* see above (*mantras* g and i); for *ghṛta-* RV. 2, 3, 11 (four times). In connexion with Indra *vṛṣāyīmānaḥ* occurs also RV. 1, 32, 3; *turāṣḍtī* "overpowering the mighty" also 3, 48, 4 etc.

There are in the three basic texts no *mantras* which are absent in TB.

Section TB. 2, 6, 9 contains those invitatory and consecratory *mantras* which are to be recited by the *hotar* for the oblation of the omentum, that of the sacrificial cake, and that of the sacrificial substance (*havis*) of the body of the animal that is immolated. In TB. the stanzas a, b, c are quoted *pratikena*; in KS. 38, 7 all *mantras* are quoted *sakalapāṭhena* (completely); in MS. 4, 14, 18: 248, 9 ff. the stanzas b and e are found *pratikena*, the others completely; they do not occur in VS.

Mantra a is identical with RV. 1, 177, 1 addressed to Indra and inviting him to come. It is quoted TB. 2, 4, 3, 11 in a collection of *upahoma mantras* and *pratikena* at MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 9 where it is, in the description of the *kaukilī sautrāmaṇī*, the first of six *mantras* which are to be recited at the oblations (see also below); similarly, Vār. 3, 2, 8, 8: cf. for this one MS. 4, 14, 18: 248, 9. It also occurs *pratikena* at ŚŚS. 17, 9, 5 (*mahāvṛata*).

Mantra b is RV. 3, 32, 14 praising, in a hymn addressed to that god, Indra and imploring him to rescue those speaking from distress. The goddess Dhiṣaṇā seems to act here as the divine representative of what can be described as poetic inspiration¹¹⁹. The stanza occurs at TS. 1, 6, 12, 3 (sacrifices for special wishes, the translation proposed by Keith "That to which Dh. impelled me have I produced" is incorrect) and (*pratikena*) 2, 5, 12, 5 (*mantras* for the special sacrifices in connexion with the rites performed on the occasion of full and new moon); MS. 4, 12, 3: 182, 12 (*yājyānuvākyaś*); KS. 8, 16: 109, 1, and as the first of fourteen stanzas recited, for expiation, in a sacrifice for a special wish to Indra the deliverer of distress (Indra Amhomuc) and other aspects of this god in MŚS. 5, 1, 10, 43. In MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 9 (see above, under *mantra* a) it is used also¹²⁰.

Mantra c is RV. 6, 36, 3 which, forming part of an Indra hymn, states that the god is accompanied by various energies etc. and is the object of eulogies. It is quoted in full at TB. 2, 4, 5, 2 (*upahoma mantras*) and used also at MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 9 (see above).

Mantra d is RV. 6, 30, 4 stating, in an Indra hymn, the god's might and calling special attention to his victory over Vṛtra. It is only quoted in the above passages of MS., KS. and TB.

Mantra e is st. 1 of the Indra hymn 10, 180 making mention of Indra's impetuosity and imploring him to bring wealth. Notice the reference to the god's relation with the rivers which are a source of prosperity. It is

¹¹⁹ See Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 54; Gonda, Rel. Indiens, I, p. 98, n. 21.

¹²⁰ Miss van Gelder translates *dhiṣaṇā* by "soma bowl".

quoted in full at TS. 3, 4, 11, 4 (m) among the *puronuvākyās* and *yājyās* for the *kāmyeṣṭis* described in TS. 1, 8, 10, 1; at TB. 3, 5, 7, 4 among the *mantras* for offering the rice cake (*iṣṭis*); also at MS. 4, 12, 3: 184, 15, likewise among the *mantras* (*pur.* and *y.*) for offering the rice cake to the god; and *pratīkena* at ĀpŚS. 18, 17, 4, prescribed to accompany the sacrificer's being seized by one of his sons, obviously the heir apparent (*rājasūya*)¹²¹; the *mantra* no doubt is to identify the royal sacrificer with Indra and to emphasize two important aspects of royal dignity, viz. victoriousness and liberality; at ŚŚS. 1, 8, 12 among the *yājyānuvākyās* for the *sāṃnāyā* (a sacrificial substance mixed with clarified butter etc. and offered as a burnt offering); likewise at ĀśvŚS. 1, 6, 1; 3, 7, 11; 4, 11, 6 (full and new moon sacrifices etc.); KS. 10, 12: 140, 16 (*upahoma mantras*).

Mantra f is RV. 1, 54, 11, the final stanza of an Indra hymn in which the god is requested to give might, wealth etc. and to take the poet's patrons under his protection. The only other use made of it is in the so-called *antarakalpa* described in MGS. 1, 5 where (6) it accompanies ritual acts performed to give satisfaction to one's teachers¹²².

A comparison between the basic texts gives no occasion for comment.

Between VS. 20, 36–46 (which corresponds to TB. 2, 6, 8) and 20, 55–66 (which corresponds to TB. 2, 6, 12) the compiler has inserted eight stanzas, all of them taken from the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā (VS. 20, 47–54). None of them occur in the *sautrāmanī* chapters of the other basic texts, some of them not even in other chapters of these works. KŚS. 19, 6, 13 prescribes the use of 20, 47–52 as *anuvākyās* and *yājyās* for the offering of the omentum, the sacrificial cake and the limbs of the sacrificial animal. This direction is elaborated by Mah.: 47 and 48 belong as such to the omentum, 49 and 50 to the cake and 51 and 52 to (the limbs of) the victim. U. states more precisely: of the victim to be offered to Indra. That means that these stanzas constitute, in the tradition of the Vājasaneyins, the counterpart of TB. 2, 6, 9.

VS. 20, 47 is RV. 4, 21, 1 (Indra hymn) in which the god is implored to be the fellow-reveller of those speaking and to approach for their protection. The stanza is ritually used at ĀśvŚS. 7, 5, 18; ŚŚS. 10, 2, 4 (*soma* festival); see also AiB. 4, 29, 12 and KB. 22, 1, 14 (the same occasion), and in the domestic ritual at PGS. 2, 6, 14 (full moon day of *āśvayuja*: offering of ghee, coagulated milk etc. St. 48 is RV. 4, 20, 1, likewise requesting Indra to come to the speakers' aid, also used in Āśv. 7, 5, 18 (see above); ŚŚS. 10, 2, 5 (RV. 4, 20 is the hymn for the *niṣkevalyaśāstra*; RV. 4, 21 that for the *marutvatīya-śāstra*); cf. AiB. 4, 30, 1 and KB. 22, 1, 17; cf. 19 ("these hymns are contiguous"; cf. AiĀ 5, 2, 2, 3);

¹²¹ See Caland's note, Śr. d. Āp. III, p. 147; J. C. Heesterman, *Rājasūya*, Thesis Utrecht 1957 ('s-Gravenhage 1957), p. 128 with n. 11; 131; 136 f.

¹²² Cf. M. J. Dresden, *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, Thesis Utrecht 1941, p. 20; 191 and P. Rolland, *Un rituel domestique védique*, p. 55 quoted above, p. 118.

these two hymns (and their initial stanzas) were probably also in the *sautrāmaṇī* used together because their being contiguous was regarded as 'relating or leading to heaven' (KB. 22, 1, 21). See also ŚŚS. 12, 3, 9 (*soma* sacrifice). St. 49, being RV. 4, 20, 2, is a similar prayer, the god being implored to come to "our sacrificial worship". It is, as far as I am able to see, not used elsewhere. St. 50, likewise taken from an Indra hymn, is RV. 6, 47, 11 (family hymn of the Bharadvājas) and an often employed invocation and prayer for success (good fortune): as TS. 1, 6, 12 q it is among a number of invocatory and oblatory stanzas taken from the Rgveda and to be used in rites for the attainment of a special desire (*kāmyeṣṭi*); see also MS. 4, 12, 3: 182, 17; MS. 4, 9, 27: 139, 17 (*pravargya*) and also MŚS. 4, 3, 43 (in the 'appeasement' of the *pravargya* ritual); KS. 17, 18: 263, 2; ĀśvŚS. 2, 10, 4 (*kāmyeṣṭis*); 6, 9, 5 (*soma* sacrifice); as AVŚ. 7, 86, 1 it is in Kauś. 59, 14 used in a rite for general welfare and in 140, 6 in the Indra festival (Indramahotsava); in rites for the fulfilment of special wishes also SVB. 1, 3, 9; 2, 1, 5. Stanza 51 is 6, 47, 12 and 10, 131, 6 (the '*sautrāmaṇī* hymn') making an appeal to "Indra of good protection" (*indraḥ sutrāmā . . .*), asking him to remove hostility etc. As TS. 1, 7, 13 l it is employed for definite *kāmyeṣṭis*; see also MS. 4, 12, 5: 191, 4; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 43 (*caraka sautrāmaṇī*) etc.; as AVŚ. AVŚ. 7, 91, 1 used in Kauś. 59, 7 (by one desiring a village) and 140, 6 (see above). Stanza 52 is RV. 6, 47, 13 and 10, 131, 7 expressing the wish to live "in Indra's auspicious benevolence" etc. It is also elsewhere not infrequently found together with the preceding stanza: TS. 1, 7, 13 m; MS. 4, 12, 5: 191, 6; MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 43; AVŚ. 7, 92, 1 (which is by the commentator joined with 7, 91, 1). etc. St. 53 is RV. 3, 45, 1 (Indra hymn), another urgent invitation, employed at ŚŚS. 9, 5, 9 (*śoḍaśin*, one of the modifications of the *soma* ritual); 12, 9, 11 (*śastras* of the *hotrakas*): 18, 11, 3; as AVŚ. 7, 117, 1 used at Kauś. 59, 14 in a rite for welfare, and at Vait. 23, 9 in the *agniṣṭoma* with the offering of the *hāriyojanagraha* (relating to the harnessing of Indra's bay horses), etc. St. 54 is the final stanza (6) of the Indra hymn 7, 23 stating that the Vasiṣṭhas have praised the god and expressing the wish to receive possessions, energetic sons, cattle. It occurs also KS. 8, 16: 100, 7; AiB. 6, 23, 2 (*śastras* of the *hotrakas*); GB. 2, 4, 2; 6, 5; VaitS. 22, 14. Neither KŚS. nor the commentators give any information on a ritual use of the stanzas 53 and 54. Could they serve as a pair of alternative *yājyānuvākyaś*?

TB. 2, 6, 10 contains the eleven *mantras* used by the *maitrāvaruṇa* in order to prompt the *hotar* to recite the consecratory stanzas for the eleven after-offerings of the animal sacrifice. In this version they correspond with (are borrowed from) the *yājyās* for the after-offerings of the normal animal sacrifice. For these see TB. 3, 6, 14. Eight of them are more or less clearly reminiscent of *āpri* texts, but these occur in an irregular order (see below). It may be recalled that the number of these supplementary oblations is not always the same (three, nine, but eleven in the animal

sacrifice of the *soma* ceremonies); the *barhis*, *Narāśaṃsa* and (*Agni*) *Sviṣṭakṛt* occupy an important place¹²³. The *mantras* occur also in VS. 28, 12–22; and in a different redaction in MS. 4, 13, 8; KS. 19, 13 in connexion with the *sautrāmaṇi* ritual and also in TB. 3, 6, 13, 1 where they are likewise to be pronounced by the *maitrāvaruṇa* in connexion with the *anuyājas*, but now in a chapter dealing with the normal animal sacrifice¹²⁴. The latter version (MS. etc.) is also handed down as *Praśādhyāya* (*Ṛgvedakhila*) 7, 3¹²⁵ and prescribed (and quoted by the first words of *mantra a*) at ŚŚS. 5, 20, 1 which deals with the victim to be immolated for *Agni* and *Soma* in the *Agniṣṭoma*¹²⁶. It is worth noticing that with the exception of *mantra c* all the *mantras* of the version TB. 2, 6, 10 and VS. state that the deity strengthened *Indra*, which of course is most appropriate. In the version of MS., KS., RVkh. and TB. 3, 6, 13 this feature is wanting. The collection as such is not found elsewhere. For particulars such as variants see under the several *mantras* of the following enumeration¹²⁷.

Mantra a: VS. 28, 12=TB. 2, 6, 10 a as against a variant form in MS. 4, 13: 209, 9; KS. 19, 13: 95, 15 and TB. 3, 6, 13 *devām barhiḥ sudevām devaiḥ syāt suviram virair vāstor vṛjyētāktōḥ prābhriyēdīty anyān rāyā barhiṣmato madema, v. v. v. y.* “May the deity sacrificial grass be most godly (i.e. protected by the right gods) through the gods, well possessed of eminent men through eminent men;¹²⁸ it must be gathered in the morning (and) brought forward in the last part of the night¹²⁹. May we

¹²³ See e.g. W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, Göttingen and Leipzig 1921, p. 266 (on 7, 27, 1 f.).

¹²⁴ Text and translation in P. E. Dumont, *The animal sacrifice in the Taittiriya-Brāhmaṇa*. The part of the *hotar* and the part of the *maitrāvaruṇa* in the animal sacrifice, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 106 (1962), p. 260 f. It may be recalled that this section is dealing with the independent animal sacrifice (*nirūḍhapāśubandha*) which is usually regarded as the archetype (*prakṛti*) of all animal sacrifices, although historically speaking it is probably a modification of the animal sacrifice connected with the *soma* sacrifice.

¹²⁵ Edited by J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 144.

¹²⁶ The *mantras* have been translated in full by W. Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, Nagpur 1953, p. 138. For the *agnīsomīyapaśu* see Caland and Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, p. 78 ff.

¹²⁷ On the shorter form in which the formulae appear in the animal sacrifice see Dumont, in *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 106, p. 262 f. (with a translation). A few observations on the last element of the formulae will be made below (introduction to TB. 2, 6, 20).

¹²⁸ Caland, l. cit., translated “The divine *barhis* may be connected with the Gods through the Gods, connected with me through men”. As a translation this is rather free but it is certainly in conformity with the general bearing of this part of the *mantra*.

¹²⁹ On *aktu* see S. D. Atkins, in *J.A.O.S.* 70, p. 38 ff.

through riches rejoice more than other (worshippers) who have spread sacrificial grass . . .”¹³⁰.

In MS. there follows *devám barhír v. v. v.* A similar addition occurs also in the following *mantras*¹³¹. There are more *mantras* beginning with *devám barhíh*, see e.g. TB. 3, 5, 9, 1 *d. b. v. v. v.*¹³². The sacrificial grass, in the *āprī* hymns the fourth of the series, is the deity (cf. U. and Mah.). According to Mah. *sudevám* belongs to *barhíh*; according to U. (less correctly) to *índram*.

Mantra b: VS. 28, 13=TB. 2, 6, 10 b (except for *mīvatá* instead of *mīvitá*). The reading of four other texts, agreeing with one another in wording, is different, stating that “the divine doors are firm at closing (i.e., when they are shut), pliant when one approaches, immovable as to the invocation of the gods; (even) a young calf could (might) push them open or a recently born boy; let not a horse that whirls up dust attain them . . .”. In the *āprī* hymns the divine doors are the fifth deity. Mah. improbably derives *yāman* from *yam-* in the sense of ‘restraining’. The doors are obviously represented as being easily opened by competent and inoffensive beings, but at the same time as able to ward off a running horse that might interrupt the sacrifice which is going on. – For use of the *mantras* b–f in a shorter form in the *vaiśvadeva* rite (one of the seasonal sacrifices) see *ĀśvŚS.* 2, 16, 12; *ŚŚS.* 3, 13, 27 etc.

Mantra c: VS. 28, 14 (without *abhūtām*)=TB. 2, 6, 10 c. The reading of the other texts is not widely different: “The deities Dawn and Dusk have today, as this sacrificial rite advanced, invoked Indra; they have now, well-pleased (and) well-disposed, proceeded towards the clans of the gods . . .”. These are normally the sixth deity. The clans of the gods are, according to U., either the Vedic groups of the Vasus, the Rudras, and the *Ādityas*, *Viśve Devāḥ*, *Maruts* etc. or (improbably) the domestic or sacrificial animals (*paśavaḥ*); Mah. and comm. TB. (twice) explain: *devasambandhinīḥ prajāḥ*.

Mantra d=VS. 28, 15; there are no other occurrences. The other recension (MS., KS., *ṚVkh.*, TB. 3, 6, 13) runs somewhat otherwise: “The two cherishing, wealth-bestowing ones, one of whom has driven away (*yūyavat*) . . ., the other has conveyed (*avakṣat*) . . .”. There is no reminiscence of an *āprī* text but *jóstri* “the loving, cherishing one” (more exactly, *joṣṭārah*) occurs at *ṚV.* 4, 41, 9 where it characterizes the poet’s inspired emotional thought (*manīṣaḥ*)¹³³. According to U. and Mah. these

¹³⁰ For the last words of the formula see Dumont in *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 104, p. 7 and 109, p. 325, notes.

¹³¹ For this shorter version of nine of these *mantras* see MS. 4, 10, 3: 151, 2 ff.; KS. 20, 15: 36, 6; of all (eleven) *mantras* TB. 3, 6, 14 (oblativ *mantras* for the eleven deities of the *anuyājas*); for six of them see *ŚŚS.* 3, 13, 27 and *ĀśvS.* 2, 16, 12 (*vaiśvadeva*, the first of the seasonal sacrifices).

¹³² Cf. Dumont, in *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 104, p. 7.

¹³³ See Gonda, *Vision*, p. 51 f.

two female deities are either Heaven and Earth or Day and Night (but cf. *mantra c*). The main difference between the two versions consists in the statement (in TB. 2, 6, 10; VS.) that the goddesses have strengthened Indra which is not found in the other texts. See also VS. 21, 51; MS. 3, 11, 5; 147, 5.

Mantra e=VS. 28, 16 (where however *vakṣat* instead of 'vākṣit and *ūrjāyamāne* after *ūrjāhuti*). MS. 4, 13, 8; KS. 19, 13; TB. 3, 6, 13 and ṚVkh. unanimously read: *d. ū. iṣam ūrjam anydvākṣat . . . nāvēna pūrvam dāyamānāḥ syāma purāṇēna nāvam tāṁ ūrjam ūrjāhuti ūrjāyamāne adhātām v. v. v. y.*, omitting the reference to Indra's strengthening and expressing a wish of those speaking instead of the statement that these two goddesses impart the old and the new. The first four words occur also in VS. 21, 52; MS. 3, 11, 5; 147, 7; TB. 2, 6, 14, 3 and in another connexion (*pravargya*) MŚS. 4, 1, 11; and together with *pāyase . . .* in VS. 28, 39. The second version is also quoted in Nirukta 9, 43 at the end of a chapter dealing with the terrestrial beings to which panegyrics are addressed. The translator¹³⁴, taking—like Mah.—the compound *ūrjāhuti* to be a *bahuvrīhi*, renders it by "worshipped with food-oblations". Griffith, translating VS., had 28, 16 preferred "bringers of strengthening sacrifice" (cf. Mah.: *ūrjāhuti ūrjā balaṁ tadyuktā āhutiḥ āhvānaṁ yayos te*). One might compare ṚV. 8, 39, 4 where *ūrjāhutiḥ vāsūnām* characterizes Agni: "er, dessen Opfer die Stärkung der Götter ist" (Geldner)¹³⁵. If this interpretation is preferred the goddesses are either anonymous or identical with those mentioned in the preceding *mantra*. The latter possibility, though one might perhaps suppose that it was suggested by the author of the Nirukta who quotes this *mantra* after the preceding one (9, 42) and explains in both cases the deities as Heaven and Earth, or Day and Night, or (according to Kāṭṭakya) Crop and Season, is most improbable because each *mantra* is addressed to a different deity. Caland¹³⁶, followed by Dumont, translated "the two divine Ūrjā and Āhuti . . .", the former representing "Invigorating Food" and "Oblation". This interpretation is in harmony with the following "U. and Ā. have given invigorating food and desirable goods". Cf. also ṚV. 10, 45, 11 ("Those who worship (*yājamānā*) thee, O Agni . . .") *vāsu dadhire vāryāṇi*. In puranical mythology Ūrjā is a daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Vasiṣṭha.

Mantra f=VS. 28, 17, mentioning the Divine Hotars¹³⁷, who occupy the seventh place in the *āpri* hymns. The other texts read: ". . . the

¹³⁴ L. Sarup, *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta*, Delhi 1962, p. 152.

¹³⁵ This translation (RV. übers. II, p. 352) is to be preferred to Renou's "ayant la vigueur-nourricière pour offrande aux dieux" (E.V.P. XIII, p. 70); as to the construction (the genitive which depends on *ūrjā* stands outside the *bahuvrīhi* compound) see J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit syntax*, Leyden 1886, p. 177 f.

¹³⁶ Caland, l. cit.

¹³⁷ Cf. Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 199.

Divine Hotars, the Potar and the Neṣṭar¹³⁸, who slay the wicked, who bring hither the objects of value . . .". The comm. on TB. 3, 6, 13 does not account for their presence. Neither version is as such found elsewhere but the words *d. d. h.* occur also VS. 28, 40; MS. 4, 10, 3: 151, 4 etc. (see above).

Mantra g=VS. 28, 18 (the first four words occur also at VS. 21, 54 etc.; see above). In the longer text of the other works (for the three names see VS. 27, 19 b) the first goddess, Bhāratī, is according to expectation accompanied by the Ādityas. The three goddesses are the eighth deity of the *āprī* hymns¹³⁹; as for their being attended by the Ādityas, Rudras and Vasus see VS. 29, 8 where Sarasvatī is likewise said to have helped those speaking with the Rudras¹⁴⁰. Neither version is as such found elsewhere.

Mantra h=VS. 28, 19; after *mitrāvaruṇéd* both versions are identical (for the beginning see also VS. 21, 55 etc.). As already noticed Narāśaṃsa is, in the *āprī* hymns, the second deity. The compounds *trivārūtha* "who protects in three ways" and *trivandhurá* "who (which) has three seats" are in the Ṛgveda epithets of Agni etc. and the chariot of the Áśvins respectively¹⁴¹; *śitiprṣṭha* "with a white back" is at RV. 3, 7, 1 an epithet of Agni¹⁴² and at 8, 1, 25 of Indra's horses; here one has to supply "bulls" (see also U. and Mah.)¹⁴³. Notice the fulfilment of the priestly functions by the gods mentioned. As to Varuṇa and Mitra being entitled to perform the *hotar* function for I.N. it may be recalled that Varuṇa is in RV. 4, 1, 2, spoken of as Agni's brother and that the god of fire and his (three) brothers are probably identical with the four *hotars* of the gods¹⁴⁴. Since moreover these *mantras* are addressed to the *hotar* by his first assistant, the *maitrāvaruṇa*, attention may be drawn to KB. 28, 1 (28, 2, 4 ff.) where the dual deity is so to say said to have taken the initiative in instituting the office of the latter functionary, an office which they are also related (GB. 2, 3, 13) to have fulfilled themselves¹⁴⁵. For Brhaspati performing the duty of a chanter see ŚB. 4, 3, 4, 26; for the Áśvins as *adhvaryus* ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 17; 1, 2, 4, 4; 4, 1, 5, 15; 8, 2, 1, 3.

Mantra i: cf. VS. 28, 20 (where *devaiḥ* instead of *indraḥ* and *asprkṣat* (cf. VSK. 6, 1, 2) instead of *āprāt*; for *devaiḥ* see also VS. 21, 56; MS. 3, 11, 5:

¹³⁸ Though theoretically subordinate to the *brahman* priest and the *adhvaryu* respectively, these officiants are actually assistants of the *hotar*. Both words are in the elliptic dual.

¹³⁹ See p. 151 above.

¹⁴⁰ I also refer to my book *Triads in the Veda*, Amsterdam 1976, p. 69 f.

¹⁴¹ For compounds with *tri-* see Gonda, *Triads*, Index, p. 239.

¹⁴² See also Renou, *E.V.P.* XII, p. 56; 116.

¹⁴³ And compare Dumont's translation of TB. 3, 6, 13 h in *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 106, 3, p. 261.

¹⁴⁴ I refer to A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 95.

¹⁴⁵ For particulars see Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 197 ff.

147, 15; for *indraḥ* TB. 2, 6, 14, 5). The four other texts differ considerably. Neither version occurs elsewhere. The *yūpa* (sacrificial post) is the tenth deity of the *āpṛī* hymns. The first and third epithets used in the former version occur in the ṚV. but not to characterize the *yūpa*. The first ('gold-leaved') is in the *brāhmaṇas* only found in TB. in connexion with the noun *vanaspati*, the second occurs only here, the third also at ŚB. 6, 4, 3, 2 etc. These epithets cannot apply to a *yūpa* proper because the tree that serves that purpose is stripped of its branches (cf. AiB. 2, 1, 6), leaves etc. (ĀpŚS. 7, 2, 6). The epithet *ghṛtānirṇij* of the latter version "with a garment of (i.e. covered with) fat" characterizes, in the ṚV., Agni and sacrificial rites. The words "with the top it has touched the sky . . ." are the formula used in ŚB. 3, 7, 1, 14 (with the verbs in the sing. 2nd pers.) by those who set up the sacrificial stake 'for conquering these worlds . . . and depriving one's enemies of their share in these worlds' (see also VS. 6, 2; cf. KŚS. 6, 3, 7; also KS. 3, 3: 24, 7).

Mantra j=VS. 28, 21. Both versions have the first part in common: "the divine sacrificial layer of water-plants (which is mixed with the sacrificial grass)"; it occurs also at VS. 21, 57 ("(it) be, O Indra, a fair seat for thee"); 28, 44 (" . . . strengthened Indra"), ŚSS. 5, 20, 4 (between the 8th and the 9th consecratory *mantras* which are pronounced by the *hotar* in response to the *maitrāvaruṇa*'s invitation). There is much difference between both versions (in the second MS. reads *puruṣaspṛham* "provoking the desire of men"; KS. *nidheyāsi* and, with ṚVkh., *puruspārham* "desired by many"; TB. 3, 6, 13 *puruṣyārham* "proper to a man"). The compound *svāsasthá* occurs ṚV. 10, 13, 2.

Mantra k deals with Agni *Sviṣṭakṛt*, that is Agni "who makes the sacrifice well (correctly) offered"; the god receives a secondary oblation consisting of the leavings of the sacrificial substances used after the main oblation in order to make this valid (cf. ĀpŚS. 7, 25, 14; cf. ŚB. 1, 5, 3, 23). TB. k=VS. 28, 22. The first three words occur also in the other version which is much longer. The second version occurs in full MS. 4, 10: 151, 6; KS. 19, 13: 16, 15 (with *satyayajī*); TB. 3, 6, 13, 1: 114, 9 (also 3, 6, 14, 3) and *pratikena* MS. 3, 11, 5: 148, 5. Notice the wording of the final element which differs from the preceding *mantras*: "For the benefit of him who desires wealth (i.e. the sacrificer) accept graciously (a share) of the offering of wealth when homage is paid (*namovāke*) . . ." This version is quoted completely at ĀśvŚS. 1, 8, 7; ŚSS. 1, 13 where it is prescribed as the third offering *mantra* for the after-offerings in the full and new moon sacrifices, the first and second being "The deity *barhis* must g. a., for the b. . . etc." (cf. mantra a, above) and "The deity *Narāśaṃsa* . . . etc." (cf. mantra h above). The words . . . *hotā hotur hotur āyajīyān* should be translated ". . . *hotar* who worships (and procures or invites by worshipping) better (more) than any (other) *hotar*". The epithet *sudráviṇaḥ* "well-provided with property (riches)" is ṚV. 1, 94, 15; 10, 61, 21 given to Agni; so is *mandráḥ kavīḥ* at ṚV. 5, 11, 3; *āyajī* at 8, 23, 17 (translated

by "herbeischaffend", Grassmann, "Fürbitter", Geldner, "qui obtiens-parle-sacrifice (des faveurs)", Renou); *dyajīṣṭha* at 2, 9, 6; *satyāmanman* "having true thought(s)" at 1, 73, 2 (Agni being compared to Savitar, cf. 9, 97, 48).

In conclusion it may be noticed that—as may appear from the above annotations—there are a considerable number of reminiscences of ṛgvedic usage. Many elements of these *mantras* are moreover found also in other formularies used in this ritual. After what has been said by way of introduction to the section TB. 2, 6, 10 no other observations on the other texts seem necessary.

The mantras a-1 of TB. 2, 6, 11 are to be used by the *maitrāvaruṇa* in prompting the *hotar* to recite the oblatory stanzas for the fore-offerings of the sacrifice consisting in offering a he-goat to the Aśvins, a ram to Sarasvatī, and a bull to Indra (cf. ĀpŚS. 19, 8, 1; 19, 2, 1; KŚS. 19, 6, 14). They are, with some variations, also found in MS. 3, 11, 2: 141, 2-143, 7 (cf. MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 18 f.; Vār. 3, 2, 7, 24); VS. 21, 29-40. In these twelve *mantras* the well-known schema of the *āpri* hymns and the divine names and figures which are characteristic of these (see above) are aptly combined with the names of the recipients of the present sacrifice, viz. the gods of the *sautrāmaṇī*, particulars regarding the victims, the *surā*, the milk (*soma*) etc. etc. Hence the statement in the commentaries of U. and M. that the following section contains *āpris* (*dvādaśāpriṇām prayājayājyānām praiśāḥ* . . ., Mah.). Notice also the repetitions and the parallelisms in the structure of the *mantras*. According to ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 14 ff. the *sautrāmaṇī* is pressed out by the directions (*praiśāḥ*) and the *āpri* stanzas. 'All the directions contain the word *payas* (milk), for by way (means) of milk *soma* is (here) pressed; they all contain (the word) *soma*, for the sake of conformity with the *soma* (-pressing); they all contain (the word) *parisrut*, for by way of *parisrut soma* is here pressed; they all contain (the word) *ghṛta* (ghee), for ghee is a manifestation of the sacrifice . . .; they all contain (the word) *madhu* (honey), for this is a manifestation (representative) of *soma* . . .'. The collection of *mantras* does not in its entirety occur elsewhere.

Mantra a (also VSK. 23, 32) is at KŚS. 19, 6, 14 *pratikena* quoted to indicate that the whole section is to serve the above purpose. The formula is very appropriate to the circumstance. In its second sentence it states succinctly the significance and result of the sacrifice which is in progress. Just as the he-goat becomes a remedy, just as the *surā* becomes fiery energy and the full command of one's faculties, (so) the milk offered together with the *parisrut*¹⁴⁶ becomes *soma*, the butter (ghee) tasty liquor (*madhu*)¹⁴⁷. Notice that Agni is again one of the recipients. The expression *idās padé* has already been commented upon (on TB. 2, 6, 7 a); as for

¹⁴⁶ See above, p. 79.

¹⁴⁷ This stanza was misunderstood by Griffith, op. cit., p. 235.

the jujube see the annotation on VS. 19, 21¹⁴⁸; on the combination of wheat and jujube see ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 2; 2, 9 (*sautrāmaṇī*); TB. 2, 6, 4 j (above); on the ritual use and significance of the former e.g. ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 6; 12; 13. "Remedy": sc. for Indra (Mah.). On *kvalā* in st. a, *karkāndhu* in d etc. see also TB. 1, 8, 5, 1; MS. 2, 3, 9; KS. 12, 10; ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 10; 12, 7, 1, 4; 2, 9 and above, TB. 2, 6, 4 k; l.

Mantra b: as already noticed Tanūnapāt is sometimes (cf. RV. 1, 188, 2) the god of the second invocation. Here he combines with Sarasvatī because the ram, offered as the second victim, is hers. VS. 19, 30 and MS. 3, 11, 2: 141, 4 read *-sarasvatīm* as against TB. *-sarasvatī* (dual, *dvandva*) which seems to be the original reading; U. and Mah. try to get out of the difficulty by taking the nominative *tanūnapāt* to replace the accusative which is expected. – *upavdka*, i.e. *īndrayava* (Mah.) "Indra's grain"; *tokman* "a young blade of corn, esp. of barley or malt" occurs also RV. 10, 62, 8.

Mantra c: instead of *sūrāyāi* (TB.) MS. reads *surāyā(h)*, VS. 21, 31 *surayā* which led U. to the interpretation 'the Lord Nagnahu; Narāsaṃsa (i.e. Agni) is the sacrifice, he supports, by means of the results of rites accompanied by oblations, the world'; Mah. explains *surayā saha nagnahum* and *patim: pālakam*. Griffith translated "the Lord Nagnahu". According to Āp. 19, 5, 10 *nagnahu* is the coarse part of parched barley grains sprinkled with the remainder of the liquid (oblation), the commentator Dhūrtasvāmin observing 'combined with *mantha*' (which is a term denoting a mixed beverage, usually parched barley-meal stirred round in milk); according to KŚS. 19, 1, 20 it is a mixture of various vegetable substances serving as spices and ferment for the preparation of the *surā*; U. and Mah. briefly explain: *nagnahuḥ: kiṇvāḥ* 'ferment, seed or drug used to produce fermentation'.

Mantra d: instead of *īndrāya vīryam* MS. and VS. read *i. bheṣajām*. Griffith took *īdé (ī)ḍitá(h)* —both words are accented— to mean "magnified with oblations", Dumont, neglecting *īdé*, translates "magnified"; U. explained *Idā* 'the deity of the fore-offering, courteously requested by her', Mah. regarded the nom. *idā* as replacing the acc. *idām* and as another object of *yakṣat*. (Cf. e.g. TB. 2, 6, 12 d). Should not *īdé* be the dat. of *id* 'the libation (and the prayer accompanying it)'?; cf. RV. 3, 4, 3 which is the corresponding line of an *āpri* hymn in which Agni is the *hotar* (e.g. RV. 1, 142, 3; 5, 5, 3; 10, 70, 3)¹⁴⁹. The formula of the normal animal sacrifice (MS. 4, 13, 2: 200, 6 etc.) has *idā iditó*. The verb *id-* (*il-*), i.e. *īlītáh*, *īdyah* is the characteristic term of the third stanza of an *āpri* hymn. As to *ājúhvānaḥ* cf. RV. 1, 188, 3. This may lead us to translate: "Let the *hotar* (Agni), sprinkled (with sacrificial butter) . . .", although the double entendre is no doubt intentional. – Another reference to the strengthening of Indra. – As to *māsara* see Āp. 19, 4, 7; 5, 8 f. Obtained

¹⁴⁸ See above, p. 112.

¹⁴⁹ I refer to fn. 202 below.

from a mixture of the hot watery scum of boiled rice, powdered barley and the extract of certain vegetables ¹⁵⁰ it replaces the *rjīṣa* (sediment) of *soma* in a *soma* sacrifice.

Mantra e: MS. and VS. omit *sustārīmaḥ*; in the last line but one MS. has *indriyāṃ pāyaḥ*. One might compare the *mantra* MS. 4, 13, 2: 200, 8; KS. 15, 13: 219, 24; TB. 3, 6, 2, 1 (*praiśas* i.e. summonses of the *maitrāvaruṇa* relating to the fore-offerings, animal sacrifice), in which *sustārīma(h)* does occur. – “The mare with (her) foal”: a reference to the *dakṣiṇā* (ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 21; cf. 8; U., Mah., Griffith), which, however, according to Āp. 19, 5, 4 and 10, 9 is a bull. Notice that these animals, like the *barhis*, contribute, as physicians, to Indra’s (and the sacrificer’s) recovery.

Mantra f: MS. and VS. read *duhé dhenúḥ sárasvatī* instead of *d. kdmānt s.*; the words *aśvinēndrāya bheṣajām* are missing in MS. As to *vyácasvatīḥ* cf. ṚV. 2, 3, 5; 10, 110, 5 (*āpri* hymns).

Mantra g: *saṃjānāné* is not in VS. which after *hr̥dā* has *śriyā ná māsaram*; MS. reads *indreṇa bh.* instead of *indre ná bh.* The adjective “well-adorned” is a reminiscence of ṚV. 1, 188, 6 (*āpri* hymn) *supéśasā . . . uśásau*.

Mantra h: there are no variants. As for the explanation of *datvyā hótārā* given by U. and Mah. see above (the annotation on TB. 2, 6, 7 g). The comm. on TB. (p. 712) seems to be right in explaining “lead” as the purchase-price for the barley grains which have been used for the preparation of the *surā* (see also ĀpŚS. 19, 1, 1; 5, 7).

Mantra i: MS. and VS. have *duhe* instead of *dadhuḥ*, Mah. explaining ‘by means of three (sacrificial) animals in the form of medicine she gives Indra (as if it were milk) a full command of his faculties (*indriyamahāmsi*)’. “The three triple active ones”: also TB. 2, 6, 7, 4.

Mantra j: In the first line MS. has *h. y. tv. rūpakītam supéśasam vṛṣabhām nāryūpasam tv.*; VS. *h. y. surétasam ṛṣabhām nār. tv.* Instead of *sūrayā* MS. reads *sūrayā(h)*. “The wolf”: cf. ṚV. 10, 95, 14 *vfkā rabhasāsah*; see also ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 8; TB. 1, 8, 5, 2. According to ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 10 wolf’s hairs are mixed with the *surā* which is offered to Indra.

Mantra k: there are no variants. “The slaughterer . . .”: cf. TB. 2, 6, 7 j; ‘slaughterer, viz. one who prepares the sacrificial animals in the form of the sacrificial post’ (Mah.).

Mantra l: instead of *devāṃ ājyapān svāhāgnīm hotrāj j. a. bh.*, MS. and VS. read *devā ājyapā jusāṇó agnir bh.*, the former also *sv. sōmam indriyāḥ* and *pātho ná bheṣajāḥ*. *Varuṇa*: in ṚV. 2, 33, 4 Rudra is the best of physicians, but in 1, 24, 9 King *Varuṇa* is said to have a hundred physicians (*śatām te rājan bhiśajāḥ*). “Lion”: ‘like a lion, because he does harm, he prevails over (his) enemies’ (Mah.).

¹⁵⁰ See also Kane, Hist. of Dharmaśāstra, II, p. 1225. For a description see BŚS. 17, 31: 310, 13 ff. (see also Śrautakośa, Engl. section, I, p. 903).

The different formula TB. 2, 6, 11 m is to be pronounced by the *maitrāvaruṇa* when he prompts the *hotar* to recite the consecratory stanza for the offering of the *surā* to the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra Sutrāman. See KŚS. 19, 6, 23. It forms no part of the *praiśādhyāya*. It is identical with VS. 21, 42; in MS. 3, 11, 4: 145, 15–146, 2 the words *sutrāmā vṛtrahā* are missing; RVkh. p. 154, 1 Sch. reads *sadā* instead of *mādā(h)*. See also ŚŚS. 15, 15, 9 (only the initial words) and cf. BŚS. 17, 35: 314, 2. The plural which is consistently used in the comparison indicates the general applicability of the statements: ‘just as in any *soma* sacrifice . . .’.

Between l and m VS. has inserted the *mantra* 21, 41 which according to KŚS. 19, 6, 22 is a threefold summons relating to the worship (of the three deities of the *sautrāmanī*) with the omenta of the victims. This is exactly what the *mantra* expresses. In KS. 16, 21 the same formulae preceded by *h. y. bṛhaspātīm ch. v. m. . . .* occur at the end of a collection of *mantras* to be used by the *maitrāvaruṇa* in connexion with the omenta etc. (*agnīśomīyapaśu*, i.e. the victim to be slaughtered for Agni and Soma, *agniśtoma*). In MS. the *mantras* known as l and m are separated by those that correspond with TS. 2, 6, 12 and 2, 6, 13 a–f (and one other *mantra*).

After prescribing the use of VS. 21, 42 for the libation of the *surā* offered to the three deities Kātyāyana (19, 6, 24) states that the following *praiśas* ‘promptings’ (21, 43–45) are, in accordance with their characteristic words (*yathāliṅgam*), to be employed for the oblatory material belonging to the three victims. These three *mantras* are within the limits of possibility identical: they are to urge the *hotar* to worship the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra to let them eat (or approach) the portions of their respective victims. The words “before those who hate (us)” are explained: ‘before the *asuras* and *rākṣasas* or those who hate the sacrifice’ (U., cf. Mah.); ‘before human grasping’ (*purā paūruṣeyyā ṛbhāh*): before human beings (the participants) seize and consume portions of the oblations (of the *idā*). The explanation of *śatarudriyāṅām* given by U. and Mah. (“much celebrated”) is inadequate. The adjective seems to allude to the Śatarudriya litany (VS. XVI) which is to avert the wrath and to secure the favour of Agni-Rudra¹⁵¹. (This is not to say that that litany was recited). The formula 43 is, with a few variants and with *indrāgnī* instead of *aśvinau* also found in MS. 4, 13, 7: 208, 3 (cf. MŚS. 5, 2, 8, 37 dealing with the office of the *hotar* and the *maitrāvaruṇa* at the animal sacrifice); TB. 3, 6, 11 (on the same occasion). It may therefore be regarded as a deliberately modified borrowing from the formula of the animal sacrifice. The formulae 44 and 45 are except for *bṛhaspātīm chāgasya* instead of *sarasvatīm meśāsya* or *indrām ṛsabhāsya* etc. virtually identical with KS. 18, 21: 281, 15. The other formulae (VS. 21, 46 and 47) are similar *praiśas* relating to the sacrificial stake and Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (KŚS. 19, 6, 25). VS. 21, 46 is an amplified version

¹⁵¹ For the ritual significance and the belief in the beneficent efficacy of this hymn see J. Gonda, The Śatarudriya, in Volume Ingalls (forthcoming).

of the formula MS. 4, 13, 7: 208, 12 (animal sacrifice; cf. also 18, 21: 282, 3; TB. 3, 6, 11, 3 and Praiśādhyāya VII, 2 h, RVkh. p. 143 S.) in which the words *yātrāgnér d̥jyasya* are replaced by the names of the three deities of the *sautrāmanī* and their victims and 'the dear presences' of Agni, Soma, Indra Sutrāman, Savitar and Varuṇa are added. For Savitar and Varuṇa see TB. 2, 6, 4 a; f; 13 d; 14 k; 18 j and k. VS. 21, 47 is a similar modification of the formula MS. 4, 13, 7: 209, 3; cf. KS. 18, 21: 282, 14; TB. 3, 6, 11, 4. See also ŚŚS. 5, 19, 22, quoting Praiśādhyāya VII, 2 k, RVkh. p. 144 S.

TB. 2, 6, 12 contains the oblatory or consecratory *mantras* which are to be recited by the *hotar* on the same occasion. As already noticed they occur also in MS. 3, 11, 3: 143, 9–144, 14 and further, except for j (second line) and k, in KS. 38, 8 and completely in VS. 20, 55–66. Notice again the reminiscences of the *ūpri* hymn; see also KŚS. 19, 6, 15: *ūpriyaḥ*.

Mantra a: there are no variants in the four basic texts. The *Aśvins* are addressed, because they are the *adhvaryus* of the gods (cf. Mah.). The word *gharma* "a cauldron", especially one in which milk is heated, is by both U. and Mah. unnecessarily connected with the *pravargya* ceremony; the word can also denote 'the hot milk offered as an oblation'. For *virāṭ* in connexion with *soma* compare RV. 9, 96, 18¹⁵²; the term stands for the idea of extending and ruling far and wide and is connected and even identified with *śrī*; it also is 'the hypostatization of the conception of the universe as a whole, she whose illustrious, eminent, governing activities, whose universal sovereignty has a wide scope in all directions'¹⁵³. The interpretation proposed by Mah. (*vividham rājamānaḥ*) and comm. TB. (*viśeṣeṇa r.*) should not be rendered by 'radiant' (Griffith, Dumont). For Soma as (universal) ruler etc. see e.g. RV. 9, 101, 5; ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 8. – Pāda a occurs also in AVŚ. 7, 73, 2 (a) which is part of a text accompanying a heated offering to the *Aśvins*; AVP. 20, 11, 6 (a); b is a variant of ibid. 2 "heated is your offering of hot milk (*gharma*); come"; VaitS. 14, 5 uses this *sūkta* in the *agniṣṭoma*; it accompanies the offering of the *gharma*. Pāda c will recur at TB. 2, 6, 12 k etc.; d is not found elsewhere. The AVP. stanza occurs also in *ĀśvŚS*. 4, 7, 4; ŚŚS. 5, 10, 8 (cf. AiB. 1, 22, 2), in the *pravargya* section of the *agniṣṭoma*.

Mantra b: There are no variants. U. and Mah. (quoting Yāska, Nir. 4, 19) explain *rajāmsi* by *lokāḥ* 'spaces to dwell in safely, places of recognized safety and sanctity, selected positions etc.', in any case a more comprehensive term than "heaven"; *rajas* is not only 'the air, atmosphere' but also 'expanse, (infinite) space', in the plural 'the regions of the world'; cf. e.g. RV. 10, 49, 6¹⁵⁴. – There are in this *mantra* no references to the

¹⁵² See Renou, E.V.P. II, p. 90; IX, p. 106.

¹⁵³ See Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 67 f.; 172; 187; 199.

¹⁵⁴ See T. Burrow, in Bull. S. Or. Afr. St. 12 (1948), p. 645 ff.; Gonda, in KZ. 73 (1956), p. 163 f. (=S.S. I, p. 427 f.).

second deity of the *āprī* hymns, but ṚV. 1, 13, 2 speaks of bringing the sacrifice to the gods, and as to *madhu* cf. also 1, 142, 2; 188, 2; 3, 4, 2. – There are no other occurrences of the *mantra* or its component parts.

Mantra c replaces b if the sacrificer belongs to the family of the Vasiṣṭhas or if he is a *kṣatriya*. There are no variants in the basic texts. As to *madhu* see under b. – There are no other occurrences.

Mantra d: no variants. Mah., referring to ŚB. 1, 8, 1, 12 identifies *idā* with cattle. As to *idā* see under TB. 2, 6, 11 d. – No other occurrences.

Mantra e: no variants, no other occurrences.

Mantra f: MS., VS. have *ubhé* instead of *dūghe*; in 21, 34 (see above) VS. has *dūghe*. Notice the resemblance between this *mantra* and the corresponding *praiśa* TB. 2, 6, 11 f. – Otherwise no other occurrences.

Mantra g: no variants. Here (and elsewhere) U. and M. add in explanation *vīryaiḥ* to *indriyaiḥ*¹⁵⁵. – No other occurrences.

Mantra h: no variants. The component parts of the fixed phrase *divā náktam* have been distributed over two successive *pādas* and combined with two of the three deities. The comm. on TB. identifies the divine *hotars* to whom this stanza is dedicated with the two physicians; Mah. takes *bhiṣajā* to refer to the Aśvins, who are the divine physicians¹⁵⁶. – As to *pāda* c see also TB. 2, 6, 18, 3 g etc.; no other occurrences.

Mantra i: no variants worth mentioning. Mah. and U. regard Bh. as being in the firmament, I. as being on earth, S. as being in the intermediate space; Mah. adds: *tredhā*, viz. *sthitāḥ*, comm. TB. explains *tredhā* as *lokatrāyarūpeṇa vartamānāḥ*¹⁵⁷. In the ṛgvedic *āprī* hymns the three goddesses are usually requested to sit down on the *barhis*. – No other occurrences.

Mantra j: in MS. and VS. no differences; in KS. the second hemistich is missing. Notice the association of Tvaṣṭar, the deity of this stanza in the *āprī* hymns, with the three deities of the *sautrāmaṇī*. In the *āprī* hymns Tvaṣṭar appears as a shaper of forms, presiding over generation and bestowing offspring (cf. ṚV. 1, 142, 10; 188, 9; 2, 3, 9; 3, 4, 9 etc.). – No other occurrences.

Mantra k: no variants in MS. and VS.; wanting in KS. The explanation of the comm. TB. 'the *yūpa* not different from Indra', followed by Dumont ('the Indra-like' *yūpa*), is preferable to that of U. and Mah. who regard the nom. *indraḥ* as a substitute for the dative, although 'for Indra' would suit the context best. Was the *mantra* conceived under the influence of the resemblance between the *yūpa* and the Indra tree, both being representatives of the axis mundi¹⁵⁸? – As to *pāda* d see TB. 2, 6, 12, 1 c (above); no other occurrences.

¹⁵⁵ See above, sub TB. 2, 6, 1 j.

¹⁵⁶ See Gonda, Dual deities, p. 48.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. J. Gonda, Triads in the Veda, Amsterdam 1976, p. 69.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 81.

Mantra 1: in *pāda* a MS. and VS. read *parisrūtā* (which is adopted by Dumont), KS. *parisrutam*, TB. *pariškṛtā*. – No other occurrences.

TB. 2, 6, 13 contains the invitatory and consecratory stanzas to be recited by the *hotar* on the occasion of the oblation of the omenta of the three victims as well as those for the oblation of the sacrificial cakes and for the sacrificial substance of the bodies of the victims (comm. TB.). According to KŚS. 19, 6, 16 f. the three *mantras* a–c which are to accompany the oblations of the omenta are to be used in such a way that the first is *anuvākyā* (invitatory *mantra*) and the second *yājyā* (oblatory *mantra*) for the first omentum, the second *a.* and the third *y.* for the second omentum, the third *a.* and the first *y.* for the third omentum. This intertwinement—which is not explained in the same way in Sāyaṇa’s comm. on TB.—is to effect continuity. See ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 18 and 35 ‘The invitatory and oblatory formulae are made continuous and relate to the same deities: for the sake of continuity and uninterruptedness of the seasons . . . (cf. 12, 8, 2, 18) . . . (36) The *sautrāmaṇī* is the same as the year (which is a manifestation of the Totality) . . . , whence he who has performed it wins all (*sarvam*)’. – For particulars see also Dumont’s notes. This section corresponds with MS. 3, 11, 4: 145, 1–12; 146, 5–10; KS. 38, 9: 110, 6–111, 4; VS. 20, 67–75 (cf. KŚS. 19, 6, 16).

Mantra a: in d TB., KS. and VS. 20, 67 read *maghām*, MS. *madyām*. *dhiyā*: neither “by wit” (Griffith), nor “by their intelligence”, but rather “by (their) vision, inspiration”. For this reference to the basic myth see TB. 2, 6, 3, 1 (VS. 19, 34; ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 3). – The *mantra* does not occur elsewhere.

Mantra b: in *pāda* c TB. (also comm.), MS., KS., VS. (ed. Pansikar) read *balām* (also U., Mah.); TB., KS., VS. *magham*; MS. *madyām*. Griffith’s translation of VS. 20, 68 c “(I.) cleft Vala through to win him wealth” is highly improbable; Dumont’s emendation *valām makhām*—with a reference to RV. 9, 101, 13; 10, 171, 2; PB. 7, 5, 6—has much to recommend it. In contrast to the *pādas* a–c which do not occur elsewhere d is RV. 10, 131, 4 b; VS. 10, 33 b; ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 25 b; ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 19 b etc. (see above). As to *sacā* the destruction of the three demons did not take place simultaneously; nor did Namuci assist Indra when the god slew Vala, as is suggested by U. and Mah.

Mantra c: in *pāda* c MS., KS., VS. read *yajña* (i.e. *yajñe*). – *Pāda* b= TB. 2, 6, 12 b b etc.; no other occurrences of the *mantra*.

Mantras d, e, f should, with the same intertwinement, be recited for the oblation of the sacrificial cakes; cf. KŚS. 19, 6, 18. In *mantra* d there are no variants. The three gods Savitar, Varuṇa and Bhaga are also found together in MGS. 1, 10, 15 b (the same *pāda* b) where they are in a *mantra* used in the marriage ceremonies (*pāṇīgrahaṇa*)—and likewise appropriate to the occasion—said to have, together with Indra, seized the hand of the bride. According to ŚB. (see below) and the comm. TB. Indra, Savitar and Varuṇa are the gods of the sacrificial cakes. In this connexion it may

be recalled that these objects are at TS. 2, 3, 6, 2; 2, 4, 11, 5 etc. co-ordinated with the three provinces of the universe ¹⁵⁹. In the ritual under discussion they are, however, co-ordinated with the three seasons (ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 33). The *mantras* and the ritual to which they belong are explained in ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 16 ff. where the anomaly is discussed: the victims and the cakes have different sets of deities. Both the last of the victims and the first of the cakes belong to Indra who is *indriyaṃ vīryam* which is secured for the sacrificer. Savitar, the divine impeller, also said to be the guardian of all beings (ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 12), represents the heavenly region; in this connexion he is stated to impel the sacrificer (ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 17). Indra is sometimes the representative of the region between heaven and earth ¹⁶⁰. Varuṇa, the third, the god of the waters, acts here as the deity 'who seizes him who is seized by evil': in that one offers the final cake to Varuṇa one delivers the sacrificer finally from the noose of this god (ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 17). Bhaga is the god who distributes or dispenses goods, wealth and benefits; as a substantive *bhaga* denotes the part that is taken from a whole to be distributed ¹⁶¹. At AVŚ. 1, 26, 2 Indra, Bhaga and Savitar are invoked to protect, together with Rāti (Liberality), those speaking from the wrath of the gods. – The compound *haviṣpati* occurs once in the RV. (1, 12, 8) where it characterizes Agni as "the lord of the oblations (i.e. burnt offerings)", not exactly "Opferherr" (Geldner) or "lord of the sacrifice" (Griffith, Dumont).

Mantra e: cf. the preceding annotation. There are no variants. Dumont ¹⁶² regards the verb form *dādhat* as the present participle used as a present indicative. I would suggest: the subjunctive (apt to be reinterpreted as the participle; accent! ¹⁶³); the comm. explain by an imperative: *dadhātu* etc. A translation "let bestow, is expected to b." is to be preferred to "bestows" (Dumont). The first hemistich occurs, as the second half of a stanza that is to consecrate the hot water used in the ceremony of the tonsure of a child's head, at MG. 1, 21, 2. – No other occurrences.

Mantra f: no variants. For *kṣatram* "lordly authority, temporal power" and Varuṇa see e.g. RV. 1, 24, 6; 7, 34, 11 ¹⁶⁴. – The *mantra* is not used elsewhere.

Mantra g: no variants. Indra (and the sacrificer) are again said to be strengthened. This is the first of the three *mantras* which are to accompany

¹⁵⁹ For these and other ritual triads see Gonda, *Triads in the Veda*, p. 67; 86 ff. etc. Cf. ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 32 f. (*sautrāmaṇī*).

¹⁶⁰ I refer to *Triads in the Veda*, p. 67; 198. On triads of divine names in general *ibidem*, p. 214 f.

¹⁶¹ See J. Gonda, *The Vedic gods Aṃśa and Bhaga*, Monumentum H. S. Nyberg, Leiden and Teheran, I, p. 291 ff.

¹⁶² Dumont, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 109, p. 332, n. 98.

¹⁶³ As to the accent compare A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic grammar for students*, Oxford 1916, ³1953, p. 468 (sub 19 B β, second example).

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Gonda, *Triads in the Veda*, p. 141 etc.

the oblation of the sacrificial substance of the bodies of the three victims. They are, in ritual practice, again intertwined (cf. KŚS. 19, 6, 19; Mah.). Cows: according to Mah. sacrificial animals etc.; horses: in the form of *dakṣiṇās*. – No other occurrences.

Mantra h: in *pāda* d MS. has *īndram* instead of *īndra* and *avatu* instead of *avata*. The epithet *hīraṇyavartanī* (dual) “(riding) on golden paths” is also in the ṚV. given to the Aśvins (1, 92, 18 etc.); Sāyaṇa (TB.) explains: ‘(they are adorned’, U.: ‘they (the paths) are distinguished by golden presents’, Mah.: ‘where one goes there gold falls to one’s share’). – The *mantra* does not occur elsewhere but *pāda* b is the beginning of a *mantra* addressed to Indra and Vāyu (*praūgaśastra*) in ŚŚS. 7, 10, 10.

Mantra i: no variants. The epithets *sukārman* and *sudūgha* occur in the Ṛgveda. U. and Mah. try to explain the statement . . . *vṛtrahā śatākratuḥ indrāya dadhur* . . ., which comes to ‘. . . Indra has given to Indra’, by observing that either I. the giver belongs to another *kalpa* (a period in the existence of the universe) than I. the recipient or the god appears in different forms. – Except for *pāda* d (see TB. 2, 6, 11 i; 14 g etc.) the *mantra* is not found elsewhere.

In MS. 3, 11 the stanzas of this formulary are interrupted by the stanza ṚV. 10, 131, 4 (ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 19; see above), in which however, *śubhas patī* (=the Aśvins) has been replaced by *sārasvatī* (similarly VS. 20, 76, the first stanza to follow the section under discussion, KŚS. 19, 6, 20 correctly observing that it serves as the invitatory stanza for the ladlefuls of the sacrificial beverage (*graha*) to be offered in accordance with ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 34); the formula corresponding with TB. 2, 6, 11 m (see above); and ṚV. 10, 131, 5 (which is also VS. 20, 77 and is the consecratory stanza belonging to the above variant of ṚV. 10, 131, 4; cf. KŚS., l. cit. and ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 19).

The stanzas VS. 20, 78 and 79 which are ṚV. 10, 91, 14 and 15 and are placed after 76 and 77—which, being ṚV. 10, 131, 4 and 5, are also VS. 10, 33 and 34—have—like the latter pair—already been discussed in the chapter on the *caraka sautrāmaṇī* ¹⁶⁵. That they occur immediately after ṚV. 10, 131, 4 and 5 is not surprising because they follow these in ritual practice (cf. KŚS. 19, 6, 20 ff.; ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 19; 3, 2). Since the latter containing the names of all three deities of this ritual are to be used as *yājyānuvākyaś* (see KŚS. 19, 6, 20; ĀpŚS. 19, 2, 19) for the ladlefuls of *soma* offered to these deities they are not unsuitably placed after VS. 20, 67–75 which constitute the *yājyānuvākyaś* for the oblation of the omenta etc. of the three victims offered to the three deities. See also ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 34 f. quoted at KŚS. 19, 6, 20.

A brief discussion of the eleven following *mantras* (VS. 20, 80–90) may be subjoined here, also because Kātyāyana makes mention of them in 19, 7, 1 (cf. 8) after dealing with the use of VS. 21, 41–47 to which I

¹⁶⁵ See above, p. 86 f.; 90 f.

have already arrested attention in connexion with section TB. 2, 6, 11. The eleven stanzas constitute a *śastra* (laud) which the *hotar* has to recite in response to the *sāman* (see KŚS. 19, 5, 1; ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 23). The first and the last stanzas are recited three times (KŚS. 19, 7, 2); moreover, the two stanzas employed whilst the sacrificer offers (VS. 20, 11 and 12; cf. ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 29 f.) are included in the *hotar*'s recitation as a *nivid*, i.e. a short *mantra* declaring the names of the deities concerned and repeated loudly (cf. ĀśvŚS. 5, 9, 12)¹⁶⁶. That means that in ritual practice this section (*anuvāka*, KŚS.) consists, not of eleven but of seventeen *mantras*. The *mantras* 80 and 90 are moreover used also as *yājyānuvākyās* for the libation (*graha*: KŚS. 19, 7, 8). With the exception of VS. 20, 80 and 90 which do not occur elsewhere, all these stanzas are taken from the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā (2, 41; 1, 3). St. 80 and 90 are *anuṣṭubhs* (80 is irregular), the nine others are in the *gāyatrī* metre. The first and the last contain the names of all three deities of the sacrifice. The others constitute three groups of three stanzas (*trca* 'triplet') each, representing ṚV. 2, 41, 7-9; 1, 3, 10-12; 1, 3, 4-6 and addressing, respectively, the Āśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra. It may be recalled that in the last sections of VS. XX, viz. 55-66 (corresponding to TB. 2, 6, 12 and 67-69; 73-75 (TB. 2, 6, 13) as well as in 76 and 77 the three divine names are mentioned in almost every stanza. This also may have led the compiler to place these eleven stanzas here, at the end of VS. XX.

VS. 20, 80 (see above): for the combinations "fiery or luminous energy, light" (*tejas*): eye etc. see TB. 2, 6, 4 j and 14 a etc.; 2, 6, 4 k and 14 b etc.; 2, 14 c respectively. The logical difficulty 'Indra gave to Indra' can, according to Mah., be surmounted by the supposition that the giver belonged to another long stage in the world's history (*kalpa*) than the receiver. - The stanzas ṚV. 2, 41, 7-9 (VS. 20, 81-83), constituting one of the triplets addressed to the different gods who have a share in the *prāyugaśastra*—the second litany recited by the *hotar* at the morning pressing¹⁶⁷—urge the Āśvins to travel about and to bring riches; cf. ĀśvŚS. 4, 15, 2; ŚŚS. 6, 6, 2 (*prātaranuvāka*, morning litany) for 7-9 or 7 and 8. St. 9 is not quoted separately. ṚV. 1, 3 is addressed to the Āśvins (1-3), Indra (4-6), the Viśve Devāḥ (7-9), and Sarasvatī (10-12), inviting them to the *soma*-sacrifice; together with ṚV. 1, 2 it composes the litany of the *prāyugaśastra* (cf. ŚŚS. 7, 10, 15), which contains seven triplets. On the ritual significance of these stanzas see also AiĀ. 1, 1, 4: 'the gods go to the sacrifice of him who knows this or for whom a *hotar* who knows this recites the (relevant) stanzas . . .' Stanza 10 (VS. 20, 84) is also found MS. 4, 10, 1: 142, 7; 4, 10, 3: 150, 1; 4, 11, 2: 166, 2 (*yājyānuvākyās*) and MŚS. 5, 1, 1, 33; 6, 26; 31 (ritual of the *īṣtis*, simple sacrifices); 7, 2, 6, 7 (*mahāvratā* day of the *gavām ayana*, accompanying

¹⁶⁶ Other particulars can be omitted.

¹⁶⁷ See Caland and Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, p. 239.

the scooping of a draught destined for Sarasvatī); KS. 4, 16: 41, 17, etc.; TB. 2, 4, 3, 1 (*upahoma mantras*); ĀśvŚS. 2, 8, 3; ŚŚS. 2, 4, 6 (*anvārambhaṇīyā iṣṭi*, introductory rite to the Full and New moon sacrifices). Etc. Stanza 11 (VS. 20, 85) occurs also as TS. 4, 1, 11 i (the ritual placing of the fire in the fire-pan, piling of the great fireplace). St. 12 (86) does not appear in the ritual texts mentioned in the Vedic Concordance. In RV. 1, 3, 4–6 Indra is invited to the speaker's *soma* libations. The *trca* is also used in the *praūgaśastra* (ŚŚS. 7, 10, 13); in a laud addressed to Indra (PB. 14, 2, 5), and as AVŚ. 20, 84 in VaitS. 31, 16 and 33, 14 (*gavām ayana*, *soma* ritual) as well as 40, 11 (*soma* ritual). The last stanza (90) consists of *pāda* a=RV. 1, 15, 11 a—addressing the Āśvins and belonging to the hymn which is to accompany *ṛtugrahas*, definite libations (morning service of the *soma* ritual) —, *pāda* b which does not occur elsewhere, *pāda* c=VS. 21, 42 j; and in TB. 2, 6, 11 m; *pāda* d=VS. 21, 42 k, in TB. 2, 6, 11; in MS. 3, 11, 4: 146, 1. It may in conclusion be observed that while the stanzas 80 and 90 were no doubt concocted to meet the requirements of the *sautrāmaṇī* well, the three triplets, though in all probability not made for that ritual, were very well suited for that purpose.

TB. 2, 6, 14 contains the *praiṣas* relating to the oblatory stanzas for the eleven after-offerings of the animal sacrifice. See KŚS. 19, 7, 9: 'summons prompting (the *hotar*) to recite the accompanying formulae'. They correspond with MS. 3, 11, 5 (147, 1–148, 8); VS. 21, 48–58 but are not found in KS. Notice that only part of the *āpri* deities are referred to (in an irregular order). The names of the deities mentioned in the beginning of the *mantras* are almost everywhere repeated in the nominative or instrumental to indicate that they have co-operated with the Āśvins and Sarasvatī. I would not follow Dumont in translating "Divine is (are) . . .", but regard the initial *pādas* as instances of the nom. 'der Herausstellung', the nom. placed at the beginning of a communication before the sentence proper, a frequent device to throw this element into relief, especially when it is to rubricate a collection of more or less parallel statements.

Mantra a: no variants. U. and Mah. draw—not only here—attention to the fact that the words of these *mantras* are not placed in a normal order. This is no doubt largely due to their being composed of variants of pre-existing elements. According to ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 2 Indra's *tejas* had flowed from his eyes. What is in the *mantras* a–h said to be placed in (given to) Indra is his *indriyā* but this is in most cases co-ordinated with a faculty which he had lost. Thus in a his *téjas* (light or clearness of the eye and brilliant energy) is restored to him (cf. ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 4). — *Pāda* d recurs in 2, 6, 14 j; no other occurrences of the complete *mantra*.

Mantra b: MS. has *prāṇān*. Cf. ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 3: Indra's *vīrya* flowed from his nostrils. Here also Griffith's translation is inexact. Dumont's renderings suggest complete comparisons. At first sight the wording of

the text is not in agreement with ŚB., but compare ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 5 *prāṇaḥ sarasvatī vīryam . . . prāṇam evāsmiṃs tad vīryam dadhāti* “. . . he bestows vital breath, virtue-and-manly energy on him”. The particle *ná*—which is not always placed after the word to which it belongs—can also occur in identifications: *sūryo ná cáksuḥ* “like the eye (viz. the eye that is) the sun” or “like (as it were) the eye of the sun”. Here I would translate: “they gave I. vital breath, so to say virtue-and-energy”. And so on or—perhaps better—“th. g. I. *vīrya*, viz. *prāṇa* . . .”. The underlying idea seems to be: when Indra recovered his *tejas* etc. he regained the complete command of his faculty of vision etc.¹⁶⁸. Notwithstanding the different word order the third *pādas* of the *mantras* may be regarded as running parallel. – *Pāda* b recurs in the next *mantra*; no other occurrences.

Mantra c: instead of *bhīṣájé 'ndre* MS. and VS. have *suṭráméndram* (MS.) or *-dré* (VS.). From Indra's mouth his strength (*balam*) had flowed (ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 4); cf. also 12, 7, 2, 6: *vāg indro balam* “I. is speech, strength”. – No other occurrences.

Mantra d: MS. and VS. run as follows: *d. j. sárasvaty ásvínéndram avarḥayan . . .* As to *jóṣṭrī* see TB. 2, 6, 10 d; strangely enough, *suṭrá mā* belongs to the subject (TB.). On Indra's faculty of hearing and his glory (*yáśas*) see ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 5. – TB. *pāda* b occurs also in *mantra* k (below) etc.; as such the stanza is not used elsewhere.

Mantra e: MS.: *d. ū. d. sudúghéndram sárasvatī*; VS.: *d. ū. d. sudúghéndre s.* Compare TB. 2, 6, 10 e, whence *páyase*. According to ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 6 Indra's clear liquid or (and) brightness (*śukra*) flowed from his breasts (*stanābhyaṃ*) and became “milk, the light of cattle” (*payo 'bhavat paśūnāṃ jyotiḥ*). The words *śukráṃ ná jyotiḥ stánayoḥ* must mean “light of his breasts (viz. the light that is his) *śukra*”. Not (here and elsewhere) copulative: *śukraṃ ca jyotiḥ ca payolakṣaṇaṃ stanayoḥ indriyaṃ ca* (U.). – No other occurrence

Mantra f: no variants. As to the accusative *indram* Dumont's “(have helped) I.” is to be preferred to *indram=indre* (U., cf. Mah.). In the enumeration in ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 2 ff. no mention is made of Indra's “thought” (“intention, inclination”: *mati*), but for his heart and *twiṣi* “brilliance, splendour, violence, vehemence” see 6. Understand “his *mati*, viz. the *twiṣi* in his heart (which had flowed away)”. – For *pāda* b see *mantra* k etc. No other occurrences.

Mantra g: instead of *pāda* b MS. and VS. have the metrically regular *ásvínédā sárasvatī*; in c MS. reads *nābhyaḥ*. Compare ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 7 “from his navel his spirit, courage (*śúśaḥ*) flowed”. In contrast to the preceding *mantras* there is in the part of the *mantra* beginning with *śúśam* no second noun in the accusative; moreover, the particle *ná* is strange, unless Dumont is right in connecting *śúśam ná indriyám*, which however deviates from the syntactical structure of the preceding *mantras*. Has *mádhya*—which

¹⁶⁸ See L. Renou, Grammaire de la langue védique, Lyon and Paris 1952, p. 398.

is almost tautological—ousted another word in the accusative? – As to *pāda* a cf. TB. 2, 6, 10 g etc.; d: TB. 2, 6, 11 i etc.; no other uses.

Mantra h: no variants. Several deviations from the structure of the preceding *mantras*: the name of the deity mentioned in the beginning is not repeated, but replaced by his chariot which is moving with the two other gods of this ritual; in the third part of the *mantra* there are three nouns in the accusative; it is Tvaṣṭar who gives Indra his form etc.; instead of *indriyām* we find *indriyāni*. For *trivarūthāḥ* see TB. 2, 6, 10 h etc. (in the same place of the *mantra*). As to “seed” (*rētaḥ*): ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 7 ‘from his seed his (beautiful) form (*rūpām*) flowed’; in ŚB. no mention is made of his birth-place (*janītram*). The chariot is not mentioned in the relevant passage of ŚB. For Indra’s chariot see e.g. RV. 1, 51, 12; for Agni’s 1, 13, 4 (*āpri* hymn); for Indra-and-Agni’s 1, 108, 1. As to Tvaṣṭar’s role in the *sautrāmaṇi* myth see ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 1; 8, 3, 1; he is a skilful shaper of forms¹⁶⁹. Here he figures as the ninth deity of the *āpri* hymns. As to the combination of *amṣtam janītram* and *rētaḥ* in the same context see TB. 2, 6, 4 e above. The noun *janītram*, though usually translated by “birth-place”, is rendered by “procreative power” (Dumont TB. 2, 6, 4 e) or “generative or procreative matter” (Monier-Williams, Dictionary for VS. 19, 84; 21, 55). This seems right and *rēto nā rūpām* is the object proper. Then *a. j.* is an apposition and the translation is “T. gave I. (his) beautiful form (which had flowed from his seed) viz. seed, immortal procreative matter”. *Indriyāni*: faculties of sense etc. – For *pāda* a see TB. 2, 6, 10 h etc.; for *pāda* d TB. 2, 6, 7 i; no other occurrences.

Mantra i: instead of *indro* in *pāda* a MS. and VS. read *devair* (similarly, TB. 2, 6, 10 i etc.); instead of *jūtim* MS. and VS. have *jūtir*. As to *htranyaparnaḥ* and *supippalāḥ* see TB. 2, 6, 10 i. Vanaspati, the tenth of the deities of an *āpri* hymn, is the main agent, accompanied by the Aśvins and Sarasvatī. This *mantra* deviates from the pattern. Pāda d is a parenthesis. As to Indra’s *ojas* (inaugurative power, authority etc.) it had flowed from his urine (ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 8) to become the wolf, the *jūti* (the impetuosity) of the wild beasts; his *bhāma* (passion¹⁷⁰ cf. TB. 2, 6, 5 l, and especially 2, 6, 11 k) had flowed from his buttocks (ŚB. 7). Is the bull (*ṛṣabhāḥ*) reminiscent of ŚB. 4, or (and) 13? As to the nom. *ṛṣabhāḥ* cf. RV. 6, 3, 4 *vijēhamānaḥ paraśūr nā jihvām* “(Agni) showing his tongue like an axe” where one expects *paraśūm*. However, Sāyaṇa’s explanation (comm. TB.) is worth considering: “just as here in our world a bull produces passion . . .”. Mah.’s explanation (*ṛṣabhāḥ* is a honorific) is improbable. As to *indro vanaspātīḥ* see TB. 2, 6, 7 j; 10 i; 12 k; as to *madhu* in connexion with the *yūpa*: 2, 6, 7 j; 8 j; 10 i; especially 11 k and 12 k. The translation seems to be: “V., together with the A. and S.—for

¹⁶⁹ I refer to Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 116.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 94; XIII, p. 106.

I. the palatable liquor is prepared (viz. by the *vanaspati*; cf. TB. 2, 6, 12k)—gave us (N.B.!) *ojas*, viz. impetuosity, passion, like (that of) a bull, the full command of (our) faculties...". The *mantra*, brief, sketchy, syntactically free, and presuming the hearer's acquaintance with the relevant facts alludes to the re-enactment of the mythical event for the sake of the sacrificer. — No other occurrences.

Mantra j: MS. has *iśdyā* instead of *iśdyai*. Reappearance of the *barhis*. For *vdritinām* see TB. 2, 6, 10 j; for *úrnamradāḥ* (concerning the form, *barhīḥ* is neuter, but rarely masculine) 2, 6, 11 e. As to *iśdyai* "for dominion" one might compare ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 8 (and 12, 7, 1, 8 in fine). King Manyu: cf. RV. 10, 83 and 84. Indra's *manyu* (fury, passion) had flowed from the contents of his intestines (ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 8). The absence of a word group with *ná* is remarkable. The words *adhvaré* . . . *sádaḥ* are an apposition to the initial *d. b. v.* — Pāda a occurs also in TB. 2, 6, 10 j etc.; pāda f in 2, 6, 14 a; no other occurrences of the several *pādas* and the *mantra* as such.

Mantra k: MS. and VS. have *sviṣṭo agnīr* instead of *iṣṭó agnīr*; MS. *sáho ná dádat* instead of *yáso n. d.* A typically concluding *mantra*. For Agni Sviṣṭakṛt see above TB. 2, 6, 10 h and ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 19¹⁷¹. Speech: cf. ŚB. 11, 2, 4, 9: Sarasvatī is Speech (also 11, 2, 6, 3; 13, 1, 8, 5; 14, 2, 1, 15). Varuṇa: see TB. 2, 6, 13 etc. For Indra's strength or vigour (*ūrj*) cf. ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 9 where it is said to have flowed from his flesh; his honour (*ápaciti*) flowed from his skin, his natural disposition¹⁷² (*svadhá*) from his bones. — Pāda a occurs in TB. 2, 6, 10 k etc.; c in 2, 6, 14 f; no other occurrences.

The next section, TB. 2, 6, 15 contains the formulae pronounced by the *maitrāvaruṇa* to prompt the *hotar* to recite the so-called *sūktavāka*, i.e. "good words" beginning with the words *agnīm* etc. (*mantra* a, first words). Thus at the end of the animal sacrifice (Āp. 7, 27, 6 f.), where the formulae are adapted to that ceremony. Similar formulae relating to the *sūktavāka* are to be recited on the occasion of other sacrifices (new moon rites: Āp. 3, 6, 6; TB. 3, 5, 10; seasonal sacrifices: Āp. 8, 3, 4)¹⁷³. The present formulary is adapted to the *sautrāmaṇī* but there are various differences in wording, length etc. between the relevant passages of the basic texts. The formulary found in MS. 4, 13, 9: 211, 5 (see MŚS. 5, 2, 8, 44) belongs to the animal sacrifice, not to the *sautrāmaṇī*; the deity mentioned in it is Indrāgnī. In KS. 19, 13: 16, 19–17, 7 there is a *sūktavāka praiṣa* for the *sautrāmaṇī* of about eight lines stating inter alia that a he-goat

¹⁷¹ See also p. 102 with fn. 85.

¹⁷² Not "sweet drink" Eggeling, op. cit., V, p. 215. On this difficult word see L. Renou, Études sur le vocabulaire de Rgveda, etc. quoted in fn. 30 above.

¹⁷³ For a prompting for the *sūktavāka* in the *soma* sacrifice see ŚSS. 5, 20, 5. According to W. Caland, Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra, Nagpur 1953, p. 139 the formula meant by the author is RVkh. 7, 21 (Scheftelowitz, op. cit., p. 144). The commentator Ānartīya however supplies his readers with variants.

is immolated for Brhaspati; the other deities mentioned are the Ásvins, Sarasvatī and Indra. As to Brhaspati cf. TB. 2, 6, 10 h and 18 e etc. This god does not occur in the formularies of TB. and VS. In the former, which is rather long and is clearly divided into five parts the gods who are said to have been given oblations are the three deities of the *sautrāmaṇī*. In the VS. there are three formularies, two in a collection of supplementary or alternative *mantras* (28, 23; 46) and one in 21, 59–61 (cf. KŚS. 19, 7, 11) immediately after those *mantras* which correspond with TB. 2, 6, 14. The last mentions all three deities, the two former ones only Indra. These *praiṣas* are characterized by a number of statements—pronounced in a definite order—with regard to what has been done by the sacrificer: he has chosen Agni as his *hotar* (the initial line), he has prepared cooked food (offerings), baked a sacrificial cake; the sacrificial post became a good and secure place for the deity (deities). The deities have eaten and accepted the oblations. “The sacrificer has chosen thee (viz. the *hotar* who is addressed), thinking ‘this one will (as *hotar*, by his worship) acquire for me precious goods. Do thou wish for this sacrificer the divine gifts. When thou art prompted, as a human *hotar*, to speak the ‘good words’, say the good words’. On the *sūktavāka* see e.g. ŚB. 11, 2, 7, 28: The *s.* is the completion, and, verily, whosoever knows this secures for himself the completion and gains whatever is gained by the completion, and 1, 9, 1, 3 f: ‘He who sacrifices pleases the gods and obtains a share among them. Thereupon (the *hotar*) invokes a blessing (on him), and the gods realize that blessing for the sacrificer. He (the *hotar*) intones: (TS. 2, 6, 9, 5; MS. 4, 13, 9: 211, 12; TB. 3, 5, 10, 1; ĀśvŚS. 1, 9, 1; ŚŚS. 1, 14, 2 ff.) “Successful this has turned out, O Heaven and Earth . . .”’.

Sūtra a: Agni: the divine *hotar*, one of the two *hotars* mentioned in these texts. The rare adjective *sutāsutī* occurs only in TB.: “who has what has been and what has not been pressed out (i.e. distilled in a different manner)”, i.e. the *surā* and the milk. Cf. TB. 2, 6, 4 p; ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 5. The words *grhṇān grāhān* do not occur in KS. and VS. In KS. there follows *badhnan brhaspataye chāgam* which does not appear elsewhere, in VS. 28, 23 b. *indrāya ch.*, in VS. 28, 46 b. i. *vayodhāse ch.* (for Indra Vayodhās see TB. 2, 6, 17 a); in these texts the relevant passage ends here. – Notice the verbosity of TB.; in a matter-of-fact style the three couples of datives would be superfluous but their presence emphasizes the union of the three deities. This verbosity is foreign to VS. where however after *vṛṣabhām* the text continues: ‘pressing for the A., S., (and) I. Sutrāman *surā* and *soma* beverages (*surāsomān*)’.

Sūtra b: The same verbosity in TB. with the same effect. VS. 28, 23 and 46 are still shorter: *s. a. d. v. a. i. (vayodhāse) ch.* whereas KS. deviates considerably, inserting *s. a. d. v. a. brhaspataye chāgena badhnan aśvibhyāṃ chāgam* and continuing: *s. a. d. v. a. sarasvatyai meṣyā badhnan indrāya meṣam, s. a. d. v. a. indrāya meṣeṇa*, which cannot be correct, because Indra’s bull is replaced by a ram.

Sūtra c: KS. has *agrabhīṣata* instead of *(a)grabhiṣuḥ*; VS. 21, 60 *agr̥bhīṣata*; VS. 28, 23 and 46: *adhattām m. p. p. agrabhīd*; KS. adds only *avīvr̥dhanta puroḍasaiḥ*; VS. 21, 60 *av. pur. āpur aśvīnā śarasvatīndrah sutrāmā surāsomān* "the A., S., I. S. have drunk the . . ."; VS. 28, 23 and 46 *av. puroḍāśena*. For the compound *ukthāmadā* (n. pl.) "praise and rejoicing, recitations (*śāstra*) and exclamations" see e.g. AVŚ. 5, 26, 3; TS. 2, 4, 11, 6; AiB. 2, 38, 9. *vīmada* probably "free from pride or arrogance" rather than "filled with joy" (Dumont). *āṅgūṣā* "a hymn of praise" is a ṛgvedic word (1, 117, 10; 6, 34, 5 etc.).

Sūtra d: this formula is, except for *sutāsutī* (see above under *sūtra a*), also found in KS., VS. 21, 61 and *pratīkena* in VS. 28, 23 and 46. It obviously was to be recited in this fixed form.

Sūtra e: the same observations can be made with regard to this part of the formulary. The compound *devaddnāni* (also TB. 3, 6, 15, 1; RVkh. 7, 2 l; 7, 4 p) seems to be one of the characteristics of this formula.

The following section, TB. 2, 6, 16, contains the stanzas that should be recited at the sacrifice offered to the Fathers which takes place after the *avabhṛtha* (cf. 2, 6, 6 above, and especially m, n). No less than fourteen of the eighteen stanzas are ṛgvedic, eleven of them being found also in the Taittiriya-Saṃhitā. Except the stanzas k l m q r they are in TB. quoted *pratīkena*. Part of these stanzas have already been discussed in the chapter on the *caraka sautrāmaṇi*¹⁷⁴. Referring to the conclusions, comparison and discussion at the end of this section I note here that the corresponding sections in the other basic texts are MS. 4, 10, 6; KS. 21, 14; as to VS. compare 19, 49–70. They constitute the formulary for a sacrifice to the Fathers which in TS. is as 2, 6, 12 the last section of a chapter containing the *mantras* for 'the *hotar* office in connexion with the rites of New Moon' (*dārśyaṃ hautram*).

Stanza a is RV. 10, 16, 12, where (in a) *nī dhīmahi*; AVŚ. 18, 1, 56, where *tvedhīmahi* (funeral texts); the yajurvedic texts have *havāmahe*. Agni is addressed; VS. 19, 70 after other stanzas dealing with the Fathers; TS. 2, 6, 12 a¹⁷⁵ (sacrifice to the Fathers); MS. 1, 10, 18: 157, 18 (seasonal sacrifices); 4, 10, 6: 156, 1 (*pratīkena*; Fathers); KS. 21, 14: 55, 3; 36, 12: 76, 1. According to the ritual it is a *sāmīdhenī* stanza (recited while the sacrificial fire is kindled; cf. also ĀpŚS. 8, 14, 18; ŚB. 2, 6, 1, 21 f.); see also ŚSS. 3, 16, 23; MŚS. 5, 1, 4, 11 (*pitryeṣṭi* in the *sākamedha* ritual); MŚS. 11, 9, 1, 5 (*śrāddha* ritual).

Stanza b is RV. 1, 79, 9 (addressed to Agni)—however, in TB., Āp. *suketūnā*, in RV. etc. *sucetūnā*; also TB. 2, 4, 5, 3 (*upahoma mantras*) and therefore, like the preceding one and many other stanzas, quoted *pratīkena*; see also MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 2 (see under stanza a); 4, 12, 4:

¹⁷⁴ See p. 101 ff. above; see also p. 123.

¹⁷⁵ For this section (TS. 2, 6, 12) compare Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 219 f., fn. 5.

189, 10 (*pratikena, yājyānuvākyaś*); MŚS. 5, 1, 4, 16 (see above, accompanying the offering of portions of ghee); 5, 2, 2, 18 (*iṣṭi* with a special purpose); similarly ŚŚS. 3, 16, 24 (see above); ĀpŚS. 8, 14, 24; see also KS. 2, 14: 18, 13. This *mantra* also is very suited to its purpose: it is an invitation to the offering of the first butter portion (*ājyabhāga*): comm. TB. 2, 6, 16 b. See also KB. 5, 8, 33 f. ¹⁷⁶ 'in that he offers the butter portions with the word "living" he causes the sacrificer to live'.

Stanza c: RV. 1, 91, 7 (addressed to Soma); *dākṣam . . . jīvāse* "die Kraft zum Leben" (Geldner); "la force-agissante . . . pour qu'(ils) vivent" (Renou) ¹⁷⁷; "ability . . ." (Dumont); *d.* is often best translated by "resourcefulness". Used together with the preceding stanza (and accompanying the second *ājyabhāga*, comm.) at MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 4; MŚS. 5, 1, 4, 16; TB. 2, 4, 5, 3; ĀśvŚS. 2, 10, 3; ŚŚS. 3, 16, 24; Āp. 8, 14, 24; cf. also KS. 2, 14: 18, 19 and 20, 15: 35, 20. See also ŚGS. 1, 25, 7 where it is together with *mantras* addressed to Agni who is expected to "give life" used by a father when his wife gets up from childbed.

Stanza d, RV. 1, 91, 1 etc., has already been discussed ¹⁷⁸. Invitatory stanza. It occurs also at MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 6 (see under stanza b); MŚS. 5, 2, 4, 31 and ĀpŚS. 19, 3, 9 (*caraka sautrāmaṇi*); KS. 21, 14: 55, 5; VS. 19, 52; ĀpŚS. 8, 15, 15 (sacrifice to the Fathers, seasonal sacrifices: TS. 2, 6, 12 b); ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 22 and ŚŚS. 3, 16, 4 (likewise); 5, 5, 2 (invitatory stanza for the *prāyanīyeṣṭi*, i.e. the introductory rite of the first day of a *soma* sacrifice; see also AiB. 1, 9, 7); 6, 10, 3 and ĀśvŚS. 3, 7, 7 (similarly, for the victim immolated to Soma, *soma* sacrifice); etc.

Stanza e: RV. 9, 96, 11; TS. 2, 6, 12 c; MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 8; KS. 21, 14: 55, 7; VS. 19, 53. The word *paridhi* "enclosure, barrier" has been variously explained: "demon" (*rākṣasa*, Sāyaṇa on RV.), much less improbably: "those who bring about accidents in (disturbance of) sacrificial worship" (U.); 'the obstructions which keep the seasonable rain from falling' (Griffith); 'Anspielung auf den Vala-mythos, vgl. 1, 52, 5. In Wirklichkeit . . . die eingepferchten Tiere, die von den reichen Gönnern verschenkt werden sollen' (Geldner); 'locution apparemment proverbiale': au figuré: 'sois généreux' ¹⁷⁹.

Stanza f (with *d tatāna*, elsewhere *d tatantha*): RV. 8, 48, 13; TS. 2, 6, 12 d to be used as a consecratory stanza (comm. TB.); MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 10; KS. 21, 14 ¹⁸⁰; VS. 19, 54; ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 22 and ŚŚS. 3, 16, 4 (see above, under stanza d). This stanza also is very appropriate; compare also its

¹⁷⁶ E. R. S. Sarma's edition, Wiesbaden 1968; 5, 7 in B. Lindner's edition, Jena 1887.

¹⁷⁷ Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 67.

¹⁷⁸ See p. 101 above.

¹⁷⁹ Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 105; cf. p. 44.

¹⁸⁰ KS. has here *pitrbhiḥ*, not as in 17, 19: 264, 4 (only *pādas* a and d) *surayā*; cf. Keith, Veda B. Y. S., p. 220, fn. 4.

use in the *saumya caru*, the offering of a boiled rice-mess to Soma (third service of a *soma* sacrifice): *ĀśvŚS.* 5, 19, 1 and *ŚŚS.* 8, 4, 2 with an explanation *AiB.* 3, 32, 1¹⁸¹.

Stanza g: *ṚV.* 10, 15, 4 (to the Fathers), appropriately used as an invitatory stanza. Also *TS.* 2, 16, 12 f.; (with a variant) *MS.* 4, 10, 6: 156, 12; *KS.* 21, 14: 55, 11; *VS.* 19, 55; *ĀśvŚS.* 2, 19, 22 and *ŚŚS.* 3, 16, 6 (see above, under stanza d). The corresponding *AVŚ.* stanza 18, 1, 51 is used by Kauś. (87, 27) to accompany the untying and strewing of the *barhis* in the *piṇḍapitryajña* (oblation to the deceased ancestors on the evening of new moon). In *VaitS.* it is, together with 18, 1, 44 and 45; 18, 3, 45 and 44 in the chapter on the *sautrāmaṇi* prescribed for use at another moment of the ritual, viz. after the pouring of the *surā* into the perforated vessel (*VaitS.* 30, 14). The stanza 18, 1, 44 implores the Fathers to come and to aid those speaking; 45 states that they have assented and are coming; 3, 45 and 44 are other invitations addressed to the Fathers "to come, bless and aid us". The use of *AVŚ.* 18, 1, 51 in *VaitS.* 9, 8 (*sākamedha* rite) is likewise appropriate: here it is to accompany a libation to Soma and the Fathers¹⁸².

Stanza h, *ṚV.* 10, 15, 3; *TS.* 2, 6, 16 g, is also suitably used as an invitatory *mantra*. Also *BŚS.* 17, 36: 314, 16; *MS.* 4, 10, 6: 156, 16; *KS.* 21, 14: 55, 13; *VS.* 19, 56; *ĀśvŚS.* 2, 19, 22 and *ŚŚS.* 3, 16, 6; also *ĀśvŚS.* 5, 20, 2 (compare under *mantra* f; *āgnimāruta śastra*, see also *AiB.* 3, 37, 15¹⁸³); *AVŚ.* 18, 1, 45 (see above under stanza g). As to "grandson" (*nāpātam*) there exist various explanations: "freedom from decay or death" (*Sāyaṇa* on *ṚV.*); similarly, with reference to the path that leads to the gods and a wrong etymology (*U.* and *Mah.*); "son" (*Griffith*, following *Ludwig* and quoting the latter's untenable suggestion "as fire"); "children" (*Grassmann*); 'kollektiv, mit Hillebrandt auf den *bāndhu*, die himmlische Genossenschaft des *Viṣṇu* 1, 154, 5, die Seligen im Himmel zu beziehen'; probably "a grandson", i.e. "the son and heir who is the grandson of the sacrificer's father" (see, in the same group of hymns, *ṚV.* 10, 10, 1)¹⁸⁴. *vikrāmaṇam* is not, with *Griffith* and *Keith*¹⁸⁵ to be regarded as obscure; inadequately explained by *Sāyaṇa* (on *ṚV.*), *U.* and *Mah.* (*nāpātam* and *v.* referring to the paths leading to the gods and the Fathers); it is certainly not "progeny" (*Griffith*), nor does it refer to the sun (*Ludwig*); rather the place reached by the striding *Viṣṇu*; the 'strides' by which one ascends unto the highest heaven¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸¹ See *Caland* and *Henry*, *L'agniṣṭoma*, p. 362 f.

¹⁸² For particulars see *W. Caland*, *Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1910, p. 26.

¹⁸³ Cf. *Caland* and *Henry*, op. cit., p. 372 ff.

¹⁸⁴ See also *Renou*, *E.V.P.* XVI, p. 125 quoting *Oldenberg*; *Geldner*, *ṚV.* üb. III, p. 145.

¹⁸⁵ *Keith*, *Veda B. Y. S.*, p. 221, fn. 1.

¹⁸⁶ See *Gonda*, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 55 ff.

Stanza i, RV. 10, 15, 5; TS. 2, 6, 12 h is an appropriate consecratory *mantra*; also MS. 4, 10, 6: 156, 14; KS. 21, 4: 55, 15; VS. 19, 57; ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 22 and ŚŚS. 3, 16, 6 (see above). Also AVŚ. 18, 3, 45, used in VaitS. 30, 14 and 9, 8; Kauś. 87, 27; see above (stanza g).

Stanza j, RV. 10, 15, 11; TB. 2, 6, 12 e, another very suitable invitation; also MS. 4, 10, 6: 157, 10; KS. 21, 14: 55, 17; VS. 19, 59; ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 22 and ŚŚS. 3, 16, 7 (see above); ĀpŚS. 8, 15, 17 (see under stanza a). See also AVŚ. 18, 3, 44 with a somewhat different *pāda* d: “assign to us wealth that consists in unimpaired energetic sons” (not “. . . having all heroes”, Whitney and Lanman); used in VaitS. 30, 14; 9, 8; Kauś. 87, 27.

Stanza k: a perfect invocation expressing also the speaker’s wishes and intentions; also MS. 4, 10, 6: 157, 8 (where *pāda* c “they, the inspired ones, must, being easily invoked, be favourable to us”); KS. 21, 14: 56, 1 (in b *ānaśúh*; cd “they must come, they must give ear here, they must intercede (for us), they must help (favour) us”); VS. 19, 61 (in b *nārāśaṃsé*; in cd “they, the inspired ones, must be easily invoked by us (i.e. listen willingly to us); may we be lords of possessions”); *nārāśaṃsa* is the name given to the cup (*camasa*) after *soma* has been drunk from it (see ĀpŚS. 12, 25, 24¹⁸⁷), and see also ŚB. 12, 6, 1, 33.

Stanza l: in this form not elsewhere, but used at ĀpŚS. 8, 15, 17 (see above). However, *pāda* a is also VS. 19, 60 a; *pāda* d is also *pāda* d of stanza i and of KS. 21, 14: 56, 2 (see above under stanza k); RV. 10, 15, 5 d; VS. 19, 57 d; 58 d etc. VS. 19, 60 is, with variations, RV. 10, 15, 14; it continues “. . . are pleased with their special food (*svadhā*, offered to them) in the midst of heaven; for them the self-ruler (i.e. independent authority, i.e. Agni) will (is expected to) dispose his body here according to inclination (so that it becomes) a guidance for the principle of life”¹⁸⁸. In MS., 4, 10, 6: 157, 6 and KS. 21, 14: 55, 19 there is a *gāyatrī* stanza (“The F. who have been . . ., who foster Universal Order, be gracious to (shew mercy on) us . . .”), *pādas* a and b of which occur only here; in MS. c “in order to have a long term of life, to be alive”, in KS. “(they) must deliver us from distress”. – For the *agniśvāttāḥ pītarāḥ* “the Fathers who have been tasted by Agni”, the comm. TB. refers to the seasonal sacrifices, adding that the term stands for those who in human life have performed the domestic rites and have been intent on *smārta* ceremonies without performing the *agniṣṭoma* etc.

Stanza m, a perfect oblatory stanza, occurs only at ĀpŚS. 8, 15, 17 after the preceding one. Variations of *pāda* d (“let them, with Indra, enjoy this oblation”) appear, however, at ŚŚS. 3, 18, 14 (*śunāsīriya*, one of the seasonal ceremonies) and TB. 2, 4, 5, 7 (the same ritual). *vānyā*

¹⁸⁷ Cf. also Caland and Henry, op. cit., p. 220.

¹⁸⁸ On this stanza see Griffith, op. cit., p. 215; Geldner, RV. übers. III, p. 147; Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 126.

“a cow whose calf is dead” (comm.) is, as a simplex, in all probability a rare retrograde form ¹⁸⁹.

The invitatory stanza n is (with variations) RV. 10, 16, 11; TS. 2, 6, 12 m has already been discussed ¹⁹⁰.

Stanza o, another invitation, is RV. 10, 15, 12 (where *kṛtvī*); TS. 2, 6, 12 n; VS. 19, 66 (with *kavyavāhana* instead of *jātavedaḥ* and *kṛtvī*), prescribed at ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 29; ŚŚS. 3, 16, 10 (see above). It is also AVŚ. 18, 3, 42 which agrees exactly with TS. and is at Kauś. 89, 13 among the stanzas that are employed when at the end of the *piṇḍapitṛyajña* (see above, under *mantra g*) the fire is fed.

The oblatory or consecratory stanza p is RV. 10, 14, 3 ¹⁹¹; TS. 2, 6, 12 o; MS. 4, 14, 16: 243, 4 (*yājyānuvākyaḥ*), employed at ĀśvŚS. 5, 20, 6; ŚŚS. 8, 6, 13 (*āgnimāruta-śāstra*, see under *mantra h*; cf. AiB. 3, 37, 11); also AVŚ. 18, 1, 47 with another *pāda* d(=18, 1, 44 d) “let these Fathers assist (favour) us at (our) calls”. The Āngirasas are an often mentioned ancient family of priests, regarded as ancient Fathers, associated with Indra, Yama and other gods, credited with special practises, such as ‘literary’ activity, promulgators of the Atharvaveda and playing a role in mythical narratives.

Stanza q, to be recited as the invitation for the oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, is RV. 10, 15, 9 (TB. has *tātrpur*, the other texts *tātrsur*; TB. *hotrāvīdhaḥ*, the others *hotravīda(h)*); MS. 4, 10, 6: 157, 16; used at ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 24; ŚŚS. 3, 16, 10 (see above); as AVŚ. 18, 3, 47 a variant is used at Kauś. 87, 22 in the *piṇḍapitṛyajña* (see above) to accompany the setting up of one of two lighted sticks and piling fuel around it.

Stanza r, the *yājyā* for the same oblation, does not occur elsewhere. The combination *havyavdham purupriyām* appears as RV. 1, 12, 2 c (Agni hymn) which occurs also in TS. and MS.

From the above facts it appears that 14 of the 18 stanzas are ṛgvedic; that (in this form and function) three are exclusively found in TB. (1 m r); that one, without being ṛgvedic, is also known to the other basic texts (k). – In the corresponding section of TS. (2, 6, 12) there are 17 stanzas, 11 of which belonging also to TB. 2, 6, 16. As to those six stanzas which, while being foreign to TB., do occur in TS., stanza i is RV. 10, 15, 1, VS. 19, 49, MS. 4, 10, 6: 157, 4 ¹⁹²; k is RV. 10, 15, 2, VS. 19, 68, MS. 4, 106: 157, 2; l is RV. 4, 2, 16 (Agni hymn, paying homage to the god as the centre of sacrificial worship, the stanza eulogizing the ancestors who furthered the Universal Order, uttering words of praise and the poet expecting that those who now pronounce the sacred texts will attain visionary insight ¹⁹³),

¹⁸⁹ I refer to M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des altindischen*, III, Heidelberg 1964–1976, p. 187 f.

¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 103.

¹⁹¹ I refer to Geldner, *RV. übers.* III, p. 143; Renou, *E.V.P.* XVI, p. 124.

¹⁹² Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 221, fn. 3 incorrectly refers also to KS.

¹⁹³ See J. Gonda, *The vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague 1963, p. 201.

VS. 19, 69; p is RV. 10, 14, 4 (addressed to Yama and inviting him to come and sit down, in accordance with the Fathers, on the couch of leaves that is spread on the *vedi*, and to enjoy the oblations), MS. 4, 14, 16: 243, 2 (notice this place and the absence of the *mantra* in KS. and VS.); q is RV. 10, 14, 5 (repeating the invitation and inviting also Yama's father), MS. 4, 14, 16: 242, 14 (not in KS. and VS.); r is RV. 10, 14, 6 (imploing the benevolence of "our fathers, the Āngirases etc."), VS. 19, 50. These six stanzas occur also as AVŚ. 18, 1, 44; 46; 3, 21; 1, 60; 59; 58. It is interesting to notice that only four of these stanzas—and not everywhere the same—are, in two places of this formulary, found in MS. and VS. and that they do not appear in KS. — As to MS. its section 4, 10, 6, while corresponding on the whole with TB., contains also two ṛgvedic stanzas which are found in TS., not in TB. (157, 4; 2); two others occur in 4, 14, 16 together with the stanza which in TB. is p. MS. 4, 10, 6 contains eight more stanzas—157, 16 is TB. q—six of them ṛgvedic but these are not concerned with the Fathers. MS. 4, 10, 6: 157, 12 and 14 (RV. 1, 96, 1 and 2) are addressed to Agni; 158, 2 and 4, being RV. 6, 49, 4 and 7, 92, 3, are addressed to Vāyu (4 is an invitation); 6 and 8 invoke the aid of Indra Śunāsira (see above sub stanza m and cf. TB. 2, 5, 8, 2); 10 and 12 are RV. 1, 50, 8 and 4 addressing Sūrya. RV. 1, 96, 1 and 2 refer to Agni's customary birth by means of invocations and poetic art and states that Vivasvat (Yama's father) is his eye. (Remember that Agni is the regent of the earth). RV. 6, 49, 4 gives expression to the mutual affection between the poet and Vāyu, the wealthy god whose chariot is drawn by a team (the overlord of the air or intermediate space). RV. 7, 92, 3 is a prayer addressed to Vāyu with his team of horses to give those speaking wealth, a son etc. RV. 1, 50, 8 and 4 in praise of Sūrya, the god of the heavenly region, arrest the hearer's attention to the god's drive in a chariot and to his being the source of light. The significance of these six stanzas in the present context is sufficiently clear. Nevertheless, this addendum in MS. may create the impression of being a somewhat disorderly collection of stanzas, three of which occur also in KS. 21, 14, viz. RV. 1, 96, 2: KS. 56, 3; RV. 7, 92, 3: KS. 56, 9 (*pratikena*); MS. 158, 6 (Indra Ś.): KS. 56, 15 (with a different *pāda c*); none of them appears in VS. XIX. — The additional stanzas of KS. 21, 14 are 56, 5: RV. 10, 16, 11, VS. 19, 65; 56, 7: RV. 4, 11, 3 (eulogizing Agni as a source of wealth and poetic inspiration)—both stanzas are prescribed by Āśvalāyana (2, 19, 29 and 24) in the chapter on the sacrifice to the Fathers —; the Vāyu *mantra* quoted *pratikena* 56, 9 is not ṛgvedic; KS. 56, 10 is RV. 10, 101, 4 dealing with ploughs (*sira*) which are put into use; 56, 12 is RV. 3, 30, 22 beginning with *śunām huvema* in which Indra is invoked for happiness—two stanzas which again suggest the *śunāsīriya*¹⁹⁴—; the stanzas quoted *pratikena* p. 56, 14 are RV. 1, 50, 1 and 1, 115, 1

¹⁹⁴ For *śunām* see Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 159.

both eulogizing Sūrya (see above), describing sunrise and (1, 115, 1 d) affirming that he is the soul of everything; the final *mantra* 17 stating that those speaking "seize Indra from behind (in order to participate in his power)" ¹⁹⁵. – The corresponding section of VS., 19, 49–70 comprises, in addition to the stanzas that have already been discussed or mentioned, six others. Stanza 51 is RV. 10, 15, 8 (stating that the Fathers have come to "our soma draught" and expressing the wish that Yama will eat the oblations together with them), which is also used in the *pitryeṣṭi* at the *sākamedha* (see above, ŚŚS. 3, 16, 5); in the *āgnimāruta śāstra* (see above, ŚŚS. 8, 6, 12; 7, 16). VS. 19, 58, not ṛgvedic, is a fourth *mantra* addressed to the *pitārah* called *agniṣvātdh* (and inviting them to enjoy their portion, *pāda* d=RV. 10, 15, 5 d; VS. 19, 57 d etc.) preceding the *agniṣvātdh* stanzas 59–61; VS. 19, 62 is RV. 10, 15, 6 (requesting the Fathers to accept the sacrifice and not to injure those speaking for sins committed); cf. also AVŚ. 18, 1, 52 and Kauś. 83, 28 (funeral rites); no other occurrences. VS. 19, 63 is RV. 10, 15, 7 (imploring the Fathers to give a portion of their possessions); cf. also AVŚ. 18, 3, 43. VS. 19, 64 is RV. 5, 20, 1 (where *vājasātama* instead of *kavyavāhana*, imploring Agni, to whom the hymn is dedicated, for goods). VS. 19, 67 is RV. 10, 15, 13 (stating that (Agni) Jātavedas knows the numbers of the Fathers present and absent and asking him to enjoy the sacrifice); found also at ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 22 and ŚŚS. 3, 16, 7 (see above). No mention is made of this section in KŚS. In contrast to MS. and KS. these stanzas, though larger in number than those of TB. and lacking some that are found in section TB. 2, 6, 16, constitute a unity: a few stanzas excepted the Fathers are mentioned or addressed throughout and the exceptions (19, 64 and 65; see also 66) concern invocations of Agni Kavyavāhana "(the one) who conveys oblations to the Fathers". It may be remembered that those stanzas of TB. 2, 6, 16 which do not address or mention the deceased ancestors are addressed to Agni (b), Soma (c) or deal with Mātali, Yama, Bṛhaspati etc. (p). The remarkable presence of the last stanza may be due to its use in that section of the *āgnimārutaśāstra* (part of the third service of a *soma* sacrifice) which requires the recitation of stanzas taken from RV. 10, 14 and 15, addressed to Yama and the Fathers respectively. In a similar way the employment of some other *mantras* in MS. and KS. may probably be ascribed to their occurrence in the *pitryeṣṭi* at the *sākamedha* ceremonies (for MS. 4, 10, 6: 157, 12 and 158, 4 see ĀśvŚS. 2, 19, 24; 20, 4) and to the close association of the *śunāsīriya* which, comprising inter alia offerings for Vāyu, Sūrya and Indra Śunāsīriya, is to be performed immediately after the *sākamedha* sacrifices.

In TB. 2, 6, 17 the compiler has collected the eleven *mantras* which are to be pronounced by the *maitrāvaruṇa* in order to prompt the *hotar*

¹⁹⁵ On the *anvārambhaṇa* see e.g. ŚB. 3, 4, 1, 6; 8, 1, 9; BhŚS. 12, 16, 13; ĀpŚS. 4, 9, 5; 7, 15, 7.

to recite the oblatory *mantras* for the preliminary offerings of the animal sacrifice that is to take place after the preceding sacrifice offered to the Fathers, viz. the immolation of an animal to Indra Vayodhās “who possesses or bestows youthful vigour or vital strength”. The epithet *vayodhā* or *vayodhas* is, in the Ṛgveda, given to Tvaṣṭar (6, 49, 9), the Fathers (6, 75, 9), Soma (9, 90, 2), but also to Indra (3, 31, 18 *vṛṣabhó vayodhāh*; 49, 3; 4, 17, 17). The comment furnished by the author of ŚB. 12, 9, 3, 16—at the end of the section on the *sautrāmaṇī*—is worth quoting: “The *sautrāmaṇī* is the same as the person (body, *ātmā*); that is why it is (clearly) defined, for the person is defined ¹⁹⁶. And (Indra) Vayodhas is the ‘world’ (a place to dwell in safely, *lokaḥ*); ‘that is why he is undefined’—though meant to apply to Indra, the epithet Vayodhas is undefined, because the name of the god is left unmentioned —, ‘for undefined is the ‘world’’. There follows an explanation of the significance of the victim offered to Indra Vayodhas which, like the animal offered to Indra at the very beginning of the whole performance (cf. ĀpŚS. 19, 5, 3), the so-called *aindra*, is ‘on one of the two sides of the *sautrāmaṇī*’ ¹⁹⁷. In view of the character of the rite it is perfectly intelligible that Indra Vayodhās is at the end of the ceremony induced to impart youthful strength and vitality to the sacrificer who has performed the *sautrāmaṇī* successfully.

The only parallel passage known to me is VS. 28, 24–34. There are some variants. All eleven deities of the *āprī* hymns are here also present; they are in every *mantra* associated with Indra Vayodhās ¹⁹⁸.

Mantra a is VS. 28, 24 (without the words *iḍas padé* ¹⁹⁹). “The great glory”, sc. ‘connected with Agni’ (U.), ‘flowing with g. g.’ (Mah.). *gāyatrī*: Agni’s metre (cf. ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 5). “Of eighteen months”, lit. “three lamb times old” (*tryāvi*), also ṚV. 3, 55, 14.

Mantra b is VS. 28, 25 (without *śūcivratam*). The epithet *udbhīd* “bursting through or forth” is explained as “making manifest or producing (the fruits (of the sacrifice))” (Mah., cf. U. and comm. TB.); the word occurs also in the ṚV. Aditi not as the mother of (Agni) Tanūnapāt but of Indra, who ṚV. 8, 52, 7 is called the fourth Āditya and TB. 1, 1, 9, 3 is one of Aditi’s eight sons. *uṣṇih*: according to ṚV. 10, 130, 4 this metre came to be associated with Savitar. *dityavāh* “a two-year-old steer or cow” represents **dvityavāh* ²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁶ A ‘defined’ (*nirukta*) term or formula is ‘explicit’ by itself, one the meaning or the use of which result ‘distinctly’ from its content alone, because it contains a characteristic element; see L. Renou and L. Silburn, in *Sarūpa-bhāratī* (L. Sarup Mem. Vol.), Hoshiarpur 1954, p. 68 ff. On this place see also J. Gonda, *Loka*, Amsterdam 1966, p. 87.

¹⁹⁷ See Eggeling’s notes, op. cit., V, p. 273, fn. 2 and 3.

¹⁹⁸ For some additional annotations see also below, TB. 2, 6, 18.

¹⁹⁹ See above, p. 149.

²⁰⁰ For particulars see Mayrhofer, op. cit., II, Heidelberg 1963, p. 40.

Mantra c is VS. 28, 26 where *pāñcāvim* “of thirty months” (see above under a)—which is what we expect and seems more original; see under *mantra d*—instead of *trivatsám* “three years old”. Cf. also TB. 2, 16, 18 c etc. Notice the fourfold *id-*. The *anuṣṭubh* belongs, according to RV. 10, 130, 4, to Soma.

Mantra d is VS. 28, 27 where *trivatsám* instead of *pāñcāvim* (see under *mantra c*). The compound *subarhís* occurs as a *bahuvrīhi* in the RV. (1, 74, 5; 8, 20, 25); see also TB. 2, 6, 18 d (below). *pūṣaṇvántam*, according to comm. TB.: *poṣaṇasāmarthyayuktam*, to U. and Mah. *amartyamarāṇadharmānam*. In RV. 10, 130, 4 the *brhatī* is associated with Bṛhaspati.

Mantra e is VS. 28, 28. As to *vyácasvatīh* “wide-opening” see TB. 2, 6, 11 f; 12 f.; *suprāyānāh*: TB. 2, 6, 7 e. *brahmāṇam*: the god (cf. TB. 2, 6, 18 e).

Mantra f is VS. 28, 29. TB. (text) and VS. read *paṣṭhavdham* for which see TB. 2, 6, 18 f below; TB. comm. and Dumont *ṣaṣṭhavdham*. As to *supesase* “well-adorned” see TB. 2, 6, 11 g etc.; this is the only occurrence of *susīlpá* in TB. 2, 6. The *trīṣṭubh* is Indra’s metre (RV. 10, 130, 5; VS. 9, 33).

Mantra g is VS. 28, 30. As to *práccetasā* see TB. 2, 6, 7, 4 (; 8, 1). The *jagatī* metre is associated with the Viśve Devāh (RV. 10, 130, 5).

Mantra h is VS. 28, 31. The fundamental meaning of *brhat* is, as far as I am able to see, something like the Latin *solidus* “solid, compact”, also “firm; massive”, and hence “bulky, large” mainly—and quite naturally—characterizing objects that are extensive, big or high etc.²⁰¹ Here comm. TB. explains *praudhāh* “grown up, mature; large, mighty, strong”, U. and Mah. add *prabhāvatah (-eṇa)* “because of (their) might, power, strength, dignity”; Dumont translates ‘lofty’. The *virāj* (consisting of 3 × 11 syllables) belongs to Varuṇa and Mitra (RV. 10, 130, 5).

Mantra i is VS. 28, 32 (without *ihá* before *indriyám*). As to *surélasam* cf. TB. 2, 6, 7 i, U. explaining because the seed out of which the world has come into existence is Tvaṣṭar’s (cf. Mah.; ‘giving much off-spring’, comm. TB.); for Tvaṣṭar as a god who gives sons see RV. 2, 1, 5; 2, 3, 9; 3, 4, 9 (two *āpri* hymns); 7, 34, 20, see also 3, 55, 19. The *dvīpād* consists of 2 × 11 syllables.

Mantra j is VS. 28, 33, where however *h. y. vanaspátim* (which is expected) *samitāram ś.*; without *ná* after *gām*. The first five words of VS. agree with TB. 2, 6, 11 k. *ukthīnam*, only here, explained as *vacanavantaṃ yajñavantaṃ vā* (U.), and better as ‘possessed of eulogies (*ukthāni*) i.e. *śastrāni* or sacrificial worship’; *yajñavantaṃ* (Mah.), ‘furnished with eulogies (invocations, *śastra*)’ or ‘extolled by means of a *mantra*’ (comm. TB.). *vaśīm* only here, explained as *kāntam* (U., Mah.), “lovely”, or rather “compliant”, not, with comm. TB., “self-controlled, independent” (*svavaśam*). *bhāgam*, *bhāgyayuktam* ‘possessed of good fortune’ (comm. TB.), *bhajanīyam* ‘venerable’ (U.), “gracious lord” (Griffith, Dumont); Indra here so to say personifies the portion which men receive from the

²⁰¹ See J. Gonda, Notes on brahman, Utrecht 1950, p. 31 ff.

gods. The *kakubh* is a metre of three *pādas* consisting of 8, 12, and 8 syllables respectively, according to ŚB. 8, 2, 4, 7 associated with the bull. *vehāt* is a cow which miscarries (*garbhaghātini*, comm.).

Mantra k is VS. 28, 34. *kṣatráṃ* "Dominion" with reference to Indra explained as 'the one who protects against blows' (U., cf. Mah.). *áticchandas(a)* is "the hypermetrical metre"; according to ŚB. 3, 3, 2, 15; 4, 4, 5, 7; 10, 5, 4, 8; 14, 3, 1, 11 it is or comprises all metres; to 8, 6, 2, 2, it is beyond all metres. It is doubtless not by the merest chance that this metre appears in the last *mantra* of the series. Whereas the names of the metres in the first seven *mantras* occur in ascending arithmetical progression, the number of the syllables increasing by four, after g this systematism has been given up. For a similar enumeration of metres see e.g. VS. 9, 31 ff. The ascending progression of the ages of the cows is discontinued after *mantra* f.

Section TB. 2, 6, 18 contains the oblatory stanzas which belong to the sacrifice mentioned in my introductory note to section TB. 2, 6, 17. Just like the metres and the bovine animals deities of the *āpri* hymns recur here also. Notice also the numerous other repetitions. This set of *mantras* is also found in MS. 3, 11, 11, KS. 38, 10 and VS. 21, 12–22. For ritual use of these *vāyodhasāpriyaḥ* 'the *āpri* *mantras* relating to (Indra) Vayodhas' see KŚS. 19, 7, 20.

Mantra a occurs without variants as MS. 157, 15; KS. 111, 13; VS. 21, 12. The occurrence of *pāda* a as AVŚ. 13, 1, 28 is not relevant. As to *pādas* c and d compare TB. 2, 6, 17, 1 and VS. 28, 24. From the information supplied by U. and Mah. I quote: "with fuel" (Dumont, or "with the brand" Griffith): 'by the deity of the fore-offering' (*prayājadevatayā*)²⁰²; "well-kindled" (*sūsamiddhaḥ*), sc. 'with the butter (ghee) of the fore-offerings'. Here and elsewhere the comm. add *viryam* to *indriyam* (i. v. ca). 'Agni, the *gāyatrī* metre, the cow, these three have bestowed *indriyaṃ viryam* and youthful vitality (*vayaḥ*), i.e. energy, spirit, firmness, resolution (*sattvam*), food or longevity on Indra' (Mah.).

Mantra b: KS. 111, 15; VS. 21, 13; the first half is missing in MS. 158, 1; in KS. and VS. *uṣṇihā* (a form which is also found RV. 10, 130, 4 and need not (with U.) be explained as a case of instrumental pro nominativo) instead of *uṣṇik* TB. and MS. Notice the occurrence of Sarasvatī who is not mentioned in TB. 2, 6, 17 b etc.; cf. especially TB. 2, 6, 11 b etc. U. and Mah. rightly state that there are four subjects in this sentence. The remarkable repetition of *Tanūnapāt* resulting from Dumont's emendation—KB. and VS. read *tanūpās ca sarasvatī*; TB. *tanūpāc ca s.* but in the comm. *tanūnapāc ca*—is not to be regarded as authentic: see TB. 2, 6, 12 b etc. As to *sūcivrataḥ* see TB. 2, 6, 17 b.

²⁰² It may be recalled that the preliminary offerings are addressed to five deities, viz. Samidh, *Tanūnapāt* or *Narāsaṃsa*, *Iḍ*, *Barhis* and *Svāhākāra* (in this order ĀpŚS. 2, 17, 1 ff.), but that there are eleven in an animal sacrifice (Āp. 7, 14, 6).

Mantra c: the three other texts read *pāñcāvīr* instead of *trivatsó*; see TB. 2, 6, 17 c. U. and Mah. observe that there are five powers co-operating in giving *indriya* and *vayas* to Indra, viz. the (third) deity of the preliminary offerings (the *Idās*), Agni, Soma, the *anuṣṭubh* and the cow.

Mantra d: the other texts read *trivatsó* instead of *pāñcāvīr*; see TB. 2, 6, 17 d. This is the only occurrence of *stirṇābarhiḥ* in TB. 2, 6.

Mantra e: there are six deities co-operating, viz. the Doors, the Regions of space—which are left unmentioned in TB. 2, 6, 17 e etc. —, Brahmā (the god, U., Mah.), Brhaspati, the *pañkti* and the bull. The particle “here” (*iha* in e g h i j) indicates dramatization (U.), suggesting at the same time that the ritual act may be expected to be effective here and now also.

Mantra f: TB., KS., VS. read, in d, *paṣṭhavāḍ*, MS. *praṣṭhavāḍ*. The adj. *paṣṭhavāḍ* has been explained as “four years old” (of a bull, comm. TB., Petersburg Dict. etc.); “bearing a load” (*paṣṭam*, ?, U., Mah.); Griffith and Dumont translate “in his sixth year” or “six-year-old” (cf. TB. 2, 6, 17 f). The word is not rare (see e.g. ŚB. 8, 2, 4, 6) and should not be ‘emended’. According to Renou²⁰³ the meaning is “(a bull) five years old” and its etymology **pakthá* “(the) fifth” (influenced by *saṣṭhá* “sixth”) and *-vah*, for which see above (TB. 2, 6, 17 b). The *Viśve Devāḥ* do not occur in the corresponding stanza TB. 2, 6, 17 f etc. The adj. *yahví* is in RV. 1, 142, 7; 5, 5, 6 (*āpri* hymns) etc. applied to Dawn and Dusk, but elsewhere also to Heaven and Earth; it has often been translated by “restless, active, swift etc.” but also by “youngest daughter” (Geldner), or “young, youthful”²⁰⁴; both translations are not mutually exclusive.

Mantra g: in MS., KS., VS. *ihá* is absent. “The two *hotars*”, viz. ‘this Agni and yonder, the middlemost one, i.e. *Vāyu*’ (Mah., cf. U.)²⁰⁵.

Mantra h: in MS. *tisró dévīr idā mahī* (*Sarasvatī*’s name is left unmentioned) and without *ihá*. The ‘social groups’ or communities²⁰⁶ of the *Maruts* occur also in the RV., see 8, 12, 29; 13, 28. Notice, in the *mantras* h and i, the presence of *ná* after *gavīḥ* in all four texts; the influence of the *mantras* known as TB. 2, 6, 17 h and i seems unmistakable.

Mantra i: in MS., KS., VS. *ihá* does not occur. Mah. is not right in regarding *Tvaṣṭar* (the deity of the fore-offering), Indra-and-Agni, the *Dvipād*, the bull and the cow as the five co-operating subjects. For *turīpa* ‘seminal fluid’ see RV. 3, 4, 9; 7, 2, 9 (*āpri* hymns, everywhere in connexion with *Tvaṣṭar*); here and in VS. 22, 20 it qualifies the god. For *turīpam ádbhutam* (Tv.) see RV. 1, 142, 10. For *puṣṭivárdhana* see above, TB. 2, 6, 17 i.

Mantra j: instead of *pāda* d MS. has *ṛṣabhó gavīr váyo dadhuḥ*; the word *ṛṣabháḥ* however belongs to the last *mantra* of the series (see TB. 2, 6, 17 k

²⁰³ L. Renou, in Bull. Soc. de Ling. 43, p. 38 ff.; for some particulars also Mayrhofer, Etymol. Wörterbuch, II, p. 241.

²⁰⁴ See also Renou, in Bull. School Or. Afr. Stud. 20, p. 475 ff.

²⁰⁵ See above, p. 137.

²⁰⁶ For *viśaḥ* see J. Gonda, Triads in the Veda, Amsterdam 1976, p. 137 ff. etc.

etc.). Considering the barren cow (*vaśá*) and the miscarrying cow (*vehát*) to be two agents U. and Mah. speak of five subjects. Slaughterer: the sacrificial post is here regarded as the immolator of the victims which are tied to it. See also TB. 2, 6, 11 k; 3, 6, 3, 4 *vanaspátiḥ śamitá*. Savitar does not appear in TB. 2, 6, 17 j etc.; Mah. identifies him with Sūrya. For this god see TB. 2, 6, 4 a; f; 11 l; 13 d; e; 14 k.

Mantra k: in *pāda* d TB., KS., VS. have according to expectation, *bṛhád ṛṣabhó gaúr váyo dadhuḥ*, MS. however, *bṛhád vaśá vehát v. d.*; moreover, MS. and VS. read (in c) *áticchandā indriyám*; KS. a-a i. As to Varuṇa, see TB. 2, 6, 4 a *váruṇo bhīṣajyán*; 6 e; 11 l; 17 k.

The next section, TB. 2, 6, 19, contains the three invitatory and the three oblatory *mantras*—all of them in the *anuṣṭubh* metre—which should be recited by the *hotar* at the animal sacrifice mentioned in the introductions to the two preceding sections (Indra Vayodhas). They are also handed down as MS. 3, 11, 12; KS. 38, 11; VS. 21, 23–28 (cf. KŚS. 19, 7, 21). The co-ordination of each of the six seasons with groups of gods, definite *stomas*—i.e. forms of chanting *stotras* (versified chants) and *sāmans* (melodies set to verse)—and qualities or rather potencies or power-substances ('Daseinsmächte', 'Wesenheiten') is worth noticing. The seasons occur in their regular order. The first three groups of gods are often mentioned in the order Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas (e.g. VS. 6, 32; 14, 30; ŚB. 4, 5, 7, 2; 12, 3, 4, 1; TS. 1, 1, 11 p); when other groups of gods are mentioned also their names are added to those of the above three, e.g. ŚB. 8, 6, 3, 3: V., R., Ā., Maruts and Viśve Devāḥ. The *stomas* are mentioned in ascending progression, but the *caturviṃśa stoma* (which has 24 parts) has been omitted, no doubt (also) because in *mantra f* the thirty-threelfold *stoma* is required. As to the names of the *sāmans*, although the usual form of the *dvandva* compound is *bṛhadrathantare* it should be translated by 'the *rathantara* and the *bṛhat*', because—as appears also from the *mantras* a and b of this section—the *rathantara* chant is regarded as coming first and the *bṛhat* as being the second²⁰⁷. For an enumeration of *sāmans* see e.g. SVidhBr. 1, 4, 6: r., *vāmadevya*, b., *vairūpa*, *vairāja*, –, *revatya*, but the order of the present section is in harmony with their employment during the six days' sacrificial period called *pr̥sthya-śad-aha*²⁰⁸, with the order in which they are related to have been created (PB. 7, 8, 9 ff.; JB. 1, 142 f.) and with that of, for instance, the *sāmavedic* JB. 1, 333; 2, 25 r., b., *vairūpa* and *vairāja* (*dvandva* compound), *śākvāra* and *raivata* (a third *dvandva*); see e.g. also PB. 16, 5, 14 ff.; ŚĀr. 3, 5. Attention may also be drawn to the passage VS. 10, 10–14; ŚB. 5, 4, 1, 3–7 where the six *sāmans* are correlated with the regions of the universe, some well-known metres, the seasons, the same *stomas*, etc., but not with

²⁰⁷ I refer to W. Caland, A rhythmic law in language, Acta Or. 9, p. 59 ff., esp. p. 60.

²⁰⁸ For particulars see Eggeling, op. cit., II, p. 403 fn.; III, p. XX f.

deities. Since here no more than five regions are distinguished the last two *sāmans*, *stomas* and seasons are combined so that none of them need be omitted.

Mantra a: there are no variants except for VS. *stutāḥ* (in all six stanzas) instead of *stutām*. This *mantra* is to invite the god (Indra Vayodhās) to the offering of the omentum. The season is here and in the following *mantras* said to co-operate with the deities who are the subject, the oblation is, in TB., MS., KS., described as being praised (*stutām*) by the *stoma* and the *sāman*. U.'s second explanation ("the deities praised by spring and the *trivṛt* (*stoma*) . . .") is to be rejected. Griffith's translations "may give" (for *dadhuh*) and "and with *rath.*, give life to I., splendour, sacrifice" are incorrect. *téjasā* is an apposition identifying the *sāman* with the power-substance *tejas*. Similarly in the following *mantras*. *tejas*, *balam*, *yaśas*, *ojas* and *sahas* mentioned in this section are among the power-substances which flowed from Indra's body, when he had desecrated the sacrifice (ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 2 ff.). – For the *rathantara* and *tejas* see PB. 15, 10, 6 (7) ". . . the *r.* is the *tejas* of the *sāmans* . . ."; according to the commentary because this *sāman* has together with Agni sprung from Prajāpati's mouth; see PB. 6, 1, 6 (and JB. 1, 68; TS. 7, 1, 1, 4) where Prajāpati is said to have created (through a process of emanation) the *trivṛt stoma*—which consists of nine parts (verses) –, Agni, the spring season etc. For a correlation Vasus, *trivṛt stoma*, *rathantara* see VS. 15, 10; ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 5. Cf. also ŚB. 8, 1, 1, 6. So this set of *mantras* also, though composed and intended for the *sautrāmaṇī* rituals, is in perfect harmony with the mythological and ritualistic 'philosophy' of the Vedic authorities. The influence of the soma ritual (*pr̥sthyasaḍaha*) is, moreover, clear.

Mantra b, the *yājyā* belonging to a. Instead of *devā rtūnā* MS. and VS. reads *r. d.* The *pādas* c of this and the following stanzas have one word more than *pāda* c of *mantra* a. Griffith's translation is again incorrect: an inconcinnity that is no doubt due also to metrical reasons and the length of the word *rathantarēna* in *mantra* a. The summer and the fifteenfold (fifteen-versed) *stoma* belonged to the entities which sprang from the breast (and) the arms of Prajāpati (PB. 6, 1, 8; JB. 1, 68; TS. 7, 1, 1, 4 f.). For a correlation Rudras, *pāñcadaśa stoma*, *br̥hat* see VS. 15, 11; ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 6. Cf. also ŚB. 8, 1, 1, 8. A fixed relation between the *br̥hat sāman* and glory (*yaśas*) is suggested at PB. 13, 5, 2(=14, 11, 2): '(In the verses beginning) "Unto us lustre (and) well grounded (*br̥hat*) glory" . . . the word *br̥hat* is a manifestation (*rūpam*) of the *br̥hat*'. For such relations in general see PB. 19, 8, 3 f.

Mantra c, the invitatory formula for the sacrificial cake; no variants. The rainy season, the seventeen-versed *stoma* and the third estate emanated, it is true, together with the Viśve Devāḥ, from the middle (and) the generative organ of Prajāpati (PB. 6, 1, 10; TS. 7, 1, 1, 5). (The brahmins emanated from his head, PB. 6, 1, 6; the nobles from his breast, PB. 6, 1, 8). There is another deviation: according to PB. 11, 6, 11; 11, 14

it is the fifteenfold *stoma* that is inaugurative power and manly energy (*ojo vīryam*)²⁰⁹.

Mantra d, the *yājyū* for the cake; no variants. From Prajāpati's feet sprang, inter alia, the twenty-one-versed *stoma*, the *vairāja sāman*, the *śūdras*, but no gods (PB. 6, 1, 11; TB. 7, 1, 1, 5 f, the *śūdras* being unfit for sacrifices). In the present context, however, deities are required, but it is not clear to me why the semi-divine Ṛbhus should be the fourth group²¹⁰. That they are represented as coming to Indra's help is not surprising because they are, also in connexion with sacrifices, generally associated with this god (cf. e.g. ṚV. 1, 51, 2; 3, 60, 4 ff.; 4, 33, 3; 34, 6; 37, 6; AiB. 6, 12) and in the ṛgvedic hymns devoted to their praise they are rarely invoked with gods other than Indra²¹¹. They are even described as being of Indra's nature (ṚV. 4, 37, 5 *indrasvantam*) and in PB. 14, 2, 5 they are Indra's *priyaṃ dhāma* (: *sthānaṃ śarīraṃ tejo vā*, comm.), that is "a or the favourite modality of his divinity, his favourite presence"²¹². Nor is it a great surprise to find them after other gods in similar systems of classification; see e.g. TS. 4, 3, 9; VS. 14, 24 ff.; ŚB. 8, 4, 2, 3 ff., but here the Ṛbhus are associated with the *stoma* of thirty-three parts. As to the association of the autumn and welfare, good fortune, prosperity (*śrī*)²¹³ it may perhaps be recalled that in that season the corn ripens (PB. 21, 15, 3; ŚB. 11, 2, 7, 32); that *śrī* is sometimes (see ŚB. 8, 6, 2, 1) identified with food; and that the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī is closely connected with the yellow ripe corn²¹⁴. In a similar classification (TS. 4, 3, 3, 2) the autumn is likewise associated with the twenty-onefold *stoma* and with prosperity (here denoted by *puṣṭam*); the deity however is Mitra-Varuṇau. So there can be no doubt that the author utilized associations which were usual in the circles of ritualists or known to his contemporaries.

Mantra e, the invitatory *mantra* for the sacrificial substance of the victim's body; in MS., KS., VS. *triṇavé marútaḥ* instead of *m. t.* In this and the last *mantra* the name of the verses is in the nominative, not in the instrumental. In a system discussed in PB. 16, 5, 14 ff. the *śakvarī*

²⁰⁹ See also J. Gonda, *Ancient-Indian ojas . . .*, Utrecht 1952, p. 19.

²¹⁰ The Ṛbhus have more than once—but quite unconvincingly—been taken to be genii of the three seasons (e.g. by H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin 1879, p. 366; A. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda . . . übersetzt*, Prague and Leipzig III, 1878, p. 187; 335; see also Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 133 f.) but even if this supposition could be substantiated it would not explain their special relation with the fourth season (autumn).

²¹¹ See Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

²¹² Cf. J. Gonda, *The meaning of the Sanskrit term dhāman*, Amsterdam 1967, p. 70.

²¹³ Translations such as "grace" (Griffith) or "splendour" (Dumont) are one-sided and in this context incorrect.

²¹⁴ See J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954 (New Delhi 1969), p. 176 ff.; 218 ff.

verses—the term is not identical with the name of the *śākvara sāmān* ²¹⁵—and the *revatī* verses likewise occupy the fifth and sixth (last) places (cf. also 10, 6, 5 and 6). These two groups of verses are moreover mentioned together after the four *sāmāns r., b., v., and v.* e.g. at PB. 8, 9, 14. As is well known, the Maruts are associated with rain, wind, and lightning but their character hardly corresponds with the cloudless sky and cool dry weather of the winters of North India. For the Maruts and the *śakvarī* see TS. 1, 7, 11, 1 (both being characterized by the number seven; see e.g. 2, 3, 1, 5; 4, 10, 2).

Mantra f, the *yājyā* belonging to the ritual act mentioned under *mantra e*; no variants. The *revatī* stanzas are ŚV. II, 434–436=RV. 1, 30, 13–15, part of a Indra hymn and beginning with the word *revātīḥ* “wealthy, prosperous”; they are a prayer for prosperity and fulfilment of wishes and are regarded as the ‘womb’ of the *raivata sāmān*. See e.g. JB. 1, 140. Since in the preceding stanzas the word *devāḥ* is always followed by the name of a group of deities the question may arise whether in this concluding stanza the gods in general are comprehensively meant or the term is an abbreviation for Viśve Devāḥ. In classifications etc. this group of gods (the ‘All-gods’) not infrequently comes after the Maruts (e.g. ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 8 f.; 3, 3; cf. also 13, 5, 4, 6; VS. 14, 20; 18, 17; 31; TS. 4, 17, 12 b) and (or) appears at the end of a series (ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 13; 8, 4, 2, 12 etc.). Since, however, *viśve devāḥ* can also denote all the gods collectively, who are often believed to be 33 in number, it is not surprising that they are in ŚB. 8, 4, 2, 12 associated with the thirty-threefold *stoma*. For the close connexion between reality or truth (*satyam*) and the gods see e.g. ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 3 f. where the gods are said to have become *satyam*; 9, 5, 1, 14.—In another ritual context nobility or dominion (*kṣatram*) is associated, not only with the South etc. but also with the *brhat sāmān*, the fifteenfold *stoma* and the summer (ŚB. 5, 4, 1, 4; cf. stanza b above).

The last section (TB. 2, 6, 20) contains the formulae which the *maitrā-varuṇa* pronounces in order to prompt the *hotar* to recite the consecratory *mantras* for the after-offerings of the animal sacrifice offered to Indra Vayodās. As in TB. 2, 6, 10 with which it is as to structure and order of the formulae in perfect harmony, in 2, 6, 14, and in the animal sacrifice that belongs to the *soma* ceremonies there are eleven offerings and eleven *praiśāḥ* ²¹⁶. Yet there are several differences between this series of *mantras* and the earlier ones. The formulae of TB. 2, 6, 20 are more uniform. The verb “strengthened”—in the singular, dual or plural—occurs in every

²¹⁵ On the identity of these verses (probably SV. II, 1151–1153=RV. 10, 133, 1–3, eulogizing Indra, prayer for power over rivals) see W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 305.

²¹⁶ As observed by Dumont, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 109, p. 340, the corresponding *yājyās* probably are the same as those used for the after-offerings of the normal animal sacrifice found in TB. 3, 6, 14 (*devāṃ barhīḥ. vasuvāne vasudhēyasya vetu etc.*).

formula, also in c where it is lacking in 2, 6, 10. Except g all *mantras* contain the word for deity in the masc., fem. or neuter nominative (*deváh*, *deví* etc.) and, together with *índram*, in the singular accusative. The proper name of the god is everywhere accompanied, and in nine cases—not in c and g—even immediately followed, by the characteristic epithet *vayodhásam*. It is true that the words *devám índram vayodhásam* do not, for rhythmical and stylistic reasons, occupy always exactly the same place everywhere, *vayodhásam* is in every *mantra* placed at the end of a structural unit and in eight cases—not in a and c, in g *devám* is lacking—immediately after *devám índram*. The subject—identical with that of the corresponding *mantras* of TB. 2, 6, 10 and the initial words of 2, 6, 14—always begins the sentence—although in c the subject proper (*ušé*), preceded by the initial *deví*, comes after *vayodhásam*. The second element of these formulae is completely uniform. It consists of the name of a metre in the instrumental followed by *chándasendriyám*. The names of the metres are identical with those of TB. 2, 6, 17 and 18 and mentioned in the same order. These three words are always followed by four other ones, viz. the name of a quality (power-substance) and *índre váyo dádhat*. The former are in seven cases identical with those mentioned in TB. 2, 6, 14; for the differences see the following annotations (formulae g, i, j, k). The last element of these formulae—everywhere the same, excepting the verbal form—is identical with that of TB. 2, 6, 10.

As to the last element of these formulae (see also TB. 2, 6, 10)—“for the benefit of him who desires goods (i.e. the sacrificer) let him (them, etc.) graciously accept (a share) of the bestowal (gift) of goods. Recite the consecratory formula”²¹⁷—it is also used in the ceremonies of full and new moon (ŚSS. 1, 13, 1 f.); in the *vaiśvadeva* sacrifice (one of the seasonal rituals, ĀśvŚS. 2, 16, 12; ŚSS. 3, 13, 27); in the *soma* sacrifice (ŚSS. 5, 20, 4). Of MS. 3, 11, 5 (cf. TB. 2, 6, 14) mention has already been made; for the normal animal sacrifice see TB. 3, 6, 13 and 14 (*praiṣāh* and *yājyāh*); for the short form of the formulae see MS. 4, 10, 3; KS. 20, 15.

The formulae occur in a somewhat different and less homogeneous form also in VS. 28, 35–45. Five of them, viz. 28, 40, 43, 44, 45 are completely identical with the corresponding *mantras* f, i, j, k of TB. 2, 6, 20. In two cases, viz. 41 (g) and 42 (h), the only difference between both versions consists in a variant term (*śūṣam* instead of *bālam* and *rūpám* instead of *rēta(h)* before *índre váyo dádhat*). In the five initial formulae the first elements of VS. is in some respects different from those of TB. As compared with the relations between the several versions of the other formularies these differences seem to admit of the conclusion that in the White Yajurveda this last series of *mantras*—which is not followed by a special series of *yājyās*—has not been handed down with the same sense

²¹⁷ Griffith's translation, op. cit., p. 291 and elsewhere (“for gain of wealth . . .”) is incorrect.

of uniformity or (and) that the Taittirīyakas were lacking in responsibility for traditional terminological exactitude.

Interpreters disagree as to the construction and translation of the *mantras*. Whereas U. and M., followed by Griffith, take the form *dādhat* everywhere to represent a regular (plural, feminine etc.) participle the comm. TB. explains it as standing for the finite verbs that are required by the contexts (in most cases indicatives, once an imperative, once a perfect!). Dumont's interpretation—the verb “strengthened” belongs also to *indriyám* which governs the neuter participle *dādhat*—is grammatically correct but it should be remembered that in the preceding sections *indriyám* is always the object of the verb *dhā-* (see e.g. 2, 6, 7 g; i; 11 i; 14 a etc.; 17 a etc., 18 a etc.), which is in perfect harmony with the basic myth: Indra had lost his *indriyaṃ vīryam* which afterwards was restored to him (ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 1; 14). A grammatically correct interpretation leads to the conclusion that, at the end of the collection of formularies, a final stage has been reached at which the *indriyám*, being restored, gives Indra not only *váyas* (which the god is expected to transfer to the sacrificer) but also *téjas* (1), *prāṇám* (2) etc.

Mantra a: VS. 28, 35 reads: *d. b. v. d. índram av.* and *cákṣuḥ* instead of *téjah*, for which see TB. 2, 6, 14 a.

Mantra b: VS. 36 reads: *d. d. v. śúcim i. av. śúcim* “bright” is explained by *pavitram* ‘pure, beneficent’ (U., Mah.); cf. TB. 2, 6, 17 b.

Mantra c: VS. 37 reads: *d. uśásánáktā d. i. v. deví devám av.* and *bálam* instead of *vācam*, for which see TB. 2, 6, 14 c.

Mantra d: VS. 38 reads: *d. j. vásudhitī* (which occurs also in TB. 2, 6, 10 d) *d. i. v.*

Mantra e: VS. 39 reads: *d. ū. dúghe sudúghe* (also at TB. 2, 6, 10 e; 14 e) *páyaséndram v.*

Mantra f: no differences between TB. and VS. (see above).

Mantra g: as to *śúṣam* in VS. 41 (see above), this is in harmony with TB. 2, 6, 14 g.

Mantra h: as to *rūpám* in VS. 42 (see above), TB. 2, 6, 14 h *réto ná rūpám*.

Mantra i: no difference between TB. and VS. 43 but *bhágam* (“good fortune”) deviates from TB. 2, 6, 14 i; for this compare TB. 2, 6, 17 j; 18 j.

Mantra j=VS. 44; *yáśaḥ* is not found in TB. 2, 6, 14 j but in k.

Mantra k=VS. 45. As to *kṣatráam* see e.g. TB. 2, 6, 17 k; 19 f.

SOME ABBREVIATIONS

<p>ĀpHPar. ed. K. M. Mah. (or M.) prat. U. WYV.</p>	<p>Āpastamba-Hautra-Parīṣiṣṭas edition Kāṇva recension Mādhyam̐dina recension Mahidhara pratīkena (abbreviated quotation, only the first word(s)) Uvaṭa White Yajurveda</p>
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