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STUDIES IN THE ATHARVAVEDA

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 3RD ZÜRICH
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON INDIAN LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

*Edited by Robert Leach, Oliver Hellwig
and Thomas Zehnder*



WELTEN SÜD- UND ZENTRALASIENS
WORLDS OF SOUTH AND INNER ASIA
MONDES DE L'ASIE DU SUD ET DE L'ASIE CENTRALE

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Welten Süd- und Zentralasiens / Worlds of South and Inner Asia / Mondes de l'Asie du Sud et de l'Asie Centrale



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Edited by

Blain Auer

Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz

Angelika Malinar

Nicolas Martin

Ingo Strauch

Volume 15

Studies in the Atharvaveda



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on Indian Literature and Philosophy

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Preface

The articles collected in this volume are the outcome of the 3rd Zurich International Conference on Indian Literature and Philosophy (ZICILP), *The Atharvaveda and its South Asian Contexts*, held over three days (September 26th–28th) at the University of Zurich in the autumn of 2019. We are extremely grateful to Angelika Malinar for supporting this event with funds granted to her personally by the University of Zurich for the ZICILP series of conferences. We would like to warmly thank everyone who participated in the conference and who thereby contributed to an extremely enjoyable and instructive three days. Our sincere thanks also to the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) – and to the Swiss taxpayer – for funding since 2017 the ongoing project ‘Online Edition of the Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda’ (<https://www.atharvaveda-online.uzh.ch/edition>) within the framework of which we were able to host this conference. We would also like to thank the University of Zurich for providing the room and technical support. Our gratitude to Angelika Malinar and Paul Widmer, the directors of this project, cannot be adequately expressed here, but we note it nonetheless. Two integral members of the team whose names do not appear again in these pages, but whose technical support we could not do without are Magdalena Plamada and Reto Baumgartner. Finally, our thanks to Samantha Döbeli for her pivotal part in organising the conference.

It was with great sadness that we learnt, just a few days before the peer review process started, that Werner Knobl (1942–2023), one of our three invited speakers, had passed away. His contribution appears herein in the form of his final draft which was about to be sent out for review. We are immensely grateful to be able to include within this volume a late offering from such a learned and distinctive scholar. He will be missed by many in our field.

Robert Leach, Oliver Hellwig and
Thomas Zehnder, Zurich 2024

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Robert Leach, Oliver Hellwig and Thomas Zehnder

Introduction

The *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* (henceforth Rigveda) has attracted a fairly steady stream of philological and linguistic scholarship ever since the pioneering modern editions of Friedrich Max Müller (1849–1874) and Theodor Aufrecht (1861–1863; 1877). In recent decades, thanks to the publication of the metrically restored version of the text by van Nooten and Holland (1994), sophisticated translations by Elizarenkova (1989–1999), Witzel and Gotō (2007), Witzel, Gotō and Scarlata (2013), Jamison and Brereton (2014), and Dōyama and Gotō (2022), alongside far-reaching studies such as those by Oberlies (1998; 1999) and the online commentary by Jamison (<http://rigvedacommentary.alc.ucla.edu>), this stream has become a relative torrent. By contrast, work on the two extant Saṁhitās of the Atharvaveda, namely the *Śaunaka-Saṁhitā* (ŚS) and the *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā* (PS), long considered second in antiquity only to the Rigveda, has been decidedly more sporadic since Roth and Whitney's critical edition of the ŚS was published in 1856. Certainly this can, to some extent, be explained by the fact that until the 1950s the PS was known to outsiders only via a single, extremely corrupt birch-bark manuscript (discovered in Srinagar, in Kashmir, in 1873), published in facsimile by Bloomfield and Garbe (1901) and now available online at https://opendigi.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/opendigi/MaI421_1. However, since the partial translation of the ŚS by Bloomfield (1897), covering about one third of the text, the near-complete translation by Whitney, with revisions and additions by Lanman (Whitney and Lanman 1905), and the revision of Roth and Whitney's *editio princeps* by Lindenau (1924), little substantial work has been carried out on this Saṁhitā either until the last few years, which have seen several important studies by Shrikant Bahulkar, as well as a new critical edition by Kim (2021).

For its part, the *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā* occupies a unique place in Vedic literature in that it only became accessible to genuine scholarly research from the late 1950s, with the discovery of several palm-leaf manuscripts in rural Odisha by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya (1899–1965), Professor of Sanskrit at Scottish Church College in Kolkata. These manuscripts preserve a much better version of the PS text than does the Kashmir manuscript, and their discovery constituted a significant enlargement of the Vedic textual corpus and a major advance in scholarly research into Vedic language and culture. Since this “Announcement of a Rare Find” by Bhattacharyya (1957), a text of the complete PS has been edited by his son, Dipak Bhattacharya (Bhattacharya 1997, 2008, 2011, 2016). Moreover, further Odishan PS manuscripts have come to light courtesy of the Odisha State Museum in Bhubaneswar, and the pioneering fieldwork of Michael Witzel in 1983 and Arlo Griffiths between 1998–

2001 (on which, see Griffiths 2003). On this basis, the prodigious task of understanding and evaluating the PS is now being embarked upon, and pioneering editions and translations of individual books (*kāṇḍa-*) have been published (e.g. Zehnder 1999, Lubotsky 2002, the landmark work of Griffiths 2009, the online publications of our own team in Zurich <https://www.atharvaveda-online.uzh.ch/edition>; for the current status of the PS in translation, see <https://www.atharvaveda-online.uzh.ch/home/paippalada-research>). It is already five years since Selva's (2019) "state of the art" overview of scholarship on the PS to date, and since that time, five more PS Kāṇḍas have been critically edited and translated (four of these by our own project team in Zurich, the other by Spiers 2020).

This very cursory and inadequate summary of scholarship to date on the two Atharvaveda Saṁhitās is intended only to highlight the fact that the present moment represents an unusually lively and fertile period in Atharvaveda research. It is our hope that this volume can capture and reflect this. As is stated in the Preface, the articles contained herein are the outcome of a conference hosted within the framework of the ongoing project 'Online Edition of the Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda' (<https://www.atharvaveda-online.uzh.ch/home/paippalada-recension>), funded in three phases by the Swiss National Science Foundation (2017–2021; 2021–2025; 2025–2028). This project was jointly conceived by its two directors, Paul Widmer, Professor of Comparative Indo-European Studies in the Department of Comparative Language Science, and Angelika Malinar, Professor of Indian Studies in the Department of Indian Studies at the Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies. Its explicit aim is to bridge the disciplinary approaches of linguistics and philology in creating a digital critical edition of Books 1, 4, 10, 12 and 19 of the PS, along with English translations, a full morpho-lexical analysis, detailed linguistic and Indological comments, and documentation of parallel passages in other texts. Inevitably, by far the most parallels are found in the ŚS, and the project therefore endeavours to make new and valuable contributions to the study of this text also.

In keeping with these aims, we invited the world's leading scholars of the Atharvaveda (from Europe, India, Japan and North America) to present their research on linguistic, philological, literary and historico-cultural aspects of either recension of this text. Of course, the study of the Atharvaveda is rarely just that, for its antiquity and its cultural importance ensure close contacts with other texts and traditions, be they Vedic, post-Vedic, or more broadly Indo-European, and we especially encouraged contributions that explored these connections and interactions. The articles collected in this volume accordingly span a broad range of disciplinary approaches and subject matter. We have tried to impose some sort of thematic structure to the volume, but as always with such exercises, different arrangements could have been settled on.

The first four articles all study the language of the Atharvaveda, which is placed in its Vedic context. KNOBL offers a rich and wide-ranging study of relative

clauses in old Vedic. He focuses especially on a comparison between what he calls the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction (see his footnote 6 for an explanation of the orthography), which occurs first (albeit very rarely) in the Rigveda, and the *ETÁD–yád* construction, which is first attested in prose passages of the Atharvaveda. In the former, Knobl argues, the *YÁD* clause almost always has a non-restrictive, appositive function, with the *there*-deictic demonstrative pronoun *ETÁD* functioning more or less independently. In these cases the relative pronoun (*YÁD*) is flexible, changing its gender and number in grammatical agreement with *ETÁD*. By contrast, in the *ETÁD–yád* construction, *yád* restricts and defines *ETÁD* and has itself lost its variability, it has become fixed (thus Knobl's neologism "*yád figé*").

The article by WIDMER AND HELLWIG provides a survey of continuity in the linearization of complex nominal expressions in Vedic texts, with a special focus on the Atharvaveda. The authors extract 8,789 complex nominal expressions from a corpus of dependency-annotated Vedic texts and conduct statistical tests to understand the interactions between continuity and two properties of the modifier. In this way, the study complements previous qualitative work that focused on semantics but used a considerably smaller number of data points.

In his brief remarks on issues pertaining to the place of the Atharvaveda, and especially the PS, in the chronology of Vedic literature, LUBOTSKY argues on linguistic grounds that the bulk of the Atharvavedic hymns (*sūktá-*) most likely acquired their final shape at approximately the same time as the tenth book of the Rigveda, while the prose passages (the so-called *paryāya* sections) are contemporaneous with those of the Yajurveda. In pursuing a *terminus ante quem*, at least for the PS, Lubotsky defers to Bronkhost's (2007, 197) rather imprecise claim that it must have "existed essentially in its present form" by the time of Patañjali (2nd century BCE), who quotes its opening pāda and appears to recognise that it consists of 20 kāṇḍas.

HELLWIG undertakes a quantitative approach to the vocabulary of the ŚS. Distinguishing between words shared by old Vedic sources and those first occurring in later texts, he is able to reproduce textual stratifications of the ŚS postulated on the basis of style and content in previous research.

Working within a tradition of Indo-European studies that is concerned with poetic language (Indogermanische Dichtersprache), MASSETTI examines an Atharvavedic passage (PS 4.15.6–7 ~ ŚS 4.12.6–7) in which a simile compares a healer of a broken bone to a craftsman (*ṛbhú-*) fixing a chariot. She then traces phraseological correspondences between these two stanzas and a passage from an ode by Pindar (Pythian 3.47–53), and argues that the metaphor of the healer as a craftsman or "fashioner" (complementary to the metaphor of the body as a chariot) is but one of several "thematic matches" between the two texts. Massetti concludes that the correspondences she uncovers speak strongly in favour of a "common background".

The contribution of POOTH re-edits and translates substantial parts of the last anuvāka of kāṇḍa PS 18 (= PS 18.76–82). According to the interpretation presented here, this passage describes the burial ceremony and the construction of a burial mound for a dead king. While many of the conclusions arrived at may be viewed as being based on a preconceived hypothesis, there are nonetheless important insights here on a fascinating and difficult textual passage.

The next two contributions try to make sense not of a long passage, but of a single phrase found in both Atharvaveda Saṁhitās. PONTILLO focuses on the phrase *pāñcaudana-ajā-*, which denotes a billy goat offered with five portions of mashed rice, in the context of a sacrifice aimed at gaining access to heaven. Pontillo undertakes a lexically grounded comparison with other Vedic texts, especially the *Jaiminīya-Brahmaṇa*, and proposes that the billy goat might have originally represented the individual self with its five sense organs, and that this offering sought to achieve not merely a temporary stay in heaven, as would be the norm for such a sacrifice, but a permanent deathless state. LEACH explores the possible meanings of the word *śvānvant-*, attributed to Apsarases in the ŚS and PS but not found outside these texts. He highlights the difficulty in unravelling the meaning of this rarely-attested epithet, but suggests in his final analysis that ‘dogs’ (*śvān-*) most likely refers, metaphorically, to either death or the Gandharvas. One way of making sense of the latter metaphor, he argues, is to view the figure of the Gandharva alongside related figures from other branches of Indo-European mythology.

The following two contributions deal with the reception of the Atharvaveda and specifically the ways in which it has been categorised as a text and a set of cultural practices, in the first case by modern scholars and in the second, by other, often rival, Brahmanical traditions. WHITAKER offers a polemical critique of the scholarly application of ‘magic’ and related concepts when interpreting and classifying the Atharvaveda. He views this hermeneutic practice as a “systemic problem” that is not only inherently disapproving and exclusionary, but is theoretically shallow and unreflective, and he urges that we do away with it. In response to the sort of simplistic binaries (e.g. religion vs magic) criticised by Whitaker, some scholars have, as SPIERS shows, marched too hurriedly in the opposite direction and, eager to uproot all such schematic oppositions, they end up eliding all difference. Spiers provides an overview of the ways in which Śrauta and then Smārta Brahmans have in fact attempted to marginalise the Atharvaveda “from the beginning of its history”, and she suggests several reasons why they may have been compelled to do so.

Several of the issues raised by Whitaker and Spiers are also pertinent to MALINAR’s study of ritual practices associated with the Atharvaveda in the *Mahābhārata*. Malinar argues that while there were attempts to marginalise the Atharvaveda and its representative practices, this should not occlude the fact that the fourfold Veda

became canonical and that several of these practices came to be incorporated into the domestic ritual repertoire of the Brahmanical householder. Malinar addresses several narrative episodes in the *Mahābhārata* which can elicit a more nuanced understanding of apparently hostile practices such as *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā*, demonstrating that their acceptance (for example in situations of familial, and especially conjugal, tension) depends upon the extrinsic factors of context and motivation.

AMANO's contribution is also primarily concerned with the Atharvaveda as it is reflected in another text, in this case the *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā* (MS). Undertaking a detailed numeric evaluation of the distribution of citations from the Rigveda and the two Atharvaveda Saṁhitās in the mantra portions of the MS, Amano is able to identify changes in the status and accessibility of these earlier works for the MS's authors based on the frequency and accuracy of these citations. With respect to the Atharvaveda Saṁhitās, she proposes that in the earlier phases of the MS's composition there was closer contact with Śaunaka priests, and in the later phases with Paippalāda priests.

ZEHNDER also deals with citations of the Atharvaveda in a later work. Encouraged by sporadic cases in which Vedic quotations in Indian grammatical literature led to an improvement in the understanding of the Saṁhitās, he undertakes a systematic search for the Vedic quotations found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* in the text of the PS. Happily, he succeeds in discovering the source of quite a number of hitherto untraced Vedic quotations in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

The final three articles in the volume concern themselves with ritual elements in later Atharvavedic tradition. Bahulkar presents a wide-ranging overview of the prescriptions for domestic rituals as found in the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda traditions up until modern times, with a particular focus on the differences in the rites enjoined in each Śākhā for the new and full moon sacrifice (Darśapūrṇamāsa). Considerable divergences between the two Śākhās are described, and the influence of local traditions is noted. ROTARU provides an in-depth investigation into two Atharvanic rites that accompany the building of a house in the *Kauśikasūtra*. She traces the (re-)interpretations these rites have encountered in the commentarial literature and in a late prayoga manual, compares them to house-building rites in other Vedic schools, and argues that only one of these is actually a proper construction rite. This study is grounded in a discussion of the textual divisions employed in the *Kauśikasūtra*, a crucial matter for the interpretation of this text. SUMANT offers a rich description of the section on neonatal rites in the *Karmapañjikā*, a domestic ritual manual belonging to the Paippalāda tradition that was composed in Odisha in the 16th century. She shares several interesting observations on the peculiar language and style of this text before presenting the edited text itself together with an English translation.

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Werner Knobl

The *ETÁD–YÁD* Construction in Vedic

Abstract: In this study of relative clauses in old Vedic, Werner Knobl† compares the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction (he explains his orthography in footnote 5), which first occurs in the *Ṛgveda-Samhitā*, with the *ETÁD–yád* construction, which is first attested in prose passages of the Atharvaveda. It is argued that in the former case, the *YÁD* clause almost always has a non-restrictive, appositive function, with the *there*-deictic demonstrative pronoun *ETÁD* functioning more or less independently. In these cases the relative pronoun *YÁD* is flexible changing its gender and number in grammatical agreement with *ETÁD*. By contrast, in the *ETÁD–yád* construction, *yád* restricts and defines *ETÁD* and has itself lost its variability, it has become fixed (thus “*yád figē*”).

The predominantly *there*-deictic demonstrative (> d-)pronoun *ETÁD* is the one that realizes the greatest number of possible references.¹ It may point at something *inside* the text: either in a backward / leftward direction (= *anaphoric* [“upward”] deixis) or in a forward / rightward direction (= *cataphoric* [“downward”] deixis). And it may point at something *outside* the text:² in a perpendicular or in a side-

1 Cf. Knobl 2018, 108: “Keines der mehreren D-Pronomina erschöpft sich in einer einzigen Funktion, aber keines umfasst so viele verschiedene Funktionen wie gerade *ETÁD*.”

2 This is the deixis proper or deixis in the narrow sense of the word.

Note: I am very grateful to the members of the Paippalāda Project at the University of Zurich—Angelika Malinar, Paul Widmer, Thomas Zehnder, Robert Leach, and Oliver Hellwig—for having invited me to present a paper at the Atharvaveda conference in Zurich, 2019, September 26–28, and to contribute an article to the proceedings of the conference.

With affection and gratitude, I dedicate this contribution to my dear old friends Alexander Lubotsky and Arlo Griffiths, without whom I would not have had the immense pleasure to study the Paippalāda-Samhitā for so many years of my scholarly life.

I also pay compliments of admiration to my fellow-students of Vedic—Kyōko Amano, Kristen de Joseph, Duccio Lelli, Marianne Oort, Umberto Selva, and Carmen Sylvia Spiers—for their learned devotion to the commented editions or translations of difficult texts.

I thank especially Carmen for helpful comments on an earlier draft of the present paper. The provisionally final version, submitted in April 2021, was critically reviewed by the editors of the proceedings, Oliver Hellwig (May 23, 2021, and March 31, 2022), Robert Leach (June 07/08/11/14, 2021), and Thomas Zehnder (June 26/27, 2021); I feel very obliged to them for their corrections and suggestions, which led to many changes and, hopefully, improvements.

ward-slanting direction.³ The obliquity is again of two kinds: it may be inclined either to the left, leaning backward, or to the right, leaning forward.

Fan-like, the several functions of *ETÁD* spread out in a semicircle, radiating from a central point, which is their common *there*-deixis. This exceptionally multifunctional d-pronoun typically refers – either *intra*- or *extra*-textually – to something that is located at a *middle* distance, somewhere *between* ‘nearby’ and ‘faraway’.⁴ As a rule, neither the *near*-deictic *IDÁM* ‘the one *here*’ nor the *far*-deictic *ADÁS* ‘the one *over there*’ could accomplish the characteristic *there*-deictic function of *ETÁD*.⁵

The eight sections of this paper are centered around the *ETÁD*–*yád* construction, a syntactical scheme that is first attested in a few rare prose passages of the Atharvaveda (AV): Śaunaka-Saṁhitā (ŚS)⁶ and Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS).⁷ However, in order to bring out the specific character of the *ETÁD*–*yád* construction, we have to contrast it with the *ETÁD*–*YÁD* construction that occurs in the earliest Vedic text corpus, the Ṛgveda (ṚV).⁸ There, the relative pronoun is not typically *figé* (“*yád*”),⁹ as in those later AV prose passages, but flexible (“*YÁD*”), changing its gender and number in grammatical agree-

3 Cf. Knobl 2018, 107: “Hingegen ist die Richtung, in welche die im engeren Sinne deiktischen Pronomina zeigen, eine transversale/rektanguläre oder auch – wie in anderem Zusammenhang noch eigens auszuführen sein wird – diagonale.”

For the reason why certain d-pronouns may be said to point in a transversal or rectangular direction, see Knobl 2018, 107 n.2: “Insofern sie nämlich quer und sozusagen im rechten Winkel zum horizontalen Verlauf des Texts auf Außersprachliches hinausweisen.”

4 Cf. Knobl 2018, 108: “*ETÁD* ist das D-Pronomen der *mittleren* Distanz *par excellence*. Es vermag, sowohl in eine *relative Nähe* als auch in eine *relative Ferne* zu weisen.”

5 When referring to d-pronouns (*sá-/tá-, eṣá-/etá-, etc.*), the neuter singular of their names, if written in capital letters (*TÁD, ETÁD, etc.*), is used as a *cover symbol* comprising every possible form of the respective paradigm. In the very special case of the relative pronoun *yá-*, this capitalizing device conveniently serves the purpose of distinguishing *YÁD*, potentially representing all paradigmatic case-forms, from *yád*, which stands for just one. And that distinction is most important for my argument.

6 Six passages of the ŚS are treated in section G.: five prose sentences ([1] ŚS 9.5.21, [2] ŚS 9.5.31b, [3] ŚS 9.6.23, [4] ŚS 9.6.37, and [5] ŚS 11.3.50) and one metrical text, the distich [6] ŚS 18.1.14cd.

7 In sections D. and E., the two middlemost parts of this paper, three passages of the PS are highlighted: the metrical line at [19] PS 6.9.1d, which displays the presumably oldest “*yád figé*” (D.), and two of the twelve prose sentences at [20] PS 9.21.1–12, all of which exemplify the central *ETÁD*–*yád* construction in strictly parallel formulations: *ETAD vai . . . yad . . .* (E.).

8 Thirteen ṚV and AV passages (examples [1]–[13]), all but one of which exhibit the *ETÁD*–*YÁD* construction, are translated and discussed in section A., two examples of the *YÁD*–*ETÁD* construction (exx. [14] ṚV 10.71.9 and [15] ṚV 10.165.4) in section B., and three examples showing the *split* or *double* reference of *ETÁD* (exx. [16] ṚV 10.10.3ab, [17] ṚV 10.10.11cd, and [18] ṚV 10.10.12) are presented in section C.

Among these eighteen text-passages of the ṚV, no fewer than eight have parallels in the AV (ŚS or PS); they are examples [9]–[12] and [15]–[18].

9 For this *yád*, which may be called *yád figé*, see below, section D. with Excursus (2).

ment with *ETÁD*.¹⁰ Only in one of the thirteen examples, i.e. at [7] ṚV 7.56.4ab *etáni . . . yád . . .*, do the two pronouns, though of the same gender, not agree in number.¹¹

1 The *ETÁD–YÁD* Construction in the Ṛgveda

The *ETÁD–YÁD* construction is extremely rare in the Ṛgveda.¹² Only some twenty examples can be found. In almost all of these, the subordinate *YÁD*-clause seems to have a non-restrictive, appositive function.¹³ If *ETÁD* were a mere correlative, it would need the relative pronoun *YÁD* as a necessary supplement, so that its exact reference could be understood. But there is no such need or necessity in most of the twenty or so *ETÁD–YÁD* constructions of the ṚV. In a majority of cases, the *deictic* character of *ETÁD* is so strong that it works quite well without the *YÁD*-phrase. Independently, the *there*-deictic pronoun *points at* some either intra- or extra-textual entity.¹⁴ That d-pronoun displays a surplus of *demonstrativity* by virtue of which it transcends any purely correlative function.

Twelve of the following thirteen passages – eight distichs and four stanzas – present the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction that is typical for the Ṛgveda.¹⁵ In most examples of this syntactical scheme, the *YÁD*-phrase contains a verb:¹⁶ [1] *yát te cakṛmá* (b), [2] *yéna . . . nirūháthuḥ* (c), [3] *yát te ghóṣān* (b), [4] *yám . . . vicakrá* (b), [5] *yásya_ísiṣe* (d), [6] *yé . . . átaḥṣan* (b), *yé . . . tiránta* (c), *yé . . . dídhayan* (d), [7] *yád . . .*

¹⁰ The twelve *ETÁD–YÁD* constructions of ṚV and AV treated in section A. involve their syntactical reverse, the *YÁD–ETÁD* construction, two instances of which are discussed under [14] and [15] in section B.

¹¹ For a possible solution to the difficult problem of their incongruence, see the comment on example [7] below.

¹² This first section of the present article is a considerably enlarged and elaborated version of the opening part of the paper I read at the September 2019 Atharvaveda conference in Zurich.

¹³ By contrast, in *TÁD–YÁD* or *YÁD–TÁD* constructions, which are far more frequent than the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction, it is usual for the *YÁD*-clause to function restrictively. The demonstrative force of *TÁD* is not as strong and independent as that of the emphatic *there*-deictic *ETÁD*; due to its lack of emphasis, *TÁD* stands in need of the relative pronoun's support.

¹⁴ The combination of these divergent directions – if it is understood as the quasi-mechanical *resultant* of two concurrent forces – constitutes what I fancy calling *diagonal reference*. It is the most interesting, but also most challenging and difficult-to-describe function the *multi*-functional d-pronoun *ETÁD* may have to offer.

¹⁵ Only one passage is an exception, to wit, [10] ṚV 10.10.1ab (= ŚS 18.1.1ab), a distich without either *ETÁD* or *YÁD*; it is, however, an indispensable explanatory addition to the distich [9] ṚV 10.10.2ab (= ŚS 18.1.2ab), where those two pronouns do occur in a characteristic *ETÁD–YÁD* construction.

¹⁶ Or three verbs in example [6] ṚV 7.7.6b–d *yé . . . átaḥṣan*, *yé . . . tiránta*, *yé . . . dídhayan*.

jabhāra (b), [8] *yāḥ . . . pramināti* (d), [9] *yād . . . bhāvāti* (b), [11] *yé cāranti* (b), [13] *yāni dadhiṣé* (b). Exceptionally, the relative pronoun is construed with a noun in examples [5] *yás te ánnam* (d) and [12] *yás_{ca} camasó* (c).¹⁷

[1] ṚV 1.31.18ab
eténāgne bráhmaṇā vāvṛdhasva
sákti vā yát te cakṛmá vidá vā |

The sentence of the first verse is complete and can be understood on its own: *eténāgne bráhmaṇā vāvṛdhasva* ‘Grow! You shall grow strong [and stronger],¹⁸ o Fire, through *that* poem *there* (, which we have made *for you*).’

The subordinate *yád*-clause of the second line, 18b *sákti vā yát te cakṛmá vidá vā* ‘*which* [poem] we have made *for you* with skill or with knowledge,’¹⁹ does not *restrict* the meaning of ‘*that poem there*’ to one that would be *defined* as being made in a certain way. Rather, the *there*-deictic pronoun *eténa* in 18a refers, by way of final conclusion, to the preceding stanzas (1–17), which are *distinctly* there as the first part of a bipartite whole.²⁰

¹⁷ In the first of these exceptional cases, i.e. at [5] ṚV 6.41.3d . . . *yás te ánnam* ‘which [soma-drink] is your food’, the relative pronoun is not attracted in gender to the nominal predicate, apparently under the predominant influence of the masculine *there*-deictic demonstratives *eṣá* (a) and *etám* (c) – both referring to the soma-drink – in the two preceding main sentences (3ab and 3c).

For the subscript *ca* in example [12] *yás_{ca} camasó*, see below, footnote 73.

¹⁸ The hybrid verb form *vāvṛdh-a-sva*, which is based on the weak stem of the perfect (*vāvṛdh-* ṚV 122x) of the root *vardh/vṛdh* ‘to grow strong’ < PIE **H₂erDh^h* ‘groß/stark werden’ (*LIV* 228), was defined by Lubotsky (1997: 2.1351b) as an imperative to the subjunctive stem *vāvṛdh-a-* (ṚV 2x: 1.33.1b *vāvṛdhāti* [in the cadence of a *triṣṭubh*, with metrically conditioned “hyper-characterization”] ‘shall make increase’ and 10.64.4b [in the break of a *jagatī*, under no prosodic constraint] *vāvṛdhate* ‘will grow strong’).

For the discussion of a similar modal blend, in which the same two moods of the perfect (subjunctive and imperative) are crossbred – namely the nonce formation *pipráy-a-sva* occurring at ṚV 8.11.10c *s_ivám_i cāgne tan_ivam pipráyasva* ‘Please! You shall please, o Agni, your own bodily self (*tanú-* f. [ṚV 208x])’ –, see Knobl 2004: 267–270 = Knobl 2009c: 27–30.

¹⁹ In ṚV and AV, both *sákti-* f. ‘skill’ (ṚV 4x, ŚS 3x [~ *sákti-* f. ṚV 10x]) and *vid-* f. ‘knowledge’ (ṚV 1x) are surprisingly rare. Root-compounds with *-vid-* as second member (from *aśva-vid-* [ṚV 2x] through *hotrā-vid-* [ṚV 2x, ŚS 1x]) are, however, very frequently attested. The total number of occurrences in the ṚV amounts to 136 instances – including a few *-vít-tara-* comparatives and *-vít-tama-* superlatives – in 28 different compounds; among them, *s_ivar-vid-* (ṚV 30x, ŚS 11+*1x) is most frequent. Cf. Scarlata 1999: 480–493.

²⁰ Since the last stanza of this hymn (18), a regular *triṣṭubh*, even though it may not be a later addition, is at least slightly *set off against* the rest of the hymn (1–17) – which is predominantly composed in the *jagatī* meter (only stanzas 8 and 16 are also hendecasyllabic) –, the *there*-deictic *ETÁD* in 18a (*eténa . . . bráhmaṇā* ‘through *that* poem *there* [for you]’) fittingly reflects the context-

The *bráhman*- n. ‘poem’ (ṚV 255x ~ *brahmán*- m. ‘poet’ ṚV 51x) happens to be ‘made with skill or with knowledge’, but the fact of being made skillfully and knowledgeably is as accidental to the *existence* of the poem’s first part as is the fact that through it the fire shall grow strong. The existential deixis of *ETÁD* indicating something that *is there* – at some distance, although within the same poetic context – surpasses any specific qualification the *YÁD*-phrase may provide.

Agni is addressed throughout this hymn of eighteen stanzas. The enclitic vocative *agne* ‘o Fire’ occurs in the first verse of every single stanza – thus creating the song’s thematic unity –,²¹ while *eténa* in the first verse of the last stanza (18a), being the only occurrence of *ETÁD* in this hymn, introduces a certain differentiating distance. According to the general function of the *there*-deictic pronoun, it may be expected to point at something that is farther away – here, at something halfway removed from the poet reciting stanza 18 – than that which the *here*-deictic *IDÁM* in 16ab refers to: *imám agne śaráṇim mīmṛṣo na imám ádhvānaṃ yám ágāma dūrát* ‘O Agni, make *this* our breach (of faith) be forgotten [and forgiven by you], *this* (faithless) way [on] which we have come from faraway.’²²

It is mainly the implicit *you*-deixis of the *there*-deictic pronoun *ETÁD*²³ that accounts for it being preferred over the *here*-deictic *IDÁM* and *this* d-pronoun’s proximal *we*-deixis: ‘*this* breach’ (*imám . . . śaráṇim*) and ‘*this* way’ (*imám ádhvānaṃ*) are both *ours* (*nas* [16a]), whereas ‘*that* poem *there*’ (*eténa . . . bráhmanā*

tual *mid-distance* that unequally divides a divisible unity into two, separating one part of the poem (18) from another (1–17).

See the symbolic extra space between stanzas 17 and 18 in the edition of Geldner’s translation (1951: 1.36), and cf. J&B’s quite appropriate introductory remark (2014: 1.132): “As often, the final verse (18) is *somewhat extra-hymnic*, in that it sums up the hymn that precedes . . .” (*my italics*).

21 Typically, the enclitic vocative *agne* stands – alone or after another enclitic, the pronoun *nas* – in the so-called Wackernagel position of every first verse: *t_uvám agne . . .* in 1a–6a, 10a, 13a–15a (= 10x); *t_uvám no agne . . .* in 8a, 9a, 12a (= 3x); *t_uvám tám agne . . .* in 7a (= 1x); *tvám agne . . .* in 11a (= 1x); *imám agne . . .* in 16a (= 1x); *manuśvád agne . . .* in 17a (= 1x); *eténaagne . . .* in 18a (= 1x).

Two orthotone pronouns (*t_uvám tám*) preceding *agne* before the caesura in 7a produce an exceptional sequence of words. If the meter had allowed for it, the enclitic *enam* (ṚV 76x) could have been expected to occur in place of *tám* [7b *mártam*]. To be sure, a monosyllabic scansion of the personal pronoun would make the opening of 7a metrically acceptable; that is, if it were read as *tvám enam agne*.

22 Cf. Geldner (1951: 1.36): “Verzeih uns, Agni, diesen Ungehorsam, den Weg, den wir von Ferne gekommen sind!” Notice the accusative of spatial extent, (*imám ádhvānaṃ*) *yám* ‘(this way) which’, being governed directly by a verb of motion, *ágāma* ‘we have come’, without any intervening preposition.

23 For the occasional *du*-deixis of the *da*-deictic d-pronoun *ETÁD*, see the seven examples in Knobl 2018: 110–112 [exx. (2) and (4)], 114–115 [ex. (8)], 117 [ex. (11)], 119–121 [exx. (15)–(17)].

. . .) is *for you* (*te* [18b]), o Heavenly Fire.²⁴ Although *we here* have made the poem, it is destined *for you there*, and now belongs *to you there*.²⁵

[2] ṚV 1.182.5
yuvám etám cakrathuḥ síndhuṣu plavám
átmanvántam pakṣiṇam taugryáya kám /
yéna devatrá mánasā nirūháthuḥ
supaptanī petathuḥ kṣódaso maháh //

'You two [Aśvins] have made for Tugra's son (Bhujyu)
 that raft *there* in the rivers, [a raft] winged and animated,²⁶

²⁴ Cf. again Knobl 2018, where 13 contexts are discussed in which *ETÁD* 'the one *there*' clearly contrasts with *IDÁM* 'the one *here*'; see exx. (1)–(9) and exx. (11)–(14). If *ETÁD* meant 'this', it could not be distinguished from *IDÁM* 'this'. And non-distinction of these d-pronouns, in spite of their demonstrably distinct deixis, would prevent us from understanding the precise meaning especially of those text-passages in which they occur side by side, in the same distich or stanza; or else, nearby, as in the Agni-hymn [1] ṚV 1.31, where *eténa* [18a] stands in obvious opposition to *imám* [16a] and *imám* [16b].

Whenever there is no close textual contact between *ETÁD* and *IDÁM*, translators run a higher risk of mis-interpreting the *there*-deictic pronoun as *here*-deictic, than if the two demonstratives were contiguous. Their contiguity would be apt to suggest a significant difference in demonstration; and it should then become clear that one of the two d-pronouns points at something *near by*, the other at something *farther away*.

²⁵ Thus, the enclitic pronoun *te* could be thought to have two different case functions: [1] as dative, it would express destination – or, on the stage of a higher level, play the role of the second *kāraka* [act-participant], called *saṃpradāna* and redefined by Pāṇini at Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhi praiti sa saṃpradānam* [for the syntax of this aphorism, see below, section D.: Excursus (2)] –; [2] as genitive, *te* would imply belonging or connection (*saṃbandha*).

²⁶ Is it possible that *ātmán-* m. 'breath, soul, self' (ṚV 22x) in *átmanvánt-* (ṚV 3x) refers to the 'body' of the raft; and *pakṣá-* m. 'wing' (ṚV 10x) in *pakṣín-* 'winged; bird' (ṚV 6x), to 'sails'? Cf. J&B 2014: 1.385: "For Tugra's son (Bhujyu) in the rivers you made the boat, with a body [=cockpit?] and wings [=sails?], . . .". In other Saṃhitās (ŚS, VS, MS, KS), in Brāhmaṇas (e.g. ŚB), and in younger Vedic texts, *ātmán-* m. is well attested in the sense of 'body' – and especially in that of 'trunk, torso' as distinct from *āṅga-* 'limb' or *pakṣa-puchá-* 'wings-and-tail' –, but can the meaning 'body' be presupposed already for the ṚV? Yes, at least in a late, Atharvaveda-like *yakṣma-násana*-hymn, at ṚV 10.163.5cd=6cd *yakṣmaṇ sárvasmād ātmānas tām idám ví vṛhāmi te* "vom ganzen Körper zieh ich dir jetzt die Auszehrung ab" (Geldner 1951: 3.390), *ātmán-* m. does have that very meaning.

by means of which you have extracted [him] with heavenly-bound intention.²⁷
Swiftly flying²⁸ you have flown [with him]²⁹ from the huge surge.’

Neither the *far*-deictic “*jenes* . . . Boot” (Geldner) nor the *near*-deictic “*dieses* Floß” (W&G) does justice to the characteristic *there*-deixis of *ETĀD* in *etām* . . . *plavām* ‘that raft there (in the rivers)’. Typically, this d-pronoun locates the *plavā*- m. (ṚV 1x, ŚS 1x) at a *middle* distance, somewhere between *here* on the one hand, and *over*

27 See Geldner’s note on 5c: “*devatrā mānasā* ungefähr *devadrīcā mānasā*” and his translation of the phrase: “mit götterhaftem Sinne” (1951: 1.262). Truer to the meaning of the adverb *devatrā* (ṚV 23x, ŚS 2+*3x), if taken as a near-synonym of the directional adjective *devadryāñc-/devadrīc-* (ṚV 3x), is J&B’s “with (your?) mind directed toward the gods” (2014: 1.385).

The phrase *devadrīcā mānasā* occurs twice in the ṚV, once at 1.93.8b “mit gottgerichtem Denken” (Geldner 1951: 1.120) and another time at 1.163.12b “mit gottwärts gerichtetem Gedanken” (Geldner 1951: 1.227).

28 It would be closer to the sense of this unique compound *su-paptanī-* (ṚV 1x) – a *bahuvrīhi* (?) in which *su-* functions as an adverb (!) –, if the instrumental *supaptanī* were translated ‘with swiftly (flying) flight’. The second member, **paptanī-* ‘flight’ (or ‘flying?’), is either based on the stem of the third/reduplicated (non-causative) aorist *pa-pt-a-* (ṚV 10x ~ *pī-pat-a-* ṚV 1x), or on the weak stem of the older perfect *pa-pt-* (ṚV 5x ~ *pet-* ṚV 3x) of the root *pat/pt-* ‘fall, fly’ < PIE **peth₁* ‘fallen’ (LIV 477–478) / **peth₂* ‘(auf)fliegen’ (LIV 479). Cf. W&D 2.1: 178 § 75 h: *su-papt-anī-* “guter Flug”, but W&D 2.2: 208 § 96 d: *su-paptanī-* “rascher Flug” or “rasch fliegend”, and Oldenberg 1909: 181 AD loc.: “**paptanī* kann Nomen agentis oder actionis sein.”

See also Oldenberg’s subsequent observation (ibid.): “Instr. des Nomen actionis würde den Ausdruck in die Nähe von *surūcā rucānāḥ* [ṚV 3.15.6c], *suṣamīdhā sām idhire* [ṚV 5.8.7b] u. dgl. rücken.” Other examples for this kind of expression are ṚV 7.17.1a *suṣamīdhā sāmīdhaḥ*, ṚV 10.36.9a *sānema* . . . *susanītā*, PS 11.14.1d *suruhā rohayanti* (K: *rohanti* [!]), MS 1.1.3: 2.9 *supācā* . . . *paca*, MS 1.8.8: 127.15–16 *suśādā sīda* . . . *suśādā* . . . *sādayati*, or MS 4.13.4: 204.3 *suśāmī sāmīdhvam*.

The etymological construction of a verb with the instrumental of a *su*-compound whose second member is a cognate noun – in the way that here *-paptanī-* stems from the same root as *petathuḥ* – represents a relatively rare kind. For the more frequent type, the construction of a verb with a cognate *su*-compound in the accusative, such as *sūbhṛtam bhārati* at ṚV 4.50.7c or *bharat sūbhṛtam* at ṚV 9.97.24d, see the scholarly literature referred to by Hoffmann 1992: 834 footnote 11.

29 Or else, if a possibly preferable understanding of the verb-form were to be considered, *petathuḥ* could mean ‘you two have made [him] fly’. Since, in the ṚV, the periphrastic perfect expressing causation is not yet attested, and may not even have existed at that time, non-periphrastic forms of the perfect – as here *petathuḥ* – could also function as causatives. See below, footnote 60, on the causal meaning of the perfect optative *vavṛtyām* ‘I would have liked to make [the companion] revert [to acts of companionship]’ at ṚV 10.10.1a, in example [10].

The first and oldest occurrence of the periphrastic perfect in Vedic is *gamayāṃ cakāra* at ŚS 18.2.27cd (≈ PS 18.65.10cd): *mṛtyūr yamāsyāsīd dūtāḥ prācetā āsun pitṛbhyo gamayāṃ cakāra* “death was the kindly messenger of Yama; he made his life-breaths (*āsu*) go to the fathers” (W&L). Thus, if *petathuḥ* had the meaning of a causative, it could be glossed with *pātayāṃ cakrathuḥ*, according to later, post-ṛgvedic usage.

there on the other. Were the raft *nearby*, it would be pointed at with *imám*; were it *faraway*, with *amúm*.

The deixis of the article in the expression “*the boat*” (J&B) is too weak to transcend the function of a mere correlative of the relative pronoun *yéna* “with which” (J&B). In the Ṛgveda, the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *ETÁD* is, if at all, very rarely used in an exclusively correlative function.

As in example [1], so it seems also here that the subordinate *YÁD*-phrase (*yéna* [*plavéna*]) does not restrict or define the meaning of *ETÁD* in the main sentence (*etám . . . plavám*): ‘*that raft there*’ – it is *there*, ‘in the rivers’ (*sínḍhuṣu*), of unmistakable identity; and the relative clause *yéna . . . nirūháthuḥ* ‘*by means of which* you have extracted [him]’ proves as accidentally descriptive as the fact that the *Aśvins* happen to have made it for *Tugra*’s son (*taugryáya*) or that it is ‘winged’ (*pakṣín-*) and ‘animated’ (*ātmanvánt-*).³⁰

[3] ṚV 3.33.8ab

etád váco jaritar mápi mṛṣṭhā
á yát te ghóṣān úttarā yugáni |

‘Do not forget *that* word *there*, o singer [Viśvāmitra],
which [word] of yours later generations shall listen to.’

Also in this distich, the meaning of *etád vácas* ‘*that* word (of yours) *there*’ does not depend on the following *yád*-phrase, *á yát te ghóṣān úttarā yugáni* ‘*which* [word] of yours later generations shall listen to.’ If it did depend on *yád*, the request addressed by the rivers *Vipās* and *Śutudrī* to the *ṛṣi* *Viśvāmitra*, viz. *etád váco jaritar mápi mṛṣṭhāḥ* ‘Do not forget *that* word (of yours) *there*, o singer’, would be restricted to *one* kind of word, namely to the word that later generations will listen to (*á . . . ghóṣān*); and any *other* kind of word, one that is *not* listened to in the future, the poet may as well forget? Surely, that cannot be the meaning.³¹

³⁰ In Hettrich’s view (1988: 570), the *ETÁD* of this stanza functions as correlative in a *restrictive* relative construction. It will appear in that function only if the demonstrative force of *ETÁD* is not understood as emphatically *there*-deictic.

³¹ It is interesting to see that *here*, in *this* distich ([3] ṚV 3.33.8ab), exactly as *there*, in *that* distich ([1] ṚV 1.31.18ab), the enclitic pronoun *te* appears in the subordinate clause; it would be somewhat superfluous if it showed up in the main sentence. The *there*-deictic *ETÁD*, which is addressed to a second person – *there*, in [1], to *Agni*; *here*, in [3], to the singer –, is so distinctly *you*-deictic that *te* ‘of yours’, if it were added either to [1] *eténa bráhmaṇā* or to [3] *etád vácas*, would prove pleonastic. (Naturally, this does not mean that redundancy and over-characterization are always and necessarily excluded.)

Since the neuter *yád* can also be taken as a conjunction of purpose, Renou’s “en sorte que” and J&B’s “so that” are certainly justified.³² In this alternative case, the future hearing of the poet’s word would seem to depend on its not being forgotten by the poet, a situation very different from the one we have been discussing.

[4] ṚV 4.35.4ab

kimmáyah svic camasá eṣá āsa
yám kāvyaena catúro vicakrá |

‘What was *that* cup (of yours) *there* made of?
[*That* cup,] *which* you have transformed into four
by means of [your] poetic power.’³³

When they were addressed in these words, the heavenly craftsmen knew exactly what cup was meant, to wit, that unique *miracle* cup of theirs; and there was no need for them to be told about its artful transformation (“trans-*four*-mation”) into *four* cups – one for each of the three Ṛbhus and one for Tvaṣṭar –, so that they would understand the intended reference to it.³⁴

The *YÁD*–phrase, *yám [camasám] kāvyaena catúro vicakrá*, is only descriptive, not defining or distinguishing.³⁵ The interrogative sentence *kimmáyah svic camasá eṣá āsa* does not necessarily presuppose a plurality of cups from which the quad-

32 Cf. Renou (*EVP* XVII 76): “Cette parole-ci, ô chanteur, ne l’oublie pas, *en sorte que* les générations ultérieures puissent l’entendre de toi!” or J&B (2014: 1.514): “This speech, singer – do not forget it – *so that* later generations will hear it from you.” In both of these (otherwise not inappropriate) translations, the typical *there*-deixis of the d-pronoun *etád* is inadequately rendered as *here*-deixis: “Cette parole-ci” (Renou), “This speech” (J&B), as if the poet had used *idám* instead.

33 Intonation distinguishes the abstract noun *kāvya*- n. ‘poem, poetry, poetic power’ (ṚV 41x, ŚS [3+*2=]5x) from the less frequent (substantivized) adjective and patronymic *kāvya-* (ṚV 7x, ŚS 2x). Both of these words are ultimately derived from the same *kaví*- m. ‘seer, poet’ (ṚV 240x), although with two different *ya*-suffixes. Pāṇini’s *taddhita*-suffix *ñyañ*, introduced at Aṣṭādhyāyī 4.1.171 *vṛd-dha-it-kosala-ajādāñ ñyañ*, would only provide for the formation of *kāvya-*: either from the *vṛd-dha*-stem *kāvya-* or directly from the *i*-stem *kaví*-.

34 Prior to stanza 4, the Ṛbhus’ quadruplication of their miracle cup was already mentioned two times: once in verse 2d *ékam vicakrá camasám caturdhá* and again in verse 3a *vṛ akṛṇota camasám caturdhá*. It is, therefore, all the more superfluous to repeat the mention of that artistic exploit yet another time, in the relative clause of verse 4b *yám kāvyaena catúro vicakrá*. Here, the only new information is *kāvyaena*, but this particular circumstance does not change the appositional character of the whole phrase; *kāvyaena* was, furthermore, anticipated in verse 2c by two instrumentals of a near-synonymous intent: *sukṛtyāyā . . . svavapasyāyā* “mit Geschicklichkeit und Kunstfertigkeit” (Geldner 1951: 1.466); thus, the information received is not *that* new.

35 According to Hettrich (1988: 570 n.145), “ist der RS (=Relativ-Satz) nicht eindeutig als restriktiv oder appositiv bestimmbar.” In my view, it is possible to determine – und zwar “eindeutig” – that the relative sentence *yám . . . catúro vicakrá* ‘*that* cup (of yours) *there*,] *which* you have transformed into four’ has an appositive (descriptive) function, and not a restrictive one.

uplicated one would have been singled out as uniquely miraculous, all the others being untransformed.³⁶

[5] ṚV 6.41.3
eṣā drapsó vṛṣabhó viśvárūpa
indrāya vṛṣṇe sám akāri sómaḥ |
etám piba hariva sthātar ugra
yásyésiṣe pradīvi yás te ánnam ||

'That drop there, [that] all-colored bull,
[that] soma[-drink] has been perfected for Indra the bull;³⁷
drink that [soma], o lord of bay horses, o mighty charioteer;³⁸
[that soma-drink] of which you are master,
and which is your food, from of old.³⁹

The statements made in the two subordinate clauses of *pāda* 3d – i.e. *yásya íśiṣe* and *yás te ánnam* – are so obviously true of each-and-every soma-drink that they could not possibly be thought to define one drink in particular and distinguish it from all the others.

³⁶ Here, as in examples [1] and [3], the *there*-deixis of *ETÁD* is again also *you*-deictic.

³⁷ Do *vṛṣṇ-* m. referring to Indra as 'bull' and *vṛṣabhá-* m. qualifying the soma-drop as 'bull' have distinctive values? Or are these two nouns mere synonyms, chosen only for the sake of stylistic variation?.

³⁸ A metrical line of 11 syllables with just one *udātta* is quite rare. For the discussion of a *pāda* without any high-pitch tone, the unparalleled octosyllabic verse ṚV 1.2.8b *ṛtāvṛdhāv ṛtaspr̥śā*, with two vocatives embedded in a *gāyatrī*-stanza (8a–c) that is addressed to Mitra-and-Varuṇa, see Lelli forthc.

³⁹ The in-between position of *pradīvi* (ṚV 8x) is ambiguous: syntactically, it ought to belong with the preceding *yásya íśiṣe*, because the following *yás te* starts a new sentence; but metrically, it should be taken with the latter, because the *cæsura* occurring before the adverb (= locative of *pradīv-* [ṚV 30x]) cuts it off from the former.

This is one of those numerous cases where meter and syntax are in conflict. For another such example, see below, the double-faced *Janus*-character of *deváh* in the verse [8] ṚV 7.63.3c *eṣā me deváh savitá cachanda* 'That Heavenly one *there* (= the rising Sun) appears [and appeals] to me as Heavenly Savitar.'

The effect ambiguous words like *pradīvi* (in example [5]) and *deváh* (in example [8]) may have on the reader or listener can be compared with that of a well-known rhetorical scheme profusely used in Sanskrit literature: the device called either *kākākṣi-golaka-nyāya-* or *dehālī-dīpaka-nyāya-*. For the evocative meaning of these two "popular maxims" and their technical application in commentaries on texts of a mainly philosophical or poetological nature, see Jacob 1907: 18 and 30.

[6] ṚV 7.7.6
eté dyumnébhīr víśvam átīranta
mántram yé váraṃ nár̥yā átakṣan |
prá yé víśas tiránta śróśamāṇā
á yé me asyá dídhayann ṛtásya ||

‘Those (men) there, with their heavenly splendors, surpass(ed)⁴⁰ everything:
the manly [singers of praise] who shaped a choice poetic thought,
[or the generous patrons] who shall further the obedient clans,
and who shall be mindful of this truth of mine.’

It is very likely that the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *eté* of the main sentence in *pāda* 6a – *eté dyumnébhīr víśvam á tiranta (átīranta)* – directly *points at* the ‘singers of praise’ (*stotár-* m. [ṚV 105x]) and at the ‘generous patrons’ (*maghávān-/maghávant-* [ṚV 370x]), both of which groups are explicitly mentioned in the last stanza of this Agni-hymn, viz. in the verse 7.7.7c *īśam̐ stotṛ̥bhyo maghávadbhya ānaḍ* (“You [o Agni] have obtained refreshment for the singers of praise and for our generous (patrons)” [J&B 2014: 2.892]); and they are collectively referred to as ‘men’ (*nár-/nṛ-* m. ṚV 452x) in the compound *nṛ-śádana-* n. (ṚV 6x) of the distich 7.7.5ab *ásādi vṛtó váhniṛ ājaganvān agnīr brahmā nṛśádane vidhartá* “Having come here, the chosen conveyor (of oblations) has been seated at the seat of men – Agni, the ritual formulator and distributor” (J&B 2014: 2.892).

The three subordinate clauses in verses 7.7.6 *b, c, d* – all of which contain the same relative pronoun *yé*⁴¹ – could, therefore, refer to one of the two groups: either

⁴⁰ The *pāda-pāṭha* reads *á / atiranta*, but the possibly contracted *átīranta* of the original recitation (and of the *devanāgarī*-text written in *scriptio continua*) could also be interpreted as *á tiranta*. The imperfect *átakṣan* in 6b speaks in favor of the former reading, the apparent injunctive *tiránta* in 6c seems to support the latter. However, according to Hoffmann (1967: 258 n.296), *tiránta* in 6c may have to be considered a subjunctive, because of *dídhayan* in 6d, which represents the subjunctive of a present that has developed from a present perfect. Geldner (1951: 2.187) opted for the imperfect *atiranta* (“Diese *haben* an Glanz alles *übertroffen*”), J&B (2014: 2.892) for *tiranta* understood as injunctive (“These *surpass* everything through their heavenly brilliance”).

⁴¹ Interestingly, *YÁD* often comes in second place of a subordinate clause; and here, in ṚV 7.7.6, *yé* occupies that very position even three times, in the verses 6b, 6c, 6d: *mántram yé . . . , prá yé . . . , á yé . . .*; the repetition of the relative pronoun may have been intended to emphasize the *climactic* intensification of meaning: not only is a temporal progress made, from the past (imperfect *átakṣan* [6b]) to the future (subjunctive *tiránta* [6c] and subjunctive *dídhayan* [6d]), but also a change of person, from the singers of praise [6b] to the generously rewarding patrons [6c and 6d]: “die [Dichter], welche mannhaft das Dichterwort passend geformt haben [6b], [die Patrone,] die die gehorsamen Clane vorwärts bringen mögen [6c], die dieser meiner rechten (Rede) gedenken mögen [6d]” (Geldner 1951: 2.187); see also J&B’s somewhat different translation of the same three verses in the following two footnotes.

to the singers (in *b*)⁴² or to the patrons (in *c* and *d*);⁴³ however, neither of these two references is necessary in order to understand that the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *eté* ‘those’ points at ‘those men *there*’, who are seated together ‘at the seat of men’ (*ṛṣádane*), which seat – or else, session (“Männersitzung” [Geldner]) – was already mentioned in the previous stanza, at 7.7.5b.⁴⁴

[7] ṚV 7.56.4
etáni dhīro niṇyá ciketa
pṛṣnir yád údho mahí jabhára //

‘Those mysteries the deeply thinking man understands,⁴⁵
 which [mystery] Great Pṛṣni has borne in [Her] udder,⁴⁶
 [that is, Her sons, the Maruts, who were born from it].⁴⁷

The *ETÁD*–*YÁD* construction of this *dvipadā virāj* is affected by a discrepancy – or lack of grammatical agreement – between the two pronouns *etáni* and *yád*. They are of the same gender, but their number is different. Consequently, they cannot refer to the same nucleus (*Bezugswort*).⁴⁸ How then could the numerical difference be accounted for?

42 Cf. J&B 2014: 2.892): “the manly ones *who* fashioned the solemn utterance and its desirable reward.” [6b].

43 Cf. J&B 2014: 2.892): “*who*, heeding them, extend the clans [6c] and *who* will reflect upon this, my truth [6d].”

44 Regarding ṚV 7.7.6, Hettrich (1988: 570 n.145) thinks that the correlative function of *ETÁD* in this relative construction is again “nicht eindeutig”. I would, however, maintain that it is just that, namely *eindeutig* and unequivocally pointing at *those men there*, independently of the three subordinate clauses enclosing the same relative pronoun *yé*, all of which are merely *descriptive*.

45 For the “presentic” usage of the indicative of the perfect *ci-két-^a/ci-kit-^é* (ṚV 125x) of the root *cet/cit* < PIE **k^uejt/k^uit* ‘bemerken, erkennen’ (LIV 382–383), see Kümmel 2000: 174–177 s.v. *cet* ‘bemerken, erkennen, verstehen’.

46 For the neuter *údhās*, exceptionally understood as a locative at ṚV 7.56.4b, see Geldner’s translation (1951: 2.231), quoted below, in footnote 52, and his *Anmerkung* to verse 4b. In the three other places where the case form *údhās* occurs in the ṚV – at 1.146.2d *rehánty údho aruśáso asya*, 4.1.19c *súcṛy údho atṛṇan ná gávām*, and 8.31.9c *sám údho romaśárin hato* –, it naturally functions as an object-accusative governed by transitive verbs: *rehánti* “(they [the flames]) lick”, *atṛṇat* “(he [Agni]) drilled”, and *sám* . . . *hataś* “(the two [husband-and-wife]) slam together” (J&B), respectively.

47 Pṛṣni, the Maruts’ Mother, is conceived of as a Cow. She has *borne* (*jabhāra/jabhre*) an udder and her sons, who were *borne* in it; but also, if only as an implicit consequence, she has *borne* (*jajāna/jajñe*) her sons, who were *born* from it.

48 Nor could *yád*, if it were accusative and meant ‘which’, form one phrase with *údhās* ‘udder’ ([secondary *s*-stem] *údhās*- n. ṚV 5x, ŚS 7x ~ [primary *r*-/*n*-heteroclitic] *údhār-/údhan*- n. ṚV 45x, ŚS *1x [!]). Syntactically, a hypothetical relative clause ‘which udder great Pṛṣni has borne’, although meaningful in itself, cannot be brought into harmony with ‘those mysteries’ (*etáni* . . . *niṇyá* . . .) of the main sentence in verse *a*.

Is it due to a venial sloppiness on the part of the poet? Or has it perhaps a deeper significance, one *intended* by the poet, and meant to be understood⁴⁹ by us, in a way that would suit the intuitive thinker (*dhīra*- m.) of verse 4a?

He, ‘the deeply thinking man’,⁵⁰ is said to understand *those* – apparently *many* – mysteries, only one of which is mentioned in the *yád*-phrase (4b). Clearly, this particular mystery cannot *define* the more general nature of those; it is apt to exemplify or, at best, symbolically represent them, and thus to fulfill a partially descriptive function, but it could not *restrict* them to its own limited particularity.⁵¹ The complete understanding of those mysteries by the insightful *dhīra*- reaches well beyond that single specimen mentioned in the second decasyllabic half of the stanza; however typical *any* example may be, it is only one of many.

The discrepancy between the plural *etáni* and the singular *yád* – a numerical divergence which led to the (possibly superfluous) problem just raised and tentatively solved – could easily be avoided, if *yád* were declared a conjunction. In that alternative case, our translation of the distich 4ab may run like this: ‘*Those* mysteries the deeply thinking man understands, (one of which [mysteries] is) *that* great Pṛṣni has borne an udder.’⁵²

However, this fact can scarcely be called a mystery, because for a cow – and Great Pṛṣni is a cow, if not The Cow *par excellence* –, it is the most natural thing on earth to bear an udder.

[8] ṚV 7.63.3cd
eṣā me devāḥ savitā cachanda
yāḥ samānāṃ nā pramināti dhāma ||

⁴⁹ Or rather, a hidden meaning meant to be “under-understood” (*sous-entendu*).

⁵⁰ The well-attested word *dhīra*- (ṚV 55x) is either a substantive meaning ‘the wise one’ – that is, if it were internally derived from an original but unattested **dhīrā*- ‘wise’ showing the typical intonation of a *rā*-adjective built to a root in the low-grade –, or it is based on the frequent root-noun *dhī*- f. ‘insight, wisdom’ (ṚV 273x [!]), in which case we would again have to do primarily with an adjective (‘wise’), secondarily with a substantive (‘the wise one’). For the two possibilities separately considered, see W&D 2.2: 849–858, § 684 and § 685.

⁵¹ In order to be restrictive, the *one* symbol or example would have to coincide in meaning with ‘*those [many]* mysteries’, but that is excluded insofar as its singular differs in number from their plurality. Cf. *Look at *those* animals *there*, (*one of*) *which* has a hunch!.

⁵² Cf. Geldner 1951: 2.231: “*Diese* Geheimnisse kennt der Weise, *daß* die große Pṛṣni (sie [die Maruti] im Euter getragen hat) and J&B 2014: 2.949: “*These* are the secrets the insightful one perceives: *what* great Pṛṣni bore as her udder” (*my italics*). While Geldner takes *yád* as the conjunction “*daß*”, J&B take it as the relative pronoun in the sense of “*what*”. Their translation does not seem to solve the problem raised above, concerning the difference in number between the plural *etáni* “*these*” and the singular *yád* “*what*”.

‘That Heavenly one *there* (= the rising Sun)⁵³
 appears [and appeals] to me as Heavenly Savitar,
 who does not infringe (upon) the common agreement
 (the solemn covenant) [of the Ādityas].’

The relative clause *yáḥ samānāṃ ná pramināti dhāma* may refer to *eṣá* ‘that [(Heavenly) Sun] *there*’ or to *devāḥ savitá* ‘Heavenly Savitar’. Since one appears [to me, the poet] as the other, it doesn’t really matter which of the two is described in this *YÁD*-phrase; ultimately, they are both concerned: Sūrya – who is explicitly mentioned in the verses 1b (*sūr;yas*), 2b (*sūr;yasya*), and 4c (*sūr;yeṇa*) of this hymn⁵⁴ – as well as Savitar, whose emergence in 3c is foreshadowed in the compound *pra-savitár-* (RV 2x), attribute of Sūrya,⁵⁵ in 2a *úd_v eti prasavitá jánānām* ‘And up He moves, (the Sun) promoter of the peoples.’⁵⁶

Whether it is the one or the other, they are both heavenly (*devá-* m.) and would of course abide by their own law (*dhāman-* n. [RV 96x]), the common agreement of the Ādityas.⁵⁷ It is, therefore, not necessary to mention this fact in order to understand the exact *there*-deictic reference of *eṣá* to ‘that [Sun] *there*’ in the East, to Him who rises bright and radiant ‘from the lap of the Dawns’ (cf. 3ab *vibhrájamāna uṣásām upásthād . . . úd eti . . .*), in all His oriental splendor.

53 Cf. the first half of this stanza, 3ab *vibhrájamāna uṣásām upásthād rebháir úd ety anu-madyámānaḥ* ‘Aus dem Schoße der Uṣas geht er strahlend auf, von den Sängern bejubelt’ (Geldner 1951: 2.239).

54 Rhetorically speaking, these three case-forms of the noun *sūrya-* m. (nominative, genitive, and instrumental, respectively) exemplify the figure of speech that is called *polyptoton*.

55 In the other place where this agent noun occurs, *prasavitár-* m. qualifies Savitar, namely at 4.53.6 *bṛhátsumnaḥ prasavitá nivéśaṇo jágata sthátúr ubháyasya yó vaśí | sá no devāḥ savitá sárma yachat_v asmé kṣáyāya trivárūtham āmhasaḥ* ‘Possessing lofty benevolence, the one who impels forth and causes to settle down, who exerts his will over both the moving world and the stationary, let him, god Savitar, hold out to us shelter providing threefold protection against distress for us and for our dwelling place’ (J&B 2014: 1.638).

56 The adjective *devāḥ* ‘heavenly’, which stands between *eṣá* ‘the one there’ and *savitá* ‘the inciter, impeller, instigator’, qualifies both Sūrya and Savitar. For another case of metrical and syntactic ambiguity, see above, the double-faced adverb *prađívi* at [5] RV 6.41.3d *yásyésiṣe prađívi yás te ánnam* ‘[That Soma] of which you are master, and which is your food, from of old.’

57 In later Sanskrit, Sūrya came to be known as *The Āditya*, but already in the R̥gveda, we find Him being called *ādityá-* ‘Son of Aditi’, if only occasionally, at RV 1.191.9a/c or 8.101.11ab, for instance.

Savitar, on the other hand, is not infrequently named together with other Ādityas: Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Amśa, and, most especially, with Bhaga the god ‘(hereditary) Share’. For “Sūrya the Āditya par excellence”, see Knobl forthc. 2.

[9] ṚV 10.10.2ab (≈ ŚS 18.1.2ab ≈ PS 18.57.2ab)
ná te sákhā sakh₂yám vaṣṭy etát
sálakṣmā yád viṣurūpā bhāvāti |

‘Your companion does not want *that* companionship (of yours) *there, which* (?) . . .’⁵⁸

Yamī knows *that* companionship *there* (*etát sakh₂yám*) all too well, because she herself suggested it, if only in vain,⁵⁹ to her twin brother Yama at the very beginning of their heated dialogue:

[10] ṚV 10.10.1ab (≈ ŚS 18.1.1ab ≈ PS 18.57.1ab)
ó cit sákhāyaṁ sakh₂yá vavṛtyāṁ
tiráḥ purú cid arṇavám jaganvān |

‘And yet, I would have liked
to make the companion revert to [acts of] companionship,⁶⁰
(even though) he had gone across the sea, over so many ([sea] miles [?]).’⁶¹

58 For two different translations of the second verse – one by Geldner, the other by J&B –, see below, footnote 67. It is not easy to coordinate *etát* with *yád*, unless the latter is taken as a conjunction; cf. Geldner’s “daß” or J&B’s “in that”. Since *sálakṣmā* and *viṣurūpā* are both feminine in gender, they cannot agree with either of the two neuter pronouns.

59 The *vanity* of her suggestion is implied in the specific character of the perfect optative as a *modus irrealis*, or hypothetical mood, for which see the following footnote.

60 On the intriguing optative of the perfect, which occurs *five* times in this hymn, ṚV 10.10 (1a, 3d, 7c, 9b, 12a), and ought to be understood as a *hypothetical mood*, see Knobl 2007a: 121–122 n.51 = Knobl 2009c: 61–62 n.51, where all the *four* perfect optatives used by Yamī are quoted and translated in their respective context: [1] 1a *á . . . vavṛtyāṁ*, [2] 3d . . . *á vivisyās*, [3] 7c . . . *riricyāṁ*, and [4] 9b . . . *ún mimīyāt*. The *fifth* optative of the perfect, *sám paṛṣcyāṁ*, occurs in the emphatic words pronounced by Yama at [5] 12a *ná vá u te tan_vvā tan_vvām sám paṛṣcyāṁ* ‘On no account would I have commingled [my] body with your body.’ A detailed discussion of this heavily hypermetrical *triṣṭubh* (!) of no fewer than fourteen syllables (= T¹⁴) as a nice example of *intentional irregularity* can be found in Knobl 2007a: 131–135 = Knobl 2009c: 71–75.

For a more comprehensive treatment of the perfect optative as a *modus irrealis*, see Knobl forthc. 4.

For the occasional *causative* function of the perfect, as here of the optative *á . . . vavṛtyāṁ* ‘I would have liked to *make* [the companion] *revert* [to acts of companionship]’, see above, example [2] ṚV 1.182.5, with footnote 29, on *petathuḥ* ‘you two *have made* [him] fly.’

61 In this translation of the phrase *purú cid arṇavám*, the adjective *purú* is understood as a plural (= *purúṇi* [yójanāni?]) independent of *arṇavám*. For the alternative of taking *purú* (= *purú_u* ?) as a singular qualifying *arṇavám*, see below, footnote 65.

And for *purú* ‘much, many’ in combination with *yójana*- n. ‘mile’ (ṚV 18x), see ṚV 2.16.3d *yád áśūbhiḥ pátasi yójanā purú* ‘when with your swift (horses) you fly through many leagues’ (J&B 2014: 1.423).

The following three remarks on different aspects of *jaganvān* are intended to explain why I take the perfect participle in a [a] *finite*, [b] *concessive*, and [c] *pluperfective* sense, and why I render it as “(even though) he had gone . . .”. (The excursus ends, by way of foregone conclusion, with “it is *in vain*.”).

Excursus (1) on *jaganvān*

- [a] Here, the perfect participle *jaganvān* may be thought to function as a finite verb. This unusual usage is provided for by Pāṇini at Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.2.84 *bhūte* / 105 *chandasi liṭ* / 106 *liṭaḥ kānaj vā* / 107 *kvasuś ca*.⁶² If the participle did not mean ‘he has gone’, we would have to assume that the nominative *jaganvān* replaces an expected accusative **jaganvānsam* qualifying *sākhāyam* as ‘having gone’.⁶³ But who will insist on making this assumption, after a better solution has been offered?
- [b] The *concessive* meaning of the participle, as here of *jaganvān* (‘[even though] he had gone’), is one of many possible connotations a participle, whether present or perfect, may implicitly convey, including even causal and final ones.⁶⁴ In addition to that, the implied concessiveness of *jaganvān* is strongly supported and further emphasized by the adversative particle *u* in verse *a*, which verse clearly parses *ā_u cit . . .*, and possibly by another *u* in verse *b*, if that verse were analyzed as *tiráḥ purú/purú_u cid . . .*⁶⁵ The resulting parallelism of the

⁶² Those are rules valid for Sacred Vedic literature (*chāndas-* n.); a few perfect participles functioning as finite verbs in the *spoken* Vedic language (*bhāṣāyām*) – six, to be exact – are enumerated by Pāṇini at Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.2.108–109: [1] *upasedivān* (√*sad*/**sd* ‘sit’), [2] *anūṣivān* (√*vas*/uṣ ‘stay [overnight]’), [3] *upaśuśrūvān* (√*śrav*/śru ‘hear, listen to’); [4] *upeyivān* (√*ay*/i ‘go, move’), [5] *anāśvān* (√*aś*‘eat, consume’), and [6] *anūcānas* (√*vac*/uc ‘speak’).

Cf. Delbrück 1888: 394, who refers to just one possible case in point, i.e. *dadānās* at ṚV 5.2.3c *dadāno asmā amṛtam vipṛkvat* (“Ich gebe ihm [dem Agni?] das befreiende Lebenselixir” [Geldner 1951: 2.4] ~ “Da ich ihm [Indra?] gegeben habe den Unsterblichkeitstrank, den unvermischten” [Kümmel 2000: 239] ~ “as I gave to him my immortal (soma) without impurity” [J&B 2014: 2.663]).

See also Hoffmann 1975: 158–159 (= KZ 78 [1963]: 94–95) on the perfect participle *anuvidvān* “vollständig kennt” at ŚS 12.2.38cd = 12.2.52cd (≈ PS 17.47.9cd ≈ 17.48.9cd), MS 1.6.2: 88.5, KS 7.14: 77.13, and ŚBM 1.5.1.6, as well as Thieme 1971: 1.619 (= KZ 78 [1963]: 95).

⁶³ Apocope of a syllable, especially at the end of a verse, does happen sometimes.

⁶⁴ For a detailed discussion of 26 Vedic present participles *of purpose*, all of which have a meaning that I would call “*final*” (as in *causa finalis*), and thus are expressive of *intentionality*, see Knobl 2004/2005.

⁶⁵ If the neuter *purú/purú* were to be read as the singular *purú* – not as the plural *purú* –, it could qualify *aṛṇavām*. A meaning such as ‘much sea’ (“viel Meer”) sounds not unlikely; rather

two metrical lines with two times *u cid* would seem to speak in favor of this analysis. And since the phrase particle *u* expresses opposition, it has a natural tendency to come in pairs. Minimally, with weak contrastive value, . . . *u . . . u* means ‘. . . on the one hand, . . . on the other’.⁶⁶

- [c] The pluperfect ‘he *had* gone’ seems logically necessary, because the action of Yama’s former *going* expressed in the perfect participle *jaganvān* naturally antecedes that of Yamī’s unfulfillable *wishing* expressed in the perfect optative *ā . . . vavṛtyām*. Even though this is a hypothetical mood (‘I would have liked to make [the companion] revert [to acts of companionship]’), it still refers to the past, if only to a possibility in the past, to one that now has passed beyond possible realization. At the present dramatic moment, the action of effectively *making* her companion Yama *revert* to acts of companionship cannot be realized any more by Yamī. However fervent her desire to make him come back may be, it is *in vain*.

Since Yamī knows the kind of companionship that Yama refers to with the *there*-deictic *d*-pronoun, she will of course be aware of its incestuous character, and therefore does not need the description of *etāt sakh,yām* given in the following *yād*-phrase: *sālakṣmā yād viṣurūpā bhāvāti*.⁶⁷

(“vielmehr”), considering semantics and etymology of *purú-/pūrvī-* “voll” und “viel” (‘much’ and ‘many’), plenitude or multitude would fit the ocean admirably well.

66 My translation, “And yet, . . . (even though) . . .”, places a decidedly greater emphasis on the opposition that sets the main sentence off against the subordinate clause, than if I said ‘on the one hand – on the other’.

67 Cf. the following two translations: “*daß* Blutsverwandtes (wie) Fremdartiges werde” (Geldner 1951: 3.134) and “*in that* she [=sexual partner] will have the same “marks” [=family characteristics] (though) dissimilar form [=gender]” (J&B 2014: 3.1382).

Here, both *lākṣmaṇ-* n. ‘mark, sign’ (ŚS 4x) in *sā-lakṣmaṇ-* (RV 2x) and *rūpā-* n. ‘color, form’ (RV 51x) in *viṣu-rūpa-* (RV 10x) seem to have a very special meaning. Apparently, they are based on the habit of a cattle-raising clan or people to “earmark” – *akṣ* (*akṣ-ṇo-*⁶⁸); cf. the verbal adjective *aṣṭā-* (RV 2x) in *nū-aṣṭa-* “verschnittene (Stiere)” [Geldner] at 1.33.6c and in *aṣṭa-karṇī-* f. “(cows) with cut-branded ears” [J&B] at 10.62.7c – or to “brand” their animals. The marking – even though, primarily, it will be a sign of ownership – would also help prevent incest among the cattle; and avoidance of inbreeding is essential to a healthy and prolific livestock.

Taking up a provisional attempt that I had made in my Freiburg paper (Knobl 2007b), I would again try to translate RV 10.10.2ab in a somewhat periphrastic way: ‘Nicht will dein Partner *die* [Art von] Partnerschaft *da* mit dir, [eine Partnerschaft,] *bei der* die mit demselben Kennzeichen [wie ihr Partner] (*sā-lakṣmaṇ-* f.) zu einer würde, deren Farbe [von der des Partners] abweiche (*viṣu-rūpā-* f.) [und mit der die geschlechtliche Vereinigung folglich erlaubt wäre].’ As a matter of fact, that change – from ‘one with the same marks’ to ‘one with different colors’ – is purely hypothetical; if it were possible, there would be no incest.

[11] ṚV 10.10.8ab (≈ ŚS 18.1.9ab ≈ PS 18.57.9ab)
ná tiṣṭhanti ná ní miṣanti *eté*
devánāṃ spása ihá yé cáranti |

‘They do not stand still, they do not close their eyes,
those (men) there, who circulate here as spies of the gods.’

This is one of the 27 examples I have discussed in an as-yet-unpublished article on “*ETÁD* as subject in sentence-final position” (Knobl forthc. 3). To be sure, in this particular case we could perhaps consider that *eté* ‘*those . . . there*’, though standing at the end of the first line, may be taken together with *devánāṃ spásaḥ* ‘spies of the gods’ of the second, and that it starts a new sentence; but this is not what I would seriously suggest.⁶⁸

There is a very distinct opposition between the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *eté* ‘*those [spies]*’ and the *here*-deictic clause *ihá yé cáranti* ‘*who circulate here*’.⁶⁹ It is difficult to conceive that *this* fact should be necessary in order to understand the exact reference of ‘*those [spies]*’, who are already characterized as being on the move (*ná tiṣṭhanti*) and keeping their eyes open (*ná ní miṣanti*). Rather, *this* is additional information calculated to strike fear into Yami’s heart.⁷⁰

68 It is not at all clear to me whether J&B take *eté* as (explicative, epexegetic) subject of the first two sentences in verse *a*, *ná tiṣṭhanti ná ní miṣanti*, or as belonging (in enjambment) with the phrase at the beginning of verse *b*, *devánāṃ spásaḥ*. See their translation (2014: 3.1383): “*They do not stand still; they do not blink – the spies of the gods who roam about here*” (*my italics*). With reasonable dubitation, one may ask: Is it the double “*they*” that renders *eté*, or the article in “*the spies*”? In either case, the *there*-deixis of the d-pronoun *ETÁD* has remained unexpressed.

69 The anapæst of *ihá yé* represents the metrical foot that is most frequently met with in the break of a trimetric verse. This position would also allow for a metrically and semantically equivalent *yá imé* (= *yé_ imé*). A comparable, if reverse, *YÁD–ETÁD* construction can be found at ṚV 10.71.9 *imé yé . . . tá eté . . .*, for which stanza see below, example [14].

70 In my partly published Freiburg paper (Knobl 2007b), I wrote: “Diese warnenden Worte des Yama, mit denen er der Zwillingschwester ihre obsessiven Inzestgedanken auszureden versucht, sind wie mit drohender Gebärde gesprochen. Denn dadurch, dass die Rede wechselt vom *da*-deiktischen *eté* – das *die* göttlichen Späher *da* noch in einigermaßen sicherem Abstand zu halten geeignet ist – zum *hier*-deiktischen *ihá* in dem Sätzchen *ihá yé cáranti* ‘welche *hier* patrouillieren’, rücken die spähenden Götterspione dem in Versuchung schwebenden Geschwisterpaar auf einmal beängstigend auf den Leib. Nicht, dass sich Yami durch die von himmlischer Seite ihnen drohende Gefahr etwa beeindruckt ließe. Vielmehr bemüht sie sich weiter nach Kräften, den ungeniert geliebten Zwillingsbruder zu verführen.”

[12] ṚV 10.16.8 (≈ ŚS 18.3.53 ≈ PS 18.74.7)
imám agne camasám má ví jihvaraḥ
prīyó devánām utá som'yánām |
eṣá yás^{ca} camasó devapānas
tásmin devá amṛtā mādayante ||

Lass, o Agni, *den* Becher *hier* [an der Bahre des Toten] nicht hin und her schwanken,⁷¹
 (den Becher,) der den Göttern und somawürdigen [Vätern] lieb ist.⁷²
 Und (andererseits) *der* Becher *da*, welcher den Göttern zum Trinken dient,⁷³ –
 an dem berauschen sich die unsterblichen Götter. (Knobl 2018: 114)

Naturally, *the* drinking vessel *there* (*eṣá* . . . *camasás*) is not only different, but also *at some distance* farther away from *the* drinking vessel *here* (*imám* . . . *camasám*). And the syntax suggests that in this particular context, the *there*-deictic pronoun *ETÁD* enjoys an even greater independence than in any of the other contexts discussed in the present section; because, all by themselves, the two relative/correlative pronouns *yás* . . . *tásmin* – the first of which follows immediately after *eṣá* – achieve a

⁷¹ The third/reduplicated aorist *ji-hvar-a-*^t (ṚV 1x) corresponds to the present causative *hvār-aya-*^{ti} / *hvāl-aya-*^{ti}, which seems to be attested only two times in Brāhmaṇa prose. Of this rare causative, [1] the present participle *ava-hvārayant-* occurs at JB 1.79: 5–6 *tam [=dronakalaśam] avahvārayan dakṣiṇā nirūhet*, and [2] the verbal adjective *sām-hvārita-* is found at ŚBM 1.2.5.16 (≈ ŚBK 2.2.3.15) *sá vái paścād váriyasī syāt | mádhye sām-hvāritā pūnaḥ purástād urvī evám iva hí yōśāṃ praśāmsanti pṛthúśronir vímṣṭāntarāmsā mádhye samgrāhyā* . . . “It (the altar [védi- f.]) should be broader on the west side, contracted in the middle, and broad again on the east side; for thus shaped they praise a woman: ‘broad about the hips, somewhat narrower between the shoulders, and contracted in the middle (or, about the waist)’ . . .” (Eggeling). For the gerundive *samgrāhyā-*, allegedly meaning “contracted” (!) according to Eggeling, see, however, B&R 7.541 s.v., Bedeutung 1: “zu umfassen, zu umfängen”, with reference to our ŚB passage. That ‘praiseworthy’ (*praśāmsyā*) woman’s waist would prove so excessively slender that it could be clasped or grasped (“embraced”) all around with two open hands at once.

⁷² This translation (“*der* . . . lieb ist”) seems to presuppose an original relative clause; and in fact, I am tempted to read *prīyó yó* as the first part of a subordinate sentence in which the second *yó* would have been lost by haplogy. However, in contradistinction to the subscript *ca* in verse *c* – which is *metrically* necessary and may as well be pronounced (see the following footnote) –, the expected relative pronoun *yás* in verse *b* is *syntactically* necessary, although metrically redundant, and should only be thought, *not* pronounced. For another possible case of *mental suppletion*, see Knobl forthc. 5.

⁷³ For the subscript *ca* before *camasó*, which I added in order to restore the metrical pattern of a regular *triṣṭubh*, see Knobl 2018: 114 n.31. The haplogical loss of a syllable (*ca camasó* → *camasó*), leading to a catalectic verse, may be supposed to have happened already in the original, whether it was intended by the poet or not. N&H’s suggestion, metrical note on ṚV 10.16.8c (1994: 542), to the effect that this *triṣṭubh* line of *ten* syllables (*T*¹⁰) has to be read with an exceptional *cæsura* after three (!), is but a *Notbehelf* and *Verlegenheitslösung*, only provisionally acceptable – as long as no better solution has been found.

complete *YÁD–TÁD* construction of their own. The poet seems to use the pronoun *eṣá* almost as a *there*-deictic exclamation or interjection,⁷⁴ by means of which he would just point at the second vessel, saying: ‘and *there!* *that* beaker, *which* . . .’, instead of ‘and *that* beaker *there*, *which* is the drinking vessel of the gods (*deva-pána-*)’.⁷⁵

[13] ṚV 10.50.6ab
etá vísvā sávanā tūtumá kṛṣe
svayám sūno sahaso yáni dadhiṣé |

All *those* soma-pressings you [o Agni] have made (*kṛṣe*) powerful (*tūtumá*),
which (soma-pressings) you, o Son of Strength, have made yours.

While in this translation,⁷⁶ *tūtumá* is understood as an adjective qualifying ‘all those soma-pressings’ (*etá vísvā sávanā*) as ‘powerful’,⁷⁷ and *kṛṣe* as a verb form (‘you have made’),⁷⁸ in J&B’s alternative rendering, which is based on a contracted *tūtumákṛṣe*, the first word, taken as *tūtumā*, is considered a verb form (“We have made . . . powerful”)⁷⁹ and the remaining *ákṛṣe* as a dative-infinitive (“to draw (you) here”).⁸⁰

74 In a manner similar to French *voilà!*

75 As is sometimes the case, compounds may be made up of words that are not yet attested individually. Thus, *pána-* does not occur before the AV (ŚS 1x), while *deva-pána-* is attested earlier, and also more frequently (ṚV 5x, ŚS 2x).

76 Cf. Geldner 1951: 3.211: “All diese Somaopfer hast du wirkungsvoll gemacht.”

77 The adjective *tūtumá-* occurs only twice in the ṚV, at 10.50.5d and 6a, in almost identical verses; see Lubotsky 1997: 1.600b. To be sure, tradition reads the last two words of 5d and 6a as . . . *tūtumá kṛṣe*; cf. the oldest interpretation of the *saṁhitā-pāṭha-*, that is, Śākalya’s *pada-pāṭha-*: *tūtumá / kṛṣe* // . We would be free, however, to contract the two words into *tūtumákṛṣe*, if this contraction led to a meaningful re-analysis. The only alternative that seems to offer itself is the one J&B have chosen, i.e. to read *tūtumā ákṛṣe*. For my criticism of this reading, see below.

78 It would appear that Geldner was the first to identify *kṛṣé* (ṚV 2x) and *kṛṣe* (ṚV 3x) as a perfect without reduplication; see his note on ṚV 8.3.20d “*kṛṣé = cakṛṣé*, Perf. ohne Redupl.”. Cf. Lubotsky 1997: 1.444a, where *kṛṣé* is hesitantly qualified as “nonce form[ation] (?)”. The regularly reduplicated 2nd person singular of the middle – *cakṛṣé* (ṚV 6x) or *cakṛṣe* (ṚV 4x) – is just a little more frequent.

79 According to Lubotsky 1997: 1.600b, the perfect of *tavⁱ/tū* < PIE **teuh₂/tuh₂* ‘schwellen, stark werden’ (*LIV* 639–640) is attested only once in the indicative (*tūtāva*) and thrice in the injunctive (*tūtos* 1x, *tūtot* 2x), unless these three forms belong to the third aorist, which seems, however, unlikely. See Whitney 1889: 312 § 868a, who first enumerates all the (12) very parallel verb forms that were considered reduplicated aorists: *tū-to-^t*, *du-dro-^t*, *dū-dho-^t*, *nū-no-^t*, *pi-pre-^t*, *pu-po-^t*, *mī-me-^t*, *yū-yo-^t*, *śi-śre-^t*, *śi-ṣe-^t*, *su-ṣo-^t*, *su-sro-^t*, and then goes on to conclude the paragraph by saying: “Few of these forms possess a necessarily causative or decidedly aoristic value, and it is very doubtful whether they should not be assigned to the perfect system.” No doubt, they should.

80 Cf. J&B 2014: 3.1458: “We have made all these soma-pressings powerful, to draw (you) here.”

However, the regular intonation of **ā-kṛṣ-*, if that compound existed at all,⁸¹ would have to be **ā-kṛṣ-*, not †*ā-kṛṣ-*. See the many examples of root-compounds with a preposition as first member that occur in the Ṛgveda, all of which carry the tone on the root-syllable.⁸²

Here, I find it difficult to decide whether the subordinate clause *svayám . . . yáni dadhiṣé* is limitative or not.⁸³ If Agni has made those soma-pressings strong and effective, does this not mean that he must have adopted and incorporated them first? Or could it be that he has made them his own only sometimes, and that therefore the *YÁD*–phrase would restrict the strengthening effect of Agni to a limited number of cases? Formulated thus, the two alternatives sound unequally convincing. And after some hesitation, I am inclined to consider it more likely that adoption or incorporation of the soma-pressings by Agni is a necessary condition for his action, and that the subordinate clause is merely descriptive, not restrictive.

2 The *YÁD*–*ETÁD* Construction in the Ṛgveda

This is the inverted version of the *ETÁD*–*YÁD* construction, and it occurs even less frequently than the one just discussed, which is already very rare.⁸⁴ Here too, the *YÁD*–phrase contains a verb or two: [14] *yé . . . cáranti* (a), [15] *yád . . . vádati* (a), *yát . . . kṛṇóti* (b); and, as in examples [5] *yás te ánnam* (d) and [12] *yás ca camasó* (c) of section A., we also find a noun – or rather, two – together with the relative pronoun in one and the same subordinate clause: [14] *yé . . . (a) brāhmaṇāso . . . sutékarāsaḥ* (b).

⁸¹ The root *kars/kṛṣ* ‘draw, drag, plow’ (class I present *kárs-a^{ti}* [ṚV 4x, ŚS 2x] / class VI present *kṛṣ-á^{ti}* [ṚV 4x, ŚS 2x]) < PIE **k^hels* ‘Furchen ziehen, einfurchen’ (LIV 388–389) does not seem to form any root-compound in Vedic. Nor is the root-noun *kṛṣ-* attested.

⁸² Suffice it to mention just four of the more frequent among the many dative-infinitives that occur in the ṚV: *abhi-cákṣ-e* (3x), *vi-cákṣ-e* (6x), *ā-dhṛṣ-e* (7x), *ā-rábh-e* (4x). For the intonation of root-compounds in general, see Scarlata 1999.

⁸³ Cf. the following two translations: “welche du . . . selbst dir angeeignet hast” (Geldner 1951: 3.211) and “which you have (now) taken into your own self” (J&B 2014: 3.1458).

⁸⁴ I am grateful to George Dunkel for having asked about this inversion of the *ETÁD*–*YÁD* construction, for which no example had been given in the paper that I presented at the 2019 Atharvaveda conference in Zurich. My brief impromptu reply to his question will have to be refined in the present section, where two exemplary ṚV stanzas are discussed, together with their AV parallels. In the course of my discussion, I will quote a few German passages that were formulated earlier on, in partly published (Knobl 2018), partly unpublished (Knobl 2007b) texts.

This section of the paper is offered to professor Dunkel, as a token of respect and admiration.

[14] ṚV 10.71.9
imé yé nárvañ ná parás cáranti
ná brāhmaṇáso ná sutékarāsaḥ |
tá eté vácama abhipádyā pāpáyā
sirís tántraṃ tanvate áprajajñayaḥ ||

Die, welche *hier* sich nicht herwärts und nicht hinwärts bewegen,
 die keine [echten] Dichter sind⁸⁵ und nicht handelnd Anteil am Soma haben,⁸⁶
 die fallen *da* auf üble Art und Weise über die Rede her und ziehen – so unwissend
 wie unwirksam⁸⁷ – ‘Spinnfäden’ (*sirís*) als ihre Gewebekette auf. (Knobl 2018)⁸⁸

85 The subordinate clause *yé . . . ná brāhmaṇásas* ‘[these here,] who are no (true) poet-priests’ may be compared with the negative compound *á-brāhmaṇa-* m. ‘non-Brahman’ (W&L), which first occurs in the AV (ŚS 5.17.8b; 11.1.32b; 12.4.43d, and 12.4.44c = 46c). In Vedic, this compound simply means ‘one who is not a poet-priest’; it does not yet seem to be attested in the sense of ‘bad/unworthy *brāhmaṇá-*’. According to W&D 1957: II 1.79 § 31d, *a-brāhmaṇa-* meaning “der kein rechter Brahmane ist” (“mit Verneinung der prägnant gefaßten Bedeutung des Hinterglieds” [!]) only occurs in classical Sanskrit. See, however, the early Vedic *á-dhenu-* f. ‘milk-cow not yielding milk’ (ṚV 1.117.20a, 10.71.5c; ŚS 6.59.1c ≈ PS 19.14.10c), and cf. German *Undichter* ‘unechter Dichter, (Dichterling, Poetaster)’, *Unmensch* ‘unmenschlicher Mensch’, or *Unwetter* ‘(extrem) schlechtes Wetter’.

86 If the negative phrase *ná sutékarāsaḥ* really referred to certain, inadequate poet-priests as the ones “who do not perform in the soma-pressing” (J&B) or “die nicht bei dem Soma mitwirken” (Geldner), would this not mean that the unique compound *suté-kara-* (ṚV 1x) is considered an agent noun? However, if it were that, a regular **sute-kará-* should be expected instead; cf. *-kára-* m. (*-kārī-* f.) as second member in some 20 comparable oxytone compounds occurring in the Saṁhitās: [1] *brahma-kára-* (ṚV 6.29.4c), [2] *medhā-kára-* (ṚV 10.91.8a), [3] *yut-kára-* (ṚV 10.103.2b); [4] *ailaba-kára-* (ŚS 11.2.30a ≈ PS 16.106.10a); [5] *iṣu-kára-* (VSM 30.7), [6] *jyā-kára-* (VSM 30.7), [7] *dhanuṣ-kára-* (VSM 30.7), [8] *mañi-kára-* (VSM 30.7), [9] *ratha-kára-* (VSM 30.6), [10] *surā-kára-* (VSM 30.11), [11] *hiranya-kára-* (VSM 30.17), etc. For another *-kára-* compound the first member of which stands in a case-form, see [12] *bhakṣam-kára-* (MS 4.7.3: 96.14).

The actual accentuation of the first member suggests that *suté-kara-* is a bahuvrīhi; the form of the second, that we may have to do with *kará-* ‘hand’ (ṚV 2x [1.116.13a and 10.67.6b], ŚS 1x [12.2.2b]). The compound could, therefore, rather refer to one ‘who *has a hand* in the soma-pressing’. For the meaning, cf. the root-compound *sute-gṛbh-* (ṚV 1x [5.44.5a]) “in den Soma greifend (um zu schöpfen)” (B&R 7.1055): *suté [karéṇa = hástena] gṛbhñāti/gṛhñāti [gráham (!)]*. In this compound, neither the direct object (*gráha-* m. ‘scoop’ [ṚV 1x, ŚS 3x]), nor the organ or instrument of scooping (*kará-* m. ‘hand’ [ṚV 2x, ŚS 1x] or *camasá-* m. ‘ladle’ [ṚV 23x, ŚS 8+*3x]) are explicitly mentioned; they are, however, necessarily implied in the action, tacitly taking part in it as the *kāra-ka-* (act-participant) *karmaṇ-* and *karāṇa-* respectively, the locative *suté-* (literally: ‘in the [pressing process of the] pressed [soma-drink]’) collaborating as the *adhi-karāṇa-*.

87 For the two different meanings of the adjective *á-prajajñi-*: either ‘ignorant’, if it is based on the verbal compound *pra-jñā-*, or ‘unproductive’, if it belongs with *pra-jan-*ⁱ, see Knobl 2018: 117 n.42.

88 For this translation and the suggested meaning ‘Spinnfaden’ of *sirí-/sirī-* f. (ṚV 1x), see Knobl 2018: 117–118, example (12).

Even though the two d-pronouns *imé* and *eté*, by virtue of their marked demonstrative divergence, stand in clear opposition to one another, *imé yé* and *tá eté* are, none the less, correferential, insofar as they separately point at the same group of persons: first, at *these*, who are *here*, and then, at *those*, who are *there*; but both of them – *these* as well as *those* – are the identical unpoetic poets or unpriestly priests.⁸⁹

[15] ṚV 10.165.4 (≈ PS 19.27.11; 4ab ≈ ŚS 6.29.1bc, 4d = ŚS 6.28.3d)
yád úlūko vádati moghám etád
yát kapótaḥ padám agnáu kṛṇóti |
yásya dūtáḥ práhita eṣá etát
tásmai yamāya námo astu mṛtyáve ||

Was *der* Uhu (*da*) tönt, nichtig ist *das* (*da*);⁹⁰
 welche Fußspur *der* Tauber (*da*) [in der Asche] am Feuer macht,
 [nichtig ist auch *die* (*da*)].
 Ehre soll sein dem Yama, dem Tode,
 als wessen Bote ausgesandt *der da das da* [tut]. (Knobl 2007b)⁹¹

“Das maskuline *eṣás* ‘*der da*’ in Vers c meint ebenso den Uhu (*úlūka*- m.) in *a* wie den Tauber (*kapóta*- m.) in *b*. Und das danebenstehende Neutrum *etád* ‘*das da*’ bezieht sich sowohl auf *yád* . . . *vádati* ‘was er (*der* Uhu [*da*]) tönt’ als auch auf *yát* . . . *padám* . . . *kṛṇóti* ‘welche Fußspur er (*der* Tauber [*da*]) macht.’⁹²

⁸⁹ “Diese (= die *Undichter* und *Unpriester*) werden zwar zunächst, ganz neutral und objektiv, als ‘*die hier*’ angesprochen, da sie offenbar an demselben Ort versammelt sind wie all die anderen zum dichterischen Wettstreit angetretenen Brahmanen. Aber dann *distanziert sich* der Dichter dieser Strophe mit ‘*die da*’ von ihnen, weil sie eben doch nicht richtig dazugehören, jedenfalls nicht zu ihm und seinesgleichen. Aufgrund ihres inkompetenten und also auch unkollegialen Verhaltens haben sie sich seine *da*-deiktische *Abweisung* zugezogen. Das D-Pronomen *ETÁD* ist also hier auch *distanzierend-despektierlich* gebraucht.” (Knobl 2018: 118, comment on example [12], slightly modified).

⁹⁰ The main sentence *moghám etád* in 4a, with the *there*-deictic pronoun as subject in *final* position – for which see Knobl forthc. 3, where some thirty examples of *ETÁD* placed at the end of a verse or sentence are discussed – and with an adverb as *fronted* predicate, could also mean ‘*let that be in vain*’, if the imperative *astu* of verse 4d were anticipated. Cf. Geldner (1951: 3.392): “das *soll eitel sein*”, but J&B (2014: 3.1646): “that *comes to nothing*” (*my italics*). Actually, the indicative may be felt to have a greater impact than the imperative.

⁹¹ This translation and the following remarks are taken from the unpublished part of my Freiburg paper (Knobl 2007b). Cf. the rendering of that somewhat complicated stanza into English (Knobl 2003: 5 = Knobl 2009c: 143): “What sound the owl makes, *that* be in vain; and what footprint the dove makes [in the ashes] at the fireside, [*that*, too, be in vain]. Obeisance be to him – as whose envoy *that* [owl] (*that* [dove]), which has been sent out, [makes] *that* [sound] (*that* [footprint]) – to Yama, to Death!”.

⁹² Unfortunately, the German vocabulary does not seem to allow for using a *neuter noun* as a translation word of Vedic *padá*- n. ‘footfall, footprint, footstep, footpath’ (ṚV 109x). While the two

Es sieht nun zwar zunächst so aus, als erschöpfe sich *etád* des ersten Satzes – *yád úlūko vādati moghám etád* ‘Was der Uhu tönt, nichtig ist *das*’ – in seiner korrelativen Funktion. Aber der stärker *da*-deiktische Gebrauch von *eśás* und *etád* in Vers *c* macht es wahrscheinlich, dass auch schon *etád* in Vers *a* so aufzufassen ist und eine Übersetzung ‘Was *der* Uhu (*da*) tönt, nichtig ist *das* (*da*)’ ihre Berechtigung hat.

Von dem dreimaligen *ETÁD* in dieser Strophe lässt sich abschließend noch folgendes sagen: Mit der *distanzierenden* Funktion des *da*-deiktischen Pronomens⁹³ soll offenbar eine *apotropäische* Wirkung erzielt werden. Zugleich mit der vom Wunsch beseelten Behauptung, dass Schrei des Uhus und Schritt des Taubers vergleichlich geschrien und geschritten seien, rückt allein schon der Gebrauch des Pronomens der mittleren Distanz sie als *das da* in eine gewisse, weit weniger gefährliche Ferne, ja wird die Bedrohung durch die beiden Unglücksvögel und Todesboten womöglich ganz von uns abgewendet.” (Knobl 2007b)

It is on account of a remarkable surplus of meaning – brought about by the special *there*-deictic character, which so conspicuously distinguishes *ETÁD* – that this pronoun transcends the purely correlative function. Although, referentially, *ETÁD* partly depends on the *YÁD*-phrase, and therefore is, to a certain extent, defined and limited by it, the greater demonstrative force of the *there*-deictic pronoun guarantees a partial *independence* of the triple *ETÁD* from the three subordinate clauses.⁹⁴

In this rare and precious example, it is not only the more emphatic *there*-deixis that makes the difference, but also the added *disparaging* connotation of *ETÁD*.⁹⁵

inauspicious bird-names “*der* Uhu” and “*der* Tauber” – masculine nouns that happen to be available in the language – are congeneric with Vedic *úlūka*- m. ‘owl’ (RV 1x) and *kapóta*- m. ‘dove’ (RV 6x) respectively, ‘*die* Fußspur’ (or, ‘*die* Fußstapfe’) is as generically different from *padá*- n. as ‘*der* Fußabdruck’ would be. I wish we could make the neuter ‘*das* Füßchen’ mean ‘footprint’. If that were possible, I should feel free to render verse 4b *yát kapótaḥ padám agnáu karóti* in a more *padá*-fitting way: ‘welches “Füßchen” *der* Tauber (*da*) [in der Asche] am Feuer macht, [nichtig ist auch *das* (*da*)]’.

⁹³ This particular *distancing* – and, as a result, *derogatory* – function of the *there*-deictic d-pronoun is a quite natural consequence of its pointing at a certain *distance*. In a separate section of Knobl 2007b, two dozen examples taken from the RV are quoted in proof of a *deprecatory* connotation that *ETÁD* occasionally has. Cf. also Knobl 2018: 108 with n.6.

⁹⁴ By contrast, in the *YÁD*-*TÁD* construction of the second distich, RV 10.165.4cd *yásya dūtáḥ . . . tásmāi yamáya . . .* ‘whose messenger . . ., to that Yama . . .’, *TÁD* is entirely dependent on *YÁD*. Obeisance must be made to Yama (=Death), insofar as the two sinister birds, the owl and the dove, are His ominous messengers. The poet’s respect or reverence is conditioned by *their* threatening appearance, the owl’s hooting and the dove’s footing.

⁹⁵ For a more or less reviling / debasing / degrading / denigrating shade of meaning the *there*-deictic d-pronoun may sometimes convey, see above, footnote 93, and the references given there.

3 *Split or Double Reference of ETÁD in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda*

Before discussing, in the next section (D.), the *ETÁD–yád* construction first occurring in the Atharvaveda – a construction that is significantly different from the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction of both ṚV and AV–, I will first take up two couplets and one stanza of the Yama-and-Yamī dialog, ṚV 10.10.3ab (= ŚS 18.1.2ab ≈ PS 18.57.3ab), ṚV 10.10.11cd (= ŚS 18.1.12cd ≈ PS 18.58.2cd), and ŚS 18.1.14 (≈ PS 18.58.3ab, 4cd), where the d-pronoun *etád* functions in a twofold way, both as *that* and as *this*, anaphorically as well as cataphorically, at one and the same time.⁹⁶

In the *ultimately* vain attempt to seduce her twin half-brother Yama,⁹⁷ lovesick and languishing Yamī resorts to the gods, early on in the dialogue-hymn ṚV 10.10, with the apparent intention to claim the gods’ – moral or immoral? – support for her seductive efforts.

Yama formulates his blunt refusal of her amorous advances in verse 2a *ná te sákhā sakh,yám̐ vaṣṭ,y etát* ‘Your companion does not want *that* [immoral] companionship (of yours) *there*.’⁹⁸ Briskly reacting to that denial, Yamī has recourse, in the following stanza, to the will of a higher authority, to one that could be expected to carry greater conviction than her own desire. This is what she says in that distich:

[16] ṚV 10.10.3ab (= ŚS 18.1.3ab ≈ PS 18.57.3ab)
uśánti ghā té amṛtāsa etád
ékasya cit tyajásam márt,yasya /

‘The immortals do want [just] *that* – namely *this* –:
 an heir of the one-and-only mortal [on earth].’⁹⁹

⁹⁶ One part of the present section is based on a footnote in my mind-reading article (Knobl 2007a: 116 n.32 = Knobl 2009c: 56 n.32); another part, on one of the three as-yet-unpublished papers I presented at the 14th World Sanskrit Conference in Kyoto (Knobl 2009a).

⁹⁷ When I say “*ultimately* vain”, I do not mean to contradict the fact that from the very beginning of this hymn, i.e. already in the first verse of the first stanza, at 10.10.1a, the *futility* of Yamī’s wishful trying is implied in the optative of the perfect *á . . . vavṛtyām* ‘I would have liked [however (*u*)] to make [my companion] revert [to acts of companionship]’, if that optative is properly understood as a *hypothetical mood*; see above, footnote 60.

⁹⁸ For a discussion of the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction in the distich ṚV 10.10.2ab, see above, example [10].

⁹⁹ And she means to say in this indirect way: ‘Procreative love is precisely the sort of companionship that I, Yamī, would have desired to enjoy with you, Yama.’ The ‘heir’ (*tyajás-* m. [ṚV 1x]), which is internally derived from *tyajas-* n. ‘the leaving behind, dereliction, abandonment’ [ṚV 9x]), mentioned in 3b, refers to the same male descendent that was strangely called *pitúr nāpāt-* ‘grandson of the father’ in 1c.

To be sure, we may interpret the demonstrative force of *etád* as functioning in two different directions: as *that* it refers back to what preceded (to the left [←] or above [↑]), as *this* it points forward at what will follow (to the right [→] or below [↓]).¹⁰⁰ Finally, however, both *this* and *that* indicate one and the same person, the male descendent wanted by the immortals as ‘an heir of the one-and-only mortal [on earth].’

The pronoun *etád* appears to display a two-directional – *split* or *double* – and, therefore, diverging reference also in the words that Yamī aims at Yama in this second distich:

[17] ṚV 10.10.11cd (= ŚS 18.1.12cd ≈ PS 18.58.2cd)
kāmamūtā bah_av etád rapāmi
tan_avā me tan_avaṁ sām pipṛgdhi //

‘Moved by desire, I keep babbling *that* – namely *this* –:
 “Do commingle [your] body with my body!”.¹⁰¹

In functioning as *that*, *etád* refers (anaphorically [↑] or leftward [←]) back to what was meant by the same *etád* in verse 2a *ná te sákhā sakhyaṁ vaṣṭy etát* ‘Your companion [o Yamī] does not want *that* [immoral, incestuous] companionship (of yours) *there*.’¹⁰²

100 It is very convenient that in English we are allowed to distinguish between *that* and *this* in a two-directional way: *that* pointing backward or leftward, *this* pointing forward or rightward; cf. The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark: “To be, or not to be: *that* is the question” (III 1) on the one hand, and, on the other, “*This* above all: to thine owne selfe be true” (I 3).

101 Literally, *bahú* . . . *rapāmi* means ‘I babble much’, the adverb ‘much’ in the iterative sense of ‘many times over, again and again’. The frequentative meaning, as it may also be called, could have been expressed by the intensive **rārapāmi* as well; cf. *rārapīti* at ṚV 6.3.6b *śociśā rārapīti mitrámahāḥ* ‘He (Agni) chatters-and-prattles with his flame’, in a verse displaying a mid-word caesura of a very rare kind, of one that is represented by only five intensive formations – three finite verb forms ([1] the indicative *rārapīti*, [2] the injunctive *daviḍyot*, and [3] the subjunctive *parpharat*), [4] a participle (*márṁjatas*), and [5] a substantivized adjective (*cārḥcaram*) –; for a detailed discussion of these forms, see Knobl 2021: 175ff.

For the neuter singular *bahú* (ṚV 7x, ŚS 13+*1x) functioning as an *adverb* only once in the Ṛgveda, see Knobl 2007a: 71 n.77 = Knobl 2009c: 131 n.77. For a few examples of adverbial *bahú* in the Paippalāda-Samhitā – at PS 3.37.9d *atho tvā rodayān bahu* “et ensuite ils te feront beaucoup pleurer” and PS 7.13.14b = 15.19.12b *ichantiḥ prayutaṁ bahu* “eagerly seeking out the unsuspecting person” –, see Spiers 2020: 545–546 and Griffiths 2009: 396. Delbrück 1888: 185–186 mentions a single occurrence of the adverb in Vedic prose, i.e. at ŚBM 4.1.5.14 *bahú manusyēṣu sámsṛṣtam acāriṣtam* ‘You two [Aśvins] moved *much* about [as divine physicians] among men, in promiscuous contact [with them].’

102 Shall we render *te* in ṚV 10.10.2a two times: once as ‘*your* [companion]’ and once as ‘[*that* companionship] *of yours* [there]’? According to what I have said above, in footnote 32, with regard to the *you*-deixis sometimes inherent to the *there*-deixis of *ETÁD* – namely that *te* in [1] ṚV 1.31.18ab

In functioning as *this*, *etád* refers (cataphorically [↓] or rightward [→]) to the following urgent request explicitly stating, for clarity’s sake, the contents of *that*: ‘Do commingle [your] body with my body!’

[18] ŚS 18.1.14 (≈ PS 18.58.3ab/4cd; ab ≈ ṚV 10.10.12ab)

ná vá u te tanúm tanvâ sám paṛcyâm
pāpām āhur yáḥ svásāraṃ nigáčhāt /
ásamyad etán mánaso ḥṛdó me
bhrátā svásuḥ śáyane yác cháýīya //

‘Not at all would I have mixed [my] body with your body;¹⁰³
 evil they call [him] who would come down on [his] sister.¹⁰⁴
This – namely *that* – [would be] discordant (*ásamyat*) to my mind and heart,
that I as [your] brother should be lying there (*śáyīya*) in [my] sister’s lair (*śáyane*).¹⁰⁵

Because of the *ETÁD*–*YÁD* construction in the second distich (14cd), this stanza could have been quoted in section A. It has, however, its proper place here, in section C.; not only does stanza [18] belong to the same hymn as the distichs [16] and [17] – that is, to the Yama-and-Yamī dialog –, but also is the (*two-directional*) function of *etád* in 14c yet another good example of the “*split or double reference*” this d-pronoun sometimes displays.

and [3] ṚV 3.33.8ab, if it were added to the pronoun, would be superfluous –, we should take *te* in ṚV 10.10.2a primarily with *sákhā* ‘your companion’, and only secondarily with *sakhýám* . . . *etát* ‘that companionship (*of yours*) there’.

103 For the optative of the perfect as a *hypothetical mood* (or, *modus irrealis*), see above, footnotes 60 and 97.

104 The distich ŚS 18.1.14ab – showing the secondary accusative *tanúm* (for *tan_ivam*) in *a* – is to be compared with the more original couplet ṚV 10.10.12ab (≈ PS 18.58.3ab) *ná vá u te tan_ivā tan_ivarṃ sám paṛcyâm pāpām āhur yáḥ svásāraṃ nigáčhāt* “No, I would never commingle my body with your body. Evil they call [him] who should come down on his sister” (Knobl 2007a: 131 = Knobl 2009c: 71; *ibid.*: 131–135 = 71–75, the drastically hypermetrical *triṣṭubh* [T¹⁴] (!) of *pāda a* is interpreted as an irregularity likely to be intended by the poet, who may have ventured it for the sake of creating a *surplus of meaning*).

The subsequent two verses, ŚS 18.1.14cd, have no parallel in the Ṛgveda.

105 Or else, ‘if I . . . were to be lying there’, because we could understand the optative *śáyīya* as a potential mood. For the *there-deictic* (!), *de-particular* (!) – and not only “stative” – Vedic root *śay/śi* ‘to be lying there’ (ṚV 51x, ŚS 29x) < PIE *kei/ki* ‘[da]liegen’ (cf. LIV 320), see Knobl 2009b.

ŚS 18.1.14d *śáyane* . . . *śáyīya* ‘[that] I should be lying there in a [sister’s] lair’ – the intransitive verb being construed with a cognate noun in the *locative* – is an etymological construction of a rather rare kind. For a similar example, see above, in the comment on [6]: ṚV 7.7.5ab *ásādi* . . . *nṛsádane* “Agni has been seated at the seat of men” (J&B 2014: 2.892). As here, at ṚV 7.7.5ab, ‘seated’ and ‘seat’ are related through a common origin, so there, at ŚS 18.1.14d, ‘lying’ and ‘lair’ (German “Lager”). More frequent is the construction of a transitive verb with a cognate *accusative*, such as *tántram tanvate* at ṚV 10.71.9d, for which see above, example [14].

In order better to understand what happens in the three ṚV or AV passages quoted above, at [16] 10.10.3ab, [17] 10.10.11cd, and [18] ŚS 18.1.14, we may perhaps compare the fifth and last stanza of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's poem "Selige Sehnsucht" in his West-Östlicher Divan, VIII. Buch: Suleika, in which stanza *das* ('that') and *dieses* ('this') co-occur and clearly refer – the first, implicitly; the second, explicitly – to one and the same arcane truth ("Sagt es niemand, nur den Weisen, Weil die Menge gleich verhöhnet," [1ab]), the mysterious insight that ecstatic life lusts to die-in-flames ("Das Lebend'ge will ich preisen, Das nach Flammentod sich sehnet." [1cd]). Now, *that* stanza runs like *this*:

Und solange Du *das* nicht hast,
Dieses: Stirb und werde!
 Bist Du nur ein trüber Gast
 Auf der dunklen Erde.

4 The *ETÁD–yád* Construction in the Atharvaveda

As pointed out above, the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction of ṚV and AV is very rare. Vedic Prose, on the other hand, is replete with sentences of the *ETÁD–YÁD* variety, of which two subtypes need to be distinguished. One preserves the kind of construction that we know already from ṚV and AV, in which *ETÁD* and *YÁD* refer to the same nucleus, agreeing with it in gender and number,¹⁰⁶ unless *YÁD* takes the form of the neuter singular *yád* and works as conjunction.¹⁰⁷

In the other subtype, *ETÁD* and *YÁD* are likewise co-referential, but now *YÁD* has altogether lost its variability. That inflexible neutral form, different in character from the conjunction *yád*, may be called *yád figé*.¹⁰⁸

106 The following are a few examples of the first subtype: KS 8.12: 95.16 *ayajñó hí_ eṣá yó_ anagnír* 'Without sacrifice is he who is without fire', KS 11.8: 154.7–8 *ná_ eṣá jīvo ná_ mṛtó yá_ āmayāví* 'Neither alive nor dead is he who is diseased', KS 11.8: 154.8–9 *várunagr̥hīta eṣá yá_ āmayāví* 'Seized by Varuṇa is he who is diseased', TS 6.4.9.1–2 *ápūto hí_ eṣó_ amedhyó yó_ bhiṣák* 'For impure is he, unfit for sacrifice, who is a physician'.

107 This may be the case in ṚV 3.33.8ab *etád_ váco . . . á_ yát_ te_ ghóṣān . . .*; see above, example [3], where *yád* was taken as a conjunction of purpose in the sense of "en sorte que" by Renou and "so that" by J&B. Cf. also above, (1) the discussion on example [7] ṚV 7.56.4 *etáni . . . ninyá . . . yád_ údhas . . .*, with footnote 48, and (2) the discussion on example [9] ṚV 10.10.2ab *sakh'yám . . . etát . . . yád . . .*, with footnote 58.

108 *ETÁD–yád* constructions of this second type are extremely well attested in Vedic Prose: In the Aitareya-Brahmaṇa alone, more than a hundred examples – 118, to be exact – are reported to

The first attestations of that *yād*, which I fancied styling *figé*, can be found in several prose passages of the Śaunaka-Saṁhitā; see below, samples [1]–[6] in section G.

Surprisingly, that inflexible *yād* also occurs – although in the absence of an expected concomitant *ETĀD* – in a metrical text of the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā.

[19] PS 6.9.1

vṛṣāyam aṁśur vṛṣabhāya gṛhyate
vṛṣāyam ugro *gṛhyate* *ṛcakṣase* /
divyo naryo acikradan
mahan nāma ṛśabhasya yat kakut //

The Bull here, the [soma plant's] stalk, [its draught] is drawn for the Bull (Indra).

The Bull here, the awesome one, [is drawn] for the manly-eyed one.¹⁰⁹

The heavenly one, the manly one has just uttered a roar.

Great is the name of the Bull, namely *HUNCH*.

In our *yād figé* context, we are mainly concerned with the last line of this stanza.¹¹⁰ It was translated by Griffiths (2009: 110) in a way that seems to overly simplify the surprising construction for the sake of a straightforward meaning: “The withers of the bull are called Great.”¹¹¹

occur; see Verpoorten 1977. And it is safe to say that the total number of *ETĀD*–*yād* occurrences in Vedic prose adds up to well over one thousand.

109 The incomplete parallelism of verses *a* and *b* seems to call for metrical and syntactic completion. While *a* is a perfect Jagatī, *b* falls short of a dodecasyllabic verse by no fewer than *three* syllables; however, on account of its normal, pentasyllabic opening (*vṛṣāyam ugro*) and, more importantly, a very regular iambic cadence (*ṛcakṣase*), *b* could still pass for a Jagatī, if only for a drastically catalectic one (J⁹). The addition of a subscript *gṛhyate* in line *b* – at the place where the *break* should be – would restore both meter and syntax to normalcy.

This is a well-known syntactic phenomenon, that in two parallel sentences, the finite verb appears only in the first, and is *elliptically* left out in the second: verb *deletion* as one kind of *gapping*. For a different kind, see Selva (2019: 87–88), who suggests understanding the two-term enumeration at PS 17.13.5a *kimāsutām *nagnahvyam* in the sense of “The demoness who makes the liquor go bad, the one who is a [bad] ferment”, assuming a loss by *ellipsis* of another **kim* before the second word, in combination with which it would become, if it were restored, the first member of a new compound, **kimnagnahvyam* ‘bad ferment’, parallel to *kimāsutām*.

110 Metrically speaking, *pāda d* may be defined as a typically catalectic Jagatī (J¹¹), with 4+7 (instead of 4+8 or 5+7) syllables. As Griffiths (2009: 111) has already pointed out, the *cæsura* (after four syllables) suggests that we follow the Kashmirian codex reading *ṛśabhasya*, and not the Orissan manuscripts, which read *ṛśabhasya*.

111 If this is the meaning that was intended by the poet, why did he not simply say *ṛśabhasya mahatya ucyate kakut*, for instance, and thus produce a very regular Jagatī into the bargain? Why would he take the trouble to introduce that mysterious *yād figé*, if it had no function of its own?.

Ever since I first discussed, almost two decades ago, the pre-print edition of his Leiden proefschrift with Arlo Griffiths, it has unchangingly been my intuitive feeling – or shall I say, my *hunch*¹¹² – that *mahan nāma ṛṣabhasya yat kakut* must have a different meaning, one that is closer to a very specific construction, known to us only from Vedic prose, but likely to have been more or less consciously present in the author’s mind. Or rather, a construction that may have preexisted in the *spoken* Vedic language, and which the author could have used – if he had wanted to sound *prosaic* or *colloquial*.

The neuter pronoun *yad*, which proves to be *figé* because of its non-agreement with the feminine *kakud*,¹¹³ should not be neglected. By virtue of that *yad*, the syntactically incomplete line *has* [once for all] *cried out* (*acikradat*)¹¹⁴ – to the pointed ears of an acutely listening mind –, with the exacting intensity of a *roaring* bull, for syntactical completion. A second pronoun, even though it is obviously missing, seems to be implied and, without any difficulty, could be supplied, if only mentally: the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *ETAD* in one – or even two – of its several divergent functions.¹¹⁵

If we wished to reformulate this typically catalectic Jagatī (J¹¹) – a verse defective by just one syllable – in the manner of a regular Brāhmaṇa-prose *ETÁD-yád* construction, we would have the choice between two slightly different types:

- [a] *mahad vai nāma etad ṛṣabhasya yat kakut*,
 [b] *etad vai mahan nāma ṛṣabhasya yat kakut*.¹¹⁶

112 A *hunch* in the sense of ‘premonition’, and a premonition because I intuitively felt that this unique – *unattracted* – relative pronoun *yad* occurring in a metrical text of the Atharvaveda *adumbrates*, in the very absence of the expected correlative *ETAD*, the frequent *ETÁD-yád* construction of Vedic Prose.

113 With *kakúd-* f. ‘hump, hunch’ (RV 1x, ŚS 6x), cf. the synonymous and etymologically more genuine *kakúbh-* f. ‘id.’ (RV 6x, ŚS 1x); see Mayrhofer 1992–1996: 1.287 s.v. *kakúbh-* ‘Spitze, Gipfel’.

114 Originally, the present tense of the Vedic root *krand/krad* ‘roar’ is attested in three forms: [1] as the thematic root-present *kránd-a-ti* (RV 18x, ŚS 12x), [2] as the intensive *káni-krand-ti* (RV 37x, ŚS 1x), and [3] as the later, secondary intensive *kani-krad-yá-te* (e.g. ŚB 6.4.4.7 *kanikradyámāna-*). In the R̥gveda, the “type IV” intensive (for which see Schaefer 1994: 55ff. and 109–110) proves more than twice as frequent as the class I present (for which see Gotō 1987: 116). For the two reduplicated aorist formations – *ca-krad-a-t* and *ci-krad-a-t*, different in form, but scarcely different in meaning, both being predominantly non-causative –, see Jamison 1983: 110–111. The very form *acikradat/acikradat* occurs (5+12=)17 times in the RV, (1+1=)2 times in the ŚS.

115 For the uniquely multifunctional nature of the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *ETÁD*, see above, the introductory part of this paper.

116 Examples for both of these perfectly possible formulations can be found by the hundreds in Vedic prose. For type [a], where the predicate of the main sentence is fronted, cf., e.g., MS 1.6.3: 89.8–9 *asuryò vá etá yád ósadhayaḥ* ‘Dæmonesses are *these* – i.e. *those* Herbs.’ For type [b], cf., e.g., MS 1.6.6: 95.12 *eṣá hí rudrá yád agñiḥ* ‘For *this* – namely *that* Agni – is Rudra.’ Of the two types,

Excursus (2) on the Non-Attraction of *yad*

We may wonder why, in sentences of this kind, the relative pronoun *yad* does not agree in gender and number with the noun or nouns to which it syntactically belongs. Why does it not change, in our specific case, to **yā*, since *kakud-* is feminine in gender?

Curiously, it *did* change in the parallel mantra variant at TB 2.4.7.1, where we read *bṛhán náma / vṛṣabhásya yá kakút* ‘high is the name (*this* name, [**etán*] *náma*) of the bull, (namely *that* name, [**etán*] *náma*), which is “hunch”.¹¹⁷ And that change was brought about by grammatical attraction of the logical subject, an original **yád* – which anaphorically points back at the neuter *náma* –, to the following feminine predicate *kakúd-*, resulting in the relative pronoun *yá*.

While wondering why the expected attraction of the pronoun *yad* to the noun *kakud* does not occur in the PS variant, we might remember similar cases of non-attraction: the famous Upaniṣadic formula *tat tvam asi*, for example, in ChU 6 (occurring 9 times: at 6.8.7, 6.9.4, 6.10.3, 6.11.3, 6.12.3, 6.13.3, 6.14.3, 6.15.3, and 6.16.3); or Pāṇini’s definition, for instance, of the neuter *saṃpradāna-*, the second *kāraka-* in a series of six or seven act-participants,¹¹⁸ at Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.32 *karmanā yam abhi praiti sa saṃpradānam*.¹¹⁹

As a first step towards the proper understanding of the surprising non-attraction in these as in some other cases, we would be justified in saying that the main condition for the pronoun’s attraction is not fulfilled: by rights, it should be subject, and the noun (or nouns) predicate.

The absence of attraction indicates, on the other hand, that neither *yad* at PS 6.9.1d *yat kakut*, nor *tad* at ChU 6.8.7–6.16.3 *tat tvam asi*, nor *sa* at Pāṇini, Aṣṭādhyāyī

[a] may prove more frequent, but it is [b] that the twelve *ETĀD*–*yad* constructions of PS 9.21.1–12 exclusively follow; see the next section (E.).

117 Here, the *split* or *double* reference of *ETĀD* is only implicit; one and the same *náma* is tacitly referred to by the pronoun: once cataphorically with *this* ([**etád*]¹) and once anaphorically with *that* ([**etád*]²).

118 Seven, if the *hetu-* m. ‘cause; causer’ (*causator*) or ‘causal agent’ – who is defined at Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.55 *tat-prayojako hetuś ca* as the ‘instigator’ (*prayojaka-*) of ‘that’ (*tad-*), that is, of the otherwise ‘independent’ (*svatantra-*) ‘agent’ (*kartar-*); cf. the definition of the agent as ‘the independent one’ at Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.54 *svatantraḥ kartā* – is counted in, not only as a second agent but as an agent of the second degree.

119 For a syntactical analysis of this *sūtra*, see Knobl forthc. 1; and for a critical discussion of the *kāraka*-section in Pāṇini’s grammar (Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.23–55) as an example of *hierarchically* ordered, *climactic* enumeration – ascending from the remotest act-participant, the so-called *apādāna-* n. (24), to the *kartar-* m. (54) and the *hetu-* m. (55) at the top, the two *kāraka-*s that are closest to the verbal action itself: the central *kriyā-* f. reigning supreme –, see Knobl 2010.

1.4.32 *sa sampradānam* could be subjects of their respective sentences, because, if they were, they would be attracted;¹²⁰ which means, they must be predicates.

Are we, however, justified in assuming that the *ETĀD–yād* construction, so distinctive a feature of Vedic prose, underlies already the metrical sentence found at PS 6.9.1d *mahan nāma ṛṣabhasya yat kakut* ? And that the d-pronoun **etad*, which could be supplied quite naturally, was only left out for, say, metrical reasons?¹²¹

In other words: Did this construction already exist at the *time* of the PS? Not only did it exist at that time, it is also attested in the very *text* of the PS, and many times over, at that.¹²²

5 The *ETĀD–yād* Constructions at PS 9.21.1–12

A sequence of even *twelve* consecutive *ETĀD–yād* constructions occurs at [20] PS 9.21.1–12. The kind of correspondence, or relation of *partial* identity,¹²³ that is repeatedly established there – between an ever-increasing number of sacrificial rice-dishes on the one hand, and certain apparently comparable entities of the same number on the other – may prove purely numerical.¹²⁴

120 Naturally, by such an (*hypothetical*) attraction, [1] PS *yad* would change to **yā*, [2] ChU *tad* to **sa*, and [3] Aṣṭādhyāyī *sa* to **tad*, under the influence of [1] the feminine *kakud-*, [2] the *implicit* masculine gender of the personal pronoun *tvam* – which is addressed to Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, son and disciple of Uddālaka Āruṇi –, and [3] the neuter *sampradānam*, respectively.

121 Actually, the addition of *etad* would not only complete the syntax of an expected *ETĀD–yād* construction; it would also mend the meter (which is, as it stands, defective by one syllable [J¹¹]) and restore it to a normal (dodecasyllabic) *jagatī* – with a *cæsura* after 5 syllables, an *anapæst* in the break, and a typically *iambic* cadence –, if we were to read **mahan nāmaitad ṛṣabhasya yat kakut*.

In this supposedly complete version, the absence of the sentence particle *vái*, which is regularly present in *ETĀD–yād* constructions, would, however, make for another, if only minor, kind of syntactical deficiency.

122 For the six examples of the *ETĀD–yād* construction in the Śaunaka-Samhitā – [1] ŚS 9.5.21, [2] ŚS 9.5.31b, [3] ŚS 9.6.23, [4] ŚS 9.6.37, [5] ŚS 11.3.50, and [6] ŚS 18.1.14cd –, see below, section G.

123 For this correspondence or relation of *partial* identity, see below, footnote 140, where the “identification” that is allegedly at work between the subject *ETĀD* and the predicate (“S=P”) in the main sentence of an *ETĀD–yād* construction comes under critical scrutiny.

124 It could appear futile to search for a deeper significance of this numeric relation, although certain scholars may claim that there is something magical, or even mystical, about it; as if we had to do with cabalistic numbers!

In the following, I will discuss only two of those twelve *ETÁD*–*yád* constructions – namely the third and the fifth¹²⁵ – and oppose, where it seems necessary, my interpretation to that of Kim 2014.¹²⁶

After the first two *ETÁD*–*yád* constructions in their respective sections, *eṣa vā ekarṣir yad agniḥ* [1], *etau vai prāṇāpānau yan mātariśvā cāgniś ca* [2], the next runs like this: *etāni vai trīṇi trikadrūkāni yad ṛcaḥ sāmāni yajūṁṣi brāhmaṇam* [3].

In one of my Kyōto papers (Knobl 2009a), I wrote the following comment on the third *ETÁD*–*yád* construction: “Although *three* trikadrūkas are mentioned, together with a cake offered on *three* plates,¹²⁷ we find a full set of no fewer than *four* Vedic text categories, or literary genres, being enumerated in the final phrase: [1] the stanzas of the Ṛgveda (*ṛcas*), [2] the songs of the Sāmaveda (*sāmāni*), [3] the sacrificial formulæ (*yajūṁṣi*) of the Yajurveda, and – surprisingly – also [4] the magic spell (*brāhmaṇam*) of the *brahmān*-, the poet-priest and magician of the *Fourth* Veda!

Being a Paippalādin, the author of this passage can be excused for thinking of his own brand of knowledge, and for feeling, with a fine sense of loyalty to his ancestors, that the Atharvavedic *brāhmaṇ*- n. ‘incantation’¹²⁸ should not be left out in the cold. Eager to do justice to the very specific contribution to Vedic literature by his *own* school of thought, he makes bold to add a *fourth* member to the already complete set of three, blissfully oblivious of the numerical logic of his text.”

Here, Kim has offered a different solution to the problem. He takes the fourth term, the neuter singular *brāhmaṇam* – understood in the sense of ‘that which

125 See Knobl 2009a, where also a few other *ETAD*–*yad* constructions of this duodecimal sequence – especially the seventh, ninth, tenth, and twelfth – are discussed at some length.

126 Kim’s translations of the twelve *ETAD*–*yad* constructions in PS 9.21.1–12 all follow the same pattern. As a typical example may serve the very first construction, *eṣa vā ekarṣir yad agniḥ*, which he renders “Dieser, fürwahr, einzige Ṛṣi [ist] nämlich Agni” (Kim 2014: 372). According to what is developed in other parts of the present paper, concerning the *split* or *double* reference of *ETÁD*, I would suggest the following alternative: ‘This – namely *that* Agni – “is” the one-and-only Ṛṣi.’ For the two-directional deixis, see, especially, sections C. and G.

The compound *ekarṣi-lekaṣi-* occurs three times in the ŚS (at 8.9.25 and 26; and at 10.7.14), but Agni is not intended in any of these three text-places.

127 This wording has to be corrected in the light of Kim’s clarification, to the effect that the offering in section 3, a *tri-śarāva- [odana-]* means a rice-dish *measuring* three śarāva. For *śarāva-* m./n. ‘plate’ and ‘measure’ (TS, TB, ŚB, etc.), see B&R 7.96–97: (1) ‘flache Schüssel, Teller’ and (2) ‘Maß für Korn’.

128 The proparoxytone neuter *brāhmaṇa-* (RV 2x, ŚS 13x), which is likely to be derived from the masculine *brahmān*-, has nearly the same meaning as the neuter *brāhmaṇ*- ‘poetic formulation, magic spell’, from which *brahmān*- is (internally) derived in its turn. See the simultaneous occurrence of the two neuters, especially at ŚS 11.5.5c (≈ PS 16.153.4c) *tāsmāj jātāṃ brāhmaṇaṃ brāhma jyeṣṭhām* ‘From him (= the *brahmacārīn*- ‘Vedic student’) was born the *brāhmaṇa-* [n.], (which is) the oldest *brāhmaṇ*- [n.]’.

belongs to the *brāhmaṇ- n.*’ – as a kind of common denominator covering the three text categories enumerated before.¹²⁹

In section 5, on the other hand, where a rice-dish measuring *five* plates is prescribed as a direct object of oblation, and a *five-headed* (*pañca-mūrdhan-*) Vaiśvānara is mysteriously referred to,¹³⁰ the enumeration of a corresponding number of elements in the final *yad*-phrase seems to be defective. *For*, according to a first, superficial count, Heaven and Earth, Mātariśvan and Agni, do not amount to more than a square *four*.

This is Kim’s (emended [*]) edition and translation of PS 9.21.5:

yo vai pañcaśarāvaṃ nirvaped
vaiśvānaram eva pañcamūrdhānam anu nir vapet /
eṣa vai vaiśvānaraḥ pañcamūrdhā
yad dyaus ca pṛthivi ca mātariśvā ca agniś ca
**ajasrā [sic] *ca_ātapan / ... [5]*

Wer fürwahr den fünf Śarāva messenden [Reisbrei] austeilen sollte,¹³¹
 der soll [ihn] nur gemäß dem fünfköpfigen Vaiśvānara austeilen.
 Dieser, fürwahr, [fünfköpfige]¹³² Vaiśvānara [ist] nämlich
 Himmel, Erde, Mātariśvan, Agni und [Sūrya],
 der durch Glut die unvergänglichen [Lichter] ausstrahlt. (Kim 2014: 378)

129 Cf. his translation: “Diese, fürwahr, drei Trikadruka-Gefäße [sind] nämlich das, was zum Brāhmaṇ gehört: die Ṛg-Verse, die Sāman-Melodien [und] die Yajus-Sprüche.” (Kim 2014: 375). For the unjustified – and unjustifiable – inversion of subject and predicate in this as in many other so-called identifications, see below, footnotes 140, 160, and 162: in footnote 160, I express my criticism of Whitney’s conflicting note on his own translation of ŚS 9.6.37, which renders the literal meaning of the original quite adequately; in footnote 162, I take exception to Renou’s rendering of the same prose passage, *eṣā vā ātithir yac chrótriyas* (“l’hôte [n’est autre qu’] un spécialiste de la *śruti*”), a sentence that should be understood in the exact reverse sense; namely, in the sense of a regular P–S construction (with fronted predicate): ‘le spécialiste de la *śruti* “(n’est autre qu’)” un hôte.’

130 The *bahuvrīhi*-compound *pañca-mūrdhan-* does not seem to be attested anywhere else in Vedic. Closest in meaning to it is *pañca-mukha-*, which compound occurs at Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad 2.9 *somo rājā asi vicakṣaṇaḥ pañcamukho asi prajāpatiḥ* ‘[O Full Moon] You are wide-visioned King Soma. You are five-mouthed Prajāpati.’ The adjective *vi-cakṣaṇá-* ‘wide-visioned’ (ṚV 31x) is, from the oldest texts onward, a characteristic epithet of King Soma; it typically occurs in the Ninth Song-Cycle of the Ṛgveda (18x against 13x in other Books, 1: 4x, 2: 1x, 3: 1x, 4: 3x, 8: 1x, and 10: 3x).

131 The optative *nirvaped* of the subordinate clause may have come about by mere *mood attraction* to the prescriptive optative *nir vapet* in the main sentence; it could simply have the meaning of an indicative: ‘austeilt’ instead of “austeilen sollte” (Kim). However, the subordinate optative *nirvaped* could also be taken as a *potential mood*, in which case “sollte” (‘should’) would be justified as expressive of possibility.

132 The adjective *pañcamūrdhan-* qualifying *vaiśvānara-* as ‘five-headed’ has remained untranslated.

Kim, who could not make head or tail of the two – practically identical – manuscript readings *cādaśāvātapan* (JM etc.) / *cādasāvātapan* (RM), emends a perfectly readable sequence of syllables to **cājasrā *cātapan*, and argues at some length – and quite unconvincingly – in favor of this audacious but altogether superfluous emendation. His argument runs as follows: “Da hier ein fünftes Wort sinngemäß (Himmel, Erde, Mātariśvan, Agni sind vier) zu erwarten ist, ist eine Emendation mit *ca*- notwendig. Demnach ist zuerst zu *cādasā *cātapan* (*ca-ātapan*) zu segmentieren; . . . Dem ersten Glied *cādaśā* bzw. *cādasā* in Or . . . liegt sicher eine Korruption zugrunde.” (Kim 2014: 379)¹³³

To be sure, in this set of supposedly five cosmic or mythological realities, we need a fifth member after the first four. These four realities form two *natural pairs* typically belonging together: ‘Heaven-and-Earth’ and ‘Mātariśvan-and-Agni’.¹³⁴ Each of the two pairs is coupled by two times *ca*.¹³⁵ A fifth *ca* seems to be missing. However, *ca* is not the only possible connective particle; it could be *u* or *uta*, or *atha* or *atho* (= *atha_u*), or – *āt*. In fact, *āt* may prove the very particle¹³⁶ that was expected as a necessary complement. And, lo and behold, it is actually *there* – if we read the well-attested sequence of syllables, i.e. *cādasāvātapan*, in four distinct words, as *ca_ād asāv ātapan*.¹³⁷

133 The only corruption that I am able to detect is the “emendation” itself. Far from being an improvement on the text, this daring conjecture, which produces – quite unnecessarily – several new problems, results in what may be called a *Verschlimmbesserung*.

134 The close (mythological) connection between Agni and Mātariśvan – apart from the fact that A. was stolen by M. – is illustrated at ṚV 1.71.4a *māthīd yād im vībhṛto mātariśvā* (“Als der verteilte Mātariśvan ihn [den Agni] raubte” [Knobl 2022: 153]) by the rhetorical transfer of the verbal adjective *vī-bhṛta*- from Agni to Mātariśvan. As a matter of fact, only Fire is distributed.

For the translation and discussion of *one* adjectival and *three* pronominal examples of *hypallage*, see Knobl 2022: 150–154 [Section C. with “Exkurs 9”].

135 In section 8, even four pairs are enumerated, and each pair is again coupled by two times *ca*, to wit, [1] Heaven-and-Earth (*dyaus ca pṛthivī ca*), [2] Water-and-Herbs (*āpas ca ośadhayaś ca*), [3] Wind-and-Space (*vāyuś ca antariṣṭam ca*), [4] Sun-and-Moon (*sūryaś ca candramāś ca*).

It is safe to say that *coupling* words expressive of *natural* – and often naturally opposed – *pairs* is the proper and most characteristic function of the *copulative* particle *ca*, even if enumeration of several members that are not pairs by means of *ca* should prove more frequent; this might most easily happen in texts where enumeration runs wild, without any consideration for conceptual dualities.

136 Originally, *āt* is the adverbialized ablative singular of the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *á*, as in *á-tra* ‘there’ (ṚV 120x) or *á-tas* ‘from there’ (ṚV 61x), etc. Literally, *āt* may mean [1] ‘from that’ (spatial); [2] ‘after that’ (temporal); [3] ‘because of that’ (causal), respectively.

137 For *āt* after one (A B *ca* –) or two (A *ca* B *ca* –) syndetic *ca* particles, or after an equivalent asyndeton (A B –), cf. ṚV 7.66.11ab *vīyé dadhúh śarādam māsam ād āhar yajñām aktūṃ ca_ād ṛcam*, ṚV 8.91.5cd *śiras tatāsyā urvārām ād idām ma upodāre*, ṚV 10.86.13ab (= ŚS 20.126.13ab) *vṛṣākapāyī révati sūputra ād u sūsnuṣe*, ŚS 3.21.10a–c *yé párvatāḥ sómaprṣṭhā āpa uttānaśvarīḥ / vātāḥ par-*

As my translation of the fifth *ETAD*-*yad* construction in PS 9.21.5, re-edited as
eṣa vai vaiśvānaraḥ pañcamūrdhā
yad dyaus ca pṛthivī ca mātariśvā ca agniś ca ād asāv ātapan,

I would, therefore, suggest the following:

‘These – namely those [five realities:] Heaven-and-Earth, Mātariśvan-and-Agni, and (‘after that’) the one burning [at . . .] (*ā-tap*)¹³⁸ up there (= Sūrya)¹³⁹ – “are” [= represent / correspond to] the five-headed Vaiśvānara.’

jānya ād agniś, ŚS 4.3.3a–c *akṣyaū ca te mūkhaṃ ca te vyāghra jambhayāmasi | āt sārvaṃ viṃśatīṃ nakhān*, ŚS 4.9.8b *takmā balāsa ād āhiḥ*, ŚS 4.20.1c (≈ PS 8.6.1c) *dīvam* (PS *dyām*) *antāriḥṣam ād bhūmim*, ŚS 7.70.2a *yātudhānā nūrṣtir ād u rākṣas*, ŚS 11.9.8c *pātiṃ bhrātaram āt sāvān*, ŚS 13.2.41c (≈ PS 18.24.10c) *dīvaṃ samudrām ād bhūmim*, PS 16.104.9d *gāvo asvāḥ puruṣā ād ajāvayaḥ*, etc. etc. Notice, most especially, *āt* immediately following *ca* at ṚV 7.66.11b *yajñām aktūṃ ca ād ṛcam*. This sequence (. . . *ca ād* . . .) is exactly the same as at PS 9.21.5 *mātariśvā ca agniś ca ād asāv ātapan*.

It seems typical for *āt* to stand in third or fifth position of an enumeration, after two or four terms that are paired – either syndetically (with *ca*) or asyndetically (without *ca*) – into one or two couples that are closely related, such as Heaven-and-Earth or Sun-and-Moon.

138 By virtue of the directive *ā*, the verbal compound *ā-tap* should regularly be construed with an accusative of the direct object. To be sure, the (seemingly) intransitive – or rather, *elliptical* – construction of *ā-tap* is well attested; see, for instance, ŚS 8.6.12ab (≈ PS 16.80.3ab) *yé sūryaṃ nā tītikṣanta ātāpantam amūm divāḥ* ‘[They (= the *mākaka*-dæmons),] who cannot endure the Sun up there burning (down) [at them] from heaven’, ŚS 12.1.20a (≈ PS 17.3.1a) *agnir divā ā tapaty* ‘Agni [as Sun the celestial Fire] burns (down) from heaven [at the earth]’, ŚS 12.3.50c (≈ PS 17.54.10c) *yāvanto devā divy ātāpanti* ‘as many gods as burn in heaven [at . . . ?]’, PS 5.6.2a *ātapana kṣayati *nīcā* ‘He (the Sun) rules, burning downward (from heaven) [at the earth]’.

Kim (2014: 379) advocates a different understanding; he thinks that the intransitive construction of *ā-tap* is original, and that the accusative, if it does co-occur, as *ghṛtam* at PS 5.6.1c=10c *te asmai sarve ghṛtam ā tapanty* “they all heat (the) ghee for him (the patron)” (Lubotsky 2002: 37 and 43), is a “Richtungsakkusativ” and as such would not transitivize the verb. But what difference is there between ‘to direct heat at’ and ‘to heat directly’, if the heating action affects the object with equal intensity? After all, Sun is the agent!

139 The *far*-deictic *d*-pronoun *ADÁS* (ṚV 52x) meaning ‘the one over there’ can also be taken in the sense of [1] ‘the one up there’ (*là-haut*) or [2] ‘the one down there’ (*là-bas*). To the Sun rising or risen, we may refer with the first; to the Sun sinking or sunk, with the second.

For *asáu* m./f. (ṚV 7x) pointing at the Sun up there, see, for instance, ṚV 1.191.9a *ūd apaptat asáu sūryaḥ* or 10.159.1a *ūd asáu sūryo agād*. These two verses indicate the Sun (up there) as having just risen (from behind the horizon); the first (or root) aorist *agād* and the third (or reduplicated) aorist *apaptat* both refer to an event of the *recent* past, making a *definite* statement about it.

6 Earlier Attempts at Understanding the *ETÁD*-*yád* Construction

In the history of Vedic scholarship, those who translated – or commented upon – examples of the *ETÁD*-*yád* construction came more or less close to a proper understanding of the *yád figé*, provided they accepted its existence and unique character at all.

[1] Of *ETÁD*-*yád* constructions without verb, Delbrück (1888: 566) says: “Das Ganze hat den Sinn einer Identificirung,¹⁴⁰ wobei das bei *yád* stehende Substantivum die Anknüpfung bietet und hervorgehoben wird . . . Als Musterbeispiel mag dienen: [AB 1.3.10] . . . *yonir vā eṣā dikṣitasya yad dikṣitanimitam* . . .¹⁴¹ Das ist der Schooss des Geweihten, was die Hütte des Geweihten ist . . .¹⁴² Die Belege für diesen Typus sind zahllos, z. B.: [AB 1.8.5] *paśavo vā ete yad āpaḥ* Wasser ist dem Vieh gleich zu achten . . .¹⁴³ [MS 1.4.10: 58.1] *devātānām vā etád āyātanaṃ yád āhavanīyaḥ* der āhavanīya ist der Stützpunkt der Götter.”¹⁴⁴ Then, while mentioning also two *ETÁD*-*yád* constructions with verb,¹⁴⁵ Delbrück (1888: 567) concludes: “Endlich kann *yád* so sehr den Charakter einer

140 “Identification” is certainly not the *mot juste*. The unspoken *copula* joining subject and predicate – rather than silently meaning “is” or “are” – has the less equalizing sense of ‘represent(s)’, ‘correspond(s) to’, ‘can be compared with’. No identity in the full sense of the word is meant, none that would go beyond a certain resemblance; and even a minimal similitude may be reason enough to *relate* the two sentence parts: the pronominal subject *ETÁD*, which is *defined* by the *yád*-phrase, on the one hand, and the predicative noun(s) on the other. Their relation of a no-more-than-just-*partial* identity is like that of the two parts in a nominal phrase.

Only if we could start from the assumption that in predication subject (S) and predicate (P) are *identified* – which, in fact, they never are; rather, their relation follows the abstract formula S≠P –, would the word order be indifferent; *S=P would then, and only then, be equal to *P=S. But this is *far from* being the case.

141 Here, *dikṣitanimitam* happens to be of the same gender and number as *yad*, but this is a mere coincidence; the accidental equality does not mean that the pronoun is attracted to the noun. The subsequent two examples (AB 1.8.5 *paśavo vā ete yad āpaḥ* and MS 1.4.10: 58.1 *devātānām vā etád āyātanaṃ yád āhavanīyaḥ*) make it clear that also in Delbrück’s “Musterbeispiel” AB 1.3.10, none other than the *yad figé* is concerned.

142 According to my understanding, it would be closer to the syntax of this construction, and the twofold reference of *ETÁD* would be taken into due account, if the sentence were translated as follows: ‘*This* – namely *that* hut of the *dikṣita* – “is” the womb of the *dikṣita*.’

143 Here, my own translation would run like this: ‘*These* – namely *those* waters – “are” cattle.’

144 Again, I would prefer a different version: ‘*This* – namely *that* *āhavanīya*-fire – “is” the gods’ foothold.’

145 The finite verbs in Delbrück’s two examples – *dadṣur* at ŚB 1.1.1.17 and *bhavati* at ŚS 3.3.4.20 – accompany *ETÁD* in the main sentence. If it were the subordinate clause that contains

flectirten Relativform einbüßen, dass es lediglich als Anfügungswort innerhalb des Satzes wirkt (etwa durch nämlich zu übersetzen) . . . z. B.: [ŚB 1.1.1.17] *táto devá etám vájraṃ dadṛśur yád apáh* da erfanden die Götter *jenen* vajra, nämlich das Wasser . . .¹⁴⁶ [ŚB 3.3.4.20] *átra ubháyair ártho bhavati yád deváís ca brāhmaṇáís ca* der beiden bedarf man dabei, nämlich der Götter und der Brahmanen . . . [ŚB 1.2.1.22] *mahyà iti ha vá etásām ékaṃ náma yád gávām* “die grossen”, das ist *ein* Name derselben, nämlich der Kühe.”¹⁴⁷

- [2] The following observation made by Renou (1955 [=EVP I]: 85 §13b) is, no doubt, important: “Le tour *eṣá vá áparimito yajñó yád ajá pañcaudanaḥ* [ŚS 9.5.21] « Le bouc (offert) sur cinq portions de riz (représente un type de) sacrifice illimité » (analogue *ibid.*, 31–36 [et ŚS 9.6.23]) est l’une des phraséologies de prédilection des Br[āhmaṇas], avec rejet du sujet encadré par la conjonction *yád*.”¹⁴⁸

Renou goes on to say (*ibid.*): “On en chercherait en vain des traces dans les *mantra*.” If I am right in taking the unattracted *yád* at PS 6.9.1d *mahan nāma ṛṣabhasya yat kakut* as at least *une trace* of the *ETÁD–yád* construction in a Vedic *metrical* text, then *my* research was not *en vain*.

In what follows next (*ibid.*), Renou seems to have missed something, when he states: “En revanche, le pronom relatif dans le même encadrement, type *eṣá vá átithir yá chrótriyah* [ŚS 9.6.37] ‘l’hôte (n’est autre qu’) un spécialiste de la *śruti*’,¹⁴⁹ commence à paraître dans le RV. et se développe dans l’AV. poétique : seul la corrélation *eṣá(h)* . . . *yáh* souligne qu’on a décidément affaire à de la prose.”

Since ŚS 9.6.37 is a typical example of the *ETÁD–yád* construction, *yá chrótriyah* (i.e. *yác chrótriyah*) being the *sandhi*-result of *yát śrótriyah*,¹⁵⁰ we cannot say that this relative pronoun – viz. the *yád figé* – begins to appear in

the verb, as in almost all twelve examples of the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction quoted in section A., we would have no reason whatsoever to speak of an *ETÁD–yád* construction.

146 Or rather: “Then the gods “saw” *these* – namely *those* waters – as a *vájra*.’ (*dadṛśur* ‘sie erschauten!’).

147 This is my alternative: “Great” (*mahí*-f.) is [just] *one* name of *these* – namely of *those* cows.’

148 The *yád figé* in the *ETÁD–yád* construction happens to have the same form as “la conjonction *yád*”, but this does not mean that the *yád* actually *is* a conjunction; we should prefer to consider it a relative pronoun.

149 For my translation of this sentence, ‘*This* – i.e. *that* “hearer” of the *śruti*- (*śrótriya*-) – “is” a guest’, see below, in the semi-final section (G.) of the present paper. And for the non-identifying “is”, see above, footnote 140.

150 For the external *sandhi*-combination of the two consonants [t] and [ś], in which the dental is assimilated to the palatal (“assibilation”), and the sibilant is subsequently converted to ch; but, especially, for the scribal spelling convention (cch) → (ch), see Whitney 1889: 68 §203: “The manuscripts generally write **ch**, instead of **cch**, as result of the combination of **t** and **ç** (= [ś]).”

the *ṚV*. What we meet with in the oldest text is only the *ETÁD*–*YÁD* construction, where the *YÁD* regularly varies in accord with the gender and number of *ETÁD* by what is called grammatical agreement.¹⁵¹ If I were to improve on Renou, I would, therefore, venture to reformulate his last statement, changing it but minimally into: ‘seul la corrélation *ETÁD* . . . *yád* [!] souligne qu’on a décidément affaire à de la prose.’

- [3] Hettrich (1988: 570) enumerates the following *Ṛgvedic* stanzas or distichs as *restrictive* relative constructions with the d-pronoun *eṣá-/etá-* [= *ETÁD*] as correlative: 1.182.5, 8.1.32, 10.10.8[ab], 10.28.12ab, 10.48.6, 10.50.6[ab], 10.71.9, 10.165.4. And he concludes: “Bis auf eine Stelle [7.7.6]¹⁵² kommt also *eṣá-/etá-* als Korrelativum restriktiver RKK [= Relativ-Konstruktionen] nur in jüngeren Partien des *RV* vor. Dies deutet darauf hin, daß das Pronomen diese Funktion erst sekundär übernommen hat.”

If I understand the author correctly, this would mean that in older parts of the *Ṛgveda*, the d-pronoun *ETÁD* has preserved its *primary* function as a correlative of *non-restrictive* – that is, descriptive or appositive – relative constructions. Although I disagree with regard to 1.182.5, 10.10.8, 10.50.6, 10.71.9, and 10.165.4 (?), which for me are more or less clear examples of a non-restrictive relative construction,¹⁵³ the descriptive function of *YÁD* in the *ETÁD*–*YÁD* constructions of the *ṚV* is certainly more original.

- [4] Two younger scholars – both authors of commented editions and translations of important Vedic texts (MS and PS) – have also remarked on the constructions discussed above. Kyōko Amano (2009: 106–111 § 2.4.5), speaking of the pronominal sequence “*eṣá-/etá- . . . yá-*”, states: “Bei der Relativkonstruktion mit vorangehendem *eṣá-/etá-* liegt das demonstrativ-anamnestische Pronomen in scheinbar kataphorischer Verwendung vor.” The several MS examples quoted and translated by Amano make it abundantly clear that the *ETÁD*–*yád* construction and the *yád figé* are concerned. However, in the *yád-figé* constructions, the d-pronoun *ETÁD* is not only anaphoric (“anamnestisch”), but also cataphoric – und zwar *wirklich*, not just seemingly (“scheinbar”).

¹⁵¹ See the twelve examples of this extremely rare construction discussed above, in the first section (A.) of the present paper: [1] *eténa . . . yád . . .*, [2] *etám . . . yéna . . .*, [3] *etád . . . yád . . .*, [4] *eṣás . . . yám . . .*, [5] *etám . . . yásya . . . yás . . .*, [6] *eté . . . yé . . . yé . . . yé . . .*, [8] *eṣá . . . yás . . .*, [9] *etád . . . yád . . .*, [10] *eté . . . yé . . .*, [11] *eṣá . . . yás . . .*, [12] *etá . . . yáni . . .*; only in [7] *etáni . . . yád . . .*, the two pronouns do not agree in number.

¹⁵² Cf. Hettrich 1988: 570 Anm. 145: “7,7,6; die Korrelativfunktion ist aber nicht eindeutig; in 4,35,4 ist der RS [= Relativ-Satz] nicht eindeutig als restriktiv oder appositiv bestimmbar.”

¹⁵³ See above, in the first section of this paper, my discussion of examples [2], [10], [12], [13], and [14].

Umberto Selva, on the other hand, opts for the opposite view. He emphasizes the *cataphoric* function (or *this*-reference) of the d-pronoun *ETÁD* in the *ETÁD*–*yád* construction: “it [that is, the *ETÁD*] refers forward to the content of the *yád* phrase.” And he adds: “In translating, I generally follow the following “formula” (which I owe to the teaching of Werner Knobl): [*eṣá*- (*vái*) A, *yád* B] “This (*eṣá*-), namely (*yád*) B, is A” (Selva 2019: 224).¹⁵⁴ However, in Selva’s (one-sided) presentation of the *ETÁD*–*yád* construction, the anaphoric function (or *that*-reference) of *ETÁD* is sorely lacking.

Only if we combine the two partial views – *this* advocated by Selva and *that* vindicated by Amano¹⁵⁵ –, will it be possible for us to see the whole picture in its ambiguous but complementary beauty.

7 The Semi-Final Part

In this last-but-one section of the present paper, I am going to confront my own translations of half a dozen ŚS passages – five are composed in prose (examples [1]–[5]), one in the *triṣṭubh* meter (example [6]) – with those of Whitney (W&L) or Renou. These six AV sentences hark back to section C., where the *split* or *double* reference of *ETÁD* was introduced with two ṚV distichs and their AV parallels (examples [16] and [17]), and one AV stanza, half of which corresponds to yet another ṚV distich (example [18]).

Here (in G.), as well as there (in C.), one and the same multi-functional d-pronoun *ETÁD* points in two different directions: [1] at something that follows in the *yád*-phrase (cataphoric ‘*this*’) and, simultaneously, [2] at something that precedes

154 Having become, *malgré moi*, the source of a misunderstanding, I regret that my teaching, at Leiden and in other academic places, had – a few years ago – not yet acquired the clarity that is needed in order to understand and to *make* understand the complexity of the *ETÁD*–*yád* construction with proper precision and accuracy. If now I were to formulate a “formula”, it would have to be something like: “*This* (S₁ = cataphoric *ETÁD* [→] or [↓]) – namely (*yád*) *that* (S₂ = anaphoric *ETÁD* [←] or [↑]) – corresponds to P.” (Here, both S₁ [*this*] and S₂ [*that*] stand for one and the same thing; they are the *one* subject of the *same* predication.)

155 Amano herself uses the *here*-deictic *this* (“das” or “dieses”) in her translations of *ETÁD*, which she calls “demonstrativ-anamnestic Pronomen” (see above), but I feel free to change her *here*-deictic *this* into my own *there*-deictic *that*, because *ETÁD* ‘*that* . . . *there*’ may point, in one of its multiple functions, at the same (*mid-distance*) target as Amano’s *this* referring to something ‘well-known’ (*prá-siddha*-) or ‘mentally present’ (**buddhi-ṣṭhá*-), to something that is ‘das Bekannte, Bewusste, Betreffende’ for her; for others, this is the so-called *topical* reference of *ETÁD*.

in the context (anaphoric ‘*that*’).¹⁵⁶ This two-directional function of *ETÁD* helps to understand the specific character of the *ETÁD*–*yád* construction in the following six ŚS passages – two of which ([1] and [6]) have parallels in the PS – and in any other context where the *yád* *fiḡé* should make its appearance.

[1] ŚS 9.5.21 (≈ PS 16.99.8)

eṣá vá áparimito yajñó yád ajá páñcaudanaḥ //

“this verily is an unlimited offering,
namely (*yát*) the goat with five rice-dishes.” (W&L)

“Le bouc (offert) sur cinq portions de riz
(représente un type de) sacrifice illimité.” (Renou 1955: 85 §13b)
‘*This* – namely *that* five-rice-dish (*páñcaudana*-) goat –
represents an unlimited sacrifice.’

[2] ŚS 9.5.31b

eṣá vái náidāgho náma rtúr yád ajáh páñcaudanaḥ /

“that verily is the season ‘torrid’ by name,
namely (*yát*) the goat with five rice-dishes.” (W&L)
‘*This* – namely *that* five-rice-dish (*páñcaudana*-) goat –
corresponds to the season called “hot” (*náidāgha*-) (=summer).’¹⁵⁷

[3] ŚS 9.6.23

eté vái priyás ca ápriyás ca rtvijāḥ
svargám lokám gamayanti yád átithayaḥ //

“These same guests, both loved (*priyá*) and unloved,
[as] priests (*rtvij*), make [one] go to the heavenly world.” (W&L)
‘*These* – i.e. *those* guests –, [as] priests that are liked (*priyá*-) or disliked (*á-priya*-),¹⁵⁸
make [us] go to the heavenly world.’

[4] ŚS 9.6.37

eṣá vá átithir yác chrótriyas
tásmāt púrvo ná_áśnyāt //

“He verily is a guest, namely (*yát*) one versed in sacred learning (*chrótriya*);

¹⁵⁶ For a more detailed exposition of this d-pronoun’s two-directional deixis, see above, section C., and below, footnote 164.

¹⁵⁷ Ved. *náidāgha*- ‘hot; æstival’ (ŚS 2x) is derived from Ved. *nídāghá*- m. ‘heat; summer’ (JB, ŚB, KātyŚS, KauŚS). This is yet another example of a derivative being attested earlier than the word it is based upon.

¹⁵⁸ The two antonymic adjectives *priyá*- and *á-priya*- qualifying the priests as *either* ‘dear’ or ‘not dear’ [to us, that is,] are used predicatively. They indicate an alternative (“liked . . . or disliked . . .”, meaning ‘whether they are liked or not [doesn’t really matter]’); the two qualities cannot simultaneously apply to the priests (cf. “both loved . . . and unloved” [W&L]), unless in a distributive sense (*vīpsāyām*): to some they may be *priyá*-, to some others *á-priya*-; or to the same person(s) alternately ‘dear’ and ‘not dear’, but at different times and in different situations.

before him one should not partake.” (W&L)¹⁵⁹

“l’hôte (n’est autre qu’) un spécialiste de la *śruti*.” (Renou 1955: 85 §13b)¹⁶⁰

‘This – i.e. *that* “hearer” of the *śruti*- (*śrōtriya*)¹⁶¹ – “is” a guest.’¹⁶²

Therefore, one should not eat *before* him (= before *that* “hearer” [who “is” a guest]).¹⁶³

[5] ŚS 11.3.50

etād vai bradhnāsya viṣṭapaṃ yād odanāḥ /

“This – namely, the rice-dish –¹⁶⁴

159 “The meaning intended ought to be that a guest is the equivalent of such a sage; but the literal meaning is as translated” (W&L). I do not agree; if *tásmāt* means ‘therefore’ as well as ‘[earlier] than him’ – for which see below, footnote 163 –, then the *logical* consequence introduced by *tásmāt* depends on the fact that the *śrōtriya*- “is the equivalent” of a guest – *not vice versa* –, and that *therefore* one has to treat him as such, by granting him precedence at the table; because an invited guest enjoying the hospitality of a host is allowed to eat first, the *śrōtriya*- only by equivalence with him.

For several passages in the Atharvaveda alluding to the same privilege a guest must be allowed to enjoy in his host’s house, at ŚS 9.6.32,33,38 and PS 16.113.10,12, cf. Spiers 2020: 403.

160 Syntactically, this translation is inadequate. The *śrōtriya*- being subject, « un spécialiste de la *śruti* » should have come first in Renou’s translation.

161 The *-ya*- or *-iya*- adjective *śrōtriya*- (ŚS 3x: 9.6.37, 10.2.20, 10.2.21) is derived from *śrōtra*- n. ‘ear, hearing’ (RV 2x: 10.85.11c *śrōtraṃ te cakre āstām*, 10.90.14c *padbhyām bhūmir diśaḥ śrōtrāt*; ŚS 23x). The noun *śrūti*- f. (ŚS 1x: 11.7.20), which is based on the same root *śrav/śru* ‘to hear, to listen to’, indicates, by its retracted accent, that the meaning has changed from that of a *nomen actionis* (**śrūti*- f. ‘the abstract *act* of hearing’) to that of a *nomen rei actae*. Thus, *śrūti*- refers to the concrete *result* of hearing, which is the oral and auricular tradition as laid down in Sacred Lore (or, Holy “Writ”).

162 The silent *copula* “is” may be understood in the sense of ‘means’, ‘stands for’, ‘represents’, ‘typifies’, ‘symbolizes’, ‘corresponds to’, ‘is comparable to’, or the like. Even the make-shift expression “is the equivalent of” (W&L) does not amount to ‘is identical with’ or ‘is none other than’ (“n’est autre que” [Renou]). If “is” were to be used at all costs, then a *non-equalizing* “is in a sense” would at least help to avoid any (false, complete) identification in the strict sense of the word.

On the relation of *partial* identity or, abstractly speaking, *non-identity* (S≠P) between the subject *ETĀD* and its predicate, see above, footnote 140.

163 In this ambiguous sentence, *tásmāt* can be taken both [1] as a consecutive adverb meaning ‘therefore’ and [2] as an ablative construed with the adjective *pūrvas* ‘former’ functioning as a *quasi*-preposition in the sense of ‘before, earlier than’.

164 Among all the translations that I have consulted, this formulation comes closest to my own idea of how the *ETĀD*-*yād* construction of Vedic prose works, and how it ought to be understood, that is, as one with a *split* or *double* reference of *ETĀD*. The *there*-deictic d-pronoun points simultaneously in two different directions, at divergent targets that are more-or-less *mid-distantly* removed; it refers both forward (→) or downward (↓) [=cataphorical deixis] and backward (←) or upward (↑) [=anaphorical deixis]: as *this*, to what follows shortly after, in the *yād*-phrase; as *that*, to what precedes at some distance, inside or outside the text.

By the smallest of changes, Whitney’s translation of ŚS 11.3.50 *etād . . . yād odanāḥ* (“This – namely, *the* rice-dish –”) can be transformed into mine (“This – namely *that* rice-dish –”).

is indeed the summit (*viṣṭápa*) of the ruddy one (*bradhná*).” (W&L)¹⁶⁵
 ‘This – namely *that* rice-dish – symbolizes the (arched) surface of the sun.’¹⁶⁶

[6] ŚS 18.1.14cd (≈ PS 18.58.4cd)

ásamyad etán mánaso hṛdó me

bhrátā svásuḥ śáyane yác cháyīya //

‘That is not consonant (?*asamyát* [sic!]) with my mind [and] heart,

that I, a brother, should lie in a sister’s bed (*śáyana*).” (W&L)

‘This – namely *that* – [would be] discordant (*ásamyat*) to my mind and heart,

that I as [your] brother should be lying there (*śáyīya*) in [my] sister’s lair (*śáyane*).’¹⁶⁷

8 The End Result *en raccourci*

In the *ETÁD*–*YÁD* construction of *ṚV* and *AV* (see examples [1]–[13] in section A.), the *YÁD*–phrase has the status of an *apposition*; it only serves the purpose of *describing* – at least, to a certain extent – the contents of *ETÁD* ‘that . . . there’, the *d*-pronoun functioning more or less independently, on account of its distinctive *there*-deictic character.

The *there*-deictic pronoun ‘*that*’ of “*that* rice-dish” is more emphatic, or has a greater demonstrative force, than the article ‘*the*’ of “*the* rice-dish”. And yes, emphasis is needed.

165 The nouns *viṣṭáp-* f. and *viṣṭápa-* n. ‘(arched) surface’ (*ṚV* 12x: *viṣṭápam* [5x], *viṣṭápas* [1x], *viṣṭápā* [1x], *viṣṭápi* [5x]; ŚS 6x: *viṣṭápam* [2x], *viṣṭápi* [4x]) can be explained as *decasuative* derivations based on either the nom.sg. (**viṣṭáp*) or the loc.pl. (**viṣṭápsu*) of an original but unattested feminine **vi-ṣṭábh-*. Cf. the noun *viṣṭambhá-* m. ‘prop’ (*ṚV* 5x; the five occurrences, all of which refer to Soma, are found in Song-Cycle Nine, and always in combination with *divás* [: ‘prop of heaven’]) or the verbal compound *vi-stambhí* ‘to prop apart’ (*ṚV* 6x; in all six text-places, the verb is construed with cosmic realities as objects of the verbal action “auseinander stemmen”: four times ‘the two world-halves’ [*ródasī*], once ‘these six spaces’ [*śál imá rájāmsī*], and once ‘the ends of the earth’ [*jmó ántān*]); cf. Knobl 2022: 131 n.14.

For a discussion of the heterogeneous case-forms of *viṣṭáp-* f. / *viṣṭápa-* n., especially of the neuter nom. pl. *viṣṭápā* at *ṚV* 8.91.5 *imáni trīṇi viṣṭápā . . .* ‘Die drei Oberflächen hier . . . (: *das* Haupt [*da*] von Papa, *das* Saatfeld [*dort*] [von uns], und *das* hier unten an meinem Bauch)’ in the Indra-Apālā Hymn, see Knobl 2022: 130–132 (A. Ellipse, example (1), and “Exkurs 1” with notes 11–17).

166 We are perhaps allowed to imagine that the sacrificial rice-dish is *shining* with a golden cover or coating (“icing”/“frosting”) of hot and melting clarified butter (*ghṛtá-* n. ‘ghee’ [*ṚV* 123x]); and that thus the dish has yet another characteristic in common with the sun – apart from its heat, the round shape, and the arched surface – , so that we would have one more good reason to see it as an *image* and *symbol* of the sun.

167 Or else, ‘if I . . . were to be lying there’. For [1] the optative *śáyīya* as a potential mood, [2] the *there*-deictic Vedic root *śay/śi* ‘to be lying there’, and [3] the etymological construction *śáyane . . . śáyīya*, see above, footnote 105.

In the *ETÁD-yád* construction of Vedic prose, which is first attested in the Atharvaveda – implicitly at [19] PS 6.9.1 (see section D.), explicitly at [20] PS 9.21.1–12 (see section E.) and at [1] ŚS 9.5.21, [2] ŚS 9.5.31b, [3] ŚS 9.6.23, [4] ŚS 9.6.37, [5] ŚS 11.3.50, or [6] ŚS 18.1.14cd (see section G.) –, *yád* restricts and defines *ETÁD*.

It is characteristic of the *ETÁD-yád* construction that the d-pronoun points at what follows in the *yád*-phrase (*this*-reference) and, simultaneously, at what precedes in the context (*that*-reference); this “*split or double reference*” of *ETÁD* is introduced in section C., with three examples taken from ṚV and AV: [16] ṚV 10.10.3ab (= ŚS 18.1.3ab ≈ PS 18.57.3ab), [17] ṚV 10.10.11cd (= ŚS 18.1.12cd ≈ PS 18.58.2cd), and [18] ŚS 18.1.14cd (≈ PS 18.58.4cd).

The *yád*-phrase always contains a noun, the *YÁD*-phrase only exceptionally, to wit, in the two relative clauses at [5] ṚV 6.41.3d *yás te ánnam* and at [12] ṚV 10.16.8c (≈ ŚS 18.3.53c) *yás ca camasó* of section A.

Abbreviations

B&R	Otto Böhtlingk und Rudolf Roth. <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch</i> . 7 Bände. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1855–1875
Eggeling	<i>The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa According to the Text of the Mādhyandina School</i> . Translated by Julius Eggeling. Part I. Books 1 and 2. (<i>The Sacred Books of the East</i> . Volume XII). Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1882
EVP	Louis Renou. <i>Études védiques et pāṇinéennes</i> . Tomes I–XVII. (Publications de l’Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Série in-8°). Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955–1969
Geldner	Karl Friedrich Geldner. <i>Der Rig-Veda, aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen</i> . I–III. (= Harvard Oriental Series 33–35). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 1951. (Reprint in one volume: Harvard Oriental Series 63, Harvard University Press 2003)
J&B	<i>The Rigveda. The Earliest Religious Poetry of India</i> . Translated by Stephanie W. Jamison and Joel P. Brereton. I–III. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014
LIV	<i>Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstambildungen</i> . Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel und Helmut Rix. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2001
N&H	<i>Rig Veda. A Metrically Restored Text with an Introduction and Notes</i> . Edited by Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland. (Harvard Oriental Series: Volume 50). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994
W&D	Jacob Wackernagel und Albert Debrunner. <i>Altindische Grammatik</i> . Band II 1: <i>Einleitung zur Wortlehre, Nominalkomposition</i> , 2. unveränderte Auflage, und Band II 2: <i>Die Nominalsuffixe</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957 und 1954
W&G	Michael Witzel und Toshifumi Gotō. <i>Rig-Veda, das heilige Wissen</i> . Erster und Zweiter Liederkreis. Frankfurt am Main und Leipzig: Verlag der Weltreligionen im Insel Verlag, 2007

W&L *Atharva-Veda Samhitā*. Translated with a critical and exegetical commentary by William Dwight Whitney, revised and brought nearer to completion and edited by Charles Rockwell Lanman. 2 vols. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1905

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Paul Widmer and Oliver Hellwig

Discontinuous Linearization of Vedic Nominal Expressions

Abstract: This paper explores the linearization of syntactic structures in Vedic Sanskrit. Recent research indicates that word order variation is influenced by cognitive factors, grammar, and language history, and ancient languages like Vedic Sanskrit provide valuable insights into these dynamics. Leveraging the recent availability of comprehensive linguistic resources, this study presents a corpus-based survey of Vedic word order variation in nominal expressions, examining noun-modifier pairs across different Vedic texts. The goals are to survey continuity in linearization and to compare the Atharvaveda to other Vedic texts using statistical tests of significance.

Introduction

The strict linearization of syntactic structure imposed by communication modalities in human language has attracted much interest in many linguistic disciplines, theoretical, psycholinguistic, and diachronic, among others. Recent research generally agrees that variation in word order is shaped and constrained by interacting and competing principles of cognition, communication, grammar, and language history (Tomlin 1986; Dunn et al. 2011; Culbertson, Smolensky, and Legendre 2012; Napoli and Sutton-Spence 2014; Maurits and Griffiths 2014; Levshina 2019; Sauppe et al. 2021). In addition to experimental data, this line of research relies on various kinds of observational data: thorough descriptions of inventories in grammars or, more importantly, patterns of usage and frequency found in corpora. Ancient languages, in particular those as well attested as Vedic Sanskrit, are relevant for understanding the diachronic behavior of linearization because when assessing the dynamics of change, they enhance the estimates by providing calibration points. At the same time they open a window into sociocultural environments that differ drastically from modern ones. This enables us to control, e.g., for effects of general literacy.

Until recently, large scale empirical research on Vedic word order variation was limited by data availability and general replicability. For example, the thorough studies of Delbrück (1878), Schäufele (1990), and Reinöhl (2020) are largely based on samples from a single text, and the data is not available for follow-up investigations. Fortunately, the recent progress made in building linguistic resources with computer-assisted procedures has dramatically changed the field. In this article, we

capitalize on these recent advancements and present a corpus-based exploratory survey of Vedic word order variation in nominal expressions, in particular word pairs consisting of a modified noun and a modifier noun or adjective from all Vedic strata.

Descriptions of Sanskrit and Vedic syntax generally acknowledge that Vedic exhibits a high degree of free ordering both of constituents and elements within constituents (Hock 2013; Viti 2015; Luraghi 2010). While most scholars follow linguistic traditions that start from a basic order of hierarchically organized structures (Delbrück 1888; Speyer 1896; Schäufele 1990, etc.), others adopt the idea of flat structures that lack linear order at all (Gillon and Shaer 2005; Gillon 2006). Departing from Pāṇinian methodology (“state a majority rule and find casuistic explanations for each deviation”), another recently championed strand of research focuses on diversity and distribution and tries to identify functional and structural correlates (e.g. Delbrück 1888; Louagie and Reinöhl 2021; Reinöhl 2020). Given the theoretical interest in configurationality as a structural correlate of communication channel restrictions, we focus on variation with respect to linear continuity and discontinuity in complex nominal expressions, i.e. noun–modifier pairs.

Surprisingly little is known about the distribution of Vedic word order variants, while the factors that are assumed to drive variation have attracted much more attention. For example, it is generally assumed that metrical texts exhibit more variation than prose texts (Brereton and Jamison 2020), and earlier stages of the language more than later ones (Delbrück 1888; Viti 2015). Moreover, it is well known that not all types of relation between modified and modifier behave alike, and that the length of a modifier constrains the placement relative to the modified and the clause (Delbrück 1888; Reinöhl 2020; Jing, Widmer, and Bickel 2021). Another important factor is information structure (Delbrück 1888). Based on a sample of ca. 1,000 clauses from the prose parts of the Vedic *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā* and qualitative descriptions of three Australian languages, Reinöhl (2020) proposes that in most, if not all languages (including Vedic Sanskrit) a particular continuous order with functionally determined slots is the default. Deviations from such “functional templates” in continuous nominal expressions are assumed to be associated with needs related to information structure or with modifier heaviness. For discontinuity of nominal expressions Reinöhl discerns three patterns: the placement of an element at or near the left edge of the clause, Wackernagel positioning of pronominals, and, only in Vedic, discontinuity caused by conjunctions. Moreover, it is suggested that discontinuity is associated with information structure.

Research on word order in complex nominal expressions has reached similar results for other ancient languages, although the results found for ancient written languages such as Latin and post-Homeric Greek may not be fully applicable for Vedic which was transmitted orally. For example, information structure is con-

sidered a major source for word order variation in nominal expressions in Latin (Spevak 2014) and Ancient Greek (Devine and Stephens 2000). While we fully acknowledge the relevance of information structure with concepts such as prominence, focus or topic, it is also true that this approach comes at a high cost – namely, it is extremely difficult to operationalize these concepts because of our limited understanding of ancient cultures, grammars, and narrative conventions. Scholars tend not to agree on the definition of these concepts and their application, and judgements of information structure often run the risk of circularity. Moreover, it is crucial to control for genre, register, and style because variation patterns are notoriously associated with content and textual conventions (Biber 2012; Szmrecsanyi 2019). Therefore, in order to get a sound grasp of the full range of variation and other potential confounding factors, such as heaviness of modifiers mentioned by Reinöhl (2020: 85–86), a large amount of data from as many genres and registers as possible is needed. This stands in contrast with restrictions of time and resources. Annotating larger portions of text with information structure requires an enormous amount of philological scrutiny and time. This is why in this paper, we complement previous qualitative work that focused on semantics but used a small number of data points with an investigation that considers some formal criteria driving word order variation on as many data points as possible.

The goals of this article are, first, to give, for the first time in Vedic studies, a broad survey of continuity in the linearization of complex nominal expressions on an empirical basis, and second, to compare the Atharvaveda to other metrical Vedic texts. To do so, we extract 8,789 complex nominal expressions from a corpus of dependency-annotated Vedic texts covering various textual and chronological layers. On these observations we carry out standard frequentist statistical tests of significance to get an impression of the interactions between continuity and two properties of the modifier (word class and length), the placement of the modifier relative to the modified noun, and the textual layer.

In the next section we describe data and methods. The subsequent section reports our results for a sample from the Vedic corpus over its entire temporal span and for the oldest layer of metrical texts. The final section summarizes the paper.

Data and Methods

The data for this contribution are extracted from the Vedic Treebank (VTB), a database of Vedic sentences which are syntactically annotated according to the Universal Dependency (UD) standard (Nivre et al. 2016). With about 17,300 sentences with 130,000 word tokens, the version of the VTB used for this paper is significantly

larger than the versions described in Hellwig et al. (2020) and Biagetti et al. (2021). The improved coverage of the Vedic corpus is due to the availability of a syntactic parser of Vedic Sanskrit which has been developed in the research project CHRON-BMM¹ and which significantly accelerates the process of data acquisition (Hellwig, Nehrdich, and Sellmer, n.d.).

Using the syntactic annotations provided by the VTB, it is easy to find the complex nominal expressions required for this study. We select all nominal expressions that are modified either by another nominal expression or an adjectival phrase. Continuity is determined by inspecting whether any elements that do not belong to the complex nominal expression are inserted between the modified noun and the modifier. One such case is displayed in Figure 1. In addition, we consider the following variables which are suspected to interact with continuity:

Modifier Type

We make a binary distinction between adjectives (labeled *amod*), which agree with the modified noun in gender, number, and case, and nominal modifiers (*nmod*), which usually take the genitive case.

Position

The placement of the modifiers relative to the modified noun: modifiers either precede (left) or follow the modified noun (right).

Length

The length of the modifier in orthographic units separated by a space, i.e. the modifier including all elements which syntactically depend on it. We collapse all lengths greater than four, which results in four binned integers in the interval [1–4].

¹ Project funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, FKZ 01UG2121; see <https://chronbmm.phil.hhu.de/>.

Layer

In order to correlate changes in linearization with the historical structure of the Vedic corpus, we record the diachronic layer of each observation according to a system derived from (Kümmel 2000: 5f.) and (Witzel 1989):

1. Early Vedic [= 1-RV]: RV 2–7, 9
2. Old Vedic [= 2-MA]: RV 1, 8, 10 and the metrical portions of the Atharvaveda- and Yajurveda-Saṁhitās (‘Mantra language’)
3. Middle Vedic [= 3-PO]: the prose portions of the Saṁhitās, and the older parts of the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads
4. Young Vedic [= 4-PL]: the younger parts of the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads
5. Late Vedic [= 5-SU]: the Sūtra texts of the Vedāṅgas

Compartments 2–5 of Table 1 show that these variables occur with sufficient frequency in our sample which facilitates the application of standard statistical tests of significance.

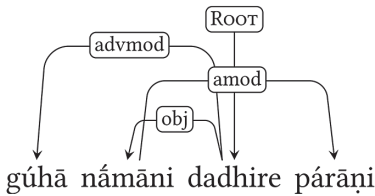


Figure 1: RV 10.5.2d (“They have placed in hiding the highest names”, Jamison and Brereton 2014, p. 1374) as an example for discontinuous placement: The verb *dadhire* is inserted between the noun *nāmāni* and its modifier *páráṇi*.

We assess possible differences in the distributions using standard frequentist statistical tests of significance for count data (see e.g. Agresti 2007). Hellwig, Scarlata, and Widmer (2021) describe the application of relevant methods in the context of Vedic studies, and the reader may refer to this publication for a more detailed, practical introduction to the statistical tests applied here.

Table 1: Distribution of the considered variables in the data sample used in this study.

Linearization	continuous				
	6316	2473			
Modifier type	amod	nmod			
	2953	5836			
Position	left	right			
	7037	1752			
Length	1	2	3	≥ 4	
	6199	1582	567	441	
Layer	1-RV	2-MA	3-PO	4-PL	5-SU
	980	2693	1052	2100	1964

Results and Discussion

General Observations

Before focusing on the Atharvaveda and the other oldest metrical texts, we explore which patterns emerge when we consider the entire timespan of the Vedic literature. As described in the preceding section, the collected data relate the (dis-)continuous placement of nominal expressions to their syntactic labels, their relative positions, their lengths, and the diachronic layer of the containing texts. We start the evaluation by exploring the relationships between each of these four possible explanatory variables and (dis-)continuous linearization in the whole data set, and consider increasingly complex interactions as our evaluation proceeds.

Table 2: Results of G-tests for the basic interactions between continuous and discontinuous linearization and four influence variables considered in this paper; see also the graphical display in Figure 2.

Infl. Factor	Statistics	DF	p-value
Label	$G = 44.691$	1	0.001
Position	$G = 390.772$	1	0.001
Length	$G = 6946.096$	3	0.001
Layer	$G = 428.548$	4	0.001

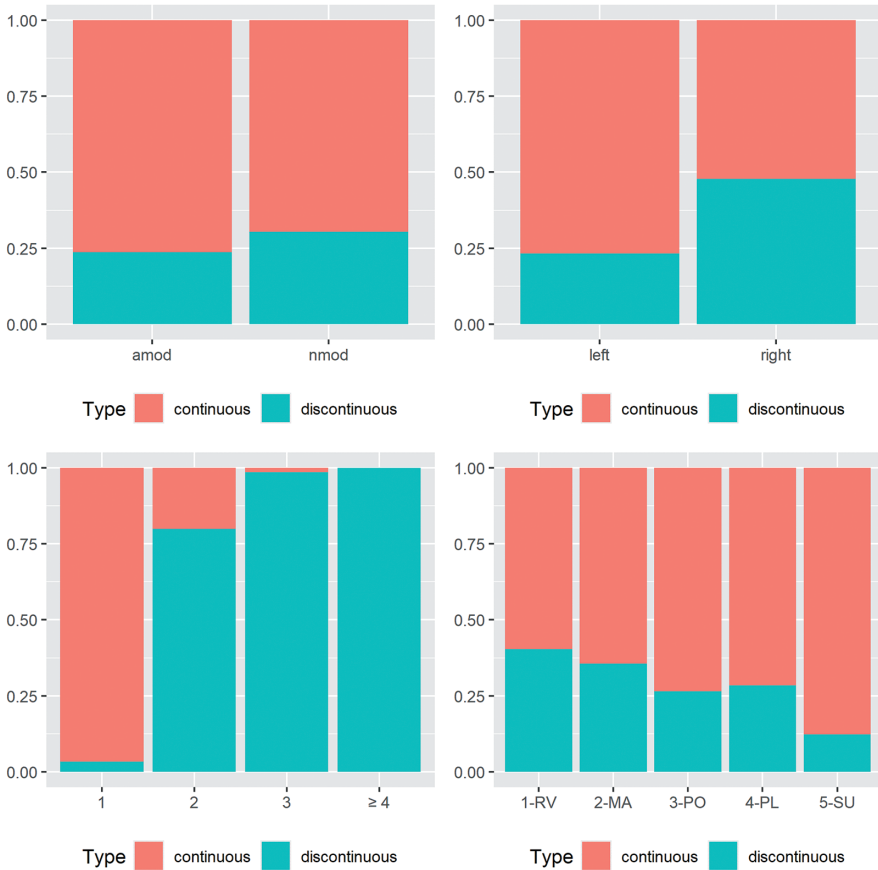


Figure 2: Basic interactions with continuous and discontinuous complex nominal expressions; top left: interaction with the label; top right: with position; bottom left: with the length of the dependent; bottom right: with the chronological layer. Test results are reported in Table 2.

Figure 2 graphically displays these interactions, and the test results of the underlying count data are reported in Table 2. Overall, we observe statistically highly significant differences for all explanatory features. The weakest, but still highly significant effect concerns the modifier type (Figure 2, top left). This effect fits the intuition via the interaction with modifier length: nominal expressions tend to be more complex, which favors discontinuity. We also observe strong effects for the relative positions (Figure 2, top right). Nominal expressions with the modifiers placed to the right of the modified are significantly more often discontinuous than those with modifiers placed to the left. The strongest statistical effect is observed for the lengths of the modifier: Figure 2 (bottom left) shows that continuous linearization is largely restricted to modifiers that consist of

only one word. Notably, the diachronic layers also interact with (dis-)continuous linearization to a highly significant degree as the number of continuous placements increases nearly monotonically over the period considered here (Figure 2, bottom right). While a Cochran-Armitage test shows that this trend is also statistically highly significant ($Z = 18.431$, dim: 5, $p < 0.001$), this result does not necessarily point to systematic changes in discontinuity patterns. When we plot the diachronic distribution of the lengths of the dependents (see Figure 3), our data display a diachronic trend towards using shorter dependents over the Vedic period, which is again statistically highly significant.²

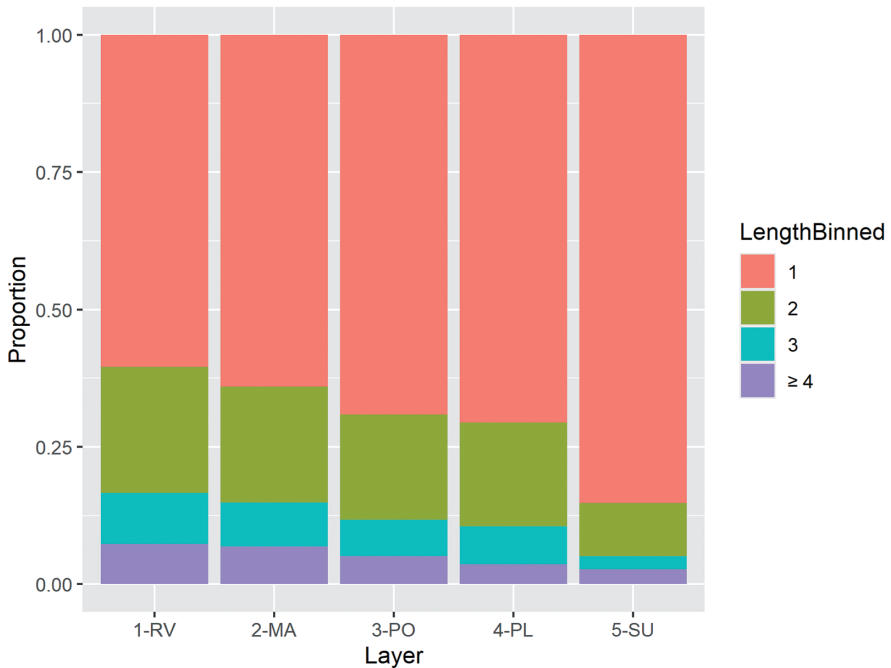


Figure 3: Lengths of the modifiers, grouped by diachronic layers. The bottom-right subplot in Figure 2 can largely be explained as a combination of the trend shown in this plot and the distribution in the bottom-left subplot in Figure 2.

At first view, the trend observed in Figure 2 (bottom right) results from an interaction of (at least) two elements: Later Vedic texts prefer shorter modifiers (Figure 3), and modi-

² For this Cochran-Armitage test, we distribute the lengths of the dependents into two classes ‘1’ and ‘>1’ and assess the distribution of this dichotomized variable over the five diachronic layers. The test yields a highly significant result of $Z = -16.332$, dim: 5, $p = 0.001$.

fiers of length 1 are in general found in continuous linearization (Figure 2, bottom left). Surprisingly, however, such an interpretation is not fully endorsed by a CMH test that uses the lengths of the dependents as the control variable when assessing differences in (dis-)continuous linearization in the diachronic layers of the Vedic corpus.³ Even if we control for the length of the modifiers, the test yields a highly significant result of $M^2 = 108.56$, DF: 4, $p < 0.001$ and thus points to substantial differences in how (dis-)continuous linearization is distributed over the diachronic layers. Cochran-Armitage tests of the three 5×2 sub-tables of the $5 \times 2 \times 3$ tensor (five diachronic layers \times (dis-)continuous linearization \times length classes 1–3; also see Footnote 3) show significant monotonic trends for dependents of length 1 and 2 (results in Table 3). This result indicates that over the Vedic period, there are significant changes in the linearization of complex nominal expressions with modifiers of the length 1 and 2, but not with longer ones.

Table 3: Results of Cochran-Armitage tests for dependents of fixed length (column one). The tests show significant monotonic trends only for modifiers of length one and two.

Length	Z	DF	p
1	4.553	5	< 0.001
2	7.477	5	< 0.001
3	0.074	5	0.941

As the tests that include an additional control variable have revealed relevant temporal interactions, we repeat this kind of evaluation for the data plotted in Figure 2 (top right) and Figure 2 (bottom left) by expanding the 5×2 diachronic table into $5 \times 2 \times 2$ tensors for the two types (amod, nmod) and the two relative positions. While the CMH tests of these two tensors yield highly significant results,⁴ the plot of the proportions in Figure 4 displays relevant diachronic trends only for modifiers placed to the left of the modified. While the proportions of discontinuous nominal expressions decrease quite monotonically with both modifier types placed to the left of the modified, no such trend is discernible for modifiers of any modifier type to the right of the modified. We leave the examination of these complex interactions for future work applying more refined methodology.

³ We do not consider the length class ≥ 4 , as there are no such cases with continuous linearization in our data.

⁴ Modifier type: $M^2 = 406.12$, DF: 4, $p < 0.001$; position: $M^2 = 254.78$, DF: 4, $p < 0.001$.

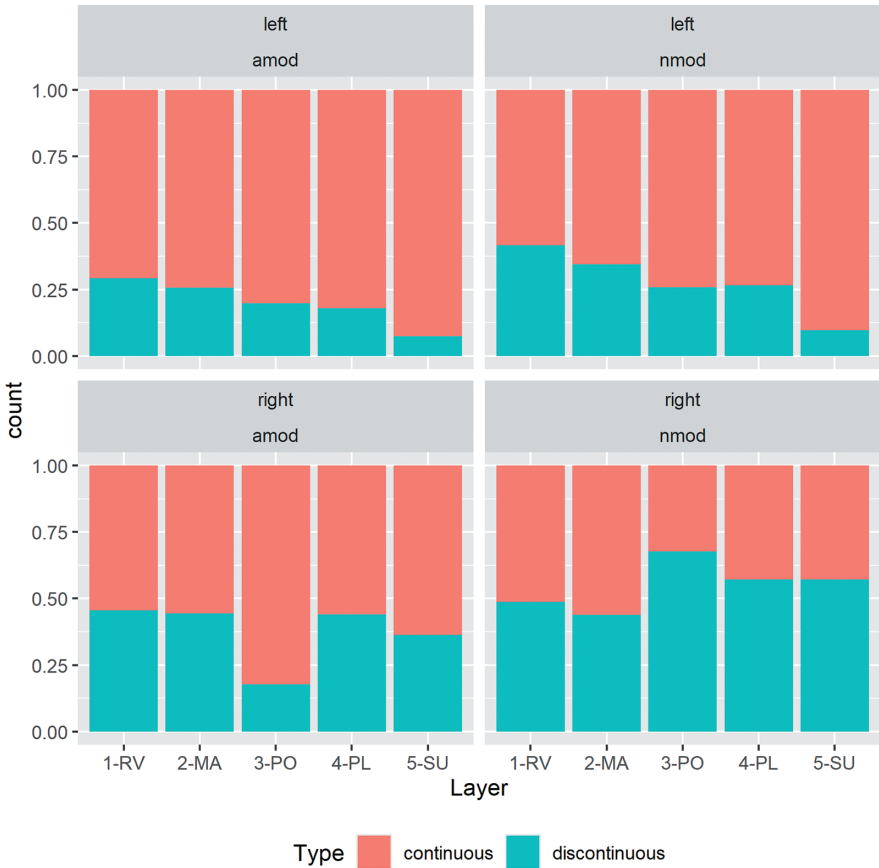


Figure 4: Diachronic trends in continuous and discontinuous complex nominal expressions, split by modifier type and position of the modifier relative to the modified. While complex nominal expressions with modifiers placed to the left of the modified show an increasing preference for continuous linearization (top row), those with the modifier to the right of the modified do not (bottom row).

(Dis-)continuity in the Old Metrical Texts

Given the topic of these proceedings, we now restrain the evaluation to the oldest metrical texts and test if the metrical parts of the AV differ from RV 2–7, 9 and the Mantra level material of other Saṃhitās with regard to (dis-)continuous linearization. This evaluation offers the additional advantage that we do not need to account for interactions with register type as all texts considered in this section are metrical. Table 4 reports the results of tests that compare counts of (dis-)continuous nominal expressions in all three substrata.

Table 4: Differences between the three old layers with regard to the use of (dis-)continuous linearization.

Control	Statistics	DF	p
	$G = 12.028$	2	0.002
Label	$M^2 = 14.900$	2	<0.001
Position	$M^2 = 9.724$	2	0.008
Length	$M^2 = 7.191$	2	0.027

As the result of the G-test in its first row shows, the distribution in the overall 3×2 table (three strata, continuous vs. discontinuous) points to significant differences between the strata. The picture changes when additional control variables are considered using CMH tests (rows 2ff. in Table 4). While the differences get even more pronounced when modifier types are distinguished ('label'), modifier position and length increase the p-values of the tests and thus make systematic differences between the three strata less probable; the increase is most pronounced for length.

Table 5 offers a refined pairwise evaluation of the same data.

Table 5: Pairwise comparison of the three old layers. The first row of each compartment gives the result of a G-test of the full table, and the subsequent rows give the results for CMH tests with the respective control variable in the third column (M^2). See the graphical representations in Figure 5.

Group 1	Group 2	Control	Statistics	DF	p
RV	AV		$G = 12.024$	1	< 0.001
		Label	$M^2 = 15.650$	1	< 0.001
		Position	$M^2 = 9.357$	1	0.002
		Length	$M^2 = 6.447$	1	0.011
RV	Mantra		$G = 3.247$	1	0.072
		Label	$M^2 = 3.524$	1	0.061
		Position	$M^2 = 2.482$	1	0.115
		Length	$M^2 = 1.109$	1	0.292
AV	Mantra		$G = 5.089$	1	0.024
		Label	$M^2 = 6.213$	1	0.013
		Position	$M^2 = 3.968$	1	0.046
		Length	$M^2 = 3.596$	1	0.058



Figure 5: Interactions with (dis-)continuous linearization in texts from the Rigveda and the Mantra period. Test results in Table 4 and Table 5.

It contrasts the three pairs RV-AV, RV-Mantra and AV-Mantra using the same methodology applied to generate Table 4. The refined evaluation confirms the general trends observed in Table 4. While the pairwise differences tend to disappear when position and length are considered, we do observe (highly) significant differences when controlling for the modifier type. This observation gets support from the visual inspection of the proportions of continuous and discontinuous nominal

expressions in Figure 5: across layers they are largely indistinguishable when splitting by position (middle) and length (bottom), but are rather pronounced, especially between RV and AV, when controlling for modifier type (top). From among the three early groups, the AV has the lowest proportion of discontinuous nominal expressions but shows a similarly clear differentiation between adjectives and nouns as does the RV proper. This differentiation between modifier types is virtually non-existent for the Mantra texts.

Conclusions

In this exploratory survey of continuity in the linearization of complex nominal expressions, we found evidence that in the history of Vedic as represented by five commonly assumed diachronic strata, discontinuity decreases monotonically. Modifier type as well as relative position of modifier and modified interact significantly with the overall decreasing amount of discontinuity. Modifier length contributes significantly as well, but only for modifiers consisting of less than three words.

Applying the same methods to the two earliest, metrical layers of our corpus, i.e. Early Vedic (RV books 2–7, 9) and Old Vedic (RV books 1, 8, 10, metrical portions of the Atharvaveda- and Yajurveda-Samhitās) we observe slightly different patterns of interaction. Contrasting Early Vedic with two subsamples of Old Vedic, we find that overall, there are significant differences between the three groups. However, only the modifier type contributes significantly to the difference, modifier position less so, and modifier length is not particularly remarkable. The pairwise comparison of strata discloses a more nuanced picture: Overall, the differences between the AV and the other two strata stand out as being highly significant when compared to Old Vedic and still interesting when compared to Early Vedic. In both comparisons, the modifier type contributes most and the position to a lesser extent.

These findings suggest that with respect to continuity in the linearization of complex nominal expressions, differences cannot be explained by chronological stratification alone. In its difference to the oldest Rigvedic layer, the Atharvaveda clearly diverges from other Old Vedic texts. With all due caution, we interpret this as evidence for differences in content and narrative conventions, which encompasses, of course, differences in syntactic and informational structuring of the text. Future research on such syntactic phenomena will certainly take semantic and other additional syntactic predictors into account – e.g. type of element causing discontinuity, mutual interaction of multiple modifiers – but it should also integrate the lexical and semantic structure of passages under consideration.

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Alexander Lubotsky

Remarks on the Chronology of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā

Abstract: The Paippalāda Saṃhitā, which can be viewed as a manual for the *purohita*, is chronologically heterogeneous: we find old mantras next to prose passages which look young, and archaic verb forms next to grammatical innovations. It seems likely that the bulk of its hymns have acquired their final shape at approximately the same time as Book X of the RV, but the text as a whole was presumably canonized only later, at the time of the Gṛhyasūtras.

1 The Paippalāda Saṃhitā (PS) as a Manual for the *purohita*

1.1 Recent studies of the PS have shown that this text can be viewed as a collection of mantras which a king's domestic priest must remember in order to perform all the necessary rituals at the court. Selva (2019: 214ff) has presented the major arguments for this viewpoint and ample references, so that I can be brief.

The Paippalāda Brahmins openly claimed to be best equipped for the office of the king's *purohita* or *guru*. As stated in the Atharvaveda *Parīśiṣṭa* (2.4.1–5), *paippalādam gurum kuryāc chrīrāṣṭrārogyavardhanam* '[The king] should appoint a Paippalāda as his domestic priest for the increase of might, kingship, and health'. Book 10 of the PS contains a stock of hymns for the royal inauguration, and many hymns in other Books are also related to kingship in one or other fashion, see the list in Lelli (2020: 27–28). It is significant that most of these hymns are absent from the Śaunakīya Saṃhitā (ŚS).

There is one more aspect in which the PS is more "royal-oriented" than the ŚS. As is stressed by Witzel (1997: 278), the PS often uses (hyper-)correct forms, presumably in order to become more acceptable for the nobility (see further below, fn. 11).

Furthermore, there are Atharvaveda (AV) hymns (both in the PS and the ŚS) which at first sight have nothing to do with kingship, but which turn out to be intimately related to the royal rituals. For instance, it is very probable that a hymn to the waters refers to the waters of the royal consecration (Tucker 2014), that a hymn to an amulet is directly related to royal power (Whitaker 2004), that the wedding hymn describes a royal wedding (as Kristen de Joseph argued at the Zürich conference), and that the funeral hymn describes a royal funeral (Roland Pooth, this volume).

Staying at court had not only advantages. The Atharvaveda Brahmins needed charms to protect themselves and their property from kings who would take away Brahmins' cows (ŚS 5.18–19 = PS 9.17–18) or would abduct Brahmins' wives (ŚS 5.17 = PS 9.15; for PS 8.15 see below, section 6).

Of course, all this does not mean that every single PS hymn is necessarily related to kingship. There are plenty of hymns which had to be remembered and recited during various domestic rituals: healing of all sorts, protection of cattle and crops, rituals concerning conception and birth, love charms, etc.

1.2 It has often been observed in the scholarly literature that the Atharvaveda is chronologically heterogeneous: we find old mantras next to prose passages which look young,¹ and archaic verb forms next to grammatical innovations. This heterogeneity squares well with the proposed function of the text: being a king's domestic priest requires constant adaptation to the new techniques, new rituals, and, most importantly, to the ever-changing preferences of the sovereigns. No doubt, competition was fierce, and innovation must have been vital.

Presumably, one of the competing groups were the Ṛgvedins. It is well known that Book X is the final addition to the codified Ṛgveda (RV) and that it shares not only many linguistic peculiarities with the AV, but also the subject-matter of a considerable number of hymns, for instance, life-cycle rituals such as the funeral and the wedding, healing spells and curses, and so forth (see, e.g., the introduction to Book X by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1367). The question as to why these AV-like hymns were added to the collection has rarely been asked, but it seems reasonable to assume that the Ṛgvedins, too, wanted to be employed not only in the solemn Soma rituals, and so they borrowed some charms from the AV, which allowed them to perform the domestic rituals.

2 Language of the AV: Archaisms and Innovations

The language of most hymns of the AV is less archaic than that of the Family books of the RV (being similar to that of RV X), but this does not necessarily mean that all AV hymns are late compositions. Some of the charms, at least in their subject-matter, could be of great antiquity, cf. ŚS 4.12 = PS 4.15 'To heal an open fracture: with a plant' (most recently treated in Griffiths & Lubotsky 2000–2001), which is often cited in this connection because of its Germanic and Hittite parallels. Furthermore, we find remarkable archaisms in the text, of which I here give just two types of phenomena, one morphological and one lexical:

¹ See below, section 5.3, on the argument that this is not just an impression, but a linguistic reality.

(1) Middle imperative endings of the statives:

3sg. impv. med. of the root-aor. *padām* of *pad-* ‘to fall, lie down’. PS 5.15.7a reads *ni te padām pr̥thivī yantu *sindhavaḥ* ‘Let the Earth lie down for you, let the rivers go [their course]’. This is a hapax with an archaic ending *-ām* (instead of *-tām*), typical of statives / intransitive middles, cf. *śayām* (AV) to *śi-* ‘to lie’, *duhām* (RV) to *duh-* ‘to yield (milk)’. This form suits well the other forms of the intransitive middle root *pad-* (for subj. *padāti* see Insler 1968: 317, fn. 7). *vi śerām* [3pl. impv. med.] (PS 2.73.3) of *śi-* ‘to lie’, a hapax, parallel to *duhrām* (AV). The ending *-rām* is not found in the RV.

(2) *puvas-* n. (PS 4.14.3c) ‘pus’: *asno gandhāt puvasaḥ pra cyavasva* ‘Emerge from the blood, from the smell, from the pus’. Although the word *puvas-* is not attested elsewhere in Vedic or later Sanskrit, it is a perfect match of Greek πύος n. ‘pus’, Latin *pūs, pūris* n. ‘id.’ ← PIE **puH-os-*. On this hymn, see Griffiths & Lubotsky 2014.

At the same time, there are numerous morphological innovations in the AV as compared with the Family books of the RV. For instance, whereas in the Family books we only sporadically find cases of gen. sg. *-yāḥ*, dat. *-yāi*, loc. *-yām* with fem. *i*-stems,² these endings are the norm in the AV; similarly, monosyllabic *iva*,³ rare in the RV, is very frequent in the AV.

In the PS, we encounter for the first time a future in *-tar-* (see Lubotsky 2002: 68), and 1pl. *vidmas(i)*.⁴ A unique PS innovation seems to be the loc. sg. *patyām* (6×) vs. the usual *pātā(u)* of *pāti-* ‘husband’.

Many archaic features gradually disappear. For example, outside of RV repetitions, we hardly find any injunctives in a non-imperative context, very few examples of tmesis (separated preverbs), of nom. pl. m. *-āsaḥ* and of metrical lengthening of word final vowels. It is further conspicuous that the PS attests a considerable number of words that are Vedic hapax legomena, e.g., *śikhara-* m./n. ‘top, peak’ (4.14.5), *sūta-* m. ‘child, son’ (5.37.4), *prapautra-* m. ‘great-grandson’ (5.40.5).

Consequently, although we cannot establish a secure *terminus post quem* for the AV, it is likely that the bulk of its hymns have acquired their final shape at

2 Type *nīṛṛtyāḥ, -yāi, -yām* to *nīṛṛti-*, goddess of perdition, cf. AiGr. III: 135.

3 For an explanation of this phenomenon, see Pinault 1995–1996: 354–361.

4 The regular form 1pl. pf. *vidma* is abundantly attested in the PS, but *vidmas(i)* is found in five passages. In PS 16.13.7d *yāsu vidmasi saṃbhṛtam* and 17.12.1f, 13.9e *nāmadheyāni vidmasi*, the form *vidmasi* is secured by the meter, which conclusively shows that it is not a mistake of the transmission, but an original 1pl. form of the PS, although it is not attested in the ŚS. The present form *vidmas(i)* is most probably due to the reinterpretation of ppf. *avet* as an imperfect.

approximately the same time as Book X of the RV. We shall discuss the *terminus ante quem* below, but in order to see the AV innovations in due perspective, let us first have a look at the general picture of linguistic developments after the RV.

3 Sound Changes after the RV

There are hardly any sound changes between the language of the RV and Classical Sanskrit. The sound differences that we see are either purely phonetic details⁵ or are due to variation during the transmission of the texts.⁶ This fact, the importance of which has not been fully appreciated in the scholarly literature, means that during or soon after the period of the composition of the RV, Sanskrit ceased to be a living language in the sense that it was only used in specific situations, in a high stylistic register, and became “petrified” to some extent. From that moment on, Sanskrit was only affected by morphological and syntactic changes.

4 Prākritisms in the RV?

Can we determine the date when this petrification started? Much depends on the question as to whether the RV contains so-called Prākritisms, i.e., words that show Middle Indic phonetic developments. There is a certain tradition among Indo-Europeanists to etymologize (usually obscure) Sanskrit words by assuming Prākritic developments even in the earliest Vedic.

A typical example is the RV hapax *ogaṇá-*. The only passage where it occurs reads: 10.89.15ab *śatrūyānto abhī yé nas tatasré, máhi vrádhanta ogaṇása indra*. Jamison & Brereton (2014: 1537) translate: ‘Those who, seeking to rival us, have battered at us, being greatly arrogant and powerful, o Indra’, following Geldner in glossing *ogaṇá-* as ‘powerful’, although there is no foundation for it in the context.

⁵ For instance, the monophthongization **ai > e* and **au > o* (for which, see Lubotsky 2012), some sandhi differences (e.g. RV *-ṣ ʈ-* in *vidiṣ ʈe* ‘they know of you’ vs. Class. *-s ʈ-*), etc. See further Witzel 1997. A more complicated issue is RV **CṷV* and **CuvV* vs. Class. *CyV* and *CvV*. In unstressed position, the contraction had already taken place before the RV, and the poet had the license to use either a disyllabic or a monosyllabic form (e.g. *divyá-* / *divyá-*, for details see Lubotsky 1997: 149ff.). When stressed, **CṷV* and **CuvV* normally remained disyllabic. This is also the situation of the AV. The Taittirīyas still have *súvah*, *vṛkíyah*, etc. for *svàh*, *vṛkyàh*. In Classical Sanskrit, this contraction has become generalized to all contexts.

⁶ E.g., RV *-V!V-* vs. Class. *-VǎV-*, which is a matter of pronunciation during transmission (like *saṃskrutam* or *saṃskritam* for *saṃskṛtam*).

One would rather expect a negative connotation like ‘treacherous’, ‘murderous’, ‘brutal’, ‘fierce’. Nevertheless, it is generally assumed that *ogaṇá-* means ‘powerful’ and goes back to **ogṛṇa-* < PIE **h₂eug-r-* + an adjective suffix *-na-* (see EWAia 1.276–277 with references). What is more, in the PS and the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā (VS) we find *úgaṇa-* in very similar contexts, specifying an inimical *sénā-* ‘army’ (mentioned next to thieves and robbers), cf. VS 11.77 (= PS 1.42.1) *sénā abhítvarīr ávyādhínīr úgaṇā uta* ‘the attacking, murdering and *úgaṇāḥ* armies.’ In the Sāmaveda we further find nom. sg. *ugaṇā*⁷ (SVK 1.336b *yo no vanuṣyann abhidāti marta ugaṇā vā manyamānas turo vā* ‘a man, who is hostile, plotting against us, *ugaṇā* or considering himself strong’), again in a negative context. This *úgaṇa-* is also usually etymologized as an Indo-European word, this time as **ugṛṇa-* < PIE **h₂ug-r-* + an adjective suffix *-na-* (EWAia 1.276–277).

It follows that the meaning of *ogaṇá-* / *úgaṇa-* is unclear and that the different ablaut grades and accentuation, as well as the nom. sg. *ugaṇā*, are unaccounted for.⁸ Furthermore, the formation (an *r*-stem + a suffix *-na-*) is unparalleled. It seems therefore unjustified to postulate a Middle Indic development for *ogaṇá-* / *úgaṇa-* only in order to save an Indo-European etymology, which is not even very appealing because of the morphological problems.

This is not the place to discuss all proposed Prākritisms in the RV, but most of them meet the above-mentioned objections and are doubtful. In my view, the best example is a passage from the so-called Frog hymn, RV 7.103.3cd: *akhkhalikṛtyā pitāraṃ ná putró, anyó anyám úpa vādantam eti* ‘saying “akhkhala” [repeating syllables] like a son to a father (at lessons), one goes up close to the other who is speaking.’ This translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: 1013) follows Thieme’s (1954) suggestion that *akhkhala-* is a Middle-Indic reflex of *akṣára-* ‘syllable’, which reveals the pun of the author of the hymn, who constantly tries to create parallels between the frogs and the Brahmins. We must thus assume that the author already said *akhkhala-* for *akṣára-* in his daily life. Since RV 7.103 is an “Anhang” hymn, belonging to the latest additions to the collection, it would mean that Middle Indic developments started to take place at least at the very latest stages of the codification of this text.

⁷ This unusual nominative is also encountered in the name of an ancient sage *usánā-* (RV+), i.e. *usánā kāvyá-*, which is likely to be of non-Indo-European origin.

⁸ It is sometimes assumed that *ug^o* is due to the influence of *ugrá-*, but the accent shows that this idea cannot be correct.

5 Prākṛit-like Sound Changes in the RV

Although the direct evidence for Prākṛitisms in the RV is limited, the language of this text, even of its oldest parts, already shows a few sound changes which foreshadow the later, Middle Indic, developments. This points at a situation of prolonged contacts with the indigenous population of India, which became increasingly intensive with the years.

5.1 Proto-Indo-Iranian **dj*- > Skt. *jy*-

This sound change is found in two Rigvedic words: *jyótiṣ*- n. ‘light, brightness’ and *jyók* /*jjyók*/ adv. ‘a long time, still a long time, already a long time’. In later Vedic, it is further attested in the middle present *jyotate* ‘to shine’ (MS *jyotatām* 3sg. impv.), passive *ava-jyotyāmāna*- (ŚB), absolutive *ava-jyótya* (Br.+), and the nouns *jyótsnā*- f. ‘moonlight night’ (MS+) and *jyotayamāmaka*- m. ‘will-o’-the-wisp’ (ŚS 4.37.10) = *jyotaya mām* ‘shine on me!’ + suffix *-aká*-.

It was convincingly argued by aan de Wiel 2000 that the Vedic sound change **dj*- > *jy*- only took place in the position before *o* (which at that time still was **au* [əu]), whereas *dj*- remained unchanged in all other positions.

In Middle Indic, any **dj* has become *-jj-* in intervocalic position and *j-* word-initially (see von Hinüber 1986: 120–121).

5.2 Vedic “vowel harmony” + *r*-dissimilation

In Vedic, there are several cases where vocalic *r* loses its consonantal element and becomes *i*, *u*, or *a*, depending on the following vowel, cf.

- **śṛthirá*- [ś₃rthirá-] > [ś₁rthirá-] > *sithirá*- adj. ‘loose’ (root *śrath*ⁱ- ‘to be loose’).
- **mṛhur* [m₃rhur] > [m₁rhur] > *múhur* ‘suddenly, at once, immediately’ (cf. Young Avestan *mərəzu*- ‘short’).
- **durhṛṇā*- [durh₃rṇā-] > [durh₁rṇā-] > *durhāṇā*- ‘bad anger’ (~ *hṛṇitē* ‘to be angry’) (see Narten 1982: 140).
- **tvṛṣṭar*- [tv₃rṣṭar-] > [tv₁rṣṭar-] > *tvāṣṭar*- (cf. Avestan *θβərəṣtar*- ‘sculptor, creator’) (see Lubotsky 1994).

These forms are the result of *r*-dissimilation, and the schwa of vocalic *r* [ɹ] copies the vowel of the next syllable. This “vowel harmony” is very similar to the rules for the development of *r* in Middle Indic (see Berger 1955):

- *hṛdaya-* > Pāli *hadaya-*; *ghṛta-* > Pāli *ghata-*; *kṛpana-* > Pāli *kapana-*; *vṛka-* > Pāli *vaka-*
- *ṛṣi-* > Pāli *isi-*; *kṛmi-* > Pāli *kimi-*; *vṛścika-* > Pāli *vicchika-*; *kṛtrima-* > Pāli *kittima-*
- *ṛtu-* > Pāli *utu-*; *ṛju-* > Pāli *uju-*; *mṛdu-* > Pāli *mudu-*

It follows that the vowel harmony (or assimilation of the schwa to the vowel of the next syllable) started as a phonetic development already in Vedic and has become phonemic only if *-r-* was lost. In Middle Indic, this process has spread to any former *ṛ*.

5.3 Skt. *karoti*, *kurvanti*

A very similar scenario is responsible for the development of *karóti*, *kurvánti* (Class 8 present) from *kṛṇóti*, *kṛṇvánti* (Class 5 present) as argued by Hoffmann (1976: 575–588). He assumes that in this verb, *-ṛṇ-* has exceptionally assimilated to *-ṛr-*, which then underwent “vowel harmony” and *r*-loss:

- *kṛṇu-* / *kṛṇv-* > **kṛru-* / *kṛrv-* > [k_ur_u- / k_ur_v-] > *kuru-* / *kurv-*
- **kṛṇau-* > **kṛrau-* > [k_ar_{au}-] > *karo*⁹

According to Hoffmann, these forms are used in Vedic texts as follows:

- RV: predominantly Class 5 *kṛṇo-* / *kṛṇu-*, but in Book X already 2× *kuru* (10.19.2b *púnar enā ny á kuru*; 10.145.2d *pátim me kévalam kuru*) and 1× *kurmás* (10.51.7a *kurmás ta áyur ajáram yád agne*)¹⁰
- AV: Class 5 *kṛṇo-* / *kṛṇu-* next to (rare) Class 8 *karo-* / *kuru-*
- YV mantras (both prose and poetry): idem
- YV prose: only Class 8 *karo-* / *kuru-*

⁹ Vedic *e* and *o* were diphthongs [ai] and [au], at least until the time of the composition of the Yajurveda (see Lubotsky 2012).

¹⁰ As was pointed out by Hoffmann, in the RV the poets use Class 8 forms as an indication of colloquial / substandard usage, especially female speech. The same is true of the Atharvaveda, see, for instance, PS 5.34, ‘Against a female rival’, where we find three times a Class 8 present: 2ab *ā krandayolulā kuru, vācam ā dheḥy apriyām* ‘Shout out, wail, raise your unpleasant voice!’, 5cd *atho śvabhyo *rāyadbhyaḥ, prati sma gaṅgaṇam kuru* ‘And then howl back to the barking dogs!’, 6c *atho yat kāryam kur_uv* ‘And do what has to be done!’ or PS 6.23 ‘To get rid of a rival wife’ with its 2a *apāñcañ patim ā kur_uv* ‘Make the husband turn away [from her]’, 4b *bilād aranyam ā kur_uv* ‘Remove [her] from the hole toward the jungle’, 4e *vātasyainām śikhām kuru* ‘make her the crest of the wind’ (Griffiths 2009: 247 and 249).

Hoffmann has missed just one minor detail, which is of importance for the chronology of the Atharvaveda, however. It turns out that the Śaunakīya Saṃhitā¹¹ shows the same distribution as the Yajurveda: in the mantras we find most of the time Class 5 *ḷṛṇo-* / *ḷṛṇu-* next to a few rare occurrences of Class 8 *karo-* / *kuru-*, indeed, but – and this is the difference – the prose passages exclusively attest Class 8 *karo-* / *kuru-*. This distribution indicates that the prose passages of the AV have been added to the collection at a later date (see further below).

6 Canonization of the Atharvaveda Paippalāda

Most Vedic texts contain material from different periods, and it must have taken a long time before they were canonized and reached the form in which they have been transmitted to us (for a recent discussion, see Bronkhorst 2007: 175ff.).

What can be said about the time of canonization of the Atharvaveda, and of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā in particular? The distribution discussed in the preceding section suggests that the prose of the Atharvaveda (the so-called *parvāya* sections) and that of the Yajurveda are contemporary, which confirms the impression of many scholars that the Atharvaveda prose is composed in a Brāhmaṇa style. At the same time, it means that the canonization of the Atharvaveda took place no earlier than the period of the Brāhmaṇa prose.

Indeed, there are indications that canonization took place even later. A case in point is the stanza PS 8.15.6 (for the edition of this hymn see Lubotsky 2007 and Kim 2014: 145–146):

<i>śatarcino mādhyamā ye maharṣayaḥ</i>	(12)
<i>kṣudrasūktānām uta yā prajeha </i>	(11)
<i>ṛṣīṇām yāni janimāni vidmas</i>	(11)
<i>tebhyaḥ pra brūma iha kilbiṣāni </i>	(11)

‘The [descendants of the] Śatarcins, [the descendants of] the great ṛṣis who have composed the middle parts, and those here who are the progeny of those whose hymns are short – whichever races of the ṛṣis we know, to them we announce here the offenses.’

This stanza mentions the authors of the Ṛgvedic hymns, which are only known since the late texts of the Ṛgveda school: the *mādhyamāḥ* are referred to at KauṣB 12.3:5ff., the earliest other attestation of *śatarcinaḥ* seems to be at AitĀ 2.2.1 (alongside the *mādhyamāḥ*), and the *kṣudrasūktāḥ* are not referred to before the Gṛhyas-

¹¹ The PS has mostly reintroduced Class 5 *ḷṛṇo-* / *ḷṛṇu-* in these cases, in a conscious endeavor to use the more “correct”, archaic language (see above, section 1).

ūtras (ŚāṅkhGrS 4.10, ĀśvGrS 3.4.2). It is therefore conceivable that the stanza is a late addition, which is further corroborated by its strange position within the hymn (see Lubotsky 2007: 28).

This means that even at the time of the Gṛhyasūtras, close to the end of the Vedic period, the charms were still adapted and rearranged. In this particular case of PS 8.15.6, the reason for expanding the text was clearly the endeavor to involve the RV brahmins in a protest against the king who has abducted a brahmin's wife. And although this process of adding new material to the collection, theoretically speaking, might have continued until the Middle Ages, I see no indication of that. As far as the *terminus ante quem* for canonization of the Atharvaveda is concerned, I follow Johannes Bronkhorst, who writes (2007: 197): “Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya allows us to obtain an approximate idea as to the time before which the Atharvaveda was constituted into a collected whole. It cites in its opening passage the first lines of the four Vedas; these apparently existed as collections in those days (second century BCE). The first line is *śaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaye*, which begins the Paippalāda version of the Atharvaveda. Patañjali even informs us of the size of the Atharvaveda known to him, saying (Mahā-bh[āṣya] II p. 378 l. 11; on P. 5.2.37): *vimśino 'ṅgirasah*. This fits the twenty books of the Atharvaveda in both its surviving versions. We may conclude that the Paippalāda Saṃhitā existed essentially in its present form in the second century BCE.”

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Oliver Hellwig

The Three Grand Divisions of the Śaunakasamhitā from a Lexico-Statistic Perspective

Abstract: The Śaunakasamhitā was divided into three “grand divisions” by Whitney and Lanman, its most influential interpreters: short hymns (kāṇḍas 1–7), long hymns of miscellaneous subject matter (kāṇḍas 8–12), and hymns “characterized each by unity of subject” (kāṇḍas 13–18), with kāṇḍas 1–7 constituting the core of the collection. Witzel agrees with these divisions but adds a temporal aspect, proposing that ŚS 1–5 and 8–12 are older than ŚS 13–18. This paper revisits these earlier approaches using computational and corpus linguistics, focusing on vocabulary subsets and their correlation with Whitney and Lanman’s divisions.

Introduction

In the introduction to their translation of the Śaunakasamhitā (ŚS¹), Whitney and Lanman split the text of ŚS 1–18 into three “grand divisions”. These divisions consist of “short” (kāṇḍas 1–7) and “long hymns of miscellaneous subjects” (kāṇḍas 8–12), and of hymns “characterized each by unity of subject” (kāṇḍas 13–18), respectively (Whitney and Lanman 1905: cxxvii). Lanman claims that the first division (kāṇḍas 1–7) is probably the “most characteristic part of it all, and [. . .] books i.–vi. are very likely the original nucleus of the whole collection.” (Whitney and Lanman 1905: cxlii). The introductory notes to the individual kāṇḍas do not discuss further linguistic evidence that supports this claim. It thus appears that Lanman’s conclusion is largely based on content and on the ordering principle of increasing numbers of stanzas, as generally applied when studying the structure of the R̥gveda (see Oldenberg 1888: 242; Renou 1947: 63–65; Insler 1998: 19–20).

Witzel (1997: 275–284) agrees with Whitney and Lanman’s “grand divisions”, but introduces a further temporal component. Based on cultural as well as linguistic features, Witzel proposes that kāṇḍas 1–5 constitute the oldest part of the ŚS, while ŚS 8–12 are later, but still earlier than the Yajurveda prose (Witzel 1997: 280–281). ŚS 6–7 may be interpolated in the first grand division, and ŚS 13–18 may

1 This paper uses the abbreviations defined in Griffiths (2009: 453–456).

be contemporaneous with the TS or the earlier parts of the AB (see Witzel 1997: 281; also see Renou 1955 on the prose parts contained therein). As the ŚS is often used as a reference point for post-Rigvedic linguistic developments (see, for example, Arnold 1897; Witzel 1995 for a discussion and possible fallacies), it is worthwhile assessing if the structure that was proposed by Whitney and Lanman and largely adapted in later research (e.g. Griffiths 2003: 2009) can be corroborated in a lexico-statistic study.

While it is possible to detect changes in the morphosyntax of post-Rigvedic Sanskrit (see, for instance, Lanman 1872; Hoffmann 1967), Wackernagel (1896: XIV–XXVII) claims that the most important linguistic developments after the RV took place on the level of vocabulary. Combining Wackernagel's claim with the assumption that the oldest part of the ŚS largely coincides with its first Grand Division, one may expect a higher ratio of old words in this part of the ŚS than in its presumably later divisions. Note that the term 'word' refers to the uninflected lexical form (lemma) throughout this paper, if not specified otherwise.

In order to assess this hypothesis, this paper examines how words that exclusively occur in the Rigvedic and Mantra periods of Vedic Sanskrit as defined by Witzel (1997: 268) are distributed over the ŚS. This lexical subset is called Rigvedic-Mantra vocabulary (henceforth: RMV) in the rest of this paper. If words contained in the RMV are distributed over the ŚS in a way that coincides with the (chronological) structure proposed by Witzel (1997), this finding provides additional lexico-statistic evidence for the claim that the Grand Divisions indeed correspond to a historical stratification of the ŚS.

This paper examines the distribution of RMV words over the ŚS from two perspectives. In the first perspective, it examines how the RMV is distributed over the ŚS alone. As intertextual links play an important role in the Vedic corpus, the second perspective considers the joint distribution of the RMV over the RV and the ŚS; this means the distribution arising when RMV words occurring in the ŚS as well as the RV are interpreted as links between the two texts. While such a joint distribution could also have been created for the ŚS and any other text from the Mantra period, the RV appears to be especially suited for this kind of evaluation, because previous research has claimed that there exist relevant connections between sections of the ŚS and some parts of the RV (esp. RV 10) on the levels of textual content and linguistics. Moreover, the Family Books RV 2–7 are often assumed to represent the oldest layer of Vedic, and strong lexical connections between the ŚS and RV 2–7 may help to sort out presumably older parts of the ŚS.

The idea of using lexical distributions for studying the stratification of texts is not new. Arnold (1905: 32–41) compiled lists of words which, in his opinion, can serve to indicate the dates of composition of various parts of the RV. Notably, many of the words indicative of a younger date are selected on the basis of socio-cul-

tural ideas and therefore semantic criteria; e.g. terms relating to the daily life or to philosophy, two topics which are implicitly assumed not to occur in the hieratic core of the RV. While Wüst (1928) uses lexicographic information as one of several criteria for stratifying the RV, Poucha (1942, 1944) solely relies on lexico-statistics in his study of the RV. The author bases his results on Arnold's and Wüst's lists as well as on his own linguistic intuition (Poucha 1942: 105ff.). These previous studies met with a reserved reception in the scholarly community. One central point of concern was that the authors did not sufficiently consider the interactions between the content of the Rigvedic hymns and their socio-cultural background on one side and the lexical composition on the other (see, e.g., Edgerton 1929 and Gonda 1975: 28). It may be added that statistical tests of significance are preferable to simple counting of lexical units, as done by all mentioned authors, although this point has only been mentioned in more recent reviews of their work (Fosse 1997).

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. The second section describes the data used for this paper and deals with the question of how parallel passages can be detected and removed before compiling the RMV. It also gives a short overview of how parallel textual passages are jointly distributed over the RV and the ŚS. The distribution of the RMV over the ŚS and its joint distribution over the ŚS and RV are examined in the third section, which also discusses how the influence of topics on the lexical distribution can be estimated using quantitative methods. The final section summarizes this paper.

Textual Parallels

Creating the Data

The lexicographic data that are used in this paper are extracted from the Digital Corpus of Sanskrit (DCS).² The definition of the literary periods used for constructing the RMV follows the listing presented by Witzel (1997: 273). Apart from RV, ŚS, RVKhil and VSM, the Mantra parts of the MS and the TS according to Keith (1914: xlvii–lxvi), as far as they are contained in the DCS, provide words for the RMV. Note that the RMV contains the complete vocabulary of ŚS 1–18, although parts of the ŚS are later than the Mantra period according to Witzel. As this paper investigates

² <http://www.sanskrit-linguistics.org/dcs/index.php>. An up-to-date dump of this database in ConL-LU format is available at <https://github.com/OliverHellwig/sanskrit/tree/master/dcs/data/conllu>. – The DCS currently contains the following early Vedic texts (*: only parts of the text are contained in the DCS): RV (see Hellwig et al. 2018), ŚS 1–18, *RVKhil, *VSM, *MS, *TS.

whether the stratification proposed by Whitney, Lanman and Witzel can be reproduced when looking at lexico-statistics, their hypotheses should not influence the selection of the data, and parts of the ŚS that are presumably later have thus been intentionally included as sources of the RMV.

While parallel passages and their textual variants can give important insights into the mutual relationship between the RV, the two extant śākhās of the AV and other Vedic texts (Oldenberg 1888: 320ff.; Bloomfield and Edgerton 1979; Renou 1947: 69; Griffiths 2009: XXXIV–XXXVII; Mucciarelli 2015), they are less useful when studying the RMV, because words contained in parallel passages generate false negatives, when they occur in post-Mantra texts.³ Therefore, it is crucial to identify parallel passages and remove them from the corpus before creating lexical statistics.

This paper combines two methods for parallel detection. The first method is a modified version of the Levenshtein algorithm (Levenshtein 1966) which operates on continuous word embeddings (Mikolov et al. 2013). It achieves the highest recall but tends to produce false positive results as well. The second method uses the digital version of Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance (Bloomfield 1906, as updated by Franceschini 2008). Each record of the VC is split into the cited text and its occurrences. All but the first occurrence, which is, somehow mechanically, assumed to represent the source of the citation, are searched in the DCS using fuzzy string comparison. If a citation can be traced in the DCS using either of these methods, the lexical annotation corresponding to this match is ignored when constructing the RMV.

Evaluation

Although parallel passages are not the main topic of this paper, their distribution shows some similarities to that of the RMV words, and is therefore briefly discussed. For reasons similar to those given in the introduction, this paper concentrates on the distributions of parallels between the ŚS and the RV: Links connecting the ŚS with the purportedly older parts of the RV may be helpful for understanding the chronological structure of the ŚS, and RV 10 is another important source of Atharvanic material apart from the ŚS itself.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of parallel text lines detected in the RV and the ŚS. The horizontal x-axis displays the ten books (maṇḍalas) of the RV. The distances between the ticks on this axis, which indicate the start of each book, are proportional to the number of text lines contained in the respective book. The

³ If a later text such as a ritual sūtra cites a mantra that contains a word of the RMV, and the text is not labeled as a citation, this word may be excluded from the RMV, thus producing a false negative.

vertical axis displays the books of the ŚS and is organized in the same way.⁴ On the whole, the algorithm detects 1,123 parallels between the RV and ŚS. Because an unfiltered display of this sparse matrix would make it difficult to detect interesting trends, neighboring parallels are clustered using Hartigan's leader cluster algorithm (Hartigan 1975) with a maximal radius of 50 lines of text. While the radius of a circle in Figure 1 shows the extent of a cluster, its hue indicates how many parallels are contained in each cluster, with darker colours indicating higher numbers.

The separate plots at the top and right margins of Figure 1 visualize smoothed estimates of the marginal densities of the underlying count matrix (see Fn. 4; top: RV; right: ŚS). These marginal distributions record the smoothed sums of the columns (RV) and rows (ŚS) of this matrix. They show where and how often parallels occur in the RV (top) and the ŚS (right), without considering the distribution in the other text.

Figure 1 provides a picture of the mutual relationship between the RV and ŚS that agrees with results of previous research, especially as reported by Bloomfield (1899: 46) and Witzel (1997: 282). The clusters in the main plotting area and the density plot at the top margin show that most parallels occur in book 10 of the RV. This book is generally assumed to belong to a younger layer of the RV, both on account of its linguistic features and its Atharvanic content (see e.g., Oldenberg 1888: 270; Witzel 1995: 195; Witzel 1997: 282). While parallels occurring in RV 1–7 are quite evenly distributed, there are virtually no parallels with RV 9. Since Soma, the central topic of RV 9, plays no major role in the ŚS, the absence of citations from this book is not surprising.

While the RV marginal can be explained as a unimodal distribution having its peak in RV 10, the marginal plot for the ŚS (right margin of Figure 1) is approximately bimodal. The first peak corresponds to ŚS 6 and especially 7, which contain the majority of parallels with the RV. As Witzel (1997: 276) has pointed out, ŚS 6 and 7 may be interpolations in the ŚS, and Figure 1 supports the claim that they occupy a special position in the first Grand Division. Notably, parallels with RV 1–7 concentrate in ŚS 7, while ŚS 1–6 share most parallels with RV 10 (as does ŚS 7). The density of parallels drops sharply after ŚS 7, leaving the plotting area for ŚS 8–12 almost empty. This sharp break may be due primarily to the change in content, as the second grand division (ŚS 8–12) mainly deals with speculative (“mystic” in the terminology of Whitney and Lanman 1905) topics. The frequency of parallels

⁴ The data from which the figure is created are stored in a count matrix of size $s \times r$, where s denotes the number of text lines in the ŚS, and r the number of text lines in the RV. If line i of the ŚS is (nearly) identical with line j of the RV, the value of cell (i, j) in this matrix is set to 1.

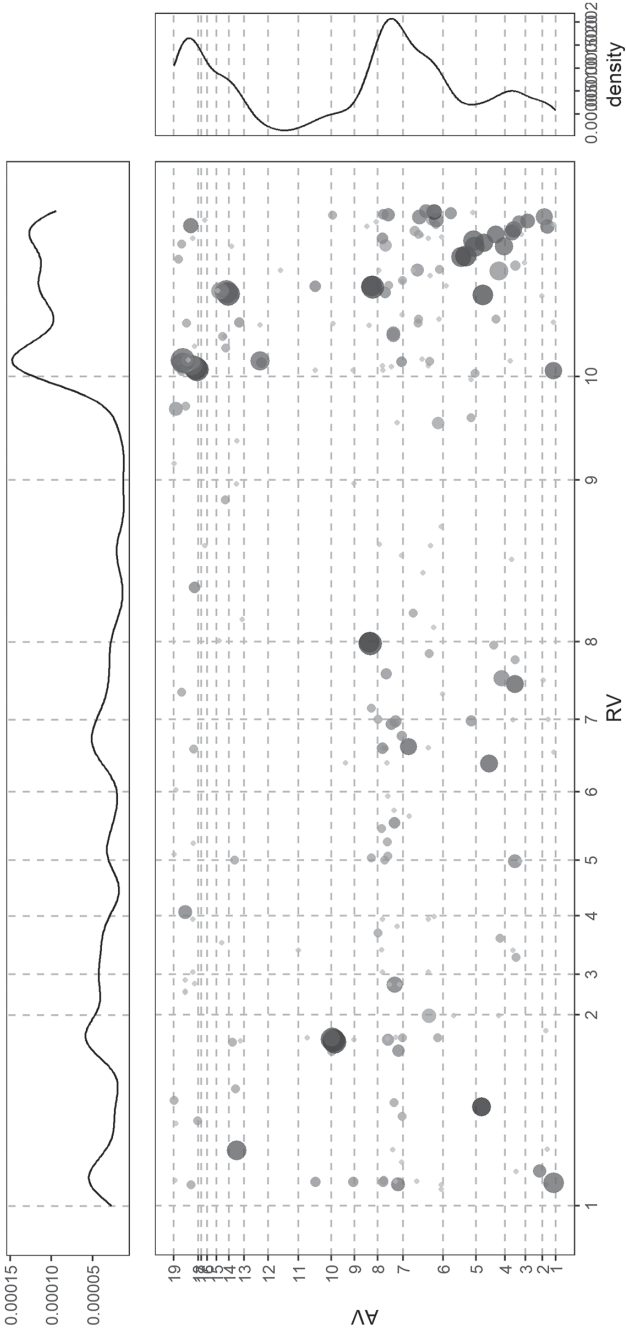


Figure 1: Clustered parallel text lines in the RV (horizontal axis) and the $\mathcal{S}\mathcal{S}$ (vertical axis), and the corresponding marginal densities.

increases again in the third grand division (ŚS 13–18), which Witzel (1997: 277) calls the “Gṛhya collection”, and reaches the second peak in the funeral hymns of ŚS 18, which mixes Rigvedic with AV material.

The Lexical Distribution

Creating the Data

When compiling the RMV, all verbal forms are subjected to a special treatment. Modern editions of accented texts often separate preverbs from verbs if the verb occurs in a non-subordinate clause. In addition, tmesis is widespread in old Vedic texts. As annotations that reliably connect preverbs with verbs are currently only available for the RV (Hellwig et al. 2018), verbal forms with preverbs, which occur, for example, in subordinate clauses and unaccented texts, are reduced to their verbal roots, and all preverbs are excluded from the RMV. As a consequence, the argumentation presented in this paper relies heavily on non-verbal forms, because only a few verbal roots are restricted to the period of the RMV. Similar considerations lead to the exclusion of the particle *cid* ‘even’, which is part of the indefinite quantifier *kaścid-* written as one lemma in the DCS database. As this lemma is split into *kaś cid* in some of the texts in the DCS, the particle *cid* as well as the quantifier *kaścid-* are excluded from the lexical analysis.

The RMV is generated by fuzzy set intersection, and textual parallels are detected in an unsupervised manner. Even if a scholarly curated resource such as the VC is used, some later citations of Vedic mantras may not be detected. Therefore, words are included in the RMV, if at least 95% of their occurrences in the DCS are contained in the RV, ŚS, RVKhil and the Mantra portions of the MS and the TS. The RMV created in this way contains 204 nouns, 189 adjectives, 86 verbs and 31 indeclinables.

Distribution over the ŚS

Figure 2 shows how words that occur in the ŚS and at least one other RMV text are distributed over the ŚS. The horizontal axis is structured in the same way as the vertical axis in Figure 1 and shows the books of the ŚS. Grey vertical bars summarize statistics about RMV words occurring in each text line of the ŚS. The heights of these bars are calculated by assigning the same total mass to each word type, distributing

this mass over all occurrences of the word in the ŚS and summing up all fractions obtained for each line. To motivate this approach, consider, for example, the two RMV words *kimīdīn-*, the name of an inimical creature, and *mākṣā-* ‘bee’. While *mākṣā-* occurs only once at ŚS 9.1.17a, the term *kimīdīn-* occurs 21 times in ŚS 1–5 and the second grand division. If word statistics would be based on the distribution of word tokens, the word *mākṣā-* would contribute the sum of 1 (one occurrence) to the full distribution of RMV words, while *kimīdīn-* would contribute the sum of 21. In this way, the overall distribution would become biased towards frequent RMV words, which would be in opposition to the general aim of this paper, namely studying the distribution of word types in the ŚS. In order to avoid such a bias, the single occurrence of *mākṣā-* obtains the sum of 1, i.e. its complete mass, while each occurrence of *kimīdīn-* only obtains $\frac{1}{21} \approx 0.048$. The heights of the bars in Figure 2 are the sums of these fractions.

In addition to the source data indicated by the grey vertical bars, Figure 2 also displays a smoothed trend line that summarizes the source data. Judging from this smoothed trend, the plot exhibits a clear separation between the first grand division on one hand and the second and third grand divisions on the other. Starting directly with ŚS 8, the trend line drops to a lower level and remains in this state until the end of ŚS 18. The division of the ŚS into two parts that becomes evident from Figure 2 can be corroborated with a statistical test of significance that compares the heights of the grey bars in the first grand division with those in grand divisions 2 and 3.⁵

Joint Distribution over the RV and ŚS

Although many details remain disputed, Vedic studies have produced a coarse internal chronology of the RV: RV 2–7 are generally assumed to belong to the oldest layer of the text, while RV 10 is considered to be a late addition (see e.g. Witzel 1997: 262–265). These ideas about its chronology may be helpful when studying the structure of the ŚS.

To create the joint distribution of the RMV in the RV and the ŚS, a link between a text line in the RV and a line in the ŚS is established if these two lines share at least one word from the RMV. If multiple words are shared by the two lines, the strength

⁵ As the source data do not meet the requirements for a parametric t-test, the difference in means is tested using the Mann-Whitney U-test. The alternative hypothesis of this test claims that the vertical lines in grand division 1 are denser and higher than those in grand division 2 and 3. The test produces a highly significant test statistics of $W = 10126000$, $p < 2.2e-16$.

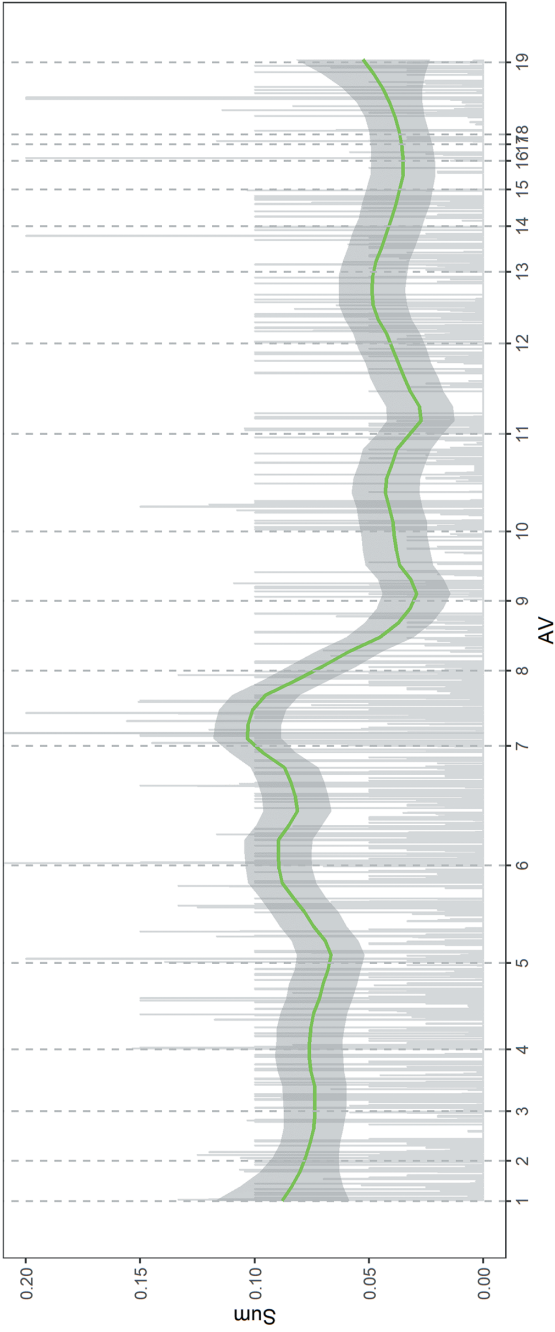


Figure 2: Marginal distribution of the RMV over the $\mathcal{S}\mathcal{S}$.

of the link is increased proportionally.⁶ This linking strength will be called density in the following.

Figure 3, which is organized in the same way as Figure 1, displays such densities for the RV (horizontal axis) and the ŚS (vertical axis). The highest values in the RV marginal distribution (top margin of Figure 3) can be observed for RV 1.50 to RV 7, i.e., the core of the text according to Oldenberg (1888), as well as RV 10. As the Family Books are generally assumed to contain most of the oldest Rigvedic material and RV 10 probably belongs to the Mantra period, this result is not surprising. It shows, however, that the approach used in this paper is able to detect meaningful segmentations. The density drops to a generally lower level towards the end of RV 7, although RV 8 contains a sub-peak, which roughly corresponds to the Vākhilya hymns in RV 8.49–59.

The marginal distribution of the ŚS (plot at the right margin of Figure 3) largely corresponds to Figure 2. This distribution is ragged, but the highest RMV density is found in ŚS 1–7. The density drops sharply in ŚS 8–9, i.e. the start of the second grand division, as could be observed for the parallels and in Figure 2. The joint distribution, i.e., the grey values in the main plotting area of Figure 3 is dominated by the textual segments that can be observed in the marginals. The strongest links are found between ŚS 1–7 and ŚS 18 on one hand and RV 1.50 to RV 7 and RV 10 on the other.

The Influence of the Textual Content

The results visualized in Figure 3 do not take the content or topics of the text sections into account. This is a relevant drawback of the evaluation, since even low-level linguistic features such as case or phoneme distributions are often correlated with the topic of a text passage (see Hellwig 2017). This caveat is even more important when studying the distribution of lexemes, the choice of which is directly influenced by the content of a text (see e.g. Edgerton's review of Wüst's approach, Edgerton 1929).

In order to address this issue, this paper evaluates an approach based on hidden topic assignments. A Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) topic model (see Blei, Ng, and Jordan 2003) is used to automatically determine the topics of all hymns of the RV and the ŚS. An LDA model takes the frequencies of words in each hymn as input, and predicts the most probable distribution over a set of unnamed topics,

⁶ The linking strength is stored in an $s \times r$ matrix, and updated on the basis of type information. Let n_s, n_r denote the absolute frequencies of a word in the ŚS and the RV, respectively. As the word creates $n_s \cdot n_r$ links between the ŚS and the RV, the corresponding cells of this matrix are updated with the value $\frac{1}{n_s \cdot n_r}$. – Also see the related procedure for estimating corpus densities in Hellwig (2019).

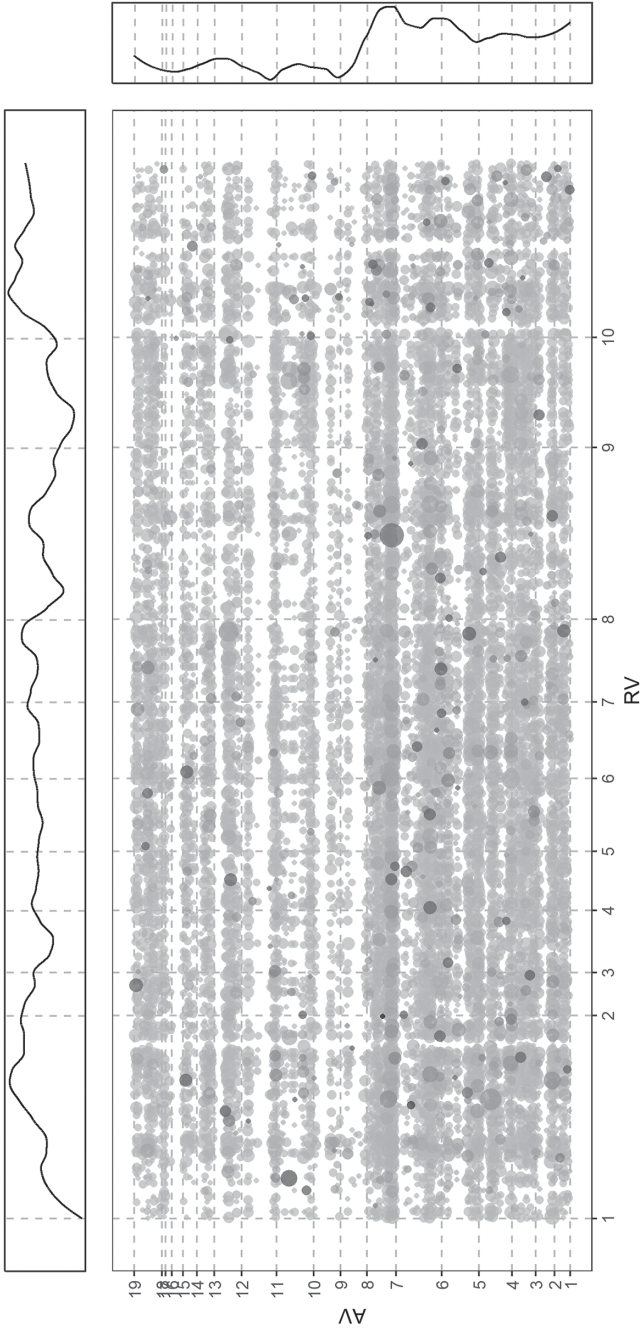


Figure 3: Joint distribution of the RMV word types over RV and ŚS; refer to Figure 1 for an explanation of the plot.

the number of which must be specified a priori. The meaning of each topic can be determined a posteriori by inspecting the most prominent words assigned to it (not done in this paper). As many hymns are comparatively short, often consisting only of a few lines of text, the Sanskrit words of each hymn are supplemented by their lemmatized English translations, and plain LDA is applied to this joint set of lexical data.⁷ After the training has finished, each hymn from the RV and the ŚS is described by a probability distribution over a set of anonymous topics so that hymns containing similar content should obtain a similar topic distribution. The Hellinger distance, which ranges from 0 (completely different) to 1 (identical distributions) is used for quantifying the similarity of these discrete topic distributions.

These pairwise similarity values are now used to quantify the influence of topics on the word wise similarities plotted in Figure 3, based on the following intuition. If the distribution in Figure 3 were solely conditioned on topics, it should be possible to predict the intensity and distribution of its grey scale levels, when only the topic similarities would be known. A simple predictive model that performs this task uses least square linear regression.⁸ Using the values predicted by such a regression, the individual errors or residuals can be found by subtracting the predicted from the true density values. A histogram of these residuals shows that they follow a normal distribution (not reported in this paper). The residuals are therefore split into three groups based on their mean and standard deviation:

- The group ‘high’ contains pairs of hymns whose residuals are larger than the mean plus one standard deviation. These hymns have linking word densities that are higher than could be expected from the topic similarities.

⁷ For the purpose of training the model, each hymn constitutes a separate document. The topic distributions are given the final Φ values. A set of 50 frequent particles, auxiliary verbs (*bhū-*, *as-*) and pronouns were removed before training. The model uses 15 topics, 5,000 training iterations and a flat Dirichlet prior, which is not optimized during the training.

⁸ The topic similarities are calculated for pairs of hymns, while the word densities in Figure 3 are extracted from text lines. In order to bring both distributions into a common format, the word densities are averaged over hymns for the regression experiments.

The model predicts the logarithm of the word densities. Visual inspection and goodness-of-fit tests of the histograms of the predictors and predicted values show that both sets of values are approximately normally distributed (details not reported). The visual inspection of the scatter plots of these variables shows no obvious trends in their variances, so that the requirement for homoscedasticity seems to be met. Predictions are made by splitting the set of all elements with $m_{ij} > 0$ into 10 disjunct folds, training the regressor on 9 of them and then predicting the values in the tenth holdout set (tenfold cross-validation). Slopes and biases of all regressions are statistically highly significant with p-values < 0.01 (details not reported).

- The group ‘mean’ contains all pairs of hymns whose word densities can be predicted with good accuracy when their topic similarity is known.
- The group ‘low’ is the symmetric equivalent of ‘high’.

Figure 4 and Figure 5 are based on the same word densities as Figure 3, but consider only those hymns that are contained in the groups ‘low’ (Figure 4) and ‘high’ (Figure 5). The plots allow for three relevant observations. First, grand division 1 of the ŚS is split into two parts. The kāṇḍas ŚS 1–5 have lower word densities than could be expected from their content (see Figure 4), while the word densities in ŚS 6–7 are higher than expected from the content (see Figure 5). Very tentatively, one may consider that ŚS 6–7 have a closer lexicographic connection to the range from RV 1.50 to RV 7 than ŚS 1–5. The neat separation of ŚS 1–5 and ŚS 6–7 thus seems to support the hypothesis that ŚS 6–7 may be interpolated in the first grand division. One should, however, keep in mind that ŚS 6–7 contain many short hymns for which the results of the LDA, i.e. the topic distributions, may not be well defined.⁹ As the predictions are based on suboptimal values in such cases, the clear distinction between ŚS 1–5 on one hand and ŚS 6–7 on the other may thus also be due to algorithmic issues.

The area corresponding to ŚS 8–16 is virtually empty in Figure 4 and underpopulated in Figure 5. As pairs of hymns that fall into the group ‘mean’ are not plotted in these figures, this result indicates that the word densities ŚS 8–16, i.e. major parts of grand divisions 2–3, conform to the expectation given by topic information. However, Figure 5 shows bands of higher values that appear to concentrate at the beginnings of individual kāṇḍas, and such a trend can be confirmed using a statistical test of significance (details not reported). Such a distribution may be related to an observation made by Bloomfield (1899: 39), who claims that the initial hymns of some kāṇḍas tend to be composed in a more elaborate style (“loftier diction”; also see Griffiths 2009: LXXVI–LXXVII) on related phenomena in PS 6).

⁹ A closer inspection of the distributions generated for ŚS 6–7 shows that most of them are rather flat and thus differ from the predominantly unimodal distributions of longer hymns.

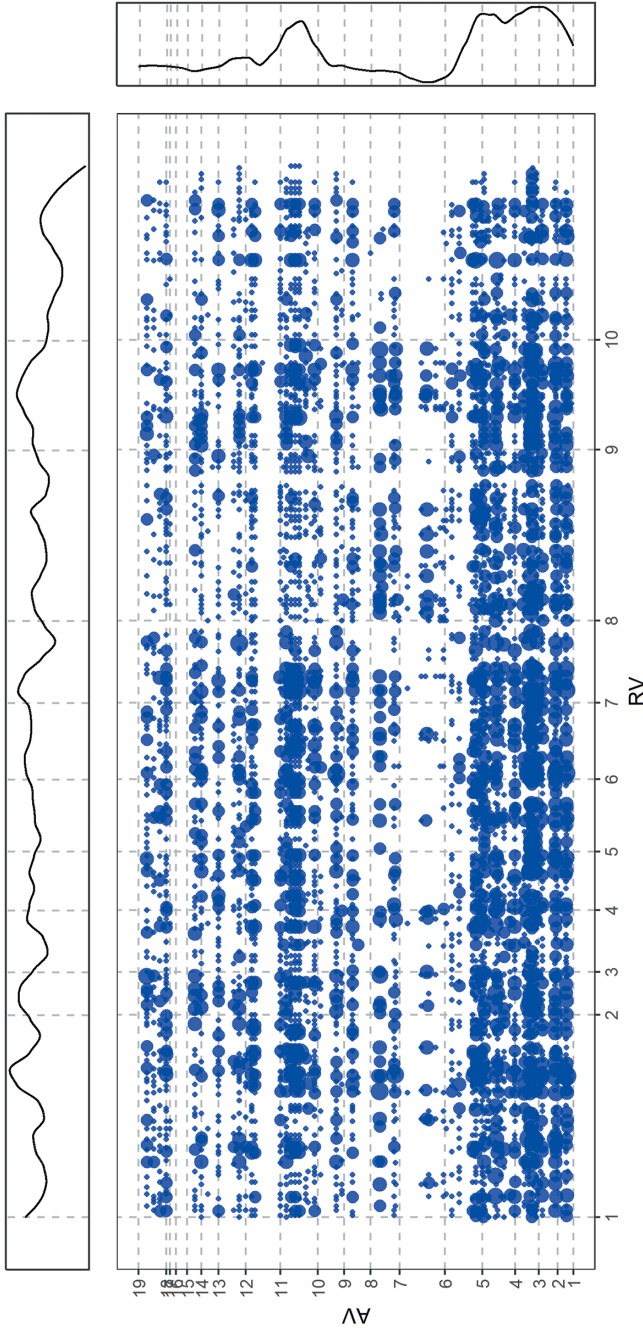


Figure 4: Joint distribution of the RMV (see Figure 3) for the topic-filtered group ‘low’; the highlighted passages have lower linking word densities than could be expected from their content similarities.

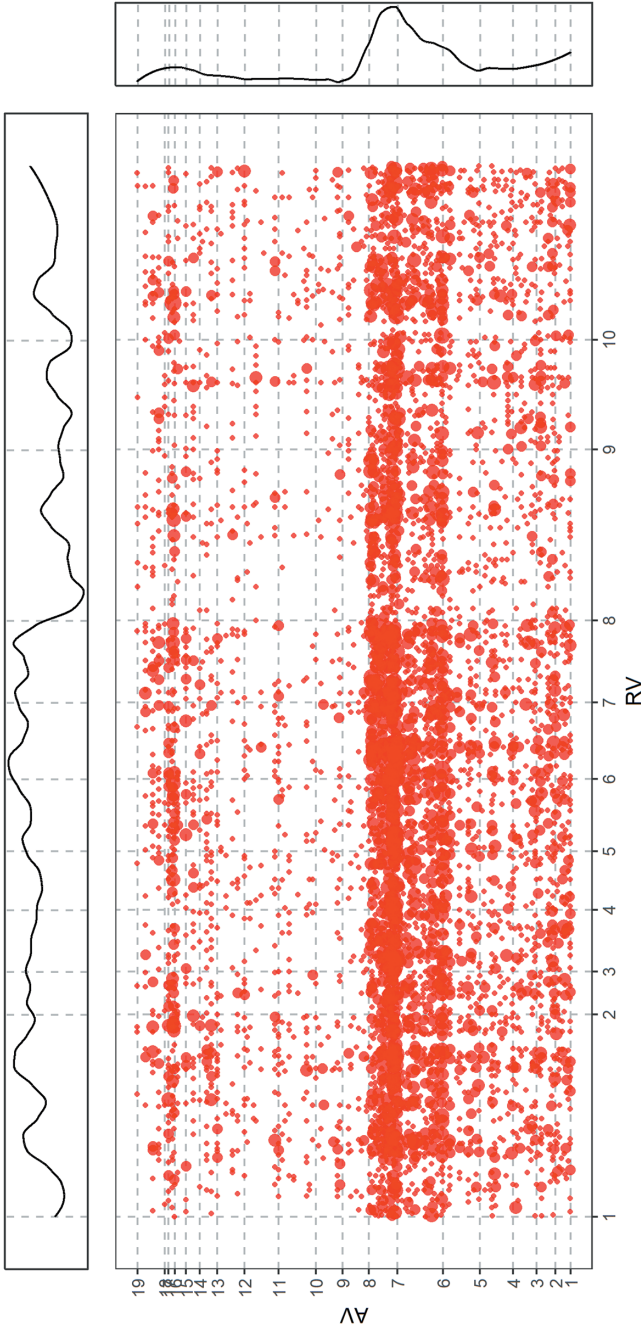


Figure 5: Joint distribution of the RMV for the topic-filtered group 'high'; see Figure 4 for details.

Summary

As Wackernagel has pointed out, lexical statistics may contain important clues for understanding linguistic developments in Vedic Sanskrit and thus for inferring chronological information from the surface forms of Vedic texts. While such an approach was pursued by several scholars for the RV, these scholars worked with manually compiled word lists they considered to be diachronically marked, a point often criticized in reviews of their work. In addition, they did not apply quantitative methods for evaluating and visualizing their results (see the brief history of research in the introduction). The present paper resumes these lexico-statistical investigations, but differs in two relevant aspects. First, the word list, called Rigveda-Mantra vocabulary (RMV) in this paper, is chosen in a purely data-driven fashion using corpus-linguistic methods. Second, the paper applies statistical tests of significance that support central claims, and it proposes a quantitative approach for estimating to what degree the lexical distributions are influenced by the content of the examined text passages.

When this quantitative framework is applied to the ŚS, it provides support for some text-historical hypotheses brought forward by Whitney and Lanman (1905) and Witzel (1997). While the marginal distribution of the RMV over the ŚS clearly separates its first grand division from ŚS 8–18 (see Figure 2), the detailed examination of the joint distribution over the ŚS and the RV (see Figure 3) suggests that ŚS 1–7 can be further differentiated into ŚS 1–5 on one hand and ŚS 6–7 on the other, thus substantiating text-historical claims made by Witzel (1997). A similarly clear differentiation between the grand divisions 2 and 3 does not emerge from the data. However, this result is not surprising under the two assumptions that (1) the RMV consists of old words, and (2) these two grand divisions are later than the first one. In this scenario, occurrences of RMV words should mainly be confined to the first grand division, and thus cannot help in revealing the structure of the purportedly later parts of the ŚS.

The results presented in this paper are just the first step in exploring the diachronic structure of the ŚS from a quantitative perspective. Two lines of research appear especially interesting to follow. First, the reservations brought forward against earlier lexico-statistic approaches still hold, and using topic models to deal with them yielded only mixed results. In order to obtain a more reliable data basis, it needs to be examined whether the words contained in the RMV allow for semantic alternation; in other words, if their selection is mainly due to the content of the Mantra stage texts they are extracted from, or if there exist real synonyms that were in use in (roughly) contemporaneous texts. A refined data basis should preferably consist of the second type, i.e. words with semantic alternatives. The second line should concentrate on finding equivalents of the RMV that help to elucidate

the structure of the second and third grand division of the ŚS. Here, promising candidates may be present in the prose Samhitās, as already proposed by Witzel, or even the early Upaniṣads. This paper provides a simple, yet effective quantitative framework for pursuing both lines of research.

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Laura Massetti

And I Will Fix You: A ‘Chariot-simile’ in PS 4.15.6–7, ŚS 4.12.6–7

Abstract: In this paper, I focus on the chariot-simile of PS 4.15.6–7 (= ŚS 4.12.6–7): in this passage, the healer is compared to a craftsman (Ṛbhū), his patient to a broken wagon. To reconstruct the *disiecta membra* of the metaphor, I focus on the phraseology applying to the Ṛbhū in the *Rigveda*. The verb *takṣ* ‘to fashion’ occasionally describes ‘rejuvenations’ effected by these gods and the Aśvins, healer deities of the Vedic pantheon. Moreover, I show that the metaphorical conceptions of the human body in terms of a chariot is widely attested in other Indo-European languages, where names of chariot parts are identical to those of the parts of the human body. I finally propose that the chariot-metaphor underlies the poetic expression τέκτων νοδυνίας ‘fashioner of painlessness’, a kenning referred to the healer Asclepius in Pindar’s *Pythian Three*.

1. In this paper, I investigate the Vedic background of the chariot-simile attested in PS 4.15.6–7 (cf. ŚS 4.12.6–7). In this passage, the healer of a fracture is compared to a craftsman, a Ṛbhū, while his patient is compared to a broken vehicle. First of all, my phraseological analysis will focus on the description of the Ṛbhū’s work in the *Rigveda*. Such a study aims at highlighting how Vedic *takṣ* ‘to fashion’ describes the divine work of the Ṛbhū as creators of things. Moreover, the paper aims at providing an Indo-European thematic comparandum for the metaphor of the healer as ‘fashioner’. In this regard, I propose that the poetic expression τέκτων νοδυνίας ‘fashioner of painlessness’ (Asclepius, in Pindar’s *Pythian 3*), reflects a similar state of things as the Atharvavedic passage. The comparison between Pindar *Pythian* 3.47–53 and ŚS 4.12.6–7 will reveal further thematic matches: the patients of the

Note: This paper is based on a talk given at the conference *The Atharvaveda and its South Asian Contexts*, University of Zurich, September 26–28, 2019. I would like to thank the participants for their suggestions and their comments, in particular Georges-Jean Pinault for providing me with some bibliographical references. The standard disclaimers apply. The talk was presented in the framework of the project ‘Family Myths: Phraseology and Inherited Indo-European Thematic Structures in Greek Myth’. This project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 793479. The re-elaboration and final submission of the paper was done within the project “LORACOLA” (program NEXT Generation UE, funds NRRP M4C2, project nr. MSCA_0000083-project LORACOLA, CUP C61B22002760001). Unless otherwise indicated, the printed translations are taken from Jamison – Brereton 2014 (RV); Griffiths – Lubotsky 2000–2001 (PS 4.15); Zysk 1985 (ŚS 4.12), Race 1997 (Pindar).

Greek healer and those of the Vedic one appear to have been hurt in a similar way. Finally, the expression ‘to stand upright’ applies to the response to the treatment performed by the healers in Greece and India.

2. The Paippalādasasṃhitā (PS) hymn 4.15 is a charm to heal open fractures. It parallels the Śaunakasasṃhitā (ŚS) hymn 4.12—PS 4.15.1–5 are indeed identical to ŚS 4.12.1–5—, whose central stanzas (3–5) have long been compared to the Old High German second Merseburg spell from a phraseological point of view¹ and to the Irish *Cath Maige Tuired* §33–35, from a thematic point of view.² In stanza 6 of PS 4.15, the work of the healer is directly compared to that of a Ṛbhu, while his patient is said to resemble a chariot. The passage in question reads as follows:

PS 4.15.6 (only PS ◇ b+d: cf. ŚS 4.12.7a+cd)³
yadi vajro viṣṛṣṭas tva vāra
**kāṭam pativā yadi vā viriṣṭam*
vṛkṣād vā yad avasad daśaśṛṣa
**ṛbhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ*

‘If a vajra that has been hurled has hit you, or if there is an injury due to falling into a well (?), or one that is there [due to falling] from a tree: the ten-headed one shall remove [it]. I put together your joint as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot.’⁴

The reference to the Ṛbhu as a term of comparison for the healer’s skill is unsurprising and, to be sure, not unparalleled.⁵ Indeed, in early Vedic texts, the Ṛbhu is often referred to as a touchstone for the creativity of masters in any field:

RV 6.3.8cd *śárdho vā yó marútāṃ tatákṣa, ṛbhúr ná tveśó rabhasānó adyaut*
 ‘Or who **fashioned the troop of Maruts like a Ṛbhu**, he, turbulent and wild, has flashed.’

1 Kuhn 1864.

2 Krause 1930: 32; Campanile 1990; Watkins 1995: 523–532. One can also add the comparison with the Tocharian text “The Craftsmen and the Lion” (THT 644–646 a11–13, cf. also *Pañcatantra* 5.3), now discussed by Serangeli (2022) and Massetti (forthc./b).

3 ŚS 4.12.7 *yádi kartam pativā saṃśasré yádi vāsmā práḥṛto jaghána | ṛbhú ráthasyevāṅgāni sáṃ dadhat páruṣā páruḥ*.

4 Differently, Bhattacharya (2008) reads *yadi vajro viṣṛṣṭas tvāra kāṭāt, pativā yadi vā viriṣṭam | vṛkṣād vā yad avasad daśaśṛṣa, *ṛbhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ*, and translates (p. 132) ‘if a thunderbolt, loosened, has moved towards you, and then falling into a pit if there is injury, or (by falling) from a tree (there is injury), that the ten headed genie has relieved, I put together your joint as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot.’

5 Cf. PS 16.35.8ab (Kim 2019ab, 2021) *yas te parūṃsi saṃdadhau, rathasyeva *ṛbhur dhiyā* (= ŚS 10.1.8ab).

RV 10.105.6 *prástaud ṛṣvaijā ṛṣvébhis, tatákṣa súrah sávasā*
ṛbhúr ná krátubhír mātariśvā

‘He of lofty might has struck up the praise song with the lofty ones. The champion **fashioned** it with his swelling strength, **like an artisan [Ṛbhu]** in accord with his intentions, (like?) Mātariśvan.’

All the aforementioned similes rely upon the Rigvedic descriptions of the Ṛbhus,⁶ a group of three deities, who are identified as skillful craftsmen.⁷ Since they are *the fashioners par excellence*, their deeds are mostly described through Vedic *takṣ* ‘to fashion’ (Indo-European **tetk-* ‘id.’, cf. Old Avestan *tašaṭ* ‘he built’, Lithuanian *tašau, tašyti* ‘to smooth, work’, Greek τέκτων ‘fashioner’, τεκταίνομαι ‘to fashion’).⁸ The association between Vedic *takṣ* and the Ṛbhus must have been perceived as a distinctive trait of their divine personality. Indeed, the verb was not only applied to the Ṛbhus’ major accomplishments (see below), but it also came to refer to their doing in a variety of metaphoric contexts. Take, for instance, the invocation [FASHION – X], where ‘X’ may stand for the sacrifice (RV 3.54.12d *ūrdhvāgrāvāno adhvarām ataṣṭa* ‘with pressing stones raised, you have fashioned the ceremony’); wealth (RV 4.33.8c *tá ā takṣant_{u,v} ṛbhávo rayīm naḥ* ‘let these Ṛbhus fashion wealth for us’); fame (RV 4.36.9b *ihá śrávo vīrávat takṣatā naḥ* ‘Fashion here for us the fame that heroes accompany’)⁹ and poetry (RV 10.80.7a *agnáye bráhma ṛbhávas tatakṣuh* ‘For Agni did the Ṛbhus fashion their formulation’).¹⁰

Furthermore, the *Rigveda* often makes reference to the fact the Ṛbhus have attained immortality (e.g., RV 4.33.4d *tábhiḥ sámībhir amṛtatvám āsuḥ* ‘they attained

6 On the Ṛbhus as craftsmen see Hillebrandt 1891: 515; MacDonell 1897: 131–134; Ryder 1901; Oldenberg 1917: 239–240; Keith 1925: 176–178, Kramrisch 1959; Gonda 1960–1964: 72, Oberlies 2012: 157–158; Brereton 2012, with special focus on the ritual dimension of the Ṛbhus and their connection with the Third Soma Pressing.

7 The other prominent craftsman deity of the *Rigveda* is Tvaṣṭar, on whom cf. MacDonell 1897: 116–117. Just like the achievements of the Ṛbhus, those of Tvaṣṭar are also described by means of Vedic *takṣ* ‘to fashion’. However, the Ṛbhus and Tvaṣṭar fashion different things. Among other things, Tvaṣṭar, who is associated with fertility, fashions babies in women’s wombs. On Ṛbhus and Tvaṣṭar cf. Massetti (forthc./b).

8 On the IE root see Bendahman 1993: 246–247. On the etymology of Hittite *takš-* ‘to unite [harmoniously], to fit together’, *takšan* ‘jointly, together’ cf. Melchert 2018, who reconstructs a root **tek-s-*, which also underlies Latin *texere*.

9 On [to FASHION – GLORY] underlying the Greek personal name Κλεοτέκτων see Massetti (forthc./a).

10 For the collocation [POETRY – *takṣ*], Greek ἐξ ἐπέων . . . τέκτονες (Pindar *Pythian* 3.113), Vedic [*vācam* – *takṣ*] ‘to fashion a (poetic/ritual) utterance’ (RV 1.130.6ab), Young Avestan *vacastašti-* ‘strophe’ see Darmesteter 1878, Schmitt 1967: 14–15; Nagy 2006; Massetti 2019: 192–194. For ‘to join words together’ (ἐξ ἐπέων . . . οἶα . . . ἄρμωσαν) and the name of Homer as ‘the one who joins the words together’ see Nagy 2006.

immortality by these labors’) after performing five great creative deeds: (a) the fashioning/carving of four cups from Tvaṣṭar’s soma cup; (b) the making of a chariot, which is sometimes identified as the Aśvins’ chariot; (c) the creation of a milk-cow and (d) of Indra’s two fallow bay horses; (e) the rejuvenation of their aging parents.¹¹

– Achievements (b), (c):

RV 1.20.3 *tákṣan násatyābhyaṃ, párijmānaṃ sukhám rátham*
tákṣan dhenúm sabardúghām

‘They fashioned for the Násatyas an earth-circling, well-naved chariot; they fashioned the juice-yielding milk-cow.’¹²

– Achievements (b), (d), (e), (c):

RV 1.111.1 *tákṣan rátham suvṛtaṃ vidmanápasas, tákṣan hári indraváhā vṛṣanvasū*
tákṣan pitṛbhyām ṛbhávo yúvad váyas, tákṣan vatsáya mātáraṃ sacā-
bhúvam

‘They fashioned the smooth-rolling chariot,¹³ working with their know-how; they fashioned the two fallow bays that convey Indra and bring bullish goods.¹⁴ They fashioned—the R̥bhus—for their parents youthful vigor; they fashioned for the calf a mother to stay by it.’¹⁵

Although the *Rigveda* does not make reference to the R̥bhus’ medical skill(s), verbal allusions to achievement (e) (: rejuvenation of their parents, see RV 1.111.1c *tákṣan pitṛbhyām ṛbhávo yúvad váyah* ‘they fashioned—the R̥bhus—for their parents youthful vigor’) deserve close consideration, since this miraculous deed may involve a healing process. In most of the texts, the rejuvenation is described by means of the expressions [*púnah – kar*] or [*púnah – takṣ*] ‘to fashion [young] again/to fashion back’, see RV 1.20.4 *yúvānā pitārā púnah, satyámantrā ṛjūyávaḥ / ṛbhávo viṣṭy ákrata* ‘They whose mantras come true, who aim straight—the R̥bhus—made

11 Achievement (a) is often described by means of other Vedic verbs, such as *kar* ‘to make’ (RV 4.33.5, 4.35.2, 3), and *peś* ‘to carve’ (RV 3.60.2). The latter also describes achievement (c), cf. RV 1.110.8, 1.161.10, 4.36.4.

12 ‘Sie zimmerten den beiden Násatyas (Aśvins) den ringsherum befindlichen Streitwagen mit gut (geschmierten) Nabelnöchern / sie zimmerten die Milchkuh Sabardughā.’ (Witzel – Gotō 2007: 36, for *sabardughā* as ‘etwa ›die saftig milchende‹ and bibliographical references see p. 507).

13 For the collocation [*takṣ – CHARIOT*] cf. RV 1.130.6, 5.2.11b, 5.29.15, 5.31.4, 5.73.10 (formulations/chariot), 10.39.14b.

14 Scarlata (1999: 474): ‘die zwei Falben, die den Indra fahren {und} soviel wert wie Stiere sind (?)’.

15 ‘Sie haben den gutrollenden Streitwagen (der Aśvins) mit Kenntnis vom Werk gezimmert. Sie haben das Falbenpaar, das den Indra fährt, das den Stier als (Lade)gut hat, gezimmert. Sie haben, die R̥bhus, ihren Eltern Jugendkraft gezimmert. Sie haben dem Kalb eine begleitende Mutter gezimmert.’ (Witzel – Gotō 2007: 195).

their parents young again through their toil.¹⁶ In a slightly expanded version of the collocation, the Ṛbhus are said to have fashioned their parents young again *so that they could keep going* (Vedic *caráthāya*):

RV 4.36.3cd *jívrī yát sántā pitárā sanājúrā, púnar yúvānā caráthāya táksatha*

‘... that you **fashion** your **parents** as **youths for them to keep going**, even though they were enfeebled, worn out by age.’

A similar phraseology occurs in connection with a miraculous deed performed by the Ásvins:

RV 1.117.13ab *yuvám cyāvānam ásvinā járantam*

púnar yúvānaṃ cakrathuḥ śácibhiḥ

‘You, o Ásvins, **made** the aging Cyavāna **a youth again** through your powers.’

This match is significant, because, as it is well known, the Twin-gods are associated with rescuing and healing. In particular, RV 1.117.13, quoted immediately above, alludes to the myth of the rejuvenation of Cyavāna,¹⁷ which is told *in extenso* in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (3.120–128), the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (4.1.5), in the *Mahābhārata* (3.121.20–125.10) as well as in the *Devībhāgavata* (7.2.30–7.43) and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* (9.3.1–28). Cyavāna’s rejuvenation is compared to several concrete actions in the *Rigveda*, such as the removing of a garment (e.g. RV 1.116.10ab *jujurúšo nāsatyotá vavrím, prámuñcataṃ drāpím iva cyāvānāt* ‘and, Nāsatyas, from Cyavāna, who had become old, you removed his covering [=aged skin] like a garment’).¹⁸ But significantly, in a passage from the tenth book, the Ásvins are directly compared to carpenters:

16 ‘Die (Ṛbhus) haben die Eltern (wieder) jung gemacht, deren Sprüche Wahrheit enthalten, die recht wandelnden (Ṛbhus), durch ihre Dienstleistung.’ (Witzel – Gotō 2007: 36). See also RV 1.110.8d, 1.161.3, 7; 4.33.2–3, 4.35.5ab always with *kar*.

17 Cyavāna, whose name is an *aequabile* of the Greek male personal name Σύμενος (Rhodes, Athens, see García Ramón 1999), is a ṛṣi who is rejuvenated by the Ásvins. For the narrative evolution of Cyavāna’s legend, see Witzel 1987 and West 2017.

18 Cf. also RV 5.74.5ab *prá cyāvānāḥ jujurúšo vavrím átkaṃ ná muñcataḥ* ‘you remove the covering like a cloak from Cyavāna, who had become old.’ In post-Vedic literature, the image of ‘wearing new garments’ describes the process of rebirth, cf. *Bhagavad Gītā* 2.22 *vāsāmsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni grhṇāti naro* ‘parāṇi / tathā śarīrāṇi vihāya jīrṇānyanyāni saṃyāti navāni dehī’ ‘just as a man casts off his worn-out clothes and puts on other new ones, so the embodied soul casts off its worn-out bodies and takes new ones’ (Cherniak 2008).

RV 10.39.4ab *yuvāṃ cyāvānaṃ sanāyaṃ yáthā rátham, púnar yúvānaṃ caráthāya takṣathuḥ*

‘You two (Ásvins) **fashioned** old **Cyavāna**, like a chariot, into a youth **again**, (for him) **to move about**.’

The comparison between the collocations occurring in the Ṛbhus-passages and in the Ásvins-passage is remarkable: RV 1.20.4, 4.36.3, and 10.39.4 contain a collocation [to MAKE/FASHION (Vedic *kar* or *takṣ*) – X – YOUNG – AGAIN – (to keep going)]:

yúvānā . . . púnāḥ . . . ákrata (RV 1.20.4 etc., Ṛbhus)

púnar yúvānā caráthāya tákṣatha (RV 4.36.3cd, Ṛbhus)

púnar yúvānaṃ caráthāya takṣathuḥ (RV 10.39.4b, Ásvins)

While all passages preserve ‘to make/fashion (Vedic *kar* or *takṣ*) X young again’ with an optional dative of purpose (*caráthāya*), ‘to keep going’, as the standard collocation for ‘rejuvenating’, RV 10.39.4 (: the Ásvins-passage) adds ‘like a chariot’ (*yáthā rátham*) in pāda a, creating a simile with the comparanda.

In light of all these collocations, RV 1.111.1c (*tákṣan pitṛbhyām ṛbhávo yúvad váyaḥ* ‘they fashioned – the Ṛbhus—for their parents youthful vigor’) may make reference to the same episode: when the Ṛbhus rejuvenated their parents, they *fixed* them (*púnāḥ . . . kar/takṣ*), by *fashioning* (*takṣ*) new vigor. From the examples in which *takṣ* applies to the healer-gods, it is clear that the verb does imply both the notion of ‘fashioning back’, i.e., ‘fixing, renewing’, and that of ‘production/creation’, just like τέκτων or τεκταίνουμαι in Greek (see below, §4).

3. In order to clarify the metaphor ‘healer’: ‘carpenter’, it is useful to take into account the complementary metaphor ‘body’: ‘chariot’, which is directly attested in PS 4.15.7¹⁹ and elsewhere:

PS 4.15.7 *ut tiṣṭha prehi sam *adhāyi te paruḥ
saṃ te dhātā dadhātu tanvo viriṣṭam
rathaḥ sucakraḥ supavir yathaiti
sukhaḥ sunābhiḥ prati tiṣṭha evam*

‘Stand up, go forth, your joint has been put together. Let Dhātar put together the injury of your body. **Be steady in this way**, as a **chariot goes with good wheels, with good felloes, with good axle-holes, with good naves**.²⁰

This metaphor is not a mere poetic *topos*, it reflects a widespread conception in India, Greece and beyond. As the dossiers collected by Pinault (2003: 138–140) and

19 Cf. ŚS 4.12.6 *sá út tiṣṭha préhi prá drava ráthaḥ sucakraḥ / supaviḥ sunābhiḥ práti tiṣṭhordhvāḥ*.

20 Bhattacharya (2008: 135) instead reads (pāda a): *ut tiṣṭha prehi sam u dhāyi te paruḥ* ‘Stand up, go forth, your joint is, indeed, put together.’

Jamison (1987: 71–88) have made evident, the semantic field of 'body parts' crosses with that of 'chariot' and viceversa in at least three Indo-European languages: Old Indic, Greek, and Tocharian.²¹ In Vedic, some parts of the chariot are designated through a compound or a simplex noun, which usually denotes a body part: Vedic *ratha-mukhá-* 'front part of a chariot' (AV, JB, TS), *ratha-śīrṣá-* 'id.' (ŚB 9.4.1.13), and *ratha-śīras-* 'id.' (ĀpŚS 17.20.5) contain terms for 'head' as their second compound members, viz. *mukhá-*, *śīrṣán-*, and *śīras-*; Vedic *nábhi-* (RV+) 'nave' and *nábhya-* (RV+) 'central part of a solid wheel' are etymologically related to Gk. ὀμφαλός, meaning both 'navel' and 'knob in the middle of a yoke' (*Iliad* 24.273, mule-cart); Vedic *kakṣyá-* 'girth' (RV) and *kákṣa-* (RV+) 'Achselhöhle' (Hoffmann 1966: 201) are connected to both Young Avestan *kaša-* 'id.' and Latin *coxa* 'hip', Old Irish *coss* 'foot'; Vedic *kukṣí-* 'nave' (Sparreboom 1985: 157) also means 'cheek', 'buttock' (Jamison 1987, Bodewitz 1992);²² Vedic *ámśa-* 'panel which fitted into the rail at the top and the big beams at each side of the platform' (cf. Sparreboom 1985: 152) also means 'shoulder' (Höfler 2018) and is etymologically related to Greek ὄμος, Tocharian A *es*, Tocharian B *āntse* 'shoulders'; Vedic *ákṣa-* 'axle' is a genetic cognate of Latin *axis*, Lithuanian *ašis*, Greek ἄξων 'axis' and 'shoulder span'; Vedic *āṇi-* 'axle-pin' (RV) also denotes 'the part of the leg above the knee' and may be connected to Tocharian B *oñi-* 'hip'.²³

To sum up: the phraseological analysis shows that stanzas 6 and 7 of PS 4.15 make reference to a robustly attested metaphor. Accordingly, a healer or a bone-setter can be compared to the Ṛbhu (*ṛbhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ* 'I put together your joint as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot', PS 4.15.6d), who is the *fashioner* (Vedic *takṣ*) *par excellence*. In particular, Vedic *takṣ* applies to the rejuvenation of aging parents by the Ṛbhū (RV 4.36.3d, see §2) and of Cyavāna by the Aśvins (RV 10.39.4ab *cyāvānaṃ . . . yáthā rátham, púnar yúvānaṃ caráthāya takṣathuḥ* 'You fashioned . . . Cyavāna, like a chariot, into a youth again, (for him) to move about'). The presented data help us to understand the metaphor attested in PS 4.15.7: the human body can be fixed back/rejuvenated like a broken wagon, because the chariot parts are described through the lexicon of body parts and viceversa.

21 Cf. also Johnson (1987) for further metaphors involving the body in modern languages.

22 Cf. also Greek κνήμη 'leg, shank' (Homer+), and 'spoke' (Pollux Grammaticus), cf. κύκλα . . . ὀκτάκιμα (*Iliad* 5.722–723).

23 A further West Tocharian parallel shall be brought out here: T5a8 *kwreṃntār lānte kokalyi ol-yapotstse pārsāñci | taik[n]esāk ra kektseñi kāsai[n]ñe* [sic] [*yānmāskeṃ*] 'Old [even] grow the chariots of the king, the very splendid ones. Thus also the bodies reach old age' (CEToM, see also Adams 2012 s.v. *taiknesa*), which translates Sanskrit *Udānavarga* 1.28 *jīryanti vai rāja rathāḥ sucitrā hy atho śarīram api jarām upaiti*. The same metaphor also occurs in T5b2; for a discussion of this passage cf. Massetti (forthc./b).

4. The system of metaphors underlying PS 4.15.6–7 is thus well founded in Vedic. In order to seek parallels for it in at least another branch of the Indo-European linguistic family, I will now turn to the analysis of a Pindaric passage, which might conceal a chariot metaphor in connection with a healer, namely: Pindar's *Pythian* 3.1–7.²⁴

Pindar *Pythian* 3.1–7 Ἦθελον Χίρωνά κε Φιλλυρίδαν,
 εἰ χρεῶν τοῦθ' ἀμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσης
 κοινὸν εὐξασθαι ἔπος,
 ζῶειν τὸν ἀποιχόμενον,
 Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέδοντα Κρόνου,
 βάσσαισι τ' ἄρχειν Παλίου φῆρ' ἀγρότερον,
 νόον ἔχοντ' ἀνδρῶν φίλον· οἷος ἔων θρέψεν ποτέ
τέκτονα νωδυνίας
 ἡμερον γυιαρκέος Ἀσκλαπιόν,
 ἦροα παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσων

'I wish that Chiron—if it is right for my tongue to utter that common prayer—were still living, the departed son of Philyra and wide-ruling offspring of Uranus' son Cronus, and still reigned in Pelion's glades, that wild creature who had a mind friendly to men. I would have him be as he was when he once reared the gentle **craftsman of** body-strengthening **relief from pain** [LM: 'painlessness'], Asclepius, the hero and protector from diseases of all sorts.²⁵

The collocation τέκτονα νωδυνίας,²⁶ with τέκτων from IE **tetk-* 'to fashion', cf. Vedic *takṣ* 'id.', stands out as nearly unparalleled within the Greek repertory of poetic images.²⁷ The uniqueness and the metaphorical potential of this collocation

24 The ode celebrates Hieron of Syracuse, who was critically ill at time of composition. For a commentary see Young 1968: 27–68; Pelliccia 1987; Slater 1988: 55–61; Currie 2005: 344–405; Gentili 2012: 407–425; Pelliccia 2017: 63–73.

25 For ἡμερον vs. ἄμερον see Forssmann 1966: 41–45.

26 The term νωδυνία, as well as the adjective νώδυνος (Pindar *Nemean* 8.50+), first occur in Pindar. The etymology of these compounds is transparent: their first compound member goes back to the negative prefix **n-*, while the second member(s) are related to Greek ὀδύνη 'pain', Aeolian ἐδύνη *(biting) pain', cf. Proto-Indo-European **h₁ed-* '(to bite), to eat', Armenian *erkn* 'birth labor', Irish *idu* 'pain', as pointed out by Schindler 1975.

27 The pair τέκτονα νωδυνίας . . . ἀλκτῆρα νούσων might apparently recall *Iliad* 10.19–20: εἴ τινά οἱ σὺν μῆτιν ἀμύμονα τεκτῆναιτο, / ἢ τις ἀλξίκακος πᾶσιν Δαναοῖσι γένοιτο 'in the hope that he (: Nestor) might contrive with him (: Agamemnon) some incomparable device that would serve to ward off evil from all the Danaans.' Even if Pindar's words preserve a dimly epic phraseological memory, the *iuncturae* clearly apply to different situations. In the Homeric passage, Agamemnon hopes that Nestor might find the solution to the partiality that Zeus shows towards Hector (on *Iliad* 10.1–52 and the nature of Nestor's μῆτις ('plan') see Dué – Ebbott 2010: III 10.19ff., Nagy 2016, on vv. 10.43–52). Differently, Pindar refers to Asclepius as the contriver of health and protection against illnesses. Parallels between healers and craftsmen are then found in Plato (*Grg.* 503e–504a, *Cra.* 416d, *Prt.* 345a, *Ion* 537c, *spuria* 376d, 390c, 454d); cf. also Arist. *De an.* 403b, *Top.* 116a.

originate from the fact that Greek τέκτων, primarily denotes a ‘carpenter’, i.e., a ‘fashioner of objects’, see, e.g.:

Iliad 6.315–316 ἦσαν ἐνὶ Τροίῃ ἐριβόλακι τέκτονες ἄνδρες,
οἳ οἱ ἐποίησαν θάλαμον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν
‘... Men who were at that time the best **builders** in deep-soiled Troy; they had made him a chamber and hall and courtyard.’

Homeric Hymn 5.12–13 Πρώτη τέκτονας ἄνδρας ἐπιχθονίους ἐδίδαξε
ποιῆσαι σατίνας καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῶ
‘She (: Athena) first taught earthly **craftsmen** to make **chariots of war and cars** variously wrought with bronze.’

Obviously, τέκτων ‘fashioner’ came to be used metaphorically in Greek, in order to designate ‘a master in any art’ (LSJ s.v. τέκτων, 2), see *POxy.* 2389, fr. 9.8–10 τέκτονι παρθενίων ‘to the craftsman of the parthenia’,²⁸ Pindar *Nemean* 5.49 χρῆ δ’ ἀπ’ Ἀθανᾶν τέκτον’ ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν ‘a fashioner of athletes ought to be from Athens’; Pindar *Pythian* 3.113–114 ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν, τέκτονες οἷα σοφοί || ἄρμωσαν ‘from such echoing verses as wise craftsmen joined (them together)’ (modified translation Massetti); and a ‘maker’, ‘creator’, e.g., Aeschylus *Supplikes* 592–594 αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ || γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας || τέκτων, ‘the father (: Zeus) is that, the lord, who planted our clan of his own hand, the great creator of our kin, who has the wisdom of age’. In order to reconstruct the process that led to the metaphorical use of τέκτων in Pindar’s *Pythian* 3, let us focus on the structure of τέκτων νωδυνίας.

I propose to interpret this nominal syntagma [A_{noun} – of B_{noun}] as a substitution kenning (type i, see below). A kenning is a compact and complicated, riddling metaphor. It has been defined as “a bipartite figure of two nouns in a non-copulative, typically genitival grammatical relation (A of B) or in composition (B-A/A-B) which together make reference to, ‘signify’ a third notion C” (Watkins 1995: 44).²⁹ According to the standard view (Mittner 1954: 15), two main types of kenningar can be identified within different Indo-European languages:

- i. The *substitution kenning* replaces one term in the poetic discourse, and can therefore be schematized as [A+B] → [C]. For instance, in *Reginsmál* 16, *mun-at vágmarar vind um standask* ‘the sea-steeds (=the ships) will not withstand the wind’, the kenning *vágmarar* ‘sea-steeds’ directly substitutes ‘ships’.
- ii. The *variation kenning* is juxtaposed to the term it refers to, as iteration, apposition, epithet etc., and can be schematized as [A+B] – [C]. For instance, in Homer,

²⁸ On the possible attribution of the passage to Pindar, see Recchia 2017.

²⁹ See also Krause 1930; Schmitt 1967: 277–284; West 2007: 81–83.

Odyseus 4.708–709, νηῶν ὠκυπόρων || ἐπιβαινέμεν, αἱ θ' ἄλός ἵπποι ἀνδράσι γίνονται '(he had no need) to go on board of swift-faring ships, which are for the men as horses of the sea', 'ships' (gen. νηῶν) is followed by the poetic simile 'horses of the seas' (ἄλός ἵπποι).

The provided examples can be enlightening for the distribution of the kenningar in Greek, especially in comparison to the distributional patterns found in other Indo-European languages: as observed by Campanile (1977: 108–122), the substitution type (i) is less well attested in Greek than the variation type (ii).³⁰ The following Pindaric examples of kenningar, paralleling those found in other Indo-European languages, partially confirm Campanile's analysis:

– [WAR/BATTLE]: [(devastating) SHOWER/TEMPEST – ZEUS_{GEN.}], occurs as a type (ii) in Pindar. It can be compared to Latin *ferreus imber* 'iron-shower' (: battle, Ennius *Annales* 266 Skutsch; cf. also Vergil *Aeneid* 12.284), and Old English *þone ðe oft gebad isernscure* '(the warrior) who often passed through the iron-shower' (*Beowulf* 3116).³¹

Pindar *Isthmian* 5.48–50 ἐν Ἄρει [. . .] || ἐν πολυφθόρῳ [. . .] Διὸς ὄμβρῳ
ἀναριθμῶν ἀνδρῶν χαλαζάεντι φόνῳ
'in war . . . during Zeus' devastating rain, that hailstorm of gore for countless men.'³²

– [RAIN(S)]: [CHILD(REN) – CLOUD_{GEN.}], occurs as a type (ii) in Pindar. It recalls Vedic *mihó nápāt-*, 'child of the mist', a substitution kenning (type [il]) for 'cloud' or 'rain', cf. *tyāṃ cid ghā dīrghām pṛthúm, mihó nápātam āmyādhram / prá cyāvayanti yāma-bhīh* 'also this child of mist – long, wide, not negligible (in size) – do they (: the Maruts) stir forth with their journeys' (RV 1.37.11):³³

Pindar *Olympian* 9.1–3 ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνέμων ὅτε πλείστα
χρήσις· ἔστιν δ' οὐρανίων ὑδάτων
ὄμβρίων παίδων νεφέλας

'There is a time when it is for winds that men have greatest need; there is a time when it is for heavenly waters, the drenching children of the cloud.'

³⁰ For a collection of Greek kenningar, see Wærn 1951: 114–144.

³¹ West 2007: 83.

³² See also Pindar *Isthmian* 3/4.35–35a.

³³ Geldner 1951–1957 interprets 'rain'. Differently, Jamison – Brereton 2017: "Although most tr. take the 'child of mist' to be the rain, its physical description here ('long and wide') makes better sense for a cloud." The Maruts are often associated with both clouds and rain (MacDonell 1897: 79–80; Oberlies 2012: 153), cf. their epithet *varṣānirṃjah* 'having a cloak of rain' (RV 5.57.4a). At RV 5.32.4b Indra is the *mihó nápāt-*.

– [X (=WARRIOR/KING)]: [BASTION/PILLAR/BULWARK – COMMUNITY_{GEN.}]³⁴ occurs as a variation type in Irish, see *Moryen mur trin* ‘Morien, bulwark of the battle’ (*Cyvoesi Myrddin* 121), and as a substitution type in Old English, see *biddan wille, / eodor Scyldinga* ‘I want to ask you (a favor), enclosure of the Scyldings (:chief of the Danes)’ (*Beowulf* 427–428), and may actually be considered a mixed type in Greek. In both Pindar *Olympian* 2.81–82 and *Paeon* 4.83–85, the kenning has a grammatical referent. However, from a semantic point of view, the *tropos* stands for [the STRONGEST WARRIOR (Hector in *Olympian* 2, Achilles in *Paeon* 4)]:

Pindar *Olympian* 2.81–82 ὃς Ἴκτορα σφᾶλε, Τροίης
 ἄμαχον ἀστραβὴ κίονα [. . .]
 ‘He laid low **Hector**, **Troy’s** invincible **pillar** of strength.’³⁵

Pindar *Paeon* 4.83–85 κυανοπλόκοιο παῖδα ποντίας
 Θέτιος βιατάν,
 πιστὸν ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν
 ‘The powerful **son of** the dark-haired sea-goddess **Thetis**, the trusty **bastion of the Achaeans.**’

Back to Pindar *Pythian* 3.6: I propose that, just like [WARRIOR]: [BASTION/PILLAR of GROUP] τέκτων νωδυνίας is another example of a ‘mixed type’. It grammatically refers to Asclepius, cf. τέκτονα νωδυνίας . . . Ἀσκληπιόν, so, according to Mittner’s classification, it should be understood as type ii (variation kenning). Nevertheless, the taking into account of the *synchronic* evidence, i.e. internal Greek textual elements, indicates that ‘craftsman of the painlessness’ is a substitution kenning for ‘healer’ (type i). Two main facts support this assumption:

- i. According to ancient Pindaric commentators, τέκτων νωδυνίας meant ‘physician’, see *Scholium in Pindar Pythian* 3.11a.1 Drachmann τέκτονα νωδυνίας: τὸν κατασκευαστὴν τῆς νωδυνίας: **ιατρός** γάρ **‘craftsman of the painlessness: the contriver of painlessness, for (it means) a physician.’**
- ii. The lexical repetitions between the first and the central part of the ode might suggest that τέκτων νωδυνίας actually corresponds to *ιατήρ*:³⁶

Pindar *Pythian* 3.63–67 εἰ δὲ σώφρων ἄντρον ἔναι ἔτι **Χίρων**, καὶ τί οἱ
 φίλτρον <έν> θυμῷ μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι
 ἀμέτεροι τίθεν, **ιατήρ**α τοὶ κέν νιν πίθον
 καὶ νυν ἐσλοῖσι παρασχεῖν ἀνδράσιν θερμᾶν **νόσων**
 ἢ τινα Λατοῖδα κεκλημένον ἢ πατέρος

³⁴ Schmitt 1967: 282–283; Campanile 1977: 120–121. As a more recent reference see West 2007: 454–455.

³⁵ Cf. [πύργος – COMMUNITY/CITY]: *Iliad* 4.334, Pindar *Pythian* 5.56.

³⁶ τέκτων νωδυνίας forms a lexical repetition with ἐξ ἐπέων . . . τέκτονες (v. 113). On the ring-composition and its Vedic comparandum, RV 10.39, cf. Massetti (forthc./b).

‘Yet if wise **Chiron** were still living in his cave, and if my honey-sounding hymns could put a charm in his heart, I would surely have persuaded him to provide a **healer** now as well to cure the feverish **illnesses** of good men, someone called a son of a Apollo or of Zeus.’

The set of lexical repetitions can be shortly presented as follows: Χίρωνα (v. 1) parallels Χίρων (v. 63), νούσων (v. 7) parallels νόσων (v. 66), τέκτονα νωδυνίας (v. 6) parallels ιατήρα (v. 65)

Table 1: Lexical repetitions of Pindar’s *Pythian* 3, vv. 1–7, 63–67.

v. 1	Χίρωνα	v. 63	Χίρων
v. 6	τέκτονα νωδυνίας	v. 65	ιατήρα
v. 7	νούσων	v. 67	νόσων

We can conclude: The image of the ‘craftsman of the painlessness’ is practically isolated in Greek literature. From the point of view of its synchronic meaning, the collocation may be interpreted as a substitution kenning for ‘physician’. By combining the Greek and the Vedic phraseological data, it is possible to recover a verbal link between healers and carpenters, namely: the metaphoric use of IE **tetk-* ‘to fashion’. If the Vedic healer is compared to the Ṛbhu, who is the *fashioner* (Vedic *takṣ*) *par excellence*, Asclepius, the best healer, is directly called ‘fashioner of painlessness’ (Greek τέκτονα νωδυνίας).

5. A further look to the Atharvavedic contexts and to Pindar’s *Pythian* 3 reveals that the thematic and phraseological matches between these two texts may go beyond the metaphor ‘healer’: ‘carpenter’. In this regard, the use of the collocation ‘to stand upright’ has to be highlighted. Although Vedic [*ūrdhvā-* – *sthā*] and Greek [ὀρθός – ἵστημι] are documented in a variety of contexts,³⁷ the collocations denote the full recovery of the patient in both ŚS 4.12 and Pindar *Pythian* 3.³⁸

ŚS 4.12.6 *sá út tiṣṭha préhi prá drava ráthaḥ sucakráḥ*
 *supaviḥ sunābhīḥ **prāti tiṣṭhordhvāḥ***

‘You there stand up, advance, run along. [Your] chariot [has] strong wheels, rims [and] hubs.
Stand erect firmly!’

While the Atharvavedic patient, directly equated to a chariot, *stands upright*, Asclepius’s patients, who happen to be injured in different ways, are released, once they are *made to stand upright* through several remedies:

³⁷ See the dossier presented by Schmitt 1967: 248–252.

³⁸ West 2007: 339.

Pindar *Pythian* 3.47–53 τοὺς μὲν ὦν, ὄσσοι μὸλον αὐτοφύτων
 ἐλκέων ξυνάονες, ἢ πολιῶ χαλκῶ μέλη τετρωμένοι
 ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλω,
 ἢ θερινῶ πυρὶ περθόμενοι δέμας ἢ
 χειμῶνι, λύσαις ἄλλον ἀλλοίων ἀχέων
 ἔξαγεν, τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς ἐπαιδαῖς ἀμφέπων,
 τοὺς δὲ προσανέα πί-
 νοντας, ἢ γυίοις περάπτων πάντοθεν
 φάρμακα, **τοὺς δὲ τομαῖς ἔστασεν ὀρθούς**

'Now all who came to him afflicted with natural sores, or with limbs wounded by gray bronze or by a stone, *which smote (them) from afar* (translation Massetti), or with bodies wracked by summer fever or winter chill, he relieved of their various ills and restored them, some he tended with calming incantations, while others drank soothing potions, or he applied remedies to all parts of their bodies; **still others he made stand upright** with surgery.'

The three types of patients correlating with three types of remedies in the Pindaric passage parallel the properties and the medical treatments documented in other Indo-European languages, such as Vedic (Benveniste 1945), Avestan (Darmesteter 1877, Puhvel 1970³⁹), Germanic (Dumézil 1958: 21–22) and Old Irish (Watkins 1995: 537–539), as summarized in the following table:⁴⁰

Table 2: Patients and Remedies of Pindar's *Pythian* 3, RV 10.39.3, *Vidēvdād* 7.44.

Pindar (<i>Pythian</i> 3.47–53)	Vedic (RV 10.39.3cd)	Pindar (<i>Pythian</i> 3.47–53)	Avestan (<i>Vidēvdād</i> 7.44ae)
αὐτοφύτων ἐλκέων ξυνάονες (vv. 47–48)	<i>andhásya</i> [. . .] <i>bhiśájā</i>	τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς ἐπαιδαῖς ἀμφέπων (v. 51)	<i>mqrō.baešaza-</i>
ἢ πολιῶ χαλκῶ μέλη τετρωμένοι ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλω (vv. 48–49)	<i>bhiśájā rutásya</i>	τοὺς δὲ τομαῖς ἔστασεν ὀρθούς (v. 53)	<i>karatō.baešaza-</i>
ἢ θερινῶ πυρὶ περθόμενοι δέμας ἢ χειμῶνι (v. 50)	<i>křśásya</i> [. . .] <i>bhiśájā</i>	τοὺς δὲ προσανέα πίνοντας, ἢ γυίοις περάπτων πάντοθεν φάρμακα (vv. 52–53)	<i>uruuarō.baešaza-</i>

According to Benveniste, Dumézil, and Puhvel, the threefold description of ailments and treatments match the tripartite social structure proposed and exhaustively

³⁹ Puhvel (1970) adds Yašt 3.66 as a further comparandum to the Greek and Vedic evidence.

⁴⁰ In Irish (see Watkins 1995: 539) *Cath Maige Tuired* §§33–35: Míach restores Nuadu's hand by *incantation* (§33), then he is killed by four *cuts* of his father's sword (§34), and finally, from Míach's grave grow 365 *herbs* corresponding to the number of his joints and sinews (§35).

described by Dumézil (1941): the patients affected by natural sores and cured with spells could represent the priestly class, those wounded by weapons the warrior class, and those affected by exhaustion the ‘third estate’.

In Greek, just like in the Vedic context, [to (make) STAND UPRIGHT] describes the result, and, so to say, the culminating act of the healing process. Being restored of the capacity of ‘going’ (cf. Greek ἐξαγεν, Vedic *caráthāya*, see above), the patient stands up on his/her own legs. It shall thus be emphasized that Vedic *ūrdhvá-*, Greek ὀρθός and Avestan *arəduua-*, *rδβα-* could descend from IE **H₃^{dh}-uó-* with initial **h₃-*, as proposed by Vegas Sansalvador (1996: 282–288),⁴¹ and may thus constitute a perfect match on the morphological level.

Finally, a further trait shared by Pindar’s *Pythian* 3 and *Atharvaveda Śaunaka* 4.12 must be stressed. The reference to the ‘stone smiting from afar’ in Pindar as a possible cause of injury for the patients with the broken limbs (μέλη τετρωμένοι / ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλω, vv. 48–49) parallels closely the accident of the Atharvavedic wounded patient in ŚS 4.12:

ŚS 4.12.7 *yádi kartāṃ patitvá saṃśásré yádi vāśmā práhṛto jaghána*
 ṛbhú ráthasyeváṅgāni sám dadhat páruṣā páruḥ

‘If falling in a hole, [he] has been injured, **or if a** hurled **rock has struck [him]**, then] may [Dhātṛ] unite the limbs, joint with joint, as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot.’⁴²

The comparison between Greek ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλω and Vedic *vāśmā . . . jaghána* can go beyond the formal differences, especially on the strength of the combinatory evidence. As argued by Kölligan (2000–2001: 443–448), τηλεβόλος may be taken as a continuation of the phraseology [to SMITE – from AFAR],⁴³ which might ultimately underlie the Mycenaean male personal name *Qe-re-qa-ta /K^uēlegthontas/* (PY En 659), Alphabetic Greek Τηλεφόντας*, *Kurzform* Τήλεφος (Hesiod+). Indeed, in Homer βάλλω and θείνω indicate that the enemy is struck by the projectile of archer gods, namely, Apollo and Artemis:

⁴¹ See also Sommer (2022).

⁴² PS 4.15.6 mentions a different possible cause of injury, namely: the fall of the patient from a tree (see above). In this connection I would like to highlight what might be a trivial, but impressive coincidence with the healing practice performed by the bonesetters in the *siddha* tradition. According to Zysk (2008: 10): “the development of this special form of healing (scil. the art of *varmam*) appears to have evolved naturally from the fact that the men of this caste, while carrying out their task of climbing coconut and borassus trees to collect the fruits and sap for toddy, occasionally fell from great heights. In order to repair the injury or save the life of a fall-victim, skills of bone-setting and reviving an unconscious patient by massage developed [. . .].”

⁴³ Differently, Slater (1969) s.v.: ‘far-flung.’

Iliad 24.605 τούς μὲν Ἀπόλλων πέφνεν ἀπ’ ἀργυρέοιο βιοῦ
‘Apollo slew them with shafts from his silver bow.’

Odyssey 15.478 τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα γυναῖκα βάλ’ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα
‘Then Artemis, the archer, struck the woman.’

The personal name *Qe-re-qo-ta* /*K^uēlegthontas*/ and τηλεβόλος partially match the Vedic collocation [to SMITE – from AFAR], in which ‘to smite’ is expressed by the Proto-Indo-European root**gthen-* ‘smite, kill’, cf. RV 2.27.13cd *nákis tām ghnant_y ántito ná dūrād, yá ádityánām bhávati práñitau* ‘neither from near nor from afar do any strike down the man who comes to be under the leadership of the Ádityas.’ Given that τηλεβόλος is comparable to Vedic *ghnánti* . . . *dūrát*, the match between χερμάδι τηλεβόλω and Vedic *ásmā* . . . *jaghána* ‘a rock . . . has struck’ looks remarkable and counts as a further feature that Pindar’s description of Asclepius’s healing practice and ŚS 4.12 have in common.

6. To sum up: In this paper, I have tried to frame PS 4.15.6–7 (cf. ŚS 4.12.6–7) in its Vedic poetic context. Additionally I made an attempt at identifying a possible parallel for the ‘healer’: ‘carpenter’ metaphor in the Greek tradition. The results of the comparison are presented in the following table:

Table 3: Common ‘state of things’: PS 4.15, ŚS 4.12, Pindar *Pythian* 3.

PS 4.15.6–7	ŚS 4.12.6–7	Pindar <i>Pythian</i> 3
6 * <i>ṛbhū rathasyeva sam dadhāmi</i>	7 <i>ṛbhū ráthasyevāñgāni sám dadhat</i>	v. 7 τέκτων νωδυνίας
<i>ṛbhu-</i> : <i>takṣ</i> cf. <i>tákṣan</i> . . . <i>rátham</i> (RV) <i>bráhma</i> . . . <i>tatakṣuh</i> (RV) <i>tákṣan</i> . . . <i>yúvad váyah</i> (RV) ‘body’: ‘chariot’ <i>rathah sucakraḥ</i> (PS, ŚS) <i>yáthā rátham púnar yúnānaṃ caráthāya takṣathuḥ</i> (RV)		Greek τέκτων cf. τέκτονας . . . ποιῆσαι . . . ἄρματα (Homer) v. 113 ἐξ ἐπέων . . . τέκτονες v. 7 τέκτονα νωδυνίας
—	7 <i>vásmā práñito jaghána</i>	v. 49 χερμάδι τηλεβόλω
	6 <i>práti tiṣṭhordhváh</i>	v. 53 τούς . . . ἔστασεν ὀρθούς

- a. The cross-reference to the Vedic phraseology applying to the *Ṛbhu*, to whom the Vedic healer is compared, allows us to recover an association between Vedic *takṣ* and the *Ṛbhus*’ work. As a consequence, although the term *tákṣan-* ‘carpenter, fashioner’ does not occur in PS 4.15.6–7, the reference to the verb is automatically implied by the mention of the *Ṛbhu*, the god who fashions ‘fresh vigor’ and objects in the *Rigveda*.

- b. The metaphor ‘healer’: ‘carpenter’ can be understood as complementary to the metaphor ‘body’: ‘chariot’, which underlies both PS 4.15.7 (cf. ŚS 4.12.7) and several lexical items, denoting the chariot’s components.
- c. An isolated Pindaric expression, τέκτων νωδυνίας*, a substitution *kenning* for ‘healer’ in *Pythian* 3.6, possibly shares the same background as PS 4.15.6–7 (cf. ŚS 4.12.6–7).
- d. Pindar’s ode displays further phraseological traits in common with ŚS 4.12.6–7. The successful healing process is identified with the capacity of ‘standing upright’, (re-)acquired by the patient, cf. τούς . . . ἔστασεν ὀρθούς (v. 53) with *prāti tiṣṭhordhvāḥ* (ŚS 4.12.6).
- e. The patients of Asclepius and those of the Vedic healer suffer similar injuries. One possible cause of the fracture is described in the same terms in both Greek and Vedic, i.e., ‘smiting stone’, cf. ἡ χερμάδι τηλεβόλω (v. 49) with *vāśmā . . . jaghāna*.

In conclusion, the phraseological matches identified for PS 4.12.6–7, ŚS 4.12.6–7 and Pindar *Pythian* 3 are notable for both their quantity – three matches (c), (d), (e), occurring all together in passages dealing with the same themes – and quality – two partial matches (c), (e), and one perfect match (d). Comparanda of this kind speak strongly in favor of a common background, or ‘state of things’, reflected by two diverse but related traditions: the final stanzas of the Atharvavedic charms to heal an open fracture and Pindar’s *Pythian* 3.

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Roland A. Pooth

The Funeral Ceremony Described in the 13th Anuvāka of the Mahatkāṇḍa (Kāṇḍa 18) of the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā vs Its Śaunaka-Saṁhitā Parallel, Interpreted from the Perspective of Their Textual Differences

Abstract: This article discusses pieces of textual evidence at PS 18.76.1–18.82.10, arguing that the 13th anuvāka is a description of a king's funeral, and that the building of a burial mound was practised as part of a special funerary ritual by which the king received an outstanding grave.

1.1 Introduction

In this article, I discuss pieces of textual evidence in passages occurring in the 13th anuvāka of the Mahatkāṇḍa (Kāṇḍa 18) of the Atharvaveda Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS 18.76.1–18.82.10) and a few additional passages of the preceding funeral stanzas (PS 18.75.1ff.). My hypothesis is that there is cumulative evidence indicating that the building of a burial mound was practised as a very special funerary ritual either at the time of the composition of the text, or before. I suggest that the 13th anuvāka is a description of a king's funeral and the building of a burial mound by which the king received special treatment and an outstanding grave. This hypothesis implies that the PS text describes partial cremation (“making cooked”) of the dead person preceding a burial. The remains were then buried in order to protect the dead person from complete dissolution (*nīrti- f.*). Complete cremation (and immersion of the ashes) would lead to dissolution and would prevent the mending of the body's limbs on his way to becoming a celestial son (*divās putrá-*). This is different from immersing the ashes in a river, a practice that became more respectable later. The respective PS passages can be read as describing partial cremation and subsequent burial embedded in the king's funeral ceremony. I give the following headings to these pieces of cumulative evidence. These headings can serve as a first orientation, in the sense of a table of contents. Their numbers are also the numbers of the respective sections of §2 (e.g. 1. = §2.1.).

1. The imitation of the universe.	PS 18.76.5
2. The path to heaven is <i>vitara-</i> .	PS 18.77.4
3. Heaving up the earth as if to heaven.	PS 18.77.6–78.5
4. It is a container from clay with four caves.	PS 18.78.10
5. Grains grow on it and shall stand up.	PS 18.79.3 and 78.5
6. It is made as big as his kinship.	PS 18.79.7
7. The container has a front entrance in the west.	PS 18.80.4
8. It is Yama's dungeon.	PS 18.81.2
9. The fatherly roads are deep.	PS 18.81.8
10. The fathers are coming again in a month.	PS 18.81.9
11. Cover him, O Earth!	PS 18.80.5, 81.2, 82.2
12. Be calm, don't be afraid in this cowshed.	PS 18.82.3
13. The dead man is like Trita trapped in the well.	PS 18.82.10 (= RV 1.105.1)

The PS text passages quoted below are based on Bhattacharya's 2011 edition, although I have read manuscript JM4 (see Griffiths 2003, 353) and parts of Ji4 (ibid. p. 350) to verify the PS text on a preliminary basis. The Śaunaka text is, in most cases, copied from the online edition available at the Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (GRETIL).¹

1.2 Structure and contents of the 13th anuvāka of PS 18

Since large parts of kāṇḍa 18, including anuvāka 13 (except for the very last stanza, PS 18.82.10), are missing in the Kashmirian manuscript (see Zehnder 1999: 258), textual criticism is a particularly delicate matter here, and many of the Odishan readings might be errors of transmission.

As transmitted in Odisha, the 13th anuvāka (= PS 18.76.1–18.82.10) consists of 70 stanzas divided into seven kaṇḍikās of ten stanzas each. There are 63 stanzas following the usual four-pāda scheme, and six stanzas consisting of five pādas (76.6, 76.8, 76.9, 77.2, 78.7, including the final stanza 82.10 = RV 1.105.1). A single stanza (PS 18.82.2) consists of three pādas. The 13th anuvāka corresponds largely to ŚS 18.4, but lacks the prose parts (ŚS 18.4.67–68, 71–74, 76–87) and ŚS 18.4.75. Only a few stanzas have RV parallels. The parallel passages are listed in Tables 1a–1g below. Here, the

¹ Input by V. Petr and P. Vavroušek, in cooperation with J. Gippert, A. Griffiths and P. Kubisch, last revised 2009.

sign ♦ indicates that the stanza is quoted and translated in this article. The sign ⊙ indicates that the sequential order of stanzas in the PS deviates from that in the ŚS or the RV. Each stanza and a few single pādas are given a title in the form of a prominent phrase occurring in the text. Tables 1a–1g thus provide an overview of the various steps in the procedure of the ceremony described in the text. Table 1a is an overview of the first section, a coherent group of 15 stanzas (see Lanman in Whitney 1905: 869ff.; Weber 1896: 278). It is treated as one ritual unit in the Kauśikasūtra (KauśS 81.45). Here is where Agni is invoked, the fires are kindled, and the dead man has been placed on the fire.

Table 1a: Part I.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
76.1 ♦	1		I am making you all ascend through fatherly (roads).
76.2	2		The gods arrange the sacrifice, seasons, instruments.
76.3ab	3ab		Follow the path of the order.
76.3cd PS only	—		Step forward onto the surface of the reddish one.
76.4 ♦	4		The three eagles (the three sacrificial spoons).
76.5 ♦	5		The imitation of the worlds.
76.6 ♦	6		O Fixed-spoon, ascend the earth!
76.7 ♦	7		I have apportioned the world.
76.8 ♦	8		The tracks are the fires.
76.9	9		Let the fires burn.
76.10	9–10		Having become side-carrier horses, you all shall move him.
77.1	11		Burn, O Agni!
77.2a ♦ PS only	—		Set him to the padmā of Agni.
77.2b ♦	11d		Set him into the world of the well-doers.
77.2cde ♦	12		The kindled fires shall carry him.
77.3	13		The sacrifice goes to all sides, mending him.
77.4 ♦	14		The man has mounted the fire, the back of the firmament.
77.5 ♦	15		The sacrifice, set together, shall go.

After PS 18.77.5, there is what can be called a section break in the text and the procedure of the funeral ceremony. The following verses are associated with the interment of the bone-relics (see Table 1b).²

² See Whitney (1905: 876): “According to KauśS (86.3), the verses beginning with *apūpavān* (16–24) are used as, in each case, what is specified in the verse (*mantroktam*) is deposited in the quarters and intermediate quarters (*dikṣv aṣṭamadeśeṣu*); this is in the ceremony of interment of the bone-relics, next after the use of 4.57 and 3.72 . . .”

Table 1b: Part IIa. Interment of the bone-relics/viaticum.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	PS pāda a
77.6 ♦	16		<i>apūpavān kṣīravāṁś carur eha sīdatu</i>
77.7	18 ◊		<i>apūpavān drapsavāṁś carur eha sīdatu</i>
77.8	17 ◊		<i>apūpavān dadhivāṁś carur eha sīdatu</i>
77.9	19		<i>apūpavān ghytavāṁś carur eha sīdatu</i>
77.10	20		<i>apūpavān māṁsavāṁś carur eha sīdatu</i>
78.1	22 ◊		<i>apūpavān madhuvāṁś carur eha sīdatu</i>
78.2	21 ◊		<i>apūpavān annavāṁś carur eha sīdatu</i>
78.3	23		<i>apūpavāṁś rasavāṁś carur eha sīdatu</i>
78.4	24		<i>apūpavān ūrjāvāṁś carur eha sīdatu ≠ ŚS apūpavān āpavāṁś etc.</i>
78.5 PS only	—		<i>apūpavāṁś yavavāṁś carur eha sīdatu</i>

According to Weber (1896: 282), this section refers to the viaticum to be given to the dead. Notice that the PS has an *apūpavān*-verse that is not found in the ŚS parallel, i.e. PS 18.78.5 with *yavavān* ‘rich in barley’. After it, two stanzas follow that also seem to belong to this section (see Table 1c).

Table 1c: Part IIb.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
78.6	25 = 18.3.68		The vessels covered with cake shall be full of honey.
78.7abcd ♦	26 = 18.3.69 = 18.4.43		The grains I scatter on you, these may Yama bestow upon you.
78.7e ♦	~ 27		
78.8	28	10.17.11	When soma is spilled. (Triṣṭubh)
78.9	29	10.107.4	To the Dakṣiṇā or its donors. (Jagatī; RV 10.107 Triṣṭubh otherwise)

The first stanza (PS 18.78.6) describes the vessels or jars covered with cake(s) (*apūpāpīhitān kumbhān*) that the gods held (but notice that *b yāms te devā adhārayan* can also mean ‘which the gods fixed for you’). PS 18.78.7 describes the scattering of grains mixed with sesame, while Yama is invoked (see §2.5. below). After these two verses, two RV stanzas are inserted. RV 10.17.11 (= PS 18.78.8) is used when soma or any other liquid is spilled, while RV 10.107.4 (= PS 18.78.9) is about the Dakṣiṇā ‘sacrificial fee’ and its donors, presumably with the intention of reminding them to prepare their payment.

The main keywords of the subsequent section (see Table 1d) are **the well** (or spring, source, fountain; *útsa-* m.), **the grains**, and **the waters**. It ends with the invocation of Sarasvatī, using a stanza of a Rigvedic ṛca addressed to this

goddess (RV 10.17.7–9, = Lanman’s part IV). Again, this RV stanza seems to mark a break in the flow of the recitation and the ceremony.

Table 1d: Part III.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
78.10 ♦	30		They milk the well **.
79.1	31		This garment saturated with ghee.
79.2 ♦	32		The milch cow becomes grains.
79.3 ♦	33		They shall stand up to you.
79.4–5	34–35		Coloured grains / Into Agni Vaiśvānara I am pouring this oblation.
79.6 ♦	36		The well **.
79.7 ♦	37		This Kasāmbu.
79.8–9	38–39		Be here, satisfying son and grandsons.
79.10	40		Send forth the waters to this fire.
80.1	41		They are kindling the immortal one.
80.2	42		What mixture I am filling into you.
80.3	45 ☉	10.17.7	To Sarasvatī. (Triṣṭubh)
— *	46 = 1.42	10.17.9ab + 8cd	* = PS 18.61.2 (Triṣṭubh)
— *	47 = 1.43	10.17.8ab + 9cd	* = PS 18.61.3 (Triṣṭubh)

Next comes a section the content of which will become clearer in the course of this paper. It ends with three RV stanzas to Soma, Agni, and Soma again (RV 9.86.19, 6.2.6, 9.86.16).

Table 1e: Part IV.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
80.4 ♦	44 ☉		The front entrance.
80.5 ♦	48		I am now making you enter into earth.
80.6	50 ☉		The Dakṣiṇā has come to us.
80.7	49 ☉		You two move ahead.
80.8	51		I am strewing a living barhiṣ.
80.9 ♦	52		I mend your limbs with a sacred formula.
80.10	53		King Parṇa provides longevity.
81.1	54		Yama the lord.
81.2 ♦	55		They have laid out a dungeon for Yama (a grave mound).
81.3	56		Carry this gold.
81.4	57		A brook of ghee.
81.5	58	9.86.19	Soma verse. (Jagatī-group)
81.6	59	6.2.6	To Agni. (Anuṣṭubh)
81.7	60	9.86.16	Soma as compensation. (Jagatī-group)

Stanza ŚS 18.4.48 (= PS 18.80.5 ‘I am now making you enter into earth’) and the group ŚS 18.4.58–60 find no use in the Kauśikasūtra (see Lanman in Whitney 1905: 870). Lanman says that the ritual use of ŚS 18.4.44 precedes the cremation, but this is not indicated in the PS text. ŚS 18.4.50 and 49 (= PS 18.80.6–7) stand side by side in the Kauśikasūtra (KauśS 82.40). According to Lanman, the Brahmin in charge takes the two oxen that drew the vehicle conveying the corpse while ŚS 18.4.49 (= PS 18.80.7) is recited, and with the Dakṣiṇā verse ŚS 18.4.50 (= PS 18.80.6) he accepts his payment. In the PS version, he apparently accepts his payment before addressing the oxen. ŚS 18.4.51 (= PS 18.80.8) accompanies the strewing of Darbha grass on the pyre. According to KauśS 82.25, stanza ŚS 18.4.52 (= PS 18.80.9) accompanies the forming of a human figure with the bones. The bones are covered with stones at ŚS 18.4.53–54 (= PS 18.80.10, 81.1). Finally, according to Lanman (p. 871), stanza ŚS 18.4.55 (= PS 18.81.2) accompanies the patting of a grave-mound, while ŚS 18.4.56 (= PS 18.81.3) symbolizes the taking of the hereditament by the oldest son. And one use of ŚS 18.4.57 (= PS 18.81.4) is in the viaticum ceremony.

The next section is dedicated to the fathers and describes what they do or should do (see Table 1f). First, they are asked to come here (PS 18.81.8a), then to go away (PS 18.81.9a) and to come again (PS 18.81.9c) and finally to return to their homes (PS 18.81.10d). The order of these actions is different in the ŚS version, where the fathers are only asked to come and to go away (ŚS 18.4.62–63). I think this difference is important, and I will return to it below.

Table 1f: Part V.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
81.8 ♦	62 ☉		Come here, fathers!
81.9 ♦	63 ☉		Go away and come here again, fathers!
81.10 ♦	61 ☉		Return home, fathers!
82.1 ♦	64		When a limb has been forgotten.
—	65		
82.2 ♦	66		Cover him, O Earth!
82.3 ♦	—		= KauśS 89.12
82.4–5	—		= KauśS 89.12

After the verses to the fathers, there is an extra stanza for when a limb has been forgotten, followed by a three-pāda stanza (PS 18.82.2) that invokes the earth to cover the dead. This section has three final stanzas that are also found in the Kauśikasūtra (KauśS 89.12). The last two verses are a blessing of *grhā mama* ‘the houses of mine’. ŚS 18.4.65 is not found in the PS. According to Lanman (in Whitney 1905: 871), this is recited during the “withdrawal of the fires”. It seems to me that this

verse is absent from the PS text because the “withdrawal of the fires” had a different place, or no place, in the procedure of the ritual that is described by the PS text.

At the very end of the ceremony, Varuṇa is invoked to loosen the fetters and to forgive the sin that has been committed, since burning (“cooking”) a man and invoking Yama is not a good deed. Notice that the PS has two prayers to free the staff from Varuṇa’s revenge that are not found in the ŚS parallel (PS 18.82.7 is quoted at Kauś 97.8; see Griffiths 2004, 83–85).

Table 1g: Part VI: Atonement and epilogue.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
82.6	69	1.24.15	To loosen Varuṇa’s fetters. (Triṣṭubh)
82.7	—		The Maruts shall release us, O Varuṇa! (= Kauś 97.8)
82.8	70		Release from us all fetters, O Varuṇa!
82.9	—	1.24.14	We beg for atonement from your anger, O Varuṇa! (Triṣṭubh)
—	71–87		(Prose, once 8+8, at ŚS 18.4.75)
—	88	5.6.4	(Paṅkti)
82.10 ♦	89	1.105.1	The moon among the waters. (Paṅkti)

The prose passages belonging to the Piṇḍapitṛyajña (ŚS 18.4.71–87) are not found in the PS, nor ŚS 18.4.88 (= RV 5.6.4). This passage accompanies the “laying on of fuel” according to Lanman (in Whitney 1905: 871). The gap is very similar to ŚS 18.4.65, which is also missing from the PS text (as mentioned above). If both the “withdrawal of the fires” and the “laying on of fuel” are not described in the PS, we seem to be able to infer from this that the corresponding actions had a different place, or no place, in the procedure of the ritual that is described by the PS text. A plausible explanation is that the fire was already cleared in the PS ceremony and the dead man was already covered with earth. I will return to this issue below. The final stanza is the same as RV 1.105.1 and seems to be a kind of epilogue. It is, according to my interpretation (see Jamison & Brereton 2014, 248–249 for other interpretations of RV 1.105), the beginning of the myth of Trita trapped in the well (or tank: *kūpa*-). This seems to correlate with **the well** (*útsa*-) mentioned earlier in the text (PS 18.78.10 and 79.6, marked by ** and bold type in Table 1d). In my view, such an epilogue cannot be accidental. I will return to these mythical associations below. Having gone through the sections and keywords, we already have an impression of what is going on during the ceremony. I can thus make the hypothesis that the 13th anuvāka is a quite linear description of the ongoing funeral ceremony that differs from the one described in the ŚS in various ways. But let us start at the beginning.

The 13th anuvāka opens with invoking the Jātavedases (viz. fires) to make them ascend to their birthing mother (Janitrī) at PS 18.76.1. The offering-mover (i.e. Agni,

the messenger) has just moved the sent offerings (*havyā iṣitā*), while the singer is making them ascend (*ā rohayāmi*) together through the fatherly roads. In pāda d, *dhatta loke* clarifies that the dead is **placed** (*√dhā-*) at a ‘place, space, open space’, which I translate as ‘world’ here.

PS 18.76.1

ā rohata janitrīm jātavedasaḥ 12
pitryānaiḥ sam va ā rohayāmi | 11
avāḍ dhavyeṣitā havyavāha 11
ījānam yuktāḥ sukṛtām dhatta loke || 12^T

ŚS 18.4.1

ā rohata jānitrīm jātavedasaḥ
pitryānaiḥ sām va ā rohayāmi |
āvāḍ dhavyeṣitō havyavāhā
ījānam yuktāḥ sukṛtām dhatta loké ||

Ascend to Janitrī, Jātavedases! Through [roads] leading to the Fathers, I make you [all] ascend together. The offering-mover has just moved the sent offerings (*havyā iṣitā*). You, who are harnessed, place the one who has worshipped into the world of the well-doers!

Bhattacharya (2011: 1382) edits *dhavyeṣitā* in c, which is also found in manuscript JM4. In the subsequent stanza (PS 18.76.2), the divine seasons arrange the sacrifice and the sacrificial instruments, the sacrificial cake and the ladles are listed. The dead person is invoked to go, together with the sacrificial instruments, by the roads that the gods travel to the heavenly world (*svarga-*). After this brief introduction, we can now turn our attention to stanzas PS 18.76.5 and 4.

2.1 The imitation of the universe

The starting point for substantiating my hypothesis of a mound burial is the key phrase *pratimā lokānām* ‘the image of the worlds’ or ‘the imitation of the worlds’ in PS 18.76.5c. This is the first piece of textual evidence that motivates my working on the following research question here: Is there textual evidence for a mound burial in this part of the PS? This hypothesis came to my mind while reading the PS text and remembering what Kuz’mina (2007: 192) writes about the burial rites of the Andronovo Culture:

How did the Andronovans bury their dead? . . . They buried their dead far from their settlement, on the river bank, and they oriented the graves to the west or south-west, the direction of the setting sun. They dug the graves into the earth and constructed a timber frame-work; in the treeless regions, they replaced it with a stone cist. They erected overhead a cover on the central supporting pillar. The grave was covered with earth by a kurgan of pyramidal form; it was surrounded by a circular or square stone fence. Like the Vedic Aryans and earliest Irani-

ans, they too knew both burial rites – cremation and inhumation. . . . A round kurgan with a square grave in the center was a *microcosm of the universe*. (Kuz'mina 2007: 192, italics mine)

In the PS funeral hymns, *pratimā lokānām* ‘image/imitation of the worlds’ (PS 18.76.5c) seems to refer to such an idea of a “microcosm of the universe”.

PS 18.76.5		ŚS 18.4.5
<i>juhūr dādihāra dyām upahṛd</i>		<i>juhūr dādihāra dyām upabhṛd</i>
<i>antarikṣam</i>	()	<i>antārikṣam</i>
⁺ <i>dhruvā dādihāra pṛthivīm</i>		<i>dhruvā dādihāra pṛthivīm</i>
<i>pratiṣṭhām </i>	11	<i>pratiṣṭhām </i>
<i>pratimā lokānām ghṛtapṛṣṭhā</i>		<i>prātīmām lokā ghṛtāpṛṣṭhāḥ</i>
<i>prapīnām</i>	()	<i>svargāḥ</i>
<i>svadhām ūrjam yajamānāya</i>		<i>kāmarīkamarī yajamānāya</i>
<i>duhrām </i>	11	<i>duhrām </i>

The Tongue-spoon holds the sky, the Carrier-spoon the space in between. The Fixed-spoon holds the earth, the firm stand. **The imitation of the worlds** is ghee-backed. They [all] shall milk brimming Svadhā³ and nourishment for the Yajamāna.

Bhattacharya (2011: 1383) edits *dhruvām* in b, which I emend to ⁺*dhruvā* following the ŚS version. Whitney (1905: 873) comments on ŚS 18.4.5c with “the *pada*-mss. all give *prati-mām*, as if it were accusative of *pratimā*”. He adds that *prātīmām* is the reading of two manuscripts (P. and M., described by Whitney 1905: cxii). In PS 18.76.5c, we seem to have the nominative *pratimā* (thus Bhattacharya 2011: 1383). JM4 reads *pratiṣṭhām pratiṣṭhā lokānām ghṛtapṛṣṭhā*, where *pratiṣṭhā* is repeated in place of the word in question. Bhattacharya also prints *ghṛtapṛṣṭhā(h)* in c, which probably means that he is inclined to adopt the ŚS variant. Notice that ŚS 18.4.5d is found at PS 18.76.4d (see below). The three sacrificial spoons metaphorically hold or carry the three spheres. In the ŚS text, the spoons hold the earth “unto me (?)” (Whitney 1905: 873). However, an accusative form of the first-person singular personal pronoun is odd here, and Whitney adds a question mark to his translation. ŚS *prātīmām* can be analyzed as *prāti imām*, so that what is referred to is the earth or the body of the dead person. Pādas bcd of the ŚS version can be understood as ‘The Fixed-spoon holds the earth, the firm stand. Against this (body/earth), the worlds. The heavenly ghee-backed worlds shall milk each and every wish for the Yajamāna.’ The PS text does not seem to describe the same things as the ŚS version. In the ŚS,

³ This is 2. *svadhā*- ‘invigorating drink, sacrificial potion (especially the one offered to the deceased fathers)’.

it is the heavenly worlds that shall milk each and every wish for the Yajamāna. Here, the two words *svargāḥ* and *lokāḥ* reoccur in pāda c of the preceding stanza (ŚS 18.4.4, see below), whereas the PS text has no such repetition in the context, so that ŚS 18.4.5c *lokā ghṛtāpṛṣṭhāḥ svargāḥ* could be due to a perseveration of the preceding *svargā lokāḥ*. This repetition might also be the reason why the āmreḍita *kāmarṅkāmaṃ* is following in ŚS 18.4.5d here, as it is following *svargā lokāḥ* at PS 18.76.4. The sense of the PS text becomes clearer once we interpret it as a description of an imitation or a microcosm of the universe.⁴ This passage is preceded by the description of the position of the three spoons (PS 18.76.4, see below). If we take the imitation of the worlds as referring to a mound, the three spoons should metaphorically describe the poles or pillars within the mound, holding the ceiling and propping up the space in between, thus making it an earth room (earthy world, place) for the dead person. PS 18.76.4b can be read as such a description, when we take the three spoons as being leaned to the back of the ceiling.

PS 18.76.4

trayaḥ suparṇā⁺ uparasyāḥ⁺ sakhāyau 12^T
nākasya pṛṣṭhe adhi viṣṭāpi śritāḥ | 12
s_vvargā lokā amṛtena⁺ viṣṭāḥ 11
kāmarṅkāmaṃ yajamānāya duhrām || 11

ŚS 18.4.4

trāyaḥ suparṇā⁺ uparasya māyū
nākasya pṛṣṭhé adhi viṣṭāpi śritāḥ |
svargā lokā amṛtena viṣṭā
iṣam ūrjam yajamānāya duhrām ||

[Here are] three eagles, two friends of one [spoon] below, leaned to the back of the firmament up to the highest surface.⁵ Heavenly worlds with the immortal one, the prepared [worlds] (*lokāḥ⁺ viṣṭāḥ*) shall milk each and every wish for the Yajamāna.

Bhattacharya (2011: 1383) edits *uparasyāsakhāyū* (with a partial underline) and mentions the variant reading ^o*sakhāya* of manuscript Mā[kandā] in his apparatus. JM4 has ^o*sakhāyū*. I owe the emendation ⁺*sakhāyau* to a discussion with Alexander Lubotsky (personal communication) and the emendation ⁺*uparasyāḥ* (gen. sg. f.) to Thomas Zehnder. JM4 has *viṣṭā* in c, while Bhattacharya prints *viṣṭā(h)*. This word can be understood as the verbal adjective *viṣṭa-* of the verb $\sqrt{\text{viṣ-}}$, characterizing the preceding *svargā lokāḥ* (nominative plural masculine), whereas ŚS *viṣṭhāḥ* is a root compound *vi + sthā-* ($\sqrt{\text{sthā-}}$) that can be understood as ‘standing against

⁴ *ghṛtāpṛṣṭhā* indicates that the imitation, and the spoons to be burnt, were sprinkled with ghee. In the ŚS, this accompanied the symbolic laying of the spoons on the dead body (KauśS 81.7). Their symbolic sense is that the sacrifice forms and holds the universe “with the ritual fire a pillar connecting heaven and earth” (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 24).

⁵ We can interpret *nākasya pṛṣṭhe* and *adhi viṣṭāpi* as referring to the same thing (suggested to me by Robert Leach).

each other, in all directions’ referring to the spoons/eagles and the three spheres. Lanman (in Whitney 1905: 873) notes that some ŚS manuscripts (Whitney’s P.M.I. and Pandit’s C) also read *viṣṭā* (i.e. *viṣṭāh*) in c, which is also Sāyaṇa’s reading and adopted by Weber (1896: 279; “durchdrungen”) and Whitney (1905: 873; “filled [?]”). The difference between PS *viṣṭāh* and ŚS *viṣṭhāh* becomes significant once we interpret the PS text as a description of an imitation of the universe that they have drawn up, worked out, prepared, and erected in the form of a mound including heavenly spheres for the dead person with a cave that is finally filled with the dead body, whereas they are not referring to such a thing when they use *viṣṭhāh* in the Śaunaka recension. The ŚS stanza seems to refer solely to a symbolic laying of the spoons on the dead body. This matches the later interpretation of the text. According to KauśS 81.7, the sacrificial instruments are placed on the different parts of the dead body, to be burnt with the dead. Recall that when an *āhitāgni* dies, his body is cremated in his fire along with the sacrificial utensils. Here, we can take them as symbols for the firmament, the space in between, and the earth. In the PS passage just discussed (PS 18.76.4 and 5), we can understand the imitation of the universe as a mound that is actually prepared as such an image or imitation. In the ŚS version, however, the spheres are symbolized by putting the three spoons on the dead body. We may conclude that something happened to the liturgical context of the ceremony with regard to what was done during the recitation of these passages. In other words, the imitation of the universe seems to be more symbolic in the ritual of the Śaunakins, whereas it appears to be more literal in that of the Paippalādins. Note that the Fixed-spoon (*dhruvā*) is invoked to **ascend the earth** in pāda a of the following passage. If my interpretation is correct, this was the pillar that propped up the earth (*pr̥thivīm*).

PS 18.76.6

dhruva ā roha pr̥thivīm
viśvavedasam 13
antarikṣam upahṛd ā kramasva | 11
jūhu dyām gaccha yajamānena
sākām 12^T
sruveṇa vatsena diśaḥ prapīnāḥ 11
sarvā dhukṣā aḥṛṇīyamānāḥ || 10

ŚS 18.4.6

dhruva ā roha pr̥thivīm
viśvābhojasam
antarikṣam upahṛd ā kramasva |
jūhu dyām gaccha yajamānena
sākām
sruveṇa vatsēna diśaḥ prapīnāḥ
sārvā dhukṣvāḥṛṇīyamānāḥ ||

O Fixed-spoon, ascend the earth that is *viśvāvedas*-! Step here, O Carrier-spoon, to the space in between. O Tongue-spoon, go to the sky in company with the Yajamāna! With the little spoon, with the calf, you will milk all the brimming quarters [that are] not bad-tempered.

If one assumes that this sacrificial utensil is placed on a part of the dead body, this implies that its ascending the earth can only be understood symbolically. However, interpreted in light of my hypothesis of a mound burial, the description makes good sense: The Fixed-spoon will stand for a pillar that is fixed in the ground, “ascending the earth”, holding the ceiling, and propping up the space in between as if going up to heaven above, as explicitly outlined in the *apūpavān*-verses (PS 18.77.6ff., see §2.2. below). The word *viśvavedasam* ‘knowing/seeing everything’ in PS 18.76.6a might be a description of the earth that is lifted as a mound in its natural environment with a panoramic view. ŚS has *viśvábhojasam* ‘all-nourishing’ instead. The form *dhukṣāḥ*, if interpreted correctly, is the first instance of the subjunctive of a *sa*-aorist found in the Vedic corpus (at least no other form of this category is noted by Macdonell 1910: 385).

PS 18.76.7

tīrthais taranti pravato mahīr anu 12
yajñakṛtaḥ sukṛto yena yanti | 11
atrābhajaṃ yajamānāya lokāṃ 11
dīśo bhūtāni yadi kalpayanta || 11

ŚS 18.4.7

tīrthāis taranti pravāto mahīr īti
yajñakṛtaḥ sukṛto yéna yānti |
ātrādadhur yājamānāya lokāṃ
dīśo bhūtāni yād ākalpayanta ||

Through fords they cross the great slopes, [on the way] by which the sacrifice-makers, the well-doers go. There, I have apportioned the world for the Yajamāna, to the directions, when they are mending the ghosts (or: when the ghosts are mending themselves. Or: when the directions are mending the ghosts).

JM4 has *yadi kalpayanta* in pāda d, while Bhattacharya (2011: 1384) prints *mayi kalpayanta(h)*. I opt for the former, because it is closer to ŚS *yād ākalpayanta* and a temporal meaning ‘when they are mending the ghosts’ makes sense in the context of a funeral ceremony. The preposition phrase *pravato mahīr anu* also occurs at RV 10.14.1a: *pareyivāṃsam pravāto mahīr ānu* “to the one who has departed along the great slopes” (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1391). In pāda d I do not understand *bhūtāni* as ‘creatures’, as suggested by Whitney (1905, 874), but – following a suggestion to me by Umberto Selva (personal communication) – as ‘ghosts’ (some kind of more or less aimlessly wandering ghosts) of the dead that are mending (repairing) themselves or are being mended (that is, their bodies are being repaired in a special way).

In the following PS passage, we find the new Vedic word *padmānam* (accusative singular). It is not a hapax legomenon because it reoccurs at PS 18.77.2. In both passages, it denotes something that belongs to Agni (*padmānam agneḥ*).

PS 18.76.8

aṅgirasām ayanam pūrvo agnir 11
ādityānām ayanam gārhapatyo 11
dakṣiṇānām ayanam dakṣiṇāgniḥ | 11
padmānam agner vihitasya
brahmaṇā 12
samaṅgaḥ sarva upa yāhi śāgmaḥ || 11

ŚS 18.4.8

aṅgirasām áyanam pūrvo agnir
ādityānām áyanam gārhapatyo
dákṣiṇānām áyanam dakṣiṇāgniḥ |
mahimānam agner vihitasya
bráhmaṇā
sámaṅgaḥ sárva úpa yāhi śágmāḥ ||

The track of the Aṅgirasas is the eastern fire, the track of the Ādityas is the householder's [fire], the track of the Dakṣiṇās is the Dakṣiṇā (i.e. the southern) fire. Go to the strong² *padmā* of Agni, the one set out with a sacred formula, having [your] limbs together, as a whole one!

JM4 has *padmānam* in d and *śāgmaḥ* in e, as printed by Bhattacharya (2011: 1384). Since PS *padmānam* fits into the meter, whereas ŚS *mahimānam* 'greatness' does not, it seems that it is original. The second attestation of *padmānam agner* is found in the following passage:

PS 18.77.2 (ab: only PS)

padmānam agner vihitasya brahmaṇā 12
**samyāṅ enam dhehi sukṛtām ulokam |* ()
tam agnayaḥ samiddhā ā bharantām 11
prājāpatyaṅ medhyaṅ jātavedasaḥ 12
śṛtaṅ kṣṇvanta iha mā †vicakṣaṇam† || 12

ŚS 18.4.12

(PS 18.76.8d ~ ŚS 18.4.8d)
 ~ ŚS 18.4.11d
sám agnáyaḥ sámiddhā á rabhantām
prājāpatyaṅ médhyaṅ jātávedasaḥ |
śṛtāṅ kṣṇvanta ihá máva cikṣipan ||

To the *padmā* of Agni, of the one set out with a sacred formula, place him (i.e. the dead person with his limbs) turned against himself (i.e. his limbs are turned against each other) to the world of the well-doers. The kindled fires shall carry him, the *médhyam* (i.e. the pure thing that is ready and fit for being sacrificed) belonging to Prajāpati, the Jātavedases, making [him] boiled, they shall not . . . (†*vicakṣaṇam*†) here!

JM4 has *samyā enam* in b, Bhattacharya (2011: 1385) edits *samaṅganam*. I emend this to **samyāṅ enam*. The meaning of *padmānam* cannot be easily determined. It seems to be a verbal abstract with the suffix *-mán-* derived from the root *√pad-* 'fall, go'. We only know that it is characterized by the adjective *śāgmá-* 'strong², favourable³' in PS 18.76.8de, and that it is something the dead man can go to (*úpa yā-*). In pāda e, *mā vicakṣaṇam* seems to be a corruption of *māva cikṣipan* as preserved in the ŚS parallel. At least, a noun ('conspicuous, experienced') does not fit the syntactic context. Bhattacharya attempts to restore a finite verb (*iha mā vi cakṣaṇan**)

‘they shall not have completely hurt [damaged] him here’?). Lanman comments on ŚS 18.4.12c *mā āva cikṣipan* as follows:

Here, *cikṣipan* with *ava* means ‘let them [the fires, not] throw [any part of the dead man] down’; that is, Agni (in his kindly forms, *śivās tanvās*) is to treat the dead man kindly and not let a foot, the head, or a hand fall off from the funeral pile, but is to consume him completely: cf. the comm., who aptly says, *yathā niravaśeṣam dahyate tathā*. The importance, in Hindu belief, of having every member of the body carried by Agni to the other world for use in the next life is abundantly shown by the hymns . . . — When, as often happens, the pile of wood is too short for the corpse, the feet will naturally overhang and drop off from the pyre. In my journal of a visit at Benares, under date of Feb. 25, 1889, I find the following: ‘Saw a cremation, at the Burning Ghat. One foot of the corpse fell off the pyre (which was none too long), and a man tried to put it back on the fire with a bamboo. But failing, he took it by the toe with thumb and fingers and chucked it back.’ An allusion to an occurrence of this kind is clearly made by the Chāndogya Upanishad at vii. 15.3 . . . (Lanman in Whitney 1905: 875).

The corruption PS (Odisha) *vicakṣanam* instead of ŚS (*ā*)*va cikṣipan* is similar to PS (Odisha) *cakṣuṣaḥ* (‘of the eyesight’) instead of RV, ŚS *cikṣipah* at PS 18.63.8b: *māsya tvacaṁ †cakṣuṣo† mā śarītram* vs. RV 10.16.1b (= ŚS 18.2.4b) *māsya tvacaṁ cikṣipo mā śarītram* ‘don’t singe his skin nor his body’ (translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1395). Jamison (1983, 140, with fn. 71) interprets *cikṣipah* at the RV passage as the reduplicated aorist of $\sqrt{kṣā}$ - ‘burn, singe’ (i.e. of its causative *kṣāpāya-*) – against the other approach which derives this form from $\sqrt{kṣip}$ - ‘throw, cast’ – and this (‘burn’) may also be intended here at PS 18.77.2e, presumably in the sense that they shall not burn and damage the dead body completely (see the following section §2.2.).

2.2 The path to heaven is *vitara-*

Within the funerary ceremony, Agni is envisioned as a transformer, not necessarily as a complete destroyer. His function is that of a general carrier, and he carries the dead body to prolonged or eternal life, as, for example, in the following RV stanza:

RV 10.16.11 *yé agniḥ kravyavāhanaḥ pitṛṇ yākṣad ṛtāvīdhaḥ | préd u havyāni vocati devébhyas ca pitṛbhya á* || “**Der Leichen fortführende Agni**, der den wahrheitstärkenden Vätern opfern soll, er möge den Göttern und den Manen die Opferspende ansagen.” (Geldner 1951c: 149).

The dead bodies were sometimes completely burnt and sometimes incompletely burnt, as described in this RV passage:

RV 10.15.14 *yé agnidagdhā yé ānagnidagdhā ‘ mádhye divāḥ svadhāyā mādāyante | tébhiḥ svarāḷ · āsunītim etām ‘ yathāvaśām tanvām kalpayasva* || “Those burned by fire and those not burned by fire who become exhilarated at (the cry of) “*svadhā*” in the middle of heaven, along

with them (go) as sovereign king (on the way) leading to (the other) life. Arrange your body as you wish.” (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1394, emphasis mine).

In this passage, the verb *kalpayasva* clearly refers to the repairing, fixing, arranging, and adjusting of the dead body for eternal life. Completely burning a dead body would destroy the person, as explicitly outlined in RV 10.16.1a: *máinam agne ví daho mábhí śocaḥ* ‘Do not burn him through, O Agni, do not let him glow.’ It is thus clear from the text that the dead body is incompletely burnt. The function of the earth within the funerary ritual is to protect the dead from complete dissolution (*nírṛti-*), as explicitly stated in the following passage:

RV 10.18.10 *úpa sarpa mātáram bhúmim etám uruvyácasam prthivīm suśévām | úrṇamradā yuvatīr dáksīṇāvata eṣá tvā pátu nírṛter upásthāt* || “Creep upon this mother earth, the broad earth of wide expanse, who is very kindly. The young girl, soft as wool for the one who gives priestly gifts – **let her protect you from the lap of Dissolution.**” (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1401, emphasis mine).

As indicated here, burials assure that the body is not completely destroyed by the fire (see Oberlies 1998: 472). Vedic burials are also confirmed by PS 18.68.2 and its parallel ŚS 18.2.52ab (Oberlies 1998: 299–312, especially fn. 727 with further references). In the PS passage given below, the dead’s first path is entering the *prṣṭhá-* ‘mountain back, ridge’ to fly up to the sky in the future (*dívam utpatīsyān*). This is the **further (viz. second)** path (*panthā vitarāḥ*), the heavenly path.

PS 18.77.4

**ījānás* **citam ā_arukṣad agniṃ* 11
nākasya prṣṭhāṃ dívam utpatīsyān | 11
tasmai pra bhātu nabhaso jyotiṣīmān 12^T
svargāḥ panthā vitaro devayānaḥ || 11

ŚS 18.4.14

ījānás citám ārukṣad agniṃ
nākasya prṣṭhād dívam utpatīsyān |
tasmai prá bhāti nábhaso jyotiṣīmān
svargāḥ pánthāḥ sukṛte devayānaḥ ||

He who has sacrificed has mounted the piled fire, the back of the firmament, about to fly up to the sky. For him, the luminous heavenly path, the further one, the one traveled by the gods shall shine forth from the cloud.

In pāda a, the Odishan manuscripts read Ja *ihajānás*, Mā *ihajānás*, JM4 *ihajanaś*, which Bhattacharya (2011: 1386) emends to **ījānás* following the ŚS parallel. As Whitney (1905: 876) points out, the second word of this stanza should be read as *citám* ‘piled’, as transmitted by a number of ŚS manuscripts, and this also applies to the PS, where all manuscripts have *cittam*. In pāda d Bhattacharya’s manuscripts (Ja, Mā) have *pitaro devajānaḥ*, which he (2011: xci) emends to **vitaro* **devayānaḥ*. The latter is what I read in JM4, so that editorial symbols can be removed. I understand this pāda as describing a **further (= second)** path’ to the sky that was taken

by the gods. In PS 18.77.5d, on the other hand, the sacrifice shall go the **earlier track** (*pūrvam ayanam*) of those who have already been offered:

PS 18.77.5

agnir hotā_adhvaryuṣ te bṛhaspatir 12
indro brahmā dakṣiṇatas te astu | 11
huto _ayam samsthito yajña etu 11
yatra pūrvam ayanam hutānām || 10

ŚS 18.4.15

agnir hótā_adhvaryúṣ te bṛhaspátir
índro brahmá dakṣiṇatás te astu |
hutó _ayám sámsthito yajñá eti
yátra pūrvam áyanam hutánām ||

Agni shall be the Hotar, Bṛhaspati your Adhvaryu, Indra the Brahmin on your right [side]. This offered sacrifice, being completed, shall go where **the earlier track** of those offered is.

The second path (*panthā vitarah*) does not seem to be identical with this first track of those who have been offered. This difference is also described at RV 10.18.1ab: *páram mṛtyo ánu párehi pánthām' yás te svá ítaro devayānāt* “Depart, Death, along the further path, which is your own, different from the one leading to the gods” (translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1400). We may conclude from this that the dead person has to take two paths: an initial path into the earth and a second one to the sky leading to the gods. From the perspective of full cremation, the PS text is somewhat irritating. How can there be a second path to the sky that follows an earlier path when there was full cremation and immersion of the ashes? The earlier path seems to be related to the *pūrvam aparām niyānam* ‘the front entrance in the west’ that is described at PS 18.80.4 (see §2.7. below).

2.3 Heaving up the earth as if to heaven: *uttabhnuvan pṛthivīm dyām ivopari*

In the *apūpavān* verses (see Table 1b above), there is one part of the refrain that is only found in the PS text, viz. PS 18.77.6b–78.5b *uttabhnuvan pṛthivīm dyām ivopari* (i.e. the participle of the class V. present of *út + √stambh-* ‘uphold, support’). The syntagm *uttabhnuvan pṛthivīm* is paralleled by *út te stabhnāmi pṛthivīm* at RV 10.18.12a:

RV 10.18.10–14 *úpa sarpa mātāram bhūmim etām uruvyácasam pṛthivīm suśévām | úṛnam-
 radā yuvatír dákṣiṇāvata eṣá tvā pátu nírṭter upásthāt ||10|| úc chvañcasva pṛthivi má
 ní bādhatāḥ sūpāyanásmai bhava sūpavañcaná | mātá putrām yáthā sicābhy ènam bhūma
 ūṛnuhi ||11|| ucchváñcamānā pṛthiví sú tiṣṭhatu saháśram míta úpa hí śráyantām | té gṛhāso
 gṛtaścúto bhavantu viśvāhāsmāi śaraṇāḥ santu átra ||12|| út te stabhnāmi pṛthivīm tvát pári
 imám logám nidádhan mó ahám riṣam | etām sthūñām pitāro dhārayantu te átra yanám*

sādanā te minotu ||13|| *praticīne mām āhani iśvāh paṇām ivā dadhuḥ* | *praticīm jagrabhā vācam āsvaṁ raśanāyā yathā* ||14|| “10. Creep upon this mother earth, the broad earth of wide expanse, who is very kindly. The young girl, soft as wool for the one who gives priestly gifts – **let her protect you from the lap of Dissolution**. 11. **Arch up, Earth**; do not press down. Become easy to approach for him, easy to curl up in. Like a mother her son with her hem, cover him, Earth. 12. **Let the earth stay arching up**. For let a thousand (house) posts be fixed in (her). Let the house be dripping with ghee. Let it always be sheltering to him there. 13. **I prop up the earth from you**. Setting down this earth clod here, let me not be harmed. **Let the forefathers uphold this pillar for you**. There let Yama fix your seats. 14. On the day facing me [= today] they have set (him = dead man) down like a feather from an arrow. The speech facing me I have grasped, like a horse by its halter” (translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1401).

What is described at PS 18.77.6–78.7 thus belongs to what is said in RV 10.18, which is a description of a tumulus burial, where 10d *tvā pātu nīṛṣter upāsthāt* shows that the idea of *uttabhnuvan pṛthivīm dyām ivopari* is to keep the dead person safe from complete dissolution (*nīṛṣti-*). The earth is further invoked to **arch up** (*ūt + √śvañc-*) at 11a, and it is invoked to keep standing in this position with a thousand house posts fixed (stanza 12). Stanza 13 mentions a pillar (*sthūṇā-*) that the fathers shall uphold and make stand firm. This text quite literally describes the heaping up of a bulging mound grave (see Anthony 2007: 409).⁶ As mentioned, the PS passage can be connected with the interment of the bone-relics. When taken literally, repeated formulae like ‘the one rich in cake, rich in milk, the dish shall sit down here’ look as if they describe burial gifts (viz. the viaticum) intended for the dead, which are rich in cake and *kṣīravān*, *drapsavān*, *ghṛtavān*, *māmsavān*, *madhuvān*, *annavān*, *rasavān*, *ūrjāvan* (the latter deviating from the strange *āpavān* at ŚS 18.4.24a).

PS 18.77.6

ŚS 18.4.16

<i>apūpavān kṣīravāms carur aha sīdatū-</i>	7+8	<i>apūpāvān kṣīravāms carur éhá sīdatu </i>
<i>-uttabhnuvan pṛthivīm dyām ivopari </i>	12	
<i>lokakṛtaḥ pathikṛto yajāmahe</i>	12	<i>lokakṛtaḥ pathikṛto yajāmahe</i>
<i>ye devānām ghṛtabhāgā iha stha </i>	11	<i>yé devānām hutābhāgā ihá sthá </i>

The dish rich in cake, rich in milk shall sit down here, **heaving up the earth as if to the sky above**. We offer to those who make the world, who make the path, [to you] of the gods who are here, having a share in ghee.

This formula is repeated eight more times at PS 18.77.7–78.5.

⁶ “The parallels include a reference in RV 10.18 to a kurgan . . . , a roofed burial chamber supported with posts . . . , and with shored walls . . . This is a precise description of Sintashta and Potapovka-Filatovka grave pits, which had wooden plank roofs supported by timber posts and plank shoring walls” (Anthony 2007: 409).

2.4 It is a container from clay with four caves

At PS 18.78.10, a well (*útsa-* m.) is described as a *kalása-* ‘jar, pot, round container’ made of clay (**mṛdām*) that is *caturbīlam* “with four orifices” (Whitney 1905: 878). It does not have just one opening as would a cinerary urn. While the meaning ‘hole’ is younger, *bīla-* n. actually means ‘pit, cave’ in the Rīgveda (Mayrhofer 1996: 225: “Höhle, Grube”, Grassmann 1875, 906: “Höhle”, see RV 1.11.5ab *valásya* . . . *bīlam* ‘Vala’s cave’, also in RV 2.12.3). We can conclude that the meaning of *caturbīla-* is not necessarily ‘with four openings’ here. If the meaning is still the same as in the RV, the container has rather four pits or four caves in it. Note that a *kalásam* is *nīkhātam* ‘dug in’ in RV 1.117.12cd *hīraṇyasyeva kalásam nīkhātam úd ūpathur daśamé aśvināhan* “you dug out the one who was buried like a tub of gold on the tenth day, O Aśvins” (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 273). In that hymn, the Aśvins rescue those who have been *nīkhāta-* ‘dug in’ (“buried”) in one form or another. In my interpretation, the lower part of the *kalásam* is ‘dug in’ (into the earth) as well.

PS 18.78.10

utsam duhanti kalásam caturbīlam 12
**mṛdām dhenum madhumatīm*
s_vvastaye | 12
úrjam madantīm aditīm jāneṣ_v 11
agne mā hīmsīḥ parame vyoman || 11

ŚS 18.4.30

kósam duhanti kalásam caturbīlam
īdām dhenum mádhumatīm svastáye |
úrjam mádantīm áditīm jāneṣ_v
ágne má hīmsīḥ paramé vyòman ||

They milk the well, the jar with four caves, **the clay**, the milch cow rich in honey for well-being, the exhilarating refreshment, the Aditi among the people. Do not injure [hīm²], O Agni, in the highest firmament!

A variant of the first hemistich is also found at TB 3.7.4.16 (and elsewhere): *útsam duhanti kalásam caturbīlam īdām devīm mádhumatīm suvarvidam*, thus with *utsam* (= PS vs. ŚS *kósam* ‘receptacle, box’) in a and with *īdām* (= ŚS, see below) in b. In place of the latter, Bhattacharya (2011: 1390) prints *mṛdām*, which apparently is the reading of his manuscripts, whereas JM4 has *marrā(m)²*. I tentatively emend this word to **mṛdām*, which can be supported by the observation that *ma-* < *mṛ-* is similar to the phonetic development reflected by Middle Indic, cf. Pali *maga-* ‘animal’ < *mṛgá-* m. ‘wild animal, deer’ etc. For the younger retroflex cf. also Prakrit *maḍak-kiyā-* f. ‘earthen jar’ < **mṛd-*. This *mṛdā-* f. is also attested in the Upaniṣads and

appears to be a younger substitute of earlier *mṛd-* f. ‘earth, clay’. This substitution is straightforward – unlike that of *mṛda-* for RV *mṛdayāku-*.⁷

The PS-description seems to be that of a house of clay that nobody wants to enter too soon, as confirmed by RV 7.89.1 *mó śú varuṇa mṛnmáyaṃ gṛhám rājann ahám gamam ... mṛlāya* ‘King Varuṇa, let me not go to the house of clay! ... Be merciful!’, where *mṛnmáyaṃ gṛhám* has been interpreted as referring to a grave or to an urn (e.g. by Geldner 1951b: 269, fn.), although the RV-text clearly says that it is a ‘house’. In the PS stanza, the form **mṛdām* is found in a series of accusative forms (*utsam, kalaśam caturbilaṃ, dhenum madhumatīm*) and the ŚS parallel also has an accusative singular feminine form (*īḍām*) in the relevant place. Therefore, **mṛdām* is rather not a genitive plural.

2.5 Grains grow on it and shall stand up

Stanza PS 18.78.7 gives a description of the scattering of grains, which are mixed with sesame.⁸ Grains naturally grow on the earth and stand up, but not on a dead body that has been cremated.

PS 18.78.7		ŚS 18.4.26 (= ŚS 18.3.69 [<i>vibhvīḥ</i> in c], ŚS 18.4.43)
<i>yās te dhānā anukirāmi</i>	()	<i>yās te dhānā anukirāmi</i>
<i>tilamiśrāḥ svadhāvatiḥ </i>	8	<i>tilāmiśrāḥ svadhāvatiḥ </i>
<i>tās te santu vibhvīḥ prabhvīs</i>	8	<i>tās te santūdbhvīḥ prabhvīs</i>
<i>tās te rājānu manyatām</i>	8	<i>tās te yamó rājānu manyatām </i>
<i>yamo akṣitam *bhūyāmsam </i>	8	<i>ākṣitim bhūyasīm </i> (ŚS 18.4.27)

⁷ Reading *mṛdām* as acc. sg. f. of an adj. *mṛda-* (*mṛdām dhenum* “merciful milch cow”?) is not unproblematic because this is first attested in the Black Yajurveda at KS 37.13: 93.19, 14: 94.20) *mṛdo* ‘si *mṛdase*, where the coinage of *mṛda-* is motivated by the following 2sg pres. ind. mid. *mṛdase* (Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 76). If the PS mantra is earlier than the Yajurvedic prose, and if *mṛda-* did not exist, the emendation to ‘clay’ will be necessary. The fact that the parallel ŚS *īḍām* f. is not an adjective speaks for a noun in the PS. I doubt that the image depicted in the PS is that of the sun as an udder with four teats, milking Soma. As indicated by ŚS a *kóśam* and b *īḍām*, this may hold for the ŚS if describing the cooling ceremony following the cremation. I am grateful to the second anonymous reviewer for pointing me to that interpretation. In my view, however, the use of different words points to a difference between what is described in the ŚS vs the PS.

⁸ For *tilamiśrāḥ* see Caland (1896: 34): “Im ritual des anāhitāgni’s der Rāṇāyanīyas, Bandhāyanīyas-an, Āśvalāyanīyas [. . .] und nach dem Vaikh. sūtra wird in drei gruben oder an drei stellen des zubereiteten bodens [. . .] sesamwasser oder sesamkörner ausgeschüttet, . . . Die übrigen sesamkörner werden nach links herumgestreut. Wenn jetzt noch in der mitte der geweihten stelle ein stückchen gold niedergelegt ist, wird sie mit gräsern, deren spitzen südlich zu legen sind, überstreut.”

The grains that I scatter on you, mixed with sesame, rich in svadhā, shall be abundant (*vibhviḥ*), standing ahead (or ‘mighty’, *prabhviḥ*). May the king approve those for you, may Yama [approve] the imperishable, the greater one.

JM4 reads *santu vibhavi tās te* in line cd. The emendation ⁺*bhūyāmsam* is proposed by Bhattacharya (2011: 1389) for Mā *bhūyāsam* (= JM4) and Ja *bhūyasam* – it is obviously inspired by *bhūyasīm* of the ŚS version. In ŚS 18.3.69d, 18.4.26d, and 18.4.43d, the meter suggests that the word *yamó* has been secondarily inserted. In the PS version, however, Yama (*yamaḥ* in e) is separated from the word *rājā* ‘king’, which might be understood as indication that there was a different, human king involved in the ritual in the PS version. Moreover, *akṣitam bhūyāmsam* is accusative and thus cannot refer to Yama here. Instead, it might perhaps refer to the dead man, who, in my interpretation, is also imperishable and greater than a normal person, sitting in his cave, covered and surrounded by a huge, imperishable mound. Under this assumption, a human king might be present the PS text, put in his grave. The entity addressed with the pronoun *te* in d could be the mound and it would be Yama who bestows the grains upon the dead king (speaking in the first person: ‘I scatter’). This reading seems to have been changed to another sense in the ŚS parallel, where the king is Yama himself and there is neither another king other than Yama, nor a grave-mound. Grains are also mentioned in the following two stanzas, PS 18.79.2–3:

PS 18.79.2		ŚS 18.4.32
<i>dhānā dhenur bhavad</i>	()	<i>dhānā dhenúr abhavad</i>
<i>vatso asyās tilo bhavat</i>	8	<i>vatsó asyās tiló 'bhavat</i>
<i>tām tvaṁ yamasya rājye</i>	8	<i>tām vái yamásya rájye</i>
<i>a'kṣitam upa jīvatāt</i>	8	<i>ákṣitām úpa jīvati</i>

Grains [are what] the milch cow becomes, her calf becomes sesame. On her subsist in Yama’s realm [and] on the imperishable one!

In place of Bhattacharya’s (2011: 1390) *bhavad* in pāda a, JM4 has *abhavad*, which agrees with the ŚS parallel. Instead of his *tām* in pāda c, JM4 and Mā have *tā*. The nominative plural *dhānāḥ* cannot be the subject to the singular verb (*a*)*bhavat*, as Whitney’s (1905: 879) translation implies: “the grains became a milch-cow”. In my syntactic analysis,⁹ *dhenuḥ* is the subject to *bhavat*. In my interpretation, the dead king is identified as a milch cow that provides the sweet grasses that really grow on

⁹ I think that *dhānā dhenur bhavad* is a focus construction with ‘grains’ in clause-initial focus position. See further Delbrück (1888: 17, §8); Amano (2009: 47–48).

the mound, out of the grave-mound of the dead king. The picture described here is that of a milch cow, living in Yama's realm (Yama's dungeon, see §2.8. below).

At PS 18.79.3d I understand *upa tiṣṭhantu tvā* as '[that grains] shall stand up to you' (i.e. 'grow'):

PS 18.79.3		ŚS 18.4.33
<i>etās te asau dhānāḥ</i>	7	<i>etās te asau dhenávaḥ</i>
<i>kāmadughā bhavantu </i>	7	<i>kāmadúghā bhavantu </i>
<i>enīḥ *śyenīr virūpāḥ sarūpās</i>	10	<i>énīḥ śyéniḥ sárūpā virūpās</i>
<i>tilavatsā upa tiṣṭhantu tvā_at </i>	11	<i>tilāvatsā ūpa tiṣṭhantu tvātra </i>

That grains of yours, O you, the one beyond, shall become wish-milking – the piebald, reddish-white ones, of different form, of like form, with [their] sesame-calf, **shall stand up to you then**.

In pāda a, the dead man is invoked as 'that one, the one beyond', at least if we assign the pronoun *amú-* its distal deictic value and not its function as placeholder for a name as do Weber (1896: 284: "o NN") and Whitney (1905: 879; "O so-and-so"). Instead of PS *dhānāḥ* 'grains', the ŚS version has *dhenávaḥ* 'milch cows', which fits the meter better. At the end of the stanza, ŚS has the adverb *ātra* 'there', whereas the PS seems to have a temporal *āt* 'then'. To sum up, I argue here that the scattering of the grains is more symbolic in the ritual of the Śaunakins, whereas in the ritual of the Paippalādins, the seed is actually sown to make sweet grass grow on the grave-mound.

2.6 It is made as big as his kinship

In PS 18.79.6, the well is described **as being extended** on the back (i.e., surface) of the sea.

PS 18.79.6		ŚS 18.4.36
<i>*utsam śatadhāram akṣitam</i>	()	<i>sahāsradhāram śatādhāram ūtsam ākṣitam</i>
<i>v_yacyamānam salilasya pṛṣṭhe </i>	11	<i>vyacyāmānam salilasya pṛṣṭhé </i>
<i>ūrjam duhānam anapasphurantam</i>	11	<i>ūrjam dūhānam ānapasphurantam</i>
<i>upāsatām sukṛtām yatra lokaḥ </i>	11	<i>úpāsate pítāraḥ svadhābhiḥ </i>

The well, hundred-streamed, inexhaustible, extended on the back (i.e. surface) of the sea, milking nourishment, not pushing [us] away – they shall wait upon it, where the world of the well-doers is.

Bhattacharya's (2011: 1391) emendation ⁺*utsam̐* for *vatsam̐* of the manuscripts (including JM4) is taken from the ŚS version.

The next stanza asks people referred to with *sajātāḥ* 'kinsmen', probably the bereaved family, to make the world for him **as big as his kinship** (*yāvatsabandhu*). Although the dictionaries give "a heap of wood (?)" (Monier-Williams 1899: 266a), the meaning of *kāsāmbu-* is unknown. Weber (1896: 285) vacillates between "Holzs-toss" ('woodpile') and "Knochenhaufen" ('pile of bones').

PS 18.79.7

idam̐ kasāmbu⁺cayanena⁺citam̐ 11
tat sajātā^aava paśyat^aeta | 11
martyo⁺amṛtyum amṛtatvam eti
tasmai lokam̐ kṛṇuta 11
yāvatsabandhu || ()

ŚS 18.4.37

idam̐ kāsāmbu cāyanena citam̐
tāt sajātā^aava paśyatéta |
mártyo^yám amṛtatvám eti
tásmāi gṛhān kṛṇuta
yāvatsābandhu ||

This *kasāmbu* is piled by piling. Kinsmen, look down upon it, come here! The mortal one goes to non-death, to immortality. For him make the world as big as his kinship!

In place of ⁺*cayanena* the manuscripts have *vayanena*. The emendation ⁺*citam̐* 'piled' is analogous to PS 18.77.4a (see above). And for the correction in pāda c see Bhattacharya (2011: xciii). As for b, Whitney (1905: 881) mentions that "the comm. says that either the relatives or all are to look at them as deposited in the hollow, while the manager recites the verse". Lanman adds that "the verse, with its *cayanena citam* and *gṛhān* [. . .] seems clearly to refer to **a grave-mound**; but the ritual use, with its trench, is in **flat contradiction** with such reference" (emphasis mine). This is in agreement with my interpretation of the imitation of the worlds (see §2.1. above) as referring to such a grave-mound. If we thus take the imitation of the worlds (§2.1) as referring to such a grave-mound, the PS text fits the descriptions as interpreted here so that there is no contradiction any longer.

2.7 The container has a front entrance in the west

Weber (1896: 287) writes that ŚS 18.4.44 (= PS 18.80.4) is addressed to the dead, be it on the pyre, be it in the tomb (" . . . sei es auf dem rogos, sei es in der Gruft"). It is possible to understand the word *āpara-* here as 'western', so that the dead fathers

would have entered the grave in the west. This approach seems attractive to me because the Andronovans oriented their graves to the west or south-west, i.e. the direction of the setting sun (see Kuz'mina 2007: 192).

PS 18.80.4

idaṁ pūrvam aparāṁ niyānaṁ 10
yena te pūrve pītarāḥ paretāḥ | 11
purogavā ye + abhiśāco asya 11
te tvā vahantu sukṛtām ulokam || 11

ŚS 18.4.44

idāṁ pūrvam āparāṁ niyānaṁ
yēnā te pūrve pītārah pāretāḥ |
purogavā ye abhiśāco asya
té tvā vahanti sukṛtām ulokām ||

This is the western front entrance, by which your former fathers went away. Those who are the forerunners, [who will be] his followers, they shall carry you to the world of the well-doers.

In pāda c, I read +*abhiśāco* as proposed by Bhattacharya (2011: 1393: *abhiśā*(*<śā*)*co*). The following stanza clearly refers to a burial (see Weber 1896: 287: “bei der Beerdigung, nicht bei der Verbrennung”):

PS 18.80.5

pṛthivīm tvā pṛthivyām ā veśayāmi 12^T
devo no dhātā †savitāt† āyuh | 11
+parāpuraitā vasuvid vo ast_v 11
adhāmṛtaiḥ pītarāḥ saṁ bhavātha || 11

ŚS 18.4.48 (a = ŚS 12.3.22a)

pṛthivīm tvā pṛthivyām ā veśayāmi
devó no dhātā prá tirāty āyuh |
pārāparaitā vasuvid vo astv
ádhā mṛtāḥ pitṛṣu saṁ bhavantu ||

You (singular), [who are] earth, I [now] make enter the earth. God Dhātā [and] Savitā . . . lifespan. The one going away earlier² shall be a wealth-finder for you (plural). Then, fathers, you will be together with the immortal ones.

Pāda b of the PS version (JM4 has *savitāyāyuh*) is difficult to make sense of and it is probably just a corruption of what is preserved in the ŚS parallel, i.e. the result of a perseveration from PS 18.4.2d (*asmai vo dhātā savitā suvāti*). In pāda c Bhattacharya (2011: 1394) prints *parāpurī*(*<rai*)*tā* (JM4 has *parāpuritā*). I tentatively adopt his suggestion +*parāpuraitā*, although the sense and morphology of this word remain vague. There is a good chance that *pārāparaitā* as found in the ŚS version is meant here, i.e. a nomen agentis with iterated preverb: ‘one who goes repeatedly away’ (see Tichy 1995: 79 and 265).

PS 18.80.9

evam barhīr asado medh_{yo} bhavan 12
prati tvā jānantu pitarāḥ paretam | 12^F
yathāparu tan_vvaṁ saṁ bharasva 11
gātrāṇi te brahmaṇā kalpayāmi || 11

ŚS 18.4.52

édám barhír asado médhyo 'bhūḥ
prāti tvā jānantu pitārah páretam |
**yathāparú tanvām sām bharasva*
gātrāṇi te bráhmaṇā kalpayāmi ||

In this way, you sat down at the barhis, becoming ready to be sacrificed. The fathers shall recognize you, as departed. Gather [your] body joint by joint! I mend your limbs with a sacred formula.

In this stanza, a new body is procured for the dead. The PS version confirms the old emendation *yathāparú ‘joint by joint’ for the reading yathāpurú shared by all ŚS manuscripts (see Whitney 1905: 885 with Lanman’s addendum).

2.8 It is Yama’s dungeon

In PS 18.81.2, the text says that certain people ‘scattered’ or ‘heaped up’ (√vap-) a mansion or a **dungeon** (*harmyá-*) for Yama and the speaker asserts that he now follows this example. PS *vapāmi is an emendation (= ŚS). Bhattacharya (2011: 1396) prints *vapāpāmi* (*vapāmi?*), while JM4 has *vapaṣāmi*.

PS 18.81.2

yathā yamāya harm_yyam 8
avapan pañca mānavāḥ | 8
*evā *vapāmi harm_yyam* 8
yathā me bhūrayo 'satha || 8

ŚS 18.4.55

yáthā yamáya harmyám
ávapan páñca mānaváh |
evá vapāmi harmyám
yáthā me bhúrayo 'sata ||

As the five [clans] of Manu heaped up a **dungeon** for Yama [before], so I heap up a dungeon, so that you (plural) be many for me.

Further evidence of a **fortified house** with good fences can be found in other Vedic texts as well. The hymn RV 10.15 addresses the forefathers (*pitārah*), who have gone to eternal life (1c *ásuṁ yá t̥yúḥ*). Crucially, two types of forefathers are distinguished. The first mentioned are the ones set down in the *rájas-*. Second come those who are now in *svrjānāsu vikṣú*.

RV 10.15.2 *idám piṭṭbhyo námo astv adyá ‘ ye pūrvāso yá úparāsa t̥yúḥ | yé párhive rájasy á níṣattā ‘ ye vā nūnám svrjānāsu vikṣú ||* ~ ŚS 18.1.46 *idám piṭṭbhyo námo astv adyá ‘ yé pūrvāso yé aparāsa t̥yúḥ | yé párhive rájasy á níṣattā ‘ yé vā nūnám svrjānāsu dikṣú ||*

PS 18.61.6 (= PS 2.30.3) *idaṃ pitṛbhyo namo astv adya 'ye purvāso ye 'parāsaḥ pareyuh | ye pāṛthive rājasy ā 'niṣattā 'ye vā nūnaṃ suvrjanāsu dikṣu* || 'Let this homage be for the fathers today, those who have gone previously, those who have gone later, those who have been seated here in the earthly darkness, or who are now in mounds² of good territory.'

The places where the forefathers are buried are described in the PS and ŚS versions using the locative *dikṣú* instead of RV *vikṣú*. PS ⁺*niṣattā* is an emendation for Odisha *niṣaktā*, Kashmir *niṣatā* (see Zehnder 1999: 85). Jamison & Brereton (2014: 1393) translate the RV version as follows: "Let this homage here today be for the forefathers – those who went previously, those who went later, those who are seated here in the earthly realm, or **who are now among the clans of good community**".

However, the noun phrase *pāṛthive rājasi* may refer to the earthly 'dust, darkness', which is one of the meanings of *rājas-* n. (see Mayrhofer 1996: 426). In the context of a funeral, this seems to refer to a grave. The burial is contrasted with *ye vā nūnaṃ suvrjanāsu dikṣu*. I understand *svrjana-* as 'of good territory' in the sense of 'well-enclosed, well-fenced' (the etymology points to 'fence, enclose', see Mayrhofer 1996: 573). The AV text makes a contrast in line cd between *yé pāṛthive rājasy ā 'niṣattā* vs. *yé vā nūnaṃ suvrjanāsu dikṣú*, that is, between the ones buried in the *rājas-* and those who were buried, but presumably not *regularly* buried. This contrast is indicated by the particle *vā* 'or else'. Whereas the RV has *vikṣú*, both AV recensions seem to have *dikṣú*.¹⁰ We can hypothesize that there were two types of burials (i.e. regular burials in the earth and outstanding burials in *svrjanāsu dikṣu*) and there were two ways to bury the dead in Rigvedic and Atharvavedic times, or before. Some were put into a grave (after some, but not all, of their body parts were burnt), while the more important people received special treatment (were buried in a grave-mound). Cf. Oberlies (1998: 300 with fn. 727 and §1.6.3.6) on different forms of burial rites practised side by side.

¹⁰ In my interpretation, *dikṣú* need not necessarily belong to *dís-* f. 'direction, region', but may, alternatively, be interpreted as the locative plural of the otherwise unattested root noun *dīh-* f. 'mound' (German 'Aufschüttung, Wall'; from PIE **d^hejǵh-* 'smear, form, build', see Mayrhofer 1992, 746), similar in meaning to RV 1.51.9d *saṃ-dīh-* f. 'wall'. One expects older *dikṣú* and younger **dhikṣú* (cf. the *sa-* aorist JB 3.121 *adhikṣan*). The noun phrase *svrjanāsu dikṣú* 'well-territoried *dīhas*' could then, perhaps, refer to such a mound the earth of which is surrounded by good walls and is well-marked-out, i.e. a tumulus grave with its surrounding territory (wall, fence). The RV, as well as Kashmirian PS manuscript (at PS 2.30.3c) and one ŚS manuscript (see Whitney 1905: 826) have *vikṣú* instead of *dikṣú*, which can be understood as 'among the clans, among the settlements'.

2.9 The fatherly roads are deep

In the next passage, the fathers' roads are described as deep.

PS 18.81.8

ā yāta pitarah somyāso 10
gambhīrebhiḥ pathibhiḥ pitryāṇaiḥ | 11
prajāṃ asmabhyam dadhato rayim ca 11
dirghāyutvāya śataśāradāya || 11

ŚS 18.4.62

ā yāta pitarah somyāso
gambhīrāiḥ pathibhiḥ pitryāṇaiḥ |
āyur asmābhyam dādhatāḥ prajāṃ ca
rāyās ca poṣair abhī naḥ sacadhvam ||

Come here, fathers, soma-loving ones, by deep fatherly roads, supplying us with progeny and richness, [in order to attain] longevity, a hundred autumns.

This stanza conforms to my hypothesis that the most important dead, before they reach their position in the sky, are locked up in a mound under a sky-stone, with the mound functioning as a well (spring, fountain) that can be milked for the descendants before the man comes out as celestial sons after sixty autumns. Can we find more about the fathers' roads and afterlife? The visions of the Vedic poets include the mythical idea that, like their fathers, they want to become *divās putrāḥ* 'sons of heaven':

RV 4.2.15 *ādḥā mātūr uśasaḥ saptā viprā jāyemahi prathamā vedhāso nṛṇ* | *divās putrā āngiraso bhavemādriṃ rujema dhanīnaṃ śucāntaḥ* || 'So then, as the seven first poets, trembling [in inspiration], **may we be born** from mother Dawn, **as [to] the ritual-arranging men. May we become sons of heaven**, Aṅgirasas. **May we break the stone** that holds the prize, as we blaze.' RV 4.2.16 *ādḥā yāthā naḥ pitārah pārāsaḥ* ' *pratnāso agna ṛtām āsuśānāḥ* | *śúcīd ayan dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ* ' *kṣāmā bhindānto aruṇīr āpa vran* || "Then **like our further forefathers of old**, panting over the truth, o Agni, those reciting solemn speech (now) will come to the blazing (udder of sacrifice [= Vala]), to visionary power. **Splitting (heaven and) earth, they (will) unclothe the ruddy (cows [= dawns])**" (translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 560).

The relevant parts of RV 4.2.15 and 16 are highlighted here in bold type. It is clear from what is described in the text that the celestial sons are poetically envisioned as the ones who are splitting up (the darkness, *tāmas-*) into heaven and earth. They strive to break the stone-sky (*ādriṃ rujema*) in order to uncover the lights of the dawns (the daughters of heaven) like the sun-god (*sūrya-*) regularly does, who is made to dispel the darkness (see e.g. RV 4.13.3ab).

RV 4.2.16a and d: *ādḥā yāthā naḥ pitārah* . . . *kṣāmā bhindānto aruṇīr āpa vran* thus reveals that the forefathers are also splitting up the darkness. RV 4.2.15b says that the reciters strive to follow their model by letting themselves be born as (and

to) those men that split up the darkness before. The fathers thus split up the sky as if they were Indra and as if the sky was Vala, thereby opening up the sky for the ruddy ones (= the dawnlights). We can conclude that **the dead person, trapped in the well**, will finally follow their model and do the same thing. The stanza RV 4.2.16 is also found at VSM 19.69 (= VSK 21.1.69) and TS 2.6.12.4, as exact parallels. The AV has the following versions, which I contrast again:

PS 18.70.8

adhā yathā naḥ pitarāḥ parāsaḥ 11
pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ | 11
śucid ayan †dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ 11
kṣāmā bhindanto aruṇīr apa †vran || 11

ŚS 18.3.21

ādḥā yáthā naḥ pitáraḥ párasaḥ
pratnāso agna ṛtám āśaśānāḥ |
śucid ayan dīdhyata ukthaśāsaḥ
kṣāmā bhindánto aruṇīr ápa vran ||

So then **as our distant fathers**, the ones that were there before, O Agni, who have blown on to here (*ā + śvas-*) the cosmic-ritual order, they (shall) go truly gleamingly (viz. as stars in the sky), reciting the vision, **splitting up the two grounds** (= heaven and earth), they (shall) uncover the ruddy ones.

In c, Bhattacharya (2011: 1370) emends the readings Ja *dīdhitim* and Mā *tīdhitam* to *†dīdhitim*. In d, he prints *bruvan*, which I emend to *†vran* following the ŚS version. Should we, perhaps, also emend ŚS *āśaśānāḥ* to *āśuṣāṇāḥ* and *dīdhyataḥ* to *†dīdhitim* (= PS, RV)? Or is there a different meaning in these deviations? I must leave this issue aside here. Jamison (Jamison & Brereton 2014ff. at RV 4.1.13) translates the phrase *ṛtám āśuṣāṇāḥ* with “panting over the truth” and suggests that it expresses the energy and effort of the Aṅgirasas, but to my mind it can describe the way the ancient visionary poets blew on the cosmic order (like a fire) and thereby established the order of the ritual by their visionary desire and libido, as described in the hymn RV 10.129. I also think that *dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ* can be understood as ‘reciting the vision’. For a possible interpretation of the form *ayan* as injunctive see Jamison & Brereton (2014ff. at RV 4.2.16). As I discuss in detail in Pooth (2019), there are stems like *āya-* and *śāya-* that cannot solely be analyzed as subjunctives, but have a status in between subjunctive and present injunctive forms of the first present class. Jamison suggests that we should understand the dual as elliptic: “splitting (heaven and) earth”. She also says: “. . . would refer to the visual experience of dawn, when the appearance of the dawn light at the horizon seems to split sky from earth, allowing the light to flood in through the resulting slit” (Jamison & Brereton 2014ff. at RV 4.2.16). In my interpretation, this is what would also be the description of the dead man leaving his grave by the eastern exit, as if going through the slit resulting from the splitting of the darkness into the open space facing the sun, moving like the rising sun. Thus, RV 4.2.15d *kṣāmā bhindantaḥ* ‘splitting (it)

in two earths, splitting the two earths' is referring to the same mythical idea as RV 4.13.3a *támase vip̄r̄ce* 'for dividing the darkness'. By splitting the darkness in order to provide the spheres/worlds, like Sūrya, the forefathers thus 'uncover the ruddy ones (sc. the dawns)' (*aruṅ̄ír āpa vran*). To conclude, the sons of heaven, the forefathers who have become celestial sons, are envisioned as splitting up the earth to uncover (and release) the daughter(s) of heaven, that is, the dawns (as Sūrya regularly does, and as Indra did to the Vala). It follows from this mythical idea that this is the reason why the forefathers are also envisioned as sitting in the womb or lap of the dawns (*ásināso aruṣ̄ínām upásthe*). This is explicitly described at RV 10.15.7:

RV 10.15.7 *ásināso aruṅ̄ínām upásthe rayīm dhatta dāsúṣe mártvyāya | putrébhyah̄ pitaras táśya vásvaḥ prá yachata tá ihórjaṁ dadhāta* || 'Sitting in the lap of the ruddy ones, grant wealth to the pious mortal! Hand over [some] of that wealth to your sons, fathers, grant [us] power here!'

We can interpret this as follows. The sun is envisioned as growing out of the lap of the dawns and thus the ruddy ones (the ruddy cows) like Agni grows out of the lap of the dawns and out of the lap of his two mothers (i.e. two pieces of fire wood). RV 10.15.11 refers to the forefathers who were burnt (that is, *ágniṣvāt̄tāḥ* 'sweetened by the fire').

RV 10.15.11 *ágniṣvāt̄tāḥ pitara ehá gachata sádahsadaḥ sadata supranítayaḥ | attá havīm̄ṣi práyatāni barhíśy áthā rayīm sárvaiviraṁ dadhātana* || 'Sweetened by the fire, fathers, come here. Sit in each of your own seats, you of good guidance. Eat the oblations set forth on the ritual grass. Then grant wealth that includes all men!'

According to the context, the (dead) forefathers are sitting (i.e. are buried) on something reddish. Another hypothesis that immediately comes to mind when looking at the archeological evidence is the following. It is at least possible that this mythical idea of sitting in the womb or lap of the dawns is an echo of an old funeral ritual of the past. I suggest that we connect it to the use of something **actually reddish** at the burial performance – not just as a spoken textual metaphor. From the perspective of the archeological evidence, the mythical picture of the dead forefather's sitting on the ruddy ones might be a relic of the strewing of **reddish ochre** within the burial ritual. However, this does not necessarily imply that the ochre was also used later. It is only implied that the picture of the fathers "sitting in the lap of the dawns" might have something to do with this matter on a diachronic mythological and diachronic metaphorical level. According to the metaphorical visions of the Vedic poets described above, this sitting in the womb or lap of the dawns must have enabled the dead forefathers to split up the earth (as the dawns do and as Sūrya does, and as Indra did) to prolong their life to a 'hundred autumns' and to become sons of heaven (*divás putráḥ*). This idea is further strengthened by the fact

that the dawn is named as ‘prolonging our life’, for example, at RV 7.77.5b: *úṣo devi pratiránti na áyuh* ‘O Uṣas, O goddess, prolonging our life’. Parallels are ‘the Uṣas brings new life’ at RV 7.80.2, ‘the Uṣas brings sun’ at RV 5.80.1, ‘the Uṣas lets us see the sunlight’ at RV 7.81.4, etc. The strewing of reddish ochre, therefore, might have symbolized the fires of the dawn in prehistoric times, which enable and/or assist the dead person to split up the earth again and go to eternal life. In other words, the strewing of reddish ochre once – not necessarily at the time of the composition of the text (as said), but before that period – symbolized preservation of life or fulfillment, and the fixing, adjustment and repairing of the dead body as a celestial son. Many researchers have similarly emphasized the symbolic meanings of the colour red, as expressed in the context of burial. The use of red ochre in burials has related to the concept of death and to the preservation of the energy of life, providing magical force for the route to the world beyond (see Bower 2003: 277, Vianello 2004). In this context, PS 18.76.3cd is of special interest, not only because pāda c occurs in the PS only, but also because the dead is addressed to step on the surface of the ruddy one. The *bradhñasya viṣṭāp-* must be Agni’s surface and at the same time the one of the lights of the dawn.

PS 18.76.3cd

bradhñasya viṣṭapy adhi vi kramasva 11
yatrādityā amṛtam ikṣayanti || 11

Step onto the surface of the ruddy one to where the Ādityas make the immortal see (i.e. see the sun).

2.10 The fathers are coming again in a month

The following stanza is reminiscent of the re-opening of a grave after a month:

PS 18.81.9

parā yāta pitarah somyāso 11
gambhīrebhiḥ pathibhiḥ pitryāṇaiḥ | 11
adhā māsi punar ā yāta no gṛhaṁ 12
*havir *attum suprajasaḥ savīrāḥ* || 11

ŚS 18.4.63

parā yāta pitarah somyāso
gambhīrāiḥ pathibhiḥ pūryāṇaiḥ |
adhā māsi pūnar ā yāta no gṛhān
havir attum suprajasaḥ suvīrāḥ ||

Go away, fathers, Soma-loving, by deep roads traveled by [your] fathers! **Then, in a month, come to our house again** in order to consume the libation, with good progeny, all men together!

The house is in the singular in the PS (*gṛham*), whereas the ŚS parallel has the plural *gṛhān*. If we assume that a mound is being spoken of here, a fortified house as it were, the singular makes perfect sense. At the beginning of pāda d manuscripts Ja and JM4 have *haviṛatnaṃ*, whereas Bhattacharya (2011: 1397) edits *haviṛannaṃ*, apparently following Mā. One might, perhaps, think of a conjecture **haviṛatnaṃ* (i.e. *haviḥ-ratna-* in sandhi). However, ‘libation-treasure’ hardly makes sense, and it is more likely that the PS tradition suffered a corruption of the expression of purpose *āttum* ‘in order to eat’ that is found in the ŚS version. As Whitney (1905: 889) notes, many ŚS manuscripts also have difficulty over this word, reading *annum*, *atnum*, *antum* and the like instead. It is tempting to understand this stanza as a description of relatives returning to the grave a month after the burial.¹¹ The next PS stanza describes the fathers as going away again. Pāda d is not found in the ŚS and RV (RV 1.82.2) parallels.

PS 18.81.10		ŚS 18.4.61
<i>akṣann amīmadant_a-</i>	7	<i>ākṣann amīmadanta hy</i>
<i>-āva priyā adhūṣata </i>	8	<i>āva priyāñ adhūṣata </i>
<i>astoṣata svabhānavaḥ</i>	8	<i>āstoṣata svābhānavo</i>
<i>pareta pītaro gṛhān </i>	8	<i>vīprā yāviṣṭhā īmahe </i>

They have eaten, they have exhilarated themselves, they have shaken off their dear ones. The self-radiant ones have been praised. **Go away**, fathers, [back] **to the** (i.e. your) **houses!**

The order of the fathers’ movements is PS 18.81.8a *ā yāta pītaraḥ* (= ŚS 18.4.62a), followed by PS 18.81.9a *parā yāta pītaraḥ* (= ŚS 18.4.63a). Thus, they shall come first, then they shall go and come again, and finally they shall return to their houses/homes. This order of the fathers’ appearances is thus different from the ŚS text, where they shall only come (ŚS 18.4.62a) and go away (ŚS 18.4.63a). My interpretation of this difference is that the relatives return to the mound after a month in the PS ceremony, described in the PS text by the returning of the fathers after a month. The PS text may thus reveal a reopening of the grave after a month, whereas there

¹¹ Compare in this context the burial practices of the Cemetery H culture, NW India, 1900–1300 BC: “Almost all of the graves *had been re-opened shortly after burial*, as demonstrated by the permanence of some of the weakest skeletal joints in burials that had been re-opened to place pots on the hands and knees of the deceased . . . or to remove and displace, to various degrees, the bones . . . It is now clear that many ceramic assemblages, previously mapped as synchronous deposits, are not necessarily such and probably do not simply reflect the original grave goods, but represent a palimpsest of offerings and removals *as parts of longer funerary cycles*, often including exhumation” (Vidale & Micheli 2017: 396, italics mine).

is nothing analogous in the ŚS text, where the coming and going of the fathers does not describe any returning to the grave. Notably, in the PS stanza following the fathers' part, the limbs that might have been left (forgotten) are made to **enter again**, in contrast to the ŚS text, where the speaker makes them swell (i.e. repairs them) instead:

PS 18.82.1

yad vo agnir ajahād ekam aṅgam 11
piṭṛlokaṃ gamayaṃ jātavedāḥ | 11
etad va etat punar ā veśayāmi 12^T
sāṅgāḥ sarve pītarō mādayadhvam || 11

ŚS 18.4.64

yād vo agnir ājahād ékam aṅgam
piṭṛlokaṃ gamayaṃ jātavedāḥ |
tād va etát pūnar ā pyāyayāmi
sāṅgāḥ svargé pitāro mādayadhvam ||

The one limb of you that Agni Jātavedas left when making you go to the fathers' world, that same [limb] **I make enter** again for you. Exhilarated yourselves, fathers, all of you, with your limbs intact!

Bhattacharya (2011: 1398) prints **tad* at the beginning of pāda c, adopting the metrically impeccable ŚS variant. However, the manuscripts (Ja, Mā, JM4) read *etad* here. I would argue that the use of different verbs in PS (*ā veśayāmi*) vs. ŚS (*ā pyāyayāmi*) is not accidental. When seen from the Kurgan perspective outlined here, the forgotten limb **is made to enter** the mound, whereas it does not enter a mound in the ŚS parallel.

2.11 Cover him, O Earth

Next comes the only stanza of the 13th anuvāka with just three pādas. The earth is now invoked to cover the dead man. The unique three-pāda pattern suggests that this stanza marks a special moment in the funeral ceremony. I think this might be the moment the dead man is locked in.

PS 18.82.2

asau hā iha te manaḥ | 8
kaputsalam iva jāmayo 8
abhy enaṃ bhūma ūṛṇuhi || 8

ŚS 18.4.66

+āsau há ihá te mánaḥ |
kákutsalam iva jāmayāḥ
abhy ènaṃ bhūma ūṛṇuhi ||

Hey you, the one beyond, your mind is here. Like the siblings [cover] the *kaputsalam*, **cover him, O Earth!**

The emendation to the vocative ŚS ⁺*ásau* (for *asáu* of all manuscripts) is already suggested by Sāyaṇa (*pretasya sambodhanam*). It could also be understood as placeholder for a name (‘O N.N.’; see PS 18.79.3a above). The meanings of the word *kaputsala-* ~ *kapūcchala-* n. found in the dictionaries are “tuft of hair on the hind part of the head (hanging down like a tail)” and “the fore-part of a sacrificial ladle” (Monier-Williams 1899, 251b). A possible etymological analysis (*ka-pūcchala-*) would result in ‘awful (or awesome) little tail’ (see Mayrhofer 1992: 302). What this means in the present simile and how it relates to *kákutsalam* of the ŚS version is not immediately apparent.¹²

2.12 Be calm, don’t be afraid in this cowshed

In the PS version, three stanzas follow which are also found in the Kauśikasūtra with some variations (see Griffiths 2004: 80–81, who provides an edition of PS 18.82.3–5). Here, the dead fathers are addressed again. They are told not to be afraid in this cowshed.

PS 18.82.3 = KauśS 89.12		(ŚS 7.60.1d)
<i>ramadhvaṃ mā ⁺bibhītanā-</i>	8	<i>rámadhvam má bibhīta mát </i>
<i>-asmin goṣṭhe karīṣiṇaḥ </i>	8	
<i>ūrjaṃ dadhānāḥ sukṛtaḥ śucivratā</i>	12	
<i>grhā jīvanta upa vaḥ sadema </i>	11	

Be calm, don’t be afraid, full of dung in this cowshed. Giving nourishment, well-doers, having pure commandments, . . . (*grhā* or *grhāḥ*) alive may we reverently approach you.

The form *grhā* (i.e. *grhā* or *grhāḥ*) in pāda d is difficult to interpret in the present context, and, since it is also found in the Kauśikasūtra, it cannot be dismissed easily as a recent error of transmission (cf. e.g. PS 19.52.9c *jyog jīvanta upa tvā sadema*). If it is nominative plural (*grhāḥ*), one could refer to RV 10.119.13a: *grhó yāmy áramkṛtaḥ* “As a household that is properly equipped, I journey . . .” (translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1590). Or is it vocative: ‘O houses’? Or one might consider

¹² If *kaputsalam* refers to the hollow part of a sacrificial spoon, the comparison might run as follows: The waters and the milk (i.e. the siblings) cover the hollow of the spoon like the earth covers the hollow of the burial mound.

that *grhá-* is a neuter noun here (see e.g. AVParís. 55.6.3 *grhāṇi*), which would result in ‘may we . . . approach your houses’.

In my tentative interpretation, the cowshed might be identified as the mound, whose inside can be truly terrifying, because it is Yama’s dungeon.¹³ The reciter must thus pacify the relatives going down again by saying: “don’t be afraid”. Here, the dead is identified as a milch cow again (as at PS 18.79.2 above) that is now in her cowshed (that is, his grave-mound).

2.13 The dead man is like Trita trapped in the well

The fact that stanza RV 1.105.1 serves as the conclusion of the AV funeral hymns is judged by Whitney (1905: 894) to be very obscure. I think that my interpretation can solve this mystery.

PS 18.82.10		ŚS 18.4.89
<i>candramā aps_uv antar ā</i>	8	<i>candrāmā aps_uv antár ā</i>
<i>suparṇo dhāvate divi </i>	8	<i>suparṇó dhāvate diví </i>
<i>na vo hirāṇyanemayaḥ</i>	8	<i>ná vo hirāṇyanemayaḥ</i>
<i>padāṁ vindanti vidyuto</i>	8	<i>padāṁ vindanti vidyuto</i>
<i>vittāṁ me asya rodasī </i>	8	<i>vittāṁ me asyá rodasī </i>

The moon runs among the waters, the eagle [runs] in the sky. Don’t they (i.e., the poets) find your track, O golden-rimmed lightning bolts? Be cognizant of this of mine, O world-halves!

According to Sāyaṇa (at RV 1.105.1 and at ŚS 18.4.89), this stanza belongs to the myth of the Ṛṣis Ekata, Dvita and Trita, who found a well (or tank: *kūpa-*).¹⁴ Trita, drawing water, was pushed down by the other two, **and he was trapped in the well**, where he composed a hymn to the gods, and miraculously managed to prepare the sacrificial soma (see RV 9.34.4). In this myth, Trita, when locked in the well, begs aid from the gods. Thus, in this final stanza of PS 18 (and of ŚS 18), we may interpret

¹³ This view does not necessarily presuppose that *goṣṭhá-* must denote a closed cowshed, but not an open, unroofed pen (as one would normally assume for Vedic times), because the actual form of the cowshed is irrelevant for such a poetic metaphor. The relevant part of the metaphor is that it is the place where the cow or the cows are locked in.

¹⁴ For a detailed discussion of this story see Bigger (1994).

the well described in the funeral ritual as having something to do with a person being trapped in a well before he miraculously manages to become a celestial son. When seen from the perspective of a burial mound, described as a well, where the dead person is trapped, there is a straightforward explanation. Thus, in the concluding verse of the funeral chants of the PS, we can finally take the well that is described in the PS text (see §2.4. above) as the depth of the earth, where the dead man is trapped as if he was Trita fallen into the well. I think that this can confirm the idea that the dead person was imprisoned in Yama's dungeon, which was a fortified house and thus a burial mound, as claimed here. In my interpretation, the poet finally proudly states that he is known in both world-halves, earth and sky, for finding the path to the gods for the dead.

3 Conclusions

The presented textual evidence suggests that the 13th anuvāka of PS 18 describes a funeral ceremony with partial cremation preceding the burial of a corpse of a very important man. His body is not completely burnt, rather only parts of it. And finally, he is buried in order to protect him from complete dissolution. We have seen that complete cremation was envisioned as leading to complete dissolution and would prevent the repairing (mending) of the body on its way to becoming a son of the sky. The cumulative evidence can be read as describing this practice embedded in the king's funeral ceremony. If the Paippalādins were royal priests,¹⁵ this important corpse must be the dead king himself (see §2.5. above). I consider it possible that the textual differences between the PS and ŚS versions are partly due to changes or different approaches in the funerary ritual of the two Atharvavedic śākhās, especially when it comes to cremation with or without burial and a final dispersal of the bone-relics. When interpreted from the perspective of these textual differences, the Śaunakins did not participate in the building of a burial mound and the burial ceremony for a dead king, as are the contents of the respective funeral chants of the Paippalādins (in the interpretation given here). Whether the PS passages reflect an ancient tradition is a thrilling question and bears quite important implications.¹⁶ The text may either describe an ancient ceremony that was still being practiced by the Paippalādins – or their text only preserves what

15 See Kulke & Rothermund (2004: 5): “There is much evidence in ancient texts that there were two ideal types of Brahmins in those days, the royal priest or advisor (*rajpurohit*, *rajguru*) and the sage (*rishi*) who lived in the forest and shared his wisdom only with those who asked for it.”

16 On early burial sites and *stūpas* cf., e.g., Schopen (1996).

their forefathers once did in the distant past. If it is true that the PS reflects an ancient tradition, the most important forefathers of the Vedic poets and their pre-historic kings were buried in outstanding mounds that were imitations of the universe. However, I must leave the final judgement on these fascinating questions to future research.

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Tiziana Pontillo

What Does the *pāñcaudana- ajá-* Represent in the *Śaunakīya-* and *Paippalāda-Saṁhitās*? A Tentative Reading through the Lens of *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* II 53–54

Abstract: The phrase *pāñcaudana- ajá-* mentioned in ŚS IV 14 and IX 5 and PS III 38, VIII 19, XVI 97–100 denotes a billy-goat offered with five portions of mashed rice, in the context of a sacrifice aimed at gaining access to heaven. Nonetheless, several details, such as the syntagms *jyōtis tr̥tīya* in ŚS IX 5.11 and PS XVI 97.8 or *aparimita- yajña-* in ŚS IX 5.22 and PS XVI 99.8, refer to a permanent deathless state, which surpasses the impermanence of the stay in heaven commonly obtained by means of a sacrifice performed with the help of an officiant priest.

On the basis of a lexically grounded comparison with other Vedic sources, I postulate that this billy-goat might have originally represented the psychophysical self with its five sense organs, which has to merge the body entirely made of light, arisen from the sacrifices performed during one's life and stored in heaven, until the death of the sacrificer. In particular, a later, definitely less poetic but more explicit and systematic version of this eschatological theory seems to be taught in JB II 53–54 by the controversial figure of Keśin Dār̥bhya. It is the doctrine of the so-called “non-decay of what is granted by sacrifices” (*iṣṭapūrtá*), in which the individual faculties, offered during the sacrifice instead of other oblations, can reach the relevant gods (and the relevant divine worlds) and finally be “redeemed”, so that the sacrificer is able to permanently enjoy merit in heaven.

0 Premise

The present article is focused on a single phrase selected from a few dozen Atharvaveda verses, but it stems from the more general purpose of testing single passages or whole hymns of this Saṁhitā in order to ascertain whether they could be read as soteriological in intent. Scholars have often preferred to focus on the ritual side of

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most Atharvaveda hymns, e.g. emphasising how “[o]ur general experience with the Atharva Veda leads us to expect in the first instance an exorcistic purpose, a ‘blessing’ or a ‘curse,’ in any composition found in it.”¹ Even the recent reinterpretation of the late inclusion of the Atharvaveda in the Vedic Canon as a consequence of the complex and successful schedule of Brahmins “reinventing themselves” according to Bronkhorst’s hypothesis (2016) relies on the importance of the “magical formulas” collected in this work. In fact these formulas “made it possible for Brahmins to exert their powers even in hostile situations, in circumstances where the support of the ruling classes was not guaranteed or worse” (Bronkhorst 2016: 225). However, as Edgerton already noticed (1920: 118), this attitude among scholars depends on the importance the renowned *Kauśikasūtras* assumed in the later Atharvavedic tradition. Even if the Atharvaveda contains numerous texts dedicated to ritual actions aimed at achieving specific worldly goals, this should not prevent us from appreciating their relevant soteriological contents.²

For instance, it is quite possible that the *pariyāya-sūkta* ŚS VIII 10 which is explicitly devoted to praising the well-known Vedic metre consisting of four *pādas* of ten syllables each called *virāj*, actually took the social dimension of the main actors in sacrifices into account. This dimension was considered within a heroic perspective rather than being simply related to this concrete metre and more generally to the actual events on the ritual scene. In fact, *virāj* is also a noun denoting pre-eminence, and often the highest rank for a man (that is for the leader), so that the leader’s prestige, more than the homonymous metre, might have actually moved up and down within the sacrificial arena, as Candotti, Neri & Pontillo (2020: 142–143) advanced in their comment on ŚS VIII 10.4.³

This is definitely not the first time that the possible importance of soteriological contents of the Atharvaveda in their early conception has been taken into account: already at the beginning of the last century, Paul Deussen (1906: 209)⁴ remarked on the need for a monographic study specifically dedicated to Atharvaveda’s speculative viewpoints, and Edgerton (1920: 117) maintained: “It is probably true that the Atharvaveda contains more matter which can be called ‘philosophic’ than any

1 Edgerton 1920: 118.

2 With an intriguing hypothesis, only partly inspired by Gonda (1975: 292), Frank Köhler argues conversely in a forthcoming article that “these speculations should function as a theoretical foundation” for the main contents of the Atharvaveda texts, i.e. the spells. Many thanks to F. Köhler for allowing me to read a preliminary version of this article.

3 *sód akrāmat sá dakṣiṇāgnau ny ākrāmat | yajñārto dakṣiṇīyo vāsateyo bhavati yá evāṃ véda |* “She (i.e. the *virāj*) ascended; she descended into the southern fire: he who is aware of this becomes fit for worship, fit for the *dákṣiṇā*, fit for a secure position.”

4 “Um ihres absonderlichen Charakters willen verdienen sie eine monographische Behandlung.”

other Saṁhitā. Certainly it contains a great deal more of such matter than the Rig Veda.” We know in fact that, on the one hand, some presumably solemn theological hymns, e.g. “the noble hymn to Varuṇa (IV 16)”, turn out instead to be “a witchcraft charm, betraying its final purpose in the gross curse at the end – in *cauda venenum*” (Bloomfield 1899: 87).⁵ On the other hand, it is plausible that some hymns considered to be charms might also have been based on some more complex concepts of a soteriological nature which were founded on a sapiential and heroic tradition and overtly explained in other passages in the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā or elsewhere. Shende (1985: 190) also suggested that the Atharvavedic ritual performances had a double purpose, the second of which is indisputably grounded in soteriology: “Not only did the Atharvaṇic priests employ sacrifice for the sake of magic to secure worldly ends, but also they employed it for securing the heaven.”⁶ A promise of some extremely practical reward, such as wealth and success in daily life, is commonly found at the end of most Atharvaveda hymns, but let us not forget that this reward is exclusively obtained by the ‘initiate’ who possesses a given knowledge (*yo evaṁ veda*).

Now, one might wonder what the original primary purpose of the Atharvaveda was, i.e. whether the soteriological doctrines derived secondarily from some incidental reflections on concrete ritual details or if conversely this Saṁhitā tradition was only later associated with ritual performances.⁷ With regard to the Vaitānasūtras, Edgerton (1929: 157) wrote that “the application of most of Atharvaveda hymns to the Śrauta sphere was entirely a secondary matter”. Today, if we accept the very interesting perspective recently outlined by Geslani (2018), namely that the king’s legitimisation and the cyclic empowerment ceremonies of his reign are at the core of the Atharvaveda texts, we could still go a step further and assume that the expressly ritual garb in which the Atharvaveda tradition has been handed

5 ŚS IV 16.7: *śatēna pāsair abhī dhehi varuṇainaṁ mā te mocy anṛtavān nṛcaḥṣaḥ | āstāṁ jālmā udāraṁ śraṁśayitvā kōśa ivābandhāḥ parikṛtyāmānaḥ* | “With a hundred fetters, O Varuṇa, subdue him, let not the speaker of untruth escape you, o men-watcher! Let the villain sit letting his belly fall [apart], like a hoopless vessel, being cut round about.” (tr. Whitney & Lanman 1905 vol. 1: 178, slightly modified: “subdue him” instead of “do thou bridle him”; “you” instead of “thee”).

6 This is in line with Bloomfield (1899: 87), who considers that “Every animal offered as *dakṣiṇā* represents both itself and a cosmic power of the first rank: the gift of a goat, *aja* introduces Aja Ekapād with his mystic punning attribute [. . .].”

7 Cf. Edgerton (1920: 122): “But now arises the question, what do we mean by ‘secondary’ employment? Do we mean that the ritualists have lost the thread of true Atharvan tradition, and use these hymns in a way different from that intended by their Atharvan compilers? [. . .] Even when to our minds a hymn seems to deal purely with ‘higher thought’, can we be sure that lower or more practical motives were absent from the mind of its original composer, not to speak of him who included it in the Atharvan collection?”

down to us might have been a consequence of a later reworking of the Atharvaveda literature. We could thus restore a position once expressed by Gonda (see in particular 1965: 18) for whom the time when complex Vedic sacrifices were dramatically replaced by simple *dakṣiṇās* depicted as Savayajñas (i.e. by the performance of mere symbolic offerings of the sacrifice of Soma) only came about during the Kauśikasūtra phase.⁸

Nevertheless we could reinterpret this supposed substitution and simplification of ritual actions not as something that came out of the blue, but rather as a re-emergence from the past of an even earlier tradition, namely that of the *sattra*-culture, as reconstructed by Falk (1985; 1986: 37–40). Among the distinctive features of the *sattra* I especially refer to the lack of separation between the role of officiant and patron in the sacrificial arena and to the consequent absence of a genuine “priestly gift” (*dakṣiṇā*). Indeed Falk points out that the sacrificers present themselves, i.e. their *ātman*, as *dakṣiṇā*, as explained in TS 7,4.9 and KB 15,1.23–26, and argues that a heroic self-immolation might have been part of the early *sattra*.⁹ The assumed simplification of the ritual actions as a revival of an ancient tradition probably occurred only after the Atharvaveda branch had acquired an obvious degree of centrality that would previously have been inconceivable in view of the long period it spent in the margins of orthodoxy. Sacrifices in such a simplified context were presumably basic but competitive. What mattered most was their meaning rather than the highly technical performance and hieratic ritualism of the sacrificial actions, found instead in the Yajurveda and the Kalpasūtras. And if this reconstructive hypothesis were correct, then we might also understand why the so-called *dakṣiṇā*- or *sava*-hymns appear to originally be the most “notable *medium*” for what Bloomfield (1899: 86–87) defined as the Atharvaveda’s “speculation”,¹⁰ precisely because more attention was paid to the meaning of ceremonies than to their technical details. My proposal is that the Atharvavedic ritual perfor-

⁸ “In the first place the whole procedure is simplified. They can be performed by an average man. Secondly, they are equally effective. They are thus superior to the Vedic sacrifices such as Agnistoma etc. [. . .] styled as ‘savās’ perhaps because they are symbolical of the Soma sacrifice.” (Shende 1985: 190). See Gonda (1965: 19) on Atharvavedic sources in general: “It is, if I am not mistaken, sometimes – or, at first sight – very difficult to make out whether the victims or objects regarded as ‘victims’ mentioned in these rites are primarily presented as ‘offerings’ or as ‘gifts’.”

⁹ As for a study of the Vedic phrase *ātmādakṣiṇam sattrām*, see Pontillo 2023.

¹⁰ See also the following statement (Bloomfield 1899: 86): “The presence in the Atharvaveda of a considerable number of cosmogonic-theosophic hymns, marking in a way the extreme distance from the ordinary witchcraft-formula, is not readily explained. The common village-practitioner is not likely to have had much use for them, and even the *purōhita* in his ordinary offices [. . .]. But it would be a mistake to suppose that theosophic speculation is foreign to the Atharvan, and inorganic; or that all hymns of this sort are loosely attached to the main body of its compositions.

mances which are often nothing more than simple offerings in the *Kauśikasūtras*¹¹ might have been accompanied by reflection on the attainable permanent human immortality that is the core of some Atharvaveda hymns and is found later in Sāmavedic Brahmanas and in early Upaniṣads. Bearing in mind this proposal, the present paper aims to inquire into the nature of the imagery proposed in a couple of alleged offerings that Shende (1985: 194–196) called *ajaudanasava* and *pāñcaudanasava* in ŚS IV 14 and in ŚS IX 5 respectively. Indeed the two names could be used at the same time for both hymns. In fact, on the one hand, in ŚS IV 14 the *ajá-* (mentioned 3 times in this hymn) is not generically supplemented by dishes of mashed rice (*odaná-*), but is precisely *pāñcaudana-*, i.e. supplemented by five dishes of mashed rice (or by five balls of cooked rice, according to Shende 1985: 194). On the other hand, in ŚS IX 5, where the stem *pāñcaudana-* occurs 19 times, the word *ajá-* also occurs 26 times. Thus, the same kind of performance might have been the focus of both these mentioned Śaunakīya-Samhitā hymns, several verses of which also match with portions of six Paippalāda-Samhitā hymns, namely PS III 38, VIII 19 and XVI 97–100.

The research question of the present work is: are these texts inspired by a first-hand experience of the sacred rather than being mediated by a priest? This question stems from the fact that several details of these passages involving the phrase *pāñcaudana- ajá-* refer to access to heaven and in a specific way to a permanent deathless state, which surpasses the impermanence of the stay in heaven commonly obtained by means of a sacrifice performed with the help of an officiant priest.

1 The Ritual Facets of the *pāñcaudana- ajá-* in the Two Recensions of the Atharvaveda

If we concentrate on the 53 occurrences of the compound *pāñcaudana-*, a term which to the best of my knowledge only occurs in the Atharvaveda, the correspondences between the Śaunakīya and the Paippalāda recensions of this supposedly

On the contrary, there is evidence that theosophic ideas and formulas had to some extent worked their way into the very tissue of its composition.”

¹¹ It is noteworthy that the *Kauśika-(Gṛhya-)Sūtra* might be older than both the *Vaitāna-(Śrauta-)Sūtra* and than the *Gopatha-Brahmaṇa* – see Bloomfield (1899: 102), Patyal (1969: XIV–XX) and the bibliography there quoted.

unique *sava* are represented in Table 1. Occurrences with no correspondences are shown at the end:¹²

Table 1: Occurrences of *pañcaudana-*.

ŚS 26 x	PS 27 x	Syntax
ŚS IV 14.7	PS XVI 98.10	Acc.
ŚS IX 5.8	PS XVI 97.6	Nom.
ŚS IX 5.9	PS XVI 97.10	Nom.
ŚS IX 5.10	PS XVI 98.2	Nom.
ŚS IX 5.11ab	PS XVI 97.8ab	Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.12	PS XVI 98.1	Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.18		Nom. + <i>ajā</i>
ŚS IX 5.21cd	PS XVI 99.8ab	Nom. + <i>ajā</i>
ŚS IX 5.22	PS XVI 99.8cd	Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.24		Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.25		Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.26		Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.27	PS VIII 19.10	Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.28	PS VIII 19.11	Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.31 (2x)	PS XVI 100.3	Nom. + <i>ajāḥ</i> (and Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>)
ŚS IX 5.32 (2x)		Nom. + <i>ajāḥ</i> and Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.33 (2x)		Nom. + <i>ajāḥ</i> and Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.34 (2x)		Nom. + <i>ajāḥ</i> and Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.35 (2x)		Nom. + <i>ajāḥ</i> and Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
ŚS IX 5.36 (2x)		Nom. + <i>ajāḥ</i> and Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
	PS VIII 19.1	Nom.
	PS VIII 19.3	Nom. + <i>ajāḥ</i>
	PS VIII 19.4, PS III 38.11 (2x)	Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
	PS VIII 19.7	Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
	PS VIII 19.8	Nom. + <i>ajāḥ</i>
	PS VIII 19.9	Nom.
	PS XVI 97.8cd	Nom.
	PS XVI 97.9, 10 (2x)	Nom.
	PS XVI 99.6	Nom. + <i>ajā</i>
	PS XVI 99.8 (2x)	Nom. + <i>ajāḥ</i> and Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
	PS XVI 99.10	Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
	PS XVI 100.2	Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>
	PS XVI 100.10	Acc. + <i>ajāṃ</i>

¹² My thanks to Moreno Dore for helping me in preliminarily collecting and comparing these parallels.

In line with the aforementioned simplification, the main ritual action here is also very simple. It is explained in the following verse and a half, which is almost identical in both recensions, where verse ŚS IV 14.6 is a close match for PS III 38.5, and ŚS IV 14.7ab, for PS XVI 98 10ab respectively (Table 2).¹³

Table 2: The main ritual actions.

ŚS IV 14.6		PS III 38.5	
<i>ajām anajmi pāyasā ghr̥téna</i>	With milk, with ghee,	<i>odanam anajmi</i>	=
<i>divyaṃ suparnāṃ payasām brhāntam </i>	I anoint the <u>billy-goat</u> ,	<i>śavasā ghr̥tena</i>	I anoint <u>the</u>
<i>téna geṣma sukṛtāsya lokāṃ svār</i>	<u>the heavenly eagle</u> ,	<i>divyaṃ samudraṃ</i>	<u>mashed rice</u> ,
<i>āróhanto abhí nákam uttamám </i>	milky, great.	<i>payasaṃ brhāntam</i>	<u>the divine</u>
	Through it, may we		<u>vessel full of</u>
	go to the world of	<i>tena geṣma</i>	<u>milk, large.</u>
	merit, <u>ascending</u> to	<i>sukṛtāsya lokam</i>	
	the shining heaven,	<i>saroruhāṇā adhi</i>	
	towards the highest	<i>nākam uttamam </i>	
	firmament!	[read: <i>svaṛ ruhāṇā</i>]	
ŚS IV 14.7 ab		PS XVI 98.10ab	
<i>pāñcaudanaṃ pañcābhir aṅgūlibhir</i>	Take up [the billy-goat]	<i>pāñcaudanaṃ</i>	=
<i>dārvyód dhara pañcadhañtām odanáṃ </i>	with its five portions of	<i>pañcābhir</i>	
	mashed rice by means	<i>aṅgūlibhir</i>	
	of the five fingers, by	<i>dārvyod dhara</i>	
	means of the ladle	<i>pañcadhañdanam</i>	
	that mashed rice <u>in</u>	<i>etaṃ</i>	
	<u>five portions</u> .		

I have translated the accusative *pāñcaudanaṃ* in this passage as a *bahuvrīhi* conveying the sense “endowed with five portions of mashed rice” referring to the *ajā-* mentioned in the previous verse, because of the accent that complies with rule *Aṣṭādhyāyī* VI 2.1 (the first constituent retains its original accent in the *bahuvrīhi*).¹⁴

¹³ Henceforth the underlining serves to highlight the most important differences between the two recensions, compared in two parallel columns. When the PS recension is significantly different, it is also translated in the rightmost column.

¹⁴ According to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* II 1.51–52 a *dvigu* can be used when the sense conveyed is that of a *taddhita* affix, of a subsequent constituent (*uttarapada*) or of a collective noun (the so-called *samāhāra dvigu*). If it were a singular neuter *samāhāra* (i.e. a neuter singular compound, as is taught in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* II 4.1, 17), conveying the sense of “group of five portions of mashed rice”, it should have a final pitch, in accordance with the general rule for compound accentuation *Aṣṭādhyāyī* VI 1.223 (because the exceptions VI 2.29–31 do not apply to our case), while *pāñcaudanaṃ* has the initial vowel pitched (see also Whitney 1899²: 505, 512). On the other hand, the meaning of a *taddhita*, e.g.

Within a bloodless sacrificial context, this compound might also have conveyed the sense of a substitute for the billy-goat, i.e. “[a billy-goat actually] made of five portions of mashed rice”. Nonetheless, here an effective chiasmus seems to be realised by the two instrumental cases (denoting 5 items and 1 item respectively) and the two accusative cases (*vice versa* denoting 1 and 5 items respectively). On the one hand, a single agent of the verb *dhr-* “to take up” (*dárvyā* “by means of the ladle”) is linked to a fivefold object (i.e. *pañcāitām odanām* “that mashed rice which is divided into five portions”). On the other, five agents (*aṅgūlibhiḥ* “by means of the five fingers”) are presumably linked to a single object, i.e. to the billy-goat (mentioned as the *pāñcaudana-* [*ajā-*]), and not to the five *odanās* representing/replacing it.

It is clear that a billy-goat is supposed to be a real offering in this performance, and that this is supplemented in a concrete way by five portions of mashed rice. It is, however, just as clear that the purpose is quite far from the fulfilment of material desires in life, because it is instead inspired by a specific eschatological doctrine, depending on the gained merits. In fact, the sacrificer aims to reach heaven and, according to PS III 38.11, he is confident in the efficacy of this special performance, due to a successful mythic antecedent, when this special cooking of a billy-goat and of five rice-dishes was an action performed by the gods in order to master their worlds:

ajāṃ ca pacata pañca caudanān | ajāṃ pañcaudanaṃ paktvā devā lokān sam ānaśuḥ

Cook (pl.) the billy-goat and five rice-dishes. Having cooked the billy-goat of five rice-dishes, the gods have attained the worlds.¹⁵

A couple of other ritual details emerge from ŚS IV 14.7cd–9, and from the matching PS XVI 99.1–3, i.e. the specific way of positioning the several limbs of the victim and the care given to preserving its integrity, by enveloping all its parts in its skin (Table 3).¹⁶

in the sense explained by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV 3.120 (*tasyedam* “this is his/its”) could be assumed, because a LUK zero-replacement (i.e. the most generic substitution of an affix with zero, where the zero-replaced affix does not condition any operation on the pre-affixal base) of *taddhita*-affixes is taught for *dvigu* compounds in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV 1.88. But once again, a final accent should instead be expected according to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* VI 1.223. Cf. *pañcakapālā-* “prepared in five vessels” where the *taddhita* affix *-ā* taught by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV 2.16 in the sense of *bhakṣa- saṃskṛta- tatra* “food prepared here” is zero-replaced. Furthermore, the compound *pāñcaudana-* is used 41 times out of 53 as a qualifier, agreeing 27 times with the accusative *ajāṃ* and 14 with the nominative *ajāḥ*. This stem is used as an isolated noun in only 8 occurrences, in 7 of which it is a nominative masculine singular, which however excludes the *samāhāra dvigu*, which has to be singular neuter.

¹⁵ Translation by Lubotsky 2002: 98 n. 23.

¹⁶ This second detail also emerges from ŚS IX 5.4 and PS XVI 97.3 (see below).

Table 3: Positioning the limbs of the victim.

ŚS IV 14.7 cd-8		PS XVI 99.1-2	
<p><i>prācīyām dīśi śīro ajāsya dhehi</i> <i>dakṣiṇāyām dīśi dakṣiṇam</i> <i>dhehi pārśvām </i> <i>prācīyām dīśi bhasādām asya</i> <i>dhehy</i> <i>ūtтарыyām dīśy uttaram dhehi</i> <i>pārśvām </i> <i>ūrdhvāyām dīśy ajāsyanīkam</i> <i>dhehi</i> <i>dīśi dhruvāyām dhehi</i> <i>pājāsyaṃ antarikṣe</i> <i>madyatō mādhyaṃ asya </i></p>	<p>In the Eastern quarter set the head of the billy goat, in the Southern quarter, its right side! In the Western quarter set its rump, in the Northern quarter, the left side; in the upward quarter set the goat's back-bone; in the stable quarter, set the region of its belly; in the middle part of the intermediate space, its middle part.</p>	<p><i>prācīyām dīśi śīro ajāsya dhehi</i> <i>dakṣiṇāyām dīśi dakṣiṇam dhehi pārśvām </i> <i>prācīyām dīśi bhasādām asya</i> <i>udācīyām dīśy uttaram dhehi pārśvām </i> <i>ajāsyanīkam ūrdhvāyām dīśi dhehi dīśi</i> <i>dhehi pājāsyaṃ dhruvāyām </i> <i>antarikṣe madyatō madhyaṃ asya</i> <i>padbhis caturbhiḥ prati tiṣṭha dikṣu</i></p>	<p>= = + Stand well-grounded on the quarters by means of your legs!</p>
PS XVI 98.10cd			
		<p><i>prācīm dīśam dakṣiṇām pratīcīm</i> <i>udācīm dhruvām ūrdhvām dīśam</i> <i>ā kramasva</i></p>	<p>Step towards the Eastern quarter, the Southern, the Western, the Northern, the stable, the upward quarter!</p>
ŚS IV 14.9		PS XVI 99.3	
<p><i>śṛtām ajām śṛtāyā prōrṇuhi</i> <i>tvacā sāvair āngalī</i> <i>sāmbhīrtam vīśvarūpam </i> <i>sā út tiṣṭhetō abhi nākam</i> <i>uttamām padbhis caturbhiḥ</i> <i>prāti tiṣṭha dikṣú </i></p>	<p>Envelop the boiled goat in its boiled skin, brought together with all its limbs, representing all visible appearances. Rise from here up to the highest firmament: with your four feet stand well-grounded in the quarters!</p>	<p><i>śṛtām ajām śṛtāyā prōrṇuhi tvacā sāvair</i> <i>āngalī sāmbhīrtam vīśvarūpam </i> <i>sa ut tiṣṭha prehi nākam uttamām padbhis</i> <i>caturbhiḥ prati tiṣṭha dikṣu</i></p>	<p>= <from here></p>

It is also noteworthy that in PS XVI 98.10cd a closely similar group of lexemes conveys a different scenario.

Despite the emphasis placed on the concrete preparation of the billy-goat as a victim, and despite the mention of its four feet, a detail that is certainly more appropriate for a goat than a human being, the overall image in my opinion favours the reading of the sacrificial event described as a prefiguration of the sacrificer's post-mortem destiny. First of all, the imagery of the goat's legs firmly planted in several cardinal points aims at stressing the importance of mastering all the faculties – matching with the cardinal points – on the part of the sacrificer, who has to reach his goal safely.¹⁷ The care taken to avoid losing any part of the goat, i.e. to protect all the limbs of the goat, which is also a common issue, for instance, in the major Soma sacrifices and in the cremation rituals,¹⁸ here plausibly prefigures the sacrificer's final purpose of distributing all his faculties all around and finally redeeming them.¹⁹

2 Eschatology in the Hymns Where the *páñcaudana- ajá-* is Mentioned

Indeed, if due attention is paid to the specific lexicon employed in these hymns, the ritual framework somehow seems to be downplayed. In fact, it appears to effectively support an eschatological doctrine just as a frame supports the canvas for a painting. According to both ŚS IX 5.8 and its almost matching verse PS XVI 97.6 (Table 4), a movement in five directions is desired for the goat,²⁰ which neverthe-

¹⁷ Gonda (1965: 248–249) notices that “The sure-footed animal was in any case believed to be able to find the passage to the next world” and connects this belief to both the sacrificial horse in ṚVS I 162.2–3 and the dead body in ṚVS X 16.4–7. This role of guide is also attributed to the *śarabha* (which is also a standard for the billy-goat in ŚS IX 5.9), i.e. to the markhor (a large wild goat with very long twisted horns, also called *Capra falconeri*), in TS IV 2.10.4 and VSM XIII 51 – see Slaje 2017: 332–333.

¹⁸ See e.g. ṚVS I 162.18–21 and ṚVS X 16.1; 4 respectively. I am indebted to one of the anonymous reviewers for suggesting this comparison.

¹⁹ In PS XVI 98.10cd, the imperative form *ā kramasva* “step towards!” and indeed the imperative (*ud dhara*) found in the previous hemistich (PS XVI 98.10cd – see above) have the same addressee, presumably the sacrificer himself, who has to move within the sacrificial arena in all directions. It is tempting to interpret this behaviour as a sort of ritual mimesis of the sun, which sheds light in several directions during the day, since this *sava* is commonly interpreted as aiming at the identification of the sacrificer with the sun and at the sacrificer's securing the world of the light after death (Shende 1985: 194, 196).

²⁰ As for these cosmographical directions mentioned in the Atharvaveda passages devoted to the sacrifice of the billy-goat, see Rossi 2023: 67–72; 80.

less is going to finally reach heaven, by means of paths that once again converge towards that heaven. The final beneficiary of the action performed with the goat is the sacrificer, but such a double level of roles played by the apparent offering and the sacrificer is managed in a different way in the two recensions.

Table 4: The final goal of both god and sacrificer.

ŚS IX 5.8		PS XVI 97.6	
<i>pāñcaudanaḥ</i>	With five portions of mashed	<i>pañcaudanaḥ pañcadhā vi</i>	=
<i>pañcadhā vi</i>	rice, <u>let it</u> (i.e. the billy-goat)	<i>kramasvākramṣyamānaḥ</i>	<u>step out</u> (2nd sg. p.)
<i>kramatām</i>	step out in five directions,	<i>pañca jyotīṁṣi</i>	in five directions, <u>up</u>
<i>ākramṣyámānas</i>	about to step <u>up to the three</u>	<i>tījānānām sukṛtām prehi</i>	<u>to the five lights!</u>
<i>trīni jyótīṁṣi</i>	<u>lights</u> , go forward (2nd sg.	<i>madhyam</i>	=
<i>tījānānām sukṛtām</i>	p.) among the well-doers	<i>jyotismantam abhi lokam</i>	<u>conquer the</u>
<i>prehi mádhyam</i>	who performed sacrifices,	<i>jayāsmāi</i>	<u>celestial world for</u>
<i>ṛtīye náke ádhi vi</i>	spread out (2nd sg. p.) upon		<u>him!</u>
<i>śrayasva</i>	the third firmament!		

On the basis of the two variant readings ŚS *trīni jyótīṁṣi* vs. PS *pañca jyotīṁṣi*, it is important to establish what these lights are, seeing that they are the final goal for both goat and sacrificer. It goes without saying that *pañca jyotīṁṣi* could be a *lectio facilior* because of the close occurrence of the numeral “five” repeated twice in the same verse, and also because one might casually or mechanically expect that a movement in five directions has to reach five destinations, rather than three.²¹ By contrast, the different verbal prefixes *vi-* and *ā-* combined with the same verbal base *kram-* seem to sketch a different trajectory in that space, in my opinion a centrifugal motion and a centripetal one respectively. Consequently, the billy-goat has to finally return to a supreme light, often envisioned as a “third light”. But what is more important is that precisely the number “three” associated with bright lights (*jyótis-*) or with the vault of heaven (*nāka-*) often recurs in these hymns where the *pāñcaudana- ajá-* is mentioned.²² The relevant passages are collected in Table 5, where the parallels in the two recensions and their differences are highlighted.

²¹ Nonetheless, in VSM XVII 67, the sky is actually imagined as fivefold.

²² I would like to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for encouraging me to compare this image with that of the famous Rgvedic myth of the three steps of Viṣṇu, whose last step leads to the highest heaven. See RVS VII 100.3ab: *trīr devāḥ pṛthivīm eṣā etān vi cakrame śatārcasam mahitvā* “Three times the god stepped across this earth with his greatness”.

Table 5: Reaching the third firmament.

ŚS IX 5.1	PS XVI 97.1
<i>ā nayaítam ā rabhasva sukṛtām lokām api gacchatu prajānan tīrvā támāṃsi bahudhā mahānty ajo nākam ā kramatām trīyam </i>	<i>ā nayaítam ā rabhasva sukṛtām lokām api gacchatu prajānan tīrvā támāṃsi bahudhā vipāśyann ajo nākam ā kramatām trīyam </i>
Lead him here! Take hold! Let him go, foreknowing, to the well-doers' world! After crossing the darkness which extends in several directions, let the goat step up to the third firmament!	= After crossing the darkness, let the goat looking in several directions step up to the third firmament! (= ŚS IX 5.3 cd)
ŚS IX 5.3	PS XVI 97.2ab
<i>prā padō 'ya nenigdhi dūscaritam yāc cacāra śuddhahī śaphair ā kramatām prajānan tīrvā támāṃsi bahudhā vipāśyann ajo nākam ā kramatām trīyam </i>	<i>pra padō nenigdhi dūscaritam yāc cacāra śuddhahī śaphair ā kramatām prajānan </i>
Wash his feet of the ill-conduct he had! With cleansed hooves ²³ let him step on, foreknowing! After crossing the darkness, let the goat looking in several directions step to the third firmament! (= PS XVI 97.1cd)	=
ŚS IX 5.4	PS XVI 97.2cd-3
<i>ānu cchya śyāmēna tvācam etām viśastar yathāparv asinā mābhī mamsthāh mābhi druhah parusāh kalpayainam trītye nāke ādhi vi śrayainam</i>	<i>iyotismantam sukṛtām lokam ipsan trītye nāke adhi vi kramasva anu cchya śyāmēna tvācam etām viśastar yathāparv asinā māti mamsthāh mābhi druhah parusāh kalpayainam sukṛtām madhye adhi vi śrayemam</i>
Cut up that skin by means of the dark sword along the joints, o slaughterer, do not be harmful, seek to not injure it, prepare him joint by joint: set him up in the third firmament!	Striving to reach the well-doers' world which is full of light, step out up to the third firmament! = in the middle of the well-doers

²³ Das (2011: 161 n. 82) underlined the fact that this detail of a billy-goat's hooves, together with the prohibition of splitting its bones or sucking its marrow in ŚS IX 5.23 and the injunction to cook it in ŚS IX 5.37, is evidence that the hymn actually refers to a billy-goat.

ŚS IX 5.6	<p>Step up from here, if you have been completely heated, from the heated pot, on to the third firmament!</p> <p>You, a fire, have come into being out of fire. Conquer the world full of light!</p>	<p>PS XVI 97.5</p> <p><i>ut krāmātaḥ pāri ced ātaptas</i> <i>taptāc caror ādhi nākam trīyaṃ </i> <i>agner agnir ādhi sām babhūvitha</i> <i>jyōtismantam abhī lokām jayatām</i></p> <p>ut krāmātaḥ pari ced ātaptas taptāc caror adhi nākam trīyaṃ agner agnir adhi sām babhūvitha jyōtismān gaccha sukrātām yatra lokah </p>	<p>=</p> <p>Full of light, come where the well-doers' world is!</p>
(ŚS IX 5.9cd)	<p>He who has been given to the <i>brahmān</i> together with five portions of mashed rice, he shall make the giver satisfied with satisfaction.</p>	<p>≈ PS XVI 97.9ab</p> <p><i>pāñcaudano brahmāne</i> <i>divyāmānah sā dātāram trīpyā</i> <i>tarpayāti </i> (= PS XVI 98.2cd)</p> <p>pañcaudano brahmāne divyamāno 'jo nākam ā kramatām trīyaṃ </p>	<p>May the billy-goat who has been given to the <i>brahmān</i> together with five portions of mashed rice, step towards the third firmament!</p>
ŚS IX 5.10	<p>The goat sets him who has given on the back of the firmament, which is made of three firmaments, three heavens and three backs. You who have been given to the <i>brahmān</i>, together with five portions of mashed rice, you are the sole milk-cow representing all the visible appearances that grants every object of desire.</p>	<p>PS XVI 98.2</p> <p><i>ajās trināke trīdivē triṣṭhe</i> <i>nākasya pṛsthē dadivāmsam</i> <i>dadhāti </i> <i>pāñcaudano brahmāne divyāmāno</i> <i>visvārūpā dhenūh kāmādūghāsy</i> <i>ékā</i></p> <p>ajās trināke trīdivē triṣṭhe sukrātām loka dadivāmsam dadhāti pañcaudano brahmāne divyamānaḥ sa dātāram trīpyā tarpayāsi (= ŚS IX 5.9cd)</p>	<p>=</p> <p>within the well-doers' world, which is . . . Given to the <i>brahmān</i> together with five portions of mashed rice you shall make the giver satisfied with satisfaction.</p>
ŚS IX 5.11ab	<p>O fathers, he gives this third light of yours, a billy-goat with five portions of mashed rice to the <i>brahmān</i>.</p>	<p>PS XVI 97.8a</p> <p><i>etad vo jyōtiḥ pitaras trīyaṃ</i> <i>pāñcaudanam brahmāne jam dadāti </i></p> <p>etad vo jyōtiḥ pitaras trīyaṃ pañcaudanam brahmāne jam dadāti </p>	<p>=</p>

This comparative survey of passages shows that

- the well-doers' world (*sukṛtām lokā-*) is equivalent to the third firmament *ṛtīya-nāka-* (ŚS IX 5.1, 6, 11, PS XVI 97.1, 5, 8–9);²⁴
- in order to attain such a world, it is mandatory to have previously overcome darkness (*tāmas-*: ŚS IX 5.1, 3, 7, 11; PS XVI 97.1, 7–9), to cleanse oneself of ill-conduct (*dúscarita-*: ŚS IX 5.3, PS XVI 97.2) and to be complete in all parts (*sárvair āṅgaiḥ*: ŚS IV 14.9, PS XVI 99.3);
- the bright light (*jyótis-*) characterises both this world and the individual who attains it, so that the billy-goat itself is called “third light” (*ṛtīya-jyótis-*: ŚS IX 5.11, PS XVI 97.8 – see also ŚS IX 5.7 below);

A well-known occurrence of this collocation *ṛtīya-jyótis-* is included in a hymn in the Ṛgveda, which Brereton (2016) has brilliantly explained as a funeral text devoted to a human being, who will enter the gods' world, as a god among gods, after his body has been transformed through fire into light.

ṚVS X 56.1:

*idām ta ékam pará ū ta ékaṃ ṛtīyena jyótiṣā sám viśasva |
saṃvésane tanvās cárur edhi priyó devánām paramé janitre ||*

Here is one (light) of yours, and far away is another. Merge together with the third light. In the merging of your body (with that light), be the one cherished, beloved of the gods in your distant birthplace (Brereton 2016: 168)

It is precisely with this third light that the body of the deceased should finally merge, after this body has first been the light coming from the funeral fire (i.e. the first light) and then the light which accomplishes the journey from the earth to heaven (i.e. the second light).²⁵ And what might this third light actually be? I assume that it is constituted by the light which arises from the sacrificial fire, called

²⁴ The reward that comes to the sacrificer is expressed in a comparable form in ŚS IX 5.10ab, ṚVS 1.125.5ab (*nákasya pṛṣṭhé ádhi tiṣṭhati śrító yáḥ pṛṇáti sá ha devésu gachati* “The one who grants, stands fixed on the back of the firmament: indeed he goes among the gods”, and in ṚVS IX 113.9abc (*yátrānukámān cāraṇān trináké tridivé divāḥ loká yátra jyótiṣmantas tátra mām amṛtaṃ kṛdhi* “Make me immortal where circulation is at will in the one made of three firmaments, three heavens, where there are worlds endowed with light!”). I owe the first and second parallels cited here respectively to the two anonymous reviewers.

²⁵ Not much information is given about this second light: here it is assumed that it corresponds to the bright path travelled from earth to heaven by the deceased. The path trodden many times in the past by all the offerings made in life by a man and taken to heaven by the god Agni should plausibly be trodden by the man himself after his death.

aja- “goat”,²⁶ when it ascends to heaven, beyond all the darkness, where the gods make it available to the sacrificers when they die. It is a fire, which has come into being out of fire (*agnér agnír ádhi sám̐bhū-*), and which attains the world of merit which is full of light (*jyótiṣmat*) or attains it as a being full of light (see above ŚS IX 5.6, PS XVI 97.5). This third light might match the so-called *iṣṭapūrtám* “something granted by a sacrifice” / *iṣṭám pūrtám* “rewarded sacrifice”, i.e., “something which gods guarantee to human beings after death as a result of the sacrifices they performed during their life,”²⁷ as it is also overtly explained in ŚS IX 5.13:

*ajó hy àgnér ájaniṣṭa sókād vípro víprasya sáhaso vipaścít |
iṣṭám pūrtám abhípūrtam̐ vásaṭkṛtam̐ tád devá rtusáh̐ kalpayantu ||*

The goat indeed was inspired – born from the flame of the inspired, mighty, wise fire; let the gods arrange what is sacrificed, granted, fulfilled, accompanied with *vasat-* in due order!

It is self-evident that every sacrifice was linked to the successful actions of the sacrificer, inasmuch as it depended on the booty gained during expeditions and so on.²⁸ Thus, the *iṣṭapūrtá* was accumulated by the sacrificer during his life every time he gained the privilege of patronising a sacrifice, but such a “store or treasure-house of good deeds”,²⁹ i.e. his merit, was made available to him after his death, after the last journey of his sacrificial fire towards heaven was brought about (until the so-called “third light”) and after his funeral fire had finished burning. In my opinion, the Atharvavedic *pāñcaudana- ajá-* should also be inscribed within the imagery of the *tr̥tīya- jyótiṣ-* in ṚVS X 56.1, but in a broader – not exclusively funerary – sense. This billy-goat should indeed represent the sacrificer himself, who is reborn from the fire, being a fire coming into being from another fire, in order to generate a third light in heaven. In fact, in all these Atharvavedic hymns related to the *pāñcaudana- ajá-*, the thematic role of agent attributed to the billy-goat, which is born from the fire and actively moves in several directions, deviates from its more common role of the offering in the sacrifice, i.e. from its syntactic function of object with respect to the actions performed by the officiant priest in the sacrificial

²⁶ In ŚS IX 5.7a, the billy-goat is explicitly identified with *jyótiṣ*: *ajó agnír ajám u jyótiṣ āhur* “The billy-goat is *agní*: they call it ‘light’.”

²⁷ See Pontillo 2019b: 48–50 and bibliography quoted there, in particular Windisch 1888 and Sakamoto-Goto 2000.

²⁸ As regards this, see Candotti, Neri & Pontillo 2021: 24–36; 42–60.

²⁹ I am quoting an expression used by Collins (1982: 54) to define the *iṣṭapūrtá*.

arena.³⁰ Particularly telling is the prevalence of active verbal forms in ŚS IX 5.1/PS XVI 97.1 (*gacchatu, tīrtvā, á kramatām* – see above) and the emphasised image of the birth of fire, i.e. its coming into being from the sacrificial fire and its movement starting from it, both in ŚS IX 5.6/PS XVI 97.5 (*út krāmātaḥ, sám babhūvitha* – see above), and in Table 6, referring to a mythical past:

Table 6: Attaining a god-like state.

ŚS IV 14.1	PS III 38 1
<i>ajó hy àgnér ájaniṣṭa sókāt só 'paśyaj janitāram ágre téna devā devātām ágrā āyan téna rōhān ruruhur médhyaśah </i>	Indeed, the billy-goat has been born = from the heat of the fire. It saw in the beginning him who begot himself. Through it in the beginning the gods came to god-like state. Through it, those <u>fit for the sacrifice</u> <u>ascended</u> to the ascents. ³¹

As far as the human sacrificer is concerned, only at the end of his life is he supposed to be ready to share a god-like state, after accumulating merit throughout his life, especially through sacrifices, and merit is envisioned as a newly attained body entirely made of light:

ṚVS X 14.8 (= ŚS XVIII 3.58 = PS XVIII 75.1):

*sám gachasva pitṛbhiḥ sám yaméneṣṭāpūrténa paramé vyòman |
hitvāyāvadyām púnar ástam éhi sám gachasva tanvā suvárcāḥ ||*

Unite with the forefathers, unite with Yama, with what has been bestowed due to the sacrifice, in the highest distant heaven. Having left behind imperfection, come home again. Unite with your body in your full luster. (tr. Jamison, Brereton 2014: 1392 modified).

The billy-goat arising from the sacrificial fire might have been a fitting image for “the sacrificer’s new body” acquired in the highest heaven, within the framework of the idea of a body’s recovery after death, as reconstructed by Fujii (2011: 108–109, 2012: 108–113) with the help of ṚVS X 14.8 and some other Ṛgvedic passages (ṚVS X

³⁰ As noted above (§ 1 fn. 14), the stem *pāñcaudana-* is more often used as a qualifier agreeing with the accusative *ajám*. See e.g. ŚS IV 14.6: *ajám anajmi páyasā ghṛténa* “With milk, with ghee, I anoint the billy-goat”.

³¹ Gonda (1965: 248) notices that this stanza was used (with slight variation) in MS II 7.17, KS XVI 17, TS IV 2.10, VSM XIII 51, ŚBM VII 5.2.36, which mention the sacrificial action of removing the head of the billy-goat during the ceremonies connected with the so-called great fire-altar.

15.14, 16.5). Indeed, rather than purely being asked “to return to his body”³² in RVS X 14.8 the dead man seems to be invited “to wear a new body”, which I assume to be the body of light stored in heaven and recovered after one dies. This image of a garment to be changed is in fact employed in the following verse:

ŚS XVIII 2.57 (≈ PS XVIII 68.6):

etát tvā vásaḥ prathamam̐ nv āgann āpaitád ūha yád ihābibhaḥ purá |
iṣṭāpūrtám anusāmkrāma vidvān yātra te dattám bahudhá vibandhuṣu ||

This is the garment (i.e. the body) which indeed first came to you; remove the one you were wearing before: reach what is granted by sacrifices (*iṣṭāpūrtá*) by knowing where it was given to you, in many ways, among people having no relations!³³

The permanent nature of such an achievement emerges from ŚS IX 5.20–22 and PS XVI 99.6–8 (Table 7), where the intriguing expression *āparimita- yajna-* seems to hint at endless merit gained by means of such a sacrifice, confirmed by the consistent phrase *aparimitam̐ lokam̐* denoting the target attained, namely a world to be enjoyed forever.

In the collection of hymns analysed here, the *tr̥tīya- jyótis-* appears to be the kernel of a specific eschatological doctrine and this image in particular might have been the original insight, which instead seems to become slightly more fuzzy when the passages use the apparently alternative phrase *tr̥tīya- náka-* “third firmament”. The inspiring idea could plausibly have originated from the real experience of watching what happened to the victim or to the body of the deceased man, transformed by fire into light when they were burned in the sacrificial fire or put on the funeral pyre respectively.

³² See e.g. *Sāyaṇa-Bhāṣya* on RVS X 14.8, which paraphrases *tanvā* of the phrase *sām gachasva tanvā* with *svaśarireṇa*.

³³ Whitney & Lanman 1905 translated *vibandhuṣu* “among them of various connections”, but they placed a question mark in brackets next to this noun. The translation proposed here is based on the assumed sacrificer’s fear of not being able, after his death, to recognise his individual or familiar merits, as highlighted by Sakamoto Gotō 2000. This risk might have arisen when the sacrificer started depending ‘on a number of ritual specialists to perform the sacrifice for his benefit’, because indeed he ‘realized the results of the sacrifice indirectly’ (Tull 1990: 35). In other words, there was the risk that the merits gained by the sacrifice were stored in a wrong place, belonging to people with no relation to him.

Table 7: unlimited sacrifice.

PS XVI 99.6	
<p>ŚS IX 5.20</p> <p><i>ajó vá idám agre vy ákramata</i> <i>tásyóra iyám abhavad dyáúh</i> <i>prśīthám </i> <i>antarīkṣam mádhyaṃ dīśah pārśvé</i> <i>samudraú kuksī</i></p>	<p>The billy-goat, indeed, in the beginning³⁴, stepped out of this. This [earth] became its breast, the sky its back, the intermediate space its middle, the cardinal points its sides, the <u>two oceans</u> its belly.</p>
PS XVI 99.6	
<p><i>ajah pañcaudano vy akramata </i> <i>tasyora iyam abhavad</i> <i>udaram antarīkṣam dyauh prśtham</i> <i>dīśah pārśve</i></p>	<p>The billy-goat, with its five portions of mashed rice, stepped out of this. This [earth] became its breast, the intermediate space <u>its womb</u>, the sky its back, the cardinal points its sides.</p>
ŚS IX 5.21	
<p><i>satyam ca rtam ca cakṣuṣī víśvam</i> <i>satyam śraaddhá prāno virāt śīrah </i> <i>esá vá aparimito yañño yád ajáh</i> <i>páñcaudanaḥ </i></p>	<p>Truth and cosmic order were its eyes, all truth and faith, its breath, the <i>virāj</i> its head; this indeed was the unlimited sacrifice, which was the billy-goat with five portions of mashed rice.</p>
≈ PS XVI 99.7	
<p><i>ditiś cāditiś ca śrīge</i> <i>satyam ca rtam ca cakṣuṣī </i> <i>víśvam rūpam śraaddhá prāno virāt</i> <i>śīrah </i></p>	<p>Diti and Aditi were its horns, truth and cosmic order were its eyes, All visible appearances and faith were its breath, the Virāj its head.</p>

³⁴ In other words, according to Gonda (1965: 248): “‘before or beyond phenomenal time’, in the mythical past which is the prototype (Urbild) of the reality which is known to us and in which we live”.

ŚS IX 5.22

*áparimitam evá yajñám ápnóty
áparimitam lokám áva runddhe |
yò₃ 'jám páñcaudanam
dákṣiṇāyotīṣam³⁵ dádati ||*

Indeed, he who gives the billy-goat
with its five portions of mashed rice,
whose light is the *dákṣiṇā*, gains an
unlimited sacrifice, he takes hold of
an unlimited world.

≈ PS XVI 99.8

*eṣa vā aparimito yajño yad ajāḥ
pañcaudanaḥ |
aparimitam lokam jayaty aparimitam
lokam áva rundhe ya evam viduse
'jam pañcaudanam dadāti ||*

Indeed, since the billy-goat with five
portions of mashed rice is an unlimited
sacrifice, he conquers an unlimited world.
He who gives the billy-goat with five
portions of mashed rice to one who is aware
of this takes hold of an unlimited world.

³⁵ In all these Atharvavedic hymns related to the *pāñcaudana-ajá-*, there are 9 occurrences of this intriguing compound *dákṣiṇāyotīs-* in ŚS IX 5.22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 33, 35, PS VIII 19.11. The compound has been analysed in Candotti, Neri & Pontillo 2021: 49–53, who put forward a new proposal to interpret *dákṣiṇā-* in the earliest Vedic texts and in the Suttapīṭaka as “magnificence”. Within the framework of the present proposal to identify the *pāñcaudana-ajá-* with the sacrificer, whose merits are accumulated in heaven until the day he dies and wears a new body entirely made of light, this compound *dákṣiṇāyotīs-* seems to confirm that such a heavenly “light” is gained by the sacrificer through his actions (sacrificial actions included), thanks to his “magnificence”.

3 Solar Imagery in the *pāñcaudana- ajā-*

The imagery of the ‘dramatic’ fiery pillar of fire and flames which arise when milk is added to the heated Gharma-pot during the Pravargya-ritual was already studied in RVS I 164 by Houben (2000) as a plausible ‘laboratory’ (the term is specifically used in Houben 2000: 529) of some speculative reflections on the possibility of humans gaining an immortal state. “In fact the Gharma-milk becomes a sort of inverted lightning, unexpectedly directed at heaven, and represents the initiated man, whose identification with the sun is ritually targeted” (Pontillo 2019a: 256).³⁶ Such an image is also at the core of an Atharvavedic stanza (Table 8), which according to Selva (2019: 374) “explicitly describes the *vratins*’ path of the *gharmasya vrata* as modelled after that of the gods (*devāḥ*), as a spiritual path (“having abandoned the body”), and as aiming at the world of merit (*sukṛtāsya lokāṃ*), which is regarded as the abode or the location of immortality [. . .].”

Table 8: The abode of immortality.

ŚS IV 11.6		PS III 25.6	
<i>yéna devāḥ svàr</i>	May we go to the world of	=	=
<i>āruruhúr hitvā</i>	merit, <u>desiring glory</u> , by	<i>amṛtasya dhāma</i>	<u>to the establishment</u>
<i>śáriram amṛtāsya</i>	means of the observance of	=	of immortality
<i>nābhim</i>	the <i>gharmá-</i> , <u>by means of</u>	<i>yāśasā tapasyayā</i>	<u>by means of glory</u> .
<i>téna geṣma</i>	<u>austerities</u> , by means of which		<u>by means of the</u>
<i>sukṛtāsya lokāṃ</i>	the gods, after quitting the		<u>practice of austerities</u>
<i>gharmāsya vraténa</i>	body, ascended to heaven, to		
<i>tāpasā yāśasyávaḥ</i>	the <u>navel</u> of immortality.		

As Lubotsky (2002: 31) pointed out, it is noteworthy that the formula *téna geṣma sukṛtāsya lokāṃ*, i.e. the prayer aimed at attaining the world of merit, present in both recensions, is also employed in the very first passage quoted above (ŚS IV 14.6, PS III 38.5 – § 1), where it is just the *pāñcaudana- ajā-* which plays the role of the *gharmá* by ensuring ascent to that highest world. Furthermore, our starting quotation already contained a possible poetic hint at the *gharmá* in ŚS IV 14.6, where the billy-goat is depicted by means of words belonging to the Vedic solar imagery, such

³⁶ In Pontillo 2019a, I assumed that RVS X 181 might have hinted at the same notion. See in particular RVS X 181.3: *tè `vīndan mánasā dīdhyānā yáju ṣkannám prathamám devayānam | dhātúr dyútānāt savitús ca víṣṇor ā sūryād abharan gharmám eté* “By focusing their minds on it, they found the first sprinkled formula which goes to the gods. They brought here the *gharmá-* from Sūrya who is the Founder, the Flashing one, the Vivifier, the All-pervasive one.”

as “the heavenly eagle, milky, great” (*ajám* [. . .] *divyám suparnám payasám bṛhántam* [. . .]).³⁷ Dore (2015a: 57–64, Dore 2015b) has clearly explained the importance of the solar imagery broadly used in Atharvavedic and Ṛgvedic texts (e.g. in ṚVS X 136, ŚS II 1, IV 11, XI 15, XIII 1, XV 1, XV 18) to depict the renowned figures of the *keśín, róhita, ekavrātyá* and *brahmacārín*, all of whom are connected to a so-called Vrātya cultural matrix and aim at an esoteric knowledge shared by men and gods, who finally enter the sun. We also discover that the final aim in the *pāñcaudana-ajā-savá-* is precisely to win the world of the sun in ŚS IX 5.18:

ajáh pakváh svargé loké dadhāti páñcaudano nírṛtiṁ bádhamānah |
téna lokánt sūryavato jayema ||

The cooked billy-goat with five portions of mashed rice, eliminating corruption, sets [us] in the heavenly world: may we conquer worlds that possess the sun!

Malinar (see e.g. 1996: 335, 2007: 38) taught us long ago that it is difficult to overestimate the importance in Vedic and Sanskrit sources of the recurring emphasis placed on the desired identification with the sun, which is also the final immortal location for the deceased man’s body, mentioned in e.g. ṚVS X 14.8 (see above, § 2), when the dead man is invited to unite with it (*sám gachasva tanvā suvárcāḥ* “Unite with your body in your full luster!”). The solar image is crucially used in the soteriological context which Malinar insightfully called the “law of heroism”, in which the greatest human achievement, man’s immortality, is depicted as a vision of solar light, as demonstrated especially in ŚvU III 8 and BhG VIII 9–10.³⁸ This solar imagery might date back to several centuries earlier than these sources (Pontillo 2016: 236–238), since ŚvU III 8 exactly matches ṚvKh 4,11.9a.³⁹

vedāham etaṁ puruṣaṁ mahantam ādityavarṇaṁ tamasah parastāt

I know the immense divine *puruṣa* coloured like the Sun, beyond darkness.

³⁷ See also “the heated pot” (*tápta- carú-*) in ŚS IX 5.6 (§ 2).

³⁸ ŚvU III 8: *vedāham etaṁ puruṣaṁ mahantam ādityavarṇaṁ tamasah parastāt* “I know the immense divine *puruṣa* coloured like the Sun, beyond darkness;” BhG VIII 9–10: *kaviṁ purānam anusāsītāram* [. . .] *anusmared yah | sarvasya dhātaram acintyarūpam ādityavarṇaṁ tamasah parastāt* [. . .] *sa taṁ paraṁ puruṣam upaiti divyam* “The sage and Preceptor primordial, [. . .] creator of all, of form unimaginable, hued like the Sun. At the back of the night – who thus thinks of him [. . .]. Attains to the Person Supreme and Divine.” (tr. Van Buitenen 1981: 103). Cf. MuṇḍUp II 2.6; 9; PS V 27.8; TS IV 2.5.2; MS II 7.12; KS XVI 12. See also the relevant comments by Ježić (2009: 243–246).

³⁹ As is well known, the Ṛgveda Khilāni – which are still quoted as a genuine part of the Ṛgveda in the *Anukramaṇī* (5th–3rd BCE) – may date back at least to the age of the Yajurveda Saṁhitā and cannot be later than the Brāhmaṇas (9th–6th BCE) – see Scheffelowitz 1906: 11–16, Sontakke-Kashikar 1933–1951, Vol. 4: 903, Bhise 1995: 8.

The lexicon used in our *pāñcaudana- ajá-* collection seems to be close to these solar passages. We have already examined three passages where the theme of the darkness (*támas*) to be crossed is emphasised (see above, *tīrtvá támāṃsi* “after crossing the darkness” in ŚS IX 5.1, 3, PS XVI 97.1). Elsewhere (Table 9), instead of the verb *tī-* “to cross”, the compound verb *apa-han-* “to smite away” is used, as follows:

Table 9: Smiting the darkness away.

ŚS IX 5.7cd = ŚS IX 5.11cd = PS XVI 97.7b		Cf. PS XVI 97.8cd–9	
<i>ajás támāṃsy ápa hanti dūrám asmíṃl loké śraddádāhānena dattāḥ</i>	The billy- goat given in this world by one who has faith smites the darkness away.	<i>ajas tamāṃsy apa hanti dūrāṃ pañcaudano brahmaṇe dīyamānaḥ pañcaudano brahmaṇe dīyamāno 'jo nākam ā kramatām tṛtīyam vicakramānaḥ sukṛtasya loke sa jyotiṣā tamo apa hanti dūrām </i>	The billy-goat with its five portions of mashed rice, when it is given to the <i>brahmán</i> smites the darkness away. May the billy-goat who has been given to the <i>brahmán</i> together with five portions of mashed rice, step towards the third firmament! Stepping out in the world of merit, he smites the darkness away.

The billy-goat sacrificed in the fire with five portions of mashed rice, bursting like the *gharmá* in the Pravargya, allows the sacrificer to attain the third firmament, i.e. it is a path towards the enjoyment of immortality as an effect of ritual merits. And it is tempting to assume that some other sacrificial images like that of the white-footed sheep with its five cakes of flour (*pāñcāpūpa- śítipád- avi-* ŚS III 29.4)⁴⁰ might have been an analogous image of the achievement of a permanent stay in heaven, as the unlimited fruit of sacrifices (and indirectly of actions). This leads one to wonder what specific notion has inspired the imagery of the *pāñcaudana- ajá-*, for instance in comparison with the *gharmá* image.

⁴⁰ *pāñcāpūpaṃ śítipádam áviṃ lokéna sámmitam | pradátópa jīvati pitṛñám loké 'kṣitam |* “The giver subsists on the white-footed sheep with its five cakes of flour, which is commensurate with his world and which does not decay in the world of the ancestors.”

4 The Self with Its Five Faculties

The aforementioned journey of a fire born from the sacrificial fire towards the place where merit is stored as light, more than representing a purely spiritual path, seems to be a journey (from the earth upward) accomplished by the body with its five faculties of perception, to attain a deathless state through the sacrificial fire. I believe that such an image sheds light on Keith's (1925: 423) reading of cremation:

The exact idea connected with the burning seems to have been that the whole self was burned, soul as well as body, in order to convey it, in a refined form but still unaltered in essence, to the regions of heaven.

Thus, from a soteriological perspective, I assume that the billy-goat represents the psychophysical self, endowed with all its faculties, which is burnt to ensure that the sacrificer gains a new permanent self among the gods. This sacrifice might have symbolically represented the ascetic and heroic self-immolation of the sacrificer, which, at least in its prototypical version, is assumed to be a part of the *sattra* (see e.g. Lévi 1898: 133; Tull 1990: 55; Malamoud 2002: 21). Such self-immolation of the sacrificer is an accepted practice in the so-called *sattra*-culture (see above § 0. Premise) and it has plausibly to be read within the framework of a society grounded in the institution of brotherhood such as the *vrātya* society (as suggested by Heestermann 1987: 98), where the *sthapati* as *primus inter pares* plays the role of an ascetic who sacrifices himself by carrying out the observances (*vrata-*) for the whole group (Dore & Pontillo 2016: 12; Pontillo 2023).

This offering of one's psychophysical self instead of any other material oblation could have been considered the best way of fulfilling human desires, among which the greatest was the permanent enjoyment of a new individual entity, exempt from any decay, in the afterlife. The pun built on the homophony between *ajá-* "goat", and *a-já-* "unborn, ever existing"⁴¹ may have suggested this interpretation of the goat's offering as a means of achieving the permanent existence of the self. This self, envisioned as the *ajá-* arisen from the fire, merges with the body gained by the sacrifice by means of merit, which is stored in heaven until the death of the sacrificer. Thus,

⁴¹ See Gonda (1965: 65): "I would [. . .] suppose the divinization of the he-goat – whose name may also be understood as the 'unborn one' i.e. 'he who exists from all eternity' – to have been facilitated by the speculations on that divine being whose name, it is true, occurs in the AV (19, 11, 3), but not in the relevant sutras", i.e. *ajá ékapad*.

it is consistent that the following two parallel stanzas (Table 10) insist on the idea of a new *rūpá-*, i.e. of a new visible appearance assumed by one who sacrifices the *pāñcaudana- ajá-* and the main action is always conveyed by the verb *sam-gam-* “to come together/to unite”. In the Paippalāda version, the word *akṣiti-* “non-decay/imperishableness” clearly confirms that the new individual entity which will be permanently enjoyed in the afterlife will be exempt from any decay.

Table 10: A new visible appearance.

ŚS IX 5.24		PS XVI 99.10	
<i>idám idam evāsya</i>	This and this become	<i>idam idam asya</i>	This and this are its
<i>rūpám bhavati ténainam</i>	its visible appearance;	<i>rūpam tenainam</i>	visible appearance;
<i>sám gamayati </i>	by means of this, one	<i>sam gamayati </i>	by means of this,
<i>īsam máha ūrjam asmai</i>	makes it unite. It yields	<i>svadhām ūrjam</i>	one makes it unite. It
<i>duhe yò₃ jám</i>	strong greatness and	<i>akṣitim maho asmai</i>	yields inherent power,
<i>pāñcaudanam</i>	strength to him who	<i>duhe ya evam viduṣe</i>	strength, non-decay,
<i>dákṣiṇājyotiṣam</i>	gives the billy-goat with	<i>jam pañcaudanam</i>	greatness to him who
<i>dadāti </i>	five portions of mashed	<i>dadāti </i>	gives the billy-goat
	rice, whose light is the		with five portions of
	<i>dákṣiṇā.</i>		mashed rice to one
			who is aware of this.

And how can this access to heaven become a permanent destiny? I shall attempt to answer by means of an intertextual comparison, relying on the lexicon involved here. The non-decay (*akṣiti-*) of what is granted by sacrifices (*iṣṭāpūrta-*) is indeed a crucial notion in a passage from the *Jaiminīya-Brahmaṇa* text (Table 11), within the esoteric teaching given by the controversial figure⁴² of the Pañcāla king Keśin Dārbhya to a deceased king of the same tribe. According to *Vādhūlasūtra* 37, the need for such a teaching depended on the fact that this deceased king (Yājñasena) was precisely afraid of the expiry of his *iṣṭāpūrta* (*iṣṭāpūrtasya kṣityai bibhayām cakāra*).⁴³

⁴² See e.g. Sarma 1968: 241, Amano 2013: 18, Kulkarni 2016.

⁴³ See also Caland 1928: 149. The same risk is recorded in KB VII 4, where the compound *iṣṭāpūrta-* is replaced by *sakṛd iṣṭa-* literally “once sacrificed” and in AB VII 21, where *kṣiti-* is replaced by *parijyāni-* literally “not falling into decay”. The idea of fear appears in KB VII 4, where the golden wild goose declares: *sakṛd ayaje tasya kṣayād bibhemi. sakṛdīṣṭasyāho tvam akṣitim vettha tām tvam mahyam iti* “Once I was a sacrificer: I am afraid of the perishableness of that. You know the imperishableness of that which once has been offered. Oh! May you [explain] this to me!” Lévi (1898: 108) interpreted *sakṛd* as “une fois pour toutes”, so that the fear that the fruit of sacrifices might be impermanent might here have been compared with and opposed to the desire that this fruit might instead become permanent.

Now, Caland (1931: XIX) considered the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* to be older than the other available Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇa, i.e. the *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, on the basis of a collection of generally ignored rites included in the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*. The Jaiminīya school is generally considered older than the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyaṇīya Śākhā, due to its accordance with the surviving Nambudiri Ṛgveda and Yajurveda traditions.⁴⁴ On the contrary, Keith decided in favour of the anteriority of the *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, especially because of linguistic evidence.⁴⁵ However, several portions of the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* are often quite conservative in terms of contents. This may be due to its (ritual and narrative) eclectic prolixity, which has evidently led this text to voraciously incorporate ideas borrowed from different schools and thus at least partially retain them.⁴⁶ However, more generally speaking, it might overall have been one of the most recently fixed Brāhmaṇa texts, perhaps only earlier than the *Ṣaḍviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* (Bodewitz 1973: 13).

Thus, I shall resort to this late source, in order to try to understand what the five *odanas* might have represented in their association with the billy-goat. In fact, JB II 53–54, where no goat is mentioned, explains how the individual faculties given

⁴⁴ See Witzel 2016: 69.

⁴⁵ See Keith 1932a: 700, 1932b: 1049. Renou (1947: 101) endorsed Keith's evaluation. The chronological problem is amplified by the assumed existence of a third Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇa, mentioned as *Śātyāyanakam brāhmaṇam* or *Śātyāyani-Brāhmaṇa* or *Śātyāyanakam* in several Kalpasūtras or by commentators (see Ghosh 1935: 98–101 fragments 55–66, Parpola 1973: 9–10, Bodewitz 1973: 11–12, Gonda 1975: 349, Witzel 1989: § 5.2).

⁴⁶ See Keith 1932b: 1048, Renou 1947: 101–102, Gonda 1975: 348, Fujii 2012: 112.

during the sacrifice match the relevant gods and divine worlds and how these can finally be “redeemed”.

Table 11: The impershableness of the *iṣṭāpūrta*-

JB II 53–54

<p><i>keśi ha dārbhṃy dārbhapaṇṇayor</i>⁴⁷ <i>didikṣe</i> <i>atha ha sutvā yājñaseno</i>⁴⁸ <i>haṃso</i> <i>hiraṇmayo bhūtvā</i>⁴⁹ <i>yūpa upaviveśa</i> [. . .]</p> <p><i>iṣṭāpūrtasya tvam akṣitiṃ vettha</i> <i>dikṣām</i> <i>ahaṃ veda saṃprabravāvahā</i>⁵⁰ <i>iti</i> ⁵¹ [. . .]</p>	<p>Keśin Dārbhṃy was indeed consecrated on Darbha[-grass] and Paṇṇa[-leaves]. Then Yājñasena, who had performed Soma sacrifices in the past, assumed the semblance of a golden wild goose, sitting on the sacrificial post. [. . .] You know the imperishableness of what is granted by sacrifices, I know the consecration. ‘Let us explain [these two objects of knowledge] to one another!’</p>
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47 As noticed by Koskikallio (1991: 314 n. 43), “The correct sitting base should have been a black deerskin (*kṛṣṇājina*)” – see also Caland (1919: 138 n. 6) who refers to ŚBM I 1.4.3. In JB II 100 the story is told of how Pañcāla children mocked Darbha (Śatānika’s son), by addressing him with the words *dārbha dārbha*, but, in the end, he was actually honoured as a king by all the Pañcālas because he had performed the Apaciti sacrifice. In BŚS XVIII 38–39, after King Keśin Dālbhṃy’s Apaciti sacrifice, the Pañcālas changed the word for grass from *dārbha* to *kuśa* and created a new word for hair, namely the plural noun *śīrṣanyāḥ*, which literally means “those on the head” (*śīrṣanyā iti keśān ācakṣate*) – for further links between *dārbha*-grass and Vrātyas, see Dore & Pontillo 2013. According to Caland (1903: 25) and Witzel (1989: 101 n. 6), the king himself might have consequently been called *Sairṣanya Kauśa*. However, Heesterman (1962: 16) has also connected the *vrātya* epithet *keśin* with the name Śīrṣanya and with the well-known Pañcāla clan name *Śīrṣadi*, which literally means ‘whose name begins with [a reference to the] head’.

48 At the beginning of the KB (and of the *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*) versions there is no mention of this name: *taṃ ha hiraṇmayāḥ śakuna āpatyovāca* “To him flew up a golden bird and said” (KB 7.4). *sutvan* is here interpreted as a common noun which might qualify Yājñasena as a man who pressed the Soma, i.e. someone who had been a patron of Soma sacrifices in the past, in accordance with A III 2.103, especially because in the VādhS version (fragment 37 Caland 1928: 148) a sort of synonym, i.e. *bahuyājīn*- “who performed many sacrifices” also occurs. Nonetheless Caland (1919: 138, 1928: 148) considers *sutvan*- as a proper name and in AB VIII 28 it is actually used for another character.

49 For the hypothesis that “royal and demigodly roles” might have assured a supermundane, Gandharva-like bird state in Vedic and post-Vedic sources, see Koskikallio 1999: 314 n. 44; 352–356.

50 Ehlers (1988: 10) prefers a first dual form instead of a first person plural form on the basis of the following paragraph (JB II 54). The context itself supports this emendation. The plural form is instead given by both Caland (1919: 137) and Vira-Chandra (1954: 178) – the latter with a misprint in the vowel of the verbal base (*saṃprabruvāmahā iti*).

51 In KB VII 5 the two characters are said to “explain together” (*saṃprocate*) and in VādhS XXXVII the reciprocity is underlined by the symmetry of the following two sentences: *taṃ tvam asmabhyam brūhi, vayaṃ tubhyaṃ vakṣyāma iti bhagava iti*, “May you explain this to us (i.e. the imperishableness of what is granted by sacrifices) and we shall explain [the sacrificer’s consecration (Dikṣā)] to you.”

Table 11 (continued)

JB II 53–54

*atha hetara uvāca*⁵² | *brahmane dadad*⁵³
brūyād brahman manas te dadāni tad
anena niṣkrīṇāni brahmann idam dadānīti
*yad dāsyān syāt*⁵⁴ | *sa yan mano dadāti*
candramā vai manas candramasam
evāsmāi tad dadāti | tad yāvac candramā
na kṣiyate tāvad asya tad dattaṃ na
kṣiyate |
hotre dadad brūyāt dhotar vācaṃ te
dadāni tām anena niṣkrīṇāni hotar idam
dadānīti yad dāsyān syāt | sa yad vācaṃ
dadāty agnir vai vāg agnim evāsmāi tad
dadāti | tad yāvad agnir na kṣiyate tāvad
asya tad dattaṃ na kṣiyate |
adhvaryave [. .] prāṇaṃ [. .] vāyur vai
prāṇo [. .] |
udgātre [. .] cakṣus [. .] ādityo vai cakṣur
[. .] |
sadasyāya [. .] ātmānaṃ [. .] ākāśo vā
ātmā [. .] |
hotrakebhyo [. .] śrotram [. .] diśo vai
śrotram [. .] |

prasarpakebhyo [. .] lomāni [. .]
*ośadhivanaspatyo vai lomāni [. .]*⁵⁵
saiṣeṣṭāpūrtasyākṣitiḥ [. .]

54. Then the other one (Keśin) replied: “When giving to the *brahmān*, one should say: ‘O *brahmān*, may I give you my faculty of thinking! Let me redeem this by means of that (i.e. a gift)! O *brahmān*, let me give you this!’ i.e. that which he is going to give him.’ Since he gives him his faculty of thinking – indeed the faculty of thinking is the moon – this gives the moon to him. As long as the moon is not consumed, that which he has given is not consumed.

When giving to the *hotr*, one should say: ‘O *hotr*, may I give you my faculty of speaking! Let me redeem this by means of that! O *hotr*, let me give you this!’ i.e. that which he is going to give to him. Since he gives him his faculty of speaking – indeed the faculty of speaking is the fire – this indeed gives him the fire. As long as the fire is not consumed, that which belongs to him and has been given is not consumed.

[. .] to the *adhvaryu*, [. .] my breath! [. .] indeed breath is the wind [. .].

[. .] to the *udgātr*, [. .] my faculty of seeing! [. .] indeed the faculty of seeing is the sun [. .].

[. .] to the *sadasya*, [. .] my *ātman*! [. .] indeed *ātman* is the ether [. .].

[. .] to the *hotrakas*, [. .] my faculty of hearing! [. .] indeed hearing is the cardinal points [. .].

[. .] to the *prasarpakas*, [. .] my hair! [. .] indeed hair is plants and trees [. .].

This is the imperishableness of what is granted by sacrifices. [. .]

52 Caland (1919: 138) translates this sentence as “Darauf der andere:” and puts the name “Sutvan” in brackets, but – in agreement with Kulkarni (2016: 76) – I consider that this passage openly focuses on the concept conveyed by the verb *kṣi-* “to perish” just as the term *akṣiti-* is used to define the special object of Keśin’s knowledge.

53 Caland (1919: 138) interprets this verb as meaning “to give a Dakṣiṇā”

54 As pointed out by Caland (1919: 138 n. 5), this passage corresponds to ĀpŚS XIII 6.4–6. See also AB VII 21.

55 The majority of individual faculties and body parts which are mentioned in this section match those found at the beginning of this work (JB I 1). Five elements, namely the sacrificer’s breath and

Only the words conveying the elements that change have been quoted from this lengthy formularised passage, which is entirely devoted to perfectly parallel explanations of how one can achieve this non-decay (*akṣiti-*) of merit by giving a specific officiant all of one's faculties in order to be compensated with the gift of some permanent elements of nature, namely fire, wind, sun, ether, cardinal points, plants and trees. To sum up, this giving of individual faculties and body parts that allows one to gain a new impermanent body brings to mind a comparison between the sacrificial way to gain access to heaven and the ascetic way, perhaps also symbolically represented by the two interlocutors who are two kings from two subsequent generations of leaders of the same tribe, one named after the sacrifice itself (*yājñasena-* and perhaps *sutvan-*) and the other for whom the *vrātya* epithet *keśin* is used. The explanation Keśin Dārbhya gives of this sort of "self-offering" pattern of sacrifice is, however, consistent with the common logic of the sacrificial arena including all the officiating priests and the patron of the sacrifice, and in particular a specific priest as a single recipient of each given faculty. Of course, the mere sacrificial mechanism is replaced by the ascetic effort to offer and then redeem oneself at the end of one's life by attaining a permanent divine state through the merits gained by means of sacrifices.

Hence, it is not unreasonable to wonder whether an ancient doctrine aimed at achieving a deathless state with a permanent body is perhaps kept alive in late Vedic passages, and indeed better explained there than in earlier sources. Thus, the *pāñcaudana- ajá-* might also have been a poetic hinting at such an early eschatological belief, aimed at envisioning the (ascetic) offering of oneself with one's own five faculties of perception which are supposed to be given back to the respective worlds and then redeemed by means of the sacrifice itself, so that all of the merit can be redeemed.

his faculties of thinking, seeing, hearing and speaking "form the object of the rite" instead of "some external gods" in the Agnihotra "viewed as an *ātmayajña*" (the bracketed words are borrowed from Bodewitz 1973: 19). The purpose is to create a new immortal body (JB I 2): [. . .] *so 'ta āhutimayo manomayaḥ prāṇamayaś cakṣurmayaś | śrotramayo vāñmaya ṛimayo yajurmayas sāmamayo brahmamayo | hiraṇyamayo 'mṛtas saṃbhavati | amṛtā haivāsya prāṇā bhavanti | amṛtaśarīram idaṃ kurute* [. . .] "He (arises) from this (fire) and becomes immortal in the form of an oblation, mind, breath, sight, hearing, speech, ṛc, yajus sāman, brahman and gold. His lifebreaths become immortal. He makes for himself an immortal body here" (tr. Bodewitz 1973: 20). The same five elements are used by Keśin's interlocutor in the KB VII 4 version of the Kaiśini Dikṣā and they are all singled out as the *dikṣita*'s gods.

5 Conclusions

Bearing in mind the contents of the above-quoted *Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa* passage, the following quotation might hint at a comparable mechanism of giving and redeeming all one's own faculties, like Keśin Dārbhya's teaching. It comes just before one of the clearest stanzas explaining the billy-goat's twofold motion outwards and inwards (quoted above, ŚS IX 5.20, PS XVI 99.6).

ŚS IX 5.19 = PS XVI 99.5:

*yām brāhmaṇé nidadhé yām ca vikṣú yá viprūṣa odanánām ajásya |
sárvaṃ tād agne sukṛtásya loké jānitán naḥ saṃgámāne pathinām ||*

That which he puts before the *brahmán* and among people, the drops scattered, belong to the rice-portions, to the goat: all that of ours, O Agni, you later know in the world of merit, at the meeting of the ways.

The billy-goat comes from and comes back to the *saṃgámana*, i.e. from the meeting point of the several ways (note the recurring verbal base *sam-gam-* e.g. above ṚVS X 14.8 = ŚS XVIII 3.58 = PS XVIII 75.1; ŚS IX 5.24 = PS XVI 99.10). A sort of circularity of the way trodden by the self is depicted especially in the incipit of hymn IV 14, where it is explained that the billy-goat saw the one who begot himself.

Furthermore, the two emphasised ritual details (see above, § 1), i.e. the specific way of positioning the several limbs of the victim and the attention paid to preserving its integrity, also gain a different meaning that is not purely ritualistic in that they do not merely comply with the rules of orthopraxy peculiar to a sacrificial arena dominated by the technical competence of the officiant. In the background emerges the aim to safeguard all the limbs to be redeemed as parts of a new permanent body. As Tull has noticed (1990: 25), the “idea that the rebirth process entails the individual's integration into the constituents of the cosmos” also emerges in ṚVS X 16.3ab (*súryam cákṣur gachatu vátam átmā dyám ca gacha pṛthivím ca dhármaṇā* “Let the eye go to the sun, the breath to the wind, go to the sky and to the earth in due order!”), as the reversal of the myth of the origin of the whole cosmos from the limbs of the primeval anthropomorphic being (ṚVS X 90). The “correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities” is also taken for granted in some renowned Upaniṣadic reflections on man's destiny after death that are outside the Brahmanical cultural mainstream, such as the eschatological questions Ārtabhāga asks to Yājñavalkya in BĀU III 3.13.⁵⁶ This is a concept linked to

56 [. . .] *yátrāsya píruṣasya mṛtásyāgním vág apyéti vátam prānás cákṣur ādityám mánaś candráṃ díśaḥ śrótram [. . .] kváyám tadā píruṣo bhavatíti* “[. . .] When a man has died, and his speech disappears into fire, his breath into the wind, his sight into the sun, his mind into the moon, his hearing into the quarters [. . .] what then happens to that person?” (Olivelle 1998: 81).

that of the “deceased’s new body after death” and to the “making of the self (*ātman*) in the rituals”, dating back to the same sources and to ŚS XIX 43, along with some other later sources, as indicated by Fujii (2012: 108–110). Even the *brahmaṇaḥ parimaraḥ* in AB VIII 28 and the *daivaḥ parimaraḥ* in KU II 12–14, which explain “the dying around of the powers”, i.e. the cyclical death and rebirth of the faculties of perception (often called *devas*), might have been inspired by the same belief, as a counterpart of the cycle of cosmic powers i.e. of the deities, in accordance with Bodewitz’s interpretation (2002: 38 n. 129).

The accumulation of numerical equivalences on the basis of the number “five” especially proposed in the final part of ŚS IX 5, i.e. the mention of five plus one seasons (vv. 31–36), five golden discs (*pāñca rukmā*), five new garments (*pāñca nāvāni vāstrā*), five milch-cows (*pāñca* [. . .] *dhenávaḥ*) in vv. 25–26, contribute to making it difficult to grasp the assumed reference to the five organs of sense (plus one, i.e. *manas*), unless one makes use of a lexically grounded intertextual comparison, as I have attempted to do here.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, the consistency of the quest for the permanent enjoyment of a new body made of light in all the *pāñcaudana-ajā-* passages and the opposition between the centrifugal and centripetal motion of fire/billy-goat, which steps out from heaven and then steps back into it again in the same stanzas, call for cautious analysis, before uncritically accepting that the analysed hymns are mere *savā* hymns, paving the way for an easy sacrificial offering. It is rather important to emphasise that the permanent stay in heaven described in these texts is different from that described in more brahmanically oriented texts, because the role played by officiating priests is marginal and more attention is paid to the meaning of rituals than to their technical details. The *pāñcaudana-ajā-* imagery might thus have conveyed a noteworthy step in the history of reflections on the afterlife, perhaps destined to remain forever at the periphery of Brahmanical doctrines, like the majority of the Atharvavedic and Upaniṣadic theoretical issues.

⁵⁷ The reference to the remarried woman in ŚS IX 5.27 and the list of relatives in ŚS IX 5.30 could also be puzzling at first glance, but they are indeed consistent with the reflection on what the sacrificer keeps after death and with the collective clan-based dimension of merit.

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- KU *Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad* (1958). See BĀU.
- MS *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (1881–1886). *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* edited by L. von Schroeder. Leipzig: Brockhaus 1881–1886.
- MuṇḍU *Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad* (1958). See BĀU.
- PS *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā* (1998–1999). *Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā. Paippalāda Recension* based on the edition by M. Witzel, Leiden 1989, and the edition by D. Bhattacharya, *The Paippalāda-Saṁhitā of the Atharvaveda*. Vol. 1, consisting of the first fifteen Kāṇḍas, Calcutta 1997. Electronically edited by Th. Zehnder (Kāṇḍas 1–5) and A. Griffiths (Kāṇḍas 6–15). Leiden. http://gretil.sub.unigoettingen.de/gretil/corpuitei/transformations/html/sa_paippalAdasaMhitA.htm#d1e17455 [accessed May 2020]
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- ŚŚ *Śaunakīya Saṁhitā* (1960–1964). *Atharvaveda (Śaunaka) with the Padapāṭha and Sāyaṇācārya's commentary* edited by V. Bandhu. Hoshiarpur: Indological Vedic Research Institute.
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Robert Leach

Some Remarks on Apsarases, Dogs and Gandharvas

Abstract: In the following, I explore several possible meanings of the epithet *śvānvant-*, attributed to the Apsarases in both Atharvaveda Saṁhitās but not found outside these texts. While it is extremely difficult to arrive at any firm conclusions, I highlight the fact that this epithet only occurs in passages where the Apsarases are depicted as being threatening and harmful. With this in mind, I suggest that the ‘dogs’ (*śvān-*) that accompany the Apsarases are most likely a metaphorical reference to either death or the Gandharvas. One way of making sense of the latter metaphor, I propose, is to view the figure of the Gandharva alongside related figures from other branches of Indo-European mythology.

1 Introduction

The word *śvānvant-*, attested only in the feminine (*śvānvatī-*) plural, is an epithet attributed to Apsarases in both Atharvaveda Saṁhitās but found nowhere else in Vedic or indeed in later Sanskrit literature.¹ There is no unanimous agreement as to the meaning of the term. In the *Petersburger Wörterbuch* (PW VII), Böhtlingk and Roth (1875: 411) settle for the non-committal “Bein[ame]. einer Klasse von Apsaras”. Elsewhere, Henry (1896: 128) renders *śvānvatīr apsarāsaḥ* at Śaunaka-Saṁhitā (ŚS) 11.9.15a as “[I]es Apsaras déguisées en chiennes”; Griffith (1896: 86) translates the same pāda as “Apsarases with dog-like mates”, providing the gloss “wedded to Gandharvas who are described as hairy like dogs and monkeys”,² and *śatām śaśvanvātīnām*³ at ŚS 19.36.6c as “[a] hundred of dog-mated nymphs” (Griffith 1896: 294); for Bloomfield (1897: 125), it is the Apsarases rather than their mates that are

1 On the unexpected svarita accent on the first vowel, Whitney and Lanman (1905: 653) write: “The accent of *çvānvatīs* seems certainly wrong, but it is read by all the mss., and avouched by the commentary to Prāt. [= ŚS-Prātisākhya] iii.73.” On the latter, see Deshpande (1997: 446).

2 Griffith cites ŚS 4.37.11 in support of this interpretation, on which more below.

3 This can now be emended, following PS 2.27.6c, to *śatām śvanvātīnām* (Zehnder 1999: 81–82; Griffiths 2009: 385).

Note: I am very grateful to Thomas Zehnder and Oliver Hellwig for their comments on an earlier draft of this article, and for much else besides, and to Angelika Malinar and Paul Widmer, the directors of our wonderful project.

“dog-like”; Whitney and Lanman (1905: 653) opt for “[d]og-accompanied”,⁴ and this has been since taken up by Renou (1965: 30 “accompagnées de chiens”), Zysk (1996: 112 “accompanied by dogs”), Zehnder (1999: 81–82 “von Hunden begleiteteten”), and Griffiths (2009: 383–396 “dog-accompanied”). Spiers (2020: 304–305) also takes the “dérivé d’appartenance” *śvāvanta-* m., occurring only at Paippalāda-Saṃhitā (PS) 3.17.2d, as “proche des [Apsaras] accompagnées de chiens”/“a relative of the dog-accompanied [Apsaras]”, while allowing that it could alternatively mean “apparenté à ceux qui se comportent en chiens”.

It should be noted at the outset that of the two interpretations of the adjectival *-vant-* suffix summarised above, namely the possessive (‘dog-accompanied’ etc.) and the comparative (‘dog-like’ etc.), possessive *-vant-* occurs far more commonly in Vedic, and the validity of the comparative in cases such as *śvānvant-* has several times been called into question.⁵ Indeed, the scarcity of comparative *-vant-* in old Vedic, other than when attached as a suffix to pronominal stems, alone tips the balance in favour of the possessive allomorph *-vant-* in this instance. As will be proposed in the following, the same conclusion is also suggested from a semantic point of view. Although Apsarases are commonly likened to various animals,⁶ and indeed possess a shape-shifting ability to embody multiple animal forms,⁷ they are, with one possible exception,⁸ nowhere likened to dogs, whereas cogent arguments can be made for their being accompanied by them.

4 As Griffiths (2009: 385) notes, this is “perhaps influenced by Sāyaṇa’s gloss *śunā kriḍārthena sārameyeṇa sahitāḥ*”. At ŚS 19.36.6c, Whitney and Lanman (1905: 956) revert to “doglike ones” (see next note).

5 See especially Debrunner (1954: 876 §706a) who, citing Whitney and Lanman’s (1905: 956) translation of ŚS 19.36.6c *śvanvātīnām* as “doglike ones”, asserts that *-vant-* with comparative value is, other than when attached to pronominal stems, “nicht gesichert”. Zysk (1996: 112) responds to the same translation with the curt dismissal “quite wrong”. See also Barth (2018: 24) on comparative, or in her words “pronominal ‘equative’ *-vant-*”: “Adnominals of this type and with this meaning are exclusively built to pronominal stems”. Cf. Bender (1910: 69–70): “In a number of the *vant* possessives (less than 1%) the suffix expresses resemblance or similarity . . . Most of these words, especially those in use in the earlier language, are formed from pronominal stems”. Note here Pinault’s (1985: 349–350) point that the possessive suffix *-vant-* and the comparative suffix *-vant-* are “deux suffixes, qui n’ont pas la même histoire” (p. 350).

6 See especially RV 10.95, wherein Apsarases are likened to, for instance, a startled gazelle (8c *tarāsanti nā bhujyūḥ*: on *tras* see Mayrhofer 1992: 678; on *bhujyū-* ‘gazelle’ see Geldner 1951: 301 and Mayrhofer 1996: 265), to mares (8d *nāśvāḥ*; see Knobl 2009: 198 [60]), and to ducks (9c *ātāyo nā*). Apsarases also appear as ducks (*ātī-*) in the other classic Vedic account of the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī (ŚBM 11.5.1.4).

7 On Apsarases as shape-shifters, see e.g. RV 10.95.16a; ŚBM 11.5.1.4; Rām 4.65.8; Kūp 1.22.36.

8 See PS 15.19.8a. This pāda is edited by Bhattacharya (1997: 830) as *yā antariḡṣa īrayanti*. However, Lelli (2020: 208) proposes that we adopt the reading of the Kashmirian manuscript (*yā an-*

While the basic meaning of the nominal stem *śván-* ‘dog(s)’ has not led to such disagreements as have been elicited by the suffix, it gives rise in turn to a new set of questions, and principal among these are those which motivate this article, namely: what exactly is meant by ‘dog(s)’ in the word *śvánvatī-*, and what do Apsarases have to do with dogs? Before proceeding to address these questions, I first list the six verses in the Atharvaveda wherein the word *śvánvant-* (Ś) occurs:

Ś1. *yā adharād ācaranti jihmā mukhā karikratīḥ |*
āhatā apa tā ito naśyantv ataḥ śvanvatīḥ⁹ || PS 1.29.2

Those who approach from the south, constantly contorting their faces, [let] them [go away] from here, beaten. Let those dog-accompanied ones disappear from here (translation by Zehnder et al. 2024)

Ś2. *śataṁ jahy apsarasām śataṁ śvanvatīnām |*
gandharvapatnīnām śatasyendro api kṛtac chiraḥ || PS 1.89.2

Slay a hundred Apsarases, a hundred of the dog-accompanied ones. Indra shall cut off the head of a hundred wives of the Gandharvas (translation by Zehnder et al. 2024)

Ś3. *śatam ahaṁ durṇāmnīnām gandharvāpsarasām śatam |*
śataṁ śvanvatīnām śatavāreṇa vāraye || PS 2.27.6 (~ ŚS 19.36.6)

A hundred of those with an evil name, a hundred Gandharvas and Apsarases, a hundred of the dog-accompanied ones I repel with the Śatavāra [amulet] (translation by Zehnder et al. 2024, comment on PS 1.89.2ab)

Ś4. *yāsām ārād āghoṣāmo vātasyeva pṛthag yataḥ |*
tāsām śvanvatīnām indro api kṛtac chiraḥ || PS 7.13.1

Of whom we hear [the noises] from afar, as of the wind going in various directions: of those dog-accompanied [Apsarases] Indra shall cut off the head (translation by Griffiths 2009: 383)

Ś5. *yā gachanti janānjanam ichantīḥ prayutaṁ bahu |*
tāsaṁ śvanvatīnām indro api kṛtac chiraḥ || PS 7.13.14

Those who go from man to man, easily seeking out the unsuspecting person: of those dog-accompanied [Apsarases] Indra shall cut off the head (translation by Griffiths 2009: 396)

tarikṣe rayanti) and emend (following Barret 1930: 67) to *yā antarikṣe *rāyanti* ‘Those (Apsarases) who bark in the intermediate space’ (pāda b reads *vātena raṣmaṇā saha* ‘together with wind and storm’). I do not read too much into this single pāda, at least insofar as the meaning of *śvánvant-* is concerned – both the “animal nature” (Knobl 2009: 197 [59]) and the general noisiness of Apsarases are common tropes in the Atharvaveda (see Griffiths 2009: 384–385; Lelli 2020: 209), and indeed they are described as ‘like snorting cows’ (PS 15.19.10b *aghnyāḥ śvasatīr iva*) just two stanzas later. 9 Pāda d *ataḥ śvanvatīḥ* is a reconstruction from Orissa *ataścinvatīḥ* and Kashmir *atassutanvati* (see Zehnder et al. 2024).

Ś6. *śvánvatīr apsaráso rūpakā utárbude |*
antaḥpātré rérihatīrīn riśáñ durnihitaiśīñīm |
sárvās tá arbude tvám amítrebhyo dṛśé kuru . . . || ŚS 11.9.15

The dog-accompanied Apsarases and the phantoms, o Arbudi, the *riśá*, constantly licking the inside of the vessel, seeking out what is badly stored, all those, o Arbudi, make appear to [our] enemies . . . (translation by Griffiths 2009: 385)

In addition to these six occurrences of the adjective *śvánvant-*, we also encounter the aforementioned single attestation of the *vṛddhi* derivative *śvāvanta-*:

Ś7. *tasyāñ vedādhi bheśajam daśaśīrṣo daśajihvaḥ |*
yas te prathama ādade sam śvāvanta ośadhe yam adād vírayug bhiṣak || PS 3.17.2

The ten-headed, ten-tongued one knows the medicine on this [earth], the one who first took the health in you, O herb, which he gave [to the patient], the doctor, companion of heroes, a relative of the dog-accompanied [Apsaras] (translation by Spiers 2020: 304)

2 Does ‘Dog’ Mean Dog?

There are several exocentric compounds in Vedic which contain the word *śván-* ‘dog’ as their first member. Examples include *śvaghñín-* m., which designates the winner in a game of dice, and which Falk (1986: 100–101) derives from the reconstructed nomen agentis **śvaghñá-* ‘dog-killer’, thus meaning literally ‘one who has the dog-killer [on his side]’;¹⁰ *śvápada-* m. ‘wild animal’ (literally ‘having feet like those of a dog, dog-footed’), its *vṛddhi* derivative *śvápada-* m./n., which according to Selva (2021: 143–144) underwent a semantic development from “ravenous (like a wild animal)” (in nominal use > “the ravenous one”) to, in the language of Atharvavedic “*yajus*-style prose”, “carrion-eating”, from which comes that word’s deadjectival substantive *śvápada-* m./n. “scavenger”; and *śvāvidh-* m. ‘porcupine’ (literally ‘dog-piercer’). The addition of the derivational suffix *-vant-* to the stem *śván-* is not an instance of compound formation,¹¹ but it is nonetheless worth asking in this case too: even if the *śván-* in *śvánvant-* retains the sense of ‘dog(s)’, are dog(s) also its referent?

¹⁰ Falk (1986: 101) argues as follows: “Der ‘Hundetöter’ **śvaghñá-* muß jene Gottheit sein, die für das Gewinnergebnis *kṛtá* zuständig ist”.

¹¹ Griffiths (2009: 385) states that the word *śvanvatī-* (*śvánvant-*) is “to be compared formally with *śvanín-* ‘dog-leader (in a hunt)’ (found in two parallel mantras i.a. at TS 4.5.4.2, TB 3.4.3.1, VSM 16.27 and 30.7)”. However, this meaning for *śvanín-* presumably follows Renou (1952: 166 §216), who marks the term as “glissement pour **śvaní* . . . ‘qui conduit des chiens’” (cf. Debrunner and Wackernagel 1930: 278–279 §146c), rather than understanding the word as *śván-* + possessive suffix

If the *-vant-* suffix were comparative, it is difficult to see how *śván-* could refer to anything other than ‘dog’. If we take the more promising course and interpret *-vant-* as possessive, *śván-* is more likely to denote plural ‘dogs’,¹² but beyond this there are a range of possible interpretations. In what follows I distinguish between three of these. Firstly, the word *śván-* could refer simply to dogs, and so we will need to explore why Apsarases might be accompanied by these animals. Secondly, it may refer to dogs the depiction of which alongside the Apsarases is conveyed solely in order to highlight one or other aspect of the latter’s character. In other words, the dogs’ presence may be justified purely by their symbolic value, and so we will need to establish what this value could be in relation to the Apsarases. And thirdly, *śván-* may refer to an entity or entities other than dogs which are called dogs metaphorically. We might differentiate these three alternative readings in the following manner:

- ‘dogs’ as dogs (as dogs)
- ‘dogs’ as dogs (as symbols)
- ‘dogs’ as symbols

In what follows, I analyse each of these possible interpretations in turn, before going on to explore whether ‘dogs’ could refer, metaphorically, to the Gandharvas. One way of making sense of such a metaphor, I contend, is to view the figure of the Gandharva alongside related figures from other branches of Indo-European mythology, such as the Centaur and the werewolf. I take up the subject of the relatedness of these figures, and their shared association with dogs, in section §6.

3 ‘Dogs’ as Dogs (as Dogs)

Why should Apsarases be accompanied by actual dogs? It is instructive here to turn our attention to the mountainous regions of the Central and Western Himalayas and the Hindu Kush. Several of the traditional cultures in these regions worship, or interact otherwise, with fairy-like supernatural beings, some of which display marked similarities (including an association with dancing and with sexual promiscuity, an ability to shape-shift, and a disposition that veers between benevolent and malign) with the Vedic Apsaras. In a jointly-authored article on “Fairy lore in

-ín-. The determinative compound *śvaní-* (with final long *ī* replaced by short *i*, see Debrunner and Wackernagel 1930: 187 §96a) would not be comparable formally with *śvánvant-*.

¹² See Debrunner (1954: 872 §704 b) *α*): “Die häufigste Bedeutung ist ‘mit dem betr. Nominalbegriff versehen’ und zwar meist ‘reichlich versehen’, so daß der zugrunde liegende Nominalbegriff in der Mehrzahl zu denken ist”.

the high mountains of South Asia”, Zoller (Bhatt, Wessler and Zoller 2014: 88–89) reports on several of these “fairy-related traditions” and the supernatural beings at the centre of them. Among these beings are the Garhwali *ēri* (Airi) ‘hunter’,¹³ a term that refers to both i.) a male forest deity who roams through the air at night accompanied by fairies (*pari*; cf. Avestan *pairikā*-, Persian *parī*, *peri* etc.) and dogs; and ii.) a troupe of female spirits or fairies (“huntresses”), also called *vanadeviyāṃ* ‘forest goddesses’. Zoller’s description of the male deity paraphrases the account given in Edwin Atkinson’s *The Himalayan Gazetteer* (1981 [first published 1882]: 825), which is worth quoting in the original:

He remains concealed during the day, but at night comes forth from the hills and forests and wanders about accompanied by the fairies (*pari*) who join him in dance and song. Their feet are turned backwards, not forwards like those of men. During his rambles, Airi is accompanied by his *jhāmpānis* or litter bearers *Sau* and *Bau*¹⁴ and a pack of hunting dogs with bells around their necks. Whoever hears the dogs bark is certain to meet with some calamity . . . Those who see Airi face to face die of fright at his awful appearance or are burnt up by a flash of his eye, or are torn to pieces by his dogs, or have their livers extracted and eaten by the fairies who accompany him.

The troupe of female spirits or fairies that Zoller also classifies as *ēri* are actually, according to his own account, more commonly referred to by the compound *ēri-ācharī*. The word *ācharī*- derives from OIA *apsarās*- (see Turner 1966: 23), and the Central Himalayan *Ācharī* as described by Zoller and others has much in common with the Vedic *Apsaras*: mention may be made here of their extraordinary beauty (Oakley 1905: 212; Bhatt, Wessler and Zoller 2014: 98, 137), their sexual voraciousness and predilection for young men (*ibid.*: 94, 135, 138), their association with water, trees and the rays of the sun (*ibid.*: 98, 149 fn. 202), their proclivity for dancing (*ibid.*: 136), and their generally frightening and threatening nature (Traill 1851: 66; Oakley 1905: 212–213).

Many of these characteristics are also shared by fairy-like beings in other regions of the Central and Western Himalaya and the Hindu Kush. Principal among these we can list the Bangani¹⁵ *Mātri* alongside the fairies (*pari*, *bari*, *barai*) of

13 Garhwali *ēri* derives from Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) *ākhēṭa*- ‘hunting’, *ākhēṭika*- ‘huntsman, hunting dog’ (on which, see Turner 1966: 47).

14 Elsewhere, Zoller (2017: 86 fn. 205) suggests that *sau* “may derive < OIA *śauva* ‘a multitude or pack of dogs, relating or belonging to dogs, doggish, canine’ (from *śvan* ‘dog’) or < etymologically related *śvaka* ‘wolf’ . . . and ‘Bau’ may derive < OIA (lex.) *bhavana* ‘dog’.”

15 Bangan is a hilly area in Uttarkashi district in northern Uttarakhand.

Nuristan and so-called Dardistan, including the Kalash Súči.¹⁶ The Bangani Mātris, which have also been studied by Zoller, present an especially striking case. They live in trees, are fond of dancing, are playful and promiscuous (according to some, they are the “*devadāsīs* of the gods”),¹⁷ and they can be seen moving around with black dogs (Bhatt, Wessler and Zoller 2014: 98–99). According to Zoller (ibid.: 99 fn. 62), the fact “[t]hat fairies in Bangan and Garhwal can be accompanied by dogs . . . verifies the huntress nature of fairies in the Central Himalayas.” This is corroborated by the Ācharīs, who are said to hunt at dawn or at midday (ibid.: 136), and by the fairy-like beings called *bharārī-*, who are also accompanied by dogs (ibid.: 148, 156). These beings hunt humans, mostly young men and women (ibid.: 138, 147), and according to Zoller it is this that distinguishes fairies in the Central Himalayan region from those further to the west in Nuristan and Dardistan (ibid.: 99 fn. 62). Although the Súčis, for instance, are intimately linked with human hunters, whom they assist and, according to some accounts, enjoy sexual relations with (Frembgen 1992: 609), they are depicted as herders rather than hunters,¹⁸ and as fundamentally pure and benevolent rather than malicious (Bhatt, Wessler and Zoller 2014: 94; see also Robertson 1896: 413, and Cacopardo and Cacopardo 1989: 319).

Zoller (Bhatt, Wessler and Zoller 2014: 80) includes all of these so-called “fairy cults” within the Indo-European “nymph” traditions identified by West (2007: 284) as sharing “the belief in a breed of supernatural females who haunt the lonelier parts of the land, especially the waters, the trees, and the mountains.” Within this broader compass, we encounter other fairy- or nymph-like beings that are accompanied by dogs – one thinks of the nymphs and dogs that escort Artemis,¹⁹ or of the Welsh fairies Gwragedd Annwn together with the spectral hounds called *cŵn Annwn* (see e.g. Owen 1896: 134; Briggs 1978: 39). In each of these cases, the presence of dogs is indicative of hunting,²⁰ whether the prey be woodland animals (in

¹⁶ Witzel (2004: 605) likens the mountain-dwelling Súčis and their male companions – Kalasha *varōti*, Kalaṣa-alā (Waigali) *wōtri* (Sanskrit *vātaputrī-*) – to the Apsarases and Gandharvas. Note that Śucikā is given as the name of an Apsaras in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh 1.114.51a).

¹⁷ Cf. the characterisation of the Apsarases as *suraganikāḥ* ‘the courtesans of the gods’ in Māgha’s *Śiśupālavadhā* (see footnote 31 below).

¹⁸ However, see Degener (2001) on the key role of the (Kalaṣa-alā) female Sučis and male Sučas in the Nuristani hunt, and on these fairies keeping ‘dogs’ (actually a bear and a leopard) according to a local story which Degener recounts (p. 332).

¹⁹ See especially the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* 5.117–121 (see Rayor 2014: 79) and Callimachus’ *Hymn to Artemis* 13–17 (Stephens 2015: 109, 117). Note also that Hecate, closely linked with Artemis – and witchcraft – from an early period (see e.g. Burkert 1985: 171; Ogden 2021: 36–38), is also accompanied by dogs.

²⁰ Degener (2001: 331) claims as follows: “Hunters, the men who roam the mountains and forests and stay there alone, sometimes without meeting other human beings for several days, are – in

the case of Artemis and her entourage) or humans (as with the Himalayan and Welsh fairies).²¹

Apsarases are also associated with “the lonelier parts of the land”, especially with the waters²² and with trees.²³ As Parpola (1983: 55) has noted, they are also connected with the “northern mountains” in Sanskrit epic literature.²⁴ With the foregoing in mind, if we are to interpret *śvānvant-* at face value it seems promising to pursue the hypothesis that the Apsarases are accompanied by dogs in the Atharvaveda because they are, or because they were in some distant time, like their Himalayan cousins such as the Mātris and the Bharārīs, linked to hunting, or were themselves hunters. However, although Apsarases are quite often depicted in the Atharvaveda as fierce and as threatening to humans,²⁵ and indeed are closely associated with forests,²⁶ there is not, to my knowledge, any clear textual evidence in Vedic literature to support the hypothesis that Apsarases were, in any specific sense, hunters. While this lack of textual corroboration does not, to my mind, rule out this reading of *śvānvant-*, it does leave it unsupported, and so we must move on.

4 ‘Dogs’ as Dogs (as Symbols)

It may be that dogs accompany Apsarases in order to exert their symbolic rather than their practical value, in which case we need to determine what themes or functions dogs represented in ancient India, and which of these might also be pertinent to the Apsarases. Our task is made easier by the existence of several excellent modern studies that to a greater or lesser degree deal with the role and symbolism of the dog in early South Asia. Principal among these, Sontheimer (1984), Falk (1986) and Bollée (2006) may be cited. The themes which emerge from these studies which seem most conducive to the present concerns are two: sex and death.

Nuristan as elsewhere – most likely to experience manifestations of the supernatural world.”

21 The *cŵn Annwn* are associated with the Wild Hunt, especially under the leadership of Gwyn ap Nudd.

22 See e.g. RV 9.78.3a; ŚS 2.2.3cd ~ PS 1.7.3cd; PS 1.29.3a; PS 7.13.11ab, 12ab & 13ab (= PS 15.19.9ab, 10ab & 11ab); PS 15.18.6b.

23 See e.g. PS 1.29.3b; ŚS 4.37.4 ~ PS 12.7.7; ŚS 14.2.9cd ~ PS 18.7.10cd.

24 See e.g. MBh 3.155.83a, MBh 6.17.16, MBh 12.319.20.

25 See, most pertinently, the stanzas containing the word *śvānvant-* listed above, as well as the *sūkta* ŚS 4.37 ~ PS 12.7, and e.g. ŚS 8.5.13 ~ PS 16.28.3.

26 See especially PS 1.29.3a, where certain Apsarases are identified as *yā varyā* “who belong to the forests” (Zehnder et al. 2024). See also ŚS 4.37.4 ~ PS 12.7.7; ŚS 11.9.24 ~ PS 16.30.4–5; ŚS 14.2.9cd ~ PS 18.7.10cd.

4.1 Sex

It is hardly novel to point out that Apsarases are closely associated with sex. This connection is established already in the Rigveda, for instance when Purūravas fondly recalls the times when his lover, the Apsaras Urvaśī, was ‘pierced by my rod day and night’ (*dīvā nāktam śnathitā vaitaséna*).²⁷ In the Atharvaveda, sex with Apsarases is promised as a reward for those who cook the Viṣṭārin rice gruel (on which, see Griffiths 2009: 230–231): PS 6.22.13ab *svarge loke apsarasa enam*²⁸ *jāyā bhūtvopa śerate* ‘as wives the Apsarases lie beside him in the celestial world.’²⁹ Apsarases are also linked to sex elsewhere in the Veda,³⁰ and in later literature they are depicted as granting sexual rewards to slain warriors, whom they also escort, like the Norse Valkyries, from the battlefield to heaven.³¹ In the Sanskrit epics especially, Apsarases are noted for their sexual prowess and their “legendary promiscuity” (Oberlies 2012). The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām 3.33.16c), for instance, describes them as *kriḍāratividhijñā-* “skilled in the sports of lovemaking” (translation by Pollock in Goldman and Sutherland Goldman 2021: 302),³² and as *sādhāraṇā-* (Rām 1.44.20d), which means common to or belonging to or shared by *all*. In the *Mahābhārata*, the Apsarases Menakā (MBh 1.68.75) and Pañcacūḍā (MBh 13.38.2d) are both called *pumścalī-* ‘whore, slut’. The literary trope of sages being distracted from

27 RV 10.95.4cd. In the following stanza (RV 10.95.5), Urvaśī remembers being ‘pierced’ by Purūravas’ ‘rod’ three times a day, even when she was ‘not seeking’ it (*avyatyai*), and acknowledges that Purūravas was then ‘a hero, the king of my body’ (5d *rājā me vira tanvās*).

28 I take the liberty of rejecting Griffiths’ (2009: 244–245) emendation to accusative plural **enāñ* ‘them’, against the unanimous reading of the manuscripts, on the basis of the points made by Thomas Zehnder in his article in the present volume (see his notes on # (39) R740).

29 On this Paippalāda stanza see Griffiths (2009: 244–245), who draws attention earlier (pp. 233–234) to PS 16.96.1, which also appears to offer sex with Apsarases as a reward. The keyword in this second instance is the rare term *strāiṇa-*, on which Griffiths (2009: 234) writes “[i]n all Atharvavedic attestations, *strāiṇa-* ‘women-stuff’ may be taken as referring to sex with women”, glossing the latter word with “Apsarases”.

30 See e.g. JB 3.76; JUB 3.25.6–8; PB 12.11.10.

31 See especially Hara (2001) who cites, among other works, the *Mahābhārata*, Bhāsa’s *Urubhaṅga*, and Māgha’s *Śisupālavadhā*. In this latter Mahākāvya, the Apsarases are called *suraganikāh* ‘the courtesans of the gods’. I give here the translation of *Śisupālavadhā* 17.34 by Dundas (2017: 581): “When heaven’s courtesans heard the thunder of the battle drums, they yearned to possess the warriors slain in combat, putting on long-unused finery suitable for a first passionate encounter.” In an endnote, Dundas (ibid.: 753 n. 9) points to verse 15.87 from the same work, which he translates as follows (ibid.: 517): “Another woman jealously addressed her husband, who was eager for battle: ‘You cheat! You just want to spend an eternity making love with apsarases in heaven. That’s why you are so pleased to be off!’”.

32 Cf. MBh 14.43.15cd, where it is said that among amorous women, Apsarases are foremost (*ratinām vasumatyas tu strīṇām apsarasas tathā*).

their ascetic practices by the sexual allure of Apsarases is already well established in these works.³³

In one of his studies of the dog-accompanied hunter deity Mallāri, commonly known as Khaṇḍobā in Maharashtra (the state where his worship is most prevalent today), Sontheimer (1984: 166) remarks that “[t]he dog is often a metaphor for sexuality and sexual licentiousness”. In his more general study of the dog in ancient India, Bollée (2006: 85) concurs: “the dog is often a metaphor for ‘shameless’ sexuality”. The analogy is not unfamiliar to speakers of modern European languages, wherein insults to women such as *bitch* and *chiene*, and expressions such as *avoir du chien*, abound.³⁴ Sontheimer (1984: 165–166) notes that “on special occasions” the devotees of Mallāri imitate dogs, behaviour which he likens to that practised by the Vedic Vrātyas, the Pāśupatas, and the ancient Greek Cynics (< Greek κυνικός ‘dog-like’). In connection to the latter school of thought, Sontheimer refers to the Greek concept of ‘shamelessness’ (ἀναιδέεια), a central pillar in the Cynics’ rejection of the conventional mores (αἰδώς) of their day, and key to Diogenes’ reappropriation of the intended insult κύων ‘dog’ (see e.g. Long 1996: 35). The link between dogs and ‘shamelessness’ in ancient Greece is worth mentioning here in light of Wackernagel’s (1916: 160) proposal that *apsarás-* be analysed as privative *a-* + **psáras-*, a reconstructed Indo-Iranian word cognate with Avestan *fšarəma-* ‘shame’, *apsarás-* thus meaning ‘without shame, shameless’.³⁵ Although not all scholars have found this proposal persuasive (e.g. Mayrhofer 1992: 89 “Nicht überzeugend gedeutet”), it has garnered some support (most notably Oberlies 1998: 228–229; see also Wright 1967: 534). As Wackernagel himself points out, the Apsaras Menakā is explicitly described as ‘shameless’ (*nirapatrapā*) in the *Mahābhārata*.³⁶

Much of this is suggestive, and it may even be tempting to consider interpreting *śvānvant-* as sharing similar semantic scope with French *avoir du chien*, but this

³³ The tale of the sage Viśvāmītra being distracted by the Apsaras Menakā is one of the better-known stories (see e.g. MBh 1.66.1–7 and Rām 1.62.4–8) but there are plenty of other examples (e.g. the sage Dadhīca being distracted by the Apsaras Alambusā at MBh 9.50.5–9).

³⁴ While in modern English the insult *bitch* has come to primarily denote a nasty or malicious woman, its original power as an insult derives from its meaning “(originally) a lewd or lascivious woman” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, Third Edition) whose behaviour is thought to resemble that of a bitch on heat. This original sense accounts, in turn, for the power of the insult *son of a bitch*, equivalent to French *fils de pute*, Spanish *hijo de puta* etc. French *chiene* retains a stronger sense of ‘promiscuous woman’ than does modern English *bitch*. The expression *avoir du chien*, applied to a woman, denotes something akin to ‘sex appeal’ (perhaps comparable to modern English *fox*), and has quite a distinct history.

³⁵ Wackernagel (1916: 160) asks: “Sind die Apsarases, weil verführerisch und sich frei hingebend, als die des Schamgefühls entbehrenden bezeichnet?”.

³⁶ See the star passage MBh 1.8.7b*0225_01.

reading, or indeed any reading of our epithet which foregrounds the Apsarases' sexuality, must remain highly speculative, not least because the evidence connecting dogs with sex in Vedic literature is in fact substantially weaker than might be hoped for.

4.2 Death

The Atharvaveda, more than any other text, focuses on the malevolent, hostile nature of Apsarases.³⁷ In the sūktas containing the first two instances of *śvánvant-* listed above (Ś1. & Ś2.), they are associated with the deadly disease called *yákṣma-* (probably tuberculosis, see Zysk 1996: 12–17). Elsewhere, it is revealed that they kill humans directly (e.g. ŚS 8.5.13a ~ PS 16.28.3a; PS 7.11.3), and as Griffiths (2009: 383) has observed, there are “thematic and verbatim correspondences” in the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā between Apsarases and female demonic beings such as the Sadānvās and the Kaṇvās. Together with the Gandharvas, they are also listed alongside demonic beings such as the Arāyas, the Kimīdins, the Piśācas and the Rakṣases (ŚS 12.1.50 ~ PS 17.5.8). In Ś1. listed above, dog-accompanied Apsarases are said to approach from the south, or from below (*adhara-*), a direction which represents the realm of Yama and the dead ancestors (*pitṛ-*).³⁸ Apsarases are also linked to Yama elsewhere in the Atharvaveda (e.g. PS 5.17.8; PS 17.24.10), while the Rīgveda contains a fairly clear hint that an Apsaras (referred to merely as *āpyā . . . yóṣā*) is, along with ‘the Gandharva in the waters’, a near ancestor (possibly the mother?) of Yama and his twin sister Yamī.³⁹ In every stanza listed above wherein the epithet *śvánvant-* occurs, Apsarases are depicted as threatening. Might the dogs that accompany them be an external representation of this threat?

There is certainly ample testimony in Vedic literature that dogs are associated with death. This association is established already in the Rīgveda (RV 10.14.10–12), when ‘the two dogs of Saramā’s breed’ (*sārameyāu śvánau*, 10a), later called Śabala and Śyāma (see e.g. ŚS 8.1.9a ~ PS 16.1.9a), are introduced as the guardians (*rakṣitṛ-*, 11a) and messengers (*dūtā-*, 12b) of Yama, king of the realm of the dead.⁴⁰ Falk (1986: 109) and Bollée (2006: 80) adduce further passages from (post-Rīgvedic)

³⁷ Indeed, these facets of their character are often not mentioned at all in other texts.

³⁸ See Zehnder et al. (2024) on PS 1.59.5c and PS 1.104.1b.

³⁹ RV 10.10.4c: *gandharvó apsv āpyā ca yóṣā . . .* Jamison and Brereton (2014: 1382) translate: “The Gandharva in the waters and the watery maiden”. Cf. RV 10.95.10b, where Purūravas calls the Apsaras Urvaśī ‘the watery one’ (*āpyā*).

⁴⁰ Bloomfield (1893: 169) calls Yama’s dogs “destructive agents of death”. As the guardians of Yama’s realm, they correspond to Cerberus.

Vedic literature wherein dogs clearly represent death, and indeed this association is not limited to South Asian literary sources but is found across multiple Indo-European traditions.⁴¹ This widespread link between dogs and death is undoubtedly complex in origin and nature, but a striking and persistent concern in ancient Indian literature, as for instance in ancient Greek literature and European Renaissance painting,⁴² is of dogs as scavengers (thus *śvápada-*, see §2 above) and, in particular, as eaters of human corpses. We encounter representations of this theme in the *Mahābhārata* in particular,⁴³ but also in the *Atharvaveda*.⁴⁴ If murderous Apsarases leave human corpses in their wake, it would make good sense for dogs to accompany them.

In sum, even if we disregard the immediate contexts of the six occurrences of the epithet *śvānvant-* listed above, in the Vedic setting death in the shape of dogs appears to have greater symbolic currency than does sex.

5 ‘Dogs’ as Symbols

As alluded to above (§2), it is not uncommon in Vedic literature for the word *śvān-* ‘dog’ to be attributed to beings or entities other than dogs. In a somewhat speculative discussion on canine terminology in the ancient Indian dice game, Falk (1986: 108–111) suggests that the losing result, called *kālī-*, where a single Vibhīdaka nut (*ākṣa-*) is left over, was also understood as the ‘dog’ (hence the term *śvagh-nīn-*, see §2 above). This persuades Griffiths (2009: 383) that the dog-accompanied Apsarases in PS 7.13 (see stanzas Ś4. and Ś5. listed above) are “probably those Apsarases which were thought to be involved in a bad outcome of the dice-game”. Although Apsarases are certainly associated with the game of dice,⁴⁵ and although an indirect connection with dice might be apposite here (see §6.2 below), I do not find this proposal persuasive, at least when framed in this way. Not only would it counter the norm for possessive *-vant-* (i.e. that the nominal stem is understood as a plural, see footnote 12), it would also not conform to the way in which Apsarases’ involvement with the game of dice is represented elsewhere in the *Atharvaveda*. Apsarases are described as *akṣākāma-* ‘fond of dice’ (ŚS 2.2.5b ~ PS 1.7.5b). In a

41 See especially Schlerath (1954), Kershaw (2000: 428–430), and Anthony and Brown (2017: 146).

42 See especially e.g. Homer *Iliad* (1.4–5; 22.335–354 etc.); and Pieter Bruegel the Elder’s *The Triumph of Death* (Museo del Prado, Madrid).

43 See e.g. MBh 3.255.31; MBh 5.139.51; MBh 11.16.29; MBh 12.159.59.

44 See ŚS 11.2.2 ~ PS 16.104.2; ŚS 11.2.11 ~ PS 16.105.1; ŚS 11.10.23.

45 See especially Lüders (1940 [first published 1907]: 111–112) and Falk (1986: 116, 175–180).

Śaunaka sūkta (ŚS 4.38) that is used by the Kauśikasūtra (Kauś 41.13) for success in the dice game (Whitney and Lanman 1905: 214), the Apsaras is invoked for victory and is characterised as *sādhudevīn-* ‘playing successfully’ (1b, 2b), as ‘delighting in dice’ (4a *akṣēṣu pramōdante*), and as able to ensure the winning result (*kṛtā-*) in the *glāha-* ‘grip, portion (of Vibhīdaka nuts grabbed by each player)’ (1c). The ability of Apsarases to determine the outcome of a game is also depicted in another Atharvavedic sūkta, the speaker of which implores as follows: “Let them (Apsarases) unite our hand with the winning result. Let them make the rival player succumb to us” (translation by Zehnder, Leach and Hellwig, *Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda, Online Edition*).⁴⁶ While it is true that in ensuring victory for one side, the Apsarases are inevitably involved in a “bad outcome” for the other, Atharvavedic poets never occupy this vantage point. They only speak from the perspective of victory (and in one instance, contrition at any *kīlbiṣāni* ‘offences’ that may have occurred).⁴⁷

Elsewhere, Bloomfield (1893: 163–172) presents the striking examples of the sun and the moon, each of which are referred to as dogs: in the Atharvaveda the sun is called ‘the celestial dog’ (*śūno divyāsya*, ŚS 6.80.1, 3 ~ PS 19.16.12–13; *śvā divyaḥ*, PS 15.18.8), and the same designation is applied to the moon at e.g. ŚBM 11.1.5.1; elsewhere, sun and moon together are called ‘the dogs of Yama’ (*yamaśvā*, e.g. MS 1.6.9:100.17). Might the sun be the singular ‘dog’ that accompanies the Apsarases? Stanzas such as PS 7.13.2, PS 15.18.7 and ŚS 4.38.5 might suggest that this is a possibility. The former, which immediately succeeds Ś4. listed above, is translated by Griffiths (2009: 386) thus: “They who approach from the East, together with the rays of the sun: (of those dog-accompanied [Apsarases] Indra shall cut off the head)”.⁴⁸ PS 15.18.7 implores two Apsarases to “dance away into the distance, together with the dappled dog” (translation by Lelli 2020: 200). Lelli (*ibid.*) concurs with Griffiths (2009: 385), who suggests that the “dappled dog” (*sāraṅgeṇa śunā*) here is the sun. Finally, ŚS 4.38.5ab reads as follows: *sūryasya raśmīn ānu yāḥ saṁcāranti mārīcīr vā yā anusamcāranti* ‘Those [Apsarases] that travel along the rays of the sun, or those that travel along its beams . . .’.⁴⁹ How convincing is it that Apsarases would

⁴⁶ PS 4.9.5cd: *tā no hastau kṛtena saṁ sṛjantu sapatnaṁ naḥ kitavaṁ randayantu*. In place of PS *kṛtena* ‘with the winning result’, the parallel ŚS 7.109.3c reads *ghṛtēna* ‘with ghee’, which Zehnder, Leach and Hellwig (*Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda, Online Edition*, comment on PS 4.5.9c) explain as a perseveration from ŚS 7.109.1c.

⁴⁷ See ŚS 6.118.1–2 ~ PS 16.50.3–4. Cf. also TB 3.7.12.3.

⁴⁸ PS 7.13.2 (= PS 15.19.2): *yāḥ purastād ācāranti sākaṁ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ (tāsaṁ śvanvatīnām indro api kṛtac chūrah)*.

⁴⁹ It is worth bearing in mind here that, according to at least one ancient Indian hydrological theory, water on earth is absorbed by the sun’s rays and travels upwards towards the sun before being released, also via the sun’s rays, as rain (see Zehnder et al. 2024, comment on PS 1.2.2ab). In other

be given an epithet which means ‘accompanied by the sun’? Of course, such an interpretation would also counter the norm for possessive *-vant-* (again, see footnote 12). Semantically, it also seems a little odd. Apsarases may accompany the sun, but would it really be said that the sun accompanies Apsarases? It should be noted that Apsarases do not come only from the east *with* the sun. At PS 1.29.1ab, the verse immediately prior to that quoted above as Ś1., they are described as coming from the east and *down from* (i.e. away from) the sun (*nīcaiḥ sūryāt*). What is more, they are also depicted as coming from the other three cardinal directions (see e.g. PS 15.19.3–5). Indeed, in Ś1. above, it is explicitly stated that dog-accompanied Apsarases come from the south, or from below (*adhara-*), an image which, as mentioned above, evokes the realm of Yama. At PS 15.19.4, the Apsarases that approach from the west are said to come “together with blind darkness” (*andhena tamasā saha*, translation by Lelli 2020: 205), which suggests the very absence of the sun.

In light of such discrepancies, I want to explore instead whether it is plausible that the ‘dogs’ that accompany the Apsarases might be beings that are proximate to the sun, and indeed to most of the themes discussed thus far, and which are, after all, the Apsarases’ most natural companions, namely the Gandharvas. The Gandharvas are not *actual* dogs, and so strictly speaking they belong in the present section of this article (‘Dogs’ as symbols), but because I attempt to enquire into their dog-like character in greater depth than I have attempted with the themes addressed above, they deserve a section of their own.

6 Gandharvas

Given the intimate relation between Apsarases and Gandharvas, it is not altogether surprising that many of the themes advanced thus far are also closely linked to the complex figure of the Gandharva. As with the Apsarases there are not, to my knowledge, explicit descriptions of the Gandharvas as hunters, but their close association with weaponry,⁵⁰ and especially with the practice of archery,⁵¹ is possibly suggestive. More appreciably, they are, like Apsarases, well known for their sexual voraciousness. Already in the wedding hymn of the Rigveda (RV 10.85), the Gandharva Viśvāvasu is pleaded with to ‘seek some other girl, [an unmarried one]

words, accustomed as they are to a watery habitat, Apsarases will not be out of place travelling along the sun’s rays.

⁵⁰ See already RV 10.123.7.

⁵¹ See e.g. TS 3.4.7.11; ŚBM 3.3.311 and TĀ 1.9.3 (where the legendary archer Kṛśānu is identified as a Gandharva); MBh 1.158.6–23; MBh 4.22.13–14.

who [still] lives with her father . . . seek some other budding young girl' i.e. rather than the just-married one he is pursuing (this plea re-emerges in both Atharvaveda Saṁhitās).⁵² Gandharvas are *strīkāma-* 'desirous of women' (MS 3.7.3:77.16; TS 6.1.6.5; AB 1.27), *yośītkāma-* 'desirous of girls' (ŚBM 3.2.4.3, ŚBM 3.9.3.20), *strībhāga* 'enjoyers (or sharers?) of women' (ŚS 8.6.19c ~ PS 16.80.10c),⁵³ and are frequently associated with sex and virility.⁵⁴ They are also closely associated with death, not least through the singular Gandharva's involvement as progenitor (with "the watery maiden", see §4.2) of the twin mortals Yama and Yamī (RV 10.10.4). In the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (17.24.10), the Gandharvas and Apsarases are the parents of Sleep (*svapna-*), called 'Yama's helper' (*yamasya karaṇah*), while in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā (3.4.7.8, 11), Death (*mṛtyú-*) is explicitly identified as a Gandharva. Also like the Apsarases, they are a direct threat to humans, whom they sometimes kill, especially in the Atharvaveda.⁵⁵ They are less directly connected to the game of dice than are Apsarases,⁵⁶ but are very strongly associated with the sun, with which they are often identified, on occasion in the same breath that Apsarases are identified with its rays.⁵⁷ Gandharvas and Apsarases are, then, compatible spouses.⁵⁸

Of all of the motifs I have discussed thus far, hunting, death and the sun have the strongest associations with dogs in Vedic literature. Gandharvas also have especially strong links with death and with the sun (as well as with sex). Given these

52 RV 10.85.21c, 22c: *anyām iccha pitṛśādam . . . anyām iccha prapharvyām*. The Paippalāda parallel to the first of these stanzas (RV 10.85.21) is at PS 18.10.3 while the Śaunaka version at ŚS 14.2.33 combines RV 10.85.22ab with RV 10.85.21cd. In the Atharvaveda, the plea for the Gandharva to depart lasts a further three stanzas (PS 18.10.4–6 ~ ŚS 14.2.34–36).

53 Cf. ŚS, PS *hutābhāga-* 'enjoying, partaking of (sharing in) oblations'.

54 The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām 4.42.50) tells us that Gandharvas, along with certain other beings, are 'wholly devoted to sexual pleasure' (*ratiparāyaṇa-*). Later, we learn (in the translation of Goldman and Sutherland Goldman 2021: 420) that "intense desire is natural for *gandharvas*" (Rām 4.58.9a: *tikṣṇakāmās tu gandharvāḥ*). In the Atharvaveda (ŚS 4.4.1 ~ PS 4.5.1) it is told that the Gandharva provided a cure (*ōśadhīm śepahārṣaṇīm* 'a penis-erecting plant') for Varuṇa's erectile disfunction. At ŚS 4.37.7 ~ PS 12.7.9, an attempt to neutralize a threatening Gandharva involves castrating him. See also e.g. TS 5.7.15 and PB 19.3.2, and for further references Oberlies (2005: 106–107).

55 See e.g. ŚS 8.5.13 ~ PS 16.28.3; and ŚS 8.6.19 ~ PS 16.80.10, where Gandharvas are said to kill newborn babies.

56 However, see ŚS 7.109.5 ~ PS 4.9.4, where a gambler wishes to mark success in the dice game by feasting with the Gandharvas. See also, Mayrhofer (1992: 323) s.v. *kalī-*, and Norelius (2015: 41).

57 For identifications between the figure of the Gandharva and the sun, see e.g. RV 10.123 and ŚBM 6.3.1.19. See also the description of the Gandharva as *sūryatvac-* 'sun-skinned' at ŚS 2.2.2a ~ PS 1.7.2a. The Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra (BaudhŚS 18.46) mentions a Gandharva named Sūryavarcas ('having the splendour of the sun'), who is also named elsewhere. The Gandharva is depicted as the sun, and the Apsarases its rays, at e.g. TS 3.4.7.2 and ŚBM 9.4.1.8.

58 Apsarases are identified as the wives of Gandharvas at e.g. PS 1.7.5c, ŚS 4.37.12a ~ PS 12.8.2a, and PS 1.89.2c.

links, and given that Gandharvas are, arguably, by far the most natural companions for the Apsarases, the question unavoidably presents itself: can the Gandharvas be understood as ‘dogs’? How dog-like are they? It is these questions which will occupy much of the remainder of this article.

The obvious opening move is to point out that that the Gandharva is indeed explicitly identified as taking on the form of a dog in the Atharvaveda, the very text which describes the Apsarases as *śvánvatī-* ‘dog-accompanied’. I give the text and translation as presented by Hellwig, Leach and Zehnder (*Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda, Online Edition*):

śvetīkṛṇvānaḥ puruṣaṁ viśvā rūpāṇi bobhuvat |
śvevaikaṁ kapir ivaikaṁ kumāraḥ sarvakeśakaḥ |
priyo dṛṣe bhūtvā gandharvaḥ sacate striyaṁ tam ito nāśayāmasi || PS 12.8.6 (~ ŚS 4.37.11)

Turning man white, successively assuming all forms: one like a dog, one like a monkey,⁵⁹ [and one like] a youth with a full head of hair – having become nice to look at, Gandharva pursues women. We make him disappear from here.

This verse belongs to a *sūkta* (consisting of two *kaṇḍikās* in the PS, PS 12.7 and PS 12.8) that is concerned with driving away demonic (see PS 12.7.1–2 ~ ŚS 4.37.1–2) Gandharvas and Apsarases who constitute a threat to the speaker and his companions. In this sense it addresses a very similar theme and is spoken from the very same vantage point as each of the *sūktas* that contain the epithet *śvánvatī-*. In the Śaunaka version of this *sūkta*, shortly before the above verse, the Gandharvas are twice described as *havirādā-* ‘libation-eating’ (ŚS 4.37.8c, 9c).⁶⁰ In the proper course of events, the eaters of libations are the gods (*devā-*), as is repeatedly described in the *Rigveda*.⁶¹ However, the Gandharvas are not mere substitutes for the gods here, since their eating of the libations is far from welcome – indeed, it is asked that

59 “One like a monkey”: The monkey (*kapi-*), like the Gandharva, is renowned in South Asia for its libidinous character (the literary beginnings of this trope are at RV 10.86). There are also notable links between Gandharvas (and Apsarases) and monkeys in the Sanskrit epics. In the *Mahābhārata* (3.147.22), for instance, Vaiśaṁpāyana asks the semi-divine monkey Hanumān whether he is a Gandharva. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām 4.37.29ab), the Vānaras, the troop to which Hanumān belongs, are identified as the sons of gods and Gandharvas. Elsewhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām 4.65.8–10), the Apsaras Puñjikasthālā, also known as Añjanā, is described as a shape-shifter (*kāmarūpiṇī-*) who has turned into a monkey (*kapi-*).

60 On this term, which does not fit the metre, see Hellwig, Leach and Zehnder (2024) on PS 12.8.3c.

61 See the use of the nominal form *havirādya-* at RV 1.163.9c, RV 5.1.11d, RV 5.4.4d, and RV 7.11.5ab. At RV 10.15.8–10, it is Yama and the ancestors (*pitṛ-*) that are described as ‘libation-eating’ (*havirād-*).

Indra push them away (8d, 9d: *vy ṛṣ*). The other creature that is notorious in ancient Indian literature for uninvitedly eating sacrificial oblations is of course the dog.⁶²

There are, in addition, several other characteristics shared by Gandharvas and dogs. In an Atharvavedic sūkta (ŚS 8.6 ~ PS 16.79–81) concerned with protecting a pregnant woman from attacks by demons, the Gandharvas are depicted, in common with other demonic beings, as killing embryos or fetuses (*gārbha-*) and newborn babies (ŚS 8.6.18–19 ~ PS 16.80.9–10). It is presumably also the Gandharvas who are described a few lines later as follows: ŚS 8.6.23abc (~ PS 16.81.5abc) *yā āmām māmsam adanti páuruṣeyam ca yé kravīḥ | gārbhān khādanti keśavāḥ . . .* ‘The hairy ones that eat raw flesh and human carrion, that feed upon embryos (or fetuses) . . .’⁶³ I have referred above (§4.2) to dogs’ predilection for necrophagy, and especially for human corpses. A passage in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh 3.219.33–38) describes how Saramā, ‘mother of dogs’, along with the mother of the Gandharvas and the mother of the Apsarases all seize human fetuses from inside their mother’s wombs. Gandharvas are further linked to anthropophagy through characters in the Sanskrit epics such as Virādha (described as *puruṣāda-* ‘man-eating’ at Rām 3.2.4d) and Kabandha.⁶⁴ Elsewhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is related that the Rākṣasa woman (*rākṣasī-*) called Saramā (namesake of Indra’s dog) is the daughter of the Gandharva king Śailūṣa (Rām 7.12.22). In Vedic literature, the Gandharva arguably exhibits further dog-like traits: he is a protector and guardian (of soma in particular, see especially Kuiper 1996 and Oberlies 2005); as a group, the Gandharvas undertake a nocturnal raid to steal Urvaśī’s lambs (ŚBM 11.5.1.1–4); they are quite often associated with the action of licking (*rih*).⁶⁵ However, I intend to scrutinize the dog-like nature of the Gandharvas from another angle, and to approach this angle by revisiting an old controversy.

62 See e.g. RV 9.101.1, 13; JB 1.353; MBh 2.34.19cd, MBh 3.253.19–20, MBh 12.15.45ab; Rām 6.26.26.

63 Wijesekera (1994 [first published 1945]: 182) writes of this verse: “[i]t is also certain that the *gandharvas* are meant”.

64 Virādha is identified as the Gandharva Tumburu at Rām 3.3.18. The man-eating Kabandha (see especially Rām 3.65.22–26) is identified as the Gandharva Viśvāvasu at MBh 3.263.38. They are also both together identified as Gandharvas in the *Harivaṁśa* (HV 31.119). See also e.g. MBh 1.59.5, where Gandharvas are named, alongside other beings, as ‘man-eaters’ (*puruṣāda-*).

65 See e.g. RV 1.22.14; ŚS 7.73.3 ~ PS 20.13.1; ŚāṅkhŚS 5.10.23.

6.1 Gandharvas and Centaurs

The long-standing debate on the connections between Gandharvas and Centaurs was initiated by Adalbert Kuhn's (1852) postulation of an etymological link between Vedic *gandharvá-* and Greek κένταυρος and his accompanying discussion of the similarities between these two figures from a mythological perspective.⁶⁶ Kuhn's proposed etymological link has since been roundly rejected by scholars (see Kulikov 2021: 164–165), the consensus for some time being that both words are without an Indo-European etymology, shared or otherwise. Kulikov (2018; 2021) has recently reignited the debate by suggesting a common non-Indo-European origin for both terms. Pointing to the “abundance of hybrid half-animal creatures in Kassite mythology” (Kulikov 2018: 60; 2021: 175), apparent borrowings from Indo-Iranian in the sparsely attested Kassite lexicon,⁶⁷ and Kassite mythology as one of the “possible sources of the Centaurs” (2018: 60; 2021: 174), Kulikov suggests that this common origin may be the Kassite language. More pertinent to the present discussion, in agreement with Kuhn (1852), Dumézil (1929) and others, and in opposition to West's (2007: 285 fn. 14) claim that the Centaurs and Gandharvas “have virtually nothing in common mythologically”, Kulikov (2021: 166–171) affirms multiple shared characteristics between the two mythical figures, which he lists and describes under the following headings:

- Shape-shifting and hybrid or theriomorphic nature
- (Semi-)equinal nature
- Hypersexuality and lustfulness
- Aquatic nature and association with water
- Connection with alcoholic or intoxicating drinks
- Expertise in healing plants
- Musical skills

This list of commonalities between Gandharvas and Centaurs can be constructively elaborated upon and expanded. For instance, under “Hypersexuality and lustfulness” references could be added to, on the one hand, ŚāṅkhGS 1.19.2 (~ KauṣGS 1.12.2), which directs a newly-wed husband to touch his wife's vulva and to address it with the words ‘You are the mouth of the Gandharva Viśvāvasu’ (*gandharvasya viśvāvasor mukham asi*); and on the other, fragment 92 of the Athenian comic play-

⁶⁶ Kuhn's approach was taken up by Dumézil (1929) among others.

⁶⁷ Kulikov (2018, 60) refers to “numerous Kassite names borrowed from Indo-Iranian (or Indo-Aryan)”, adapting this claim in his later publication to “a few Kassite names presumably borrowed from Indo-Iranian” (2021: 175). No references are given for this borrowing, but see e.g. Sassmannshausen (2014).

wright Theopompus, wherein the vagina is referred to as κένταυρος (see Storey 2011: 352–353).⁶⁸ Under “Aquatic nature and association with water”, it could be pointed out that Cheiron, unquestionably the best-known Centaur if a markedly atypical one, is not only the child of an Oceanid, as Kulikov (2021: 170) reports, but is also married to a Naiad (a freshwater nymph, named Chariclo), just as the Gandharvas are husbands to the water-dwelling Apsarases. Moreover, further “shared characteristics” can be added to the above list. For instance, as noted already by Kuhn (1852: 531–532, 537), the Centaur Cheiron as well as certain Gandharvas including Viśvāvasu, Citraratha and Citrasena, are depicted as teachers of young heroes: in the case of the Gandharvas their heroic pupil is Arjuna,⁶⁹ in the case of Cheiron, his notable former students include Jason, Odysseus, Achilles, Actaeon, Asclepius and Aeneas.⁷⁰ In the Sanskrit epics especially, Gandharvas are described, just like the Centaurs, as having their homes in the mountains.⁷¹ Centaurs are also depicted as eaters of raw flesh (e.g. Apollodorus’ *Bibliotheca* 2.5.4) and are associated with cannibalism, or rather anthropophagy (Bremmer 2002: 146–147). Bremmer (2012: 29) notes that “Centaur names recur as the names of dogs already in the Archaic age”.

Especially striking, and apparently overlooked by scholars thus far,⁷² is that Gandharvas and Centaurs both play a very specific role as potential or actual violent aggressors towards the bridal party at weddings. In the wedding hymn ŚS 14.2 ~ PS 18.7–18.14, a few verses after the Gandharva Viśvāvasu has been pleaded

⁶⁸ Bremmer (2012: 34) remarks: “even the vagina was called ‘Centaur’ in ancient comedy as it roused sexual lust”.

⁶⁹ According to MBh 3.89.13, Arjuna learnt from Viśvāvasu the arts of song (*gīta-*), dance (*nr̥tta-*), melody (*sāman-*) and the playing of musical instruments (*vāditra-*), collectively called *gāndharvañ vedam* ‘the Gandharva knowledge’. At MBh 1.158.38–44, Citraratha transmits to Arjuna the knowledge (*vidyā-*) called ‘vision’ (*caṅśus-*) which seems to be a form of clairvoyance or remote viewing. At MBh 3.235.6, Arjuna is identified as the pupil (*śiṣya-*) of Citrasena (see also MBh 3.164.54).

⁷⁰ For references, see Bremmer (2012: 33). Cheiron is depicted as having taught medicine to Asclepius (not mentioned in Bremmer’s list) in e.g. Homer’s *Iliad* (4.219) and Pindar’s *Third Nemean Ode* (54–55).

⁷¹ Bremmer (2012: 43) calls Centaurs “demons of the mountain wilderness”, and remarks that “the mountains functioned as a kind of ‘liminal space’ between the civilised world and the world outside Greek civilisation”. Gandharvas are described as living in the northern mountains at e.g. MBh 2.25.5–6, MBh 3.140.5 and MBh 3.155.83. It is perhaps worth noting here that Ctesias’ famous Cynocephaloi (“dog-headed people”), characterised as hunters who are greatly skilled with weaponry, who eat animal flesh and wear animal hides, and who occupy a liminal space between “human and animal, civilized and savage” (Nichols 2011: 124), are also located in the northern mountains. For these descriptions, see Nichols (2011: 53–55).

⁷² This is despite the fact that several of the scholars (e.g. Kuhn 1852: 537–538; Dumézil 1929: 175–177) who have discussed the apparent links between Gandharvas and Centaurs have explicitly referred to the Lapiths.

with to seek another girl (specifically, one who is unmarried, see §6.), the Gandharvas and Apsarases who watch the wedding procession go by from their perches in the trees are entreated not to injure the bridal party: ‘May they be well-disposed towards this bride, may they not harm the bridal procession as it passes by!’⁷³ In response to the stanza in which this line occurs, Vasilkov (1989–1990: 394–395) observes the following:

[T]he mention of the Apsarases and Gandharvas hiding in the trees and threatening to attack the marriage procession reminds us of a custom known to many Indo-European peoples, the Balts in particular: unmarried boys from the bridegroom’s age-group attack the marriage feast, feigning the “kidnapping” of the bride.⁷⁴

As with ancient Indian literature,⁷⁵ Greek and Latin literature abounds in mythical tales of bridal abduction,⁷⁶ and it also contains references to mock abductions at weddings.⁷⁷ Several scholars have suggested that the latter were modelled on the former, in other words that the ritualised (‘mock’) abduction (or residual elements thereof) that appears to have sometimes formed part of the marriage ceremony took a mythical abduction as its prototype.⁷⁸ Indeed, this view itself goes back to antiquity – the Roman grammarian Festus (c. 2nd century CE) claims that the mock abduction of the bride (*rapi simulatur virgo*) at her wedding is performed in honour of Romulus, under whose leadership the famous rape (abduction) of the Sabines was conducted (Lindsay 1913: 364–365; see also Hersch 2010: 145).

The attempted abduction of Hippodameia, bride of Peirithous, at their wedding feast in Thessaly by the inebriated Centaur Eurytion, and the violent battle that ensues (the so-called Centauromachy) between the drunken Centaurs and the

73 SS 14.2.9ef (~ PS 18.7.10ef): *syonás te asyái vadhvài bhavantu má hññsišur vahatúm uhyámānam*.

74 As we will see below, Vasilkov proposes that the role of the Gandharvas in this marriage rite is taken on by the unmarried boys of the “men’s house” (*sabhā*-).

75 On ‘abduction marriage’ (*rākṣasa*-) in ancient Indian law, ritual and myth (as well as on its numerous Greek analogues), see especially Jamison (1994; 1996: 218–235).

76 It should be noted that the Centaur Cheiron plays a role in two of the best known of these abductions: that of Cyrene by Apollo, and that of Thetis by Peleus, both as told by Pindar, respectively in the *Ninth Pythian Ode* (29–66) and the *Fourth Nemean Ode* (61–62).

77 See especially Plutarch *Lycurgus* 15 (see Talbert 2005: 18–19). Cartledge (2004: 171) remarks that the Spartan marriage ceremony “began with a rape – normally a purely symbolic and ritualized rape, no doubt”. Redfield (1982: 191) observes: “Virginity is precious and is not abandoned voluntarily. Hence the elements in the wedding ceremony which imply that the wedding is after all a rape, in particular the *thurōros*, the doorkeeper (mentioned by Sappho) who, as Pollux tells us (3.42) ‘roars at the women trying to rescue the bride.’” On mock abductions at weddings in other parts of ancient Greece, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1973) and Jenkins (1983).

78 Again, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1973) and Jenkins (1983).

Lapiths does not follow the typical pattern of Greek bridal abductions. To begin with, the earliest extant version of the story does not take place at a wedding at all, but simply in Peirithous' home where Eurytion is a guest, and what is more, there is no mention of an abduction.⁷⁹ Secondly, in the canonical version of the story such as is found, for example, in Ovid and in the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus,⁸⁰ Eurytion's attempted abduction of Hippodameia takes place at her wedding (as opposed to in advance of it) but is clearly not a 'mock abduction' as wedding abductions usually are.⁸¹ And thirdly, the abduction fails, and many of the Centaurs, including Eurytion, are killed.

The Centauro-machy usefully highlights several characteristics which the Centaurs share with the Gandharvas. Here we may cite their "hypersexuality and lustfulness" (encouraged by Eurytion's actions and the wine they have consumed, his Centaur companions proceed to seize other girls at the marriage feast), and their connection with alcohol or intoxication. Their use of trees or branches as weapons is also worthy of note here. Depictions of the Centaurs armed against the Lapiths in this way can be found in e.g. Pindar (F 166), Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 12.327) and Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.11.22), and are especially vivid in pictorial representations from the 6th century BCE Attic François Vase to Renaissance painting and beyond.⁸² This motif is also common in South Asia: in general, the ability to uproot trees signifies superhuman strength in early Sanskrit literature.⁸³ The use of uprooted trees as weapons is attributed to Rāvaṇa among other demons,⁸⁴ but it is especially associated with the forest-dwelling, shape-shifting, honey wine-loving,⁸⁵ theriomorphic monkey warriors (*vānara-*) who assist Rāma in his retrieval of his abducted wife Sitā in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁸⁶ It is also ascribed to Bhīma in the *Mahābhārata*, in a

⁷⁹ Homer *Odyssey* 21.295–299. In Lattimore's (1991: 316–317) translation, Eurytion simply "went wild with drinking" and "did much harm in the house of Peirithoös". Cf. Pindar Fragment 166 (Sandys 1915: 600–603).

⁸⁰ Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.210–535; *Bibliotheca* 3.11.21–22. See also Pausanias 5.10.8.

⁸¹ In other words, it is therefore of a different nature to other mythical abductions of brides, such as Hades' abduction of Persephone, or the Dioscuri's abduction of the Leucippides, or Apollo's abduction of Cyrene etc., all of which take place before (in anticipation of) the marriage ceremony, as well as to 'mock abductions' which are reported (by Plutarch etc.) as actually taking place at weddings.

⁸² See especially Piero di Cosimo's *The Fight Between the Lapiths and the Centaurs* (National Gallery, London).

⁸³ It is attributed, for example, to Kṛṣṇa as a baby in the *Harivaṃśa* (HV 51.16–18).

⁸⁴ See e.g. Rām 7.21.21. Rāvaṇa's brother Kumbhakarṇa also uproots a tree and arms himself with it at e.g. Rām 6.55.14.

⁸⁵ See Rām 5.59.11–60.26 for an account of the monkeys becoming drunk – and violent – on honey wine (*madhu-*).

⁸⁶ See e.g. Rām 4.16.21; 5.42.11; 6.57.66; 6.63.31; 6.84.7–18; 6.85.12.

short episode in which he rescues his abducted wife Draupadī. In the passage MBh 4.22.15–24, Bhīma is repeatedly called a Gandharva, and is described as having ‘the desire to kill’ (*jīghāmsā-*, 17b), as being like a raging lion (*siṃham iva*, 21a), and like death (*antakam iva*, 22a), and as striking terror into Draupadī’s assailants, who call out in alarm ‘A mighty Gandharva is coming, furious and brandishing a tree!’ (*gandharvo balavān eti kruddha udyamya pādapam*, 23ab).

The word that is used to identify the Vānaras, the brotherhood of monkey warriors⁸⁷ who are Rāma’s allies in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as ‘shape-shifters’ is *kāmarūpin-* ‘adopting [any] shape at will’.⁸⁸ It is surely not incidental that they are distinguished as such in the following manner: ‘The Vānaras are the sons of Gods and Gandharvas, and can assume [any] shape at will’ (*devagandharvaputrās ca vānarāḥ kāmarūpiṇaḥ*, Rām 4.37.29ab).⁸⁹ Like the Vānaras and the Apsarases, Gandharvas are shape-shifters, and are explicitly identified as *kāmarūpin-* in both Sanskrit epics.⁹⁰ Although, as we have seen above, Kulikov (2021: 166–167) has drawn attention to this significant aspect of the Gandharvas’ nature, many modern scholars have curiously ignored it.⁹¹ Kulikov cites two consecutive (in the ŚS) Atharvavedic stanzas (ŚS 4.37.10–11abcd ~ PS 12.8.4, 6) as evidence for the shape-shifting identity of the Gandharvas. One of these is the aforementioned verse (ŚS 4.37.11abcd ~ PS 12.8.6cdef) in which the singular Gandharva is said to assume forms like a dog, a monkey, and a youth with a full head of hair etc. Although Kulikov (p. 167) cites this verse in its Paippalāda rendering as “AVP 12.8.6”, he actually omits the opening two pādas of the Paippalāda stanza, which are peculiar to this version: *śvetikṛṇvānaḥ puruṣaṃ viśvā rūpāṇi bobhuvat* “Turning man white, successively assuming all forms”.⁹² This is worth noting here because pāda b contains a clear echo of an indication that the shape-shifting nature of the (singular) Gandharva was acknowledged already in the Rigveda, at RV 9.85.12ab: *ūrdhvo gandharvo ādhi nāke asthād viśvā rūpā praticākṣāno asya* “The Gandharva has stood erect upon the vault, gazing upon all his forms” (translation by Jamison and Brereton 2014: 1320).

⁸⁷ The Vānaras exhibit many of the typical characteristics of the Männerbund (on which, see the following section §6.2), though they are far greater in number than was the apparent norm for such groups (on which, see e.g. Widengren 1969: 88–90, 99).

⁸⁸ On the shape-shifting abilities of Rāma’s loyal Vānara companion Hanumān, see Goldman and Sutherland Goldman (1996: 43–47).

⁸⁹ Cf. Rām 4.32.6ab. These statements seem to refer back to Rām 1.16.1–6, where Brahmā asks ‘all the gods’ to father the Vānaras with Apsarases, Gandharva women and others.

⁹⁰ See e.g. MBh 3.236.9d; Rām 4.41.17.

⁹¹ No mention is made of the Gandharvas’ shape-shifting character in such wide-ranging modern studies as for instance Oberlies (2012) and Norelius (2015).

⁹² PS 12.8.6ab. Text and translation by Hellwig, Leach and Zehnder (2024).

In arguing for the shape-shifting nature of the Gandharvas, Kulikov (2021: 167) also draws attention to the “metamorphic” character of the cognate Iranian aquatic monster called Gaṇḍarəḅa (Middle Persian *gandarw/gandarb*), and to the survival of this word in modern Pamir languages, especially Shughni *žindürv* (< **gandarba-*) ‘werewolf’ and *žindürv*, (< **gandarbi-*), ‘she-werewolf’ (see also Panaino 2001). The Indo-European figure of the werewolf is itself identified as a shape-shifter via e.g. Latin *versipellis* (see Petronius *Satyricon* 62) and Old Norse *eigi einhamr* ‘not of one shape (or skin)’, a description also applied to *berserkir* warriors.⁹³ As Burkert (1983: 84–93) has shown, like the Gandharvas and the Centaurs, werewolves were also linked to cannibalism and necrophagy, in mountainous Arcadia and elsewhere.⁹⁴ Numerous scholars since Weiser (1927: 70–71) have connected the figure of the werewolf to ancient initiation rites, to which cannibalism and necrophagy have been similarly linked (Bremmer 2007: 73). The hypothesized groups to which young, unmarried males are granted membership via such initiatory practices are commonly referred to in the scholarly literature, following Schurtz (1902), as *Männerbünde*.⁹⁵ Members of such groups are attested cross-culturally to have engaged in warfare, hunting, cattle-raiding, and sexual license in wilderness areas away from the settled communities which raised them. The figure of the werewolf has itself been strongly linked to such groups,⁹⁶ and several scholars since Dumézil (1929) have also identified the Centaurs as representing something akin to a *Männerbund*.⁹⁷ As we will see, Dumézil’s (1929: 140–152) view that the Gandharvas embody the same institution has also found support in subsequent scholarship,⁹⁸ and it is this view that brings Gandharvas closer to dogs.

93 See Guðmundsdóttir (2007, 281–282) and Korecká (2019: 71–77).

94 See also Buxton (1987) and Bremmer (2007: 73). Buxton (1994: 83–84) identifies the mountain (ὄρος) in ancient Greece as “an initiatory space” and as a place for hunting, among other pursuits. It is to be noted that Herodotus associates the Neuries, who reportedly become wolves for a few days each year, with their neighbours the Androphagoi (‘Man Eaters’); see *Histories* 4.105–106, 125.

95 Alternative names include “sodalities”, “warrior brotherhoods”, “Bruderschaften”, and “Jungmannschaften”.

96 The literature is extensive. Aside from Höfler (1934) and Wikander (1938), see Burkert (1983: 83–184), McCone (1986) and Kaliff and Oestigaard (2022) among more recent studies.

97 Thus McCone (1987: 141) refers to “die männerbundartigen Kentauren . . .”, and Bremmer (2021: XVIII) remarks that the Centaurs suggest “a kind of men’s society” from “hoary antiquity”, while Marazov (2011: 142) claims that “the mythical centaurs are a reflection of the members of the male initiation alliances, the *Maennerbund*.”

98 The figures of the werewolf, the Centaur and the Gandharva have all been linked, in addition, to the practice of wearing animal skins and to animal masking (on which, see e.g. Kershaw 2000: 40–55, 194–199).

6.2 The Gandharva, the Vrātya, and the Indo-European Männerbund

In an important essay, Vasilkov (1989–1990: 394) suggests that the tree-dwelling Gandharvas and Apsarasas in the Atharvaveda’s wedding hymn (ŚS 14.2 ~ PS 18.7–18.14) referred to above would have been impersonated during the marriage rite by other figures mentioned in the same sūkta, namely “the young people of the *sabhā*”, which is to say the “sisters or playmates of the bride” (*jāmi-*, ŚS 14.2.61a) and the “long-haired boy-dancers” (see ŚS 14.2.59a: *keśīno jānāh*). This fits with Vasilkov’s contention that “[i]n all probability the Apsarasas and Gandharvas are nothing but the mythological ‘heavenly counterparts’ of the boys and girls of the Indo-Aryan ‘men’s house’” (p. 392).⁹⁹ The boys who frequent this *sabhā*- ‘assembly hall’ or “men’s house” are identified by Vasilkov (p. 397) as being members of a Männerbund or “warrior brotherhood”. The girls, according to this reading, belong to all or many of the boys there (see Vasilkov’s discussion of the terms *bandhakti-* and *sādhārāṇi-*), and their presence is explained in terms of the sexual role they perform.¹⁰⁰ As such, they are effectively regarded as prostitutes, and they appear to be the only females who are allowed to enter this otherwise exclusively male domain.¹⁰¹ These claims amount to a compelling argument,¹⁰² and as Vasilkov proposes, this framework can help to explain why Apsarasas and Gandharvas are, on the mythical plane, closely linked to music, dancing, sexual licentiousness and dicing (and in the case of the Gandharvas, the consumption of intoxicating drinks) – these are the activities which their human representatives, the young men and “promiscuous” women who frequent the *sabhā*, engage in there. It can also, I would argue, account for the Apsarasas’ tendency to abandon their children¹⁰³ (and is perhaps

⁹⁹ Vasilkov routinely refers to the ancient Indian institution called *sabhā-* as the “men’s house”, which he characterises as “the residence of the age-group of the initiated unmarried boys” that “usually served as a centre of erotic life of the young people of the tribe, turning, as a rule, into a kind of ‘common dormitory’ for teenagers of both sexes” (1989–1990: 389).

¹⁰⁰ Vasilkov (1989–1990: 395) argues that “the well-known idea that every girl before marriage belongs to the Gandharvas (or a Gandharva) now appears to be not a mythological fiction, but a reflection of social reality”.

¹⁰¹ On this see also Falk (1986: 90–92). Vasilkov’s and Falk’s ideas are usefully brought together and summarised by Norelius (2015: 68–77).

¹⁰² It has been accepted by several scholars including Oberlies (1998: 229), who adduces ŚBM 13.4.3.7–8 as also identifying the beautiful young men (*yūvānaḥ śobhanāḥ*) and women (*yuvatāyaḥ śobhanāḥ*) who frequent the *sabhā* with the Gandharvas and Apsarasas.

¹⁰³ Examples include Urvaśī’s abandonment of her son Āyu (suggested already at RV 10.95.13) and the Apsaras Menakā’s abandonment of both Pramadvārā (e.g. MBh 1.8.4–10) and Śakuntalā (MBh 1.66.8–9).

linked to the Gandharvas' involvement in infanticide). Infant exposure or abandonment appears to have been fairly commonplace in ancient India (as elsewhere), especially among prostitutes.¹⁰⁴

If the Apsarases are the celestial counterparts of the sexually promiscuous young women (recall the *Mahābhārata's* description of Apsarases as *pumścalī-* as discussed in §4.1) who frequent the “men's house”, then the Gandharvas must be the celestial counterparts of the Vrātyas, the age-set group of initiated young men (as well as older, marginalised persons, see Falk 1986: 51–55)¹⁰⁵ that several scholars have identified as embodying the institution of the Männerbund in South Asia.¹⁰⁶ These links between the Gandharvas and the Vrātyas have been noted before now.¹⁰⁷ Falk (1986: 66–72) identifies a ‘seasonal rhythm’ (“jahreszeitlichen Rhythmus”, p. 68) to the Vrātyas' life, which appears to have included a period frequenting the sabhā and engaging in sexually licentious behaviour at around the time of the winter solstice (pp. 96–97).¹⁰⁸

There is a large body of scholarly literature on the Indo-European Männerbund (PIE **kóryos*) which does not need to be summarised here,¹⁰⁹ though I will highlight three points germane to the themes I have been discussing. First of all, it has been well established (already in the earliest scholarship, see e.g. Weiser 1927: 34–47, and Höfler 1934: 166–169 *et passim*) that members of such Männerbünde

104 The classic study of this phenomenon in pre-modern Western Europe is Boswell (1989). On the practice of child exposure in ancient India, see Silk (2007: especially pp. 303–305 on prostitutes abandoning their newborn children).

105 In this respect, as in several others, the Vrātyas can be usefully compared to the Irish *fiana*; see especially Nagy (1985: 20–21), and McCone (2012).

106 On this view of the Vrātyas, see especially Heesterman (1962), Bollée (1981) and Falk (1986). Selva (2019: 333–336) provides an excellent overview.

107 Norelius (2015: 78–81) gives a good summary of the scholarship. See already Hillebrandt (1927: 380) and Hauer (1927: 54), and more recently Witzel (1992: 618): “The gandharvas seem to form, together with the promiscuous *apsaras*, the counterpart of the *vrātyas* and their female companions.” As Oberlies (1998: 229 fn. 386) points out, the compatibility of this idea with the concurrent scholarly consensus that the Maruts also form a celestial counterpart to the Vrātyas is a question that requires further investigation.

108 Held (1935: 291–293) and Bollée (1981: 174) had also connected the Vrātyas to the sabhā.

109 However, mention should be made of sceptical voices such as H. S. Versnel (see Versnel 1990: 44–59), Carlo Ginzburg (see Ginzburg 1990: 153–181; Ginzburg and Lincoln 2020 [first published 1989]: 50–56) and Bruce Lincoln (Ginzburg and Lincoln 2020: 150–151). Ginzburg's and Lincoln's unease with the Männerbund theory clearly fits the scholarly trajectory sketched by Harris (1993: 78): “As a concept for analysis for Old Germanic social groupings, the *Männerbund* fell into an undeserved disrepute as a result of reaction against the excesses of Otto Höfler's famous book *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* and of the generally positive reception of its theories and its author by the National Socialists.”

were frequently symbolically linked to death, and specifically to the ancestral dead. It will be sufficient here to cite the prominent examples of Tacitus' Harii (*Germania* §43 *feralis exercitus* 'army of ghosts'), the (etymologically related) Norse *einherjar* (the army of slain warriors in service to Óðinn in Valhøll) and their earthly counterparts the *berserkir*,¹¹⁰ and the Irish *fian*-members (*féinnidi*) who are described in different sources as *maic báis* and *filiúque mortis*, both meaning 'sons of death' (McCone 2012). Secondly, less discussed by scholars, the young warriors of the Männerbund liked to steal women as much as cattle: one of the best-known examples here is no doubt the aforementioned rape of the Sabine women by Romulus and his followers. According to the account of Livy (*Ab urbe condita* §1.9) this took place, like the Centauromachy, amid celebrations and festivities, not of a wedding, but at the Consualia harvest festival. Vassilkov (2019) adduces further examples in the Armenian epic *Sasna cr'er* (*Daredevils of Sassoun*), and there are multiple tales of women being abducted by *féinnidi* in the Fenian Cycle (see footnote 112 below), and no shortage of cases of Männerbund-like bands of young men abducting women elsewhere.¹¹¹ The Centaurs and Gandharvas provide further examples, as we have already seen. It is also worth noting here that the Gāndharva form of marriage recognised in the ritual and the legal literature, a marriage of mutual consent which does not involve the agreement of either partner's family (see e.g. ĀśvGS 1.6.5; VDh 24.23), is routinely listed and considered alongside the Rākṣasa marriage (marriage by forced abduction), and indeed the two are described as being conducted conjointly (MDh 3.26; MBh 1.67.13), a scenario which must entail (as Medhātithi would later point out) an abduction to which the woman consents.¹¹²

110 On the relation between the *einherjar* and the *berserkir*, see Schjødt (2011).

111 See for example Duby (1977: 112–122) on the "life of vagabondage" of the aristocratic youth (the collective noun is *juventus*) of northwestern France in the 12th century. Duby (ibid.: 119) writes: "[T]he 'youth' found himself caught up in a band of 'friends' who 'loved each other like brothers'. This 'company' or 'household' (*maisnie*) . . . was sometimes formed, immediately after the ceremony of dubbing, by the young warriors who had received together the 'sacrament of knighthood' on the same day, and who remained together thereafter" (p. 114). Consisting, in large part, of younger sons excluded from patrimony by primogeniture rights, these bands of youths, "animated by hopes of marriage" (p. 119), are described by Duby as "a mob of young men let loose, in search of profit, glory, and female prey" (p. 122). In the earlier, Carolingian period the picture was much the same: "The few ninth-century texts that survive are full of cases of abduction. Widows, nuns, wives, daughters, whether betrothed or not, all appear as so many quarries pursued by packs of young men . . . from all appearances rites of abduction were practiced quite literally by the Carolingian aristocracy" (Duby 1983: 38–40).

112 See Medhātithi's *Manubhāṣya* on MDh 3.26 (p. 219). As I intend to argue elsewhere, there are good reasons to believe that this so-called 'combined' (*mīśra*-) Gāndharva and Rākṣasa marriage authorised by Manu, where the woman is willingly abducted by the man, was in fact the original form of the Gāndharva marriage. A cognate form of consensual abduction (called *lánamnas fox-*

The third and final, and for our purposes the most important point is that the youthful members of roving war-bands regularly referred to themselves as ‘dogs’ or ‘wolves’. This is well attested in primary sources in multiple languages (Greek, Latin, Avestan, Old Irish, Old Norse etc.) and has been well documented in the scholarly literature.¹¹³ In several Indo-European languages, the word for ‘dog’ also means ‘wolf’, and the two animals have frequently been used interchangeably in various Indo-European mythological traditions (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995: 505–506).¹¹⁴ These warrior identifications as dogs and wolves, which often involved adopting ‘dog’ or ‘wolf’ as part of one’s personal name (especially common in Germanic languages and in Old Irish),¹¹⁵ have been explained by scholars as being linked primarily to a symbolic association with death, to a wolfish or ‘mad dog’ rage assumed in battle, to the wearing of wolfskins etc., and to the status of members of these groups as outlaws who, like dogs, live in packs apart from civilised society (McCone 1987: 114; Bremmer 1982: 141).

In his wide-ranging study of the *Vrātya* in Vedic literature, Falk (1986: 18–19) identifies several passages which link the *Vrātyas*, the South Asian representatives of the Indo-European *Männerbund* (Falk: “Bruderschaft”), to dogs. Falk (*ibid.*) remarks that, compared to Iran or Europe, there is little information on the “Hundewesen der Bundesmitglieder” to be found in South Asian literary sources,¹¹⁶ and only a few passages which connect the terms ‘dog’ and ‘*Vrātya*’. However, he does make, or draw out, several further important connections between the two. The most explicit of these is his hypothesis that the leader of the *Vrātyas* (*grhāpati-* or *sthapāti-*) was chosen on the basis of the outcome of a dice game: it is the *loser* of this game (i.e. the one left with the single nut, called *kāli-*, which is understood as ‘the dog’ and is identified with Rudra), who is thenceforth the *Vrātya*-leader, himself

ail) is found in Old Irish legal literature (see Kelly 1988: 70–71), and Irish myth provides several accounts of the phenomenon; see e.g. the abduction of the wife of Ailill by Fothad Canainne (discussed in Nagy 1997: 299–303), and the abduction of Eargna by Conán (MacNeill 1908: 95–98).

113 Aside from Weiser (1927) and Höfler (1934), see especially Bremmer (1982: 141), McCone (1987), Ivančik (1993), Kershaw (2000: 222–302), and Speidel (2004).

114 See also e.g. McCone (1987: 104–106) and Ivančik (1993: 312).

115 Old Irish *cú* ‘dog, hound’ is a very common component of Old Irish personal names, *Cú Chulainn* being merely the best-known example (see McCone 1987: 104–105).

116 Here, it is worth quoting Vassilkov (2015: 235): “It is quite natural to suppose that the Aryas brought this kind of warrior societies [*sic*] to South Asia from their northern homeland. However on the Indian soil the image of dog/wolf as a symbol of battle fury and an emblem of a warriors’ gang began from the earliest times to merge with the image of the more dangerous and widespread local predator: tiger/lion, and was practically replaced by it.”

‘the dog’, clad (like the Gandharvas) in a black antelope skin,¹¹⁷ representative of the dead, and Rudra incarnate (Falk 1986: 108–133). Just as pertinent to my present concerns are Falk’s observations on the identity between the Vrātyas and the Sattrins, the performers of the ritual called *sattrá*, a sacrificial ‘sitting’ or ‘session’ consisting of at least twelve days of Soma pressing, performed in the wilderness (*áranya*-) for the benefit of the performers themselves (i.e. rather than on behalf of a *yájamāna*- ‘patron’). Drawing and elaborating on the work of Biswas (1955) and Heesterman (1962), Falk (1986: 37–40) connects the Vrātyas, via the performance of the *sattrá*, to rites involving cannibalism and necrophagy as detailed in e.g. the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* (TS 7.2.10.2–5) and the *Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā* (KS 34.11.44.14–18). The ‘dog-like’ nature of such practices is not a topic explored by Falk, but the continuities are, at this point, plain to see, and it is no surprise, therefore, to see the Sattrins referred to elsewhere as dogs.¹¹⁸

If we return to the question of how dog-like the Gandharvas are, in sum, we can affirm, with Griffith (1896: 86), that a good case can be made for understanding the ‘dogs’ that accompany the Apsarases to be Gandharvas.

7 Final Remarks

In his revolutionary work on Homeric formulae, Milman Parry (1987 [first published 1928]) argues that the use of epithets in Homer, and indeed in other forms of oral epic poetry, is determined by “the needs of versification”, in other words that one epithet is chosen over another of the same stock not on account of any semantic considerations, but because of its “metrical convenience”.¹¹⁹ Whether such claims are applicable to Vedic poetry is of course subject to debate, and indeed Parry’s main thesis has been treated cautiously by Gonda (1959) in his study of Rigvedic epithets.¹²⁰ Nonetheless, Gonda (1959: 254) does somewhat reluctantly acknowl-

117 Falk (1986: 69) notes that the Sattrins are similarly attired. Gandharvas are associated with the wearing of black antelope skins at e.g. Rām 3.18.12 and HV 44.9–10.

118 Falk (1986: 40) cites both the *Chāgaleya-Upaniṣad* (2: *śunaka*-) and the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (1.12: *śvan*-).

119 On “the needs of versification”, see Parry (1987: 9), and on “metrical convenience” p. 136. Parry (p. 118) makes the assumption that “to ascertain the reasons for the use of a fixed epithet in a given case there is no need to consider what it denotes. In our study of the various devices which fixed epithets make possible, the facility of versification which they afford the poet appeared the only factor determining their use.”

120 Gonda (1959: 253–254) claims: “It is extremely difficult and in many cases impossible to state how far the exigencies of versification have been a factor of importance in the choice of epithets

edge that Parry's observations "seem to apply to the poets of the Veda as well", admitting that metrical considerations can in fact determine the choice of epithets in the Rigveda (p. 256), and even that "the occurrence of an epithet . . . was, indeed, not infrequently largely dependent on the metre" (p. 257). "In many cases", Gonda allows, "the right view of these metrically convenient elements seems to be to consider them as conditioned by sense and versification at the same time" (p. 254). In my view, Parry's insights into oral poetic formulae are certainly worth bearing in mind when we consider the semantic motivations behind the term *śvānvant-* in the Atharvaveda. As we have seen, all six occurrences of this epithet are found in contexts in which the Apsarases are depicted as being threatening and harmful. The epithet *śvānvant-* we must adjudge suitable to this context, and not to any other; but beyond this, the specific concerns and narrative structures of each *sūkta* which contains the term should not necessarily guide or limit us in our attempts to understand its meaning. This is worth stating here because, for instance, the fact that the Gandharvas are named alongside the Apsarases in Ś2. and Ś3. should have no bearing, to my mind, on the plausibility of their also being referred to by way of *śvānvant-* in the same verse.

As far as we are aware, the epithet *śvānvant-* was never employed by anyone other than the poets and reciters of the Atharvaveda *Samhitās*. We must presume that its use was limited to these works because it was not meaningful to the poets and ritualists of other Vedic traditions, and because it ceased to be meaningful even to those within the tradition of the Atharvaveda.¹²¹ Perhaps this was the case because attitudes towards the Apsarases themselves changed, and they ceased to be regarded as so threatening and harmful. We do not and cannot know how meaningful *śvānvant-* was even to those who composed the *sūktas* in which the term is found, we can only surmise that they knew that its meaning was appropriate to the contexts in which they employed it. It may be that the epithet was very old, even to them. Perhaps the very most we can say is that certain among the meanings discussed above make better sense in these contexts than others and that the foregoing discussion suggests that death, understood in an abstract, general sense, and the Gandharvas seem to be the most likely designata of the term. There is little that is conclusive here, but at the least, given the Gandharvas' intimate relation with death in Vedic literature, we can say that there is no need to view these as two wholly separate solutions to the puzzle.

[in the Rigveda]". For this reason, Gonda (1959: 259) goes on to argue that any theory which asserts the "dominant and fundamental character" of "the influence of metre and versification" on the use of Vedic epithets "should be judged with great caution and criticism."

¹²¹ Hence its absence from later Atharvavedic works such as the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Kausikasūtra*.

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Abbreviated titles of works in Sanskrit

- AB *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*. Theodor Aufrecht (ed.) *Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. Bonn: Adolf Marcus, 1879.
- ĀśvGS *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra*. Adolf Friedrich Stenzler (ed.) *Indische Hausregeln (I). Āśvalāyana. Erstes Heft: Text. Zweites Heft: Uebersetzung*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1864–1865.
- BaudhŚS *Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra*. Chintaman Ganesh Kashikar (ed. and trans.) *The Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra. Critically Edited and Translated*. 4 vols. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003.
- HV *Harivaṁśa*. P. L. Vaidya (ed.) *The Harivaṁśa, Being the Khila or Supplement to the Mahābhārata, for the First Time Critically Edited*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969.
- JUB *Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa*. Hanns Oertel (ed.) “The Jaiminīya or Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa. Text, Translation and Notes”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 16: 79–260, 1896.
- JB *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Candra (eds.) *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda*. Nagpur: The International Academy of Indian Culture, 1954.
- KauŚS *Kauśikasūtra*. Maurice Bloomfield (ed.) “The Kāuṣika-Sūtra of the Atharvaveda. With Extracts from the Commentaries of Dārila Keçava”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 14, 1889.
- KūP *Kūmapurāṇa*. Anand Swarup Gupta (ed.) *The Kūrma Purāṇa, Critically Edited*. Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1971.
- KS *Kāthaka-Saṁhitā*. Leopold von Schroeder (ed.) *Kāthakam. Die Saṁhitā der Kaṭha-Çākhā*. 3 vols. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1900–1910.
- MDŚ *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. Gaṅgānātha Jhā (ed.) *Manu-Smṛti with the ‘Manubhāṣya’ of Medhātithi*. Allahabad: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1932.
- MBh *Mahābhārata*. V. S. Sukthankar, S. K. Belvalkar and P. L. Vaidya (eds.) *The Mahābhārata for the First Time Critically Edited*. 19 vols. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, 1933–1966.
- MDh *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. Patrick Olivelle (ed.) *Manu’s Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. With the editorial assistance of Suman Olivelle. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
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- PB *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*. Willem Caland (ed.) *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa of Twenty Five Chapters*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1931.
- PS *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā*. Kāṇḍa 1: Zehnder et al. (2024); Kāṇḍa 2: Zehnder (1999); Kāṇḍa 3: Spiers (2020); Kāṇḍa 4: Zehnder, Leach and Hellwig (*Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda, Online Edition*); Kāṇḍa 5: Lubotsky (2002); Kāṇḍas 6 & 7: Griffiths (2009); Kāṇḍa 12: Hellwig, Leach and Zehnder (*Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda, Online Edition*); Kāṇḍa 15: Lelli (2020); Kāṇḍa 16: Bhattacharya (2008); Kāṇḍas 17 & 18: Bhattacharya (2011); Kāṇḍas 19 & 20: Bhattacharya (2016).
- Rām *Rāmāyaṇa*. G. H. Bhatt and U. P. Shah (eds.) *The Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa: Critical Edition*. 7 vols. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1960–1975.
- RV *ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*. Theodor Aufrecht (ed.) *Die Hymnen des ṛgveda. Erster Theil, Maṇḍala I–VI & Zweiter Theil, Maṇḍala VII–X*. Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1877.

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- ŚBM *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*. Albrecht Weber (ed.) *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina Çākhā with Extracts from the Commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Harisvāmin and Dvivedaganga*. Berlin/London: Ferd. Dümmler/Williams and Norgate, 1855.
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- TB *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*. Makoto Fushimi (ed.) *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*. Corrections by Matthias Ahlborn. Available at <https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm>
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- VSM *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā*, Mādhyandina recension. Albrecht Weber (ed.) *The Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā in the Mādhyandina- and the Kāṇva-Çākhā with the commentary of Mahīdhara*. Berlin/London: Ferd. Dümmler/Williams and Norgate, 1852.

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Jarrold Whitaker

Believing in Magic and Other Pitfalls with Interpreting the *Atharvaveda*

Abstract: Both recensions of the *Atharvaveda* contain extensive information on the liturgical resources that poet-priests could use to perform lifecycle rites marking birth, puberty, marriage, and death; rites for making protective amulets and talismanic armor; apotropaic rites for overcoming destructive or demonic forces; and rites for healing wounds, fever, diseases, and other ailments. As such, the *Atharvaveda* is a voluminous source for understanding various ideals, values, and practices of ancient Indians. Unfortunately, over the past 150 years, European and American scholars have uniformly interpreted the *Atharvaveda* as a text inherently containing magical rituals. Even today, it is common for conference papers to feature code words for magic in their titles (“medicinal magic,” “magical,” “spell,” “charm,” “sorcery,” “incantation,” etc.). This interpretative stance suggests that Vedic scholars still uncritically accept magic as a natural category of human behavior. Unfortunately, magic is above all a theoretical category with serious, if not bankrupt analytical conclusions about human motivations and behavior. What is more, the *Atharvaveda* played a central role in the development of the various theories of magic at the turn of the twentieth century, and this convoluted hermeneutical process negatively shaped our interpretation of the text. Since the broad concept of magic has fallen out of favor in the past three to four decades in the social sciences and humanities, this paper will challenge Vedic scholars to abandon it wholesale in favor of contemporary theories for understanding human behavior. This paper will thus highlight some generalizable and unifying theoretical ways to understand the hymns and rituals represented in the *Atharvaveda*, especially in terms of agency, performance, and identity formation. As a case study, the paper will examine a specific type of ritualized discourse whereby early Vedic ritualists lengthen their lives and the lives of their patrons.

Magic is a dangerous word, more dangerous than magic itself, because it is such a handsome term to cover everything that we fail to understand. The term is used far too often as a vague kind of explanation, but in fact it explains nothing. – *Jan van Baal (1971: 55)*

1 Introduction

The *Atharvaveda* contains extensive information on the liturgical resources ancient Indian priests can employ to perform a host of rituals. Both recensions of the text include hymns for use in lifecycle rites marking birth, puberty, marriage, and death; rites for educating and protecting priests; for praising gods and other abstract concepts; for acquiring a partner or making protective amulets; for gaining wealth, knowledge, and prestige; for overcoming destructive or demonic forces; and for healing wounds, fever, diseases, and other ailments. The *Atharvaveda* is an invaluable source for understanding numerous values, practices, and ideals of ancient Indians who performed its rituals, patronized its specialists, and moved within the wider Vedic world circa 1000 BCE.

There is unfortunately a systemic problem in Vedic scholarship with understanding the *Atharvaveda*. Over the past 150 years or so, Western scholars have almost uniformly interpreted the text as containing magical rites.¹ In fact, it is frequently defined as ancient India's magical text par excellence. This view persists in recent scholarship on the text. For example, in his book *The Roots of Hinduism* (2015), Asko Parpola reproduces with little critical reflection the same ideas about magic, sorcery, and witchcraft in the *Atharvaveda* that date back a century or more (pp. 130–133).² In a similar vein, it is commonplace for conferences on ancient India to include multiple papers on the *Atharvaveda* that feature code words for magic in their titles (“spell,” “charm,” “sorcery,” “incantation,” etc.). My intention here is not to critique wholesale the value of the scholars' contributions, which are important for understanding the *Atharvaveda*, but simply to draw attention to the fact that the analytical category of magic stills persists in contemporary scholarship with little critical reflection.

The ubiquitous invocation of magic to explain Atharvavedic rituals – and all Vedic rituals for that matter – indicates that scholars still accept magic as a natural category of human behavior. Scholars utilize the concept with little critical reflection as if it is a settled method for describing ritual behavior and the quality of its practitioners' mindset. It is also telling that Vedic scholars rarely cite the exact theories of magic that inform their interpretations. The problem here is that when scholars invoke magic as an explanatory device they all too often fail to recognize that magic is above all a theoretical category that originated around the turn of the 20th century in Western intellectual circles in which the *Atharvaveda* played a

¹ For a survey, see Patton 2005: 38–44. Cf. Cohen 2020: 7–9.

² Cf. Lopez 2010: 1–6, Kubisch 2012: 4.

significant role.³ The concept of magic was not invented at this point (more below), but the way cultural historians and textual anthropologists use it was.

Furthermore, the normalizing of magic ignores the fact that the category was hotly contested for over a hundred years with absolutely no settled agreement among scholars on how to understand it or if it was worth using in the first place. From roughly 1880 to 1980, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, historians, theologians, and even Sanskritists argued over the definition of magic, which was set in stark contrast with religion and science (with unsuccessful attempts to reconcile the non-scientific concepts into the equally problematic modifier “magico-religious”).⁴ With colonial certainty, social evolutionary theory, and the scientific rationalism of modernity, many of these thinkers systematically classified the behaviors and beliefs of non-Western peoples or non-educated Europeans as “less than” – as overly emotional, irrational, childlike, or primitive. At its heart, magic was false, mistaken, or misguided belief. To illustrate, in a patronizing tone, E. B. Tylor (1871: 101) judges the belief in magic to be “one of the most pernicious delusions that ever vexed mankind.” As one of its early and most influential theorists, James Frazer (1922: 11) articulates a similar condescending view: “. . . magic is a spurious system of natural law as well as a fallacious guide of conduct; it is a false science as well as an abortive art.” In other words, people who practice magic are immoral and erroneously attempt to transcend nature through misguided laws of sympathetic association;⁵ or they use those laws to acquire metaphysical power (aka *mana*);⁶ or such practices serve to alleviate anxiety in times of crisis (aka cathartic wish-fulfilment).⁷

From the outset, it is important to state that the concept of magic has been deployed historically in three ways. According to Jens Braarvig (1999: 30), magic was first used as an emic “intra-textual” term for internal practices in ancient Greek culture (although it was frequently used to deprecate the practices of for-

3 For example, the *Atharvaveda* was used to justify the theories of scholars like Marcel Mauss and Rudolf Otto, both of whom were trained Sanskritists. In addition, James Frazer (1922: 67) utilized the work of Hermann Oldenberg, who in turn was influenced by Mauss, Otto, and Frazer in developing his theory of Vedic magic as “prescientific science” (1919).

4 See e.g. Thite (2003: 131), who states “The Weltanschauung of the Vedic texts is magicoreligious rather than scientific.” Cf. Thite 1982. For a critique of this viewpoint in the study of ancient Indian medicine, see Engler 2003.

5 Frazer 1922.

6 Mauss 1972 [1904]. Oldenberg (1919: 129ff.) argues that Vedic rituals were ultimately concerned with the acquisition and increase of magical power.

7 Malinowski 1955 [1925]. As a counter example, Evans-Pritchard (1929, 1937) expresses skepticism about the universal application of the concept of magic and argues for contextual analysis over general theories.

eigners).⁸ Second, Christians deployed it throughout history as an “inter-textual” term for unchristian practices deemed abhorrent.⁹ In Daniel Dubuisson’s (2016: 1) forceful words:

it is the Church, in the first place, as an organ of power, that came up with the malevolent, demonic conception of magic, in order to make of it its titled adversary as a living antithesis to religion. This means that its clerics created a “figure” that was quite original but entirely negative, which they disfigured and mutilated.

Finally, scholars used it as an “extra-textual” theoretical term to categorize types of behavior and belief that they deemed to fall outside the categories religion and science (Braarvig 1999: 30). In the last case, it is crucial to disrupt the space between the assumption that magic is a natural or universal category, on the one hand, and its scholarly creation, on the other. In other words, we should always differentiate between how ancient Indians would have understood their own concepts and practices (aka the emic level) and the theoretical impositions we employ to translate them (aka the etic level). We must therefore assess the worth of theorists and their theories, especially those we have all too readily naturalized, as a matter of course.¹⁰

The point should be self-evident but unfortunately needs repeating. The theoretical concept of magic has always been laden with fraught ethnocentric biases, as well as highly questionable conclusions about human psychology, behavior, and motivations. As Stanley Tambiah (1990) points out, scholars turned magic into a universal analytical category to underscore the superiority and civilized nature of Western European cultures. In a book-length study, Randall Styers (2004) unravels the theoretical history of the concept, while tracing its negative impact on our understanding of various cultural practices and ideas. He argues that magic persists as a hermeneutical category because it functions to offset and define the categories religion and science, often by exclusion or opposition. At its heart, it

⁸ For a critical examination of the use of the term *mageia* as a discursive category in ancient Greece, see Stratton 2007.

⁹ See Rage and Rider 2019.

¹⁰ Cf. Dubuisson 2016: 28–30. In the case of ancient India, consider the term *abhicāra*, which scholars all too often translate as “black magic, sorcery.” This translation readily envelopes the term into a hermeneutical history distinct from its contextual use since *abhicāra* literally means “hostile move, aggressive rite” (from *abhi* √*car* “to move against, attack”) and the tradition glosses it as *hiṃsākarman* or “harmful rite” (*Amarakoṣa* 3.2.265). To my mind, there is a significant difference between recognizing that some Vedic rituals are designed to harm (think of modern political attack ads) and interpreting such practices as evidence of sorcery or black magic. Indeed, the very notions of “white” and “black” magic carry problematic, if not racist undertones. See Grambo 1975: 82. Cf. MacDonald 1984–1986: 89 and 1995: 144–145.

is a polemical concept. In addition, magic served as a foil for modernity, which emphasized science and rationality. Consequently, cultures that practice magic were classed as thoroughly non-modern and an anathema to the West's intellectual and moral agenda. In this sense, magic reflects Western, Christian, and colonial ideals that define themselves in juxtaposition with an irrational and non-scientific other. In the words of Jonathan Z. Smith (2004: 218), the concept of magic creates a "shadow reality" that can only be defined by "the reflection of its opposite ('religion,' 'science') in a distorting fun-house mirror."

In the 1970s and 1980s, a major shift occurred as the concept of magic was all but expunged from the interpretative lexicon of ethnographers and social theorists due to its historical baggage. In contemporary social science theory, it is rare to see the concept discussed with any sincerity. We should take seriously Edmund Leach's (1982: 133) assessment that "after a lifetime's career as a professional anthropologist, I have almost reached the conclusion that the word [magic] has no meaning whatsoever." In my opinion, scholars have successfully replaced the concept with ritual because in truth "magical acts are ritual acts" (Tambiah 1985: 60), and the field of ritual studies offers fruitful ways to analyze human behavior in terms of embodied performance, discourse analysis, and the politics of ritualization, broadly put.¹¹ As Catherine Bell (1992: 6) aptly observes, "ritual has replaced terms such as 'liturgy' versus 'magic', which were used to distinguish high religion from primitive superstition or *our* ritual from *theirs*." Bell's point underscores an unavoidable problem with the concept: magic is what "they" do. It has always been used to qualify the behaviors of people coded in negative terms: as foreign, weak, immoral, primitive, ignorant, and in league with the devil or other corrupt forces.

The point here is that from a theoretical perspective, the concept of magic does not explain human behavior in a sophisticated manner, nor does it take into account the complex discursive worlds that people inhabit and the ways that such discourse inhabits and speaks through them. It is also not generalizable to the widest possible cultural or historical contexts, which is a hallmark of sound theory. Let me demonstrate this last point through a few hypothetical scenarios. If the theories of magic have any cross-cultural utility, we should be able to apply them fruitfully to modern advertising campaigns, political attacks ads, digital bullying, or calls for conference presentations.¹² Through complex metaphorical and metonymic analogies (though not as simple as Frazer's sympathetic laws) and through historically institutionalized values, each one of these practices is designed

¹¹ For in-depth consideration of this issue, see Thomassen 1999.

¹² Cf. Tambiah 1985: 61. See also "Performing Magical Capitalism" by Brian Moeran and Timothy de Waal Malefyt at <https://www.epicpeople.org/performing-magical-capitalism>.

to influence how people behave and how they should think about the behavior of others. As Barry Stephenson (2015: 68) observes “One way of defining magic is as the use of symbolic means to produce empirical effects. In this sense, magic is not restricted to ‘traditional’ or ‘primitive’ societies but is at work in the modern West, too: advertising ought to be proof of that.” I suspect however that it would sound silly to talk about attack ads as dark spells aimed at destroying political careers; or internet trolls as modern-day sorcerers hurling curses at their enemies; or advertising campaigns as charms designed to instill consumers with desire. I am also sure academics would dislike thinking that an acceptance of a paper magically safeguards their livelihood, or that they wear protective talismans around their necks at conferences to radiate their power and privilege, while warding off hotel security. If the most basic definition of magic is a ritual designed to achieve a goal, then we perform magical rites every day.¹³ Democracies are truly founded on the magic of voting, although the COVID-19 pandemic has counteracted the magic of handshaking. What is more, the phrase “you’re fired!” carries a magical force unlike any other in the capitalist world, and the thaumaturgic power of “I now pronounce you married” can have everlasting effects.¹⁴ If magic is a ritual that attempts to flout the laws of nature, then by implication all failed scientific experiments are examples of magic. This would also include the use of many nutritional supplements, exercise fads, and other health regimes. If magic is a ritual that attempts to influence the world through harnessing supernatural power, then all religious practices that invoke non-empirical realities for specific ends are forms of magic. I doubt modern day Christians (or any religious person) would appreciate this conclusion.¹⁵ Finally, if we reduce magic to discrete, almost pathological, analogical thinking (so James Frazer), then what form of human thought is not magical?¹⁶ As Douglas Hofstadter (2007) cogently argues, cognition cannot happen without complex analogical

¹³ The idea that magical practices reflect primitive, non-modern, irrational attempts to influence or overcome natural laws (killing enemies, healing diseases, securing love, expelling misfortune, etc.) are rampant throughout early theories. For example, luminaries like Tylor (1871), Frazer (1922), Mauss (1972 [1904]), and Malinkowski (1955 [1925]) all conclude in varying degrees that magic is a kind of false pseudo-science that seeks to achieve specific yet impossible goals.

¹⁴ Cf. Grimes 2014: 277–278.

¹⁵ For an in-depth presentation of competing Christian (Catholic versus Protestant) attitudes to the role of supernatural power and arguments about its legitimate (= church, priests; from God) or illegitimate (= common-folk, superstition, magic; from the Devil) use in 16th and 17th century England, see Thomas (1997: 25–277, 253–279).

¹⁶ Tambiah (1985) questions whether Frazer knew what metaphor and metonymy were since his laws of sympathy are just that. For a sustained critique of Frazer’s theory of magic, see Evans-Pritchard’s 1933, 1965, Wax and Wax 1963, and Beattie 1971. See also Ludwig Wittgenstein’s sustained ridicule of Frazer’s views (succinctly presented in Douglas 1978: 157–159 and Tambiah

processes at various neurobiological, syntactic, grammatical, semantic, and symbolic levels. The human brain makes analogies ceaselessly, relentlessly, and for the most part unconsciously at various levels of recursive abstraction. In Hofstadter's words, analogy is the "motor of the car of thought" and "the interstate freeway of cognition": it is the "fuel and fire of thinking."¹⁷ Finally, Yuval Noah Harari (2015: 31) nicely corroborates my heuristic assumption about the similarities of human behavior cross-culturally:¹⁸

People easily acknowledge that "primitive tribes" cement their social order by believing in ghosts and spirits, and gathering each full moon to dance together around the campfire. What we fail to appreciate is that our modern institutions function on exactly the same basis. Take for example the world of business corporations. Modern business-people and lawyers are, in fact, powerful sorcerers. The principal difference between them and tribal shamans is that modern lawyers tell far stranger tales.

The serious issues outlined above represent some, but not all, of the unavoidable problems with the concept of magic. It cannot do the theoretical work we need it to do to explain Vedic ritual behavior in a sophisticated manner because it cannot do the same work to explain why I am writing this paper, yet both practices have more in common than we are comfortable admitting. Both practices are public performances that marshal expert knowledge and training to convey an authoritative position that is designed to shape the quality of professional and interpersonal relationships for socioeconomic and political ends. I work my wizardry on a podium and with a keyboard, Vedic poets on a ritual fire and with hymns. What is more, magic reflects a history of ethnocentric and condescending perspectives. To put it differently, after 25 years of reading Sanskrit texts and thinking about early Vedic ritual culture, and equally reading just about everything I can get my hands on relating to magic, I have concluded that the concept of magic is analytically

1990: 54–64). For a sophisticated consideration of analogical thinking and practices deemed magical, see Janowitz 2002.

17 <https://news.stanford.edu/news/2006/february22/hofstadter-021506.html>. See also Hofstadter and Sander 2013, who state: "Intelligence . . . is the art of rapid and reliable gist-finding, crux-spotting, bull's-eye-hitting, nub-striking, essence-pinpointing. It is the art of, when one is facing a new situation, swiftly and surely homing in on an insightful precedent (or family of precedents) stored in the recesses of one's memory. That, no more and no less, is what it means to isolate the crux of a new situation. And this is nothing but the ability to find close analogues, which is to say, the ability to come up with strong and useful analogies." (126).

18 Similarly, Wittgenstein speculates on various modern practices that look analogous to practices scholars like Frazer deem magical (Tambiah 1990: 56–60). For a critical consideration of debates about similarities and differences between cultures, see Lukes 2000 and Dubuisson 2016: 75–96, 138–146.

bankrupt. Unlike the concept of religion, which has undergone a critical reassessment in the field of religious studies in the past few decades,¹⁹ the concept of magic is unsalvageable as a theoretical category.²⁰ As far as I can tell, the interpretative utility of the concept cannot be divorced from its hermeneutic legacy and the negative baggage it brings to bear.²¹

My assessment is not radical by any means since Jonathan Z. Smith (2004) argues that magic should be jettisoned as an analytical category because it is value-laden, ambiguous, and insufficiently neutral. In a similar tone, Wouter Hanegraaff (2012: 157) states that magic and its synonym superstition are “wholly unsuitable as neutral instruments in scholarly interpretation: they belong to the category of value judgments and political *Kampfbegriff* (battle concepts), not of valid ‘etic’ terminology.” In Vedic scholarship, several scholars have drawn similar conclusions. Laurie Patton (2005) argues that the concept of magic has been used in dubious, reductive, and unfruitful ways. Its use has prevented scholars from seeing the complex sociopolitical structures and epistemologies that Vedic ritualists negotiate and reinterpret. Drawing on theories from performance studies and cognitive linguistics, Patton argues that the goals of Vedic rituals and hymns should not be interpreted as magical in nature but as a forms of performative metonymical thinking or associational thought that connects an individual’s sense of themselves – their body, memories, and desires – with communal, moral, and existential realities. Signe Cohen (2020) has recently surveyed the problems with magic and concluded that it is “an inadequate hermeneutic category” to understand Atharvavedic hymns. She argues that three so-called “women’s love spells” in the *Atharvaveda* (AVŚ.6.130–132) are better understood as particular forms of ritualized discourse as exhibited by the interconnected meanings of the term *smarā*, which is used repeatedly in the hymns to mean “memory,” “desire,” and “efficacious ritual speech.” In this regard, the hymns function as “powerful utterances that ritually transform memory and desire into social reality.” Lastly, in several of my own publications, I have gone to lengths to explain Vedic ritual practices in complex ways that other scholars have explained away as magic (aka false belief).²²

19 See McCutcheon 1997, Fitzgerald 2000, Masuzawa 2005, and Schilbrack 2010.

20 It is certainly a viable concept to examine at the emic, discursive level in ancient Greek culture, medieval Christianity, or Neopaganism. See respectively Stratton 2007, Otto 2019, and Styers 2004: 214–215 (neo-pagan movements use the term magic in a positive yet countercultural sense).

21 For opposing views, see Braarvig 1999 and Dubuisson 2016.

22 See Whitaker 2004, 2011, 2016a, 2016b, and 2019.

2 The Problem with Belief

For the rest of this paper, I want to focus on one of the inescapable problems with the concept of magic. Questions about the cognitive capabilities of people who (are deemed to) practice magic have always been central to its history. So much so that debates over the rationality of magic – whether its practitioners are irrational because they believe what they do works – culminates in several edited volumes in the 1970s and 80s with titles like *Rationality* or *Rationality: The Critical View*.²³ Let me glibly summarize the conclusions of these works: people who perform magic are rational by their own standards, but are not rational by our own. I find this conclusion less than satisfying as if the vast majority of people, no matter where or when they live, are concerned with the logical criteria of analytical philosophers. As John Beattie (1971: 245) rightly observes, when people perform magic, they are “performing a rite, not applying laws of nature, however dimly apprehended.” Similarly, Nicole Belmont (1982: 18) criticizes Tylor and Frazer’s insistence that magic is false science: “. . . for agrarian rituals exist alongside agrarian techniques. People must therefore have been perfectly capable of telling technical effectiveness from magical effectiveness.”²⁴ Finally, Pierre Bourdieu (1977: 115) offers us a weighty observation on the logic behind traditional rituals:

Rites take place because and only because they find their *raison d'être* in the conditions of existence and dispositions of agents who cannot afford the luxury of logical speculation, mystical effusions, or metaphysical anxiety. It is not sufficient to ridicule the more naive forms of functionalism in order to have done with the question of the practical function of practice . . . But, contrary to appearances, scarcely more understanding is derived from a structural analysis which ignores the specific functions of ritual practices and fails to inquire into the economic and social conditions of the production of the dispositions generating both these practices and also the collective definition of the practical functions in whose service they function.

Such arguments have not however undermined the consensus that magic is the domain of the irrational and its practice signifies an inferior mental state. For example, in a passing assessment of the concept, George Thompson (2008: xxvii) defines Vedic ritual ideology, which utilizes complex sets of metaphorical and

²³ See Wilson 1971, Horton and Finnegan 1973, Hollis and Lukes 1982, and Agassi and Jarvie 1987. For criticism of the use of the word “rational” in these debates, see Buchowski 1986 and Banner 1990.

²⁴ Barnes (1979: 119) points out that magic practitioners readily defend their endeavors based on legitimate scientific knowledge. See also Grambo (1975) for a rich consideration of ways to understand magical practices.

metonymic analogies, as magical thinking.²⁵ For Thompson, its underlying logic is easy to understand if one reads Joan Didion's *The Year of Magical Thinking* (2005) wherein the author narrates the mental and emotional ways in which she dealt with her husband's sudden death and her daughter's life-threatening illness. She describes the process as a kind of insanity (so "magical thinking") since she tries to overcome unavoidable events by sheer willpower or repetitive ritual acts.²⁶ If we apply this model wholesale to Vedic ritual epistemology, are we to conclude that ancient Indians suffer from a similar mental condition, or to paraphrase Thompson, anguished bouts of magical thinking?²⁷ Unfortunately, over the past twenty years at conferences or seminars, I have heard colleagues articulate a version of this sentiment; namely, that magic represents a form of mistaken belief. That is to say, when I press scholars on their use of the term magic, and why ancient Indians are ritually doing what they do – and saying what they do will do what they say – I often hear some version of "because they believe in it." (I also get the sense that when scholars code practices or beliefs as magical, often as an afterthought, they do so as shorthand for "I don't know why these people think this works. It seems silly to me, but clearly magic explains it all.") In the face of physical laws, lived experience, and complex discursive ideals and sociopolitical structures that ancient Indians would have negotiated on a daily basis, the implication is clear: they are to some degree misguided, irrational, or primitive.²⁸ This conclusion is distressing because, as a Vedic scholar, I care deeply about how we represent people who lived thousands of years ago in north India. It is also troubling because ancient Indians are anatomically modern human beings with the exact cognitive capabilities to understand their world as any contemporary scholar of ancient India. It is not good enough for trained scholars to explain away the actions and ideas of people as irrational – as

25 In Vedic scholarship, it is common for scholars to define magic as symbolic or analogical thinking. While this conclusion is not wrong, it often goes undertheorized and stands for false belief. In contrast, see Witzel (1979), who presents a critical assessment of Vedic ritual epistemology, yet retains the concept of magic.

26 For a psychological analysis of this phenomenon, see Vyse 1997.

27 In relation to its medieval use, Kieckhefer (2019) recognizes that magic is a general ambiguous "aggregating term," constituted by various individual and contextually specific practices. Unfortunately, in terms of why people think what they do magically will be efficacious, Kieckhefer invokes Freud's notion of an infantile confusion of will with reality (18).

28 For an illustrative version of this conclusion, see Bloomfield (1899: 61), who clarifies practitioners of the *Atharvaveda* as "... the natural semi-civilized man; rapacious, demon- and fear-ridden, hateful, lustful, addicted to sorcery." As Cohen (2020: 8) notes, "Modern scholars will distance themselves from Bloomfield's pejorative characterization of the *Atharvaveda* and of Vedic practitioners, but the distinction between religion and magic still lingers in recent work on South Asian religions."

magical – because they have failed to do the work to make such practices intelligible, meaningful, and ultimately rational in conventional terms. This interpretative strategy is the last resort of the uncritical. In this sense, magic and its adjective magical are just placeholders for further but unfurnished explanations.²⁹

According to Catherine Bell (1992: 115), our primary question should not focus on how rituals do what people say they do, at least at a discrete literal level, but how each particular ritual is judged to be the appropriate activity to do in its specific context. This question illuminates the complex ways that people enact ritualized behavior to distinguish what they are doing as the best or right way to navigate particular dynamics of social empowerment over and against other potential ways of acting. In this vein, the literal goals of many rituals reflect a form of misrecognition in which people manage social relationships, economic realities, and political positions – or “schemes of privileged opposition” (98) – by metaphorically aligning them with ethical ideals, natural processes, and metaphysical truths.³⁰ As Jonathan Z. Smith (1982: 64–65) argues, rituals are supposed to be unlike reality or at least they create their own meta-reality. Rituals take place within predictable, even artificial, social arenas in which the potential exists for all the variables of life to be symbolically “factored out”; rituals are (often) unlike the hustle and bustle of everyday life.³¹ This sheds some light on ritual practices that have been (unfortunately) deemed magical since anything is possible – at least, can be claimed to be possible – within the symbolically charged, ritualized, and “perfected” world of ritual performances. Conversely, such practices reflect a “realistic assessment” that rituals cannot literally do what people claim. In a more nuanced vein, William Sax (*et al.* 2010) argues that debates over the efficacy of rituals have always played a major role in any social or historical context and reveal a level of complexity and sophistication that scholars often overlook. Bourdieu (1977: 116) offers us another powerful observation in this regard when he argues that the metonymic relationships set up between humans, their desires, and the physical or supernatural world serve to foster specific and imitative modes of ritual and practical behavior or “mimesis.” Bourdieu highlights this point by referring to a fertility rite, which connects cooking grain, pregnancy, and germination. Andrew Strathern (1996: 28) clarifies Bourdieu’s point by citing an example from the fieldwork of Bronislaw Malinowski (1935) in Melanesia:

²⁹ For a similar assessment, see van Baal 1971: 74.

³⁰ See also Schilbrack 2004.

³¹ As Smith (1982: 65) eloquently concludes, “It is not that ‘magical’ rituals compel the world through representation and manipulation; rather they express a realistic assessment of the fact that the world cannot be compelled. The ritual is incongruent with the way things are or are likely to be, for contingency, variability, and accidentality have been factored out.”

[W]hen a Trobriand garden magician mimics the actions of yams growing in a garden and says, "The belly of my garden swells," he transfers the scheme of pregnancy in the human body over to the scheme of garden fertility, thereby setting up a correspondence that reenergizes both contexts . . . What is involved here is not just symbolic action based on metaphor but also the bringing together of two separate spheres, which thereby become cosmically fused.

The point here is that a narrow focus on assessing (or dismissing) the literal veracity of any claim will overlook the complex sociopolitical relationships, discursive ideals, embodied dispositions, and metaphysical concepts that people consistently negotiate through ritualized acts. What is more, such practices may come with serious consequences. Consider the example presented by Michael Brown (1989), who underscores the deadly outcomes of performing shamanic rituals among the Aguaruna people in Peru. He describes a situation in which a local shaman-healer called Yankush was compelled to name the sorcerer who was suspected of killing an elderly villager, who had suddenly died. The shaman did so through a drug-induced vision and his fellow villagers subsequently killed the accused man. In Brown's (172) words,

Because Yankush was widely known to have fingered the sorcerer, he became the likely victim of a reprisal raid by members of the murdered man's family. Yankush's willingness to accept the risk in order to protect his community from future acts of sorcery was a source of his social prestige, but it was also a burden. I rarely saw him leave his house without a loaded shotgun.

Vedic scholars could adopt a similar awareness of the complex social, economic, and political relationships that underlie any Atharvavedic ritual. We could call it the "shotgun rule." As Brown aptly concludes, "Belief in sorcery . . . may provide a system of rules and punishments in societies that lack a police force, written laws, and formal judicial system." In this vein, Pamela Stewart and Andrew Strathern (2004) have lucidly theorized the causal relationship between rumors and gossip and practices called "witchcraft" and "sorcery." In their words, "Rumor and gossip . . . are less a means of resolving disputes than a method of exacerbating tensions between people that can lead to the persecution of particular individuals perceived as being weak." (23) Accusations of sorcery or witchcraft thus reflect cultural, economic, or political changes that can lead to the redistribution of resources or even violence against accused groups. My point here is not to endorse the general use of the concept of sorcery, which frequently functions as a code word for magic or at minimum dovetails with it. I prefer the use of emic terms and categories as much as possible. We should only impose etic concepts if their utility is generalizable and informative to the widest cultural contexts. Nevertheless, Brown, Stewart, and Strathern underscore the imperative to analyze critically the ways in which ritualized hate speech ("sorcery" by another name) operates within and reflects complex lived sociopolitical worlds. The overwrought and violent language of the

Atharvaveda, like the *Ṛgveda*, underscores the serious nature of the kinds of relationships early Vedic ritualists may be negotiating. Atharvavedic specialists may be concerned with controlling the narrative ritually to avoid being perceived as performing nefarious acts, or at least walking a fine line between legitimate and illegitimate ways of ritually engaging their community. Consequently, Atharvavedic ritualists can be seen as professional negotiators of communal well-being and identity, yet their ritualized acts would have been embedded in tense social relationships with fraught interpersonal meanings and potentially deadly consequences.

3 Case Study

This brings us back to what I perceive to be the overriding and inescapable flaw with the concept of magic; namely, that it always implies false belief to some degree. This is painfully evident in contemporary English as the common semantic associations of magic signify something that is extraordinary, unbelievable, miraculous, beyond physics, even impossible, if not farcical. These connotations underlie the success of the category as a means of entertainment and its explosion in genres such as theater, novels, games, television, and movies. In short, magic sells. I suspect this is because magic creates an exciting form of escapism from the mundane world and allows for open-ended and fantastic world building. It also serves as a convenient way to shortcut character development and plot lines. As such, it functions as a cheap, yet compelling narrative device that can generate billions in revenue by gathering a legion of followers who want to be exhilarated by imaginative things.³² In the modern world, magic is however still fiction. By its very nature, it represents a form of false belief in the face of cold hard science (or perhaps it merely requires a childlike mindset to participate). If someone cannot or will not differentiate between the two realms, we can readily diagnose them as suffering from “magical thinking,” which signals a fatal flaw in someone’s logic or understanding of reality. At this level, magical thinking is just another way of saying someone is irrational, if not crazy.

How then are we to understand the mindset of individuals who perform Vedic rituals and claim that they do things that rituals simply cannot do, at least not literally? For the rest of this paper, I would like to repurpose some of my conclusions from my article on lengthening life in early Vedic rituals (Whitaker 2011). The *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* are replete with statements in which a poet-priest lengthens the life of his patron, his community, and himself through his hymn and

32 Cf. Styers 2004: 121–217 on why magic persists in contemporary society.

the power of various gods. Poets typically express the desire for a long life, ideally for one hundred autumns, through the formula *prá √tṛ̥ áyus* (“to lengthen life”) or a similar expression. For example (translations mine):

*návonavo bhavati jáyamāno
 'hnām ketúr uśásām ety ágram |
 bhāgām devébhyo ví dadhāty āyán
 prá candrámas tirate dīrghám áyuh̥ || AVŚ.7.81.2/RV.10.85.19*

Constantly being born anew, as the banner of the days, he goes ahead of the dawns.

As he comes here, he distributes a portion to the gods. The Moon prolongs his long lifetime.

*mṛtyóh padām yopáyanto yád aíta
 drāghīya áyuh̥ pratarám dádhānāh̥ | AVŚ.12.2.30ab/RV.10.18.2ab*

Effacing the footprint of Death, when you (gods) have come, establishing a longer more extensive lifetime.

*úd tīrdhvaṃ jīvo ásur na ágād
 ápa prágāt táma á jyótir eti |
 āraik pánthām yátave sūryāya-
 -āganma yátra pratiránta áyuh̥ || RV.1.113.16 (d=RV.8.48.11d/AVŚ.14.2.36d)*

Rise up! The living life-force has come here to us. Darkness has gone away; light draws near. She (Dawn) has left behind a path for the sun to travel. We have come to where they prolong life.³³

*yád ábadhnan dākṣāyaṇá hīraṇyaṃ śatánikāya sumanasyámānāh̥ |
 tát te badnāmy áyuṣe várcase bálāya dīrghāyutvāya śatásāradāya |
 náinaṃ rákṣāmsi ná piśácāh̥ sahante devánām ójah̥ prathamajám hy étát |
 yó bíbharti dākṣāyaṇám hīraṇyaṃ sá jīvēsu kṛṇute dīrghám áyuh̥ || AVŚ.1.35.1–2*

What gold (amulet) those with sacrificial skill, being favorable, bound to the one whose (missile) has a hundred facets,

that (gold amulet) I bind to you for life, prestige, strength; for a long life of one hundred autumns.

Neither monstrous threats, nor carrion-eaters overwhelm him, for this is the foremost born power of the gods.

Who bears the gold (amulet) of those with sacrificial skill; he makes for himself a long lifetime among the living.

These stanzas were most likely sung in elaborate public rituals for wealthy patrons or in personal rites in which an amulet was bound on such individuals. We can clearly see the overlapping relationships between poet-priests, gods, and patrons, especially the desire for a long life, wealth, and others forms of social capital. In

³³ For in-depth discussion on the meaning of the term *ásu* (“life, vital force, soul”), see Preisendanz 2005.

my own words (Whitaker 2004: 577), the ritualized creation of amulets reflects “a socio-religious exchange between elite ritually trained agents, their sources, and the recipients of symbolic capital, which highlights a dialectic of human relationships revealed in cosmological, ontological, and socio-political realms.”

In terms of the goal to lengthen life, Ruprecht Geib (1975) offers an illustrative interpretation in relation to magic as he explains ancient Indians’ desire for a long life in reductive psychological terms. That is to say, Vedic priests implicitly fear dying and use their rituals to lengthen their lives as a way to relieve their worries about perishing young, or death in general. Geib’s conclusion owes its underlying reasoning to Bronislaw Malinowski (1955 [1925]), who was one of the paragons in the history of the interpretation of magic. Malinowski reduces ritual practices (aka magic) to a psychological device that alleviates stress and anxiety in times of uncertainty or danger. In this vein, the formula *prá √tṝ áyus* (“to lengthen life”) reflects an early Vedic form of cathartic wish-fulfilment. Mary Douglas (1966: 59) rightly criticizes Malinowski’s presentation of magical practices as “a kind of poor man’s whiskey, used for gaining conviviality and courage against daunting odds.” The point here is that it is highly unlikely that ancient Indians were wracked with anxiety every time they performed rituals. As Jan van Baal (1971: 69) observes, pre-industrial people “know as well as we do that a wish is not fulfilled by wishing more ardently . . .”, and in a mocking tone toward Malinowski’s theory about garden magic, “. . . fair words butter no parsnips.” While we could question whether people always exercise such knowledge, a Malinowskian interpretation of ritual efficacy fails to explain the complex discursive factors and relationships – symbolic, social, economic, and political – that give value and meaning to why early Vedic people sought to lengthen their lives through ritual practices.³⁴

In my 2011 article, I concluded that the formula for lengthening life in ancient India reflects a particular ritualized way of talking and acting – a discursive strategy – wherein Vedic priests and patrons align themselves with institutional expectations and demonstrate performatively their commitment to participate in rituals throughout their entire lives. This conclusion allowed me to speculate on some of the underlying social and ritual processes implicit in the use of the term “life” (*áyus*). In particular, I asked the question: did ancient Indians *believe* that they could lengthen their lives through performing rituals? It is plausible to conclude that some people may very well have accepted this claim without doubt and with absolute conviction, as true and real, if this is what we mean by “believe.” Nevertheless, if we draw on the work of Michel Foucault (1972, 1977), we can problematize this question from the outset and see any belief not as an object of good

³⁴ For a critical reassessment of Malinowski’s theories, see MacDonald 1984–1986 and 1995.

or bad, right or wrong knowledge, but as a subject of discourse, as a way of talking about and enacting social values and ideals. As part of a wider set of discursive formations, the process of lengthening life in ancient India works to circumscribe specific forms of knowledge, ways of knowing, and ways of enacting that knowledge. The proponents of early Vedic rituals would have been successful in ensuring that their ideologies and practices were dominant and normative if they and their clients accepted fully (that is, “believed”) that their life was prolonged because of ritual participation.

With this said, it is insufficient to cite belief as the definitive explanation for an individual’s or group’s values and behavior (Ruel 2005: 261). It is too simplistic, if not analytically untenable, to identify belief and be done with it (as if belief is direct evidence of a person’s brain structure). Beliefs certainly play important social, moral, and personal roles, but a statement of belief should immediately raise questions about how individuals come to hold such beliefs. This reframes the question in terms of the history of the institutionalization of specific beliefs and underlying processes and structures that make individuals fully internalize and embody them. Belief functions then as a performative statement about group allegiance and ideological commitment (Lopez 1998). We should thus identify the object of that belief, the status that object holds in society, and the ideologies and practices that lend authority and meaning to it in the first place. It is a mistake to think that belief is, in Ruel’s (2005: 262) words, “fundamentally an interior state, a psychological condition.” Sharf (1998: 114) puts it best when he states, “all attempts to signify ‘inner experience’ are destined to remain ‘well-meaning squirms that get us nowhere.’” In other words, the problem with the concept of belief is that it all too easily backs you into an interpretative corner where the quality of a belief can only be assessed by your own standards. When people disagree with or cannot understand a given belief – especially when cornered intellectually – they usually judge it as irrational, wrong, crazy, or infantile because their own beliefs are not so. Furthermore, as Barry Stephenson (2015: 72) observes, “the notion of belief is today so laden with literalism and an objectivist epistemology” that it fails to account for rites “characterized by a subjunctive mood, ludic playfulness, and imagination . . . The implied ontology [underlying exactly what people believe] here lacks nuance and sophistication. Moreover, many ritual traditions emphasize participation or observance over belief.” The point here is that a reductionist emphasis on what goes on in people’s minds – which is all too often implied with the concept of magic – distracts from the primary task of explaining the complex social realities and relationships that affect, constrain, and give meaning to the identities of individuals and the circumscribed choices they can make. It also fails to explain the complex internal logic of such practices in their own terms. As Bell (1992: 190) forcefully states, “Not only is ideology *not* a matter of belief; in actuality it rarely demands belief. Ideologies

function as such by not requiring complete faith in each tenet or idea; all that is required is consent.”

Let me defer once again to my 2011 article. In the case of lengthening life in ancient India, it may have been the case that a sacrificer was content with the ritual's outcome because, like his ritually active compatriots, he too continued to grow old. However, poets are quick to point out that various gods can threaten a sacrificer's life and throughout the *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda*, the warrior god Indra is instructed to kill individuals who do not perform rituals. In failing to do so, such people become legitimate targets for sustained violence. This is a powerful ethical and symbolic incentive for ritual participation. We can speculate then that when early Vedic Indians ritually lengthened their lives they would have “put themselves in the right” by creating an appearance of “ethical impeccability” (Bourdieu 1977: 22). The ritualized process of lengthening life thus constitutes a symbolically and ethically charged field of struggle. The fact that ritual participants misrecognize the arbitrary nature of these purposes (prestige, wealth, ethical/ritual correctness) supports and legitimizes a coherent, yet discursively self-interested worldview wherein life can be rhetorically and ritually lengthened.³⁵ Since no poet openly questions the stated goals of the ritual, this suggests that ritual participants are motivated by, in Bourdieu's words, a “*pure, disinterested* respect for the rule”; or to turn this formulation on its head, an unwavering performative commitment to the ritual's figurative efficacy to lengthen life. To appropriate Stoller's (1998: 252) useful concept of “embodied rationality” for the early Vedic context, it is not that ritual participants master life through ritualized practices, but rather that such practices directed towards prolonging life master ritual participants. Vedic Indians thus become the primary producers and enactors of a dominant ideology that reproduces their privileged identities and socioeconomic positions.

The ritualized process of lengthening life thus reflects a complex set of reciprocal relationships between poet-priests, patrons, gods, and the wider community. In lengthening life, all parties exercise their practical sense of how to monopolize, challenge, or capitalize on ethical, socioeconomic, and political advantages. It would

³⁵ For Bourdieu (1977), misrecognition refers to an everyday, taken-for-granted process wherein behaviors of social empowerment, authority, and domination are not recognized for what they are. Because of learned, almost unconscious dispositions, people struggle to identify self-interested practices that control the flow of economic and symbolic capital. In addition, individuals and groups strategically attribute such behavior to other interpretative realms, often moral, cultural, or supernatural, which are themselves difficult to question without failing to meet group expectations, values, and standards. In projecting such behavior into these realms, in preventing people from recognizing their arbitrary nature (why such practices are deemed to have value in the first place), self-interested motivations are concealed – misrecognized – and inequities and uneven relationships of power can be maintained.

have been ritually and politically detrimental, if not absurd to question the rhetorical goals of the ritual because one would be jeopardizing one's access to various economic and symbolic benefits, if not undermining one's status and membership in Vedic society. The use of *áyus* in the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* thus highlights a complex set of strategies at the micro-political level of early Vedic society; that is, in lived reality, in which ritual participants constantly embody, reproduce, and give value to their lives in a heavily ritualized way. Conversely, this discourse can be understood as deeply rational – as a form of practical logic – full of common-sense, and obvious to the point of being taken for granted, which is a conclusion about the mindset of ancient Indians that is well beyond what any theory of magic can tell us about their cognitive capacities, hopes, and lives.³⁶

4 Conclusion

If we are to engage in judicious and theoretically informed analysis of the complex ideals, values, and practices that make early Vedic rituals coherent, compelling, and the right thing to do, we need to examine systematically the epistemological and metaphysical assumptions, the complex discursive formations and practices, and embodied forms of knowledge that the texts reveal. One way to do this is to abandon the concept of magic, which, to paraphrase Edmund Leach, says absolutely nothing meaningful at all. To extend J. Z. Smith's assessment of the concept of religion (1988), magic is not only the Frankenstein-like creation of scholars; it is a monster in need of grave exorcising. It is the ultimate weasel word. Consequently, I challenge Vedic scholars to update their theoretical horizons with contemporary theories for understanding human behavior that shun any notion of a discrete, deficient, or unevolved mindset. In contrast, such theories should interpret ritual practices and their non-empirical claims in terms of agency, performance, the body, and institutionalized forms of normative discourse, practice, and representation. In particular, the fields of cultural history, discourse analysis, gender studies, ritual studies, microsociology, and actor-network theory, to name but a few approaches, provide significant ways to understand the complex and coherent lived worlds

³⁶ For the notion of practical logic, see Bourdieu 1977: 96–158, especially the quote from page 115, cited above. Practical logic is a kind of common-sense rationality. It refers to pre-determined and learned dispositions, values, and ideals (Bourdieu's *habitus*) that provide people with dominant and practical ways to understand and negotiate a nebulous social world based on everyday necessity. In this sense, practical rationality more closely approximates the various ways in which people rationalize their decisions based on shared values and truths, and thereby exercise a normative rationale for doing what they do.

in which all human beings inhabit. The field of cognitive linguistics also offers a fruitful way to map conceptual landscapes, particularly in terms of metaphor and metonymy, rather than in terms of the reductive category of false belief, cathartic wish-fulfilment, or Frazerian notions of similarity and contagion. Such an intellectual move would be truly magical for the field of Vedic studies.

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Carmen Spiers

The Marginality of the Atharvaveda in Its Historical Context

Abstract: This article attempts to sketch out an essential aspect of the Vedic ritual tradition commonly called “Atharvaveda”: its marginality with respect to the Śrauta-tradition among the various ritual modes practiced by the community of Vedic, and later Brahmin, priests. This marginality has never truly wavered, from Vedic times until today, despite the late “canonization” of the Atharvaveda and various attempts at its promotion. The idea that the Atharvaveda is not on the same level as the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas is familiar to most, but we would add that the Atharvaveda has carried distinctively negative connotations within Vedic priestly culture from the beginning of its history. The evidence for this argument is organized in five sections: 1, the Atharvaveda’s late inclusion in a closed group with the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas; 2, the derogatory designations, or the negative connotations which the various designations of the Atharvaveda have carried, and this tradition’s history of attempts to rename itself; 3, the marginal and impure status of the medical profession, a specialty of the Atharvaveda, in the period of the Yajurvedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas; 4, the ritual inferiority of other groups associated with the Atharvaveda; 5, the persistent marginality and inferiority of the Atharvaveda in the post-Vedic period.

Although the hymns of the Ṛgveda and those of the extant Śaunaka and Paippalāda collections (*saṁhitā*) of the Atharvaveda can both be called “Vedic hymns”, they are distinct in many ways. It is well known that they reflect different temporal, environmental, and social contexts: mid to late second millennium BCE vs. the beginning of the first millennium BCE, the Bronze Age vs. the Iron Age, North-West India vs. farther east, semi-nomadic cattle-herding vs. sedentary agriculture and animal

Note: I would like to thank the organizers of the conference for having given me the opportunity to participate in yet another highly rewarding event under the Swiss Paippalāda Project. The presentation I gave at the conference was entitled “The Draft-Ox as King: ŚS 4.11/PS 3.25 and the Gosava of the Brāhmaṇa texts,” but Umberto Selva’s 2019 thesis, defended a couple months before the date of the conference, masterfully covers the topic in question so there is no need for any further repetition here. I also thank my reviewers for their insightful discussion leading to a clearer focus in this paper.

Leiden University; EA 2120 Groupe de recherches en études indiennes (GREI) – EPHE & Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle, France. When I wrote this article I was affiliated with the French Institute of Pondicherry, India.

husbandry, loose-knit mobile clans vs. villages with increasing social hierarchy.¹ The newer hymns of the Atharvaveda never replace those of the Ṛgveda, central elements of the Śrauta ritual system till this day. So what, then, is the position of the hymns of the Atharvaveda and of the whole Atharvavedic tradition, within the Brahmanical milieu?

The old “religion vs. magic” binary distinction of the early social sciences, mapped onto Vedic culture as “Ṛgveda vs. Atharvaveda” and occasionally uncritically repeated, is sometimes opposed by taking the equally simplistic step of conflating totally the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda, whereby their texts would equally represent one single, unitary “religion.” Thus, as one scholar writes: “Whereas many Western scholars have regarded the Atharvaveda with suspicion and dismissed its contents as ‘sorcery’ or ‘magic’ as opposed to the pure ‘religion’ of the Ṛgveda, the Indian tradition itself does not express a similar anxiety over the contents of the fourth Veda, nor does the tradition distinguish between the religion of the Atharvaveda and that of the other Vedas” (Cohen 2020: 8). The truth of this statement cannot be maintained, as it involves ignoring the fact that Ṛgvedic and Atharvavedic hymns have, from the ancient period until today, always been kept in different categories, used, and viewed differently within Indian culture. We can indeed affirm, as we shall see, that the Brahmanical tradition does “express anxiety” over the contents of the Atharvaveda.

Here I will try to sketch out an essential aspect of the Vedic ritual tradition commonly called “Atharvaveda”: its marginality with respect to the Śrauta-tradition among the various ritual modes practiced by the community of Vedic, and later Brahmin, priests. This marginality has never truly wavered, from Vedic times until today, despite the late “canonization”² of the Atharvaveda and various attempts at its promotion. The success that the priests of the Atharvaveda attained among some political elites in India at certain points³ should also not be overestimated: it did not change the fact of the Atharvavedic priests’ continuously marginal position from the point of view of the community of Brahmin priests to which they belong. The idea that the Atharvaveda is somehow not quite on the same level as the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas is familiar enough to most, but I would add that the Atharvaveda has carried distinctively negative connotations within Vedic priestly culture from the beginning of its history. I will organize the evidence for this argument in five

¹ These facts have resulted from the cross-referencing of archeological data and indications within the texts; see Witzel (2009) and, for a very basic overview supported with a bibliography, Kulke & Rothermund (2016: 11–26).

² By this I mean its inclusion in a closed group of four with the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur-Vedas: see section 1 below.

³ See Sanderson (2004) and (2007).

sections: 1, the Atharvaveda's late inclusion in a closed group with the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas; 2, the derogatory designations, or the negative connotations which the various designations of the Atharvaveda have carried, and this tradition's history of attempts to rename itself; 3, the marginal and impure status of the medical profession, a specialty of the Atharvaveda, in the period of the Yajurvedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas; 4, the ritual inferiority of other groups associated with the Atharvaveda; 5, the persistent marginality and inferiority of the Atharvaveda in the post-Vedic period. I hope to put to rest any doubts concerning the Atharvaveda's marginal status, and perhaps convince readers of its negative reception in the Brahmanic priestly community over time.⁴

1 The Atharvaveda's Late Inclusion as a "Veda"

It is well known that the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas originally formed a closed group of three that did not include the Atharvaveda, which was to be added only at the end of the Vedic period (see Bloomfield 1899: 21–34; Renou 1947: 12–13; Gonda 1975: 8, 268; Holdrege 1994: 54, n. 5; Witzel 1997: 278; Bronkhorst 2016: 226). In Patton (1994), a volume dedicated to questions of the Vedic canon, the Atharvaveda is mentioned almost exclusively in footnotes.⁵ We find references to the group of three together, *ṛcaḥ* (strophes), *yājum̐ṣi* (ritual formulas), and *sāmāni* (melodies), without any reference to something representative of the Atharvaveda, starting in the last book of the Ṛgveda-saṁhitā⁶ and continuing throughout Vedic literature,

⁴ The following makes use of some of the material in the first chapter of my PhD thesis, written in French (see Spiers 2020). However, the scope of this paper is narrower, although in some places the relevant passages are actually presented in greater detail than in the thesis, for instance in section 4 of this paper.

⁵ In one of the volume's articles, Holdrege writes (1994: 36): "The core *śruti* texts are the four types of mantras, *ṛcs*, *yajuses*, *sāmans*, and *atharvāṅgirases* or *atharvans*, which are collected in the Saṁhitās." However, the "fourth Veda" is not further discussed in her article, precisely because (p. 39), "In their discussions of the bounded textual manifestation of the Veda, the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads tend to focus almost exclusively on the three mantra collections, *ṛcs*, *yajuses*, and *sāmans*, which are generally designated as *trayī vidyā* ('threefold knowledge') or *traya veda* ('threefold Veda')." As she says in footnote 24 (p. 57) to this statement, "This prevalent emphasis in the Vedic texts on the threefold Veda, Ṛg-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and Sāma-Veda, suggests that it took some time before the Atharva-Veda was accorded an equivalent status as the fourth Veda."

⁶ Ṛgveda 10.90.9 (ed. Aufrecht 1877: 388): *tāsmād yajñāt sarvahūta ṛcaḥ sāmāni jajñire | chāndāṁsi jajñire tāsmād yajus tāsmād ajāyata ||*.

including within Atharvavedic texts.⁷ The first reference to the Atharvaveda as a fourth element next to the other three occurs in one of its hymns, under the compound name *atharvāṅgirāsaḥ*⁸ “the Atharvans and the Aṅgirasas”:

ŚS⁹ 10.7.20 (ed. Roth & Whitney 1924: 231):
yāsmād ṛco apātakṣan yajur yāsmād apākaṣan |
sāmāni yāsya lómāny atharvāṅgirāso mūkham skambhām tām brūhi katamāḥ svid evā sāḥ ||

They cobbled the Ṛc-stanzas from him, they scraped off the Yajus-formula from him; his hairs are the Sāman-melodies, his mouth is the Atharvans-and-Aṅgirasas. Tell [me], this Skambha-support, whoever is he really?¹⁰

The context indicates that *atharvāṅgirāsaḥ* must designate oral ritual elements in line with *ṛc-*, *yajus-*, and *sāman-*, and yet the compound is formed from the name of legendary poet-priests, *āṅgiras-*, and an antiquated priestly title, *átharvan-* (see section 2 below). Since these two are not originally words for liturgical elements, this in itself sets them apart from the first three.¹¹

7 A perusal of Bloomfield’s concordance (1906: 285–286) should suffice: “*ṛk sāma yajur ucchiṣṭe* AV.11.7.5^a; *ṛk sāma yajur vaṣaṭ svāhā namaḥ* TS.7.3.12.1; KSA.3.2 [. . .] *ṛksāmābhyām yajuṣā saṁtarantaḥ* (VS.KS.ŚB.MŚ. °*bhyām saṁtaranto yajurbhiḥ*) VS.4.1^c; TS.1.2.3.3c; 3.1.1.4; KS.2.4^c; 23.6; ŚB.3.1.1.12; MŚ.2.1.1.6^c [. . .] *ṛgbhiḥ sāmā yajurvedaḥ* AV.12.1.38^d [. . .] *ṛcaḥ sāma yajur mahī* AV.10.7.14^b; *ṛcaḥ sāmātho yajuh* AV.11.8.23^d [. . .] *ṛcā sāmā yajuṣā devatābhiḥ* TB.3.7.6.13^b; ApŚ.4.8.4^b [. . .] *ṛco nāmāsmi yajūṁṣi nāmāsmi sāmāni nāmāsmi* VS.18.67 [. . .] *ṛco yajūṁṣi sāmāni* TB.3.12.8.1^a.” To this list I add *ṛcaḥ sāmāni yajūṁṣi* from a prose section of the Maitrāyaṇīsaṁhitā: 2.4.3 (Schroeder 1883: 41, line 16); = Taittirīyasaṁhitā 2.4.12.7.

8 On this dvandva compound, of which the stem is *atharvāṅgirās-*, see Wackernagel (1905: 157, §66c). The thematic derivative stem *atharvāṅgirasa-* seems not to be attested in the Vedic corpus (Bloomfield 1899: 7–8). The only other occurrence of *atharvāṅgirās-* within the Atharvavedic Saṁhitās is found in PS 16.84.7, in a longer list of genres reminiscent of those from the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa that I cite further on. There is also an isolated case where only the Atharvans are mentioned in a reference to the Atharvaveda as a hymn collection, in the obviously late litany of praise for the different books of the Śaunakasaṁhitā, ŚS 19.23. The first line reads: *ātharvaṇānām caturṛcēbhyah svāhā* “Praise be to the [hymns] of four-stanzas (= book 1) of the Atharvans”, and goes on similarly for the other books.

9 The names of the Śaunaka- and the Paippalāda-Saṁhitās of the Atharvaveda are abbreviated ŚS and PS respectively. All other text names are written in full. ŚS: edited by Whitney & Roth (1924), except for book 20, and by Pandit (1895–1898); PS: edited by Bhattacharya (1997–2016); concerning the passages listed in footnote 14, PS book 5 is also available in the edition with translation by Lubotsky (2002).

10 All translations in this article are my own unless otherwise specified. – In place of *sāmāni yāsya lómāny atharvāṅgirāso mūkham*, the Paippalāda parallel (PS 17.9.1c) has *chandāṁsi yasya lomāni* (ed. Bhattacharya 2011: 1160).

11 Atharvan and Aṅgiras and/or their patronymics are found together but uncompounded in ŚS 10.6.20/PS 16.44.3; ŚS 11.6.13/PS 15.14.6; ŚS 16.8.11–14/PS 18.52.9–12; ŚS 19.54.5/PS 11.9.4cd–5; PS

However, the first reference to the Atharvaveda as a fourth element *outside* of its own texts occurs in the Taittirīyasamhitā, a relatively late Yajurvedic Samhitā (Witzel 1997: 303, 305); this is also the only such reference in a non-Atharvavedic Samhitā:

Taittirīyasamhitā 7.5.11.2 (ed. Weber 1872: 332)

ṛgbhyāḥ svāhā yajurbhyaḥ svāhā sāmabhyaḥ svāhāṅgirobhyaḥ svāhā védebhyaḥ svāhā gāthābhyaḥ svāhā nārāsaṁśbhyaḥ svāhā rāubhībhyaḥ svāhā sārvasmai svāhā || 2 ||

Praise be to the Ṛc-stanzas, praise be to the Yajus-formulas, praise be to the Sāman-melodies, praise be to the Aṅgiras-formulas praise be to the Vedas, praise be to the Gāthā-songs, praise be to the Nārāsaṁśi-songs, praise be to the Raibhī-songs, praise be to the whole!

The “Aṅgirasas” refer here to liturgical material particular to the Atharvaveda in that it makes up half of the aforementioned compound *atharvāṅgirāsaḥ*. However, we do not have here a closed group of four elements including one referring to the Atharvaveda, but rather a list of eight elements. It is hard to know if the mention of “Vedas” which follows the group of the first four is meant to sum them up collectively and put them on a higher level than the other four types of “songs” which follow. This occurrence sets the stage for the usage met with in the Brāhmaṇas and afterward, where “the *atharvāṅgirasas* or *atharvans* are rarely mentioned along with the other three mantra collections” (Holdrege 1994: 57, n. 24); when they do appear after a reference to the first three collections, it is only as part of a longer list of all sorts of Vedic lore, “sacred” or not (see also Bloomfield 1899: 23). In Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyamīna) 13.4.3.1–14,¹² the crowd during the Aśvamedha-festivities is regaled on subsequent days with music and performances from different “Vedas” (here the term *véda-* is in apposition to the following items): Ṛc the first day, Yajus the second, Atharvan the third, Aṅgiras the fourth, Sarpavidyā the fifth, Devajanavidyā the sixth, Māyā the seventh, Purāṇa the eighth, Itihāsa the ninth, and Sāman on the tenth. A parallel passage in the later ritual manual Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra 16.2.9 (ed. Hillebrandt 1888: 198) describes the Aśvamedha-festivities in the same way, but uses compounds in *°veda-*,¹³ including *atharva-veda-*, perhaps one of this word’s first occurrences outside of the Atharvaveda’s own literature. However, in both Śatapathabrāhmaṇa and Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra, the universal application of the term “Veda” to all the diverse elements in the enumeration, ranging from the Ṛc to

5.11.4; PS 16.94.5–8; PS 17.22.3; PS 17.28.22–25. In these passages they are not used as designations of types of ritual utterances, but act rather as semi-divine personalities, just as they do when found singly (just Aṅgiras or just Atharvan) in the Ṛgveda as well as in the Atharvaveda.

¹² Text ed. Weber (1855: 984–986). Full translation in Eggeling (1900: 361–370).

¹³ For a study of early occurrences of such compounds and of lists of “Vedas,” see Bronkhorst (1989).

Purāṇa, shows that this term here simply means “lore” and that we cannot conclude from such passages that the Atharvaveda belongs to an exclusive group with the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas, just because it might also be called “Veda”.

However, a similar list in Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyam̐dina) 14.5.4.10 uses the compound form ending in °vedá- for the first three, but not for the Atharvans-and-Aṅgirasas and the rest: *ṛgvedó yajurvedáh sāmavedò 'tharvāṅgirása iti hāsáḥ purāṇān̐ vidyá upaniśádaḥ ślókāḥ sūtrāny̐ anuvyākhyánāni vyākhyánāni* (ed. Weber 1855: 1064; the same list is also in Śatapathabrāhmaṇa [Mādhyam̐dina] 14.6.10.6). Similarly, the Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛg- and Sāma- Vedas have a story about the creation of the three Vedas, grouped together without mention of the Atharvaveda, but this story is taken up by the late Atharvavedic Gopathabrāhmaṇa and modified to fit the idea of four Vedas. Let us first cite the story of three Vedas from the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa (belonging to the Ṛgveda; a parallel is found in the Sāmaveda's Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa, 1.357):

Aitareyabrāhmaṇa 5.32 (ed. Aufrecht 1879: 154–155):

prajāpatir akāmayata: prajāyeya bhūyān̐ syām̐ iti. sa tapo 'tapyata, sa tapas taptvemān̐ lokān̐ asṛjata: pṛthivīm̐ antarikṣam̐ divam̐. tān̐ lokān̐ abhyatapat, tebhyo 'bhitaptebhyas trīṇi jyotiṃsy̐ ajāyantāgnir̐ eva pṛthivyā ajāyata, vāyur̐ antarikṣād, ādityo divas. tāni jyotiṃsy̐ abhyatapat, tebhyo 'bhitaptebhyas trayo vedā ajāyanta: ṛgveda evāgner̐ ajāyata, yajurvedo vāyoḥ, sāmaveda ādityāt. . . .¹⁴ sa prajāpatir yajñam̐ atanuta, tam̐ āharat, tenāyajata. sa ṛcaiva hautram̐ akarod, yajuśadhvaryavam̐, sāmnodgītham̐. yad etat trayayai vidyāyai śukram̐, tena brahmatvam̐ akarot.

Prajāpati desired, “May I propagate myself, may I be more.” He performed ascetic heat; having performed ascetic heat he emitted these worlds: earth, midspace, sky. He heated the worlds; from them when heated three luminaries were born. Agni was born from the earth, Vāyu was born from the midspace, Āditya was born from the sky. He heated the luminaries: from them when heated the three Vedas were born. The Ṛgveda was born from Agni, the Yajurveda from Vāyu, the Sāmaveda from Āditya. . . . Prajāpati extended the rite: he took it, he performed the rite with it. He performed the Hotar's office with the Ṛc, the Adhvaryu's with the Yajus, the Udgītha with the Sāman. He performed the Brahman's office with that which the triple science has that is pure.

Here follows the modification of this story to fit four Vedas in the Gopathabrāhmaṇa:

Gopathabrāhmaṇa 1.2.16 (ed. Gaastra 1919: 49):

prajāpatir atharvā devaḥ sa tapas taptvaitam̐ cātuḥprāśyam̐ brahmaudanam̐ niramimīta catur-lokam̐ caturdevam̐ caturvedam̐ caturhautram̐ iti. catvāro vā ime lokāḥ pṛthivy̐ antarikṣam̐ dyaur̐ āpa iti. catvāro vā ime devā agnir̐ vāyur̐ ādityas̐ candramās̐ catvāro vā ime vedā ṛgvedo

¹⁴ An intervening passage on the birth of the three ritual exclamations is omitted for the sake of space.

yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo brahmaveda iti. catasro vā imā hotrā hautram ādhvaryavam audgātram brahmatvam iti.

The divine Atharvan is Prajāpati. Having performed ascetic heat, he fashioned out that four-portioned rice-gruel for the Brahmins, with four worlds, four gods, four Vedas, four priestly offices. Four are these worlds: earth, midspace, sky, waters. Four are these gods: Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Candramas. Four are these Vedas: Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Brahmaveda. Four are these priestly offices: that of the Hotar; that of the Adhvaryu, that of the Udgātar, that of the Brahman.

This passage is also a classic example of the Gopathabrāhmaṇa's pro-Atharvaveda propagandist style, which aims to secure the position of the Brahman-priest in Śrauta ritual for Atharvavedins (or "Brahmavedins"). Besides this passage and ŚS 10.7.20 cited above, I have not been able to find any closed enumerations of four elements wherein one refers to Atharvavedic formulas outside of the Gṛhyasūtras and the Upaniṣads; in the latter, the fourth element is still often called *atharvāṅ-girasah*, or *ātharvaṇam* (the Ātharvanic [collection]), even when the compounds in °veda- are used for the first three (Holdrege 1994: 57, n. 24, with text citations).

2 Derogatory Designations

We have mentioned above one of the oldest ways of referring to the hymns of the Atharvaveda, *atharvāṅgirāsaḥ*. The variant *bhṛgvaṅgirāsaḥ* "the Bhṛgu and the Aṅgirasas" is found from the Brāhmaṇas on, and is preferred in Atharvavedic ritual texts (Gonda 1975: 267).¹⁵ Three entities, then, are contained in these names: Aṅgiras is present in both, combined with either Atharvan or Bhṛgu.¹⁶ While Atharvan is a priest's title, Aṅgiras and Bhṛgu are the eponymous ancestors of families of Vedic priest-poets designated by the patronymics Aṅgirasa and Bhārgava (these *gotras* are still met with today); with the founders of the different schools (Pipalāda, Śaunaka, etc.), they represent the traditional Atharvavedic sages in medieval Indian ritual literature (Griffiths & Sumant 2018: LVII). Here I will describe what each of these names represent by themselves, and then mention another, less common designation of the Atharvaveda: Yātu.

Despite their apparently respectable place as a family of Vedic poets and as legendary priests frequently invoked as ancient ritual role-models in the Yajurveda,¹⁷

¹⁵ An uncompounded version is found in the genitive sequence *bhṛḡgūṇām aṅgirasām* "of the Bhṛ-gus [and] the Aṅgirasas" in Khila 3.15.30 to Ṛgveda 10.84 (ed. Scheftelowitz 1906: 102).

¹⁶ The three are found together in Ṛgveda 10.14.6 (repeated in the Atharvaveda as PS 18.63.1/ŚS 18.1.58).

¹⁷ See the study by Shende 1950.

the Aṅgirasas are called “terrible” (*ghorá-*) from the latest, so-called “Atharvavedic” book of the Ṛgveda onwards,¹⁸ and continue to be so characterized and connected with inimical violence in all periods of Vedic literature, within and without the Atharvaveda.¹⁹ The Aṅgirasas are even mixed up with Asuras in some late Vedic texts, when the latter had become the gods’ enemies (see section 4 below). By medieval times, Aṅgiras is synonymous with *abhicāra* or hostile ritual: the Aṅgirasakalpa (*āṅgirasah kalpaḥ*, *aṅgirasām kalpaḥ*) of the Atharvavedic medieval tradition is also known as the Abhicārakalpa (Sanderson 2007: 202). We also find the concept of *praty-āṅgirasa* or “anti-Aṅgiras” ritual, that is, rites to defend against ritual attacks, developed in both the Atharvavedic and the Ṛgvedic ritual traditions.²⁰ The Aṅgirasas’ *purohita*-like role as Indra’s aides in his battle against Vala²¹ might suggest an ancient association with hostile ritual specifically in the service of a chieftain. At any rate, one cannot disregard the terrible side of the Aṅgirasas, nor the antiquity of this aspect and of their intimate association with the tradition later called Atharvaveda.

“Atharvan” is an obsolete priest’s title. The word *átharvan-*, like that for the physician *bhiṣáj-* (see section 3 below), is common to both Vedic and Avestan and might be a foreign loanword from the Oxus civilization languages of the Indo-Iranian substrate.²² As can be seen by the use of the word in the hymns of the Ṛgveda (as well as in the Avesta), “Atharvan” originally designated a type of priest,²³ but no priest bearing this title appears in codified Vedic ritual. Like the title “Asura”, “Atharvan” can be said of gods in the Ṛgveda but afterward goes out of style, to say the least. Heesterman (1993: 143–144) notes the Atharvan-priest’s “somewhat peripheral position” in Vedic and Avestan texts; in ancient Iran the title was superseded by *magu* (which, I might add, is at the origin of the word “magician” in European languages, transmitted through Herodotus; see Boyce 1982: 15–19). Heesterman further remarks: “The Iranian *āthravan*, then, does attest to the early existence of priestly figures serving kings and magnates. But his status of a priestly servant in a

18 Ṛgveda 10.108.10, probably 10.92.3 as well; see Jamison & Brereton (2014: 1542).

19 For an overview of passages, see Bloomfield (1897: XIX–XXI).

20 See Bahulkar (2004). In medieval Tantric currents, the goddess Pratyāṅgirā is known as an Atharvavedic version of Durgā.

21 See, for example, the discussion of this well-known myth in Jamison & Brereton (2014: 22).

22 **atharwan*; in Avestan *āthrauuan-/aθaurun-*; see Lubotsky (2001: 303, 310).

23 See Mayrhofer (1992: 60): “Priester; Name des ersten Priesters des Vorzeit (ṚV+).” The word is translated “fire-priest” by Jamison & Brereton (2014) in several of its occurrences in the Ṛgveda (8.9.7, 10.87.12, 10.92.10), but as Heesterman (1993: 143) notes, all Vedic priests are fire-priests. The idea that Atharvan is a priestly title and not a family name was proposed already by Macdonell (1897: 141) after a discussion of all Ṛgvedic occurrences; see also Macdonell & Keith (1912: 17).

magnate's household does not speak for an autonomous state and certainly not for high status or spiritual authority." See section 5 for the royal connection in India.

According to the well-known opposition in Atharvavedic ritual tradition between a positive category referred to as *sānta*- "auspicious", *ātharvaṇa*- "Ātharvanic", or *bheṣaja*- "medicine", and a negative one referred to as *ghora*- "terrible", *āṅgīrasa*- "Āṅgīrasic", or *yātu*- "maleficent power/device" (Bahulkar 1994: 40), the name "Atharvan" should represent something positive in contrast to Āṅgīras. However, this is part of a later development:²⁴ In the Atharvavedic hymn collections, there is no correlation between Āṅgīras and hymns for causing harm nor between Atharvan and auspicious or healing hymns, as has long been noted.²⁵ There are in fact more passages that associate Āṅgīras with medicine than Atharvan.²⁶ In general, the so-called "medical" hymns blend in with hymns against enemies because of their violent exorcistic content and their portrayal of the physician as a ruthless warrior and the illness as a demon (Pinault 2004). Furthermore, medicinal practices were in no way viewed as "positive" or "pure" in the ancient period, as we shall see in section 3.

Bṛḥgu, as I mentioned at the beginning of this section, was preferred to Atharvan by the post-Saṁhitā Atharvavedic ritual tradition, with the designation *bṛḥgvaṅgīrasaḥ* being more prevalent in this sphere. Bṛḥgu at one point must have sounded better than Atharvan, as the names being pushed by the post-Saṁhitā

²⁴ Perhaps occasioned by the emergence of the medieval ritual category of *sānti*, according to Geslani (2018: 30, note 41, and p. 40). The Kauśikasūtra and the Vaitānasūtra, both Atharvavedic ritual texts belonging to the end of the Vedic period, show only partial signs of the polarized ritual categories called *sānta/ātharvaṇa* and *ghora/āṅgīrasa*. The Gopathabrāhmaṇa, which presupposes these two Sūtras, is the most explicit in its presentation of this distinction. See Bloomfield (1897: XVIII–XIX), Caland (1910: 14; comments to Vaitānasūtra 5.7.10), and most recently the discussion in Griffiths & Sumant (2018: LXI–LXIV), which also shows how the distinction has become standard in medieval Atharvavedic ritual texts like the Karmapañjikā.

²⁵ Bloomfield (1899: 22); Henry (1909: 221); Macdonell & Keith (1912: 18); Shende (1950: 119) and (1952: 6).

²⁶ Āṅgīras is explicitly connected with a medical practice, without mention of Atharvan, in six passages: ŚS 8.7.17/PS 16.13.8, ŚS 8.7.24/PS 16.14.3, ŚS 19.34.6/PS 11.3.6, PS 3.22.1, PS 5.30.9 and PS 7.19.6. The same goes for Atharvan only in four passages: ŚS 4.37.1/PS 12.7.1, ŚS 10.2.26/PS 16.59.9, PS 1.8.4 (ab: ŚS 2.3.4ab), and PS 1.38.4. Outside of the Atharvaveda, we do find some stray mentions connecting Atharvan to medicine, such as *bhesajam vā ātharvaṇāni* "Ātharvanic [formulas] are medicine" in Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa 12.9.10 (ed. Chinnaswami Sastri 1935: 463; similarly 16.10.10, 1936: 246). Moreover, according to the Anukramaṇī, the author of the hymn Ṛgveda 10.97 addressing medicinal herbs is called Bhiṣaj Ātharvaṇa, and this name is also given by the Mantrārśadhyaṇya as the author of Kāthasaṁhitā 16.13, i.e. a full quotation of Ṛgveda 10.97 (see Weber 1855b: 459). Bloomfield (1897: XXI) followed by Macdonell & Keith (1912b: 106) misunderstands Weber's indication to mean that the name Bhiṣaj Ātharvaṇa appears in the text of the Kāthasaṁhitā itself, which is not the case.

Atharvavedic tradition reveal a desire to replace old associations.²⁷ Bhṛgu as a family name appears to have closer ties to a historic human reality than Aṅgiras. Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 2.2.3 designates specifically a Bhṛgu learned in the Atharvaveda as the best choice for the kings' *purohita* (Sanderson 2007: 205, n. 30). Bhārgava, and not Aṅgirasa, is found among the *gotra* names of Atharvavedic recipients of royal grants in the epigraphical sources presented by Schmiedchen (2007, appendices pp. 374–376). In the Vedic period, Bhṛgu seems to be rather neutrally charged compared to Aṅgiras; however, by the time of the Mahābhārata epic, the Bhārgavas along with the Aṅgirasas represent violent, wrathful Brahmins who are not to be crossed (Bronkhorst 2016: 237–240; see also Malinar's contribution in this volume on hostile ritual practices associated with the Atharvaveda in the Mahābhārata). As we know, Atharvan finally won out over both Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras in the name Atharvaveda, common today. This is mostly, it seems, because the other Vedic traditions never adopted the more modern or positive names involving "Bhṛgu" and "Brahman" with which the Atharvavedic tradition attempted to make a better name for itself.

Finally, it is worth noting that in one of its many passages that list Vedic genres, the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa appears to define the Atharvaveda as *yātú-*, for so it describes the fourth element coming after Ṛc, Sāman, and Yajuṣ:

Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyam̐dina) 10.5.2.20 (ed. Weber 1855: 795):
tām etām agnīr ity adhvaryāva upāsate | yājur ity eṣā hīdām sārvaṃ yunakti sāmēti chandogā etāsmīn hīdām sārvaṃ samānām ukthām iti bahvṛcā eṣā hīdām sārvaṃ uthāpāyati yātūr iti yātuvīda etēna hīdām sārvaṃ yatām viṣām iti sarpāḥ sarpā iti sarpavīda ūrg iti devā rayīr iti manuṣyā māyēty āsurāḥ svadhēti pitāro devajānā iti devajānavīdo rūpām iti gandharvā gandhā ity apsarāsa tāṃ yāthāyathopāsate tād evā bhavati.

The Adhvaryu-priests worship that very one²⁸ as Agni [and] as the Yajuṣ-formula, for he yokes this whole [world]. The singers of verse [worship him] as the Sāman-melody, for in him this whole [world] is one and the same. The knowers of the many Ṛc-stanzas [worship him] as the hymn, for he sustains this whole [world]. The Yātu-experts [worship him] as Yātu-maleficent power, for by him is this whole [world] controlled. The snakes [worship him] as poison, the snake-experts as a snake, the gods as ambrosia, the humans as wealth, the Asuras as Māyā-power, the Fathers as the Svadhā-offering, the knowers of the Devajana as Devajana, the Gandharvas as beauty, the Apsarasas as scent: however they worship him, just so does he become.

Of course, it is also possible that no particular reference to the Atharvaveda is meant at all in this multi-item list. However, the fact that the first four, concerning

²⁷ The promotional name Brahmaveda, which we saw in the Gopathabrāhmaṇa passage cited in the last section, never catches on: it is used solely in Atharvavedic ritual literature. See citations of texts in Sanderson (2007: 208, n. 39).

²⁸ The supreme Puruṣa; see ŚBM 10.5.2.19, and Eggeling (1897: 373).

Yajuṣ, Sāman, Ṛc, and Yātu, are set apart from the rest by their explicative word-play (*yātu-* is here suggested as deriving from *yam-* “to hold, control”), suggests that a fourth item is here starting to be recognized as a ritual tradition akin to the others but that its name is not yet fixed. The practitioners of *yātu-* are “praised” in association with the “Brahmins of death” in the Atharvaveda:

ŚS 6.13.3/PS 19.5.3 (ed. ŚS: Roth & Whitney 1856: 108; PS: Bhattacharya 2016: 1414):
*nāmas te yātudhānebhya nāmas te bheṣajēbhyaḥ | nāmas te mṛtyo mūlebhya brāhmaṇēbhya
 idān nāmaḥ ||*

Homage to your wielders of maleficent power, homage to your medicines, O Death, homage to your roots (plant concoctions): this homage [is] for your Brahmins.

These Brahmins who know the techniques and formulas of death (both to bring and to repulse it) must be those of the Atharvaveda itself, because it is in this Veda that such techniques and formulas are recorded and transmitted. But aside from this passage, both in the hymns of the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda, *yātu-* is hated and feared as harmful, and its practitioner (*yātudhāna-*) must be killed. Though the line between human and demonic is blurry in Vedic, *yātu-* is often associated with curses and aggressive rituals performed by humans, as shown already in the famous episode from ṚV 7.104 (ŚS 8.4/PS 16.9–11) in which the speaker (traditionally, the poet Vasiṣṭha), after cursing his enemies to die, vehemently swears his innocence before the god Agni perhaps in anticipation of accusations of engaging in *yātu-*. It is telling that the Atharvaveda could be associated with such an unambiguously negative notion.

3 The Marginal Status of the Medical Profession, a Specialty of the Atharvaveda

Among the canonical Vedas, the Atharvaveda is uniquely associated with physicians and with rites to banish disease, which are well represented in its hymns. But physicians are impure and excluded from mainstream Vedic ritual activity (Soma-rites) in the earliest Yajurveda accounts and elsewhere:

Maitrāyaṇīsaṁhitā 4.6.2 (ed. Schroeder 1886: 79, line 19, to p. 80, line 7):
yajñāsya vāi ṣṣṭāsya śiro 'chidyata. tāsmāi devāḥ prāyaścittim aichann. ātha vā etāu tārhi devānān bhiṣajā āstām aśvīnā āsomapau. tā upādāvan. yāthā bhiṣajam upadhāvanty evām idān yajñāsya śiraḥ prāti dhattam iti. tā abrūtān. bhāgō nā astv iti. vṛṇāthām. ity ābruvaṁs. tā abrūtān. grāhaṁ nau gṛhṇantu. somapīthām āśnavāvahā iti. tād vā aśvīnau prāty adhat-tān. tāsmād āśvīnībhir abhī ṣṭvanty. aśvīnau hī pratyādhattām. tāu vāi bahiṣpavamānēnaivā

pāvayitvá tábhyān pūtābhyān yajñīyābhyān bhūtābhyān grāham agrhṇāns. tasmād bahiṣpavamānē stutā āśvināu grhyete.

The head of the rite in progress was cut off. The gods sought a remedy for that. At that time those two physicians of the gods, the Aśvins, were not Soma-drinkers. They (the gods) resorted (to the Aśvins), just as one resorts to a physician, saying, ‘Put back the head of the rite here!’ The two (Aśvins) said, ‘Let us have a share [of the rite].’ – ‘Choose!’ replied the gods. The two (Aśvins) said, ‘Let them draw a cup for us two. We would like to obtain Soma-drinking.’ The Aśvins put back the [head]. That’s why one sings with the Āśvinī-meters. For the Aśvins put back [the head]. Only after having purified them with the Bahiṣpavamāna does one draw the cup for the two (Aśvins) who have been [thus] purified, having become worthy of the rite. That’s why the two [cups] for the Aśvins should be drawn once the Bahiṣpavamāna has been sung.

Taittirīyasamhitā 6.4.9.1–3 (ed. Weber 1872: 205–206):

yajñāsya śiro ’chidyata; té devā āśvināv abruvan: bhiṣājau vai stha idān yajñāsya śiraḥ prāti dhattam iti, tāv abrūtān: vāraṁ vṛṇāvahai grāha evā nāv atrā ’pi grhyatām iti; tábhyām etām āśvinām agrhṇan, tāto vai tāu yajñāsya śiraḥ prāty adhattām; yād āśvinó grhyāte yajñāsya niṣkṛtyai. tāu devā abruvann: āpūtau vā imāu manusyacarāu || 1 || bhiṣājāv iti, tasmād brāhmaṇéna bheṣajām ná kāryam, āpūto hy eṣo ’medhyó yó bhiṣák; tāu bahiṣpavamānēna pāvayitvá tábhyām etām āśvinām agrhṇan, tasmād bahiṣpavamānē stutā āśvinó grhyate. tasmād evān vidúṣā bahiṣpavamānā upasādyaḥ, pavitraṁ vai bahiṣpavamānā atmānam evā pāvayate. tāyos tredhā bhāiṣajyam ví ny ādadhur; agnāu tṛtīyam apsú tṛtīyam brāhmaṇé tṛtīyam; tasmād udapātrām || 2 || upanidhāya brāhmaṇām dakṣiṇató niṣādya bheṣajām kuryād; yāvad evā bheṣajām téna karoti, samārdhukam asya kṛtām bhavati.

The head of the sacrifice was cut; the gods said to the Aśvins, ‘Ye are physicians; do ye replace the head of the sacrifice’; they replied, ‘Let us choose a boon; let there be drawn a cup for us also herein.’ For them they drew this cup for the Aśvins; then indeed did they replace the head of the sacrifice; in that (the cup) for the Aśvins is drawn, (it is) to restore the sacrifice. The gods said of these two, ‘Impure are they, wandering among men [1] and physicians.’ Therefore a Brahman should not practice medicine, for the physician is impure, unfit for the sacrifice. Having purified them by the Bahiṣpavamāna (Stotra) they drew for them this cup for the Aśvins; therefore (the cup) for the Aśvins is drawn when the Bahiṣpavamāna has been sung. Therefore by one who knows thus the Bahiṣpavamāna should be performed; verily he purifies himself. Their skill as physicians they deposited in three places, in Agni a third, in the waters a third, in the Brahman a third. Therefore one should put beside him a pot of water [2] and sit on the right hand of a Brahman when practicing medicine: all medicine he performs thereby, his remedy becomes effective. (translation by Keith 1914: 535).

Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 3.124 (ed. Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra 1954: 406):

*sa *hovācāśvinau²⁹ vai tau darvihomiṇau bhiṣajyantāv idān carato ’napisomau |*

He said, ‘The two Aśvins go about here making herbal offerings and practicing medicine: they have no place by the Soma’.

29 Ed. *sa sahocāśvinau*; emendation by Gerhard Ehlers.

Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyam̐dina) 4.1.5.13–15 (ed. Weber 1855: 351–352):
tāu hocatuḥ | sūkanye kēnāvām āsarvau svaḥ kēnāsamyddhāv iti tāu hārṣir evā prāty uvāca kurukṣetre 'mī devā yajñām tanvate té vām yajñād antár yanti tēnāsarvau sthas tēnāsamyddhāv iti tāu ha tāta evāśvīnau prēyatus tāv ā jagmatur devān yajñām tanvānānt stutē bahiṣpavamānē || 13 || tāu hocatuḥ | ūpa nau hvayadhvam iti té ha devā ūcur nā vām ūpa hvayīṣyāmahe bahū manuṣyēṣu sāmṣṣtam acāriṣtaṁ bhiṣajyāntāv iti || 14 || tāu hocatuḥ | viśīrṣṇā vāi yajñēna yajadhva iti kathām viśīrṣṇēty ūpa nū nau hvayadhvam ātha vo vakṣyāva iti tāthēti tā ūpāhvayanta tābhyām etām āśvinām grāham agrhṇāms tāv adhvaryū yajñāsyaḥbhavatām tāv etād yajñāsya śīraḥ prāty adhattām tād adās tād divākīrtyānām brāhmaṇe vy ā khyāyate yāthā tād yajñāsya śīraḥ pratidadhātus tasmād eṣā stutē bahiṣpavamānē grāho grhyate stutē hī bahiṣpavamānā āgachatām || 15 ||

They [the Āsvins, C.S.] said, 'Sukanyā, in what respect are we incomplete, in what respect imperfect?' The Ṛṣi himself answered them, – 'In Kurukshetra yonder the gods perform a sacrifice and exclude you two from it: in that respect ye are incomplete, in that respect imperfect!' And the Āsvins departed forthwith, and came to the gods, as they were performing a sacrifice, after the chanting of the Bahiṣpavamāna. 14. They said, 'Invite us thereto!' The gods said, 'We will not invite you: ye have wandered and mixed much among men, performing cures.' 15. They said, 'But surely ye worship with a headless sacrifice!' – 'How with a headless (sacrifice)?' – 'Nay, invite us, and we will tell you!' – 'So be it!' so they invited them. They drew this Āśvina cup for them; and those two became the Adhvaryu priests of the sacrifice, and restored the head of the sacrifice. Then, in the chapter of the divākīrtyās, it is explained how they did restore the head of the sacrifice. Hence this libation is drawn after the chanting of the Bahiṣpavamāna, for it was after the chanting of the Bahiṣpavamāna that they arrived. (translation by Eggeling 1885: 275–276).

Further on, in the Dharma texts, medicine is still a “despised” profession (see Bloomfield 1899: 26 and Macdonell & Keith 1912b: 104–105). As for the oldest period, Ṛgveda 9.112.3a *kārūr ahām tatō bhiṣāk* “I am a bard, Dad is a doctor” might imply that the same family could produce Vedic ritual professionals as well as physicians, but this depends on the exact sense of *kārūr*³⁰ and in any case does not necessarily mean that the practitioners of these professions had equal social status in the earliest Ṛgvedic times.

4 The Ritual Inferiority of Other Groups Associated with the Atharvaveda

Vedic physicians and their divine counterparts, the Āsvins, are not the only ones to be excluded from Śrauta ritual and then allowed only after purification/instruc-

³⁰ See Köhler (2018: 114) on the sense of this word.

tion. A similar mythical storyline of inferiority and gained acceptance is common to the Aṅgirasas and the Vrātyas, both groups being strongly associated with the Atharvaveda in particular. Here, first of all, is the story of the Aṅgirasas:

Kāthasamhitā 9.16 (ed. Schroeder 1900: 119, lines 10–18):³¹

āṅgirasas ca vā ādityās ca svargé lokè 'spardhanta tá ādityá etáñ páñcahotāram apaśyañs táñ mánasānūddrútyājuhavus táta ādityās svargám lokám áyann ápáñgirasó 'bhrañśanta té 'ñgirasas ādityán abruvan kvà stha kathám vo havýám vaksyāma íti cchándassv íty abruvan gāyatryám vásavas triṣṭúbhi rudrá jágatyām ādityá ity átra vái devébhyas sadbhyó havýám uhyate yá evám deván upadésanād védopadésanavān bhavati yás svargákāmas syāt sá etáñ páñcahotāram mánasānūddrútya juhuyāt páñca vā ṛtáva ṛtávās sañvatsarás sañvatsarás svargó loká ṛtúsv evá sañvatsaré pratiṣṭhāya svargám lokám eti ||

The Aṅgirasas and the Ādityas vied for the heavenly world. The Ādityas saw that ‘Five-Priest’ formula. Having mentally recited it, they made an oblation. Because of that the Ādityas arrived at the heavenly world. The Aṅgirasas fell off. The Aṅgirasas said to the Ādityas, ‘Where are you? How will we carry the oblation to you?’ ‘In the meters,’ they replied, ‘the Vasus in Gāyatrī, the Rudras in Triṣṭubh, the Ādityas in Jagatī.’ For in this world, the oblation is carried to the divine beings. Who thus knows the gods by instruction becomes an instructed person. He who would desire heaven should make an oblation after having mentally recited that ‘Five-Priest’ formula. For five are the seasons, the seasons are the year, the year is the heavenly world. Only having taken foundation in the seasons, in the year, does one go to the heavenly world.

Notice the emphasis on proper instruction in ritual matters, and the implication that the Aṅgirasas were deficient in this.³² A similar competition wherein the Ādityas beat their rivals on account of their superior ritual knowledge is alluded to in Taittirīyasamhitā 3.5.1.2–3 (ed. Weber 1871: 304–305):

ādityās cáñgirasas cágnín ādadhata té darśapūrnamāsau prāipsan tēśām āñgirasām níruptañ havír áśid áthādityá etáu hómāv apaśyan táv ajuhavus táto vái té darśapūrnamāsáu ||2|| pūrva ālabhanta

The Ādityas and the Aṅgirasas piled up the fires, they desired to obtain the new and the full moon (offerings); the Aṅgirasas offered the oblation, then the Ādityas saw these two offerings, and offered them; then they first grasped the new and the full moon (offerings). (translation by Keith 1914: 278)

Here the Aṅgirasas have some ritual technique, but it appears not to be sufficiently sophisticated. The Vrātyas’ ritual insufficiency is similar: they have the desire but

³¹ This and similar passages are summarized by Shende (1950: 118) in his overview of the Aṅgirasas.

³² This has already been noticed by Lévi (1898: 67–68): “Les Ādityas pour leur sacrifice n’ont pas demandé de conseils et n’en ont pas reçu. Les Angiras, moins habiles, sont fréquemment arrêtés par leur ignorance.”

not the means. Umberto Selva has recently discussed the foundational myth of the Vrātyas; I cite his summary:

The gods went to heaven, but left behind (*hi-*) the *daiva/divya* Vrātyas. This mythical Vrātya group with Budha or Dyutāna Māruta as leader (*sthapati* or *grhapati*) aimed at following the gods on their path. Eventually the Maruts (PB) or Prajāpati (JB), depending on the version of the myth, provide them with the necessary knowledge or the proper rituals that allow them to reach the gods in the *svarga loka* via the *devayāna path*. These are the Vrātyastomas, special rituals that need to be performed when forming a Vrātya alliance before undertaking a Vrātya expedition, as well as at the end of the expedition, in order to be re-integrated into society. (Selva 2019: 392–393).³³

As Selva points out, the ambiguous societal and religious position of the Vrātyas is such that their identity is still debated:³⁴ some consider them to represent a heretical tradition in the eyes of the Vedic mainstream, while Selva follows others in seeing a pan-Vedic inherited tradition of warrior brotherhoods made up of youths and marginalized persons for which special rituals were necessary if they wished to be reintegrated as part of regular Vedic society and ritual practice. Whatever the case may be, they are fringe characters. Selva (2019: 393–394) further remarks that the Vrātya story is paralleled by that of Rudra/Paśupati's exclusion from the gods' sacrifice (see also Candotti & Pontillo 2015); again, the cult of Rudra is particularly well represented in the Atharvaveda as compared to the other Vedas.

So we see that one frame story is common to the twin Aśvin physicians, the Aṅgirasas, and the Vrātyas: all are left out of the gods' ritual endeavors, but finally gain access through instruction. It might be possible, in the case of the Aṅgirasas, to object that they simply represent the human priest, and not the Atharvavedic priest in particular, and that the story only reflects man's original attempts at ritual by emulation of the gods. However, other versions of the story equate the Aṅgirasas with the Asuras,³⁵ thereby making them downright enemies of the gods, and not human but demonic. A short hymn alluding to this story is found as Ṛgvedakhila 5.20/ŚS 20.135.6–10.³⁶ Successively more detailed prose stories surrounding the use

³³ Selva presents the various versions from Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa 17.1.1–7 and 24.18.2, as well as Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 2.221, with text and translation. See also Caland's translations: Caland (1931: 454–456 and 620–622) for the PB passages and Caland (1919: 183–184) for the JB.

³⁴ Selva (2019: 392, and 334, n. 33, etc.); see also af Edholm (2017: 2).

³⁵ The storyline is discussed by Heesterman (1993: 37–41), who mentions the character identity shift briefly (footnote 142), but does not present the passages.

³⁶ The hymn begins everywhere *ādityā ha jaritar āṅgirobhyo dākṣiṇām anāyan* “The Ādityas, O singer, brought the *dakṣiṇā*-fee for the Aṅgirasas”, the rest differs slightly from place to place but concerns their accepting or refusing various *dakṣiṇās* (ŚS ed. Pandit 1898b: 831–832; Ṛgvedakhila ed. Scheftelowitz 1906: 164). One difference interesting for our purposes is that the ŚS reads (10ab) *dēva dadatv āsuram tād vo astu śūcetanam* “Let the gods give an Asuric thing, let it be agreeable to

of this hymn, called Devanītha, are found from one Brāhmaṇa to the next:³⁷ the core idea is that the Ādityas outwit the Aṅgīrases in order to get to heaven before them, by making them officiate for the Ādityas' heaven-winning Soma sacrifice and by making them accept the *dakṣiṇā* remuneration for it. At one part of the story in the latest versions, the Ādityas offer Speech as a *dakṣiṇā* and the Aṅgīrases refuse her. She becomes an angry lioness intent on harming both parties, and here the Ādityas and the Aṅgīrases are renamed as the Devas and the Asuras:

Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 2.115 (text as in Caland 1919: 158)

athaiṣa sadyahkṛiṭh te vṛtā nāpākṛāmaṁs ta etyāyājayaṁs tebhya etām vācam vaḍavām śvetām bhūtām aśvābhīdhānyabhīhitām ānayann imām pratigṛhītetī te 'bruvañ chreyasyam asman no imām uḍyaṁsyāma iti sā krudhā na mā pratyagṛhṇann iti simḥy ubhayatomukhī bhūtvordhvodakṛāmat sobhayān devāsurān antarātiṣṭhad yañ devānām upāpnod yam asurāṇām tam ādaānā

As to that Same-Day Soma ritual: the (Aṅgīrases) chosen (as officiants by the Ādityas) did not step down. Having come, they officiated. (The Ādityas) brought them Speech in the form of a white mare bound with a halter. “Accept her”, they said. (They replied,) “This one is too great for us. We won’t be able to raise her.” She became angry, (thinking,) “They didn’t accept me.” Having become a two-mouthed lioness she rose straight up. She stood between the two groups, the Devas and the Asuras, seizing whichever of the Devas and the Asuras she could reach.

This translation follows Caland’s (1919: 160; German), who identifies the unnamed subjects in the beginning as Aṅgīrases by citing also Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 3.187–188. This last passage explains at length how the Aṅgīrases planned a Next-Day Soma sacrifice and asked the Ādityas to officiate. The Ādityas, not wishing to put themselves in the subordinate position of officiants to the Aṅgīrases, thought up the Same-Day version and asked the Aṅgīrases to officiate, thus making them subordinate. It starts: *ādityās ca vā aṅgīrasas ca svarge loke ’spardhanta ta aikṣanta yatare no yatarān yājayiṣyanti te hāsyanta iti . . .* “The Ādityas and the Aṅgīrases vied for

you (O Aṅgīrases)”; the Khila version (4b) is probably original with (*a*) *vāram* “boon” in the place of *āsuraṁ*, but the confusion is telling. Gopathabrāhmaṇa 2.6.14 repeats the ŚS version (ed. Gastra 1919: 268; one manuscript has the variant *asuraṁ*). In Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra 12.19 (see Caland 1953: 337–338), the hymn is recited after the so-called “Prattle of Etaśa” during the twelve-day Soma sacrifice; the preceding Khila likewise relates the “Prattle of Etaśa”.

³⁷ This story was presented with citations from several passages from the Brāhmaṇas by Lévi (1898: 65–66). The story is found in a short form in Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa 30.6 (Keith 1920: 526–527) and Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa 16.12 (Caland 1931: 446–447); Aitareyabrāhmaṇa 6.34 (translated by Keith 1920: 285–287) is much longer with the Khila verses embedded; finally, Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 2.115–7 + 3.187–8 (see Caland 1919: 158–161) and Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyandina) 3.5.1.13–25 (translated by Eggeling 1885: 113–116) momentarily identify the actors at one point as the Devas and Asuras, as shown here.

the heavenly world. They reflected: “Whichever of us will officiate for the others will be left behind” (text as in Caland 1919: 158; shorter versions of the story are also found in Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa 2.120, 2.362, 2.365). In the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, the Ādityas and the Aṅgirasas are explicitly named only to be re-identified as Devas and Asuras in the course of one continuous story:

Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyamdina) 3.5.1.13 (ed. Weber 1855: 268)
dvayyò ha vá idám ágre prajā āsuḥ | ādityás caivāṅgirasas ca . . .
 . . . 3.5.1.21 (p. 269) *sòbháyān ántareṇa devāsuránt sámýattānt simhí bhūtvádádānā cacāra*

In the beginning, the creatures here were of two types: the Ādityas and the Aṅgirasas . . . She (Speech), having become a lioness, roamed between the two warring parties, the Devas and the Asuras, seizing [whichever of them she could].

Though this is not original and reflects confusion with the much more common story of the war between Devas and Asuras, it speaks to the ambiguous status the Aṅgirasas hold in the story. Incidentally, the Vaidika Brahmins of Andhra Pradesh invoke the rivalry between Devas and Asuras as a parallel for their own inter-priest enmities, requiring secret recourse to the Atharvaveda’s rival-smiting powers (Knipe 2004: 433). These enmities often involve bitterness surrounding invitations and a refusal to officiate in others’ rites; for the officiant is seen as subordinate to the Yajamāna, and the officiant’s obligatory receipt of a *dakṣiṇā*-fee is particularly problematic in this light (see section 5 on the stigma surrounding a paid priest). An invitation to officiate can thus sometimes be perceived as an insult. This is clearly an old problem, as the story about the Aṅgirasas officiating for the Ādityas shows.

5 The Persistent Marginality of the Atharvaveda in the Post-Vedic Period

From medieval times, though these represent the heyday for Atharvavedic *purohitas* in the service of kings (see Sanderson 2007: 204–205), we still have strong indications of the marginal position of the tradition with respect to the other three Vedas. First of all, working for a king would not have led to particular esteem within the larger orthodox community of Smārta Brahmins in the medieval period: the king’s priest increasingly had to officiate in temples, and Brahmins who worked as temple priests for more than three years lost their Brahmin status and were vilified as *devalakas*, as *upabrāhmaṇas* “sub-Brahmins”, and as *brāhmaṇacaṇḍālas* “Brahmin untouchables” (Sanderson 2009: 276–278). Furthermore, the Atharvaveda was considered irrelevant for Śrauta ritual in the Brahmin community: this is underscored by the fact that in the 9th century, when the Atharvaveda should have been well-es-

tablished as the “fourth Veda”, Bhaṭṭa Jayanta feels the need to devote a chapter of his Nyāyamañjarī to the defense of the Atharvaveda’s authority next to that of the other three Vedas (see Kataoka 2007: 317). Jayanta admits that it is not an authority for Śrauta matters, but that it is authoritative for the sort of rites peculiar to it, namely *śānti*, *puṣṭi*, and *abhicāra*, which represent ritual categories important to royal ritual. Finally, the law codes condemn as a “minor sin” many practices particularly associated with the Atharvaveda,³⁸ but make an exception for kings. Despite the special status of the *purohita* versed in Atharvan ritual, Atharvavedins as a group are still a minority recipient of state donations in the Indian epigraphical record.³⁹ As Alexis Sanderson has noted, Śaiva priests, who competed with and eventually superseded the Atharvavedins in the role of royal officiants, recognized that the Atharvaveda was not on the same level as the other three Vedas, and even considered it to constitute, like their own, a restricted teaching beyond mainstream Smārta tradition:

Indeed the Śaivas themselves have presented the Atharvaveda in just these terms. After defining the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, and Sāmaveda together with the Smṛtis as the common revelation the Jayadrathayāmala’s first Ṣaṭka goes on to list those scriptures that are the basis of those religious systems that transcend this level, and includes the Atharvaveda among them. (Sanderson 2007: 206, followed by citation and translation of texts)

Finally, the modern situation mirrors the ancient one: Knipe’s fieldwork on rivalry among the Vaidika Brahmins of Andhra Pradesh gives a telling picture of the place of the Atharvaveda (Knipe 2004). These *āhitāgni* Brahmins, though belonging to the Taittirīya school of the Yajurveda, secretly memorize hymns and even whole books of the Atharvaveda in order to get the better of their enemies. They invariably insist that they are simply defending themselves from the attacks by rival co-priests; the performer of hostile ritual acts (*abhicāra*), presents himself as a victim forced into responding in this way. Calumny and insults go hand in hand with this secret ritual aggression, and one of the most common accusations is precisely that of practicing “mean” (*kṣudra*) arts, that is, *abhicāra*.⁴⁰ Thus we see how the Atharvaveda is seen as low and dangerous but also, with a certain degree of hypocrisy, useful. Bodewitz’ discussion of the contradiction between the highest sin of Brahmin-murder and the

³⁸ *Abhicāra*- and *mūla-karmaṇ*- are *upapātakas* in Manusmṛti 11.63; see Kane (1962: 1079–1080), Goudriaan (1978: 365), and Sanderson (2004: 233).

³⁹ Schmiedchen (2007: 356–357); inscriptions are found from the 4th to the 11th centuries CE.

⁴⁰ Knipe (2004: 442). Acts qualified as *kṣudra*- have long referred to *abhicāra*-; see Goudriaan (1978: 365). Another accusation, unsurprisingly, is that of having served as a despised temple priest, referred to scornfully with the English word “businessman” by some of Knipe’s interviewees, because such priests are usually paid.

existence of rites whose goal is the death of the enemy, who is often in practice a rival Brahmin, is illuminating in this context (Bodewitz 2007=2019: 356–361).

In the 1960s, the Atharvavedin Brahmins of the Paippalāda school in Odisha were excluded from intermarriage and eating together with other Brahmin communities (Bhattacharyya 1968: 39). We can sum up with the remarks made by Witzel (2016: 73) in his recent overview of the current state of the Vedic schools in India:

As has been mentioned earlier, the tradition of the Atharvaveda has always been the weakest among the four Vedas, no doubt due to its minor role in Śrauta rituals. On the other hand, kings needed Atharvavedins for their specific rituals (see AV *Parīṣiṣṭa* 2), so that their survival was to some extent ensured. For example, the forty-odd small kingdoms of Orissa had a system of four Rājagurus, one of them being an Atharvavedin – who was in charge of police and spying.

6 Conclusion

It is the undeniable concentration of marginal elements in the Atharvavedic tradition that allows Parpola (2015) to go so far as to make a case for its belonging to a religion originally separate from that represented by the core of the Ṛgveda and Soma-centric Śrauta ritual.⁴¹ I would rather say that the Atharvaveda tradition consolidated a host of marginal practices, but that these still belong, albeit as minor ritual modes of varying acceptability, to Vedic priestly tradition as a whole, for which Śrauta ritual was the major mode. We can compare the characterization chanced upon in a recent book review by Lubin (2020: 794): “The rites and mantras ‘of Atharvan and Aṅgiras’ constituted the ‘other’ ancient priestly tradition running parallel to the ‘high cult’ orthodoxy of the ‘three Vedas’ (Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda).” This paper has, I hope, sufficiently shown that representatives of the original three Vedas did express anxiety about this “other” ritual tradition, the Atharvaveda: at first they ignored it, but then they allowed it as a genre at the border between the three Vedas and various types of popular lore, and tentatively accepted it as a fourth Veda only at the end of the Vedic period. The Atharvaveda’s associations with groups such as roaming physicians and Vṛātya warrior bands, considered impure in the texts of the original three Vedas, play a role in its lack of respectability for these three. The way non-Atharvavedic Brāhmaṇa texts confuse the Aṅgirasas with the Asuras as unfit ritualists and enemies of the gods is also

⁴¹ See also the review of Parpola (2015) by Jamison (2020), for whom “the differences are not different enough” to posit a historically separate religion and culture.

important given the Aṅgirasas' early role as co-representatives of this tradition with the Atharvans. The Atharvaveda, as is clear from this its most common name today, tried to purge itself of its associations with Aṅgiras who had come to represent "terrible" hostile ritual; there was even an attempt at the end of the Vedic period to claim the irreproachable name "Brahmaveda", which needless to say never caught on. Even after the Vedic period, Atharvavedic Brahmins struggled for full acceptance within wider Smārta culture, their Veda being considered useless for Śrauta ritual, and they were sometimes subject to eating- and marriage- restrictions with Brahmins of the other Vedas. Here it is important to note that when I invoke the marginality of the Atharvaveda, I speak of the margins of Brahminical orthodoxy: we have seen that Atharvavedins had some degree of success in obtaining positions as royal *purohitas* in the first millennium CE, and as such they would not have been marginal figures from the point of view of the king and his retinue or from the point of view of the non-Brahmin subjects of this king. However, even then, the *purohita* continued to be scorned by the mainstream Smārta Brahmin orthodoxy, who considered the former a seller of his knowledge just like a paid temple priest. In the Vedic period, the Atharvaveda is a marginal tradition from the point of view of the representatives of the original three Vedas, and in medieval and modern times, marginal from the point of view of Smārta priestly society. It is important to recognize the marginality of the Atharvaveda, defined in this way with respect to the other Vedas, as an important component of its historical context; this in turn is important for accurate interpretation of Atharvavedic hymns, as they are distinct in many ways from Ṛgvedic hymns.

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Angelika Malinar

Rites to Subdue: *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā* in the Mahābhārata

Abstract: The influence of Atharvavedic textual communities on the textual history and meaning of the Mahābhārata (MBh) is a recurrent topic in epic studies as the influential “Bhṛguization theory” proposed by V.S. Sukthankar (1936) demonstrates. Epic scholars often followed the general view on the Atharvaveda as focusing on dubious “magic” rituals and translated passages dealing with Atharvavedic ritual practices, such as *abhicāra*, with “black magic” or “sorcery”. However, a general negative understanding and a too-general application of the terminology of “magic” effaces rather than reveals the polyvalent status of these practices in the epic. A closer look at the references to the Atharvaveda and the associated ritual vocabulary calls for more specific translations and points to the contested status of the Atharvaveda in the history of its reception. To demonstrate this, the contested status of ritual practices that aim to subdue others is discussed through an analysis of epic representations of *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā* rites which are typically connected to the Atharvaveda. The epic passages attest to the ambiguous status of these practices as they are criticized, but also accepted when employed in domestic contexts and in negotiating gender relations.

1 Introduction

The historical and ideological relationship between the Mahābhārata and the Veda is a much-discussed topic in the study of the epic and the reception history of the Veda. Some scholars highlight continuities that can be detected in the Mahābhārata’s references to Vedic rituals and the possible impact of ritual structures on the epic narrative.¹ Others suggest that the epic rather negotiates a crisis of Vedic ritualism caused by changing socio-political contexts (such as the rise of empires, increasing social stratification) and the success of new religious-philosophical doctrines challenging the authority of Brahmanical priests and Vedic texts (Buddhism, Sāṃkhya, *bhakti* etc.).² The epic provides evidence for both views and this points to the interests of the various textual communities involved in its transmission. The

¹ For instance, van Buitenen (1972), Minkowski (1989).

² For instance, Holtzmann (1892–1895) suggests the epic is the result of a “Vaisnava redaction”.

influence of Atharvavedic textual communities on the textual history of the epic has been discussed particularly since Vishnu S. Sukthankar's (1936) "Bhṛguization" theory. He argued that the final redaction of the epic is marked by the incorporation of texts featuring the Bhārgavas, the descendants of Bhṛgu, one of the prominent representatives of Atharvavedic ritualism (along with the descendants of Atharvan and Aṅgiras). At the same time, Sukthankar doubted the significance of these additions to the epic narrative and its ideological message. In his 1956 monograph on the meaning of the Mahābhārata, Sukthankar argues that the *bhakti*-doctrine is the epic's "metaphysical" core message. One reason for the exclusion of the Atharvaveda from 'meaning-production' in the epic is that Sukthankar was convinced that the Bhārgava material has not the "remotest intrinsic connection" with the epic narrative.³ Furthermore, the Atharvaveda's focus on magic and witchcraft is far away from the metaphysics of *bhakti*.⁴ His view on the Atharvaveda resonates with its common association with destructive rituals and violent priests. Maurice Bloomfield poignantly summarizes this view as follows: "The enemy and the unholy wizard, the uncanny and the demoniacal, are conceptions which constantly interlace in the Atharvaveda."⁵ Consequently, terms like "black magic", "sorcery" and "witchcraft" are regularly used for Atharvavedic practices. This view has also influenced epic scholarship as the discussion of the "Bhṛguization" theory demonstrates. Furthermore, when the Atharvaveda surfaces in the epic, the Western vocabulary of magic (despite its controversial semantics) is often used, for instance when *abhicāra* in the epic is generally translated as "black magic" or "sorcery". In epic studies, this has not necessarily resulted in viewing 'magic' as something negative or dubious. One way of dealing with the 'magical' elements in the epic is to treat them as literary devices, as typical features of the 'mythic' universe depicted in the epic tale. This universe includes miraculous elements, introducing elements of adventure and fairy tale into the 'heroic' tale. Accordingly, Atharvavedic "wizards", and "uncanny" practices like *abhicāra* have been treated as features of the literary genre.⁶ On the other hand, such features were also viewed as pointing to the epic's cultural-historical contexts in that they mirror ritual practices in the 'real', the extra-diegetic world. According to E. W. Hopkins, for instance, the ubiquity of

3 Sukthankar (1936–1937: 67). In his view, the Bhārgavas were responsible for the first part of Book 1 and much of the didactic parts in Books 12 and 13 (*ibid.*: 71). For a discussion of the Bhṛguization theory and for attempts to connect it to the epic plot, see, for instance, Goldmann (1977), Hildebeitel (1999), and Bhattacharji (1991–1992).

4 Sukthankar notes: "The connection of the Bhṛgus with the Atharvaveda explains the element of witchcraft in the Bhārgava legends of our epic" (1936: 66).

5 Bloomfield (1890: 340).

6 See, for instance, Hopkins on the "magic lore" (1910: 25) included in the epic.

“magic” practices in the epic attests to contemporary ritual practices: “what is formally taught elsewhere is found in the epic in active operation” (Hopkins 1910: 24). In a similar vein, depictions of Atharvavedic practices can be treated as instances motivating either the propagation or the criticism of dominant ritual and social norms.

Nevertheless, a too general application of the terminology of ‘magic’ – producing, for instance, problematic distinctions such as between ‘black’ and ‘white’ magic –⁷ effaces rather than reveals the contested and polyvalent status of these practices. It imposes a second-order discourse that is mostly entertained in the comparative study of religion and has certain advantages for cross-cultural studies.⁸ But the application of this discourse must not replace the study of the emic vocabulary for what is typically a large spectrum of practices, nor overrule the findings in the sources which suggest a more complex picture. This complexity is not due only to the Sanskrit ritual vocabulary that calls for more specific translations, but also because of the ambiguous position of the Atharvaveda in the history of its reception. On the one hand, there is textual evidence for a ‘negative’ view of the Atharvaveda⁹ that locates it at the margins of the original canon of the three Vedas and its transmission in less respected, even dubious priestly communities. On the other hand, the history of its reception also attests to its success, as can be seen in the very creation of the canon of the four Vedas, the *caturveda* which is referred to alongside the term *trayī* (the three Vedas) and even came to replace it.¹⁰ Furthermore, it enjoys a certain popularity because Atharvaveda rites and mantras cater to the worldly needs of householders. The different reactions to the Atharvaveda corpus result in its being perceived as both included and excluded, less respectable in certain circles, and popular in others. Accordingly, the representation of the Atharvaveda and its priests in the subsequent textual tradition has remained

7 In his study of *abhicāra*, Türstig (1985: 71) rejects this distinction as “totally inapplicable” because “white magic’ and ‘black magic’ are not seen as functional opposites, but rather as complementary functions related to the ambivalent aspects of one single power.”

8 See Otto (2013) on the problematics of the term “magic” in the study of religions in general, and Stratton (2013) on strategies for combining a philological concern with the emic terminology with a useful employment of the term ‘magic’ for comparative purposes. For similar considerations regarding the interpretation of *abhicāra*, see Türstig (1985: 70–75).

9 See Spiers in this volume. Pantulu (1939: 388) points out that the negative view on the Atharvaveda is a product of Western scholarship that is “unfair and incorrect” since it does not acknowledge the significance of the Atharvaveda as an “integral part of Vedic literature”.

10 See Holdrege (1994) on this process. The significance of the shift from “three Vedas” to “four” should not be underestimated since it marks the closure of the canon. Further enhancements are marked by texts that claim to be a “fifth Veda” (like the Mahābhārata), but this does not result in changing the designation of the four Vedas, see Malinar (2011).

ambivalent and depends on the interests of the communities supporting or rejecting Atharvavedic traditions. This situation points to a cultural-historical context in the transition from the late Vedic to the classical period, in which established religious authorities are challenged by new or alternative teachers. B. K. Smith (1989) has studied some of the repercussions of this transformation for the Vedic ritual tradition, particularly the growing importance of *grhya* and *kāmya* rituals at the expense of *śrauta* rituals. The Mahābhārata is an important document of the negotiation of these transformations that consolidated in the centuries before and after the beginning of the Common Era and is marked by a pluralization of religious practices available for householders.¹¹ The representation of Vedic ritualism in the epic is influenced by these contestations and the polyvalent representation of Atharvavedic practices in the Mahābhārata also mirrors this cultural-historical constellation.

2 References to the Atharvaveda

Before discussing some of these representations more closely, a brief overview of the references to the Atharvaveda and related practices shall help to put them in context.¹² It is important to distinguish between passages that merely mention persons, texts, or practices connected to the Atharvaveda from those in which they assume a function in the epic plot or one of the sub-tales transmitted in the epic.

Most references relate to stories featuring Brahmin priests and teachers associated with the Atharvaveda, some of which have been studied in connection with Sukthankar's "Bhṛguization" theory (see note 3). Another set of references mentions the Atharvaveda in enumerations of the Vedic *saṃhitās*, for instance in descriptions of auspicious places.¹³ In most instances, they are mentioned in connection with monotheistic cosmologies propagated in the epic. At 3.187.14 the four Vedas are said to have been created by God Hari-Kṛṣṇa, and 13.17.88–89 states that the four Vedas constitute body parts of God Śiva (the Atharvaveda is identified with the head). The Nārāyaṇīya recounts that the newly created authoritative treatise that promulgates God Hari-Nārāyaṇa as the supreme being is favoured in

¹¹ See the essays in Olivelle (2006) for the larger socio-political transformations, and Malinar (2020) on religious plurality in the epic.

¹² In a brief overview, Patyal (1993: 153) stresses the acceptance of the Atharvaveda, but since he does not deal in greater detail with the passages he refers to, some of his interpretations are questionable so that the over-all picture he draws seems one-sided.

¹³ See 1.64.31–33 as a feature of the hermitage of Kaṇva, and 2.11.23 in the description of the god Brahmā's heavenly assembly hall.

the Vedic hymns (*rgyajuḥsāmabhir juṣṭam atharvāṅgirasais tathā* 12.322.37–38) and that they include his names (12.328.8; 12.235.4/98 lists *atharvaśiras* as one of his names). 12.330.32–34 mentions that those “who know the hymns of the Atharvaveda” consider him “as the Atharvaveda that comprises five *kalpas* (five types of ritual) and is strengthened by incantations”, *pañcakalpam atharvāṇam kṛtyābhiḥ paribr̥ṃhitam*; 330.34). These instances represent the Atharvaveda as an integral part of the Vedic canon. This is also the case when the canon is referred to as *trayī*, but explicitly includes the Atharvaveda. This attests to a process of canon formation in which the original designation coexisted with another one (*caturveda*) that made the inclusion explicit.¹⁴ However, the joint mention of both words is an exception in the epic since in most cases *trayī* is referred to as one of the sciences (*vidyā*) a king should study.¹⁵ The following discussion focuses on another group of references that concern the function and the effects of rites associated with the Atharvaveda that aim to control others.

2.1 Rites to Subdue: *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā*

The epic includes several references to *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā*, which are explicitly or implicitly connected to Atharvan-Āṅgiras and/or the Atharvaveda and to contexts in which they are used to control and subjugate others. Some passages stress their tremendous, even terrible power and their efficacy in fighting enemies. These rites are used either to realize the hostile intentions of their performer or to prevent the hostility of others. In the battle books, the efficacy of a weapon to kill the enemy is compared to that of *atharvāṅgiras* rites.¹⁶ An instruction at 13.101 about the flowers to be used for worshipping deities and demons for various purposes, mentions that plants with red blooms that are pungent and have spikes are taught in Atharvaveda

¹⁴ See 12.227.1, and Patyal (1993:150). The few references to *caturveda* are mostly in theistic contexts; see, for instance, 3.194.12, 12.326.8, 100, 12.327.100, 13.135.95. At 13.10.34 the Atharvaveda is enumerated as a topic of study separately from the Veda.

¹⁵ See, for instance, 3.49.31, 3.189.23, 12.18.32, 12.59.33, 12.90.7, 12.123.19. This usage probably draws on Arthaśāstra 1.3.1–2, which distinguishes between *trayī* as *vidyā* and the Vedas which include the Atharvaveda. 13.16.48–49 describes God Śiva being worshipped with recitation from the three Vedas (some mss add the Atharvaveda).

¹⁶ At 9.16.41–43 Yudhiṣṭhira throws at Śalya a radiant, terrible rod that is blazing like the fire at the end of time and is terrible (*ugra*) like an *atharvāṅgiras* rite. The latter is also said at 8. 67.21 about the arrow Arjuna unleashed to kill Karṇa, who also possessed an arrow endowed with the atharvanic power to destroy an enemy (8.66.2–3).

hymns (to be used) for *abhicāra* against enemies (13.101.29).¹⁷ A chapter in Book 13 dealing with the duty of kings to honor the Brahmins includes the warning that Brahmins are terrible (*ugra*) when they are enraged and can destroy everything “with rites of subjugation (*abhicāra*), (various) means (*upāya*) and even their energy (*tejas*)” (13.33.7). These instances confirm the often-mentioned connection of Atharvavedic rites to hostile, violent intentions (fighting enemies or counteracting hostile acts of others). This is also the case in some of the stories in which they feature prominently, but not in all of them. The following discussion of these narratives addresses the differences in the representation of *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā*. What the two practices have in common is that they materialize artificial bodies that are obliged to perform services for the performer of the rite.

3 Employing a “Malicious Agent”: *Kṛtyā* in MBh Book 3 and 13

The epic contains accounts of the ritual production of a special type of servicing agent, called *kṛtyā*, “malicious agent”, an apparitional body with various, mostly demonic features that fulfils the objectives of the sacrificer. Consequently, standard translations for the word in the Atharvaveda, such as witch or witchcraft are also used for the epic, which is perhaps too general a translation for something quite specific.¹⁸ While the gender of these malicious agents seems obvious from the feminine genus of the noun, their actual appearance and thus their gender are not fixed as two episodes included in Book 3 demonstrate. The first episode is intrinsically connected to the epic plot and concerns Duryodhana’s state of mind after he has been humiliated by the exiled Pāṇḍavas who came to his rescue during a cattle expedition. This incident leaves him so ashamed and defeated that, on his way back to his residence, he decides to commit suicide by fasting to death (3.227–238). Karṇa and others try to stop him, but he remains steadfast and prepares himself to put his decision into action. When the demons and inhabitants of the lower worlds who were formerly defeated by the gods learn about Duryodhana’s resolve they fear the destruction of their party as they view Duryodhana as serving their cause. They decide to ritually produce a malicious agent, not to save Duryodhana’s life (a possibly non-hostile intention), but to make him an instrument for their goal to

¹⁷ *ośadhyo raktapuṣpās ca kaṭukāḥ kaṇṭakānviṭāḥ | śatrūṇām abhicārātham atharvasu nidarśitāḥ* // 13.101.29.

¹⁸ See Lal (1975) who renders the word with sorcery and witchcraft; for *kṛtyā* as “malicious contrivance”, see the discussion in Zehnder et al. (2024) on Paippalāda-Saṃhitā 1.47.

defeat the gods and their representatives on earth, the Pāṇḍavas. Details of the rites and the texts that were used by the demons are given at 3.239.19–22, mentioning mantras used by Uśānas and Bṛhaspati and those included in the Upaniṣad and the Atharvaveda, and Brahmins who were experts in the Vedas and their ancillaries officiating in the rites. As a result, a *kṛtyā* arose and asked, as any servant would: “What shall I do?” (*kiṃ karomi*, 3.239.22).¹⁹ She is sent off to bring Duryodhana to the demons and this is what she does (239.24–26). Duryodhana is “brain-washed” by the demons who treat him like a son and plant the idea in his head that he must fight the Pāṇḍavas and become king. Afterward, Kṛtyā is ordered to return him to the place from which she took him, and after fulfilling this task she vanishes (3.240.27–28) and Duryodhana finds himself as if awoken from a dream. The episode continues the Vedic evocation of such malicious agents who function as instruments in fulfilling the hostile intentions of the sacrificer. The twist in this narrative is that at the end another servant is activated: Duryodhana, so the story suggests, has been turned into a malicious agent fighting the cause of the demons.²⁰

The story of the inclusion of the Aśvins in the Soma ritual offered to Indra that was brought about by Cyavana, the son of Bhṛgu, demonstrates that *kṛtyā* is used as a generic term for such malicious agents or servants (3.123–125). When a king visited his hermitage, Cyavana performed a sacrifice for him in which he offered Soma to the Aśvin but was stopped by the god Indra who deemed them unworthy to be admitted to the Soma cult because of their being physicians/healers. A brief argument follows, and then Indra threatens the sage with his *vajra*, but Cyavana paralyzes his arm. While doing so, he pours another oblation in the fire aiming for (the production of) a malicious agent (*kṛtyārthī*, 3.124.18) as he is eager to harm the god (*devaṃ hiṃsītum udyataḥ*; *ibid.*): “Then from the ascetic power of this sage a malicious agent sprung up called Mada (frenzy), a mighty hero, a mighty Asura with a huge body.”²¹ He rushes to devour Indra who, panic-stricken, grants the Aśvins access to Soma and gives further blessings to the sage (3.125.1–6). Cyavana then withdraws Mada by distributing his components among liquor, women, dice, and hunting (3.125.8) through which he/it is reproduced again and again. The hostile intentions of the sacrifice are perfectly mirrored in the malicious agent that is produced during a Soma rite. Furthermore, the story attests to the contestations about the admission of new or previously marginalized gods and their priests to the Vedic

¹⁹ This formula is repeated by the other servant-bodies produced as *kṛtyā* or by *abhicāra* rites at MBh 3.239.22, 3.290.10, and 13.94.41 (see also below).

²⁰ The significance of this interpretation of Duryodhana for the epic plot cannot be further discussed here, since text-historical considerations are outside the scope of this article,

²¹ *tataḥ kṛtyā samabhadraḥ ṛṣes tasya tapobalāt / mado nāma mahāvīryo bṛhatkāyo mahāsuraḥ // 3.124.19.*

pantheon and sacrifice which is here connected to the line of Bhṛgu and implicitly to Atharvavedic textual communities.

The story of Cyavana connects the agency embodied by (a) *kṛtya* with women when the Indra-threatening malicious agent Mada was removed by distributing some of its components to women. This connection is a topic in two passages in Book 13 which represent a critical view on that agency and substantiate misogynistic attitudes that serve to justify the control of women (under the heading of protection, *rakṣā*). Misogyny is here based on an ambivalent image of women as being dangerous and scheming and therefore hard to control as well as ignorant and ridiculous and therefore easy to subdue. The first aspect is the focus of 13.38–40 which contains a misogynistic instruction about the dangerous nature and malicious activities of women, particularly wives, and how to control them. The text includes a story about the creation of women, which equates them with *kṛtyās*, malicious agents. It is told in response to Yudhiṣṭhira's request to learn about the female disposition (*svabhāva*) "since women, being light-minded, are the root cause of flaws" (*striyo hi mūlaṃ doṣāṇāṃ laghucittāḥ*, 13.38.1). Bhīṣma replies that once upon a time the sage Nārada put the same request to the Apsaras Pañcācūḍā (also called a prostitute). What follows confirms the general opinion that women are the root of all evils voiced earlier by Yudhiṣṭhira (38.1c = 38.12c), which is now put in the mouth of a woman, who belongs to a class of celestial beings often depicted as seducers of righteous, wise men. Women, she says, do not adhere to the moral code of conduct (*maryādā*, 38.11) and use every opportunity to escape control and make love to men regardless of quality and appearance. The speech concludes with the following statement (38.29–30) about women as a class of beings marked by flaws (*doṣa*) that came into existence when the world was created: "Final destruction, termination, death, the abode of demons and serpents, the fiery mouth of the submarine mare, the edge of a razor, venom, snake, fire – women are all this in one."²² Yudhiṣṭhira now wants to know why men still attach themselves to women, who are masters of deception and able to turn the truth into a lie and vice versa: "The authoritative text (on politics) Uśānas possessed and the one Bṛhaspati possessed is not better than the insight (intelligence) of women. How then can they be guarded by men? [. . .] I think that the authoritative texts on politics (*arthaśāstrāṇi*) were produced by wise men such as Bṛhaspati and others by extracting them from the insights of women."²³ The connection between the methods employed by women to

²² *antakaḥ śamano mṛtyuḥ pātālaṃ vaḍavāmukham / kṣuradhārā viṣaṃ sarpo vahnir ity ekataḥ striyaḥ* // 13.38.29.

²³ *uśanā veda yac chāstraṃ yac ca veda bṛhaspatiḥ / śrībuddhyaḥ na viśisyete tāḥ sma rakṣyāḥ kathaṃ naraiḥ* // 13.39.7 / [. . .] *striṇāṃ buddhyupaniṣkarṣād arthaśāstrāṇi śatruhan / bṛhaspati-prabhṛtibhir manye sadbhīḥ kṛtāni vai* // 13.39. 9.

pursue their interests and the techniques taught in the Arthaśāstra(s) put forward in this passage highlights the tensions between the normative orders of Brahmins and rulers or Kṣatriyas, whose *dharma* revolves around the subjection of others, and the protection of themselves from enemies and threats within and without the household and kingdom. The view that the intelligence or knowledge (*buddhi*) of women in “household politics” is the template for politics at large highlights the problematic conjugal and familial life in patrilineal kinship structures. The epic contains many episodes addressing these structures, but in the passage under discussion, the agency of women is interpreted as being intrinsically connected to hostile, dangerous, even demonic agency. Their agency is a property of the world designed by the creator god. This situation is explained in Bhīṣma’s reply at an even more fundamental, cosmological level, which corroborates their function as serving and fulfilling the goals of their superiors (be they men or gods). After repeating his view of women as poison, death, etc. Bhīṣma explains that in the original creation, beings followed the law (*dhārmika*, 13.40.5), and therefore the gods were afraid that the creatures would themselves attain the status of a deity (*devatvam*). The gods approached the creator god who knew immediately what they wished for. Therefore: “For the purpose of confusing men the lord created women as *kṛtyās*, malicious agents (fulfilling the hostile intentions of others). Although in the former creation, son of Kuntī, women here on earth were virtuous, yet they were created as malicious agents (*kṛtyā*) from Prajāpati’s (second) creation.”²⁴ After an elaborate story about how to protect a wife from the advances of another man (in this case Indra in disguise), Bhīṣma concludes that women are both, virtuous “mothers of the world” (13.43.19) and wicked and that one must protect oneself from the malicious aspect of their agency, since they are, after all, malicious agents (*kṛtyā*), fit for the task and created for it (43.23). The hostile effects of these female agents mirror the harmful intentions of the gods who want to avert a potential threat to their superiority. While this fear of the gods is a well-known trope, the passage makes *kṛtyā* an integral part of the cosmic order, that is also employed by the gods.²⁵ The parallelism between the dangerous traits of women and *kṛtyā* conveys a mixed message. On the one hand, it justifies methods of control and subjection under the heading of “protection” (*rakṣā*) of as well as against women. On the other hand, their negative properties are accorded a function that follows their generally subjected, inferior status as dependent beings, whose task is defined by the interests and purposes of those they are obliged to serve. Their skills in household politics keep husbands

24 *mānavānām pramohārtham kṛtyā nāryo ‘srjat prabhuḥ* // 13.40.7cd // *pūrvasarge tu kaunteya sādhyo nārya ihābhavan / asādhyas tu samutpannā kṛtyā sargāt prajāpateḥ* // 13.40.8.

25 The fact that both gods and demons use and produce *kṛtyā* is emphasized by Lal (1975).

busy and entangled in desires that avert them from obtaining higher goals, such as deity status. They function like any other *kṛtyā* that is made to serve the hostile intentions of their creators, in this case of the creator-god who addresses the jealousy of the gods. In this way, the ambiguous character of the agency of women is given a cosmological status, it belongs to the order of things, like demons, snakes, and poison. However, the dangerous aspects of their agency can be curbed and effaced by methods of control and by knowledge of the signs that disclose malicious intentions.

This is the point of a story featuring a *kṛtyā* called Yātudhānī (13.93–95). A king named Vṛṣādarbhi is enraged by a group of emaciated Brahmins who roam around in the forest in search of food together with their entourage, and yet refuse to accept his gifts. In retaliation, when he returns to his house, he offers oblations together with mantras into the *āhavanīya* fire, from which arises “a malicious agent terrifying people” (*kṛtyā lokabhayaṃkarī*, 13.94.40). The king calls her *yātudhānī*, which in the epic is a generic designation of demons and evil spirits.²⁶ Under her servant status, she shows her reverence and asks the king what she should do (*kiṃ karomi*, 94.41, see also note 19). The king sends her to the group of Brahmins to ask them their names so that she can kill them. After accomplishing this task, she is free to go wherever she wants. Yātudhānī sets out to the forest and presents herself to the group as the guardian of a pond of lotus flowers that the group of Brahmins wishes to access so that they can suck the lotus stalks. They ask her who she is, what she is doing here, and for what purpose. She replies, “I am who I am” (*yāsmi sāsmi*, 13.95.21), and that she guards the pond. When the sages explain that they are hungry and want to take the lotus stalks she commands them to tell her their names before she allows them to enter the pond. Next unfolds a satirical conversation in which Yātudhānī is ridiculed because of her of her poor command of Sanskrit. Starting with the sage Atri, who, as the narrator Bhīṣma relates, has already identified the “guardian” and her plan to kill them, each member of the group explains his and her name with an “etymological” (*nirukta*) pun Yātudhānī is unable to understand. In the end, she is punished for her ignorance. She is hit on the head with the triple staff of the ascetic Śunaḥsakha and reduced to ashes (95.47–48). The story illustrates the superior power of discerning knowledge and of the true, Brahmanical command of Sanskrit over and against (ritually produced) servants with malicious intentions and of terrible appearance whose dangerousness can be controlled because their understanding is circumscribed by the tasks and vocabulary of those who deploy them. The two episodes in Book 13 resonate

26 The word *yātu* occurs also in Vedic texts and is often translated like *kṛtyā* with terms such as sorcery or witchcraft.

with each other in their propagating the idea that women who are created to function (also) as malicious agents preventing men from obtaining the merits they need to obtain godlike status. But women are as controllable as a ritually created *kṛtyā* serving the hostile intentions of individual householders (in particular, kings). The issue of domestic power relations is also at the centre of following episodes discussed below which depict women as (ritual) agents bringing about the submissiveness of others.

4 Ambiguous Methods of Subjugation: *abhicāra*, *saṃvanana*

In some epic passages, Atharvaveda-related practices are connected to individual desires and conjugal interests that imply the control or subjugation of a family member or another person (*vaśīkaraṇa*, *saṃvadana/saṃvanana*, see below). The purpose of these rites is not hostile; they are not carried out to harm another person, but rather to fulfil one's desires and to ensure conjugal, even familial peace and happiness. In contrast to the harm *abhicāra* may cause to enemies or strangers, it is evaluated differently when directed at a member of the household or at someone one feels attracted to. These instances corroborate studies emphasizing that the effect and assessment of ritual practice depend on the context.²⁷ The issue at stake is not "sorcery", that is "hostile" in one case, and "benevolent" in another,²⁸ but rather how to interpret the subduing power that is common to *abhicāra* in both cases.²⁹ The epic

²⁷ See, for instance, Türstig (1985).

²⁸ See Patyal (1993:151), who uses this expression in cases that demonstrate the "non-hostile" employment of *abhicāra*; also Mehendale (2008: 132), who notes that in one epic episode *abhicāra* does not mean "black magic". Türstig (1985) points out that 'sorcery' as the general translation of the term is too broad and incorrect since "not each case of *abhicāra* [. . .] belongs to the sphere of sorcery" (1985: 70). Patton (2005: 126) notes without further explanation that *abhicāra* should not be translated as curse or sorcery but is "best translated as "going toward", or "goingfully"; in the glossary it is defined as "to proceed against" and as a sacrifice "involving offerings and imprecations against an enemy, either human or divine" (ibid.: 237).

²⁹ This question is also at issue in epic passages dealing with subjugating power of Vedic rituals in general (see for instance MBh 5.60; on which see Malinar 2012). It also plays a role in academic debates on questions as to whether 'magic' is a typical feature of ritualism in ancient or primitive religions like the Vedic (see Sahoo 2008–2009), and whether it is appropriate to use it for drawing distinctions within ritual traditions. The latter is the case when distinguishing Ṛgvedic and Atharvavedic rituals by viewing the former as 'religion' or 'great tradition' and the latter as 'magic' or 'little tradition'/'folk religion', see Bhattacharji 1981 for 'great' and 'little' tradition). On the problematics of such uses of 'magic' for the Vedic ritual tradition, see Türstig (1985: 74–75), and Patton (2005).

instances discussed in the following demonstrate that the ambiguous position of Atharvavedic practices is also based on the polyent perception of ‘subjugation’ as an aim and instrument of ritual agency. Control and submission are important topics in household life, particularly for women who are, according to certain accounts in the epic, faced with increasing restrictions on their agency due to the emergence of the *pativrata* ideology that postulates the permanent dependence of women in the patrilineal kinship system. Consequently, the status of women was defined according to the range of power and control they could exert within the household.³⁰ Knowledge of how this control could be exerted was therefore an essential requirement. Epic representations of such methods address their role in regulating domestic, particularly conjugal power relations, and they point to an extra-diegetic, cultural-historical discourse about their appropriateness. What is at issue in the epic passages is not the desire to control or subdue but the methods that serve the ritual agent’s purpose best.

4.1 The Conversation between Draupadī and Satyabhāmā (MBh 3.222–223)

The question of appropriate means of controlling husbands is at the centre of a conversation between Queen Draupadī and Kṛṣṇa’s wife Satyabhāmā (MBh 3.222–223) which takes place during the Pāṇḍavas’ forest exile. This text has often been interpreted as a straightforward propagation of the *pativrata* ideology of the submissive wife by turning Draupadī into its advocate.³¹ While this ideology is an essential feature of the text, this does not mean that it is praised or propagated unconditionally. Laurie Patton, for instance, emphasizes the “multivocality” of the text. While it advocates female “servitude”, it also acknowledges the “basic power dynamics” between husband and wife and the fact that submission is mutual (2007: 100, 104). In connecting the conversation to the larger topic of control as a fundamental aspect of conjugal life, I suggest that the conversation revolves around the question of how to exert power from a position of subordination, and thereby puts a wife’s

³⁰ See, for instance, MBh 1.113.3ff on the freedom of women in the past (of the time narrated in the epic); for a discussion, see Malinar (2014). The view that in Vedic times women enjoyed greater freedom than in the classical age is also referred to as the “Altekarian paradigm” (after A. S. Altekar’s *The position of women in Indian civilization from prehistoric times to the present day* published in 1938), and has been criticized for its implicit nationalist historiography, see for instance Chakravarti (1999).

³¹ Van Buitenen’s summary of contents, for instance, downplays the issue of control when he suggests that the conversation is about how to keep husbands happy (1975: 664).

“ideal behaviour” in perspective by highlighting the suffering it entails. The dialogue begins with Satyabhāmā’s questioning Draupadī about how she has got the Pāṇḍavas, “heroes comparable to the world guardians”, under her control. Says Satyabhāmā: “How is it that they are obedient (*vaśaga*) to you and yet not angry (with you). For the Pāṇḍavas are always under your control, lovely lady, as they are all watching your face (to detect your intentions/desires).³² Tell me what is this all about: Is it the observance of a vow, or austerities, or ablutions, spells, and herbs? The power of a special knowledge, the power of a root? Muttered recitation and fire oblation, or drugs?”³³ Draupadī is asked to reveal her “glorious knowledge of conjugal happiness” because Satyabhāmā would likewise have her husband Kṛṣṇa in her control (*vaśaga*; 222.7). In her reply *pativratā* (222.8) Draupadī does not reject the idea that husbands should be controlled by their wives, but only the methods Satyabhāmā has enumerated because they belong to the path (*mārga*) unfaithful women (*asatstrī*) follow. Draupadī explains that the use of mantras and roots (typically associated with the Atharvaveda) is dangerous as they may produce undesirable effects. When these practices are carried out in private by the wife without the knowledge and consent of the husband, they disturb conjugal relations: “Indeed, should a husband find out that his wife engages in mantras and roots,³⁴ he gets frightened of her as of a snake that has entered the house. What peace does a frightened man have, and what happiness without peacefulness? Never will a husband be obedient to his wife because of a *mantra*.”³⁵ Furthermore, when using poisonous substances they may cause serious damage: “Women make their men dropsical that way, or leprous, gray-haired, impotent, dumb, blind, or deaf.”³⁶ The criticism is here directed at the collateral damage of such practices, which in this case proves

32 The expression *mukhaprekṣās* illustrates the Pāṇḍavas’ submissiveness as they, like servants, are eager to “read” their wife’s face. It could also be rendered as “regarding you at the best / chief”, although the first meaning seems the obvious one. Nevertheless, it would point to Draupadī’s status as “chief queen” among the *sapatnis* her husbands have brought into the household and to her position as the chief of the household (see below).

33 *katham ca vaśagās tubhyaṃ na kupyanti ca te śubhe* // 3.222.4ef // *tava vaśyā hi satataṃ pāṇḍavāḥ priyadarśane mukhaprekṣās ca te sarve tattvam etad bravīhi me* // 3.22.5 // *vratacaryā tapo vāpi snānamantrausadhāni vā / vidyāvīryaṃ mūlavīryaṃ japhahomas tathāgadāḥ* // 3.222.6.

34 *Mantramūla* is emblematic for Atharvaveda-related ritual practices, and is in śāstra texts often mentioned together with *abhicāra* (see also below).

35 *yadaiva bhartā jānīyān mantramūlaparāṃ striyam / udvijeta tadaivāśyāḥ sarpād veśmagatād iva* // 3.222.11 // *udvignasya kutāḥ śāntir aśāntasya kutāḥ sukham / na jātu vaśago bhartā striyāḥ syān mantrakāraṇāt* // 3.222.12.

36 *jalodarasamāyuktāḥ svitriṇaḥ palitās tathā / apumāṃsaḥ kṛtāḥ sribhir jaḍāndhabadhīrās tathā* // 3.222.15.

counter-productive to the overall goal of controlling husbands to secure conjugal peace.

Interestingly, means that would allow a husband to stop his wife from engaging in these practices are not mentioned. Instead, for him fear and distrust become part of conjugal life which is epitomized in the metaphor of the snake. This points to the situation that the husband's means of controlling his wife, a topic which is in Dharmaśāstra literature referred to as "protection" (*rakṣā*), are limited. This is also true for the wife since husbands also have snake-like qualities as is made clear when the snake metaphor resurfaces in Draupadī's speech. After explaining that her control method is *paricāra*, serving and attending to her husbands, she states: "I attend to my husbands who are wrathful like venomous snakes [so that they become] gentle, faithful, dedicated to truth, and keepers of the true law."³⁷ In her discussion of the verse Patton makes the point that the tension between the description of the husbands as being gentle, on the one hand, and terrifying as poisonous snakes on the other, should not be smoothed out by interpreting the snake comparison as "ironic". She suggests that it is another instance of the text's awareness of the marital power balance. My rendering of the verse suggests that the contrasting attributes used for the husbands serve to highlight the efficacy of Draupadī's methods: making fierce, snake-like husbands become gentle.³⁸ This resonates with the beginning of the conversation when Satyabhāmā wondered why the Pāṇḍavas are not angry in her presence. The acknowledgment of a potential "snake-likeness" of husbands and wives points to the danger that conjugal life becomes poisonous and turns into the snake pit that it potentially always is.³⁹ The danger posed by disaffection and unhappiness in the conjugal relationship is one of the reasons for the

37 *mṛdūn sataḥ satyaśīlān satyadharmānupālinaḥ / āśviṣān iva kruddhān patīn paricarāmy aham* // 3.222.34.

38 Patton repeats the predicate in her translation: "I serve my truthful, gentle husbands, who have the ethics and the dharma of truth, and watch over them as if they were poisonous angry snakes." (Patton 2007: 102). Van Buitenen (1975: 666) translates: "I wait on my meek enough, truthful enough, virtuous enough husbands as though they were furious venomous snakes." In both translations the meaning of the comparison is not completely clear nor of the juxtaposition of attributes. Are the husbands gentle, but are nevertheless treated like angry snakes? But why, and where is the irony Patton mentions? My rendering suggests the use of a double accusative (see PW s.v. *√car*, "Jmd. (acc.) zu Etwas (acc.) machen") and that the verse describes the effect of Draupadī's care that turns angry husbands into gentle ones. Furthermore, the particle *iva* is taken as comparing the angriness with the snakes and not with the husbands.

39 Yudhiṣṭhira's final remark after his wife has died in the Himalayan snow (that she loved his younger brother Arjuna better) attests to such potential (17.2.2–6). At MBh 13.19.1–9 Yudhiṣṭhira expresses his anxiety that the rule of "*sahadharma*" in marriage would also apply in the after world even though each partner acted quite differently, and women are known to be "false" (*anṛta*).

employment of control methods. Because of the asymmetrical power-relationship within a patrilineal household, the agency of women is limited by her subordinate position which entails that her methods of control must ideally comply with the *pativratā* ideology.

Yet the *pativratā* ideology is here presented as revolving around the issue of control. The verbal compound *pari+√car* (attend to, watch over) signifies Draupadī's comprehensive caring-controlling agency in the domestic realm. Draupadī's *paricāra* method resembles the rejected practices in having the purpose of controlling others (*vaśīkaraṇa*). But these practices also differ concerning the ritual paraphernalia and their performance. In contrast to *mantramūla* and other potentially harmful rites carried out secretly, Draupadī's *paricāra* is displayed in her ruling the household through the observance of duties. It is a method that operates in the dialectic of serving and observing typical for asymmetrical power relations. This dialectic creates for the subjected wife a realm of control. This is pointed out by Draupadī at the end of her first speech when she explains that she is running the whole household including the treasury by watching "day and night" over everyone and everything, being the only one who has the complete picture.⁴⁰ She concludes: "I always wake up earliest and go to bed last, dear Satyā. This is my spell of subjection (*saṃvanana*). So, I know how to carry out a spell of subjecting husbands, a mighty one. I will not adopt the methods of unfaithful women, nor do I wish to."⁴¹

Paricāra is here presented as being on a par with *saṃvadana*, "spell for subduing a loved one", The last-mentioned expression belongs to the problematic of subjugation methods (*mantramūla*, *abhicāra*) and is also mentioned in *sāstra* texts endorsing such practices in domestic settings (see below section 5). The *pativratā* ideology is depicted here as including methods of exercising domestic control. *Paricāra* is thus not only the counterpart of *abhicāra* but also of the task of "protection" (*raṅṅṅā*) that the Dharmaśāstras demand from the husband as an important element in ensuring a wife's obedience. However, the "obedient dutifulness" of the wife that begets the husband's "obedience" does not manifest a "balance of power" as Patton (2007: 104) suggests.⁴² The wife's position of structural subjection

⁴⁰ Accordingly, the controlling power of her knowledge is stressed by the repeated use of the first-person pronoun with verbs of knowledge: "I alone know" (*ekāhaṃ vedmi*, 322.51, 54; *vedāham*, 322.46; *jānāmy ahaṃ*, 322.57).

⁴¹ *prathamam pratibudhyāmi caramam saṃviśāmi ca / nityakālam aham satye etat saṃvananam mama || 3.222.56 || etaj jānāmy aham kartum bhartṛsaṃvananam mahat / asatstrīṅṅam samācāram nāham kuryāṃ na kāmaye || 3.222.57.*

⁴² Without dealing with the epic text in greater detail, Shah criticizes Patton's (and others) interpretation as "glossing" over the conformism of the *pativratā* ideology and rejects it as being based on "semantic jugglery" and "contextual postering" that "do not reveal any social truths" (Shah 2012: 86). While a too positive depiction of conjugal power-balance in the text is certainly

within the patrilineal household remains as undisputed as the anxieties it causes for the wife. The fundamental asymmetry of conjugal relations is made clear in Draupadī's second address when she points out that a husband is a "deity" (*daivata*) like no other: "For all (one's) wishes are his (with him). When he is in good spirits, they [the wishes] are fulfilled, when he gets angry, he will kill (them/you)."⁴³ All the wife's happiness, subsistence, and social status depend on this volatile, irritable "deity". Unsurprisingly, the wife's path (*mārga*) to obtain and consolidate all this is painful (*duḥkha*), not pleasant (223.4.). Draupadī's statement offers a depiction of the household situation from the perspective of a subordinate wife's need to control the extent of her subjection. She takes care that the erratic (and potentially irritable) husband-deity acts benevolently (fulfilling her desires, balancing her submission through putting her in control of those who are even more subjected). The conversation thus discloses and at the same time confirms the fundamental asymmetry of the domestic power relations.

Still, another facet of the domestic constellation comes to the fore when the text touches upon the question of how the knowledge about such control methods is circulated. Draupadī states that her methods include also domestic rituals (*sthālipāka* etc.), which Kuntī, her *śvaśrū*, her mother-in-law taught her.⁴⁴ It comes as no surprise that a key figure in the household, the mother-in-law, is mentioned here. She must ensure that her household rules and regulations are followed by the incoming wife, and this includes taking precautions against any harm caused by ritual and other knowledge the new household member may possess. However, Draupadī does not know – being a character in the epic plot – that Kuntī is knowledgeable in Atharvavedic subjection *mantras* belonging to the *abhicāra*-type of rituals and thus of the very practices Draupadī rejects in the conversation with her friend. Interestingly, and perhaps ironically, Kuntī has received these *mantras* as a reward for *paricāra*, in this case for acting as a servant to a Brahmin. The epic's depiction of Kuntī's uses of these *mantras* in pre-marital, marital, and intra-familial contexts sheds further light on the ambiguous position of Atharvavedic practices in the epic.

misleading, a close reading of the conversation sheds light on the familial hierarchies and anxieties which motivate the strive for control and qualifies the view that the text simply propagates female submission as the best of all worlds.

⁴³ *naitāḍṛśaṃ daivatam asti satye sarveṣu lokeṣu sadaivateṣu / yathā patis tasya hi sarvakāmā labhyāḥ prasāde kupitāś ca hanyāt* // 3.223.2. In contrast to van Buitenen's (1975: 667), my translation highlights the situation that the husband "owns" all desires (*tasya hi*; including the wife's) and acts accordingly. One could speculate about what is "special" about this "deity" (its arbitrariness, the absence of a non-self-serving response to the desires of others or else?).

⁴⁴ *ye ca dharmāḥ kuṭumbēṣu śvaśrvā me kathitāḥ purā / bhikṣābaliśrādham iti sthālipākāś ca parvasu / mānyānaṃ mānasatkārā ye cānye viditā mayā* // 3.222.32.

4.2 Kuntī's *abhicāra*

Kuntī's command of subduing *mantras* is a recurrent topic in the epic. It is related on different occasions by different speakers to different audiences, which shows how controversial the matter was.⁴⁵ The matter is further complicated by the fact that Kuntī's employment of subjection mantras is connected to both non-marital and marital frameworks of female ritual agency. As a reward for servicing a Brahmin who visited her (social) father's residence, young Kuntī obtained *mantras* which enabled her to summon any god she desired. The epic relates that she uses these *mantras* on three occasions: (1) before her marriage, to summon the sun god Sūrya (which resulted in the pre-marital, secret birth of the epic hero Karṇa), (2) after her marriage to King Pāṇḍu to beget the sons her husband cannot beget due to a curse (this leads to the birth of three of the five Pāṇḍava heroes), and (3) for co-wife Mādri, who also cannot have offspring with her husband for the same reason (this produces the Pāṇḍava twins). How is Kuntī's ritual knowledge represented?

4.2.1 The Accounts in Book 1 (1.104, 1.113–115)

Book 1 includes two accounts of Kuntī's *abhicāra* practice. The first one relates to the pre-marital acquisition and the first employment of the *mantras* (1.104). The second tells that Kuntī revealed to her husband that she possesses the mantras and uses them to produce legitimate sons (1.113–114). The first account is provided by the bard Vaiśampāyana as part of the genealogy of the heroes (1.104). Kuntī's father Vasudeva gave his first-born daughter to Kuntibhoja, the childless son of his father's sister, who commanded her to worship deities and guests. In this role, "she attended to that fierce, awful Brahmin of accomplished vows, possessing profound knowledge in matters of law, who is known as Durvāsas."⁴⁶ Satisfied with her service and because he contemplated the law of distress (*āpad-dharma*), the "fierce" sage Durvāsas gave her a *mantra* "equipped with subjecting power" (*abhicārasamyukta*). He explained: "Through the favour (*prasāda*) of whichever god you will summon with this *mantra*, you will obtain a son."⁴⁷ Out of curiosity (*kautūhalāt*) Kuntī invoked Sūrya and was amazed (*vismita*) when the god appeared and impregnated her. After she gave birth to Karṇa, Sūrya restored

⁴⁵ MBh 1.104, 1.111–113, 3.287–292, 5.142.

⁴⁶ *ugraṃ paryacarad ghoram brāhmaṇam saṃśitavratam // 1.104.4cd // nigūḍhaniścayaṃ dharme yaṃ taṃ durvāsasaṃ viduḥ / 1.104.5ab.*

⁴⁷ *yaṃ yaṃ devaṃ tvam etena mantreṇāvāhayisyasi / tasya tasya prasādena putras tava bhaviṣyati // 1.104.7.*

her virginity (*kanyātvam*, 1.104.12). Concealing her misconduct (*apacāra*) out of fear of her relatives (*bandhupakṣabhayāt*) she abandoned the child. This brief account does not treat *abhicāra* as a hostile rite to which those who are subjected to it react with hostility. Rather, the sun god is obliging in both fulfilling the task he was given and by restoring Kuntī's virginity. Nevertheless, young Kuntī misbehaved since "curiosity" should not be a motive to use *mantras* (pointing, among other things, to an undesirable lack of *śraddhā*, confidence in its efficacy). Furthermore, although virginity was restored, Kuntī is still the mother of an illegitimate son, and this secret carries the risk of her being exposed as unfaithful.⁴⁸ It does not help that Kuntī obviously did not understand that the time for employing the *mantra* had not yet arrived, namely, the situation of distress that was envisaged by Durvāsas when he rewarded her. Such distress, which necessitates the *mantra*'s deployment and confirms Durvāsas' foresight, arises only in her marriage when due to a curse her husband Pāṇḍu is hindered from producing offspring and is therefore barred from the heavenly regions.

The question of how to beget sons without risking the husband's life is the topic of a conversation between Kuntī and Pāṇḍu (1.113–114) in which she discloses her ritual knowledge, but not the secret of the illegitimate son. The debate about desirable and non-desirable ways of producing offspring starts when Kuntī refuses her husband's command to produce a son with another man.⁴⁹ Pāṇḍu insists that she has no choice because she must do what he wants irrespective of whether it conforms to the law or not (*dharmyam adharmyam vā*; 1.113.27). At this point, and at what appears to be her last resort, Kuntī tells her husband about the collection of *mantras* she obtained in her youth from the Brahmin Durvāsas as a reward for the dutiful service she delivered to him. Her speech (1.113.31–37) is an almost verbatim parallel to the previously discussed passage at 1.104 (the verb forms are adapted to first-person speech) with two notable exceptions. Firstly, Durvāsas' motive for giving the *mantras* is not mentioned (law of distress); instead, it is represented as a boon (*vara*). Secondly, in the reading of the critical edition, his explanation of the *mantra* differs. Kuntī says: "The venerable sage announced a boon for me equipped with subjugating power (*abhicārasamyukta*) and gave me a band of *mantras* (*mantragrāma*). And then he instructed me as follows: 'Whichever god you will summon with the *mantra* he, wishing to or not, shall come into your power!'"⁵⁰ The differences in wording are significant since they have repercussions for the interpreta-

⁴⁸ This risk becomes reality when, after the battle, Yudhiṣṭhira learns that Karṇa was his elder brother. He accuses his mother for not revealing the secret, and curses women (MBh 12.1).

⁴⁹ For an analysis of this conversation with a focus on gender-relations, see Malinar (2014).

⁵⁰ *sa me 'bhicārasamyuktam ācaṣṭa bhagavān varam / mantragrāmaṃ ca me prādād abravīc caiva mām idam // 1.113.34 // yaṃ yaṃ devaṃ tvam etena mantreṇāvāhayisyasi / akāmo vā sakāmo vā*

tion of the *abhicāra* character of the mantras.⁵¹ Kuntī's account stresses the subduing effect of the mantra more strongly than that of the bard at 1.104. She reports that every god must comply, whether he wants to or not (*akāmo vā sakāmo vā*). The idea of "favour" (*prasāda*) is not mentioned, nor is the implication of begetting offspring. The bard's account mentions Durvāsas' profound knowledge of *dharma* and his foresight of "distress". Thereby the deed of the fierce (*ugra*) and awful (*ghora*) Brahmin,⁵² who is in command of *abhicāra*, appears wise and legitimate even though it results in Kuntī's "misconduct". At the same time, the subjecting character of the mantras is downplayed in that the gods are not represented as obeying Kuntī, but as giving her a favour (*prasāda*, 1.104.7).

The emphasis in Kuntī's account is on the control (*vaśa*) she obtains through the mantras. Although they cause gods to act as servants – which can be seen as a reason for viewing *abhicāra* rites as 'hostile' –, their use by the wife for the sake of her husband and the patriline is legitimate. Consequently, *abhicāra* is not represented as something "uncanny", but as an element of a wife's *paricāra*. Its employment to fulfil conjugal desires, and even one's duty (*dharma*) as a householder (producing offspring) is not questioned. Kuntī declares that a Brahmin's speech is true and the moment to make it real has come. With her husband's permission, and thus legitimized by the marital framework, she shall use the mantra on a god of her husband's choice (113.38). Pāṇḍu readily agrees and urges Kuntī to use this method. He chooses the god Dharma because he would never unite them with what is not the law or with someone who is unrighteous. Pāṇḍu envisions that the son shall be thought of as (the god) Dharma incarnate. The double-entendre of *dharma* as an abstract principle and the god can be viewed as addressing possible doubts about the appropriateness of *abhicāra*. Consequently, Pāṇḍu asks Kuntī to place the law (*dharma*) before her and worship the god Dharma with both ritual offerings and *abhicāra* (*upacārābhicārābhyām*; 1.113.42). She obliges and after some time⁵³ she summons the god Dharma and begets a son. When after the birth of Arjuna, the third son, Pāṇḍu, now greedy for sons (*putralobha*, 114.64), calls on his wife again,

sa te vaśam upaiśyati // 1.113.35. Some mss include a line about begetting a son through the god's favour.

51 An analysis of the differences from a textual-historical perspective is outside the scope of this article, which focuses on the polyvalent epic representation of *abhicāra* and other Atharvavedic practices.

52 The two attributes are typical for describing fierce Brahmins who are ready to carry out violent and hostile rites and are also used in classifying *abhicāra* practices. However, the characterization of the Brahmin also acknowledges his profound knowledge and foresight that allows him to recognize future misfortune and provide the means to address it (here the *abhicāra* mantras).

53 It is said that Kuntī carries out the rite when she hears that her sister-in-law Gāndhārī was pregnant for a year (1.114.1).

Kuntī rejects him as follows: “After all, they (the wise) do not approve of a fourth childbirth even in times of distress. Further on (after a fourth) she may become a loose woman, in the case of a fifth she will become barren (or: a prostitute). How can you, who knows this law that is dictated by reason, violate it for the sake of offspring and speak to me as if you have lost your mind?”⁵⁴ This passage echoes the first account in confirming that the *abhicāra* practice is justified in times of distress (*āpad*). Furthermore, it is remarkable in its pointing to the labor of childbirth and the repercussions for the female body, which would bring any reasonable person to the conclusion of limiting the number of pregnancies. In the context of the epic, this statement also resonates with Kuntī’s complaint that she feels cheated when her co-wife Mādrī gave birth to twins in one act of labor. This is a topic in the account of the third and last employment of the *abhicāra-mantras*: Kuntī summons gods to beget sons for Mādrī (1.115).

After the birth of Arjuna, Mādrī tells her husband that she does not resent him despite his defects (this most likely refers to the curse that makes Pāṇḍu practically impotent). She also does not suffer because she occupies a position inferior to Kuntī, or because her sister-in-law Gāndhārī has given birth to a hundred sons. But she cannot put up with the fact that the sonlessness (*aputratā* 1.115.4), which had made her and Kuntī equals, has now come to an end for Kuntī. Now, Mādrī’s inferior position has become something painful. However, she suggests that Kuntī could help her beget offspring too, this would be a favour to her and good for Pāṇḍu too. Because of her status as a co-wife, she feels unable to approach Kuntī and asks Pāṇḍu to make the request. This brief address points to the dangers of conjugal rivalry (see also above on the snake metaphor), but also to the fact that it serves patrilineal interests. It is thus unsurprising that Pāṇḍu readily agrees and states that he had already thought about it. He profits most from his second wife’s growing unhappiness: he obtains more sons, Mādrī’s grievances are taken care of by Kuntī, and familial peace is ensured; or so it seems. Pāṇḍu urges Kuntī to produce offspring to ensure that funeral rites are carried out properly and “for the sake of what/who is dear to me” (1.115.01). Doing so is the “highest virtue” (*kalyāṇam uttamam*) and will bring Kuntī fame and praise comparable to that of gods and Brahmins. Therefore: “Since you are the one, who will carry Mādrī across to the other side with the boat that is (built through) the sharing of offspring, you will obtain the highest praise.”⁵⁵ Kuntī obliges and instructs Mādrī to think “just once” of a deity so that

54 *nātaś caturthaṃ prasavam āpatsv api vadanty uta / ataḥ paraṃ cāriṇī syāt pañcame bandhākī bhavet // 1.114.65 // sa tvaṃ vidvan dharmam imaṃ buddhigamyam kathaṃ nu mām / apatyārthaṃ samutkrāmya pramādād iva bhāṣase // 1.114.66.*

55 *sā tvaṃ mādrīṃ plaveneva tārayemām anandite / apatyasaṃvibhāgena parāṃ kīrtim avāpnuhi // 1.115.14.*

she will beget offspring accordingly. Mādrī chooses the Aśvins, the beautiful twin gods, and so she begets twins. As his greed for sons is still not quenched Pāṇḍu asks Kuntī to perform another *abhicāra* for Mādrī. But she gives him the following rebuff: “She, who was told ‘just once’, obtained a pair. Therefore, I was deceived. I am afraid of her disrespecting me. The state of women is like this. I had not noticed, foolish me, that in invoking a pair the fruit will be double. Therefore, I must not be commanded (again) by you. This shall be the boon that is mine.”⁵⁶ Kuntī makes clear that Pāṇḍu’s understanding of the value of fame and praise does not grasp the condition of women whose status depends on their position in the familial hierarchy, which is here and elsewhere in the epic depicted as fragile and full of tensions. Thus, to keep her position as the elder and first wife must be Kuntī’s priority.⁵⁷

4.2.2 Kuntī’s Pre-Marital *abhicāra* Retold (MBh 3.287–292)

The *abhicāra* practices that led to the birth of the Pāṇḍavas are not further mentioned in the epic. However, Kuntī’s pre-marital *abhicāra* and the birth of Karṇa remain vexing issues. This can be seen in the third account of that episode in Book 3, which is, like the first account in Book 1, narrated by the bard Vaiśampāyana to King Janamejaya. After narrating how Karṇa was warned by his father Sūrya never to give away his divine earrings, the bard discloses the “secret” (*guhya*) of the hero’s birth (there is no reference to his earlier account at 1.104). The third account is much more elaborate than the first two accounts and differs a lot in the depiction of the characters. The visiting Brahmin is not identified by name, he is neither fierce nor awful but wears a beard and a hair-tuft and carries a staff. He radiates glowing energy, has a mighty stature, “honey-coloured” skin, and a sweet voice.⁵⁸ The Brahmin asks King Kuntibhoja for hospitality and demands that all his wishes be fulfilled, and he better not be offended. Aware of the threat implied

56 *uktā sakṛd dvandvam eṣā lebhe tenāsmi vañcitā / bibhemy asyāḥ paribhavān nārīnāṃ gatir idṛśī* // 1.115.23 // *nājñāsiṣam ahaṃ mūḍhā dvandvāhvāne phaladvayam / tasmān nāhaṃ niyoktavā tvayaiṣo ’stu varo mama* // 1.115.24.

57 At 1.116.23 Kuntī’s formulates this hierarchy as follows: “I am the elder wife by the Law, and the greater fruit of the Law is due to me” (tr. van Buitenen 1973: 260).

58 Mehendale (2008) discusses the identity of the Brahmin in all three episodes and rejects the idea that the Brahmin is identical with the “famous sage Durvāsas” who features in the Purāṇas. He does not notice that the Brahmin’s characterisation in Book 3 and his physical appearance (honey-coloured, strong stature) strongly suggest that it is the god Sūrya (who is earlier described as honey-coloured, glowing etc.) who appears here disguised as a Brahmin. This interpretation changes not only the significance of the episode, but also influences the interpretation of the epic plot at large as being entwined with divine plans.

in this demand, Kuntibhoja ensures the Brahmin that he shall be waited upon perfectly by his daughter. The king tells Kuntī to attend to the Brahmin’s wishes and reminds her of her devotion to Brahmins and the respect she has already obtained for her perfect demeanour. He admonishes her to give up boisterousness, pretence, and pride and encourages her to please the “boon-granting” Brahmin. Otherwise, the family will be ruined (3.287.28–29). Kuntī promises to serve the Brahmin faithfully and is handed over to him (3.288). The bard relates that in attending on (*pari √cār*) the Brahmin, she minded the “purity” rules (*śaucaparā*, 288.19) and never displeased him despite all his threats and unfriendly comments, because “she was as perfectly subdued as a pupil, a son, or a sister” (*śiṣyavat putravac caiva svasṛvac ca susamyatā*; 3.289.7). For one year she waited upon the Brahmin like a god (*devavat*, 288.19), and was then offered boons so that she may surpass all women (289.14). Kuntī declines the Brahmin’s reward, declaring that she has already obtained boons by pleasing her father and the Brahmin. However, the Brahmin orders her to accept a mantra from him and explains its *modus operandi* as follows: “Accept this mantra for invoking a deity. Whichever god you will summon with the mantra must stay in your power, my lady. Wishing to or not, he shall come under your power. Incapacitated by the mantra, the deity shall be like a servant bowing down at (your) command!”⁵⁹ The bard comments that Kuntī was afraid that she would be cursed if she rejected the Brahmin again. Thus, the Brahmin taught her a *mantragrāma* transmitted in the *Atharvaśīras* (3.289.20), which explicitly connects the mantras with the Atharvaveda textual tradition.⁶⁰ The initiatory character of this instruction is supported by the elaborate description of her one-year service to the Brahmin which she performed as perfectly as a student, son, or sister.

Kuntī’s first employment of the mantras is motivated by her pondering their “strength or weakness”, and by her shameful realization that her menses are due and she is (still) a virgin.⁶¹ In this way, the employment of the mantras is connected to a wish to comply with the law that a girl should be married upon her menarche (the earlier remark about her observing the purity rules at 3.288.19 could also be

59 *imaṃ mantram ḡrḥāṇa tvam āhvānāya divaukasām // 3.289.16 // yaṃ yaṃ devaṃ tvam etena mantreṇāvāhayisyasi / tena tena vaše bhadre sthātavyaṃ te bhaviṣyati // 3.289.17 // akāmo vā sakāmo vā na sa naiṣyati te vaśam / vibudho mantrasaṃśānto vākye bhrtya ivānataḥ // 3.289.18.*

60 Pantalu (1939: 409) suggests that the mantras used by Kuntī may be AV III.16. *Atharvaśīras* could refer to a first hymn in the AV, or to the Upaniṣad of the same name. 12.235.4/98 lists *atharvaśīras* as one of the names of Hari-Nārāyaṇa. 13.90.22 counts a person who studies the *atharvaśīras* among those who should be invited to a *śrāddha* rite.

61 3.290.1c: *cintayām āsa sā kanyā mantragrāmabalābalaṃ*; and 3.290.2cd: *mantragrāmo balaṃ tasya jñāsyē nāticirād iva*.

interpreted as referring to her menstruation). At that very moment, Kuntī looked at the setting sun and obtained “divine vision” so that she could see the god Sūrya in his beauty. She became curious about the mantra and after purifying her vital airs she invoked the god. The latter arrives quickly, almost laughing, having divided himself into two through yoga so that he can be with Kuntī and continue shining in the sky.⁶² Sūrya’s second body is honey-coloured (like the visiting Brahmin), with strong arms and a conch-shaped neck. He addresses Kuntī eagerly and with utmost politeness: “I have come under your power, my lady, ready (for you) through the power of the mantra. What shall I, who is without a will of my own, do, my queen? Tell me, I will do it for you.”⁶³ Kuntī’s attempts to annul her rite by claiming that she was only curious (3.290.11) and childish (3.290.23) prove futile. It is made clear that there is no playing around with a mantra nor with the powers it brings about, and there is no escape from one’s intentions.⁶⁴ Sūrya states that it is not right to summon a god for no reason and only to send him away. Furthermore, he states that Kuntī recited the mantra to beget a son from him and this cannot be revoked. Otherwise, she will be guilty of deception, and of exposing the god to ridicule before the other gods. Consequently, she, her family, and the Brahmin will be cursed and destroyed by him. Frightened by this threat, but also by the fear that her consent will ruin her reputation and that of her family, she argues that her virginity must be restored. Sūrya promises to do so and impregnates Kuntī using his “yogic self/body” by touching her navel (3.291.23).

This elaborate version of Kuntī’s pre-marital agency points to the intention to embed it in a normative framework of social and ritual transactions that allows us to view events as if they are happening against the young woman’s will. The account depicts Kuntī’s ritual agency as if it were an accident, as something happening to her although she followed all the rules and regulations. Her dutifulness is both shown off and put to the test when a Brahmin arrives at Kuntibhoja’s house. Afraid of being cursed by the Brahmin she is depicted as having no other choice than to learn the subjugating mantras, and for the same reason she gives up her resistance to “give herself away” (*ātmapradāna*) to the Sun God. Her possessing the mantras is represented as a boon she did not want, but also could not ignore. Her using the unwanted gift is not only caused by her curiosity (as is stated in the other

⁶² This resonates with the account of Kuntī’s *abhicāra* to beget offspring for her husband from the god Dharma, who also appeared *yogamūrtidhara*, having a body (produced) by yoga. For Dharma, see 1.114.3; for Sūrya’s “yogic” body, see 3.290.9ab (*yogāt kṛtvā dvidhātmānam*), 291.23, 291.28.

⁶³ *āgato ’smi vaśaṃ bhadre tava mantrabalātḥkṛtaḥ / kiṃ karomy avaśo rājñi brūhi kartā tad asmi te* // 3.290.10.

⁶⁴ For a paradigmatic formulation of this general view on the binding character of ritual agency, see *Manusmṛti* 2.4.

version) but also by the pressure (her feeling of “shame”) of the law that ordains marriage upon menarche. The problem of Kuntī’s use of the mantras is thus connected to dilemmas she faces despite and because of her efforts to fulfil the female duties of service and virtue.

Though from different perspectives, the three accounts agree in depicting Kuntī’s ritual knowledge as a reward for the pious service she offered a visiting Brahmin at her father’s command. However, the ominous figure of the Brahmin signifies danger, as a guest who must be satisfied, a wise man foreseeing misfortune, as a person (perhaps even a deity in disguise) who is ready to curse if his wishes are not fulfilled or his ‘gifts’ are rejected. The mantras he offers or, according to the version in Book 3, forces on the young women are no less ambiguous. On the one hand, they are as powerful as any Vedic mantra used to evoke the gods, on the other hand, their purpose is not to venerate or to seek the gods’ support but rather to subject them to one’s desires, which points to a reversal of the hierarchical order of ritual. The possibility of such use of Vedic rituals is a structural weakness since the ritual acts and the mantras work irrespective of ‘moral’ values regulating the goals and intentions of sacrificers. Again, *abhicāra* is problematic because the legitimacy of ‘subjection’ as a goal of ritual is a matter of interpretation as the previous discussion has demonstrated. Furthermore, the initiation into these mantras endows Kuntī with a pre-marital ritual expertise which results in a transgression, because she uses it of her own accord. The moral of this part of the story could be found in a warning against female initiation in Vedic mantras, perhaps particularly in Atharvavedic ones, and thus against enabling females to use them before or outside of marriage. However, the possession of the knowledge is no longer an issue when it is put into “regular”, legitimate domestic use at her distressed husband’s behest for producing offspring for him and even for her co-wife Mādri. The initiatory overtones are perhaps most explicit when the epic bard mentions the *Atharvasīras* as the textual source of the mantras. The fact that Kuntī has somehow been initiated in the mantras also becomes obvious in her assuming somehow priestly functions when practicing the Vedic mantras for her co-wife Mādri. In all three instances neither the Atharvaveda nor the *abhicāra* are marked as deviant, it is the extra-marital context that makes their use transgressive. The context-dependence is not appropriately represented when translating *abhicāra* as “black magic” or “sorcery”. When viewed from the perspective of Kuntī as the ritual agent the employment of the *mantras* is not motivated by hostile intentions. Yet it is also true that we are dealing here with depictions of the use of Atharvavedic mantras as means of enforcement and subjection, of employing gods as servants (*bhr̥tya ivānataḥ*, 3.289.18). The gods are instruments here, but there is nothing “uncanny” about it and the summoned gods also do not react inimically.

The epic's matter-of-fact treatment of these rites and the different roles in which Kuntī performs them point to the cultural-historical contexts of the epic. This treatment is grounded in the audience's common knowledge of the non-hostile use of these rites in domestic contexts. The different versions of the story of Kuntī's *abhicāra* point to contestations regarding their legitimacy. The three roles Kuntī assumes when summoning gods address this issue when showing her as (1) a non-married female suitor; (2) a married woman fulfilling her husband's desire for sons, and (3) the elder wife who complies with her husband's request to end her co-wife's childlessness. The first role results in undesirable, unlawful repercussions because the mantras are used in an extra-marital context, while the other two comply with the laws that apply to married women. Normative texts such as the *Arthaśāstra* and *Manusmṛti* also deal with intra-marital and intra-familial use of *abhicāra* and love-inducing methods (*saṃvanana*).

5 “Domestic” Subjugation Rites in Normative Texts

The epic treatment of acceptable and non-acceptable methods of controlling others in a domestic setting and the use of terms like *abhicāra* and *saṃvanana* resonates with passages in contemporaneous normative texts. Book Four of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* on “the eradication of troublesome people” (*kaṇṭakaśodhana*) contains a chapter on the punishment of transgressions (*aticāra*) which includes the use of *kṛtyā* and *abhicāra*. It is stated that a person who uses subduing ritual practices to harm a stranger (*para*) awaits talionic justice: “The damage a person causes for a stranger (*para*; or: enemy) by using malicious contrivances and rites of subjection must be inflicted on him as well” (KAŚ 4.13.27).⁶⁵ However, rites of subjection are allowed in a domestic setting, particularly between husband and wife: “Methods to subject a loved one (*saṃvadanakaraṇam*) can be used at will on an unwilling wife, on a virgin by a suitor, or on the husband by the wife” (4.13.28).⁶⁶ Obviously, the

65 *kṛtyābhicārābhyāṃ yat param āpādayet tad āpādayitavyaḥ* // *Arthaśāstra* 4.13.27. Kangle (1972, Vol.2:290) and Olivelle (2013: 251) render *kṛtyā* and *abhicāra* as witchcraft and sorcery respectively.

66 *kāmaṃ bhāryāyām anicchantyāṃ kanyāyām vā dārārthino bhartari bhāryāyā vā saṃvadanakaraṇam* // 4.13.28. The word *saṃvadana* is according to the text constituted by Kangle; the apparatus shows the reading “*saṃvanana*”. According to PW and Monier-Williams, s.v. *saṃvadana*, *saṃvadana* is a variation of *saṃvanana*. Drawing on the lexicon of magic, Kangle translates: “The use of loving-magic may be allowed towards a wife who does not like (her husband) or towards a maiden by a suitor or towards the husband by the wife” (Kangle 1972, Vol. 2:290). Olivelle (2013:251)

degree to which these practices are transgressive depends on the context. When employed in a domestic setting (or in cases where a male suitor has the assumed intention to establish such a setting) these actions are considered non-hostile and are therefore allowed. Here, it is assumed that the primary intention is not to harm an enemy or stranger but to subject an unwilling spouse (or virgin) to conjugal life and thereby ensure “conjugal happiness” (*bhaga*). The distinction between domestic and alien for determining the acceptability of these methods is corroborated in another chapter of Book 4. The chapter “On protection against persons with a secret income” (*gūḍhajīvanāṃ rakṣā*) mentions methods spies should employ to expose corrupt persons. One of these methods is to hire a *saṃvadanakāraka*, a person who uses means of subjection to seduce women of the family of another man. The spy should unmask such a person as follows: “If he considers anyone as a user of occult means for winning love with incantations or rites with herbs and rites in cremation grounds, the secret agent should say to him: ‘I am in love with so and so’s wife, daughter-in-law or daughter; make her reciprocate my love and take this money.’ (15) If he were to do so, he should be exiled as a user of occult means for winning love.”⁶⁷ As in the passage discussed above, these practices are classified as belonging to those who are skilled in *kṛtyā* and *abhicāra* (*kṛtyābhicāraśīla*; *Arthasāstra* 4.4.16). The distinction between the employment of the methods of subjection within and without the family is also made in Dharmaśāstra literature. In the *Manusmṛti* section on *kaṅṭhakaśodhana* (“eradication of troublesome people”) it is stated: “For all types of black magic, a fine of 200 should be imposed, as also for root-witchcraft *when done by an unrelated person*, and for various types of sorcery.”⁶⁸ The discussion has demonstrated that the appropriateness of Atharvavedic methods of control and subjection in a domestic context depends on the intentions and purposes of the ritual agent, the relationship to the target and the quality of the actual outcome. It resonates with the epic’s negotiating these practices in a literary form. This can also be seen in the use of the subjection mantras being allowed for

translates: “Love-inducing rites may be freely used on a disaffected wife, on a young woman by a man who wants to marry her, or on a husband by his wife.” The KĀŚ recommends a comparatively mild fine when these practices cause damage (4.13.29).

67 *yaṃ vā mantrayogamūlakarmabhiḥ śmāśānikair vā saṃvadanakārakaṃ manyet taṃ satṛī brūyāt – ‘amuṣya bhāryāṃ snuṣāṃ duhitaraṃ vā kāmaye, sā māṃ pratikāmayatām, ayaṃ cārthaḥ pratigrhyatām’ iti / 14 / sac et tathā kuryād saṃvadanakāraka iti pravāsyeta / 15.* KĀŚ 4.4.14–15. tr. Kangle 1972, Vol.2: 266; Olivelle (2013: 232) translates *saṃvadanakāra* as “wizard inducing love” and love-inducing wizard”.

68 *abhicāreṣu sarveṣu kartavyo dviśato damaḥ / mūlakarmaṇi cānāpṭeḥ kṛtyāsu vividhāsu ca // MS 9.290* (tr. Olivelle 2004: 176; my emphasis). At *Manusmṛti* 11.64 *abhicāra* and *mūlakarma* (probably when carried out by a non-related person) are treated as “secondary sins causing loss of caste” (*upapātaka*). The penance is the cow-observance (11.109–118).

male suitors, whereas a female suitor is not mentioned. But a married wife may use them on the husband as much as he may do on her.

6 Conclusion

The discussion of the epic episodes and their connection to contemporaneous śāstra literature has highlighted the distinction between hostile and non-hostile, non-familial, and familial contexts for the use of Atharvavedic rites to subdue. A general translation of *abhicāra* as “sorcery” or “black magic” does not take this distinction into account. Accordingly, a more specific rendering is called for that also covers instances (like that in the epic) that represent them as useful and legitimate means to secure domestic peace and happiness. Conversely, the subjugating aspects of love-inducing methods called *saṃvanana*⁶⁹ should also be noticed, which explains their being mentioned in connection with *abhicāra* and *mantramūla*. On the other hand, the treatment of *kṛtyā* consistently stresses its functioning as “malicious agents” to fulfil the hostile intentions of those who ritually produce them. The Atharvaveda addresses needs in a householder’s life before and after the “official” performance of *saṃskāra* rituals. The ‘specialization’ of the Atharvaveda on individual (and sometimes ‘dark’) desires and domestic issues is viewed by some scholars as evidence for the marginality of the Atharvaveda as a latecomer in the field of Vedic ritualism. But it must be asked who is it marginal for, and what constitutes the centre. Answers to these questions depend not only on the texts used for tracing the history of reception but also on larger transformations of the religious landscape in the centuries before the beginning of the Common Era. One result of these processes is that the performance of *śrauta* rites lost its importance as the epitome of Veda-based household religion (see Smith 1989). While it is true that the Atharvaveda includes hymns and rituals that aim to harm and even destroy enemies, and their effects are regarded as terrible (*ghora*, *ugra*), they are not generally prohibited but become part of the spectrum of domestic rituals. This is corroborated by the fact that the Atharvaveda provides the template for the composition of texts in which mantras from the Ṛgveda and Sāmaveda are collected for the very same purposes usually ascribed to the Atharvaveda collections.⁷⁰ Their acceptance depends on purpose and context. It seems that when directed at a “loved” one or companion,

⁶⁹ See van Buitenen (1975: 667).

⁷⁰ See Goudriaan (1978: 221–252), who discusses the contexts for the composition of *vidhāna*-texts, such as Ṛgvidhāna and Sāmavidhāna Brahmaṇa, which teach mantras for *abhicāra* and *saṃvanana* practices. He emphasizes the importance of *kāmya* rites for Vedic ritualism at large.

ritual methods of controlling and subjugating are not prohibited. When looking at the spectrum of *paricāra* practices depicted in the epic it is obvious that they are not simply the opposite of “hostile” *abhicāra* rites. Rather *paricāra* and *abhicāra* demarcate a spectrum of practices of control acceptable within the household. As the case of Kuntī shows, *abhicāra* may very well become an element of *paricāra* that can be used in “times of distress”, for instance, such as for the benefit of rivaling co-wives. The various verbal compounds with \sqrt{car} seem to circumscribe a socio-ritual field of practice (*paricāra*, *upacāra*, *abhicāra*) that focuses on coping with asymmetrical power relations that are framed as operating in hierarchies of mutual dependence. The account in Book 13 that depicts women as being created as experts in household politics and as *kṛtyās* whose task is to hinder men from obtaining god-like status interprets these asymmetrical power relations in a cosmological framework. In this way, it gives an additional justification for the normative order of patrilineal kinship structures women are subjected to. The clear positioning of *kṛtyā* in the field of hostile acts and agents stands in contrast with the polyvalence of *abhicāra* practices. The usefulness and acceptance of *abhicāra* apply particularly to situations of distress and familial or conjugal tensions and point to a connection between these practices and rites of pacification (*śānti-karman*) that are in later literature classified as belonging to the same branch of ritual practices.⁷¹ Seen from this perspective, *paricāra* and *abhicāra* are not so much opposites but counterparts, and the Mahābhārata can be viewed as exploring and negotiating this spectrum in a literary form.

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⁷¹ See Goudriaan (1978) and Türstig (1985) on the group of the so-called *ṣaṭ-karman*. The importance of *abhicāra* and other rites of control and subjugation in domestic settings is also obvious in the ritual manuals as has been observed by Goudriaan: “the action of ‘subjugation’ often applies to situations within the domestic environment. The ‘victim’ in many cases appears to be somebody within the family or household, frequently even the wife or husband. The recourse to magic seems to have often served as a panacea during the existence of domestic tensions” (Goudriaan 1978: 316).

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Kyoko Amano

Influence of the Atharvaveda on Rituals in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

Abstract: The paper examines the influence of the Atharvaveda (AV) on the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (MS), an early Yajurvedic text. The culture and rituals of the people who developed the AV are believed to have significantly influenced śrauta rituals, which initially involved offerings to gods in the sacred fire with verses mainly from the Ṛgveda (RV). Over time, Yajurvedic priests expanded these rituals, incorporating various rites and beliefs from a diverse society of disunited tribes and villages. The AV had a major influence on Yajurvedic rituals, with its impact on the MS varying across different chapters due to their being composed in different periods by different authors.

In the mantra chapters of the MS (excluding IV 10–14), there are 1,173 verse and verse-like mantras. Among them 92 citations from the AV Śaunaka recension (AVŚ) and 169 from the AV Paippalāda recension (AVP) are confirmed, along with 349 citations from the RV. These verses are often quoted with some variations in words, grammatical forms, and word order, indicating a waning dependence on the RV and AV.

The AV was initially less known to the Maitrāyaṇī priests compared to the RV. The AVŚ was associated with the soma ritual and the expiatory rites in the MS in an earlier period, while the AVP became more influential later. After the introduction of the agniciti ritual, all three texts (RV/AVŚ/AVP) were better known to the Yajurvedins than before, which can be seen from the significant increase in the number of citations, especially from the increase of citations in the form of sūkta. The more accurate citations of the RV compared to the AVŚ suggest that the RV had a more developed learning system, whereas the AVŚ was not fully canonized and was less widespread.

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1 Introduction

The culture and rituals of the people who developed the Atharvaveda (AV) are generally believed to have extensively influenced śrauta rituals.¹ Initially, śrauta rituals included, as their main action, offerings to the gods in the sacred fire during the recitation of laudatory verses, which are mainly taken from the Ṛgveda (RV), to invoke and praise these gods. Based on this simple ritual, Yajurvedic priests developed a series of rituals comprising many ritual actions conducted by numerous priests playing a variety of roles, influenced by various rites and by beliefs held by the diverse society of that time, consisting of disunited tribes and villages.² Those who composed and transmitted the Atharvaveda had a major influence on the Yajurvedic people. An examination of the influence of the Atharvaveda on the Yajurveda, especially on the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (MS), one of the oldest Yajurvedic texts, will contribute significantly to understanding the actions of Atharvavedic priests in this period.

The effects of the AV on the MS are not uniform. This is because each chapter of the MS was composed in a different period and by different authors.³ Differences between the chapters of the MS reflect the diversity of the rituals and the societal contexts in which they were composed. Examining the influences of the AV on the MS reveals some phases of changes in the status of the AV in Vedic society. Interestingly, it also shows changes in the status of the two branches of the AV, namely, Atharvaveda Śaunaka (AVŚ) and Atharvaveda Paippalāda (AVP). The early chapters of the MS include fewer citations from the AVP than from the AVŚ, but the later chapters of the MS show a stronger influence from the AVP than from the AVŚ, which may indicate that the Yajurvedic priests had closer contacts with Śaunaka priests in the earlier period, and with Paippalāda priests in the later period. In this paper, I will examine the mantras in the MS, specifi-

1 Heesterman (1993) and Parpola (2015) depict this influence elaborately, especially in connection with Vṛātya culture.

2 These are the native people with various local cultures and Indo-Āryan tribes that came to India and spread in various periods and different ways; one of these is the so-called Vṛātya. On the Vṛātyas see Pontillo and Dore (2016: 1–33).

3 For the peculiarities of style and language of each chapter in the MS, see Amano (2014–2015, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2019a, 2019b, 2020).

cally verse and verse-like⁴ mantras that include citations from the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda.

2 Construction of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

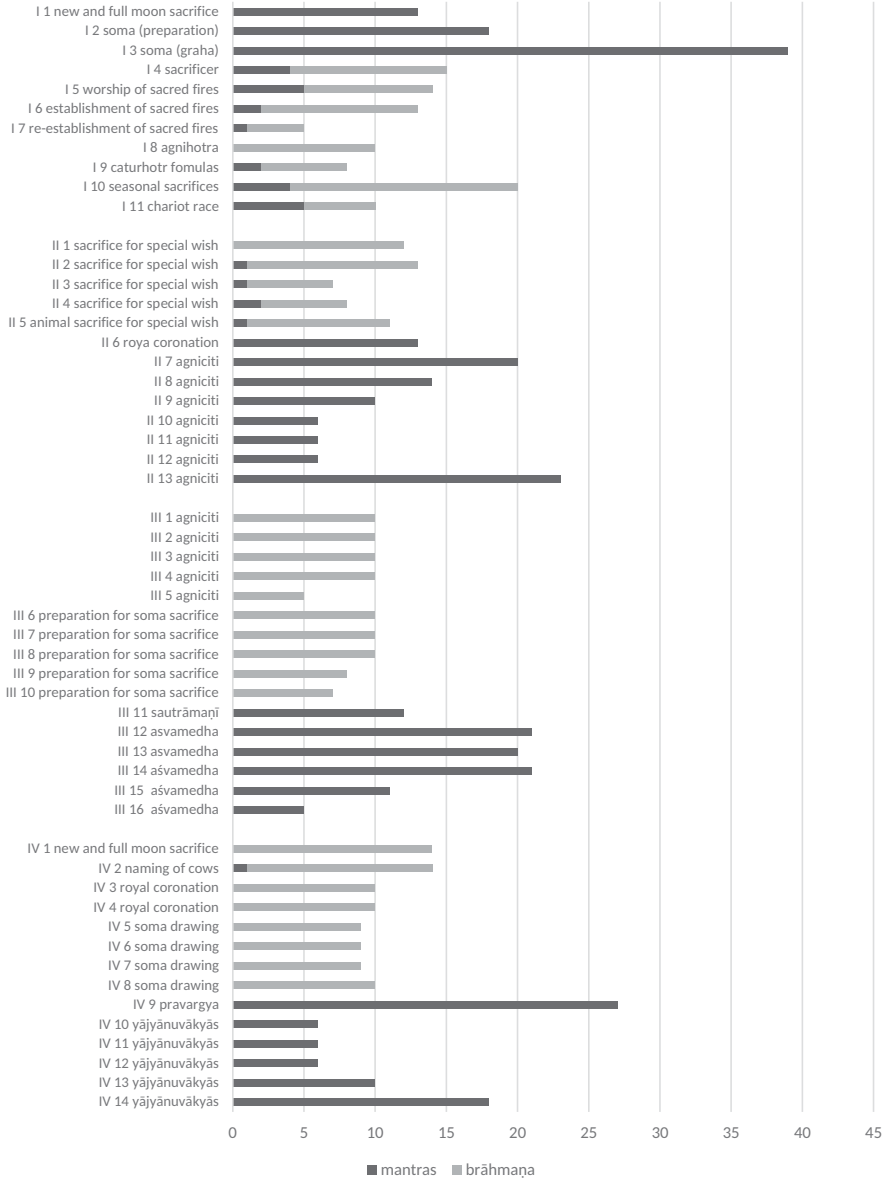
The MS spans 54 chapters, which are divided into 25 parts according to ritual content (see the list below). These 25 parts consist of nine mantra sections, six brāhmaṇa (ritual explanation) sections, and ten sections with a combination of both. These chapters are not arranged in chronological order, and many additional passages (these could be a whole chapter or merely some sentences or mantras in a chapter) are inserted. The old chapters probably belong to the same period as the latest portions of the Atharvaveda. However, the newest chapters are comparable to āraṇyaka texts. Thus, I assume that a period of 200 years or more, hypothetically 900–700 BCE,⁵ can be accounted for in the compilation of the MS, with parts that were added at a later stage. Each chapter is different, reflecting diachronic changes as well as diversity in terms of language and description of rituals and beliefs.

In the table below, all chapters of the MS are listed with the mantras and brāhmaṇa parts distinguished.

Mantra and brāhmaṇa parts of the MS:

4 There are Yajurvedic mantras that do not have correct meter but are constructed like a verse, contrary to short mantras (yajus), for example *jyōtir asi* ‘You are the shining’. It is difficult to determine whether such a mantra is a verse. I count such mantras as “verse-like” mantras.

5 Witzel (1989: 124) and (1997: 266ff.) dates the mantra chapters of Yajurveda-Saṁhitās as before 900 BCE and the brāhmaṇa chapters as after 900 BCE. But Amano (2014–2015) and (2020) argues that both the mantra and the brāhmaṇa chapters were composed over a long period of time, and that they were added gradually to the main body of the text.



3 Verse and Verse-Like Mantras in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

The saṁhitā texts of the Yajurveda are generally understood to contain collections of yajus, mantras belonging to the Adhvaryu priest. However, this description of the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās is incorrect, as many of the mantras collected in them belong to the RV and the AV. Statistical data based on Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance (Bloomfield 1906; Franceschini 2007) show that almost 15 % of the mantras of the MS are taken from the RV, with a lower figure from the AVŚ and AVP.

Except the chapter of yāyānuvākyās (IV 10–14) containing the anuvākyās (inviting verses) and yāyās (praising verses), typically recited by the Hotṛ priest, the RV and AV verses collected in the mantra sections of the MS were probably reserved for the Adhvaryu priest and the sacrificer. These RV and AV verses may have been employed in the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās by the Adhvaryu priests to increase the esteem of their rituals.⁶

4 Atharvaveda Verses in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

In the ritual mantras of the MS,⁷ 92 citations from the AVŚ and 169 from the AVP can be confirmed among 1,173 verse and verse-like mantras (with 349 citations from the RV).⁸ These AV and RV verses are quoted in their entirety when they first appear in the MS. However, from the second citation, they are quoted as pratīka (i. e. only the opening words of the verse are given), although there are also cases of entirely repeated citations. This practice had been established during transmission and does not reflect the shape of the text in the period of its composition. The quoted verses are not always identical to their source, but exhibit different degrees of variations. There are differences in the choice of words, in grammatical forms, and in word order. In some cases, one or more pādas also lack correspondences to the RV and AV. The differences mostly do not seem to be motivated by specific

⁶ This is probably because said priests and sacrificers thought that the RV and AV words could reach the gods, in contrast with their yajus spoken to the tools and materials in the ritual.

⁷ This is excepting the chapter of the yāyānuvākyās, because this chapter is not connected to a certain ritual, and it could have been additionally composed of verses mainly used as anuvākyās and yāyās for various rituals in a later period.

⁸ With possible cases, a further 100 citations from the RV can be counted, 133 from the AVŚ and 116 from the AVP; see section 5, Table 1 below.

circumstances, but are rather arbitrary. These differences may indicate a situation where dependence on the RV and AV was waning.

Notably, there is no special term to indicate an AV verse in the MS. Rather, AV verses are referred to by feminine adjectives that imply ellipsis of the word *śc* – ‘sacred verse’, in the same way as RV verses are quoted.

4.1 Differences in Various Points and Various Grades

In the following examples, we see lexical changes (___), variations of grammatical forms (___), and changes of word order (___):

MS II 9,2:122,7f.

yá te hetír mīdhuṣṭama śívám babhúva te dhánuḥ |
táyāsmān viśvátas tvám ayakṣmáya páribhuja ||
 ~ AVP 14,4,7

*yá te hetir *mīdhuṣṭama haste babhūva te dhanuḥ |*
tayā tvam viśvato asmān ayakṣmayā pari bhujā ||

MS II 10,4:135,7f.

yásya kurmó grhé havís tám agne vardhayā tvám |
tásmai devá ádhibruvann ayám ca bráhmaṇaspátih ||
 ~ AVŚ 6,5,3

yásya kṛṇmó havir grhé tám tvám |
tásmai sómo ádhi bravād ayám ca bráhmaṇas pátih ||

In some cases there are a large number of differences:

MS II 5,10:61,12f.

devánām eṣá upanāhá āsīd apám pátir vṛṣabhá óśadhīnām |
sómasya drapsám avṛṇīta pūṣá bṛhānn ádrir abhavad yát tát āsīt ||
 ~ AVŚ 9,4,5

devánām bhāgá upanāhá eṣó ‘pám rása óśadhīnām ghṛtásya |
sómasya bhakṣám avṛṇīta śakró bṛhānn ádrir abhavad yac chárīram ||

In the following example, only pāda a corresponds to AVŚ and AVP (___):

MS II 4,7:45,1f.

údirayatā marutaḥ samudrató divó vṛṣṭīm varṣayatā purīṣiṇaḥ |
ná vo dasrā úpadasyanti dhenávaḥ śubhé kam ánu ráthā avṛtsata ||

~ AVŚ 4,15,5

*úd trayata marutaḥ samudratás tveśó arkó nábha út pātayātha |
mahaṛṣabhásya nádato nábhasvato vāśrá ápaḥ pṛthivīm tarpayantu ||*

~ AVP 5,7,4

*úd trayata marutaḥ samudras tveśā *arkā nabha ut pātayantu |
pra varṣayanti *tviṣāḥ sudānavo 'pāṃ rasair ośadhayaḥ sacantām ||*

4.2 Correspondence among RV/AVŚ/AVP and Choice of MS

Many of the cited verses are from a single source (i. e. RV, AVŚ or AVP). In some cases, however, the verse is attested in two (RV and AVŚ, RV and AVP, AVŚ and AVP) or in all three sources; each of these combinations occurs. The verses common to MS and RV/AVŚ/AVP are identical in some cases (RV = AVŚ = AVP). However, they also vary in many instances, and again each combination occurs. Thus, if expressed in mathematical notation, RV = AVŚ (\neq AVP), RV = AVP (\neq AVŚ), AVŚ = AVP (\neq RV), and RV \neq AVŚ \neq AVP. The MS may draw from all three sources, without showing a clear bias toward any one of them, even though it seems that its authors were more aware of the RV than of the AVŚ and AVP. In many cases, multiple influences from two or more of RV/AVŚ/AVP can be seen in a verse or a sūkta. The MS seems to have intentionally employed words and forms from different texts, at least in some cases, perhaps because the Maitrāyaṇīyas wanted to display their familiarity with all the samhitās in question.

In the following example, the MS version is different from AVŚ and AVP at *badhyámānās*, identical with AVP at *prajāpatiḥ*, and identical with AVŚ at *saṃrarāṇāḥ*:

MS I 2,15:25,5f.

*yé badhyámānam ánu badhyámānā anváikṣanta mánasā cákṣuṣā ca |
agníṣ ṭám ágre pránumoktu deváḥ prajāpatiḥ prajāyā saṃrarāṇāḥ ||*

~ AVŚ 2,34,3

*yé badhyámānam ánu dídhyānā anváikṣanta mánasā cákṣuṣā ca |
agníṣ ṭán ágre prá mumoktu devó viśvákarmā prajāyā saṃrarāṇāḥ ||*

~ AVP 3,32,4

*ye badhyamānam anu dídhyānā anvaiḥṣanta manasā cakṣuṣā ca |
agniṣ ṭān agre pra mumoktu devaḥ prajāpatiḥ prajāyā⁹ saṃvidānaḥ ||*

9 The Kahimirian manuscript has *prajābhis*, which the Kauśika-Sūtra and Vaitāna-Sūtra follow.

In the following example, the MS has a connection with all of the sources (RV/AVŚ/AVP). It has *suphālās*, *vítudantu*, *tóṣamānā supippalās*, and *oṣadhīḥ* in common with the AVŚ, *abhy* and *vāhāiḥ* with the RV, and *etu* and *supippalās* with the AVP. The intention of MS is perhaps to show familiarity with all three saṁhitās:

MS II 7,12:92,1f.¹⁰

śúnám suphālā vítudantu bhúmim śúnám kīnáśo abhyètu vāhāiḥ |
śúnāsīrā haviṣā tóṣamānā supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāsmé ||

~ RV 4,57,8

śúnám naḥ phālā ví kṛṣantu bhúmim śúnám kīnáśa abhi yantu vāhāiḥ |
śúnám parjānyo mádhunā páyobhiḥ śúnāsīrā śúnám asmāsu dhattam ||

~ AVŚ 3,17,5

śúnám suphālā ví tudantu bhúmim śúnám kīnáśa ánu yantu vāhān |
śúnāsīrā haviṣā tóṣamānā supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartam asmaí ||

~ AVP 2,22,3

śunaṁ kīnáśo anv etu vāhāñ chunaṁ phālo vinudann etu bhūmim |
*śúnāsīrā haviṣā yo *yajātai supippalā oṣadhayas santu tasmaí ||*

There are many cases where one or two of RV/AVŚ/AVP can be recognized as the source of citation in the MS. The following example is AVP 9,1,8 or AVŚ 5,27,9 as the source of MS II 12,6, where there is the slightest difference between MS and AVP/AVŚ in comparison to RV:

MS II 12,6:150,14f.

tisró devír barhír édám syonám ídā sárasvatī mahí |
bhāratī grṇāná ||

~ AVP 9,1,8

tisro devir barhir edam sadantv idā sarasvatī mahí |
bhāratī grṇānā ||

~ AVŚ 5,27,9

daivā hótāra ūrdhvám adhvarāṁ no 'gnér jīhváyābhí grṇata grṇātā naḥ sviṣṭaye |
tisró devír barhír édám sadantām ídā sárasvatī mahí bhāratī grṇāná ||

~ RV 10,110,8

á no yajñám bhāratī túyam etv ilā manuṣvād ihá cetáyantī |
tisró devír barhír édám syonám sárasvatī svāpasaḥ sadantu ||

10 This so-called kṛṣi-sūkta is examined in detail in Jones (2017: 24–84).

~ AVŚ 5,12,8

*á no yajñám bháratī túyam etv ídā manuśvád ihá cetáyantī |
tisró devír barhír édám syonám sárasvatīḥ svápasah sadantām ||*

4.3 Citation of a Single Verse and a Series of Verses

In some cases, a series of mantras in the MS consists of verses quoted from different places in the RV and AV. For example, a series of mantras in MS I 10,3, which are used for the ancestor rite, is quoted from different places in the RV and AV as follows:

verses in MS	source/parallel in RV/AV
MS I 10,3: 142,11–13	~ RV 1,82,3
MS I 10,3: 143,1f.	~ AVŚ 6,120,1, AVP 16,50,9
MS I 10,3: 143,10f.	~ AVŚ 7,3,1, AVP 20,2,1
MS I 10,3: 143,12–14	~ RV 1,82,2, AVŚ 18,4,61, AVP 18,81,19
MS I 10,3: 143,15f.	~ RV 10,57,3, AVP 19,24,10
MS I 10,3: 143,17f.	~ RV 10,57,4, AVŚ 1,6,3, AVP 19,24,11
MS I 10,3: 143,19f.	~ RV 10,57,5, AVP 19,24,12
MS I 10,3: 144,2f.	~ RV 4,10,1

In contrast to quotations from different places in the source texts, the following instances indicate a link between a series of mantras in the MS and an entire sūkta of the RV/AV. For example, in MS I 2,9 and I 2,13–14, there are six verses from AVŚ 7,26. They are not quoted en bloc but are scattered. Nevertheless, we can recognize the sūkta of AVŚ 7,26 related to MS I 2.

The passages in the MS given below show such a loose relation between a series of mantras in the MS and a sūkta of the RV/AV.

verses in MS	parallel RV/AV sūkta	difference between MS and RV/AV
MS II 7,7: 83,15–84,3	AVP 1,42,1–4	great difference
MS II 7,12: 91,13–92,12	AVŚ 3,17,1–9, AVP 2,22,1–6	great difference
MS III 11,10: 155,12–156,10	RV 9,67,22–27, AVŚ 6,19,1–3 AVP 19,7,10–12	some difference
MS III 11,10: 157,1–12	AVŚ 6,114,1 + 6,115,2–3 AVP 16,49,1 + 5–6	great difference

These examples, which show only a loose connection between the MS and an RV/AV sūkta, are also characterized by a “loose citation,” that is, the text of the two versions differs considerably.

In the following instances, the MS cites two or three connected verses, so-called dvṛcas and tṛcas:

MS verses	parallel RV/AV dvṛca and tṛca	Difference between MS and RV/AV
MS I 5,1: 66,8–13 (3 verses)	RV 9,66,19–21	identical
MS I 5,3: 69,3–8 (3)	RV 1,1,7–9	identical
MS I 6,1: 85,9–14 (3)	RV 10,189,1–3, AVŚ 6,31,1–3, 20,48,4–6, AVP 19,45,11–13	some difference
MS I 6,2: 87,13–18 (3)	RV 4,58,1–3, AVP 8,13,1–3	identical
MS I 10,3: 143,15–144,1 (3)	RV 10,57,3–5, AVP 19,24,10–12	identical
MS II 2,6: 20,10–16 (3)	RV 10,191,2–4, AVŚ 6,64,1–3	some difference
MS II 3,8: 36,16–37,2 (3)	AVŚ 2,35,1–3, AVP 1,88,1–3	great difference, AVP more different than AVŚ
MS II 7,3: 77,4–9 (3)	RV 6,16,13–15	identical
MS II 7,5: 79,16–80,2 (3)	RV 10,9,1–3, AVŚ 1,5,1–3, AVP 19,45,8–10	identical
MS II 7,14: 95,4–9 (3)	AVP 15,2,6–8	great difference
MS II 7,15: 97,1–6 (3)	AVP 19,22,1–3	some difference
MS II 7,16: 99,18–100,2 (3)	RV 1,90,6–8, AVP 19,45,5–7	identical
MS II 10,6: 138,4–9 (3)	AVŚ 4,14,3–5, AVP 3,38,3–4.8	some difference
MS II 13,6: 154,9–155,12 (3 + 4 + 3)	RV 1,84,13–15 + 1,7,1–4 + 8,93,7–9, AVŚ 20,41,1–3 + 20,38,4–6 + 20,47,1–3	identical
MS II 13,7: 155,14–157,2 (3 + 3 + 3)	RV 5,1,1–2.12 + 5,11,1.5–6 + 5,6,1–2.4	identical
MS II 13,8: 157,3–19 (3 + 3 + 3)	RV 7,16,1.5.11 + 1,79,4–6 + 4,10,1–2.4	identical
MS II 13,9: 158,8–159,13 (3 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2)	RV 8,17,1–3 + 7,32,22–23 + 6,46,1–2 + 4,31,1–3 + 6,48,1–2, AVŚ 20,3,1–3 + 20,121,1–2 + 20,98,1–2 + 20,124,1–3	identical
MS III 16,3: 185,4–9 (3)	RV 1,6,1–3, AVŚ 20,26,4–6, 20,47,10–12, 20,69,9–11	identical

Apparently, such dvṛcas and tṛcas were popular for assembling the MS mantras. In their case, the text is largely faithful to the source, which is probably because the

memorisation of *dvṛcas* and *ṛcas* was the method by which the Yajurvedic priests learnt and quoted the RV and AV.

If more than two or three connected RV and AV verses are cited, in some cases this becomes a citation of an entire *sūkta*. The following cases can be considered as marking the beginning of “*sūkta* citation” that gained popularity in the later period:

<Groups of four or five verses>

MS verses	parallel RV/AV verses	Difference between MS and RV/AV
MS I 3,38: 44,6–16 (5 out of 6 verses)	AVŚ 7,97,1–5	some difference
MS I 5,2: 68,2–7 (5)	AVŚ 2,19,1–5, AVP 2,48,1–5	Identical
MS I 5,3: 69,9–12 (4)	RV 5,24,1–4	Identical
MS I 7,1: 109,12–110,2 (4)	AVP 1,41,1–4	some difference
MS I 11,4: 164,6–15, :165,5f. (6 out of 7 verses)	RV 10,141,1–5, AVŚ 3,20,2–4.7, AVP 3,34,3–7.9	AVP identical, RV different, AVŚ more different than RV
MS II 7,15: 97,7–16 (5)	RV 4,4,1–5	identical
MS II 13,1: 151,7–153,3 (4 + 6)	AVŚ 1,33,1–4 + 3,13,1–6, AVP 1,25,1–4 + 3,4,1–6	some difference; only two or three <i>pādas</i> corresponding in some verses
MS II 13,13: 162,10–163,6 (5)	AVŚ 3,21,1–6, AVP 3,12,1–6	great difference

<Citation of entire *sūktas*>

verses in MS	parallel RV/AV <i>sūkta</i>	Difference between MS and RV/AV
MS II 7,9: 86,5–87,8 (12 verses)	RV 10,45,1–12	great difference
MS II 7,13: 93,1–94,18 (18)	RV 10,97,1–17, AVP 11,6,1–10 + 11,7,1–6	great difference
MS II 7,14: 95,12–96,5 (6)	RV 10,140,1–6	some difference
MS II 9,2: 120,18–122,8 (11 out of 13 verses)	AVP 14,3,5–10 + 14,4,2–7	some difference
MS II 10,2: 133,1–19 (7 out of 8 verses)	RV 10,81,1–7	little difference
MS II 10,3: 134,1–135,2 (7 out of 8 verses)	RV 10,82,1–7	some difference
MS II 10,4: 135,9–136,12 (10)	RV 10,103,1–11, AVŚ 19,13,2–11, AVP 7,4,2–11	some difference
MS II 12,5: 148,11–148,5 (7)	AVŚ 2,6,1–5, AVP 3,33,1–7	great difference
MS II 12,6: 149,14–151,2 (12)	AVŚ 5,27,1–12, AVP 9,1,1–11	some difference
MS II 13,10: 159,14–161,6 (11)	AVŚ 8,9,10–15.22, AVP 16,18,10 + 16,19,1–3.5.10	great difference
MS II 13,23: 168,5–169,3 (7)	RV 10,121,7, AVP 4,1,1–7	great difference

(Continued)

verses in MS	parallel RV/AV sūkta	Difference between MS and RV/AV
MS III 16,1: 181,7–183,11 (16)	RV 1,162,1–16	identical
MS III 16,3: 185,10–187,13 (19)	RV 6,75,1–14 + 6,47,26–31, AVP 15,10,1–8 + 15,11,2–10 + 15,12,1	RV identical, AVP little difference
MS III 16,4: 187,16–190,5 (17)	AVP 15,1,2–10 + 15,2,1–4	some difference

As can be seen in the table above, citations of an entire sūkta are clustered in the agniciti mantra chapter (MS II 7–13). The sūkta citations are mostly taken from the RV, but can also be from both the RV and the AV, or only from the AV. However, in such a sūkta citation, it is often difficult to determine a single source of the citation, as we may find multiple influences from all three saṁhitās (RV/AVŚ/AVP) in the MS.

The following example show the case where a verse that is close to the AVP (MS II 10,4:135,13f.) and another that is close to the RV and the AVŚ (MS II 10,4:136,2f.) are juxtaposed in the same sūkta citation:

MS II 10,4:135,13f.

*sá īṣuhastaiḥ sá niṣaṅgībhir vaśí sámsr̥ṣṭāsu yutsv índro gaṇéṣu |
sámsr̥ṣṭhajít somapā bāhuśardhy ùrdhvádhanvā prátihitābhir ástā ||* (= AVP)
MS II 10,4:136,2f.

*balavijñāyāḥ sthāviraḥ práviraḥ sáhasvān vājí sáhamāna ugráh |
abhíviro abhísatvā sahojí jaitram indra rátham átiṣṭha govít ||* (= AVŚ, RV)

~ RV 10,103,3

*sá īṣuhastaiḥ sá niṣaṅgībhir vaśí sámsraṣṭā sá yúdha índro gaṇéna |
sámsr̥ṣṭajít somapā bāhuśardhy ùgrádhanvā prátihitābhir ástā ||*
RV 10,103,5

*balavijñāyāḥ sthāviraḥ práviraḥ sáhasvān vājí sáhamāna ugráh |
abhíviro abhísatvā sahojá jaitram indra rátham á tiṣṭha govít ||*

~ AVŚ 19,13,4

*sá īṣuhastaiḥ sá niṣaṅgībhir vaśí sámsraṣṭā sá yúdha índro gaṇéna |
sámsr̥ṣṭajít somapā bāhuśardhy ùgrádhanvā prátihitābhir ástā ||*
AVŚ 19,13,5

*balavijñāyāḥ sthāviraḥ práviraḥ sáhasvān vājí sáhamāna ugráh |
abhíviro abhísatvā sahojí jaitram indra rátham á tiṣṭha govídā ||*

~ AVP 7,4,4

*sa iṣuhastaiḥ sa niṣaṅgibhir vaśī saṃsraṣṭā yudha indro gaṇena |
saṃsṛṣṭajit somapā bāhuśardhy ūrdhavadhanvā pratihitābhir astāt ||*

AVP 7,4,5

*balavijñāyaḥ sthaviraḥ pravīraḥ sahasvān vājī sahamāna ugraḥ |
abhivīro abhiṣatvā sahojij jaitrāyendra ratham ā tiṣṭha govidam ||*

MS II 13,6–9 (II 13 is the last of the agniciti mantras, probably a later addition) contains many dvṛcas and ṛcas from the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th maṇḍalas of the RV and their parallels in the AVŚ, which are all found in the 20th kāṇḍa. Probably, both the MS and the AVŚ borrowed these dvṛcas and ṛcas from different maṇḍalas of the RV for ritual use. All these dvṛcas and ṛcas show little difference between the texts. This chapter of the MS cites some sūktas from the AVŚ and the AVP with the parallels from the 10th maṇḍala of the RV, and these sūktas show many differences between the MS and the RV/AV parallels.

MS III 16 (the last of the aśvamedha mantras, probably a later addition) shows another phenomenon. This chapter contains some very large and accurate sūkta citations from the RV. It also cites sūktas from the AVP, but not as accurately as those from the RV. In the period MS III 16 was composed, the learning of sūktas of the RV was probably well developed, while the AVP was less well known.

MS III 16,5 contains a sūkta-like collection which has a parallel in both the AVŚ and the AVP (with considerable differences), though only the first and last of the seven verses of the AV versions are present:

verses in MS (serial number in the chapter)	AVŚ parallel	AVP parallel	conformity between AVŚ and AVP
III 16,5: 190,6f. (1)	AVŚ 4,23,1	AVP 4,33,1	AVŚ = AVP
III 16,5: 190,8f. (2)	AVŚ 4,23,7	AVP 4,33,7	AVŚ = AVP
III 16,5: 190,10f. (3)	AVŚ 4,24,1	AVP 4,39,1	(both influencing MS)
III 16,5: 190,12f. (4)	AVŚ 4,24,7	AVP 4,39,7	AVŚ almost = AVP
III 16,5: 190,14f. (5)	AVŚ 4,29,1	AVP 4,38,1	AVP ≈ MS
III 16,5: 190,16f. (6)	AVŚ 4,29,7	AVP 4,38,7	AVŚ = AVP
III 16,5: 191,2f. (7)	AVŚ 4,25,1	AVP 4,34,1	AVŚ = AVP
III 16,5: 191,4f. (8)	AVŚ 4,25,7	AVP 4,34,7	AVŚ = AVP
(III 16,5: 191,6–9 (9–10))	not found in AV		
III 16,5: 191,10f. (11)	AVŚ 4,27,1	AVP 4,35,1	AVŚ = AVP
III 16,5: 191,12f. (12)	AVŚ 4,27,7	AVP 4,35,7	AVŚ = AVP
(III 16,5: 191,14–17 (13–14))	not found in AV		

(Continued)

verses in MS (serial number in the chapter)	AVŚ parallel	AVP parallel	conformity between AVŚ and AVP
(III 16,5: 191,18 (15)–(17) pratīka)	(AVŚ 7,20,1–2 + 6,35,1)		
(III 16,5: 192,1f. (18) RV 7,13,2)	not found in AV		
(III 16,5: 192,3f. (19))	not found in AV		
III 16,5: 192,5f. (20)	AVŚ 4,26,1 + 7	AVP 4,36,1 + 7	AVŚ = AVP

Regarding these AV verses, the so-called mṛgāra-sūktāni, Bloomfield (1899: 52) argued that it is “possible to imagine that the Yajus-stanzas were picked out of longer hymns, though there is no special reason for such a supposition. That they were not gathered from the Atharvan hymns in question may be regarded as certain.” This refers to the crucial question about the date of the composition of the Atharvaveda and the Yajurveda mantras, with respect to which Bloomfield states that “the redaction of the AV. holds much the same place compared with the redactions of the YV.” However, the final redaction of this sūkta in the MS could not have taken place in an ancient period because the mantra part and the list of sacrificial animals of the aśvamedha are chronologically comparable with the latest chapter of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā and the additional book on the aśvamedha of the Kāthaka-Saṁhitā. The conformity between the AVŚ and the AVP in these verses may indicate a younger period or a more developed stage of canonization.

5 Statistical Account of Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda Citations in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

In this section, I present statistical data of all RV/AV verses cited in each chapter of the MS. **The first table** lists the number of cited verses and their appearance rates in all verse and verse-like mantras. For example, MS I 2 (mantras for the preparation of the soma ritual) contains 65 verse(-like) mantras, including 20 from the RV, 11 from the AVŚ, and 8 from the AVP. Therefore, of all the verse(-like) mantras, 31 % are from the RV, while 17 % are from the AVŚ and 12 % are from the AVP.

In some cases, it is difficult to determine the source (RV/AVŚ/AVP) that the MS cites, for example when the citations show no variations or are different from each other and from the MS to an almost equal extent. The number of such unclear cases is given in the table in brackets: (+). MS I 2 includes 5 such unclear cases of citation from the RV (noted as 20 (+5)), 7 cases of citation from the AVŚ (noted as 11 (+7)),

and 6 cases of citation from the AVP (noted as 8 (+6)). The sum of these represents the maximum possible number (RV 25, AVŚ 18, AVP 14), based on which the percentages are calculated using minimum and maximum values (RV 31~38 %, AVŚ 17~28 %, AVP 12~22 % for MS I 2).

There are also cases where influences from two or three sources can be detected (for example MS II 7,12:92,1f., RV 4,57,8, AVŚ 3,17,5, AVP 2,22,3 in section 4.2 above). I counted both or all three. Cases of citations with *pratīka* are also accounted for in these data.

The second table shows the level of conformity with the RV and AVŚ for each chapter of the MS. The AVP is excluded from consideration because there are many cases in its transmission where there are variant readings that need to be examined. It clarifies how familiar each chapter of the MS was with these *saṁhitās*, and also the extent to which the RV and AVŚ were canonized and widely transmitted. The citations with *pratīka* and the unclear cases of the citations (indicated in brackets (+) in the Table 1 above) are not included here. Therefore, the numerical data in this table does not represent the overall situation, but is only effective for comparing RV and AVŚ. According to the degree of similarity of citations to the original *saṁhitās*, citations are classified into three categories: 1) same, where the wording of the verse is identical, 2) slightly varying, and 3) varying. To estimate the grade of approximation, I assigned a difference of a word a value of 1 point, a difference of a grammatical form 0.5 points, and a difference of word order 0.5 points. Therefore, a verse measured as having a value of less than 3 points is classified as 2) slightly varying, and that with more than 3 points is classified as 3) varying. When one or more *pādas* lack a correspondence, it is classified as 3) varying.

Table 1: Number of cited verses and their appearance rate in all verse(-like) mantras.

chapters (rituals) in the MS	verse-like mantras in the MS	RV number and rate (%)	AVŚ number and rate (%)	AVP number and rate (%)
I 1 new and full moon sacrifice	17	1 (6 %)	1 (6 %)	4 (24 %)
I 2 soma (preparation)	65	20 (+5) (31~38 %)	11 (+7) (17~28 %)	8 (+6) (12~22 %)
I 3 soma (graha)	66	28 (+6) (42~52 %)	11 (+6) (17~26 %)	5 (+4) (8~14 %)
I 4 sacrificer	25	3 (+1) (12~28 %)	1 (+2) (4~12 %)	3 (+2) (12~20 %)
I 5 worship of the sacred fires	48 (including 2 <i>pratīka</i>)	31 (+1) (65~67 %)	1 (+7) (2~17 %)	0 (+6) (0~13 %)

Table 1 (continued)

chapters (rituals) in the MS	verse-like mantras in the MS	RV number and rate (%)	AVŚ number and rate (%)	AVP number and rate (%)
I 6 establishment of the sacred fires	31 (incl. 3 prat.)	11 (+6) (39–55 %)	2 (+4) (6–19 %)	1 (+8) (3–29 %)
I 7 re-establishment of the sacred fires	11	0 (0 %)	0 (+2) (0–18 %)	4 (+2) (36–55 %)
I 8 daily offering in the sacred fires	5 (incl. 1 prat.)	0 (0 %)	1 (20 %)	1 (20 %)
I 10 seasonal sacrifice	19	7 (37 %)	1 (+1) (5–11 %)	5 (+1) (26–32 %)
I 11 vājapeya	26 (incl. 1 prat.)	5 (+2) (19–27 %)	1 (+1) (4–8 %)	8 (+1) (31–35 %)
II 1–4 sacrifice for special wish	36	10 (+3) (28–36 %)	9 (+4) (25–36 %)	5 (+1) (14–17 %)
II 5 animal sacrifice for special wish	5	0 (0 %)	2 (+1) (40–60 %)	2 (+1) (40–60 %)
II 6 royal consecration	13	4 (31 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)
I 1–II 6 total	367 (incl. 7 prat.)	121 (+25) (33–40 %)	41 (+35) (11–21 %)	46 (+32) (13–21 %)
II 7 agniciti	233 (incl. 21 prat.)	91 (+13) (39–45 %)	12 (+15) (5–12 %)	36 (+22) (15–25 %)
II 8 agniciti	18	2 (11 %)	0 (0 %)	3 (17 %)
II 9 agniciti	46	1 (2 %)	1 (2 %)	13 (28 %)
II 10 agniciti	71 (incl. 10 prat.)	33 (+3) (46–51 %)	9 (+4) (13–18 %)	8 (+4) (11–17 %)
II 11 agniciti	0	0	0	0
II 12 agniciti	41	2 (+1) (5–7 %)	11 (+2) (27–32 %)	18 (+4) (44–54 %)
II 13 agniciti	109 (incl. 11 prat.)	43 (+25) (39–62 %)	8 (+35) (7–39 %)	16 (+17) (15–30 %)
II 7–13 agniciti total	518 (incl. 42 prat.)	172 (+42) (33–41 %)	41 (+56) (8–19 %)	94 (+47) (18 %–27 %)
III 11 recovering from soma drunkenness	128 (incl. 4 prat.)	9 (+3) (7–9 %)	5 (+8) (4–10 %)	4 (+5) (3–7 %)
III 12–13 horse sacrifice	22	0 (+4) (0–18 %)	0 (+3) (0–14 %)	1 (+1) (5–9 %)

Table 1 (continued)

chapters (rituals) in the MS	verse-like mantras in the MS	RV number and rate (%)	AVŚ number and rate (%)	AVP number and rate (%)
III 16 horse sacrifice	91 (incl. 5 prat.)	30 (+12) (33–46 %)	4 (+ 18) (4–24 %)	19 (+ 20) (21–43 %)
IV 9 pravargya	47 (incl. 10 prat.)	17 (+14) (36–66 %)	1 (+13) (2–30 %)	5 (+11) (11–34 %)
III–IV total	288 (incl. 19 prat.)	56 (+33) (19–31 %)	10 (+42) (3–18 %)	29 (+37) (10–23 %)
I–IV total	1173 (incl. 68 prat.)	349 (+100) (30–38 %)	92 (+133) (8–19 %)	169 (+116) (14–24 %)

Table 2: Conformity of citations according to chapter.¹¹

	RV			AVŚ		
	identical	slightly varying	Varying	identical	slightly varying	varying
I 1 new and full moon sacrifice	1					1
I 2 soma (preparation)	9	6	5	3	5	3
I 3 soma (graha)	18	7	3	2	5	4
I 4 sacrificer	1		2			1
I 5 worship of the sacred fires	24	4	1			1
I 6 establishment of the sacred fires	6	2	1		1	1
I 7 re-establishment of the sacred fires						
I 8 daily offering						
I 10 seasonal sacrifice	5	1	1			1
I 11 vājapeya	2	2	1			
II 1–4 sacrifices for wish	3	6	1	1	2	6
II 5 animal sacrifices for wish				1		1
II 6 royal consecration	2	2				
I 1–II 6 total (RV 116, AVŚ 39)	71 (61 %)	30 (26 %)	15 (13 %)	7 (18 %)	13 (33 %)	19 (49 %)
II 7 agniciti	36	32	16	1	5	5
II 8 agniciti	1	1				

¹¹ The verses cited with pratika are not considered. Therefore, the number of the verses in Table 2 does not correspond to that in Table 1.

Table 2 (continued)

	RV			AVŚ		
	identical	slightly varying	Varying	identical	slightly varying	varying
II 9 agniciti		1				1
II 10 agniciti	11	13	5		3	3
II 12 agniciti		1	1	3	5	3
II 13 agniciti	25	7	4	1	2	5
III 11 recovering from soma	3	3	1	1	1	3
III 12–13 horse sacrifice						
III 16 horse sacrifice	20	9			1	2
IV 9 pravargya	12	3	6		1	1
II 7–IV 9 total (RV 211, AVŚ 47)	108 (51 %)	70 (33 %)	33 (16 %)	6 (13 %)	18 (38 %)	23 (49 %)
total (RV 327, AVŚ 86)	179 (55 %)	100 (31 %)	48 (14 %)	13 (15 %)	31 (36 %)	42 (49 %)

6 Relationship of Rituals in the MS to the RV/AVŚ/AVP

On the basis of the examination and the statistical data presented above, I will now try to trace the evolution of contacts between the MS and the RV/AVŚ/AVP, and to classify the chapters of the MS into the following groups.

Group I (MS I 1–II 6):

In the chapters that form the first and second books of the MS (with the exception of those dealing with the agniciti), the RV provides more citations than the AVŚ/AVP with more accuracy (of all RV citations in MS I 1–II 6 the accurate citations are 61 %, of all AVŚ citations the accurate citations are 18 %) The AVP is slightly more frequently cited than the AVŚ (46 [+32] citations in the AVP, 41 [+35] citations in the AVŚ). According to the influence from the AVŚ/AVP, the chapters and rituals can be classified into four:

- 1) Rituals that are not (or only slightly) related to the AV: MS I 5 agnyupasthāna, MS I 6 agnyādhāna, MS II 6 rājasūya.

The Atharvaveda hardly influenced MS I 5 and MS I 6, chapters that were composed in a relatively early phase of the composition of the MS.¹² Chapter II 6, dealing with the *rājasūya* (royal consecration), has no citation from the AV. This is notable because it is commonly understood that Brahman priests from Atharvavedic families had close relations with kings. In the early period of the *śrauta* ritual formation, or at least in the MS, the AV priests did not influence the royal consecration ritual.

In MS I 5 and I 6, the recitation and learning of sets of two or three RV verses (*dvṛcas* and *ṛcas*) was practised. This method seems to have effected good learning because these sets of verses are cited accurately in most cases.

- 2) Rituals that are related to the AVŚ more than the AVP: MS I 2 soma *adhvara* (preparation), I 3 soma *graha* (drawing soma), II 1–4 *kāmyā-iṣṭi*

The AVŚ clearly influenced the soma ritual and the sacrifices for special wishes described in the MS. The AVP was less known to (or valued by) the authors who composed these mantras.

- 3) Rituals that are related to the AVP more than the AVŚ: MS I 7 *punarādhāna*, MS I 10 *cāturmāsya*, MS I 11 *vājapeya*.

MS I 7 is one of the youngest chapters, judging from an analysis of its linguistic features.¹³ The influence from the AVP in MS I 7 probably indicates that the influence of the AVP was greater in the later period. MS I 10, the chapter of the seasonal sacrifices, and MS I 11, the chapter of the *vājapeya* (soma drinking for victory in the chariot race), are considered to be not particularly young in terms of stylistic and linguistic features.¹⁴ However, the contact with the AVP may indicate that the composition of these chapters was in a relatively late period or that these rituals specifically originated from the *Paippalāda* tradition. MS I 1 *darśapūrṇamāsa* includes four citations from the AVP, which are more than the single citation from both the RV and the AVŚ. All four citations from the AVP are from its 20th book. Although the total number is small and it is difficult to discuss the question of influence from just a few quotations, there was possibly some relationship with the establishment of the 20th *kāṇḍa* of the AVP. Similarly, although the overall number is small, in MS I 4, the chapter of *yajamāna*, the influence of the AVP is slightly greater. MS I 4 is also presumed to have been composed in a later period.¹⁵

- 4) Rituals that are related to the AVŚ and AVP: MS I 8,8–9 expiatory rites (*prāyaścitti*) of the *agnihotra*, MS II 5 *kāmya-paśu*.

¹² See Amano (2020: 64).

¹³ See Amano (2014–2015: 1–36).

¹⁴ See Amano (2015: 1161–1167).

¹⁵ See Amano (2020: 64).

These chapters include only a few verse-like mantras and it is difficult to discuss relations of influence, but it is notable that they cite verses from both of AVŚ and AVP to the same extent. These chapters are considered to have been composed in a later period.¹⁶

Group II (MS II 7–IV):

The introduction of the agniciti to the Yajurvedic ritual description marks a major turning point in Vedic ritual. The extensive number of mantras for the agniciti (II 7–13) reflects the large scale of this ritual. In addition, the brāhmaṇa part of the agniciti (III 1–5) contains new stylistic and linguistic features that the third and fourth books have in common.¹⁷ It can be inferred that the mantras of the agniciti (MS II 7–13), sautrāmaṇī (MS III 11), aśvamedha (MS III 12–13 and 16), and pravargya (MS IV 9) were composed after most chapters in Group I. According to the agniciti, aśvamedha and pravargya citations, the AVP was well known, and more influential than the AVŚ (according to the agniciti 94 [+47] citations in the AVP, 41 [+56] citations in the AVŚ; according to III–IV total 29 [+37] in the AVP, 10 [+42] in the AVŚ). Given the significant increase in the number of citations, it seems that the RV, AVŚ and AVP were all better known to the authors of the chapters in Group II than to those in Group I. This is also evident from the fact that there are many sūkta citations in these chapters (see 4.3 above). However, there is no significant change (or a slight decrease) in the accuracy of the citations from the RV and AVŚ (of all RV citations in MS II 7–IV 9 51 % are accurate, of all AVŚ citations 13 % are accurate).

A closer examination of the agniciti mantras (MS II 7–13) reveals that each chapter has its peculiarity. MS II 7 and II 10 contain a large number of RV citations, whereas MS II 8 and II 11 are chapters of non-verse mantras (yajus). MS II 9 is an additional chapter mentioning many Hindu gods' names;¹⁸ this chapter contains many AVP verses. MS II 12 is also an Atharvaveda-oriented chapter, containing 11 verses from the AVŚ and 18 from the AVP (and 2 from the RV; see Table 1). In all, the AVP has a closer connection with the agniciti of the MS than does the AVŚ.

MS II 13, the last of the agniciti mantras, probably a later addition, contains many sets of two or three verses from different maṇḍalas of the RV and the 20th kāṇḍa of the AVŚ (see 4.3). The 20th kāṇḍa of the AVŚ probably borrowed verses

¹⁶ MS II 5 belongs to a younger linguistic layer; see Amano (2016b), 480–483 and 487. MS I 8,8–9, the expiatory rites of the agnihotra, were added to the main part of the agnihotra chapter (I 8,1–5) in a later period.

¹⁷ See Amano, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ See Amano (2016a: 36 with n. 8).

from different maṇḍalas of the RV for use in the agniciti ritual, and this influenced the composition of agniciti mantras in MS II 13. All these verses show remarkable conformity between RV, AVŚ, and MS versions. The method of combining three verses (ṛcas) for reciting and learning probably brought about such accuracy.

Although Group II generally shows a connection with the AV, a large part of the sautrāmaṇī (MS III 11) and the aśvamedha mantras (MS III 12–13) were original to the Yajurveda.

MS III 16, the additional part of the aśvamedha mantras, contains some very large and accurate sūkta citations from the RV (see 4.3 as well as Table 1 and 2). Similar to MS II 13, this chapter belongs to authors with a good knowledge of the RV. In MS III 16, the AVP is better known to the authors than is the AVŚ.

7 Conclusion: The Atharvaveda Viewed from the Study of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

Verses of the Atharvaveda were known to the Maitrāyaṇī priests from the initial period when they were composing their early mantras, but much less than the RV. The Śaunaka Atharvaveda was related to the soma ritual and the expiatory rites in the MS. Except for these chapters, or after these chapters, the Paippalāda Atharvaveda seems to have come into closer contact with the Maitrāyaṇī priests than the Śaunaka.

At the time of the introduction of the agniciti into Yajurvedic ritual, all three schools of RV/AVŚ/AVP were known to or connected with the Yajurvedins. RV/AV verses became better known in the form of sūkta. During the composition of the MS, the Maitrāyaṇīyas knew the RV more accurately than the AV. This is probably because a good learning system for the RV had been developed, and the AV had not yet been fully canonized and was less widespread.

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Thomas Zehnder

Quotations from the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya

Abstract: In this article, a systematic search for the Vedic quotations found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is conducted in the text of the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS). This endeavour seemed promising as Wilhelm Rau had only a small part of the PS at his disposal in his classical study of this topic (published 1985), whereas now this text – as transmitted in Odisha – has been edited in its entirety and is available in electronic form. As a result of my analysis, the source of quite a few of the 275 untraced Vedic quotations in the *Mahābhāṣya* that are listed by Rau is identified. In passing, English translations are provided for all passages discussed.

1 Introduction

1.1 My original motive for looking more closely at the Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya was the hope that one or other improvement of the text of the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS) might result from it.¹ This hope was fuelled by a handful of well-known cases where a correction in a PS passage actually emerged from its being quoted in the Mahābhāṣya. One such case is PS 2.87.1a, where the Mahābhāṣya quotation *manāyayi tantuḥ* (R491) was crucial for the restoration of the dative **manāyayi* 'for Manāyī' from the PS readings Odisha *manāyai* and Kashmir *manāyī* (see Rau 1985a: 162; Zehnder 1999: 189).

1.2 It is to Wilhelm Rau's great credit that the Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya are readily accessible to people less familiar with this complex subject. Without his extensive collection of the relevant material (= Rau 1985), it would have been very difficult to conduct an investigation like the one that follows here.² Rau also took great efforts to trace the sources of the collected quotations in the extant Vedic corpus, which was an arduous task in his time as there were hardly any relevant

1 The research on which this article is based was conducted within the framework of the Zurich Paippalāda project (www.atharvavedapaippalada.uzh.ch). I would like to thank my colleagues Robert Leach and Oliver Hellwig as well as the project directors Paul Widmer and Angelika Malinar for their support.

2 This was anticipated by Etter (1987: 438) in her recension of Rau (1985): "ein Werk, das . . . insbesondere auch dem Vedisten den nicht immer einfachen Umgang mit dem *Mahābhāṣya* erleichtert."

texts available in electronic form. Another drawback for Vedic studies in Rau's time was that the PS, apart from kāṇḍas 1–4, was only available in the mutilated form in which it survives in the Kashmirian manuscript (K). In the case of the Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya, this is particularly grievous because there is a special connection between these two texts,³ i.e. the PS – along with the Rigveda and the Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā – is quoted particularly often in the Mahābhāṣya.

1.3 In the meantime, the situation has changed substantially. Not only are the majority of Vedic texts now available in electronic form, making the tracking down of Vedic passages much easier and faster, but the discovery of the Odishan transmission has also presented us with a much more reliable and more complete text of the PS. Under these circumstances, it appeared promising to search again for the quotations not traced by Rau, not least because an – albeit provisional – electronic text of the PS has recently become available (see Griffiths et al. 2020). Although this e-text of the PS in its present state is far from being definitive, as for long stretches it simply reproduces what Bhattacharya (1997–2016) edited, and as it contains innumerable typos and wrong word divisions, it is an invaluable tool for Vedic studies.

2 Untraced Vedic Quotations in the Mahābhāṣya

2.1 Rau (1985: 8–78) lists a total of 763 Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya. Of these, 275 are labelled with the symbol (/) which indicates that he considers the quotation in question to be untraceable in the surviving Vedic texts (Rau 1985: 6, point 4c). These 275 items are listed in the following table (other than in this table, Rau's consecutive numbers are prefixed by an R in this article). Bold type indicates that the item is mentioned in the present article and that, in my opinion, it is no longer to be regarded as an untraced Vedic quotation.

003, 008, 015, 016, **021**, 022, 027, 037, 043, 044, 046, 055, 057, 059, **061**, 062, 067, 070, 071, 072, 076, 080, 081, 082, 083, 086, 089, 090, 091, **093**, 095, **096**, 098, 099, 100, 105, 107, 109, **113**, 124, 126, **128**, 130, 132, 134, 137, 139, 145, 146, 147, **148**, 149, 150, **152**, **157**, 165, **168**, 169, 170, 173, 176, 178, 179, 188, **189**, **192**, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 201, 203, 211, 212, 216, 218, 219, 230, 232, 233, 234, **235**, **237**, 238, 242, 247, 258, 259, 261, 263, **265**, 267, 268, 269, 270, 275, 278, 279, 281, 284, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295, **296**, 297, 298, 302, 306, 307, 313, 319, 323, 324, 327, 329, 331, 340, 341, 352, 366, 367, 371, 375, 377, **387**, 388, **389**, 391, 392, 395, 399, 404, 409, 411, 422, 423, 425, **426**, 428, **431**, 436, 440, 445, 446, 449, 453, **454**, 456, 465, 467, 474, 476, 477, 478, **482**, **484**, 486, 488, 489, 490, **494**, 497, 499, 503, 504, **505**, **508**, **509**, 510, 511, 512, 515, 518, 519, 522,

³ See e.g. Rau (1985: 103) and Griffiths (2009: XL).

527, 530, 534, 535, 537, 538, 545, **546**, 551, 552, 557, **558**, 559, 568, **569**, **571**, 576, 579, 581, 582, **586**, 589, 590, 591, **595**, 597, 598, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 616, 617, **618**, 619, **624**, 628, 631, 632, **633**, 635, **637**, 644, 645, 648, 650, 652, 654, **659**, 660, 664, **667**, 669, 671, 672, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 680, 681, 682b, 685, 688, 691, 694, 697, 698, 699, 700, 705, **707**, 720, 721, 722, 725, 729, 730, 732, 733, 735, 739, **740**, 741, 743, 748, 750, **751**, 753, 754, 757, **760**, 761

This list comprises quite a few cases where Rau applies his sign (/) even though he knows and indicates the probable source. He follows the policy of considering the identity of the source as not certain if there is even a minimal difference between it and the quotation. With a less rigorous approach, as endorsed by authors such as Renou (1953; see §4.4. below) and Witzel (1986), as well as in statements by Rau himself,⁴ the number of untraced sources will be significantly reduced.

2.2 The following items (1) to (14) and (16) to (17) are instances of such an approximate but hardly doubtful equation that involve the PS. Interspersed in this material is item (15) R637 concerning the Yajurveda, that I came across in passing.

- (1) R061 *apsucaro gahvareṣṭhāḥ* vs. PS 16.73.1c *apsucarā gahvareṣṭhā mahitvā* ‘[the body (*tanūḥ*) . . .] that moves among the waters, that rests in the deepest abyss, by its greatness’.

Rau (1985: 13) states: “M[ahā]bh[āṣya] wohl hiernach zu berichtigen.” On page 100 he adds a reference to Limaye (1974: 544; “So schon Limaye, stillschweigend”).

- (2) R113 *ātmana eva nirmimīṣva iti* vs. PS 5.11.8 *ātmana enaṁ nir *mimīṣva* ‘create him (your future son) from yourself’.

As noted by Lubotsky (2002: 66), the Mahābhāṣya confirms the emendation **mimīṣva* proposed by Barret (1917: 272) for K *mamīṣva*, which is also the reading of the Odishan manuscripts. Barret does not seem to have known the Mahābhāṣya quotation.

- (3) R152 *imāny arvaṇaḥ padāni* vs. PS 16.15.7c (~ ŚS 10.4.7c) *imāny arvataḥ padā* ‘these are the footprints of the . . . horse’.

In light of the relevant passage of the Aṣṭādhyāyī (6.4.127–128), which deals with the distribution of the stems *arvan-* and *arvant-*, the Mahābhāṣya reading *arvaṇaḥ*

⁴ See e.g. Rau (1985: 101): “Dieser Befund erweist die Überlieferung des Mahābhāṣya als keineswegs tadellos.”

seems out of place. Moreover, as Wackernagel (1942: 180–181) notes, an *n*-stem genitive *arvaṇaḥ* would contradict the evidence of the attested texts.

- (4) R157 *īhaiva bhava mā sma gāḥ* vs. PS 9.13.1c (~ ŚS 5.30.1c) **īhaiva bhava mā nu gāḥ* ‘Remain right here, do not leave!’

In the Candravṛtti we find the Vedic quotation *īhaiva tiṣṭha mā gāḥ*, which probably also echoes the PS passage (differently Rau 1996: 329: “nur ähnlich”).

- (5) R199 *karmaṣaṁ kalmaṣaṁ* E – *kalmaṣaṁ karmaṣaṁ* B vs. PS 19.26.14c *anusyandasya kalmaṣam* ‘a stain of the hind wheel?’ and KS^p 19.1:1.10: *tat kalmaṣam abhavat* ‘that became a stain’.

The sources of one-word quotations are, by their very nature, not readily identifiable. The *r*-variant *karmaṣa-* remains untraced.

- (6) R296 *tena mā bhāginam kṛṇuhi* vs. ŚS 6.129.2c (*yéna . . .*) *téna mā bhāginam kṛṇu* ‘with that make me fortunate’.

In this case, the source can be identified with good probability as the quoted Śaunaka pāda, since the Paippalāda parallel deviates: PS 19.32.3c (*yathā . . .*) *evā mā bhāginam kṛṇu* ‘so make me fortunate’.

- (7) R431 *peciran* vs. PS 9.18.6d (~ ŚS 5.18.11) (*ye . . .*) *apeciran* ‘[who] had cooked’.

The preterite of the perfect found in the Atharvaveda is certainly correct, as is also evident from the metre.

- (8) R494 *marud asya grabhītā* vs. PS 1.17.2b *parur asya grabhītā* ‘[who has seized] the joint of this one here as a seizer’ (~ ŚS 1.12.2d *pārvāsyā grābhītā*).

Wackernagel (1942: 181–182), who knows only the ŚS and not the PS version, doubts that there is a relationship between the Atharvaveda and the Mahābhāṣya at this passage. However, a replacement of *parur* by *marud* lies within the range of what we might expect for the transmission of the latter text (thus also Rau 1985: 101).

- (9) R505 *mātaram pramiṇīmi janitrīm* vs. ŚS 6.110.3d *mā mātaram prā minīj janitrīm* ‘do not let him ruin his mother who has given birth to him’ ~ PS 19.21.13d *mā mātaram pra *minīd yā janitrī* (**minīd* emendation by Bhattacharya 2016:

1474; the Odishan manuscripts have the second person *minīr*, while the pāda is lost in K).

In this case, the Mahābhāṣya apparently quotes the Śaunaka version. The possibility that the relative clause PS *yā janitrī* is a secondary replacement for the accusative *janitrīm* found in the ŚS and the Mahābhāṣya is less obvious because the PS version is metrically preferable.

- (10) R508 *mādbhir iṣtvā indro vṛtrahā* vs. PS 10.7.2c *mādbhiṣ tvā candro vṛtrahā* ‘Let the moon, the slayer of Vṛtra, [protect you] with the months’ (~ ŚS 19.27.2c *mādbhyás tvā candró vṛtrahā*).

Here, Rau himself (1985: 54 and 101) recommends correcting the Mahābhāṣya (and the ŚS) text in accordance with the PS version.

- (11) R571 *yo mātṛhā pitṛhā bhrātṛhā* vs. PS 19.46.14ab *yo mātṛhā pitṛhā svasṛhā ye ca duṣkṛtaḥ* ‘he who is the murderer of his mother, the murderer of his father, the murderer of his sister, and [others] who are wrongdoers’.

It is highly probable that the Mahābhāṣya quotes the PS passage here. A substitution of ‘sister’ by ‘brother’ – or perhaps vice versa, if this happened during the transmission of the PS – is hardly surprising, especially since the family appears to be incomplete in both versions.

- (12) R586 *varuṇasya raghusyadaḥ* vs. PS 3.2.1a (~ ŚS 3.7.1a) *hariṇasya raghusyadaḥ* ‘of the swift-running antelope’.

Rau (1985: 62): “M[ahā]bh[āṣya] hiernach herzustellen.” *Varuṇasya* is an obvious lectio faciliior that makes no sense in the context (see Wackernagel 1942: 181).

- (13) R595 *vātā vāntu diśo daśa* vs. PS 5.7.9b (~ ŚS 4.15.8b) *vātā vāntu diśodiśaḥ* ‘let the winds blow from every region’.

- (14) R624 *sātadhāro ayaṁ maṇiḥ* vs. PS 2.27.5b (~ ŚS 19.36.5b) *sātavāro ayaṁ maṇiḥ* ‘this Śatavāra amulet here’.

Rau (1985: 65): “M[ahā]bh[āṣya] hiernach herzustellen.” In this case, the PS parallel could not be traced by Rau, since the relevant hemistich is lost in the Kashmirian manuscript and is therefore not included in the Vedic Word-Concordance (= Vishva Bandhu 1941–1963).

- (15) R637 *śivā udrasya bheṣajī* vs. VSM 16.49 (*yá te rudra śivá tanúḥ . . .*) *śivá rutásya bheṣajī* ‘[Your body, O Rudra, which is auspicious, . . .], auspicious and healing a crippled one’.

Rau (1985: 66) is content to quote merely the TS version of this widespread Yajurvedic Anuṣṭubh pāda (TS 4.5.10.1 *śivá rudrasya bheṣajī*). For details see Bloomfield and Edgerton (1932: 313, §684), who evaluate the variant readings of the second word as follows: “Original is certainly *rutasya . . . Rudrasya . . .* is an obvious lect[io] fac[ilior], and *ṛtasya . . .* is clearly a stupid change conditioned by the phonetic relations between *ṛ* and *ru*.” *Rutásya* is confirmed by RV 10.39.3d: *yuvām íd āhur bhiṣajā rutásya cit* ‘they say you (the Nāsatyas) are even healers of a crippled one’. And to *rudrasya* one might add that it is also a perseveration from pāda a (*yá te rudra śivá tanúḥ*). Since *udrasya* ‘of the otter’ is certainly out of the question, the Mahābhāṣya version can hardly be anything other than a corruption of *rudrasya* as found in the TS and as a variant reading for MS 2.9.9:127:11 *rutásya*. The absence of sandhi between *śivā* and *udrasya* is reminiscent of *ca udvatī* instead of *ca dudvatī* in (24) R168 below.

- (16) R667 *sanīrasaḥ* vs. PS 6.11.5d (~ ŚS 5.6.4d) *sanīraso nāmāsi* “you are called the slipping one” (translation by Griffiths 2009, 141).
- (17) R751 *hiranyayī no nayatu* – lies mit E B *hi^o naur abhavat* vs. PS 7.10.7a (~ ŚS 19.39.7a) *hiranyayī naur acarat* ‘a golden boat (i.e. the sun) moved [in the sky]’.

Given the variant reading *naur abhavat*, the identification of the PS pāda as the source of this quotation can hardly be doubted. See also Griffiths (2009: 358).

3 Newly Discovered Sources of Vedic Quotations in the Mahābhāṣya

In the course of my investigation, the Vedic source for the following among the 275 quotations mentioned in §2.1. above have come to light. This collection also features Vedic sources other than the PS.

- (18) R021 *aghnye dūram ut kanda* vs. PS 20.40.6a *aghnye dūram *ut kanda* ‘O cow, jump up into the distance!’

The reference to the Mahābhāṣya is already given by Bhattacharya (2016: 1722) in his apparatus. Unlike me, he does not consider correcting the reading *dūramūt*,

duramūt of the Odishan manuscripts to *dūram *ut* following Patañjali. Note that the whole sūkta PS 20.40 is not found in the Kashmirian manuscript. The immediately following pāda, PS 20.40.6b *ni padaś caturo jahi* 'Put your four legs [firmly] on the ground!', is quoted in the Kāśikāvṛtti (see Rau 1993: 57, R0615).

- (19) R093 *ahām dyāvāpṛthivī ā tatāna* vs. PS 18.59.7d *prati dyāvāpṛthivī ā tatāna* and PS 18.59.8d *anu dyāvāpṛthivī ā tatāna* 'he (Agni) has stretched sky and earth'.

Here the two PS pādas cannot be regarded as the direct source of the Mahābhāṣya quotation, which looks rather like a blend of the PS passage and of RV 10.125.6d (*ahām rudrāya dhānur ā tanomi . . . | . . .*) *ahām dyāvāpṛthivī ā viveśa* quoted by Rau (1985: 16).

- (20) R096 *aharahar nayamāno gām aśvam puruṣam paśum | vaivasvato na tṛpyati surayā iva durmadī* || vs. Mānava-Śrautasūtra 6.1.2.26 (text after van Gelder 1961: 144, line 15–16): *aharahar nayamāno gā aśvān puruṣān paśūn | vaivasvato na tṛpyati surayā iva durmadaḥ* || 'Although he carries away cows, horses, people and cattle day after day, [Yama] Vaivasvata is not satisfied, just as one drunk on surā (a strong drink).'

When comparing the two versions, we note that the genitive/ablative *surāyāḥ* of the Mahābhāṣya is preferable to the instrumental *surayā* found in the MānŚS, not least because no sandhi is applied between *surayā* and *iva* in the latter case. The word *durmadin-* that the Mahābhāṣya shows in place of MānŚS *durmada-* 'intoxicated, drunk' seems to be a hapax legomenon. It is uncertain whether we would be justified in attributing it to the Vedic language.

- (21) R128 *ā revān etu no viśaḥ* vs. PS 1.71.3b *ā *revāṁ etu no *viśam* 'let the splendid one come to our clan'. The Kāśikāvṛtti also quotes this pāda twice, once as *ā revān etu no viśaḥ* and once as *ā revān etu mā viśat* (see Rau 1993: 25, R0215 and R0216).

Here the Mahābhāṣya confirms the emendation **revāṁ* [**revān*] that we (see Zehnder, Hellwig and Leach, 'Paippalāda-Saṁhitā, Online Edition' at PS 1.71.3) had already established for the readings Odisha *revāny* and Kashmir *revāṅg*, before we came across this quotation. The Mahābhāṣya has the plural *viśaḥ* 'to [our] clans' instead of the singular PS **viśam*.

- (22) R148 *indro nas tena neṣatu* vs. PS 19.34.15ab *indro mā tena nayatu panthā yo abhayaḥ sugaḥ* 'Let Indra lead me along that path that is safe and easy.'

The imperative form *neṣatu* found in the Mahābhāṣya could be paradigmatically associated with *neṣa*, a second person singular imperative that is attested here and there in the Atharvaveda (see Narten 1964: 163, “thematische Umbiegung” of *neṣi*; Spiers 2020: 416). Is PS *nayatu* perhaps a secondary lectio faciliior for *neṣatu*? At PS 1.50.2 the subjunctive present *nayāt* and the subjunctive aorist *neṣan* are found in parallel position next to each other without an obvious semantic difference.

- (23) R150 *indro mā vakṣat* vs. PS 19.34.14a *indro mā vakṣad akṣatam* ‘Indra will convey me uninjured.’
- (24) R168 *udvā ca udvatī ca* vs. PS 1.86.5a *dudvā ca dudvatī ca sthaḥ* ‘You are Dudvā and Dudvatī.’

There is little doubt that this Mahābhāṣya quotation reflects the PS pāda, which mentions the names of two individual Kaṇvās (certain female demons). Note the absence of sandhi in *ca udvatī*, apparently due to the fact that the name was once *dudvatī*.

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| (25) R192 | <i>o ṣu yātam̄ bṛhatī śakvarī ca</i> |
| PS 15.1.9c | <i>oṣajātām̄ bṛhatī ca śakvarī</i> |
| | ‘the . . . (<i>oṣajātām̄</i>) and great Śakvarī metre’ |
| MS 3.16.4:189.1 | <i>avasyuvātā bṛhatī ná śakvarī</i> |
| KS 22.14:70.12 | <i>avasyuvātā bṛhatī na śakvarī</i> |
| TS 4.4.12.3–4 | <i>avasyuvātāḥ // bṛhatīr nū śakvarīḥ</i> |
| ĀśvŚS 4.12.2:332.10 | <i>avasyuvātā bṛhatī tu śakvarī</i> |

This is a tricky case, at least if our assumption is correct that the quotation indeed refers to the sources listed, and here in particular to the PS. This is the premise for the following, somewhat speculative considerations. The unanimous reading *oṣajātām̄* of the PS manuscripts (including K) is difficult to make sense of and must be considered a corruption. Lelli (2020: 48–49) proposes the tentative emendation **oṣavātā* “having quick wind”. The Mahābhāṣya quotation does not solve this text-critical problem right away. Nevertheless, the vowel *u* that it displays in *oṣuyātām̄* favours the restoration **avasyuvātā* ‘with supportive winds’ (nominative singular feminine) for the PS – following the other parallel texts – over Lelli’s proposal. This would imply that the PS text had already suffered a considerable disfigurement of the original text (**avasyuvātā* > **oṣuyātām̄*?) by Patañjali’s time.⁵

⁵ That is, probably in the middle of the second century BCE (see Cardona 1976: 263–266).

However, it is now the case that in the text of the Mahābhāṣya quotation R192 immediately follows R193 *o ṣu yātām marutaḥ*, so that it must be evaluated together with this untraced passage. Since the pertinent sūtra of the Aṣṭādhyāyī (1.1.15) deals with particles ending in *-o* and given the fact that R193 resembles RV 1.165.14c *ó śú vartta marutaḥ* (see Renou 1953: 453; Rau 1985: 26), it would seem that R192 is also considered by the Mahābhāṣya to contain the particle chain *ó śú [á u sú]*. The matter is complicated by the fact that the imperative dual *ā . . . yātām* 'come here!' does not fit the context in either R192 or R193. As Rau (1985: 101, fn. 1) notes, Patañjali very rarely errs in his interpretation of Vedic words. Can we think him capable of having reinterpreted a vox nihili like PS **oṣuyātām* into *o ṣu yātām*? And would he have inverted the word order from *bṛhatī ca śakvarī* to *bṛhatī śakvarī ca* in order to make the two nouns (nomina) more compatible with the dual verb form? But why then didn't he change the nominatives into vocatives? Did he perhaps have in mind the imperative dual of the third person *yātām*, that is even closer to the hypothetical starting point PS **oṣuyātām*? Once invented, the verb *yātām* could replace RV *vartta* in R193 in the course of the transmission of the Mahābhāṣya.

While an overall view of the various parallel texts suggests that the Mahābhāṣya changed the order of the last three words of this quotation, there is no agreement as to which monosyllabic word is involved here. Mahābhāṣya *ca* supports to some extent Lelli's (2020, 49) choice to adopt the reading *ca* of the Odishan manuscripts in the PS text. Note, however, that both the Kashmirian manuscript of the PS and ĀśvŚŚ 4.12.2 have *tu* 'then, but' (German 'doch') instead, which Bhattacharya (1997, 796) prefers.

- (26) R237 *gā vo neṣṭāt* vs. ĀpŚŚ 11.19.8 *gnāvo neṣṭrād iti neṣṭāram* '[He calls] the neṣṭar priest with the words: "O you, who are accompanied by the wives of the gods, [drink] from the cup of the neṣṭar!"'. See also BaudhŚŚ 7.9:214.16, KātyŚŚ 9.8.13, and MānŚŚ^m 2.3.6.17 (*gnāvo neṣṭrīyo neṣṭrād iti neṣṭāram*).

The actual source of this Mahābhāṣya quotation might be RVKh 5.7.5c, where *grāvo neṣṭrāt* as printed by Scheftelowitz (1906: 148) and Bhise (1995: 208) probably should be corrected to *gnāvo neṣṭrāt*. Ultimately, the wording of this piece of text depends on RV 1.15.3b: *gnāvo neṣṭaḥ pība ṛtúnā* 'O you, who are accompanied by the wives of the gods, O neṣṭar, drink at the right time!'

- (27) R387 *pativatī taruṇavatsā* (and R388 *pativatnī taruṇavatsā*) vs. PS 14.2.7c *antarvatīs taruṇavatsā gṛhṭācīḥ* '[the waters,] pregnant, having a young calf, dripping with ghee'.

At first glance, it might seem unlikely that the quoted PS pāda is really the source of this quotation. On the other hand, the bahuvrīhi *taruṇavatsa-* is a hapax legome-

nenon, and, more importantly, the relevant Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra (4.1.32 *antarvatpativator nuk*) deals with the motion (motio generis) of the two adjectives *antárvant-* ‘pregnant’ and *pátivant-* ‘having a husband, married, замуж’. In light of this, one could suspect that someone mixed up the two adjectives and placed the wrong one into the quotation. For the analogical feminine forms with additional *-n-* described by Pāṇini, see Debrunner (1954: 414–415). *Antárvatnī-* is, among other places, attested at MS^m 4.2.9:31.2 and quoted at Mahābhāṣya R698 (*sāntarvatnī devān upait* ‘pregnant, she approached the gods’), while *pativatnī-* is now found three times in the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS 2.66.5d, PS 8.10.10c and PS 18.10.3a).

- (28) R426 *pūrvyā viduḥ* vs. PS 11.3.6d *brahmāṇaḥ pūrvyā viduḥ* ‘the ancient brahmans know [you]’ (~ ŚS 19.34.6d *brāhmaṇāḥ pūrvyā viduḥ*).

The correction of the Mahābhāṣya text *pūrvyā viśaḥ* (thus Rau 1985: 47) to *pūrvyā viduḥ* and the identification with the Atharvaveda passage follow Rau (1993: 114). Rau does not make an analogous correction for R423 *pūrvā viśaḥ* ‘the former clans’, which I could not trace.

- (29) R439a *praṇaḥ sūdrah praṇa ācāryaḥ praṇo rājā praṇo vṛtrahā* vs. PS 19.38.15ab *praṇaḥ sūdra utāryaḥ praṇo rājota vṛtrahā* ‘Let the sūdra and the ārya and the chieftain, the slayer of Vṛtra, [. . . hand over our sacrificial fee] to us.’

This quotation is added⁶ to the relevant material by Rau (1987: 195): “Ohne Zweifel ist der Text des Mahābhāṣya an der ausgehobenen Stelle korrupt und nach AV(P) herzustellen.” This case is not included in the list in §2.1. above, as it does not appear in Rau (1985), to which this list refers.

- (30) R454 *pravaṇe yaṣṭavyam* vs. MS^p 1.10.7:147.13 *pravaṇé yaṣṭavyām* ‘one should sacrifice on a slope’ (~ KS 36.2:69.15 *pravaṇe yajeta* ‘may he sacrifice on a slope’).

The source of this quotation is discovered by Rau (1993: 114).

- (31) R482 *maghavā dātu maghavā dadātu* vs. AB^m 7.21.2 *punar na indro maghavā dadātu | brahma punar iṣtaṁ pūrtaṁ dāt svāheti* ‘Let Indra, the bounteous one, give [them] back to us. He shall give [us] back the poetic formulation and

⁶ It is already included by Renou (1953: 440) in his study of the Vedic elements in Patañjali. Renou also provides the source in kāṇḍa 19 of the PS.

the merit acquired through worship and donations. Svāhā!' The pāda *punar na indro maghavā dadātu* is also found at TB 2.5.3.1 and ĀśvŚS 2.10.16.

The first variant quoted by the Mahābhāṣya with the imperative aorist (*maghavā dātu*) remains untraced – unless *dātu* ultimately represents the injunctive aorist *dāt* which immediately follows in the text of the Aitareya-Brahmaṇa.

- (32) R484 *mañivaḥ hiranyavaḥ* vs. ŚS 20.128.6b, 7ab (~ RVKh 5.13.1b, 2b) *āmañivó áhiranyávaḥ*... | ... *súmañiḥ súhiranyávaḥ* '[He who ...] wears no amulets and no gold [jewellery] ... [He who ...] wears fine amulets and fine gold [jewellery]'. Rau (1985: 52) refers to ŚāṅkhŚS 12.21.1–2, where these two stanzas also occur.

Roth and Whitney (1856: 447) change the Śaunaka text at 6b to *amañír áhiranyavān*. Although this would rectify the metre and although *amañiḥ* is supported by the following *sumañiḥ*, these conjectures are scarcely justified. Patañjali, in fact, cites the two words as further examples for the suffix *-vá-* as contained in *keśavá-* 'long-haired', which confirms their interpretation as possessive *va-*adjectives *°mañiva-* and *°hiranyava-* (see Debrunner 1954: 868, §701a).

- (33) R509 *mādhyarindina udgāyati* vs. PS 16.115.2c (~ ŚS 9.6.46c) *madhyandina udgāyati* 'noon strikes up a tune'.

- (34) R558 **yāvad asty atraiṣaḥ saro janebhyaḥ kṛṇavat** – verderbt. 8,1,30 [375,6: *yāvad asty atraiṣaḥ* (?) G A; a *yāvaṁtas ta uṣaḥ traiyaḥ* altered to *yāvaddattātreyah*; E g B *yāvad asya* (or *spa?*)*nnaṣaḥ*; D *yāvad asya traiṣaḥ*] = 8,1,66 [379,8: *yāvad asty atraiṣaḥ* (?); G *yāvad asty annai(?)ṣaḥ*; A *yavadasta-ṣaḥ*; altered to *yāvadastyatraiṣaḥ*; a *yāvad asta oṣaḥ*; D *yāvadamah uṣa*; E *yāvad asya ukah* (?) altered to *yāvad asya ūṣaḥ*; g B *yāvad asya uṣaḥ*; for *saro* G A have *śaro*; for *kṛṇavat* G has *kṛṇuyāt*, A *kṛṇuvat* altered to *kṛṇuyāt*, B *kṛpāvat*]: (/) vs. ...

PS 3.40.3 *yāvad oṣaḥ śaro astvo janebhyaḥ kṛṇavad bhayam* |

tāvad oṣas tvaṁ tejana tyajanaṁ bhavatād iha ||

"As much as the reed, a burning projectile, makes people afraid, so let you, Shaft, burning, be renunciation here" (text and tentative translation by Spiers 2020: 591).

Although the details are far from clear, this is likely to be a quotation of the first hemistich of stanza PS 3.40.4 in a disfigured shape. As much as I feel the PS text might need correction here, the main stumbling block being the twice-occurring *oṣaḥ*, the Mahābhāṣya does not immediately help. Pāda c is vaguely reminiscent of RV 5.79.10a *etāvad véd uṣas tvām* 'That much or [even more], O Uṣas, you [might give].'

The fact that Patañjali gives this example under an Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra (8.1.66) dealing with the accentuation of finite verbs (see Renou 1953: 451) suggests that the accents were still preserved in the PS at his time – an observation that is not surprising.

- (35) R618 *vṛṣā sahamānaṁ sāsahih* [*vṛṣā samastu sāsahih*] vs. RV 9.4.8b *rayīm samātsu sāsahih* ‘[flow] towards wealth, victorious in contests’ ~ SVK 2.404b *vājim̐t samatsu sāsahih* vs. . . . SVK 2.910b *yenā samatsu sāsahih* (~ RV 8.19.20b *yēnā samātsu sāsahāḥ*).

Vṛṣā samastu sāsahih is a variant reading of the Mahābhāṣya (see Rau 1985: 65). Assuming that *samastu* is a transmission error for *samatsu*, we may adduce the sources mentioned above rather than PS 18.54.1a–4a (PSK 18.30.1a–3a; ~ ŚS 17.1.1a–5a) *viśāsaḥim sahamānaṁ sāsahānam*, as Rau does following Wackernagel (1942: 181; “erinnert entfernt an”). Note that *sahamānaṁ* is also suspicious because of the lack of case agreement between it and *vṛṣā* and *sāsahih*. The word *vṛṣā* ‘bull’ at the beginning of the Mahābhāṣya version might be attributed to an influence from RV 8.15.4b *vṛṣaṇam pṛtsú sāsahim* ‘a victorious bull in battles’ and/or RV 5.33.4d *vṛṣā samātsu dāsāsya nāma cit* ‘the bull [has carved out] even the name of the Dāsa in contests’.

- (36) R633 *śarāve bapsati caruḥ* vs. PS 6.8.5d *śarkarā bapsati cara* “go . . . chewing on gravel” (translation by Griffiths 2009: 103).

This instance, which involves considerable differences between the source and the quotation, is identified by Griffiths (2009: 103). It follows that the verb form in question is not the third person plural present *bapsati* ‘they chew’ (as attested at RV 9.79.4c), but the associated participle in the feminine *bāpsati-* (as attested at RV 10.79.1d). Rau’s (1985: 100) attempt to understand *śarāve bapsati carum* as “In einem Teller essen sie den Brei” must be considered outdated.

- (37) R659 *sa ca na marati* vs. PS 4.19.1d–7d *sa cana marati mā vayan̐ marāma* ‘He will surely not die. Do not let us die!’

This PS pāda is a variant of RV 1.91.11c *só cin nú ná marāti nó vayām marāma* quoted by Rau (1985, 68). It is noticeable that the Kashmirian PS manuscript shares the hyper-marked (long-vowel) subjunctive aorist form *marāti* with the Rīgveda, whereas the Odishan PS transmission and the Mahābhāṣya quotation agree in

having the regular subjunctive *marati*. In view of this distribution, *K marāti* might be attributed to influence from the Kashmirian RV tradition on this manuscript.

(38) R707 *supathintaraḥ* vs. RV 9.107.2b *surabhintaraḥ* ‘very fragrant’.

Even if this cannot be proven unequivocally, it seems reasonable to assume that the Rigvedic word given is the source of this quotation.

(39) R740 *svarge loke ʼpsarasa enaṁ jāyā bhūtvopaśerata iti* vs. PS 6.22.13ab *svarge loke apsarasa *enāñ jāyā bhūtvopaśerate* ‘As wives, do the Apsarases lie down in the heavenly world with them [who cook . . .].’ (text and translation by Griffiths 2009, 245).

The Mahābhāṣya does not confirm Griffiths’ (2009, 245) emendation **enāñ* ‘them’, but shares the reading *enaṁ* ‘him’ found in the PS manuscripts, both those from Odisha and the one from Kashmir. The singular is also favoured by the Yajurvedic prose versions quoted by Rau (1985, 76), i.e. KS^p 21.2:39.8 *apsarsaḥ . . . patnyo bhūtvā . . . yajamānam upa śerate* ‘the Apsarases . . . having become his wives . . . lie down with the sacrificer’ and TS^p 5.3.7.2 *apsarāsa evānam . . . ūpa śere* ‘the Apsarases . . . lie down with him’.

(40) R760 *hradayā āpaḥ* vs. PS 15.15.5a *āpo *hradyāḥ* ‘the waters of the lake’. The emendation **hradyāḥ* for Odisha *ḥṛdyāḥ*, Kashmir *dadyās* is proposed by Lelli (2020: 179).

Whether this PS passage – despite the reverse word order – is indeed the source of the Mahābhāṣya quotation is debatable. In any case, it is likely that the same noun phrase is present in both instances. With regard to the relational adjective, PS **hradya-* is the expected form (base *hradá-* m.), whereas Mahābhāṣya *hradayya-* seems to be influenced by *ḥṛdayā-* ‘of the heart’ attested at e.g. PS 2.90.1b (base *ḥṛdaya-* n.).

4 Conclusions

4.1 In the previous chapter, a fair amount of new sources were added to Rau’s collection, namely the 22 cases dealt with in (18) to (40), not counting (29) R439a. In 15 of these instances, the source was discovered in the PS.

As for possible improvements of the PS text resulting from quotations in the Mahābhāṣya, it must be admitted that the harvest is modest.⁷ Our material includes just six cases with at least potential relevance:

- (18) R021, PS 20.40.6a (25) R192, PS 15.1.9c
 (21) R128, PS 1.71.3b (34) R558, PS 3.40.3ab
 (22) R148, PS 19.34.15a (39) R740, PS 6.22.13b

4.2 Let us now briefly consider to what extent the ratio of untraced sources of the Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya may allow us to estimate how much Vedic text has been lost since Patañjali's time. This question is raised by Rau for the analogous situation of the Kāśikāvṛtti:

- (41) “Von den knapp 1200 Zitaten sind über ein Drittel in unseren vedischen Texten nicht nachzuweisen. . . . Darf man daraus schließen, daß ebenso viel von ihnen seit dem 7. Jh. n. Chr. verlorengegangen ist?” (Rau 1993: 108).

In the case of the Mahābhāṣya, Rau's figures would have been 275 out of the total of 763 quotations, i.e. 36 % or approximately the same as the third he notes for the Kāśikāvṛtti. My own update of this count reduces the 275 untraced items by the 16 cases listed in §2.2. (not counting (5) R199) and the 22 cases listed in chapter 3. to 237 (31 %).

4.3 The reasons why we cannot trace a considerable number of the quotations from the Mahābhāṣya in the Vedic texts available to us may be manifold. They start with the fact that it is not always so easy to tell what should be considered as Vedic in the Mahābhāṣya. For example, Rau's (1985: 60) R569 *yo jajāgāra* . . . , an apparent mantra variant of R570 *yó jāgāra* . . . 'he who is awake' (= RV 5.44.14a), is commented on by Renou (1953, 448) with “le fictif *jajāgāra* . . . sans mention védique”. While *jajāgāra* is actually attested in the epics (Mahābhārata 1.138.31), there is little to suggest that such a secondary perfect was part of the Vedic grammatical system.

4.4 However, for those working on the basis of Rau (1985), the most significant reduction in untraced quotations results from the less rigorous approach to identifying a Vedic source that I applied to the quotations from the PS in §2.2. above. This view, that the quotations in the Mahābhāṣya are very often approximate, is espoused by Renou in particular:

⁷ This result is in line with Rau's findings (1985: 102): “Textverbesserungen zu vedischen Werken: Hier ist die aus dem Mahābhāṣya zu gewinnende Beute gering.”

- (42) “. . . il faut relever encore que les citations védiques du Bhāṣya sont, plus d'une fois, approximatives . . . ; il y a peu de vraisemblance que P[a]t[āñjali] ait puisé à quelque recension perdue.” (Renou 1953: 430).

Rau's approach, on the other hand, seems to be overcautious in most cases. The following example is found in the Paspasā (10.2), Patañjali's introduction to his magnum opus:

- (43) R546 *vede | yad vo revatī revatyam tad ūṣa . . . iti* vs. KS^m 1.8:4.3 *yad vo revatī revatyam* ‘the abundant [thing] that you have, O bountiful ones’ and RV 4.51.4d *saptāsyē revatī revād ūṣā* ‘[the course on which] you, O bountiful ones (i.e. the Dawns), have become abundantly bright [at . . . and] at the seven-mouthed one’.

I am inclined to agree with Renou (1953, 428) when he describes this quotation as “. . . une contamination entre le début d'un *yajus* de la KS. et le *mantra* précité du RV.”, although it is not easy to assess at which stage this contamination occurred. In any case, Rau's (1985: 98) alternative suggestion to simply correct the text of the Paspasā to *vede | saptāsyē revatī revād ūṣa* does not seem to do justice to the situation.

4.5 In some cases, it looks as though the author of the Mahābhāṣya himself was careless with Vedic passages – abbreviated them as it were – because only a certain part was important to him in the particular context. Examples (44) and (45) are candidates for this:

- (44) R389 *patīmān iti* vs. KātyŚS^m 10.7.14 *bṛhaspatimān* ‘accompanied by Bṛhaspati’.

The long *ī* might be explained as a perseveration from the immediately preceding word *tviṣīmān* ‘vehement’.

- (45) R265 *jāye svo rohāvehi* vs. TS 1.7.9.1 *jāya éhi súvo rōhāva rōhāva hí súvaḥ* ‘[The sacrificer says:⁸] “O wife, come, let us ascend to the celestial light. [She

8 For the additions in this translation see ĀpŚS 18.5.9–10: *jāya ehīti yajamānaḥ patnīm āman-trayate rohāva hittarā praty āha*.

answers:] “Let us indeed ascend to the celestial light.” ~ KS 14.1:201.2 *pátnī́3 svò rohāvéhi svò rohāvéhi* ‘[The sacrificer says:] “O wife, let us ascend to the celestial light. Go!” [She answers:] “Let us ascend to the celestial light. Go!”’ See also MS 1.11.3:163.13, MānŚS 7.1.3.3 and others.

(46) R189 *ehi tvaṁ jāye svo rohāva – °rohāveti* E B

These two quotations are part of the dialogue between the sacrificer and his wife during the Yajurvedic ceremony of ascending the sacrificial post (see e.g. Amano 2009: 419–422). With (45), the Mahābhāṣya seems to have the TS version in mind, not only because it uses the word *jāyā-* to denote the wife (vs. KS *pátnī-*, the MS has no vocative here), but especially since it adduces this passage to illustrate the rule dealt with in Aṣṭādhyāyī 8.1.56, which states that finite verbs are accented when a particle like *hí* ‘for, indeed’ follows. However, the actual text of the Mahābhāṣya contradicts this connection, for it reads *rohāvehi* [*rohāva ihi*] as preserved in the KS and MS versions and thus does not contain the particle *hí*, as does the TS version. This conundrum might be solved by assuming that *rohāva hí* was secondarily changed to *rohāvehi* during the transmission of the Mahābhāṣya. Incidentally, the reading KS, MS *rohāvéhi* disproves Rau’s cautious proposal (1985: 32; “lies °rohāvaihi ?”) to restore *ehi* [*ā ihi*] ‘come here!’. Rather, we are dealing with *ihī* ‘go!’ (in the sense of German *Los!*).

4.6 Other discrepancies between the potential sources and the Mahābhāṣya are more likely to be due to changes during the transmission of the latter. The long list of suggestions for emending the Mahābhāṣya text drawn up by Rau (1985: 98–101) testifies to how common this is. And this list can easily be extended to include further material, see e.g. (26) R237 above. I am even inclined to add the following case here:

(47) R235 *gām ghnanti gām pra dīvyanti gām sabhāsadbhya upa haranti* vs. KS 8.7:90.10–11 *gām ghnanti tām vi dīvyante tām sabhāsadbhya upa haranti* ‘They slay the cow, they gamble her away, they bring her to those sitting in the assembly.’

Wackernagel (1942: 180) lists this passage under the heading “Sonst unbekannte Varianten zu vedischen Texten”, and Rau (1985: 29) applies his sign (/) for untraced quotations. However, it is certainly a bit of a stretch to suppose the former existence of an unknown recension that offers exactly the version found in the Mahābhāṣya.

4.7 All in all, the approximate third of the Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya for which we find no Vedic source, or only an imprecise one, is significantly reduced on

closer examination by a multitude of possible explanations. In my view, it becomes probable that a potential loss of Vedic texts since Patañjali's time is not a major factor here – that is, not now that the Paippalāda-Saṃhitā has been largely recovered.

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Shrikant Bahulkar

The Śaunaka and the Paippalāda Śākhās of the Atharvaveda

A Comparative Study of Their Domestic Rituals

Abstract: The Śaunaka and the Paippalāda are the only surviving schools of the Atharvaveda. There are a number of texts explaining in detail the domestic rituals of the Śaunaka; on the contrary, there are very few texts on the domestic rituals of the Paippalāda. The Śaunaka school spread over various parts of India and had a good textual tradition, beginning with the Kauśika-Sūtra of the Atharvaveda, a major Sūtra text, traditionally called a Saṃhitāvidhi, followed by an incomplete Bhāṣya, Paddhatis and Prayogas. However, there is hardly any living tradition of the Śaunakīyas performing these rituals at present, despite the fact that an attempt at the revival of the domestic rituals has been made by Raviśaṅkara Nāgara, the author of the Atharvavedaprayogabhānu, a Prayoga text from Gujarat. The Paippalādins, now found only in Odisha, have a living tradition but a limited number of texts on domestic rituals. They still perform certain domestic rituals with the help of their Saṃhitā and priestly manuals. A critical edition of the Karmapañjikā, edited by Arlo Griffiths and Shilpa Sumant, is an important contribution to Paippalāda studies; it throws light on the domestic rituals, most of which are still being performed today.

The present article aims at a comparative study of the domestic rituals as explained by the texts belonging to the two schools of the Atharvaveda. It deals with some domestic rituals, the mantras used in their performance, the ritual described by the relevant texts, the original form of the rituals, the influence of other Vedic schools, the influence of non-Vedic schools, and so on.

1 The Two Śākhās of the Atharvaveda

As we are aware, there existed as many as nine Śākhās ‘schools’ or ‘recensions’ of the Atharvaveda (AV),¹ of which there survive only two, namely, the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda, the former existing in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, and the latter only in Orissa, now called Odisha (Bahulkar 2016: 113). A comparative study of these Śākhās is a vast subject and involves a

¹ For detailed information, see Bloomfield 1972: xxxi–xxxvi; 1978: 11–13; Gonda 1975: 272; Mishra 1984: 207–214; Renou 1947: 58–87; Roth 1875: 24–29.

comparison between the Saṃhitās of these two Śākhās, the Upaniṣads, the ancillary texts, a linguistic study of both the Saṃhitās, the ritualistic tradition and so on. In the present article, I shall concentrate on a comparative study of the basic domestic ritual (*tantra*) of these two Śākhās. The domestic rituals in the Atharvaveda tradition have already been studied by some scholars who have focussed their attention mainly on the domestic rituals of the Śaunaka Śākhā,² and rarely on those of the Paippalāda.³ The main reason for ignoring the Paippalāda was that the sources for the study of the rituals of that Śākhā were not easily available until recent years. A comparative study of the rituals of these two Śākhās therefore still demands our attention. What is the scope of this study? Well, theoretically, one is expected to study all the rituals that come under the category called Gṛhya or non-solemn or domestic rituals of the Atharvavedins. While most of the domestic rituals are common to all the four Vedas, there are certain rituals that could be termed as typically Atharvavedic, for example, the pacificatory rites (*śāntika*), remedies to cure diseases (*bhaiṣajya*), sorcery rites (*abhicāra*), rites that involve oblations of a variety of cooked rice (*savayajña*) and so on.⁴ These rituals are rarely described in the tradition of the other three Vedas.

2 Five Kalpas

There are five ritual texts in the Śaunaka tradition; they are called Kalpas and enumerated in a verse popular in that tradition. It reads:

nakṣatrakalpo vaiṭānas tṛtīyaḥ saṃhitāvidhiḥ |
caturtho 'ṅgirasāṃ kalpaḥ śāntikalpas tu pañcamah ||

*Kausikapaddhati*⁵ (KP, p. 2)

² The Kausika-Sūtra is the main source of the ritual of that Śākhā and has been dealt with by Bloomfield 1972, 1973, 1978 and Caland 1967. As Gonda 1977: 612 rightly points out, "After Bloomfield and Caland it attracted but a very limited number of scholars, no doubt on the one hand because of the character of its text which has been badly preserved and is written in a very terse and often obscure style."

³ Bhattacharya 1968: 34–45; Griffiths & Sumant 2018. In his recent work, *The Veda in Kashmir*, Witzel (2020) furnishes valuable information on the Paippalāda Śākhā in Kashmir. In the Appendices, he reproduces lists of Kashmirian priestly manuals (*ṛcaka*). However, the lists contain mainly the rituals of the Kāṭhaka Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda and not those of the Paippalāda.

⁴ Bloomfield 1972: xxi writes: "[. . .] we may at any rate safely speak of the Kausika as a mixture of two distinct kinds of sūtras, Atharva-sūtras, and gṛhya-sūtras." He further argues that the atharva-sūtra proper begins at Kaṇḍikā 7, and extends to 53. (1972: xxviii). For a detailed discussion and examination of his argument, see, Bahulkar 1977: 91–120; 1994: 21–38.

⁵ This is an elaborate commentary focussed on explaining the rituals (*paddhati*) by Keśava, who probably flourished around the 11th century CE and belonged to the Malwa region of Central India.

The Nakṣatrakalpa, The Vaitāna (i. e., the Vaitānasūtra), the Saṃhitāvīdhi (i. e. the Kauśika-Sūtra) – the third, the Kalpa of the Aṅgirasas – the fourth, and the Śāntikalpa – the fifth.⁶

Keśava further quotes the opinion of Upavarṣācārya who states that (in respect of the authority), “these Kalpas are equal to the Vedas” (*ete kalpā vedatulyāḥ*).⁷

In the tradition of the Śaunaka, the Kauśika-Sūtra (KauS) is regarded as the Gṛhyasūtra and the Vaitānasūtra (VaitS) as the Śrautasūtra. Thus, whatever is included in the KauS could be treated as the domestic ritual of the Śaunaka Śākhā in contradistinction with that described in the VaitS. Accordingly, all the rituals described in the KauS are to be performed with the help of one (domestic) fire (*ekāgnisādhya*), while the rituals in the VaitS need the three sacred fires used in the solemn sacrifices (*tretāgnisādhya*). For the performance of the domestic rituals of the Śaunaka, only three or four persons are required – the sacrificer, his wife, the performer priest (*kartā*) and, at times, the Brahmā.⁸ In the case of the Śrauta rituals, the sacrificer, his wife, the Adhvaryu, the Hotā, the Brahmā and other priests depending upon the rite to be performed are needed. The Śrauta ritual described in the VaitS bears similarity with that found in the tradition of the first three Vedas with certain peculiarities.⁹ Since we are not discussing the Śrauta ritual in this paper, we keep that topic aside and turn to the Gṛhya rituals of the Atharvavedins.

As regards the explanation of the Paddhati-type of commentary, Rājaśekhara, in the beginning of his *Kāvyaṃimāmsā* says: *sūtrāṇāṃ sakalasāravaraṇaṃ vṛttih | sūtravṛttivivecanaṃ paddhatih* (Śiromani 1934: 5). “The Vṛtti(-type commentary) fully explains the essence of the Sūtra; the Paddhati(-type of commentary) elucidates the Vṛtti.” Besides this explanation, we find that the Bhāṣya (-type of commentary) explains each and every word of the Sūtra and a Paddhati further elaborates the explanation offered by the Bhāṣya. For Keśava’s date and place, see, Limaye *et al* 1982: xxxv–xxxviii.

6 Out of the five Kalpas, we find only four in the tradition of the Śaunaka, i. e., the first three and the fifth. I have pointed out in one of my papers that the Aṅgirasakalpa which existed in the Śaunaka tradition and which was available to Dārila, Keśava and Sāyaṇa had already been lost and that the work available to us at present is a late text composed perhaps to fulfil the need of the fifth Kalpa by the Atharvavedins of the Paippalāda Śākhā in Odisha (Bahulkar 1987: 579). For a detailed study, see Sanderson 2007: 195–311. The text has been published by Paṇḍā 2003 under the title *Paippalāda Vashadisatkarma Paddhatih (Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhatih)*.

7 Upavarṣācārya seems to have flourished sometime before Śabaravāmin, the great Mīmāṃsā commentator (Dasgupta 1952: 107; also 7, n. 3; 105, n. 2). For a discussion on his commentaries etc., see Bronkhorst 2007: 281, 282, 284, 287, 293, 294.

8 In the domestic rituals of the Śaunaka, the role of the Brahmā is mostly optional. See Bahulkar 2004: 509–516.

9 “The only available Śrautasūtra of the Atharvaveda, the Vaitāna, is not – as was taken for granted by Garbe, Hillebrandt and Bloomfield, an ordinary *śrauta* manual for the use of the Atharvavedins. As shown by Caland, it appears from the *paribhāṣās* at the beginning of the work that it is a manual for the officiant known as *brahman* [. . .]” (Gonda 1977: 543).

3 Gr̥hya Rituals of the Atharvavedins

Although the KauS is a Gr̥hyasūtra of the Śaunaka Śākhā, it is not a Gr̥hyasūtra in the ordinary sense of that term, because it prescribes a number of rites that are not generally found in other Gr̥hyasūtras. As a matter of fact, it is the major Sūtra of the Śaunaka Śākhā, describing a variety of rituals in which a major portion of the Śaunaka Saṃhitā (AVŚ) has been employed. Thus, it is aptly called Saṃhitāvidhi (see the verse quoted above). The diversity of the rituals can be observed merely by going through the initial Sūtras of the chapters and the sections within the chapters of the KauS or the rituals divided into twenty-one groups by Dārila, the Bhāṣyakāra of the KauS.¹⁰ One may also go through the contents of the *editio princeps* of the KauS, prepared by Bloomfield (1972 [1990]: lxiv–lxviii). Here it will not be out of place to say a few words about a unique method the KauS adopts for the employment of the mantras and the hymns of the AVŚ in various rites. We can observe that in the KauS, there is a systematic arrangement of the rituals, following the order of the AVŚ. This order is called Mantrādhikāra “a section following the order of the mantras (in the Saṃhitā)”. Within this order, there is an internal order of the rituals, following the general order of the Gr̥hyasūtras. This is called Phalādhikāra “a section following the order of the rituals (literally, fruits)”. For example, the author of the KauS begins with the very first hymn of the AVŚ by quoting the first mantra of the hymn with its designation *pūrva*¹¹ to be employed primarily in the rite of Medhājanana. The rite is prescribed at KauS 2.1[10].1–5.¹² Then, skipping a number of hymns that follow, the author directly goes to AVŚ 4.30 and employs it in the rite of Jātakarman (KauS 2.1[10].16–19). Thus, the author intends to group the hymns to be employed in the rites that are to be performed at the birth of a child. We find here a combination of the two methods, namely, the Mantrādhikāra and

10 *vidhisambandhe 'nena tu kauśikena sājātyena caikaviṃśatividhimantragaṇaṃ pravibhajya vidhīḥ kathitah* | Diwekar *et al* 1972: p. 4, lines 9–10.

11 This hymn called *triṣaptīya*- has “a handy designation”, *pūrva*- “the foremost” (KauS 1.7[7].8). The KauS generally uses that designation, except at 14.3[139].10. In that connection, Bloomfield 1972 [1890]: xxvi points out that the usage of the word *triṣaptīya*- shows insufficient assimilation of the chapter 14 of the KauS.

12 The mode of reference to the sūtras, made here, follows the traditional division of the KauS into Adhyāya, Kaṇḍikā and sūtras. In his edition, Bloomfield retains this mode of reference, but also offers a consecutive numbering of the Kaṇḍikās (1–141) from the beginning to the end of the work. While referring to the KauS, the mode of reference used by Bloomfield is being generally followed. Therefore, for the convenience of the readers, the consecutive numbering of the Kaṇḍikās is also provided here into the square brackets.

the Phalādhikāra.¹³ The KauS describes various rituals beginning with the birth of a child to the funeral ceremonies, generally following these two methods.

The tradition of the Śaunaka is rich in exegetical works. As regards the KauS, we have good material in the form of commentaries, namely, Dārila's Bhāṣya (Diwekar *et al* 1972), Keśava's Kauśikapaddhati (Limaye *et al* 1982), anonymous works called Ātharvaṇīyapaddhati, Daśakarmāṇi, Antyeṣṭipaddhati (Bloomfield 1972 [1890]: xiv–xvi) and a number of Prayogas (Bahulkar 1977: 207–215).¹⁴

While we have the KauS in the Śaunaka Śākhā, we do not have a Sūtra text belonging to the Paippalāda;¹⁵ we have only a few works, namely, Śrīdhara's Karmapañjikā (KarmP)¹⁶ – a Paddhati, and an anonymous work – Karmasamuccaya,¹⁷ a Prayoga.¹⁸ In order to compare the arrangement of the rituals, it will be better to use the Paddhatis in both the Śākhās. The KP explains the rituals following their order as described in the KauS. However, the source of the KarmP may not be one particular Sūtra. It quotes the mantras for expiatory rites from a text called Saṃhitāvidhikalpa (*saṃhitāvidhikalpaktāḥ prāyaścittamantrāḥ*, KarmP, p. 137). However, the mantras are not found in the KauS, which is known as Saṃhitāvidhi in the tradition of the Śaunaka. The KarmP also borrows the “Tantra” from the Nakṣatralpa. Again, it is not found in the Nakṣatralpa available at present.

Here is a comparative chart of the domestic rituals of the two Śākhās, based on the KP and the KarmP.

¹³ For a detailed discussion on these two methods, see Bahulkar 1994: 27–30.

¹⁴ For more information on the Prayogas in the Atharvaveda tradition, see, Garud 2002.

¹⁵ See footnote 50 below.

¹⁶ A partial critical edition of this text (Volume I: Book One, Part One) has been prepared by Griffiths & Sumant (2018). A “modern” Paddhati which claims to be based on the KarmP has been edited by Paṇḍā & Reddy (2012).

¹⁷ In the introduction to his work, Paippalādavaśādi-ṣaṭkarmapaddhatiḥ [2003], Paṇḍā says that Śrīdhara wrote two works, namely, Karmapañjikā and Karmasamuccaya (Paṇḍā [2003]: Pūrvābhāṣaḥ, unnumbered pages 1 and 2). He first edited the Karmasamuccaya under the title *Paippalāda-Vivāhādi-Saṃskāra-Paddhatiḥ* (2000). Later on, he edited the KarmP under the title *Paippalādabahiḥśālādikaṃ jātasamsthādikaḥ kriyāḥ*, jointly with Reddy (Paṇḍā & Reddy 2012). He says that he edited the first work, following the procedure (*vidhi*) as described in the KarmP (Paṇḍā & Reddy 2012: *Mukhabandhaḥ*, unnumbered pages 1 and 2). This statement indicates that he became aware of the difference between the two works (Paṇḍā & Reddy 2012). For details and on Paṇḍā's confusing statements see, Sumant 2016: 883–884; Griffiths & Sumant 2018: xxx–xxxii and footnote 24.

¹⁸ Sumant 2016: 883.

KP¹⁹**Adhyāya 1**

Darśapūrṇamāsavidhiḥ

Paribhāṣāḥ

Śāntiyudakavidhānam

Adhyāya 2

Medhājānanakarmāṇi

Brahmacārisāmpada-
karmāṇi

Grāmasāmpadakarmāṇi

Sarvasāmpadakarmāṇi

Sāmmanasyakarmāṇi

Varcasyakarmāṇi

Rājakarmāṇi

Vaiśyakarmāṇi

Āyudhigrāmaṇīkarmāṇi

Vijñānakarmāṇi

Rājakarmāṇi

Adhyāya 3

Nirṛtikarmāṇi

Puṣṭikarmāṇi

Adhyāya 4

Bhaiṣajyakarmāṇi

Strīkarmāṇi

Adhyāya 5

Vijñānakarmāṇi

Adhyāya 6

Abhicārakarmāṇi

Adhyāya 7

Svastyānakarmāṇi

Āyusyakarmāṇi

Godānakarma

Cūḍākaraṇam

Upanayanam

Āyusyaṇi

Nāmakaraṇam

Niṣkramaṇam

KarmP²⁰**Book I, Part 1**

Bahihśālāśubhavidhiḥ (chapter 1)

Kumāridarśanādīkarmatrayam (chapter 2)

Adhivāsavidhiḥ (chapter 3)

Pūrvatantram (chapter 4)

Idhmahomādīcarupākāntakarma (chapter 5)

Uttaratantram (chapter 6)

Dvividhasthaṇḍilavidhānam (chapter 7)

Nakṣatralpaktatantram (chapter 8)

Tantraprāyaścittāni (chapter 9)

Book I, Part 2

Vivāhakarmapañcakam (chapter 1)

Garbhādhānam (chapter 2)

Pūṃsavanam (chapter 3)

Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi (chapter 4)

Godānakarma (chapter 5)

Upanayanavidhiḥ (chapter 6)

Brahmacārīnyakṛtyasāvitrīvratavisarjanam (chapter 7)

Cyutavratipunarupāyanavidhiḥ (chapter 8)

Vedavratavidhiḥ (chapter 9)

Brahmacārisnānavidhiḥ (chapter 10)

Āplavanam/Samāvartanam (chapter 11)

Jātakarmādyakaraṇayathākālaprāptāni

Prāyaścittāni (chapter 12)

Book II

Dānādhyāyaḥ (chapter 1)

Dāhādhyāyaḥ (chapter 2)

Prāyaścittādhyāyaḥ (chapter 3)

Pūrvaṣoḍaśapiṇḍādhyāyaḥ (chapter 4)

Śāntikādhyāyaḥ (chapter 5)

Pretadānādhyāyaḥ (chapter 6)

Vṛṣotsargaḥ (chapter 7)

Uttaraṣoḍaśapiṇḍādhyāyaḥ (chapter 8)

Samānyanaśrāddham (chapter 9)

Śuddhiḥ (chapter 10)

19 Limaye *et al* 1982: xxxix–xli.

20 Griffiths & Sumant 2018: xxxii–xxxiv.

Annaprāśanam

Āyusyaṇi

Kāmyāni Karmāṇi

Adhyāya 8

Savāḥ

Adhyāya 9

Āvasathyādhānam

Sāyaṃprātarhomau

Baliharaṇam

Āgrayaṇam

Adhyāya 10

Vivāhaḥ

Udvāhaḥ

Caturthikākarma

Adhyāya 11

Pitṛmedhaḥ

Piṇḍapitṛyajñaḥ

Adhyāya 12

Madhuparkaḥ

Adhyāya 13

Adbhutāni

Adhyāya 14

Ājyatantram

Aṣṭakāḥ

Upākarma

Utsargaḥ

Indramahaḥ

Adhyayanavidhiḥ

Karmasaṅgatiḥ

Atharvavedamāhātmyam

This comparative table shows that there is not much similarity between the orders of the rituals in these two texts.

As mentioned above, the present paper is restricted to presenting preliminary observations on the basic ritual as described in the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda Saṃhitās. In the Śaunaka tradition of Gujarat, there is an elaborated manual, namely, the Atharvavedaprayogabhānu of Raviśaṅkara Nāgara, who belonged to the Ṣaṭpannāgara sub-caste of the Nāgara Brahmins. This Prayoga is divided into four books, called Prakāśas. The first Prakāśa covers the basic mode of worship and some rites. It begins with Gaṇapatipūjana, and describes the rituals that are

commonly found in the tradition of other three Vedas. They are Ābhyudayika, Mātrkāpūjana, Nāndīśrāddha, Araṇipūjana, Sūtrokta-Śāntikalaśakaraṇa, Maṇḍa-papraṭiṣṭhā, Svastivācana, Puṇyāhavācana, Sthālīpāka, Garbhādhāna, Puṃsavana, Simantonnayana, Jātakarman and various Śāntis connected with the birth of a child. The second book begins with Nāmakaraṇa and describes the rites related to the child and to a celibate, such as Upanayana and so on. The third book describes Vivāha, Madhuparka, Caturthikākarma, some other related rites and various Śāntis similar to those described in the thirteenth Adhyāya of the KauS. The fourth book deals mainly with funeral rites and ancestral worship. Thus, the work follows the order of the KauS in a very general way.²¹

In the case of the Paippalāda tradition, we do have a Prayoga text, the *Karmasamuccaya*. This text is based on the Paddhati, the KarmP. However, we do not yet have a critically edited text.²² For the purposes of the present paper, I have therefore used the partial edition of the KarmP, where we can find the relevant material for the comparison.

The KarmP divides the domestic rituals into seven categories called Jātasamsthāḥ. They are:

Wedding (*vivāha*), impregnation (*garbhakaraṇa*), rite for obtaining a male child (*puṃsavana*), rite for a new-born baby (*jātakarman*), first ritual shaving of a boy (*godāna*), initiation (*upanayana*) and ritual bath of a bachelor (*āplavana*) [– these are the seven categories].²³

4 Priests: Role of Brahmā

Both Śākhās differ from each other with respect to the priests to be employed in the various domestic rituals. The Śaunaka Śākhā prescribes the main priest (*kartā*) and Brahmā in principle.²⁴ According to the KarmP, there are four priests in the Paippalāda tradition of Odisha; they carry out the sacrificial performance (*karmavāhaka*). One of them is the main priest (*kartā*) and the other three are the members (*sadasya*) or associates. These priests are: Kartā, Brahmā, Hotā and

²¹ The text was published by Śrī Vedagīrvāṇapāṭhaśālā, Ahmedabad. For more details see Bahulkar 1977: 214–215; 2002b. In recent years, the first Prakāśa was published by M. Bala Krishna Reddy whom I had helped to obtain a copy of the manuscript. Unfortunately, the edition is worthless; it is full of misprints, absence of spaces between the words, and makes no sense. See Reddy 2012.

²² The edition brought out by Paṇḍā (2000) cannot be accepted as a critical one. As Sumant informs me, it appears to be his own “Prayoga” based on the *Karmasamuccaya* [personal communication].

²³ vivāho garbhakaraṇaṃ tataḥ puṃsavanaṃ punaḥ | jātakarma ca godānopanayanāplavanānīti || (KarmP, p. 3).

²⁴ See footnote 8 above.

Yājaka.²⁵ This description of the four priests is perhaps modelled on the Śrauta sacrifices where there are four main priests, namely, the Adhvaryu, the Hotā, the Udgātā and the Brahmā. The four priests mentioned by Paiṭhīnasi carry out specific functions that are different from those of the priests in the Śrauta sacrifices. The KarmP quotes Paiṭhīnasi,²⁶ according to whom the main priest is called Kartā because he performs all major acts. The second priest procures the substances required for the performance of the sacrifice. The third priest responds to the call of the main priest and the fourth makes a decision on the mantras to be employed in the ritual.²⁷

5 Time and Place of the Performance in the Śaunaka Tradition

In the introduction to his commentary, Sāyaṇa explains the time and the place of the performance:

These rites are to be performed outside the community (i.e., in the forest), to the east or the north, on the other bank of a big river, a deep pool and so on [. . .]. According to the opinion of the commentator, Rudra, the performance of the obligatory rites such as Pūṃsavana and so on is to be done at home only. The time of the performance is the time of the two Parvan days, (i.e., the full moon or the new moon days,) or any other lunar day with an auspicious constellation. The time for the rite for the pacification of the omens and portents is immediately after the respective event takes place. The rites of sorcery are to be performed to the south of the community, on the dark half of the month, under the constellation Pleiades (*kr̥ttikāḥ*). In respect of these rites, the constituents (*aṅgāni*) related to the (directions, namely,) the east and the north are to be performed in the manner of (the constituents) of the Darśapūrṇamāsa.²⁸

25 bhavanti yasya catvāro brāhmaṇāḥ karmavāhakāḥ |

ekas teṣāṃ bhavet kartā sadasyā itare trayāḥ ||

ṛtvik kartā tathā brahmā hotā yājaka eva ca | (KarmP, p. 19).

26 Paiṭhīnasi was an author of a Smṛti text and probably belonged to the tradition of the Atharvaveda. He is mentioned by Dārila, Keśava and Śrīdhara. For more details, see Bloomfield 1972: xvii–xviii; Rotaru 2016.

27 tathā ca paiṭhīnasiḥ |

[. . .]

ekāḥ karmaṇi yuktaḥ syād eko dravyopakaḷpane |

ekāḥ pṛṣṭaḥ pratibrūyād eko mantrasya niścaye || (KarmP, p. 20).

28 eṣāṃ grāmād bahiḥ pṛāgudagdeṣe mahānadiṭāṭākādyuttarakūle 'nuṣṭhānam | [. . .] pūṃsavānādīnāṃ tu nityānāṃ gr̥ha eveti rudrabhāṣyakāramatam | kālas tu parvadvayaṃ puṇyanakṣatrayuktaṃ tithyantaram vā | adbhutakarmanāṃ tu tattannimittānantaram eva | [. . .] ābhicārikāṅgaṃ tu

6 Time and Place of Performance in the Paippalāda Tradition

According to the tradition of the Paippalādins in Odisha, as reflected in the KarmP, there is no specific mention of the day and the time of the performance. We also do not find terms such as Ājyatantra, Pākatantra, or Darśapūrṇamāsa. The frequently used expression is *pākayajñikaṃ tantram*, the expression commonly used by the KauS and other Gṛhya Sūtras as well.²⁹ The day of the performance can be any auspicious day. As usual, at the time of the Saṃkalpa, the priest would mention the day following the usual Hindu way, irrespective of the Vedic Śākhās. This Saṃkalpa mentioned in the KarmP is related to the rite of Kanyādāna in the wedding ceremony but is a common one for all the rites.

Then, in the second half (i.e., fifty years) of (the hundred years of the total life of) Brahmā, in the aeon of the White Boar, on the twenty-eighth year (i.e., *mahāyuga*) of (the seventh) Manu, the son of Vivasvān, in the first quarter of the Kali Age of the Four Ages, in the 4,691st year, in the year (called by the) name XXX, during the period of the journey of the sun (*ayana*) XXX, in the season XXX, in the month of XXX, in the XXX half of the month, on the lunar day XXX, under the constellation XXX; when the sun is dwelling in the zodiac sign XXX; when the moon is dwelling in the zodiac sign XXX; thus, when the planets, Mars and others, are dwelling in their respective places of the zodiac signs; with the Yoga, Lagna, Karaṇa, Muhūrta and Aṃśas; on (this) auspicious day, on (this) auspicious lunar day, marked by such and such kind of characteristics; here on the earth, in the Jambudvīpa, in the Bharata continent of the region of the Bharatas, in the country of Utkala, to the south of Meru mountain, to the north of Great Ocean, in the intermediate region between Śrī Virajā and Puruṣottama, in the vicinity of the feet of gods and Brahmins, I, belonging to the gotra XXX, having the name XXX, intend to give my daughter away (as a bride to the groom). This is the resolve.³⁰

grāmād dakṣiṇadiśi kṛṣṇapakṣe kṛttikānakṣatre prayoga iti viśeṣaḥ | [. . .] eteṣāṃ karmanāṃ prācyodicyāṅgāni darśapūrṇamāsavat kāryāṅi | (Vishva Bandhu 1960: 27).

29 *vyākhyātaṃ sarvapākayajñiyaṃ tantram* | KauS 14.1[137].43; cf. ĀSGrS 1.1.2; BauGrS 1.1.1, etc. Cf. Gonda 1980: 179–180; 421–422.

30 adya brahmaṇo dvitīyaparārdhe śvetavārāhakalpe vaivasvatamanor aṣṭāvīṃśatitame caturyugasya kaleḥ prathamapāde | ekanavatyadhikaṣaṣṭatottaratuḥsahasraparimite 'bde | yathānāmāsaṃvatsare | amukāyane | amuka ṛtau | amuke māsi | amukapakṣe | amukatithau | amukanakṣatre | amukarāśīsthite śrībhāskare | amukarāśīsthite śrīcandramasi | evaṃ yathāsthānāvasthiteṣu bhāmādi-grahayogalagnakarāṇamuhūrtakāṃśakeṣu | evaṃguṇaviśeṣaviśiṣṭāyāṃ puṇyāhaḥpuṇyatithau | iha pṛthivyāṃ jambudvīpe bhāratākhaṇḍe | bhārate varṣe | utkale deśe | meror dakṣiṇataḥ | mahodadher uttarataḥ | śrīvirajāpuruṣottamayor antarāle | śrīdevabrāhmaṇacarāṇasannidhau amukasagotro 'mukadevaśarmā kanyādānakarmāḥ kurvīya | iti saṃkalpaḥ | (KarmP, p. 14–15).

On the contrary, the Saṃkalpa of the Śaunakīyas in Gujarat is brief:

Here, today, in the month of XXX, in the XXX half of the month, on (this) lunar day XXX, on the day XXX, on the lunar day,³¹ in order to obtain, for my own (benefit), the fruits (i.e. merit) mentioned in the Śruti, the Smṛti and the Purāṇas, or with the permission of the sacrificer (?), I shall perform the rite called Sthālīpāka as a part of the rite XXX, Upanayana and so on, along with (the performance of) the Grahamakha.³²

The word *vā-* in this Saṃkalpa, denoting an option, is significant. Generally, the resolve is to be made by the sacrificer, repeating the words after the priest. However, it may not be possible for the sacrificer to do that. In that case, the priest recites the resolve on behalf of the sacrificer, with his permission.

As regards the place of the ritualistic performance, there is a considerable difference between the traditions of the two Śākhās. We have seen that the Śaunaka tradition prescribes certain places outside the home for various rituals except for the Jātakarman and so on that have to be performed at home. The Paippalāda tradition prescribes a rather unique venue. They do not go to the banks of a river or a forest, nor do they perform the rituals at home. For that purpose, they have a rite of constructing a special hall outside the house. The rite is called *bahiṣśālāropanavidhi* (KarmP, p. 2–10). This is recommended for all rituals (*sarvakarme praśasyate*, KarmP, p. 2). The KarmP says:

jātasamsthāyāṃ bahiṣśālāropanam avaśyaṃ kāryam | grhādeḥ
karmācaraṇe niśiddhatvāt | yathoktaṃ paribhāṣāyāṃ –
grhamadhye na kartavyā jātasamsthā kadācana |
prāṅgaṇe maṇḍapaṃ kṛtvā tatra karma samārabhet || (KarmP, p. 2–3).³³

In respect of the Jātasamsthā, one should invariably carry out the construction of the outside house, because it is prohibited to perform the act in the house and other places. As it is said in the Paribhāṣā –

‘One should never perform the Jātasamsthā in the house. Having constructed a pandal in the courtyard, one should commence the performance.’

31 The word *tithau* repeated here appears to be superfluous.

32 *atrādyā amukamāse ’mukatithāḥ amukavāsare tithau mamātmanaḥ śrutismṛtipurāṇok-taphalaprāptaye vā yajamānānujñāyā sagrahamakha-upanayanādi-amukakarmāṅgatvena sthālīpākākhyāṃ karmāhaṃ kariṣye | (Atharvavedaprayogabhānu, Sthālīpākaprayogaśmi, Prakāśa I, Raśmi 18, fol. 65a).*

33 For the current practice of *bahiṣśālā* with relevant photographs, see Sumant 2017.

7 Ājyatantra and Pākatantra

The basic domestic ritual of the Atharvavedins is variously called Ḡṛhya Darśapūrṇamāsa, Pākayajña,³⁴ Sthālīpāka,³⁵ Pārvaṇa Sthālīpāka³⁶ and Kuśaṇḍikā.³⁷ The rite has two varieties, namely, Ājyatantra³⁸ and Pākatantra. The rite where there are oblations of clarified butter (*ājya*) is called Ājyatantra, while the Pākatantra involves the oblations of cooked rice (*caru*), sacrificial bread (*puroḍāśa*) and so on.³⁹ This is the main offering (*pradhāna-homa*). The ritual is divided into two parts, namely, the Pūrvatantra and the Uttarantra. The main rite takes place after the Pūrvatantra is over and before the Uttarantra begins.

There are some more differences between these two varieties. KauS (1.6[6].34) quotes a verse that says that the Pūrvatantra ends with the Ājyabhāga offerings (*ājyabhāgāntam prāktantram*). However, this applies only to the Ājyatantra. The Pākatantra does not have these offerings. This is explained by Keśava: pākatantra abhyātānāni na bhavanti (KP, p. 468). See also Sāyaṇa's introduction, where he quotes Keśava: yad āha keśavaḥ – 'pākatantreṣv abhyātānāni na bhavanti [. . .]') (Vishva Bandhu 1960: 28). The rite called Abhyātāna offerings is performed at the end of the Pūrvatantra and at the beginning of the Uttarantra. After the Abhyātāna offerings in the Pūrvatantra are made, the Pradhāna karma takes place and the Uttarantra begins again with the Abhyātāna offerings.

Caland has given the order of the constituents of the ritual in the introduction to his *Altindisches Zauberritual*.⁴⁰ The basis of this order is Sāyaṇa's introduction to his commentary on the AVŚ (Vishva Bandhu 1960: 28), where Sāyaṇa provides a list of various acts to be performed in the Darśapūrṇamāsa, probably following the list given by Keśava in his Paddhati, at the end of his comment on KauS 1.6[6].37 (KP, p. 22). One may observe that none of the two lists is comprehensive. I have therefore modified the order to a certain extent on the basis of the description of the two parts of the Darśapūrṇamāsa, and a comparative study of the lists offered by Keśava and Sāyaṇa.

34 imau darśapūrṇamāsau vyākhyātau | darśapūrṇamāsābhyaṃ pākayajñāḥ | KauS 1.6[6]. 29–30.

35 Sthālīpākādīprayogaḥ, MS. no. 4242, Gore Collection of the Vaidika Saṃśodhanamaṇḍala, Pune.

36 ĀśGṛS 1.10.1.

37 See footnote 38 below.

38 The Ātharvaṇiya Paddhati calls the Ājyatantra as Bṛhatkuśaṇḍikā (Bloomfield 1972: xv).

39 yatra pradhānaṃ havir ājyaṃ tad ājyatantram | yatra carupuroḍāśādikaṃ tat pākatantram | Sāyaṇa (Vishva Bandhu 1960: 28).

40 Caland 1900: VI–VII.

Pūrvatantra

Name of the rite	Kaus (Adhyāya, Kaṇḍikā, Sūtra)
Avyasaś ca (AVŚ 19.68)	14.3[139].10
Barhirlavanam	1.1[1].28
Barhirupasādanam	1.1[1].28
Vediḥ	14.1[137].2–16
Uttaravediḥ	14.1[137].2–16
Agnipraṇayanam	14.1[137].25, (26, 27)
Agnipratiṣṭhāpanam	14.1[137].28
Vratagrahaṇam	1.1[1].36–39
Pavitrakaraṇam	1.1[1].40
Pavitreṇedhmaprokṣaṇam	1.2[2].15
Idhmopasamādhānam	14.1[137].29
Barhiḥprokṣaṇam	1.2[2].16
Brahmāsanam	1.2[2].18;14.1[137].33
Brahmavaraṇam	(1.2[2].18;14.1[137].33)
Brahmāsthāpanam	(1.2[2].18;14.1[137].33)
Starāṇam	14.1[137].34–36
Sīrṇaprokṣaṇam	1.2[2].24
Ātmāsanam	1.3[3].5ff.; 14. 1[137].37ff.
Udapātrasthāpanam	1.3[3].2
Ājyasaṃskāraḥ	1.2[2].31
Sruvagrahaṇam	1.3[3].9
Grahaḡrahaṇam	1.3[3].10–15
Purastāddhomāḥ	1.3[3].16–17
Ājyabhāgau	1.4[4].1ff.
Abhyātānāni	14.1[137].42

Pradhānahomaḥ

Uttaratantra	
Abhyātānāni	14.1[137]. 42
Pārvanahomaḥ	1.5[5].5ff.
Samṛddhihomaḥ	1.5[5].7
Sannatihomaḥ	1.5[5].8
Sviṣṭakṛddhomaḥ	1.5[5].12
Sarvaprāyaścittahomaḥ	1.5[5].12 (13)
Skannahomaḥ	1.6[6].1

(Continued)

Uttaratantra	
Punarmaitvindriyahomaḥ	(Not mentioned in the KauS 1.1–6 [1–6] and 14.1[137])
Skannāsmṛtīhomau	1.6[6].2
Samsthītahomāḥ	1.6[6].3
Caturgrhītahomāḥ	1.6[6].4
Barhīrahomaḥ	1.6[6].7
Samsrāvahomaḥ	1.6[6].9
Sruvasthāpanam	1.6[6].10
Samidādhānam	1.6[6].11
Viṣṇukramāḥ	1.6[6].14
Udapātrothāpanam	1.6[6].17
Vratavisarjanam	1.6[6].18–20
Dakṣiṇādānam	1.6[6].21
Brahmotthāpanam	(not mentioned in the KauS 1.1–6 [1–6] and 14.1[137])
Brāhmaṇabhojanam	(1.6[6].23–28)
Yasmāt kośāt (AVŚ 19.72)	(14.3[139].26)

A reference to the priestly manual from Gujarat, namely the *Atharvavedaprayogabhānu*, has already been made above. This Prayoga adds some basic rites that are common to all such rituals. (Sthālipākaprayogaraśmi, Prakāśa I, Raśmi 18, fol. 65a)

Ācamanam,
 Prāṇyāmaḥ
 Brahma jajñānam
 Saṃkalpaḥ
 Svastyayana hymns (AVŚ 7. 85 [90]; 86 [91]; 117 [122])
 Avyasaś ca (AVŚ 19.68.1)

After this, the order of the rites in the Darśapūrṇamāsa is similar to that given by Sāyaṇa on the basis of KauS 1.1–6 [1–6] and 14.1[137], cited above. In addition to those rites, the rite ends with the declaration of the end of the performance:

atrāḍya amukakarmani sthālīpākākhyam karma kṛtasya vidheḥ sarvaṃ paripūrṇam astu |

Here, today, in the rite (called) xxx⁴¹ let all (the constituents) of the rite called Sthālīpāka be complete.⁴²

There then follows the muttering of the Śāntisūkta which is not specified there. The end of the performance is marked by the usual statement: *kṛtaṃ karmeśvarāraṇam kuryāt* “One should dedicate the performance to God” (Sthālīpākaprayeroga-*raśmi*, Prakāśa I, Raśmi 18, fol. 77b).

The author provides some additional information about the procedure of the selection of the Brahmā priest. He mentions that the selection should be made with the recitation of the mantra *om yaja tatra tvam* (fol. 68a, line 3). This appears to be a call to the Brahmā. The KP however quotes a *pratīka* of a different mantra to be recited on this occasion: *bhūpate iti brahmavaraṇam* (KP on KauS 1.2[2].18, p. 8); also, *bhūpate iti brahmavaraṇavidhānena varaṇam* (KP on KauS 14.1[137].33, p. 467). The procedure of selecting the Brahmā priest is laid down in the VaitS (1.17–18). Dārila too provides the same information, referring to the same text: *atra brahmavaraṇam vitānavat | vṛtajapaś ca bhavati | vṛto japati iti vitānavacanāt | ahaṃ bhūpatiḥ iti* (DB on KauS 1.2[2].18, p. 19, lines 2–3). This method is called *atideśa* “extension”. Generally, there are a number of basic acts that are mentioned in the KauS and are referred to by the VaitS; but in this case, the commentators refer to the latter as this is not mentioned in the KauS but is necessary to use in the rite of the selection of the Brahmā. As said before, the role of the Brahmā is optional. Therefore, this rite from the VaitS is to be performed only symbolically.

8 Pūrvatantra and Uttaratantra in the KarmP

The editors of the KarmP have given the section titles and other elements of contents, as much as possible, based on Śrīdhara’s own usage and at times have formulated their own designations (p. 163–172). While describing the Pūrvatantra, Śrīdhara says that there are eight Pākayajñas mentioned in the Śruti. They are:

*sāyamprātarhomau sthālīpāko navaś ca yaḥ |
balīś ca piṭṛyajñāś ca aṣṭakāś caiva saptamāḥ |*

41 The word *amuka-* literally means ‘such and such (by name)’. The word is to be substituted by the name (of the rite or the sacrificer or something else, as the case may be). This substitution is called *ūha* ‘modification’ (Gode & Karve 1957, sub voce).

42 This is what is meant by the Sanskrit sentence written in the typically priestly style.

paśur ity ete pākayajñā iti | aṣṭamaḥ pākayajñās ca ity ete pākayajñāḥ |

(KarmP, p. 50)

The morning and the evening offerings, the Sthālīpāka, (the offering of) new (corn?),⁴³ the Bali, Pitṛyajñas, and the Aṣṭakās – these seven, (and) the animal sacrifice – the eighth, these are the Pākayajñas.⁴⁴

All these Pākayajñas follow the basic ritual of the Pūrvatantra and the Uttaratanttra. For these rites, the Paippalāda Śākhā has four tantras, i.e., “models”, called Divya, Sāmpada, Prāyaścitta and Ābhicārika. The Paribhāṣā explains the purpose of performing these four types of tantras:

catvāraḥ karmaṇām ete bhavanty atra vicārakāḥ |
divyās ca sāmpadās caiva prāyaścittābhicārikāḥ |
eteṣāṃ karmabhedam āha –
svargādisādhane divyān sāmpadān kāmyasādhane |
aihkāmuṣmikacchidre prāyaścittān prayojayet |
uddṛptavairināśāya yojayed ābhicārikān iti ||

(KarmP, p. 96)

They consider these four rites, namely, the divine rites (*divya*), the rites for prosperity (*sāmpada*), the expiation rites (*prāyaścitta*) and the sorcery rites (*ābhicārika*). One should employ the divine rites in order to obtain heaven and so on, the rites for prosperity to obtain the fulfilment of various desires, the expiation in the case of a ‘hole’, i.e., sin while performing the acts for mundane and super-mundane aims, and in order to destroy an angry enemy, one should employ the sorcery rites.

Griffiths and Sumant observe:

Besides these, the Paippalāda Śākhā knows an option of choosing one further model that combines the first three, and this combined performance of the *divya*, the *sāmpada* and the *prāyaścittīya tantras* is known as the *samuccayatantra*. It is this *samuccayatantra* which is actually performed in all domestic rituals of the Paippalādins today, and the same seems to have been true in Śrīdhara’s time. (KarmP, Intro., p. lxxviii).

As regards the selection of the priests, the Paippalāda has a special procedure. As mentioned before, they employ four priests for the performance, namely, Kartā, Brhamā, Hotā and Yājaka. (KarmP, p. 19). First, they select the Hotā (KarmP, 25–26).

⁴³ Cf. Patyal 1969: 185.

⁴⁴ The editors point out in their introduction (cxxiv) that the text is seriously corrupt; however, they have chosen to retain the text as found in the manuscripts. The passage corresponds to the Gopathabrāhmaṇa 1.5.23, where the statement enumerates seven Pākayajñas. Cf. Gautama Dharma Sutra 1.8.19 (Pandeya 1966: 74). The translation of the passage, given above, is not a literal one. A possible emendation of the last two sentences could be: [. . .] *paśur ity aṣṭamaḥ | ity ete pākayajñā ity ete pākayajñā iti*. The repetition of the words *ity ete pākayajñāḥ* might denote the end of a chapter. This kind of repetition, denoting the end of a chapter, is found elsewhere, e.g. *śaṃ mayi jānīdhvam | ĀśGrS 2.10.8*.

The procedure is similar to that of the Śaunaka using the mantra from the VaitS 1.17–18 (Garbe 1982: 2). It is quite a common phenomenon that the sacrificer, not being familiar with Sanskrit, would not be able to recite the mantra. In that case, some other Brahmin touches the Kartā and mutters the mantra:

yadā yajamāno vedasyāsāmarthyāt tadā anyam brāhmaṇam (sic)
tatpratīnidhitvena kartāraṃ spr̥ṣtvā mantram japati | (KarmP, p. 26).

When the sacrificer (cannot recite the mantra) due to (his) inability (to recite) the Veda, then another Brahmin, as his (i.e. the sacrificer's) substitute, touches the performer and mutters the mantra.

This is not unusual, other Vedic Śākhās having the same problem due to ignorance on part of the sacrificers. After the selection of the Hotā, the selection of the Brahmā, the Dravyopakalpaka, the Pṛṣṭaprativaktā and the Mantraniścāyaka is done. While doing so, the word *hotā* is to be substituted with *brahmā* and so on.⁴⁵ The same set of mantras is to be employed with the necessary modifications. This is a unique feature of the Paippalādins. If it is not possible to get all four priests, only two, namely the Ṛtvig and the Brahmā are selected. Still, there is one more option: one may select the Ṛtvig alone and in the place of Brahmā, a water jar is placed. This is in common with the Śaunaka as well as the Śākhās of other Vedas.⁴⁶ Even if it is difficult to find one priest who would play the role of the Ṛtvig, the sacrificer himself should act as Kartā.

ācāryam varayet pūrvaṃ brahmāṇam tadanantaram |
athavā ṛtvīnmātram varaṇīyam | brahmā punar udapātram | evam trividhā brāhmaṇavy-
avasthā | athavā ṛtvigabhāve svayam yajamānaḥ kartā vā syāt | (KarmP, p. 28).

One should first select the Ācārya (i. e. Kartā), then (one should select) the Brahmā. Alternatively, (one should select) (one) priest only. In that case, a water-jar (should be placed as) the Brahmā. Thus (there could be) threefold arrangement of Brahmins. Alternatively, when (even a single) priest is not available, the sacrificer himself may optionally be the performer.

We have already seen that in the tradition of the Śaunaka, the rite called Abhyātāna offerings is performed at the end of the Pūrvatantra and at the beginning of the Uttaratantra. These offerings are not mentioned in the KarmP, at least in the part published so far. The text called Paippalāda-vivāhādi-saṃskārapaddhati, edited by Paṇḍā, mentions the Abhyātāna mantras. They are the same as those found in the

⁴⁵ See footnote 41 above.

⁴⁶ *brahmā ca sarveṣu pākayajñesu kṛtākṛto bhavati |* Nārāyaṇa on ĀśGṛS 1.3.6. For various options prescribed by the Gṛhyasūtras, see, Bahulka 2004: 510.

AVŚ. However, the rite takes place after the marriage ceremony, before the Caturthikākarman and not as the rite prefixed and suffixed to the Pradhāna offerings. At present, it is not possible to find out the basis of this rite mentioned by Paṇḍā.

9 Comparative Study of the Rituals

As mentioned in the beginning, the present article attempts to make a comparative study of the basic ritual of the domestic Darśapūrṇamāsa described in the relevant texts in the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda traditions. It will be important to make a further study of various rituals of both the Śākhās.⁴⁷

10 Concluding Remarks

In connection with the performance of the basic ritual of the Pākayajñas, there are some noteworthy differences between the two Śākhās. The Prayogas in the Śaunaka tradition are based mainly on the KauS. Although they change the order of the sūtras for the actual performance, some of them actually quote the sūtras and explain them. For example, the Prayogadīpa of Devabhadra specifically says that it is not a common practice to compose the Prayoga by quoting the sūtras; however, the author of the Prayogadīpa does that.⁴⁸ The Prayogas also enlist the help of the commentaries on the KauS. Thus, the exegetical tradition of the Śaunaka is well established. On the contrary, the Paippalādins do not have a Gṛhyasūtra. They might be aware of the KauS but they do not have a tradition of studying that text. There is a work called Prapañcahṛdaya, composed in Kerala. The author and the date of the work are not known.⁴⁹ It mentions that there existed a Śrautasūtra in the Paippalāda Śākhā, ascribed to Agastya, but the information cannot be accepted as valid.⁵⁰ Veṅkaṭamādhava, the author of the Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, mentions that

⁴⁷ For recent attempts in this regard, see Sumant 2013 and 2022.

⁴⁸ For details, see Bahulkar 1978: 33.

⁴⁹ In this connection, Bronkhorst remarks: “It is hard to determine with certainty the extent to which the accounts of the Prapañcahṛdaya are trustworthy.” (2007: 294). He also points out that it is a relatively recent text, dating roughly from the time of Yāmuna and Rāmānuja.” (2007: 297, n. 44). Also, see 2007: 292, n. 30. Witzel thinks that it was probably composed in the south of India, maybe in the 11th century (2020: 764).

⁵⁰ *paippalādiśākhāprayuktam ātharvaṇikaṃ saptabhir adhyāyair agastyena pradarśitam* | Gaṇapati Śāstrī 1915: 33.

they have the Aitareya as their own (Brāhmaṇa) and the Atharvavedins, the Paippalādaka.⁵¹ However, there is no trace of such a text.

Keśava states that the KauS, the Saṃhitāvidhi, is meant for four Śākhās of the AV, the Śaunaka being the first among them (*tatra catasṛṣu śākhāsu śaunakādiṣu kauśiko'yaṃ saṃhitāvidhiḥ* / KP, p. 1). Following him, Sāyaṇa makes a similar statement (Introduction to Sāyaṇa's commentary, Pandit 1895: 23). Summarizing that portion of the Introduction, Pandit (1880: 423) lists the four Śākhās, namely, the Śaunakīyās, the Ākshalās (? Jājalas), the Jaladās (? Jaladas) and the Brahmavādās (? Brahmavadas). Cf. Bloomfield 1972: xxxiv–xxxv; Whitney 1893: 89. I have argued in one of my papers that historically those four Śākhās could be the Śaunaka, the Paippalāda, the Jājala and the Cāraṇavidya.⁵² However, the statement about the KauS being the Sūtra for the four Śākhās need not be taken literally. It simply indicates that there existed four Śākhās of the AV and that the followers of the other three Śākhās began to study and follow the Śaunaka. In Gujarat, there were some Atharvavedins who claimed that they belonged to the Paippalāda but followed the Śaunaka. In Odisha, however, the Atharvavedins followed their own Śākhā and performed the ritual according to the priestly manuals. Those priestly manuals frequently mention Paiṭhīnasi as the source of their explanation. However, the Paiṭhīnasi Sūtra or the Paiṭhīnasi Smṛti is available only in the form of the citations from that work found in some works in the tradition of the AV and various works on Dharmasāstra.⁵³

The two traditions, the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda, also differ from each other in many respects. Although the rituals at the root could be the same, the traditions have diverged from each other in the course of time. The influence of local traditions is noteworthy. The followers of the Gujarat tradition of the Śaunaka are the Nāgara Brahmins who belong to all the four Vedic Śākhās, namely, the Ṛgveda – mainly Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra, the Śukla Yajurveda – the Mādhyandina, the Kauthuma Śākhā of Sāmaveda and the Śaunaka Śākhā of the AV.⁵⁴ It is possible that there were some Paippalādins in Gujarat who were assimilated with the Śaunaka in the course of time. They have common deities and have common rituals that are also mentioned in the Prayogas of that Śākhā. In the case of the Paippalādins in Odisha, they have some unique rites. For instance, they establish a hall outside the house for the performance of the rites (*bahiḥśālāśubhavidhi*, KarmP, p. 1–10). At the outset, they

51 *aitareyakam asmākaṃ paippalādāṃ atharvaṇām* | *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*, 8.1.13ab; Vidyāvāridhi 1979: 288.

52 Bahulkar 2002a: 1–11.

53 For the citations from various works, see, Rotaru 2016.

54 I gathered this information from the famous Atharvavedin (the late) Pt. Vasudev Shastri Pan-choli during my visits to his Ātharvaṇa Pāṭhaśālā in Sinor, Gujarat in 1976 and 1983.

worship ten deities, namely, Mita, Pramita, and so on (*mitādīpūjā*).⁵⁵ It is possible to cite many more examples of such deviations. A further, detailed and systematic study comparing the ritualistic traditions of the two Śākhās is yet to be done.

Abbreviations

ĀŚGrS	Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra
AV	Atharvaveda
AVŚ	Śaunaka Saṃhitā of AV
BauGrS	Baudhāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra
DB	Dārila's Bhāṣya on the Kauśika-Sūtra
KarmP	Karmapañjikā
KauS	Kauśika-Sūtra
KP	Keśava's Kauśikapaddhati on the Kauśika-Sūtra
Transl.	Translator
VaitS	Vaitānasūtra

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Julieta Rotaru

The Textual Divisions and the Conventions *mantrādhikāra* and *phalādhikāra* in Classifying the Rites in the *Kauśika* *Sūtra*: A Case Study of the Construction Rites

Abstract: It is commonly considered that the *Kauśika Sūtra* prescribes two rites accompanying the building of a house, in two different chapters. This study reconstructs the two rites with the help of the two medieval commentaries of Dārila and Keśava, an unedited late paddhati commentary (*Atharvaṇīya Paddhati*), and a prayoga manual for ritual performance (*Samskāraratnaprayoga*), further arguing that only one is a proper construction rite. As a prerequisite for the elucidation of the idiosyncratic ritual, the paper deals with the textual intricacies of the *Kauśika*: textual divisions of the surrounding context, the two methods used by *Kauśika* to arrange the subjects of the *sūtra* text, the so called *mantrādhikāra* and *phalādhikāra*, etc. The paper shows that these devices are used as conventions indicating which procedures to perform first in order to understand the *sūtra* text and in the case in question, to classify the construction rites. In comparison with a similar rite construed around worshiping the Lord of the house, found in the rituals of the other Vedic schools, the Atharvavedins had a complex ceremony completed by the worshiping of *Vāstoṣpati* which includes two mantras that are found in the *Paippalāda Saṁhitā* (PS) 7.6.10 and 20.23.2, quoted in full by the *Kauśika* and considered as *kalpajā rcs* “verses issued from the ritual” by Śaunakin ritual texts. The whole hymn PS 7.6 is employed by a *Paippalādic* ritual text in a ceremony connected with purification of the construction site. The two verses are found with minor variants as *ṚV* 7.54.1 and 7.55.1, and are appropriately employed by the ritual texts of other Vedic schools.

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Introduction. Textual Divisions of the Kauśika Sūtra

The Kauśika Sūtra (KauśS) has the following textual divisions: adhyāyas (14), kaṇḍikās numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya (this is an intrinsic division of the adhyāya, varying in number), kaṇḍikās numbered from the beginning of the first adhyāya (141), and sūtra. The first adhyāya which contains the metarules and sources of the texts, etc., is an exception and does not have the first type of kaṇḍikā. The manuscripts seen by me so far unanimously do not break the sūtras and, consequently, do not count them, but they invariably count the adhyāyas and have a different numbering system for the two types of kaṇḍikās, i.e. numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya, and numbered from the beginning of the first adhyāya. This will be shown in the following.

The two types of counting the kaṇḍikās has been understood differently by scholars who have dealt with the text. Bloomfield's edition recognizes these four divisions, yet, while referring to a passage, the editor gives preference to the reference to kaṇḍikā counted from the beginning of the first adhyāya, and sūtra, and so do Caland and later Gonda in their translations. Lanman (1906: 1012) is the first to have a critical opinion on the issue. Having noticed that Śāyana refers to the KauśS by adhyāya and "by kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya" and that "Bloomfield and Whitney cite (underlined by J.R.) by kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of the treatise", Lanman thinks the best way of reference is "by adhyāya, by kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of the adhyāya and by sūtra."

Bahulkar (1990: 119) implements this threefold division of the text considering it "traditional", as opposed to a probably invented division of Bloomfield (personal communication, January 2013). Although Bahulkar refers to Lanman, he seems to have missed the latter's distinction between "kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya" and "kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of the treatise". However, Bahulkar says: "In his edition, Bloomfield has numbered the kaṇḍikās irrespective of the adhyāya – division. i.e. kaṇḍikās 1–141 and has consequently adopted only two divisions, namely, kaṇḍikās and sūtras." This is not tenable; the divisions are rightly numbered in their respective places in the actual edition (e.g. page 47: "vācayed eva vācayed eva | 34 | | 8 | | 17 | | ity atharvavede kauśikasūtre dvitīyo'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ | |", i.e. sūtra 34; kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of the treatise, 8; kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of first adhyāya, 17; adhyāya 2). I have checked at random and found in the ms. Bū used by Bloomfield the same numbering, (except for the sūtra), and similarly in the ms. Bh 1 used by Bahulkar.

To sum up, Bloomfield knew the fourfold textual divisions available in some mss. and noted them down in the respective places in his edition. Keśava's editors uncritically borrowed this numbering from Bloomfield (Bahulkar, personal communication, January 2013) leaving open for further investigation which division the medieval commentator actually knew. The same question applies to Dārila's commentary available in the codex unicus, which presents the division into *adhyāya* and *kaṇḍikā* as numbered from the beginning of each *adhyāya*. Similarly, our awareness about Sāyaṇa's way of dividing and numbering the Kauś is limited to the text offered by S.P. Pandit based on a single complete ms. and another incomplete ms., which presents the same division assumed by modern exegetes as "traditional". Griffiths, in his GRETIL electronic edition,¹ puts in square brackets [] the *kaṇḍikā* as numbered from the beginning of the treatise, a method pursued in this paper also, and restores to the Kauś its original fourfold division, which is a merit of this e-edition.

While the most prevalent system of reference, that of *adhyāya* and *kaṇḍikā* as numbered from the beginning of the treatise, for all of its convenience may be still used, it should not omit the significance of the various textual divisions of the Kauś. The present paper addresses this subject in regard to the internal division of the third *adhyāya*, as a prerequisite for seeking a correspondence between *phalādhikāra* (see further § 1.4 for this term) and *kaṇḍikā* as numbered from the beginning of each *adhyāya* division.

It is commonly considered that the Kauś prescribes two ceremonies accompanying the building of a house, at 3.6 [23].1–11 and at 5.7[43].3–15. However, it is difficult to ascertain precisely which sūtras prescribe the construction rite in the 23rd *kaṇḍikā*. Bloomfield (1889) rubricates 3.6[23].1–11 as "rites on building a house". Caland (1900: 147–148) thinks that only the sūtras 3.6[23].1–9 prescribe rites for good luck in a new residence. Keśava² and more specifically the late unpublished *paddhati* Atharvaṇīya *Paddhati* (AthPaddh) comment on the sūtras 3.6[23].1–6 as describing a rite for prosperity upon building a new house, whereas 3.6[23].7 and 8 are marked as two rites for prosperity, and 3.6[23].9–11 for one who wishes to divide his property. As for the rite prescribed in the 43rd *kaṇḍikā*, the traditional and the modern exegesis agree in understanding that it is a ritual accompanying the building of a big house.

In the following we shall analyse these rites as prescribed by Kauś 3.6[23].1–6 and 5.7[43].3–15 and later unpublished Ātharvaṇic ritual sources, such as the AthPaddh, already mentioned, and the late prayoga Samskāraprayogaratna (SPR, see Rotaru 2021).

1 The content of the first *adhyāya* is input by Griffiths from Bahulkar's sample edition (1990).

2 Introduction to Kauś 3.6[23].1: *atha niveśakarmocyate* (Bhā 2 nave grhe).

In the structure of the rite there appear two verses which occur in the Paipalāda Saṃhitā (PS) and are found with minor variants as ṚV 7.54.1 and 7.55.1, which represent an invocation to Vāstoṣpati. The second part of the paper will focus on the exact identification of the verses addressing Vāstoṣpati in the ritual texts of the Atharvavedins, and the employment of ṚV 7.54.1–3 and 7.55.1 by the ritual texts of other Vedic schools. This is a chapter in the long story of how the Ātharvaṇic priests have constructed some missing portion in their rituals based on the texts of a bigger ritual tradition represented by the three canonical Vedas.

1 Rite for Prosperity when Building a New Residence, in the Ātharvaṇic Ritual Texts

1.1 KauśS 3.6[23].1–6

yajūṃṣi yajña iti (ŚS 5.26) navaśālāyām sarpir madhumiśram juhoti³ /1/ doṣo gāyeti (ŚS 6.1) dvitīyām /2/ yuktabhyām ṛtīyām /3/ anumatiṃ caturthīm /4/ śālām aṅgulibhyām saṃprokṣya grhapatnyāsāda upaviśyodapātraṃ ninayati /5/⁴ **ihava steti** (ŚS 7.60.7) vācam visrjate /6/

“When building a new house, with the hymn “The sacrificial formulae at the sacrifice. . .” (ŚS 5.26) he offers in the fire ghee mixed with honey. [He sacrifices] the second [oblation] with the hymn “Sing at evening. . .” (ŚS 6.1). The third, jointly with the two [hymns]. The fourth, with the verse to Anumati (i.e., ŚS 7.20.6).⁵ Having sprinkled the house by means of the two little fingers, sitting with his wife in the kitchen,⁶ he pours out water from the pitcher. With the verse “Stay right here! . . .” (ŚS 7.60.7) he releases his speech.”

1.2 Keśava has comments in the manner of glosses upon the sūtras, but he explains this rite in detail at the end of his commentary ad KauśS 5.7[43].3–15, from where it is further copied with innovations by the AthPaddh.

3 Edition: aśnāti. Caland 1900, based on Sāyaṇa’s reading under the hymn ŚS 6.1 and probably on Keśava’s reading in the commentary (for in the *mūlā* the lectio is *aśnāti*), considers *aśnāti* to be a *lapsus calami* for *juhoti*. Dārila, in the *mūlā* source text and in the *bhāṣya* commentary: *juhoti*. AthPaddh: *juhoti*. Based on all these readings, we may retain Caland’s emendation as *juhoti*. Keśava’s editors retain the reading of Bloomfield’s edition in the reconstructed *mūlā* root text.

4 Keśava: tataḥ śālām aṅgulibhyām saṃprokṣya tūṣṇīm grhapatnyāsāda upaviśyodapātraṃ ninayati tūṣṇīm//.

5 So Caland 1900, see AthPaddh. Cf. Dārila: **anumatih sarvam idam** ity (ŚS 7.20.6) anayā / anumataye svāhā iti kecit / mantranāmaitat /

6 See Dārila: bhaktagrhe.

tataḥ pākayañnavidhānena vāstoṣpataye juṣṭaṃ nirvapāmi iti nirvāpaḥ / vāstoṣpataye tvā juṣṭaṃ prokṣāmi iti prokṣaṇam / vāstoṣpatim gacchatu haviḥ svāhā iti barhirhome / vāstoṣpatidevatākaṃ kṣīraudanaṃ cājyabhāgāntaṃ kṛtvā **vāstoṣpate prati jānihi** iti dvābhyāṃ caruṃ juhōti / tataḥ pārvaṇādy uttaratantram / kecid asmin tantre'bhyaṭānāntaṃ hutvā / **yajuṃṣi yajñe** (ŚS 5.26) iti dvādaśarcena sūktena navaśālāyāṃ sarpimadhumiśraṃ⁷ juhvati sakṛdekāṃ āhutiṃ / **doṣo gāya** (ŚS 6.1) *iti dvitīyāṃ* (KauśS 23.2) ahutiṃ juhōti / *yuktābhyāṃ tṛtīyāṃ* (KauśS 23.3) āhutiṃ juhōti / *anumatīṃ caturthīm* / (KauśS 23.2) kalaśodakapānīyam ācāryo gr̥hītvā śālām aṅgulibhyāṃ saṃprokṣya yajamānapatnīsa-hiteṣu gr̥heṣu madhya āsāda upaviśya kalaśodakam bhūmau ninayati tūṣṇīm /⁸ ācāryādyā ādau vāñmaunaṃ kurvanti / **ihaiva sta** (ŚS 7.60.7) ity ṛcā vāgvisargaḥ /⁹ abhyātānādy uttaratantram //

“Next, on the model of the pākayañña, [he does] the pouring [with the formula] “I pour what is acceptable to the Lord of the house!”; the sprinkling [with the formula] “I sprinkle you, so as to be acceptable to the Lord of the house!”; the offering of *barhi* grass [with the formula] “May the oblation go to the Lord of the house, svāhā!”. Having done the offering of the milk porridge for the Lord of the house and having completed the ājyabhāga (ghee offering for Soma and Agni¹⁰), he offers rice with the two stanzas “Acknowledge, O Lord of the house!”. Next, he continues with the second part of the rite, beginning with the pārvaṇa (offerings to the “junctions”¹¹). Some¹² offer in this rite the offering ending with the abhyātāna.¹³ With the hymn of twelve verses “The sacrificial formula at the sacrifice. . .” (ŚS 5.26) they offer at once in the new house ghee mixed with honey as the first āhuti (offering). He offers the second āhuti with the hymn “Sing at evening. . .” (ŚS 6.1). He offers the third āhuti jointly with the two [mentioned hymns], and the fourth to Anumati. The priest holds the pitcher with water and sprinkles the house with the two little fingers. The sacrificer and his wife sitting inside the house, silently pour water from the pitcher on the earth. In the beginning the priest and the others restrain their speech. They release their speech with the stanza “Stay right here! . . .” (ŚS 7.60.7). He continues the second part of the rite beginning with the abhyātāna offerings.”

7 Cf. KauśS 3.6[23].1: **yajuṃṣi yajñe** (ŚS 5.26) iti navaśālāyāṃ sarpimadhumiśraṃ aśnāti /

8 Cf. KauśS 3.6[23].5: śālām aṅgulibhyāṃ saṃprokṣya gr̥hatpatny āsāda upaviśayodapātraṃ ninayati /

9 Cf. KauśS 3.6[23].6: **ihaiva steti** (ŚS 7.60.7) vācaṃ viśṛjate /

10 Cf. ŚatBr 11, 7, 4, 2. See Rotaru 2021: 292, fn. 246.

11 See Rotaru 2021: 168 for this rite in the Ātharvaṇic tradition.

12 This divergent opinion is applicable only in the case of the rite prescribed by KauśS 5.7[43].3–15, whereas in case of the ceremony prescribed by KauśS 3.6[23].1–6, this injunction refers to the main rite.

13 Lit. “stretching”, a peculiar rite performed between the first part and the second part of the ājyahoma. This rite is described by KauśS 137. See Rotaru 2021: 300, fn. 272.

1.3 AthPaddh copies from Keśava's commentaries ad Kauś 3.6[23].1–6 and ad 5.7[43].3–15:

atha laghuśālākarma¹⁴ ucyate / nūtanagrhe agniśālāyām grāme vā pure vā / anyatrābhina-
veṣu¹⁵ kṛtvā karmaṇi / pāṣāṇāmaye vā iṣṭakāmaye vā kāṣṭhāmaye vā mṛttikāmaye vā ṛṇamaye
vā sarvatra vāsitaḡhapuṣṭtikāmo[']nuvarttate / idaṃ karma ājyataṃtram ājyabhāḡāṃtaṃ
kṛtvā atra sthāne pradhānakarma // **yajumṣi yajña** iti sūktena (ŚS 5.26) ḡṛtena madhumiśrāṃ
juhoti sakṛdekām āhutiṃ / **doṣo gāyeti** ṛcena sūktena (ŚS 6.1) ḡṛtena madhumiśrāṃ juhotīti
dviṭiyām āhutiṃ / **yajumṣi yajña** iti sūktena (ŚS 5.26) ca **doṣo gāyeti** ṛcena sūktena (ŚS 6.1)
dvābhyāṃ yuktābhyāṃ sūktābhyāṃ¹⁶ ḡṛtena madhumiśrāṃ juhotīti ṛṭiyām āhutiṃ / **anu-**
matiḡ sarvam ity ekayā (ŚS 7.20.6) ḡṛtena madhumiśrāṃ juhotīti caturthim āhutiṃ / **kal-**
āśodakapānīyām¹⁷ ācāryo ḡṛhītvā śālām aṃgulibhyāṃ samprokṣya yajamānaḡ sapatnikah¹⁸
ḡrheṣu madhye āśādyā upaviśati kalaśodakaghatam¹⁹ bhūmau ninayati / tūṣṇīm²⁰ ācāryādyā²¹
ādau vākmaunaṃ kurvaṃti / (Keśava ad 43.10) **īhaiva stety** ekayā (ŚS 7.60.7) vāk visarjayati /
abhyātānādy uttarataṃtram / iti laghuśālākarmasamāptaṃ //

“Next the rite of building a small house is described. In the case of building a new house or a fire-place, in the village or in the city, in the case of a house built of rock, of bricks, of wood, of clay or of grass, everywhere one desirous of prosperity in the new residence should employ [this rite]. After having completed the offering of ghee ending with ājyabhāḡa²² now he should perform the main ritual. With the hymn “The sacrificial formula at the sacrifice. . .” (ŚS 5.26) he sacrifices in the fire one oblation of ghee mixed with honey. He sacrifices the second oblation of ghee mixed with honey, with the hymn of three verses “Sing at evening. . .” (ŚS 6.1). He sacrifices the third oblation of ghee mixed with honey, together with the two hymns, namely with the hymn “The sacrificial formula at the sacrifice. . .” (ŚS 5.26) and with the hymn of three verses “Sing at evening. . .” (ŚS 6.1). He sacrifices the fourth oblation of ghee mixed with honey, with one verse of “Anumati has become all this. . .” (ŚS 7.20.6). “The priest holds the pitcher with water and sprinkles the house with the two little fingers. The sacrificer and his wife, sitting inside the house, place silently on the earth the pitcher with water. The priest and the others in the beginning restrain their speech.” (Keśava ad 5.7[43].10) They release their speech with the stanza “Stay right here! . . .” (ŚS 7.60.7). “He continues the second part of the rite beginning with the abhyātāna offerings.” (Keśava ad 5.7[43].10). Thus, the rite of building a small house is completed.”

14 Em., both the mss. have the same reading: laghuśākhākarma.

15 Em., v. B of Keśava 3.6[23].1. anyatrābhimanayeṣu Berlin, BORI.

16 Cf. **yajumṣi yajñe doṣo gāyeti** sūktābhyāṃ Keśava Ms. Bhā2; sūktābhyāṃ omitted by Mss. Ga Va Sā Bhā1 and Ba.

17 kalaśodakapānīyā Berlin.

18 Cf. yajamānapatnīsaḡhiteṣu Keśava.

19 kalaśodakaghata Berlin, cf. kalaśodakam Keśava.

20 Cf. bhūmau ninayati tūṣṇīm / Keśava.

21 Em., thus Keśava. Cf. ācāryāya AthPaddh.

22 The tantra (prototype ritual) has been described by Keśava ad Kauś 5.7[43].3–15, as it was previously shown.

1.4 As reconstructed from the ritualistic exegesis, the ceremony described by KauśS 3.6[23].1–6 consists in an offering to Vāstoṣpati on the model of the *pākayajña*²³ followed by the main rite. The latter is simple and consists of four offerings of ghee mixed with honey accompanied by the recitation of two hymns belonging to *puṣṭikagaṇa*,²⁴ employed individually and jointly, and one verse addressing Anumati. The injunction “*ānumatīm caturthīm*” (KauśS 3.6[23].4) occurs in three other contexts: for obtaining Vedic knowledge through magic (5.6[42].11); in the cow immolation (5.9[45].10); in the funeral rites (11.3[82].38). In all these occurrences it concludes the fourth oblation, the first two being done with recitation of hymns appropriate to the ceremonies in question, and the third, with the two respective hymns. Anumati is invoked in all these contexts in her quality of being gracious, bounteous and specifically, for completing the sacrifice (see ŚS 7.20.4b: *no yajñam pipṛhi* – “complete our sacrifice!”; 7.20.5a: *emaṃ yajñam anumatir jagāma* – “Anumati came to this sacrifice”; 7.20.5d: *semaṃ yajñam avatu devagopā* – “Protected by divine folk, may she preserve this rite”; etc). The actual *vāstuśānti* (expiation ceremony for a new house) is silently performed by the priest who enters the house holding a pitcher with water which he sprinkles around with his little fingers. The sacrificer and his wife receive, also silently, the *pūrṇaghata* (auspicious “filled pot”), and place it on the floor. At the end of this meditation, the appropriate mantra “Stay right here! . . .” (ŚS 7.60.7) is recited. There is no mention of the Brahmins being fed, from where we may assume that the ceremony is not an occasion for a function, as in the construction rite described at KauśS 5.7[43].3–15, as it will be further seen.

The ritual described by KauśS 3.6[23].1–6 does not have the ritual syntax of a proper construction rite as it is described at KauśS 5.7[43].3–15. It is not a ritual of construction, but a ceremony performed by one who wishes to obtain prosperity after moving in his new residence.

1.5 Nested Textual Division of the Third *adhyāya* of the KauśS

The third *adhyāya* to which the *sūtras* 3.6[23].1–6 belong, is grouping the *puṣṭika* rites for prosperity. Bahulkar (2004: 30) considers that the rites are randomly grouped in this chapter, denoting a looseness of composition in the KauśS text. *Prima facie*, this holds true, as rites having the same purport occur in random

²³ The *pākayajña* is the domestic ritual for the new moon and full moon. The following elements are specifically mentioned (see § 1.2): pouring of ghee, sprinkling with propitiatory water, consecration of *barhis*, offering of milk porridge, *ājyabhāga* offerings, offering of cooked rice; and *abhyātāna* offerings after the description of *pradhānahoma*.

²⁴ For *puṣṭikā mantrāḥ* see Bloomfield ad KauśS 3.2[19].1, fn. 12.

places in the chapter: see items 1 and 22, 4 and 17, 12 and 21, respectively, etc in the table below.

Table 1: Composition of the third adhyāya of the KauśS.

	Textual reference	Purport of the rite	First mantra employed in the rite	Device/operator precedence
1	1[18].1–18	Rites for averting Nirṛti (bad luck)	pūrva (ŚS 1.1)	mantrādhikāra
2	1[18].19–26	citrākarma ceremony for welfare (pauṣṭika)	pūrva (ŚS 1.1)	mantrādhikāra
3	1[18].27–31	Prosperity upon starting on a journey	< ŚS 4.1> ²⁵	Explicit injunction: dvitīyena ‘with the second’ <hymn of the salilagāṇa> which is mentioned at 1[18].25. Second from this hymn group.
4	1[18].32–38	Seafaring welfare rituals (samudrakarma)	< ŚS 1.4.1> ²⁶	mantrādhikāra
5	2[19].1–21	Prosperity in cattle	ŚS 1.4.1 ²⁷	mantrādhikāra
6	2[19].22–27	Amulets for obtaining prosperity	ŚS 3.5.1	mantrādhikāra
7	2[19].28–31	“the eighth-day offerings” (aṣṭakā), seasonal rite	ŚS 3.10	mantrādhikāra
8	3[20] ²⁸ .1–24	agricultural rites	ŚS 3.17.1	mantrādhikāra
	3[20].25–26	for obtaining a bull	< ŚS 3.17.8 ²⁹ >	mantrādhikāra
9	4[21] ³⁰ .1–7	for plenty	ŚS 3.24	mantrādhikāra
10	4[21].8–11	prosperity proper (puṣṭi)	ŚS 4.21	mantrādhikāra
11	4[21].12–14	for getting clothes	ŚS 5.1.3	mantrādhikāra
12	4[21].15–20	for dividing the inherited propriety	ŚS 5.1.8	mantrādhikāra

25 For the identification of the hymn see Rotaru 2016: 323.

26 For the identification of the hymns employed, see Bloomfield 1889: 51, fn. 11.

27 Here starts the enumeration of a series of pratikas designated as puṣṭikā mantrāḥ by AthPaddh ad KauśS 3.7[24].22. These mantras are used throughout the 3rd adhyāya. (see Bloomfield’s note ad KauśS 3.2[19].1, p.51, fn 12).

28 Bloomfield does not divide this kaṇḍikā. He considers 3.3[20] a description of the “ploughing festival”.

29 V. KauśS 8.7.

30 Cf. Bloomfield 3.4[21].1–11 “cattle charms”.

Table 1 (continued)

	Textual reference	Purport of the rite	First mantra employed in the rite	Device/operator precedence
13	4[21].21–25	The rites employing the “flavours” (<i>rasas</i>) ³¹	ŚS 5.2.3	The mantrādhikāra method is followed, but Kauśika had to first introduce the paribhāṣā regarding the rasakarmāṇi.
14	5[22] ³² .1–5	puṣṭikarma (ritual for obtaining prosperity)	ŚS 5.1–2	mantrādhikāra
15	5[22].6, 7–9	for obtaining land and villages	<ŚS 5.1–2 ³³ >	mantrādhikāra
16	5[22].10–13	for wealth	<ŚS 5.1–2 ³⁴ >	mantrādhikāra
17	5[22].14–16	for commercial gain from navigation	ŚS 5.3	mantrādhikāra
18	6[23]³⁵.1–6	prosperity in a new residence	ŚS 5.26	mantrādhikāra
19	6[23].7	rite for prosperity in general	ŚS 5.27	mantrādhikāra
20	6[23].8	rite for prosperity in general	ŚS 5.27	mantrādhikāra
21	6[23].9–11	for dividing a propriety	ŚS 6.4	mantrādhikāra
22	6[23].12–16	Citrākarma ceremony for welfare (<i>pauṣṭika</i>)	ŚS 6.141	mantrādhikāra
23	6[23].17	Charm for ploughing	ŚS 6.33	The hymns 6.141 and 6.33 are consecutive hymns of the group puṣṭikā mantrāḥ
24	7[24].1–2	Rites for sowing	ŚS 6.142	mantrādhikāra
25	7[24].3–6	Rite for prosperity	ŚS 7.14	mantrādhikāra

³¹ Rasakarmāṇi composes a peculiar class of rites performed with the “flavours” (*rasas*). In a paper “Simple ritual and complex textual exegesis in the Kauśika Sūtra: the case of rasapraśaṇi (21.21 ff.)” presented at Deutscher Orientalistentag, Westfälische Wilhelms Universität, Munster, September 2013, I have explained the logic of construing in this order the sūtras which are paribhāṣās explaining this class of rites.

³² Cf. Bloomfield 3.5[22] “for success, prosperity.”

³³ V. KauśS 1.8.7.

³⁴ V. KauśS 1.8.7.

³⁵ Cf. Bloomfield 3.6[23].1–11 “rites on building a house”.

Table 1 (continued)

Textual reference	Purport of the rite	First mantra employed in the rite	Device/operator precedence
7[24].7	Rite for prosperity	ŚS 7.15	mantrādhikāra
7[24].8	Rite for prosperity	ŚS 7.33	mantrādhikāra
7[24].9–10	Rite for prosperity	ŚS 7.39	mantrādhikāra
26 7 [24].11–18	Rites upon entering a journey and returning from it	ŚS 7.60	mantrādhikāra
27 7 [24].19–23	Ceremony of letting loose a bull	ŚS 7.111	mantrādhikāra
28 7 [24].24–36	Āgrahāyaṇī (domestic full moon sacrifice)	ŚS 12.1	mantrādhikāra
29 7 [24].37–46	Rite for prosperity	ŚS 12.1.38–40	mantrādhikāra

The terms mantrādhikāra and phalādhikāra are explained by Dārila (Intro. p. 1) as two methods used by Kauśika in arranging the subjects of the sūtra text. The former reflects the sequence of the ritual subjects according to the order of the Saṃhitā hymns, and the latter, the classification consistent with the “fruits”/portents of the rites (see Bahulkar 1994: 27–30). Bahulkar rightly highlights that out of the two methods, Kauśika gives preference to the mantrādhikāra. The sūtra text is coined as Saṃhitā vidhi “a commentary of the Saṃhitā” (Sāyaṇa, Introduction, in Vishva Bandhu et al 1990: I, 23, etc), and therefore, the order of the rites follows the order of the mantras. The same convention applies in the arrangement inside each adhyāya, as clearly indicated in the table.

The order of the textual divisions is thus mentioned in the Kauś text: kaṇḍikās numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya (k), kaṇḍikās numbered from the beginning of the first adhyāya (K), sūtra (s) adhyāya (a).³⁶

$Kauś\{a\{k[K(s)]\}\}$

The third adhyāya classifies the rites for prosperity (phalādhikāra); the k is further dividing and grouping the rites according to the similarity of subjects (phalādhikāra); the K isolates the grouping by the mantra-usage. Each textual division isolates a segment of text/data and indicates the order of operations similar to operator precedence, the so called phalādhikāra and the mantrādhikāra.

$Kauś\{a\{k[K(s)]\}\}=mantrādhikāra\{phalādhikāra\{phalādhikāra[mantrādhikāra(phalādhikāra)]\}\}$

36 E.g. 46.7.24. ṛtīyo’adhyāya samāptaḥ.

The nested textual divisions override the precedence conventions reflecting which procedures to perform first in order to evaluate the sūtra-expression and to assess the purport of the rite prescribed.

3{6 [18 (1-18) (19-26) (27-31) (32-38)] [19 (1-21) (22-27) (28-31)] [20 (1-24) (25-26)] [21 (1-7) (8-11) (12-14) (15-20) (21-25)] [22 (1-5) (6) (7-9) (10-13) (14-16)] [23 (1-6) (7) (8) (9-11) (12-16) (17)] [24 (1-2) (3-6) (7) (8) (9-10) (11-18) (19-23) (24-36) (37-46)]}

2 Construction Rite in the Ātharvaṇic Ritual Texts

From the conclusion § 1.4. of the previous chapter, it follows that the proper rite for construction of a building is prescribed only by the KauśS 5.7[43].3–15.

2.1 KauśS 5.7[43].3–15

ati dhanvanīty (ŚS 7.41) avasānaniveśanānucaraṇātinayanejyā /3/³⁷ vāstoṣpatīyaiḥ³⁸ kulijakṣṭe³⁹ dakṣiṇato'gneḥ saṃbhāram āharati/4/ vāstoṣpatyādīni mahāśāntim āvapate /5/ madhyame garte darbheṣu vrīhiyavam āvapati /6/ śāntyudakaśaṣpaśarkaram anyeṣu /7/ **ihaiḥva dhruvām** (ŚS 3.12)⁴⁰ ity miyāmānām ucchrīyamāṇām anumantrayate /8/ abhyajyateneti (ŚS 3.12.6) mantroktam /9/ **pūrṇam nārīty** (ŚS 3.12.8–9)⁴¹ udakumbham agnim ādāya prapadyante /10/ **dhruvābhyām** (ŚS 6.87 and 88)⁴² dṛṃhayati /11/ **śaṃbhumayobhubhyām** viṣyandayati /12/

37 For the emendation and translation of this sūtra see Rotaru and Sumant 2012, endorsing Bloomfield 1892: 1–24.

38 vāstoṣpatīyāni are prescribed by the paribhāṣā KauśS 1.8.23. see further note 100.

39 Dārila: agner dakṣiṇataḥ kulīyena (em. by the editors kulijena) karṣati / tatra saṃbhārān nidadhāti / – “He ploughs by means of a plough (?) at the south of the fire. There he places the utensils.” We cannot offer for the moment a better understanding of this hapax other than the explanation of Caland (1900: 147 fn. 4).

40 The hymn belongs to vāstoṣpatīyagaṇa (see KauśS 1.8.23). See further note 99.

41 The consecutive mantra having the same purport should also be inferred here, on account of the paribhāṣā KauśS 1.8.7, anantarāṇi samānāni yuktāni / – “The consecutive hymns having common use are to be employed in the ritual collectively, though the sūtra mentions the pratīka of the first hymn in the series.” (For this paribhāṣā see Bahulkar 1977: 35, n.126). This paribhāṣā application, which changes the understanding of the whole sūtra, is not noticed by Bloomfield 1889 or Caland 1900.

42 Dārila glosses for dhruvābhyām ṛgbhyām. Keśava and probably from him Bloomfield 1889; 1897; and Caland 1900 understand the “two dhruvas” as the first two stanzas of the hymn recently mentioned, ŚS 3.12. The “two dhruvas mantras” seems to be a technical term in the KauśS. See KauśS 136.7: anyam kṛtvā dhruvābhyām dṛṃhayitvā, wherein the “two dhruvas” are identified

**vāstoṣ pate prati jānihy asmān svāveśo anamīvo na edhi /
yat tvemahe prati nas taj juṣasva catuṣpado dvipada ā veśayeha // (PS 7.6.10)
anamīvo vāstoṣ pate viśvā rūpāny āviśan /
sakhā suśeva edhi nah iti// (PS 20.23.2) vāstoṣpataye kṣīraudanasya juhōti /13/ sarvānnāni
brāhmaṇān bhōjayati /14/ maṅgalyāni /15/**

[With the hymn] “Beyond dry sandbanks. . .” (ŚS 7.41)⁴³ [are performed the acts, namely,] the sprinkling of the propitiatory water at the spot for placing [the pitcher], the pouring of water inside the house, and the sacrifice [for the falcon]. With the hymns related to Vāstoṣpati he ploughs [the soil of the enclosure] [and next] he brings the ritual utensils to the south of the fire. He performs the mahāśānti with [the groups of hymns] beginning with vāstoṣpatīya [gaṇa]. He throws rice and barley on the grass in the middle ditch.⁴⁴ [He throws] sprouts of grass and pebbles sprinkled with propitiatory water in the other [ditches]. With the hymn “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12) he concentrates [upon the house] which is being measured out [and next on the main pillar] which is set up.⁴⁵ Having anointed [the main pillar], he does as prescribed in the stanza “With due order. . .” (ŚS 3.12.6) (i.e. he sets the transom over the main pillar). With the [mantra] “The full <pitcher>, O woman. . .” (ŚS 3.12.8) [the wife] brings in a pitcher with water, [and the sacrificer] brings in the fire, [and afterwards all] come inside [the house].⁴⁶ With the “two dhruvas” (ŚS 6.87 and 88) he should make [the house] firm. With the

by Sāyaṇa (intro. to ŚS 6.87) with the two consecutive hymns ŚS 6.87 and 88 (see also Whitney, introduction to ŚS 3.12). The two hymns are used together in a ceremony for one who wishes firmness (Kauś 7,10[59]13). Dārila’s and Keśava’s editors alike are not aware of this late exegesis, and similarly Bodewitz 1978: 60, although he sensed the inappropriateness of the employment of ŚS 3.12.1–2 while “ramming down the central post”, considering it a secondary application.

43 The hymn belongs to vāstugaṇa (v. Bloomfield 1889 note ad 1.8.23) and the two verses are called samprokṣanyau and used in sprinkling.

44 Dārila: pradhānasthūṅagarte . . . “in the ditch where the main pillar has to be erected”.

45 See Keśava: **ihaiṣa dhruvām** (ŚS 3.12) iti sūktena miyamānām śālām anumantrayate / yadā sthūṅocchrīyate tadā **ihaiṣa dhruvām** (ŚS 3.12) iti sūktena anumantrayate / – “He concentrates with the hymn “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12) upon the enclosure which is being measured up and when the pillar is being erected he concentrates [upon it] with the hymn “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12).” Cf. Dārila: **ihaiṣa dhruvām** (ŚS 3.12) madhyamasthūṅām ucchriyamāṇām anumantrayate / – “He concentrates with “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12) upon the central pillar which is being erected.” Cf. Bloomfield 1897: 346: “The hymn AV III, 12 is recited while the (central post) is being fixed and erected.”; and Caland 1900: 148: “das Lied III.12 spricht er aus, wenn der Hauptpfiler abgemessen und aufgerichtet wird.” Bloomfield wrongly understands that Keśava, like Ath-Paddh (see further at § 2.3) read “more generally, śālām”. In fact, Keśava envisages two actions and rightly thinks miyamānā refers to śālā and ucchriyamāṇā to sthūṅā. Renou 1939: 488 refers precisely to this passage for the distinction between mi- and ucchri-.

46 See also Dārila: **pūrṇam nārīty** (ŚS 3.12.8) ekayā udakapūrṇam ghatam grhṇāti / uttarayā agnim / tābhyām agrasthitābhyām sarvāni manuṣāni grham praviśanti / ekaikā āṅgakarmatvāt / ata evā vidhikarmatvam / – “With one [stanza of the hymn] “The full [pitcher], O woman! . . .” (ŚS 3.12.8) he brings the pitcher full with water, with the second [verse] [he brings] the fire. All the people enter the house following these two ahead. One after the other, as per subsidiary actions. This is the nature of vidhikarma (rites in which the entire hymns from the Saṃhitā are quoted; see

two hymns “śambhumayobhu” (§§ 1.5–6) he pours the water. He offers an oblation of milk porridge to the Lord of the house (Vāstoṣpati) [with the verses]:

O lord of the building, admit us; to us be of good entrance and free of afflictions. Take pleasure in this, on our behalf, what we ask of you: let the biped and the quadruped [moving creatures] enter here. (PS 7.6.10, trsl. Griffiths 2009)

Free of afflictions, O lord of the building, all the forms have entered here; a friend, a good treasure to us be! (PS 20.23.2)

He feeds the Brahmins all kinds of food. [He makes them recite] the blessings.

2.2 Keśava has a (brief) word by word exegesis on each sūtra which partially has been given in the footnotes at § 2.1 and § 2.3. At the end of the rite he has an ample commentary with ritualistic injunctions, ad Kauś 5.7[43].3–15 (see supra at § 1.2). Keśava records a divergent opinion of certain ritualists (see supra, note 12) who employ the tantra (prototype ritual) described at Kauś 3.6[23].1–6 in the beginning of the actual construction rite.

To sum up, Keśava assigns each sūtra to a peculiar ceremony of the construction rite: bhūmīsuddhi, “purification of the site” (sūtras 3–4), in which the sacrifice for the falcon is done on the model of the pākayajña on the very spot of the construction ground for removing the obstacles (there are other schools of ritualists who sacrifice for the falcon in the new house itself, in the other rituals); vāstusaṃskāra, “consecration of the house” (sūtras 4–12), which consists in ploughing the ground (sūtra 4) for removing the vegetal layer and sprinkling it with the propitiatory water (mahāśānti, sūtra 5), and various acts of construction ceremoniously performed (digging the ditch for the middle pillar and consecrating the same [sūtra 6]; digging the other ditches and their consecration [sūtra 7]; measuring the enclosure and consecrating it [sūtra 8]; erecting the main pillar and consecrating it [sūtra 8]; setting the transom over the main pillar which is eventually besmeared with ghee [sūtra 9]; the construction proper, probably filling in the walls with grass, placing the roof, etc. [sūtra 11]). Gṛhapraveśaḥ, i.e. the ceremony of ritually entering the house for the first time, proper starts with the installation of the pūrṇaghātā and the fire (which presupposes the existence of a fire place; see sūtra 10), and the entering inside of the invitees (sūtra 10), continues with the sprinkling around of propitiatory water (sūtra 12) and with an offering to the Lord of the house (sūtra 13), and gaily ends

Bahulkar 1994: 33.” Keśava understands the sutra in the same lines. Bloomfield 1897: 343 on the hymn in question envisages one subject for the three actions: “Having taken a pitcher of water, and the fire, they enter the house while reciting the eighth stanza.”; Caland (1901: 148), two: “indem er die Strophe III.12.8 ausspricht, treten sie (n.l. die Frau des Hausherrn) mit einer mit Wasser gefüllten Schale, und (er selbst) mit dem (in eine Schüssel gelegten) Feuer, hinein.”

with feeding of the Brahmins summoned at the ceremony who in return make “the declaration of the day auspicious”, and with the old women singing and blessing.

2.3 AthPaddh mainly copies Keśava’s glosses, but also adds some useful information. As it may be seen in the footnotes, the text is corrupted, and a setback as compared to Keśava’s scholarship and the general understanding of the rite.

athabr̥ha[c]hālākarma ucyate / **ati dhanvānīti** (ŚS 7.41.1–2) *dvābhyām ṛgbhyām*⁴⁷ *udapātram abhimam̥trya bhūmau*⁴⁸ *ninayati* / *yatra gr̥haṃ kariṣyati tatra vighnaṃ śamayati*⁴⁹ / *senedevatā*⁵⁰ *pākayañāvidhānenājyabhāgaṃtaṃ kṛtvā*⁵¹ / **ati dhanvānīti** (ŚS 7.41) *dvābhyām ṛgbhyām caruṃ juhōti* / *pārvaṇādyuttaratam̥traṃ* //cha// *bhūmisthāne yatra gr̥haṃ kariṣyati* / *tatra śyenayāgaṃ kariṣyati*⁵² / *kuryāt* //⁵³ *athavā nave gr̥he śyenayāgaḥ kartavyaḥ* / (Keśava on 43.3) *iti dārila bhāṣyakārah* //⁵⁴ *atha gr̥hapraveśe vāstusaṃskāra ucyate* //⁵⁵ (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].4–5) **ihaiva dhruvām** *ityādi* (ŚS 3.12) *catvāriṅgaṇair bhūmi[ṃ] yatra gr̥haṃ kariṣyati tatrāgner dakṣiṇataḥ saṃbhāram āharati* //⁵⁶ *tato yathoktavignanaṃ*⁵⁷ *śāntyudakaṃ karoti prathamam̥ śaṃ no devī* (ŚS 1.6) *punaḥ sāvitṛī* (ṚV 3.62.10) // **aṃbayo yaṃti** *tyādīlaghugaṇaiḥ*⁵⁸ (ŚS 1.4 ff.) *śāntyudakaṃ karoti / tāvatparyam̥taṃ yāvāt yan mātālī* (ŚS 11.6.23) *varjaṃ / atra sthāne ihaivām*⁵⁹ *ity* (ŚS 3.12) *evam ādinicativāriṅgaṇai[ḥ]*⁶⁰ *kausīkoka-*

47 AthPaddh gloss.

48 Cf. *tatra ninayati bhūmau* Keśava.

49 Cf. *vighnaśamanaṃ bhavati* Keśava.

50 Sic! *śyenadevatā*. Thus Keśava mss. Ga Vā Sā Bhā1, cf. *śyenadevatāyai* Keśava mss. Ba Bha2.

51 Thus Keśava mss. Ba Bhā2, cf. *bhavati* Keśava mss. Ga Vā Sā Bhā1.

52 Cf. *kṛtvā gr̥haṃ kuryāt* Keśava.

53 AthPaddh Berlin uses distinctly the single and the double *daṇḍa* whereas AthPaddh BORI uses the single *daṇḍa* throughout.

54 See Keśava: *vikalpa iti bhāṣyakārah* /. Thus, AthPaddh says that Dārila is the author of this metarule. However, Dārila does not refer to a metarule regarding a *vikalpa* option: *athavā nave gr̥he*. . . might be a quotation from a lost commentary. Keśava glosses: *prathamato vā śyenayāgo nave gr̥he* / – “Or he should perform the rite for the falcon in the new house, with priority.”

55 Cf. *atha gr̥hapraveśa ucyate / vāstusaṃskāra ucyate* Keśava.

56 Keśava has the following phrasing: **ihaiva dhruvām** *ityādi* (ŚS 3.12) *gaṇena* (Cf. *iti sūktena* mss. Ga, Vā, Sā, Bhā 1) *bhūmiṃ halena karṣati* / *tato dakṣiṇataḥ saṃbhāram āharaty agneḥ / tataḥ śāntyudakaṃ karoti / mātāliivarjaṃ kṛtvā vāstoṣpatyadīni caturgaṇī mahāśāntiḥ / śāntyudaka āvapatē / tato mātālīm kṛtvā tataḥ śāntyudakaṃ samāpyate / tena bhūmiṃ prokṣayet / tataḥ* // – “With the group of hymns beginning with “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12) he ploughs the soil with a plough. Then he brings the utensils at the south of the fire. Next, he prepares the pacificatory water. He performs the mahāśānti with the four groups of hymns beginning with the vāstoṣpatī group. He sprinkles the pacificatory water. Then he recites the verse “mātālī” (ŚS 11.6.23), and next he concludes the rite of the preparation of the pacificatory water. He sprinkles the ground with this. Thus.” For the significance and the employment of the “mātālī” verse in Kauś see Rotaru 2009: 184, fn. 98.

57 Sic! *vighnaśamanaṃ*.

58 Sic! *gaṇaiḥ*.

59 Sic! *ihaiva*.

60 Sic! *-gaṇaiḥ*.

taiḥ anuyojanaṃ kartavyaṃ / tato yanmātalipāṭhitvāt / tataḥ sāvitṛī (RV 3.62.10) punaḥ
śaṃ no devī (ŚS 1.6) śāntyudakena tena śālāṃ saṃprokṣati / madhyame gartte nikhanati
 // sadarbheṣu vrīhiyava āvapati nikhiyati / *śāntyudaka*⁶¹śaśyaśarkkaramanyeṣu *sthūnāgar-*
*teṣu prakṣipati*⁶² / (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].7) **ihaiḥa dhruvām iti** (ŚS 3.12) *sūktena miyamānaṃ*
śālāṃ anumamṭrayate / (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].8) *sthūnāvamaṣāṃ ghrtenābhyajya tūṣṇim* // *tataḥ*
ṛtena sthūnām ity ekayā⁶³ (3.12.6) *sthūnāvamaṣāṃ ropayati*⁶⁴ // (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].9) *tataḥ*
*puṇyāvahācanaṃ kṛtvā pūrṇaṃ nārīty ekayā*⁶⁵ (ŚS 3.12.8) *udakumbhasahitām patnīm anu-*
maṃṭrayate / grhe praviśati //⁶⁶ *yajamānapuruṣo[']gnim grhitvā*⁶⁷ *anye praviśanti*⁶⁸ (Dārila ad
 5.7.[43].10) / **ihaiḥa dhruvām iti** (ŚS 3.12.1–2) *dvābhyām ṛgbhyām*⁶⁹ *vṛṣṭim*⁷⁰ *kārayati śālāb-*
*hūmim*⁷¹ / (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].11) *śaṃbhumayobhubhyām sūktābhyām* (ŚS 1.5–6) *udakumb-*
*haṃ*⁷² *grha[m]*⁷³ *ā[c]chādayati*⁷⁴ / *tataḥ vāstoṣpataye kṣiraudanasya juhotīti kauśikasūtraḥ*
 (KauśS 5.7.[43].13) / *tatra vāstoṣpatir devatā juṣṭam*⁷⁵ *nirvapāmīti nirvāpaḥ* // *vāstoṣpataye*
*tvā juṣṭam prokṣāmi prokṣaṇam*⁷⁶ // (Keśava ad 5.7[43].13) *vāstoṣpatibhyām gachamtu*⁷⁷ / *bar-*
*hirhomeḥ / ājyabhāgāṃṭam kṛtvā / vāstoṣpataye devataye*⁷⁸ *vāstoṣpatīyagane*⁷⁹ ca **anamivā**
vāstoṣpate (KauśS 5.7[43].13) *śāṃkhāyikiye ṛce*⁸⁰
vāstoṣ pate prati jānīhy asmām śvāveśo anamivo na edhi⁸¹ /
yat te mahe⁸² **prati nas taj juṣasva catuspado dvīpada ā veśayeha** //⁸³

61 śāntyudakaṃ Keśava.

62 Cf. pārśvasthiteṣu prakṣipati // Keśava.

63 ity ṛcā Keśava.

64 Thus Keśava mss. Ga Vā Sā, cf. sthūnāvamaṣān Keśava Bhā2, vamaṣān Keśava Ba Bhā 1.

65 Cf. ity ṛcā Keśava.

66 Cf. grhe praviśanti Keśava mss. Ga Vā Sā Bhā 1, bāhyato grhaṃ praveśayanti Keśava Ba Bhā2.

67 Cf. grhitvā / Keśava.

68 AthaPaddh BORI praviśam with ti inserted with kākapada.

69 See note 45.

70 Cf. ḍṛdhām Keśava.

71 Em., thus Keśava. Cf. kārayati / śālābhūmi AthaPaddh.

72 Thus AthaPaddh BORI. udakumbha AthaPaddh Berlin.

73 Cf. grhabhūmim Keśava.

74 Cf. āplāvayati Keśava.

75 nuṣṭam AthaPaddh BORI.

76 Em., prokṣāmi / prokṣaṇā AthaPaddh, cf. prokṣāmi iti prokṣaṇam Keśava.

77 Cf. vāstoṣpatim gacchatu haviḥ shāvā iti barhirhome / Keśava.

78 Sic! devatāyai.

79 vāstoṣpatīyāni (KauśS 1.8.23) are: ŚS 3.12, 6.73, 6.93, 12.1. Neither Dārila, nor Keśava refers to the employment of the group of hymns related to Vāstoṣpati. It might be a confusion with vāstoṣpatīyarce.

80 ṛcer AthaPaddh BORI.

81 Thus AthaPaddh BORI. eti AthaPaddh Berlin.

82 See all mss. readings of KauśS, cf. Bloomfield's conjecture: yat tve mahe. See also PS 7.6.10 adopted reading, cf. yatvemahe PS ms. Or, yantvemahe PS ms. K.

83 V. PS 7.6.10.

**anamivā⁸⁴ vāstoṣpate viśvā rūpāṇy āviśan //
sakhā suśeva edhi naḥ⁸⁵** (KauśS 5.7.[43].13)

vāstoṣpate prati jānīhīti (KauśS 5.7.[43].13) *dvābhyāṃ kalpajāṃ śrapya kṣiraudanaṃ caruṃ juhoti / tataḥ pārvaṇādyuttaratamtram /* (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].13) *sarvānnāni brāhmaṇān bhōjayati //* (KauśS 5.7.[43].14) *striyā maṃgalyāni vācayati* ⁸⁶ *brāhmaṇāya⁸⁷ puṇyāhāni paṭhati⁸⁸ // śrāddhaṃ kurvati // kecit pūrvam / paścāt kecit* ⁸⁹ *sarvatra bhūmiśuddhividhānaṃ // gṛhakarānavidhānaṃ⁹⁰ / yatra yatra gṛhaṃ maṃḍapaṃ vā kuṭī vā citraśālikam vā maṣṭhānaṃ⁹¹ vā⁹² gṛhādīkam karoti / tatra sarvatra⁹³ vidhānena vāstuyāgaḥ kartavya itī* (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].14) *paṃḍitakeśavapaddhatikāraḥ / anena vidhinā śālāṃ kṛtvā sarve gṛhe nirupadravaṃ śuddhipuṣpavanta⁹⁴ godhanadhānyapuṣpabhogyā⁹⁵ ca śālā vasaṃti* ⁹⁶ *evaṃ vāstuśaṃdhanam⁹⁷ bhavantu⁹⁸ / itī gṛhapraveśaḥ samāptaḥ //cha//*

Now the rite of building a big house is described. “Having consecrated the water pitcher with two stanzas of the hymn “Beyond dry sandbanks. . .” (ŚS 7.41), [the priest] pours [the water] on the earth. On that spot where one builds a house, he should pacify the obstacle. Having performed the ājyabhāga up to the end, on the pattern of the pākayajña, with two stanzas of the hymn “Beyond dry sandbanks. . .” (ŚS 7.41), he should offer a rice oblation to the deity Śyena. Next, he continues with the second part of the rite, beginning with the pārvaṇa offerings. On the place where one will build a house, he shall perform a śyenayāga. He does that.” (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].3) Or he should perform the śyenayāga in the new house, thus says the commentator Dārila.

“Now the consecration rite upon entering the house is being described.” (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].4–5) With the four groups of hymns beginning with “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12)⁹⁹ [the ploughs.] the soil on that very spot where one wishes to build the house [and next] he

84 V. KauśS 5.7[43].13 mss. K P, the rest: anamīvo. Cf. amīvahā vāstoṣpate ṚV 7.55.1, MS 1.5.13, Mś 1.6.3.1, ŚGṛ 3.4.8, ParGṛ 3.4.7, ApMB 2.15.21 (ApG 7.17.12), MG 2.11.19, PS 20.23.2 [PSK 20.22.2], ṚgVidh 2.26.5, 27.2.

85 V. PS 20.23.2 [PSK 20.22.2].

86 Cf. Keśava: vṛddhā striyo gītamaṅgalyādi kurvanti |

87 Sic! brāhmaṇāḥ, cf. Keśava.

88 Sic! paṭhanti, cf. Keśava.

89 Cf. śrāddhaṃ ca kecit paścāt kurvanti kecit pūrvam kurvanti / Keśava.

90 Cf. gṛhakarānavidhānaṃ ca Keśava.

91 So Keśava mss. Ba Bhā2, cf. avasthānaṃ Keśava mss. Ga, Vā Sā Bhā1.

92 AthPaddha omits the following: prakārāṭālakam vā devagrhaṃ vā nyad vā ṛṇamayam vā kāṣṭamayam veṣṭikāmayam vā pāṣānamayam vā.

93 Cf. tatrānena Keśava.

94 Cf. putravanto Keśava.

95 Cf. godhanadhānyapuṣṭāḥ Keśava.

96 Cf. anena vidhinā śālā kṛtvā śāntā / gṛhiṇo nirupadravāḥ sukhinaḥ putravanto godhanadhānyapuṣṭāḥ / bhogyā ca śālā bhavati / Keśava.

97 Cf. vāstusukham Keśava.

98 Sic! bhavatu, cf. bhavati Keśava.

99 The four gaṇas beginning with ŚS 3.12 are those enumerated by KauśS 1.8.23–25, 1.9.1–2, viz. vāstoṣpatīyāni, mātrnāmāni, cātānāni, and the two śāntigaṇas. Cf. AVParīś 30b1.15: vāstoṣpatīyādibhiś caturbhir ganaiḥ śāntiyudakam kṛtvā. In fact, KauśS prescribes the employment of the first gaṇa

brings the utensils to the south of the fire. Then he prepares the propitiatory water for removing the obstacle, as it was already prescribed,¹⁰⁰ first with “Favourable to us, the divine. . .” (ŚS 1.6), next with the *sāvitrī* mantra (RV 3.62.10). He prepares the propitiatory water with the short group of hymns beginning with “The mothers go. . .” (ŚS 1.4), as far as the verse “Which Mātali. . .” (ŚS 11.6.23), which should be avoided¹⁰¹ He should employ on that enclosure the four groups of hymns beginning with “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12) mentioned by Kauśika. Then he should recite the verse “Which Mātali. . .” (ŚS 11.6.23). Next, he sprinkles the house with propitiatory water [reciting] the *sāvitrī* mantra (RV 3.62.10), then “Favourable to us, the divine. . .” (ŚS 1.6). He digs in the middle ditch. He throws rice and barley in the ditch covered with grass and makes [the sacrificer] dig it. “He throws propitiatory water in the ditches of the enclosure. With the hymn “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12) he speaks a mantra upon the house which is being measured out. He silently anoints the central bamboo pillar with ghee. Next, he should erect the central pillar with one stanza, “With due order. . .” (ŚS 3.12.6). Next, after having performed the *punyāhavācana* he should concentrate upon the wife sitting with the water pitcher with one stanza, “The full <jar>, O woman. . .” (ŚS 3.12.8).¹⁰²

Now [the ceremony performed when] one enters the house. After the sacrificer fetches the fire the others enter too. With the two verses of the hymn “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12) (sic!) [the priest] makes [the sacrificer] fix [the house] firm.” (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].7–11) With the two hymns “*śaṃbhumayobhu*” (ŚS 1.5–6)” he covers (sic! sprinkles) the ground of the house with water from the pitcher. Next, “he offers an oblation of milk porridge to the Lord of the house (*Vāstoṣpati*)”, as Kauśikasūtra says. The pouring [is done] with “*Vāstoṣpati* is the tutelary deity, I offer what is enjoyed.” He performs the sprinkling to *Vāstoṣpati*: “For you I sprinkle what is enjoyed.” (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].13) The sprinkling may go with the two [verses related to] *Vāstoṣpati*. [Next], the offering of the sacrificial grass [follows]. He performs until the end of the *ājyabhāga*. To *Vāstoṣpati*, the tutelary deity, the two groups of hymns related to *Vāstoṣpati* (sic!) and the two verses belonging to *Śāṅkhāyana*.

Having boiled milk porridge “with the two verses issued from ritual”:

O lord of the building, admit us; to us be of good entrance and free of afflictions. Take pleasure in this, on our behalf, what we ask of you: let the biped and the quadruped [moving creatures] enter here. (PS 7.6.10, trsl. Griffiths 2009)

Free of afflictions, O lord of the building, all the forms have entered here; a friend, a good treasure to us be! (PS 20.23.2),

(v. Keśava and supra note 40) for the ploughing and the four *gaṇas* for the *mahāśānti* (For the *mahāśānti* see Rotaru: 2009: 166–167, and fn.8, 170, fn. 13, 185, and fn.100, 187).

100 *AthPaddh* refers to the order of the rites as prescribed by the KauśS. The *śāntyudakavidhi* is described by the *AthPaddha* prior to the current rite. For the rite of the pacificatory water see Rotaru (2009: 162–204).

101 For the significance of the ‘Mātali verse’ see Rotaru 2009: 184, fn.98. This verse in inauspicious and should be avoided in a ritual for propitiation.

102 The mantra is used in *VaitS* 16.1 for urging the *adhvaryu* to fetch the *vasatī* water in the ceremony of setting the fires in the *Agniṣṭoma*: *vasatīvarīḥ pariḥṣiyamāṇaḥ pūrṇam nāri prabhara* ity (3.12.8) *anumantrayate* /

he should offer a rice oblation.” (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].14) “Next, he continues with the second part of the rite, beginning with the pārvaṇa offerings. He should feed the Brahmins all kinds of food.” (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].13–14) He makes the women utter good wishes. “The Brahmins recite ‘the declaration of the day as auspicious’.” (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].14) Some perform the śrāddha before, some afterwards. Whenever one performs the rite of purification of the ground in the construction rite. Whenever [one wishes to build] a house, a sacrificial hall, a hut, an exhibition hall, a pavilion or a small house, he should perform the construction rite with [the other] prescription. Thus says the learned Keśava. Having built the house, with the other prescription [one should induce] happiness in the entire house and make the building endowed with pure flowers (sic!) and rich in cows, plenty, crops, flowers (sic!). This brings happiness to the house. Thus is accomplished the rite of entering the house.”

3 Verses Addressing Vāstoṣpati Employed in the Ritual Texts of Other Vedic Schools

RV 7.55.1= MS 1.5.13, MānavaŚS 1.6.3.1, ŚGS 3.4.8, ParGS 3.4.7, ApMB 2.15.21 (ApG 7.17.12), MG 2.11.19, cf. PS 20.23.2 [PSK 20.22.2], R̥gVidh 2.26.5, 27.2.

3.1 Verses Addressing Vāstoṣpati in the Ātharvaṇic Ritual Tradition

As a rule, in the auxiliary Vedic literature, the mantras quoted from the Samhitā of the school of which the text belongs is referred by *pratīka*, a symbol composed of the incipit of the hymn or verse, while the mantras from other śākhās are quoted in full (*sakalapāṭha*). We have seen in the above sections that Kauśika quotes *sakalapāṭhena* two mantras invoking the Lord of the house, which are considered by traditional exegesis, starting with the commentator Dārila as *kalpajā ṛcs* “mantras issued from the ritual performance”, and quoted with reliability by Keśava and the AthPaddh. Griffiths (2004: 63 and n.34) considers that these two mantras in Kauś hail from the Paippalāda tradition and that they are attributed by AthPaddh to the Śāṅkhāyana tradition because they actually occur in the śrauta and gṛhya sūtras of this school. However, as seen above, the respective fragment in AthPaddh is loosely composed, quotations from Keśava are significantly inaccurate,¹⁰³ Dārila is mis-

¹⁰³ Besides the emendations and critical comments to the text noted in the footnotes, it should be added that there is hesitation as to the reading *śyenadavatā*, which is read instead *senedavatā*, a ritual restriction of odiosum nomen unknown to Keśava, but imposed by latter diaskeuasis on the KauśS (Rotaru and Sumant 2012).

quoted once, and the two verses hesitantly called *vāstoṣpatiyagaṇe* (sic!), “the two verses belonging to Śāṅkhāyana”, and “the two verses issued from ritual”. Without bothering with higher textual criticism, the composer of the paddhati commentary might have indeed attributed the stanzas in question to the school the ritual of which was prevalent in his quarters, most probably Gujarat.¹⁰⁴

In the description of the *grahayajña* ‘pacification of the planets’, the SPR prescribes after the worshipping of *Kṣetrapati* with the hymn ŚS 2.8.5, the worshipping of *Vāstoṣpati*, with the two stanzas in question. However, although reference is made to KauśS 5.7[43].13, the quoted verses have the same readings as ṚV 7.54.1 and ṚV 7.55.1, from which they were actually taken.

vāstoṣpatiḥ kauśiko (KauśS 5.7[43].13) *vāstoṣpatis triṣṭup*¹⁰⁵ *vāstoṣpatisthāpane viniyogaḥ* //
Oṃ vāstoṣpate prati jānihy asmān svāveśo¹⁰⁶ **anamīvo bhavā naḥ** //¹⁰⁷
*yat tve mahi*¹⁰⁸ **prati tan no juṣasva śaṃ no bhava dvipade śaṃ catuṣpade** //7// (ṚV 7.54.1)
amīvahā vāstoṣpate viśvā rūpāny āviśan /
*sakhā suśava*¹⁰⁹ **edhi naḥ** / (ṚV 7.55.1)

3.2 Verses Addressing *Vāstoṣpati* in the Ritual Tradition of Other Vedic Schools

Sarvānukramaṇī on ṚV 7.55 says that the first stanza of this hymn refers to *Vāstoṣpati*, whereas the remaining seven are held to be lullabies (*amīvahāṣṭau vāstoṣpatyādyā gāyatrī śeṣāstry upariṣṭādbṛhaty ādayo’nuṣṭubhaḥ prasvāpīnya upaniṣat*). *Brhad-dēvatā* 6.1.2 records the whole hymn of three stanzas 7.54 and the first stanza of the next hymn, 7.56, as addressed to *Vāstoṣpati*.

3.2.1 *Sāyaṇa* under ṚV 7.54 records the traditional information about this hymn and quotes *AśvGS* 2.9.9:

smārte gṛhanirmāṇe vāstoṣpate iti catasṛbhiḥ pratyṛcam juhuyāt / sūtritaṃ ca vāstoṣ pate prati jānihy asmān iti (ṚV 7.54, 55.1) *catasṛbhiḥ pratyṛcam hutvā iti* (*AśvGr* 2.9.9)¹¹⁰ // – “In

¹⁰⁴ Bühler 1871: V; and for further estimation on this śākhā Witzel 2016.

¹⁰⁵ See Sarvānukramaṇī 7.54 *vāstoṣpate iti tṛcātmakam ekaviṃśaṃ sūktam vasiṣṭasyārṣaṃ traiṣṭubham vāstoṣpatyam*.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *asmān svāveśo* ṚV.

¹⁰⁷ This is recited *ekaśruti*.

¹⁰⁸ Sic! *tve mahe* ṚV.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *padapāṭha suśeva*.

¹¹⁰ *AśvGS* 2.9.9 *madhye agārasya sthālīpākam śrapayitvā vāstoṣpate pratijānihy asmān iti* (ṚV 7.54.1) *catasṛbhiḥ pratyṛcam hutvā annam samskrīya brāhmaṇān bhojayitva śivam vāstu śivam vāstv iti vācayīta /*

the tradition, at the building of a house, one should offer individually with the four stanzas RV 7.54.1–3, 55.1. As it is said in the sūtra, “having offered individually with the four stanzas RV 7.54.1–3, 55.1”, etc”.

Thus, the first stanza of the adjoined hymn, 7.55, does not have any connection with the traditional story associated with the rest of the hymn.¹¹¹

The hymn RV 7.55 occurs as such in the so called Āśvalāyana Saṃhitā, followed by a hymn of eight verses, 7.56, being a prayer to Vāstoṣpati for sound sleep and good dreams for the family, as well as an incantation for the avoidance of snakes biting family members. Chaubey (2009: 45) connects this hymn with the ceremony of burying a snake effigy when laying the foundation of a house, and rightly thinks it was recited in the rite of building a house. It is worth noting that *Paippalāda-vivāhādisaṃskārapaddhati* (p. 44) employs the whole hymn PS 7.6 together with the Śālāsūkta PS 3.20 (≈ ŚS 3.12) in the consecration of the arghya water for the eight serpents beginning with Ananta and so on. This is a clear indication of the employment of those mantras in a construction rite in the Paippalāda tradition.

The four verses RV 7.54.1–3, 55.1 are thus employed by various ritual sūtras:

3.2.2 ŚaṅkhGS 2.14.5–6

atha vāstumadhye baliṃ hared etābhyaś caiva devatābhyo namo brahmaṇe brāhmaṇebhyaś ca vāstoṣpate pratijānihy asmān iti (RV 7.54.1) vāstumadhye vāstoṣpataye

Next, he presents a food offering (bali) in the centre of the floor to the same deities, [another bali with] “Salutation to Brahman and to the brāhmins!” and with the hymn RV 7.54.1 to the Lord of the house in the centre of the floor.

¹¹¹ See Wilson (1884: 370) for the composite character of the hymn made of three distinct parts, verse 1, verses 2–4, and 5–8, the last four corresponding to ŚS 4.5.6,5,1,3 (PS 4.6.6,5,1,3). The joining of the first stanza to the rest of the hymn is a mis-division. Sāyaṇa is aware of this and quotes the story from the R̥gvedasarvānukramāṇiparibhāṣa 7.55 and the Bṛhadddevatā 6.3.11–13: Vasiṣṭha being hungry at the end of a three-day fast, has entered his father house during the night, searching for food. Upon Saramā’s barking at his furtive entrance, the priest lulled him to sleep with two stanzas, RV 7.55.2–3, and put to sleep the other attendants of Varuṇa with the last four verses of the same hymn. Bṛhadddevatā 6.3.14,15 further narrates that when Varuṇa bound him with his famous fetters, Vasiṣṭha praised his father with four successive hymns starting with a supplication to soothe Varuṇa’s wrath (RV 7. 86), a praise to the plenipotential and omniscient god (RV 7.87), a recollection of the two’s togetherness (RV 7.88), and ending with a surrender to the Almighty’s mercy, due to the poet’s (physical) affliction (RV 7.89).

3.2.3 ŚaikhGS 3.4.1–8

vāstoṣpatīe karmaṇi / agniṃ dadhāmi manasā śivenāyam astu saṃgamano vasūnām / mā no himsi sthaviṛaṃ mā kumāraṃ **śaṃ no bhava dvipade śaṃ catuṣpada** iti (cf. ṚV 7.54.1c) gṛhyam agniṃ bhāyata upasamādhāya / prāgagreṣu naveṣu kuṣeṣūdakumbhaṃ navaṃ pratiṣṭhāpyāriṣṭā asmākaṃ vīrā mā parāseci no dhanam ity abhimantrya / rathan-tarasya stotriyeṇa punarādāyaṃ kakupkāraṃ tisaḥ pūrvāhṇe juhōti / vāmadevyasya madhyam-dine / bṛhato'parāhṇe / mahāvyaḥṛtayaś catasro **vāstoṣpata** iti (ṚV 7.54.1–3) tistro **'mivahā vāstoṣpate** (ṚV 7.55.1) **vāstoṣpate dhruvā sthūnā** (ṚV 8.17.14) sauviṣṭakṛti daśamī sthālīpākasya rātrau / jyeṣṭham putram ādāya jāyāṃ ca sahadhānyaḥ prapadyeta / “In the rite to the Lord of the house, having established the domestic fire outside [with the formula] “I place Agni with auspicious mind; may he be a source of goods. May he not harm us, the old or the young! May he be weal to the biped and the quadruped!” Having placed a new water pot on fresh kuśa blades having the ends pointing to the east, he concentrates: “May our man be unhurt; may our wealth be unspoiled!”. He offers before midday three oblations with the Stotriya text of Rathantara¹¹² (ṚV 7.32.22) with repetition and with that which makes the kakubh metre, at noon [three oblations with the Stotriya text] of the Vāmadevya (ṚV 4.31.1–3), in the afternoon [three oblations with the Stotriya text] of the Bṛhat (ṚV 6.46.1), at night a tenth oblation of cooked food for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt with the four mahāvyaḥṛtis, the three [verses] Vāstoṣpati (ṚV 7.54.1–3), [the verse] ṚV 7.55.1, [and the verse] ṚV 8.17.14. Having taken along his eldest son and his wife, he should enter the house along with grains.”

3.2.4 GoGS 4.7.32

vasām ājyaṃ māṃsaṃ pāyasam iti saṃyūya / aṣṭagrhitam gṛhītvā juhuyāt / **vāstoṣ pata** iti (MB 2.6.1, cf. ṚV 7.54.1) prathamā / vāmadevyarcaḥ / mahāvyaḥṛtayaḥ / prajāpataya ity uttamā /

Having mixed the omentum, the ghee, the flesh and the rice boiled in milk, having taken eight portions [of that mixture] he should offer [them as follows]: the first with “Vastoṣ pate!” (MB 2.6.1), the [three] verses of the Vāmadeya, the [three] Mahāvyaḥṛtis, the last [with the formula] “To Prajāpati!”.

3.2.5 In addition to the above references, ParGS 3.4.7 prescribes four ājya oblations with the four mantras, ṚV 7.54.1–3 and 55.1 in the rite of building a house, after having established the fire in the new residence and before ceremoniously entering the house.

¹¹² See Oldenberg 1886: 95, n.5–7.

3.3 Discussion: Two Paippalādic Verses Addressing Vāstoṣpati in the KauśS

To sum up this section, it becomes clear that the ritual texts recognise the unity of subject of the first verse of ṚV 7.55 with the preceding hymn, i.e. ṚV 7.54, by employing these four stanzas specifically together in an offering to Vāstoṣpati, in the greater structure of a construction rite.

However, only the first stanzas of the hymns in questions have passed, with some variants, to the Ātharvaṇic tradition, recorded only by the Paippalāda Saṃhitā, in two hymns belonging to kāṇḍa 7 and 20, respectively. The paper argues that at the level of the KauśS text, the Atharvavedins have borrowed the two mantras from the Paippalādic milieu and when this śākhā had become obsolete in their quarters, the two verses were firstly quoted in full and later borrowed from the ṚgVeda, although claiming an Ātharvaṇic source text.

Already in the 7th century Dārila, not aware of the other śākhā, has called those two stanzas kalpajā, “issued from the ritual”. Still later, the paddhatikāra of the Ath-Paddh calls them śāṃkhāyikīye ṛce, “two stanzas of śāṃkhāyana”, and apud Dārila, kalpajā. Later on, the prayogakāra of the SPR, when in need of a mantra related to Vāstoṣpati, borrowed the Ṛgvedic stanza 7.54.1, but safeguarded the reference to svaśākhā (i.e. the own Vedic school) by saying that it quotes from the KauśS, whereas Kauśika knew the mantras from PS.

4 Conclusions

In comparison with the other Vedic schools which had the construction rite construed around worshiping the Lord of the house, Vāstoṣpati, the Atharvavedins had a complex ceremony (cf. KauśS 5.7[43].3–15, Keśava, AthPaddh, SPR) completed by the worshiping of Vāstoṣpati. As concluded in the section § 3.3, in their effort to relate their ritual tradition to the schools of greater recognition, the Ātharvaṇic ritualists have included the two mantras related to Vāstoṣpati, not borrowed from the common ritual stock, but taken from their Paippalāda Saṃhitā. When this śākhā has become obsolete in their quarters and they did not have access to that hymn collection, the two verses were firstly quoted in full and later borrowed from the ṚgVeda, although claiming an Ātharvaṇic source text. Umākānta Paṇḍā in his compilation employs the whole hymn PS 7.6 together with the Śālāsūkta PS 3.20 (≈ ŚS 3.12) in the preparation of the arghya water for the pacification of the eight serpents, a likely preliminary ceremony for a construction rite. Similarly, the hymn ṚV 7.55 from the so called Āśvalāyana Saṃhitā, is followed by a prayer to Vāstoṣpati

and an incantation for snakes (RV 7.66), connected with the ceremony of burying a snake effigy when laying the foundation of a house (Chaubey 2009: 45).

As it was already suggested in the section § 1, the only construction rite recorded by the KauśS is the one prescribed at 5.7[43].3–15, whereas the injunctions at 3.6[23].1–6 refer to a prosperity rite performed when moving into a new residence. Keśava records a second ritualistic tradition, in which the latter rite forms the first part of the former complex tantra (prototype ritual).

The sūtras 3.6[23].1–6 belong to the third adhyāya which classifies rites connected with various forms of prosperity. Kauśika has arranged the text inside the adhyāya using mainly the *mantrādhikāra* method. The *phalādhikāra* device is also used, as nested parentheses, when Kauśika wishes to override the precedence conventions.

The *mantrādhikāra* and *phalādhikāra* function as rules indicating the order of operations similar to operator precedence. By using these conventions Kauśika eliminates the notational ambiguity. The portent of the ritual prescribed by the sequence 3.6[23].1–6 as ritual for prosperity becomes thus clear. Also, these conventions allow notation to be as brief as possible, brevity being one of the virtues of the KauśS text.

In general, in the KauśS the *mantrādhikāra* is granted a higher precedence, the sūtra text being defined as *sāṃhitāvidhi* “a ritualistic manual explaining [the employment] of the [Śaunaka] *Sāṃhitā* [mantras]” (Sāyaṇa, Introduction, in Vishva Bandhu et al 1990: I, 23, etc).

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Julieta Rotaru

Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris
 Institut des Langues Rares, École Pratique des Hautes Études-PSL, Paris
 Managing Editor, *Romani Studies*, Gypsy Lore Society, Liverpool University Press

Shilpa Sumant

The Neonatal Rites in the Paippalāda Śākhā: The Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi Section in the Karmapañjikā

Abstract: There are seven basic rituals – *jātasamsthās* – for a male brahmin in the Paippalāda tradition of the Atharvaveda. The Jātakarman is one of them for a newborn baby. The present paper examines the Jātakarmādyannaprāśanakarmāṇi rituals as prescribed in the Karmapañjikā, the *paddhati* text of this school. There are six rituals involved in the collective term Jātakarmādyannaprāśanakarmāṇi, namely Jātakarman, Sūtakāgnihomavidhi, Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa, Māsavṛddhikarman, Bahirniṣkramaṇa, and Annaprāśana.

The paper comprises three parts. The first part brings out the features of all the neonatal rites in the Paippalāda tradition and their comparison with the rites in other Vedic traditions. The second part presents observations on the style and priestly language of the Karmapañjikā. The third part contains the text of Jātakarmādyannaprāśanakarmāṇi section edited by collating respective folios of the five manuscripts of Karmapañjikā available for this section. This part also contains a translation of the Sanskrit text.

Introduction

The Karmapañjikā (KP) is the *Paddhati* text, the ritual manual, of Paippalāda Atharvavedins residing in the eastern Indian states of Orissa and Jharkhand. It deals with the domestic rituals of this school. There are seven basic rituals – *jātasamsthās* – for a Paippalādin Brahmin. These are: Vivāha (wedding), Garbhādhāna (impregnation), Pūmsavana (rite for obtaining a male child), Jātakarman (rite for a newborn baby), Godāna (first ritual shaving of a boy), Upanayana (Initiation) and Āplavana (ritual bath of a bachelor).¹

The rite of Jātakarman is dealt with in detail in the section named Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi in the KP. The name of this section is a collective term that includes the rituals beginning with Jātakarman and concluding

¹ See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 3) for the verse विवाहो गर्भकरणं ततः पुंसवनं पुनः । जातकर्म च गोदानोपनयनाप्लवनातीति ॥

with Annaprāśanāna. These six rituals are Jātakarman, Sūtākāgnihomavidhi, Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa, Māsavarṣavṛddhi, Bahirniṣkramaṇa, and Annaprāśana. All these rites are to be performed for a newborn baby. The section will form chapter four of the second volume of the KP edition.²

The present paper consists of three parts:

Part I: The description of the neonatal rites in the Karmapañjikā.

Part II: Observations on the style and language of the Karmapañjikā

Part III: The edited text and translation of the Karmapañjikā for the section under discussion

Part I discusses certain features of Paippalāda rituals, and I make an attempt to compare these with similar rites in other Vedic traditions. Part II discusses the peculiar style of the author of the KP and part III presents the text in the KP based on the collation of respective folios of the five manuscripts of the KP available for this section. These are Gu₁: 78r–83v; Gu₂: 81v–87v; Gu₃: 86r–92r; Ku: 73v–78r and Ni: 65r–69r.³

Part I The Description of the Neonatal Rites in the Karmapañjikā

I.1 Jātakarman

(Ritual to be performed immediately after birth of a child) [Ku 73v3–74v3]

This rite is performed immediately after the birth of a child. There are two persons involved in the ritual, namely the *kartṛ* and *yajamāna*. The *kartṛ* is a performer, that is the performing priest. The *yajamāna* is the father of the newborn baby.

I.1.1 The Procedure of the Jātakarman Ritual

The acts involved in the Paippalāda ritual are as follows:

1. As soon as the baby is born, the performer looks at the baby with the recitation of the hymn संपश्यमानाः (PS 1.80).

² See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: xxxiii).

³ For the sigla and the description of the manuscripts, see Griffiths and Sumant (2018: xvi–xxx), introduction item number 2 “Manuscripts”. In this paper, reference to Ku folios and lines is given in square brackets wherever necessary. This manuscript is available at <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-02573/1>.

2. The father of the baby performs Vṛddhīśrāddha. The Vṛddhīśrāddha is the worship of the forefathers on any auspicious occasion. It is also called Nāndīmukhaśrāddha or Nāndīśrāddha.⁴ The procedure of Vṛddhīśrāddha in the Paippalāda tradition is described in the Vivāha ritual of KP⁵.
3. The father gives gifts such as a cow, land, gold etc. to the performing priest according to his ability.
4. The performer recites Svastivācana. This involves the recitation of certain formulas that proclaim the auspiciousness of the day, well-being and prosperity.⁶
5. The performer establishes the fire on the *sthaṇḍila* (the ground prepared for establishing the fire). The description of establishing the *sthaṇḍila* can be found in the seventh chapter named Dvividhasthaṇḍilavidhāna of the first volume of the KP.⁷
6. The performer establishes *brahmapātra*.⁸ The details of this act are found in the Pūrvatantra ritual, the fourth chapter of the first volume of the KP.⁹
7. The basic rituals of Pūrvatantra and Uttarantra are mandatory in every *jātasamsthā*. The Pūrvatantra is the first part of the ritual that takes place before the main rite (*pradhānakarman*). The main rites are the *jātasamsthās*. The Uttarantra is the latter part of the ritual after the main rite. However, the Jātakarman rite is an exception to this rule. The acts in the Pūrvatantra up to the offerings of clarified butter are dropped in the Jātakarman. Some verses from the text named Paribhāṣā are cited by the author of the KP, in support of the omission of these acts. These verses state a practical reason for this omission: the baby will be hungry and will not wait until the completion of the lengthy ritual of the *tantra*. Therefore the *tantra* is dropped and the baby is given the breast of its mother. The ritual included in the Jātakarman is for this reason very brief.
8. The performer makes a *pāśa* (noose) of *mauñja* grass and throws it on the head of the baby, and then removes it with his feet without recitation of any mantra. Holding that noose in the hand, he recites the verse यस्त्वा मृत्युरभि (PS 1.61.1) and throws it to the south-west corner of the altar. The PS verse makes it clear that the purpose of this act is to release the newborn baby from the fetters

4 See Kane (1941[1997]: 218, 286).

5 See Sumant (2007: 449–450).

6 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 25).

7 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 129–131).

8 Establishment of *brahmapātra* is an important act in the preliminaries of rituals. A pot made of bell metal is filled with water and is placed on a grass seat. In the rituals, the pot represents Brahman priest in his absence.

9 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 80–85).

of Death. The noose of *mauñja* grass symbolizes these fetters, and its removal symbolizes the freedom of the baby from Death. This act is unique to the Paipalāda Śākhā.

9. The next important act in the Jātakarman is the tying of an amulet on the baby. The performer takes the wool of a living white sheep and puts one grain of rice and one grain of barley in that wool. He wraps the wool with cloth. This amulet is first consecrated by putting it in a water jar with the recitation of three verses beginning with अभि त्वा जरिमा (PS 1.61.2–4), and with the repetition of the same verses it is taken out of the jar and is then tied on the neck of the newborn baby.
10. The performer takes water in another pot and puts the grains of rice and barley in it. He consecrates the pot with three verses beginning with प्र विशत्म् (PS 1.61.3–5) and puts this consecrated water into the mouth of the baby with his right hand. Then the performer recites the verse यस्ते स्तनः (PS 20.2.10) while the mother breastfeeds the baby.
11. The eyes of the baby are anointed with a paste prepared from rubbing gold against stone with the two verses beginning with सहस्राक्षेण (PS 1.62.3–4).
12. The performer carries out the ritual of Uttarantra.¹⁰

I.1.2 Some Observations Regarding the Jātakarman Ritual

1. In the Jātakarman, all the mantras accompanying the acts are from the PS.
2. The Jātakarman of the Paipalādins involves some peculiar acts which are not seen in other Vedic Śākhās. A common act in this rite according to other Vedic Śākhās is making the baby lick the clarified butter or honey with a golden spoon. The Kauśikasūtra (Kauś) 10.16 prescribes making the baby lick the *kalka* (pasty sediment) of *śuklapuṣpa*, *haritapuṣpa*, *kimstyanābhi* and *pippalī* rubbed on a piece of gold. Further, Kauś 10.18 mentions making the baby lick honey and curds. This practice seems to have been continued in the *paddhati* and *prayogas* in the Śaunaka tradition.¹¹ In the Paipalādins' rite, we encounter the practice of making the baby sip the rice and barley water, which seems to be unique. Such an act is not described in the Kauś or in later *prayoga* texts in the Śaunaka Śākhā.

¹⁰ The details of the Uttarantra ritual can be found in chapter 6 named Uttarantra of the first volume of the KP. See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 113–128).

¹¹ See Rotaru (2021: 120) for the details of this rite in the Atharvaṇīyapaddhati and p. 214–217 of the same work for this rite in the Saṁskāraprayogaratna in the Śaunaka tradition of the AV.

3. In the Paippalādin rite, we see the practice of tying the amulet. Tying the amulets is peculiar in many Ātharvaṇic rites of both Atharvavedic Śākhās. However, such practice is not seen in the Jātakarman described by the KauśS or in later *prayogas* in the Śaunaka Śākhā.
4. The Medhājanana rite which is a very important part of the Jātakarman ritual according to other texts is absent in the Paippalāda Śākhā.
5. The amplification of the rite with the performance of Vṛddhiśrāddha or Nāndimukhaśrāddha is common to the rituals of both Śākhās of the Atharvaveda.

I.2 Sūtakāgnihomavidhi (Offerings on the Sūtake Fire) [Ku 74v3–75r3]

The next act in the KP is called the Sūtakāgnihomavidhi. In the opening section of this rite the name of the rite is mentioned as Sūtakāgnau Dvādaśarātrahomavidhi, the offerings for twelve nights on the Sūtake fire.

I.2.1 The Procedure of the Sūtakāgnihomavidhi

1. The performer kindles the fire. The name of this fire at the time of the birth of a child is Sūtake or Sūtake. He prepares the *sthaṇḍila* in the lying chamber¹² of mother and child. Everyday he kindles the fire and performs the acts of the Pūrvatantra up to the establishment of *brahmapātra*.¹³
2. There are daily offerings of white mustard seeds and small pieces of *aśvagandhā* (*Physalis Flexuosa*) in the morning and evening with the group of hymns, ये पर्वताः (PS 7.11) and the three hymns beginning with यौ ते मातः (PS 16.79–81). The opening formula before the recitation of the mantras is: ॐ बृहस्पतिर्ऋषिरनुष्टुप्छन्दः इन्द्रो देवता सितसर्षपादिहोमे विनियोगः “The seer [of this group of mantras] is Bṛhaspati, the metre *anuṣṭubh*, and the deity Indra. It is employed in the offerings of white mustard seeds etc.”.

¹² Usually, in old Indian houses there used to be a separate room prepared for the delivery of a baby. After the birth, the mother and the baby were supposed to stay in that room till the period of impurity incurred due to the birth is over. This period is usually of ten days. There are offerings on the Sūtake fire in this period of impurity and naturally take place in that room where the mother and baby are staying. The word for this room is *ariṣṭagrha*, (a safe or secure room) in the passage of KP.

¹³ See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 49–80).

3. The offerings are continued for up to ten days. For the remaining two days the performer cooks normal rice mixed with sesame powder.
4. The performer invokes the Sūtaka fire with the verse अग्ने प्रेहि (PS 3.38.3), worships it, and sprinkles it with water three times with the *kalpajā*¹⁴ verse अद्भिष्ट्वा.¹⁵ The *kalpajā* verses are those which are not found in the Saṁhitā but are recited in the tradition. They must have been borrowed from some other source (Kalpa). The present verses are not available in the known Vedic literature but are cited in *sakalapāṭha* in the Karmasamuccaya.¹⁶
5. The sesame-rice is offered into the fire with eight formulas: ॐ नताय स्वाहा । विनताय स्वाहा । खञ्जाय स्वाहा । काणाय स्वाहा । कुणाय स्वाहा । कुटाय स्वाहा । त्रिपटाय स्वाहा and ॐ मातृभ्यः स्वाहा. The deities in these formulas do not appear in any other ritual text in the known literature.
6. The fire is dismissed with the proper procedure.
7. On the eleventh day the performer prepares *śāntyudaka* (pacificatory water)¹⁷ on another fire. The mother and the child are made to sip *śāntyudaka* and it is also sprinkled on them. Then they are bathed.
8. The performer recites Śānti.
9. The Sūtaka fire is taken out of the house to the northeast direction and is disposed of on the main road.

The Paippalādavivāhādisaṁskārapaddhati (Paṇḍā 2000) names this rite of Sūtakāgnihomavidhi as Kuṇḍahoma in the opening formula of the offerings (wrongly mentioned as Kuṇḍāhomavidhi in the table of contents as well as in the title). *Kuṇḍa* can be a synonym for *sthaṇḍila*.¹⁸

14 For more information about *kalpajā* verses in the KP, see Sumant (2011: 480).

15 The full *kalpajā* verse is as follows: अद्भिष्ट्वा परिणयामि । माप्याशङ्कयामि । मात्रा त्वग्ने (ms. KS/Gu₁ त्वाग्ने) परिणयामि । स मे पद्यन्ताममृतं ms. KS/Gu₁ पद्यन्त्वमृतं) त्वा अमृतेन परिणयामि । मामेष्वमृतमस्यमृतं मयि धेहि । [Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 63)]

16 For more details of the Karmasamuccaya and its manuscripts, see Sumant (2016).

17 Śāntyudaka is a technical term in the Atharvavedic literature used for water consecrated with specified mantras. It is often used in the Atharvavedic rituals of both Atharvavedic *śākhās*. For more information on *śāntyudaka*, see Rotaru (2009) and also Geslani (2018).

18 Both the words refer to the place for the establishment of the fire. See for instance the entry *agnikuṇḍa* in Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary (2006: 5). The meaning given here is ‘a pan with live coals; a hole or enclosed space for the consecrated fire’. The meaning given for the word *sthaṇḍila* is ‘a piece of open ground (levelled, squared, and prepared for a sacrifice)’ (Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary 2006: 1261). Both the entries in Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary are based on the Sanskrit Wörterbuch (1855–1875: 1.30 and 7.1281). The Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (kürzerer Fassung) (1883–1886: 3.206), while giving the meaning of *sthaṇḍila*, directs us to the commentary on Gobhilagrhyasūtra 1.5.13 and 4.8.14 (15 in the edition referred to here) where in the second place *sthaṇḍila* is paraphrased as *lohapātra* (iron pot). Thus, in the

I.2.2 Some Observations Regarding the Ritual of Sūtakāgnihomavidhi

1. The fire in which the offerings are made is named as Sūtaka or Sūtika. The same names are found in the Bhāradvājagr̥hyasūtra 1.26, Pāraskaragr̥hyasūtra 1.16.23, Hiraṇyakeśigr̥hyasūtra 2.3.4 etc. and as Jātakāgni in the Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra 4.10.1, Vaikhānasagr̥hyasūtra 3.15 etc.
2. In the Jātakarman ritual of other Vedic Śākhās we see offerings with various materials. The Vaikhānasagr̥hyasūtra prescribes white mustard seeds with small grains of rice. The Āpastambagr̥hyasūtra prescribes mustard seeds and rice chaff.¹⁹ Paippalāda Homa ritual also prescribes white mustard seeds. However, the offering of small pieces of Aśvagandhā along with that is unique to the Paippalāda Śākhā. Also the preparation of rice with sesame powder is not found in other Vedic Śākhās. They prescribe the offering of only *caru*, rice. In the Śaunaka tradition, we do not find any mention of the ten-day or twelve-day offerings.
3. The deities to whom the offerings of sesame-rice are made do not appear in any other ritual text in the known literature.
4. The preparation and use of *śāntyudaka* is a unique feature of Atharvavedic rites, and the Jātakarman and other neonatal rites are no exception to that.

I.3 Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa²⁰ (Naming ceremony along with the ritual of seeing the sun) [Ku 75r3–76v1]

The next rite is Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa, the naming ceremony, which also includes showing the sun to the child. The KP gives two views as regards the day of performance of Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa. Śrīdhara, the author of the KP, on the authority of Nakṣatrakalpa²¹ says that the rite is performed on the same, that is twelfth day from the birth. He also mentions the usual practice seen in the society of its performance on any auspicious day. It appears here that this usual practice is

course of time the leveled and squared ground for establishing the fire, called *sthaṇḍila*, must have been replaced in the ritual with a square shaped metal vessel called *kuṇḍa*.

¹⁹ See Kane (1941[1997]: 232–233).

²⁰ In the opening sentence of the description of this rite, the name of the rite occurs simply as Nāmakaraṇa. I maintain here the titles as given in the concluding sentence of each rite. The concluding sentence in this case is इति सूर्यदर्शनसहितं नामकरणं समाप्तम्. Therefore, the name of this rite is taken as Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa.

²¹ The Nakṣatrakalpa known to the Paippalādins appears to be different from that which is available today. For more details on the Nakṣatrakalpa, see Bahulkar (1984).

also acceptable to Śrīdhara, as later he gives the guidelines for choosing an auspicious day on the authority of the text named Jyotiṣśāstra.

I.3.1 The Procedure of Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa

The ritualistic acts involved in the Nāmakaraṇa are as follows:

1. The *tantra* prescribed in the Nakṣatrakalpa is performed up to the *ājyabhāgas*, that is, up to the two offerings of clarified butter to Agni and Soma.²²
2. The performer offers *caru* to Viśve devas, Prajāpati, Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of the constellation of that day or the deity of the constellation at the time of the birth of the baby.
3. He prepares the rice cooked in milk.
4. He makes to sprinkle *śāntyudaka* on the child.
5. He offers the *caru* to Prajāpati with the recitation of the verses वाचस्पते पृथिवी न स्योना (PS 18.16.7–9). He should offer to Sarasvatī with सरस्वति व्रतेषु (PS 20.27.10), to the presiding deity of the constellation of that day or to the deity of the constellation at the time of the birth with अग्निर्देवो यजमानः²³.
6. The performer offers the clarified butter with the verses यथा सूर्यः (PS 8.6.9), यो नो भद्राहम् (PS 19.24.18), यदाहुः शक्रधूमम् (PS 19.24.19) and शं मा वातः (PS 20.34).
7. The performer touches the baby and recites *rakṣāmantras*,²⁴ which are रक्षन्तु त्वा (PS 16.2.1–4); त्रायमाणे (PS 19.44.7–10); असपत्रम् (PS 12.6.5–6) and अहने च त्वा (PS 16.4.10).
8. The performer completes the *ājyabhāgas* of the Uttaratantra and recites Śānti.
9. The performer looks at the baby with the recitation of the hymn संपश्यमानाः (PS 1.80).
10. The mother covers the baby with her upper garment and goes out of the house.
11. The performer prepares the *sthaṇḍila* in the courtyard. He draws an eight-petaled lotus with chalks.²⁵ He worships the sun on this eight-petaled lotus. He

²² The procedure of the Nakṣatrakalpoka *tantra* is described in the general paradigms of ritual explained by Śrīdhara in the 8th chapter of the KP. See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 133–135).

²³ The *sakalapāṭha* of these *kalpajā* verses is found at Paippalādavivāhādisaṃskārapaddhati, p. 215 as: अग्निर्देवो यजमानः प्र ण आयूषि तारिषम् । इदम् ऋक्षं यक्षतु त्वाग्भि मर्त्या न मृताहविष्कृतात् । इदं यथा नक्षत्रदैवतं जन्मनक्षत्राय चरुं निर्वपामि । अद्य ऋक्षः रक्षतु त्वाग्भिवानो यो हि मा ते तन्वः सोममग्नेः । असौ नक्षत्रं तन्वं वर्धयस्तु (स्व) यो हि जातं तन्वं याहि अग्ने ॥ इदं तद्ब्रुवस (sic!) नक्षत्रदैवताय चरुं निर्वपामि॥ (The obvious typos in these verses have been corrected silently. However, the unintelligible readings have been kept as they are.)

²⁴ These mantras are given at Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 48).

²⁵ The word used in the KP passage is *karnaṅka*, which means a chalk. Perhaps it is used for drawing figures on the ground, similar to the *raṅgāvali*. The *raṅgāvali*, or Rangoli in vernacular, is the

shows the sun to the baby while reciting the half verse सुपर्णस्त्वाभ्यवपश्यात् (PS 1.80.5cd).²⁶

12. The performer utters the name in the baby's right ear. This name is as per the birth-constellation of the baby. While doing so, the performer attaches the word *śarman* at the end of that name. There are certain letters that are assigned to the respective constellations and the name begins with one of those letters. This is the secret name of the person to be pronounced while saluting the teachers and elders.²⁷ The baby's father utters baby's public name.
13. The ceremony ends with Svastivācana (proclamation of well-being) and blessings, followed by the Uttaratantra ritual.

1.3.2 Some Observations Regarding the Ritual of Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa

1. Unlike the Paippalāda Śākhā, in other Vedic Śākhās Sūryadarśana is a part of Niṣkramaṇa rite.
2. Śrīdhara cites the view of Nakṣatrakalpa according to which the ritual of Nāmakaraṇa is to be performed on the twelfth day. But he also mentions the popular practice of fixing some auspicious day for the ritual.
3. The author cites opinions of several authorities while searching a suitable name for the baby along with the extensions such as *śarma*, *varma*, *gupta* and *dāsa* as per the social strata which the person belongs to. Such rules for naming the child have been prescribed by several Dharmaśāstras.²⁸

art of drawing decorative figures with white powder at the entrance to the house, and signifies auspiciousness.

²⁶ The title of the rite is Sūryadarśana, which means showing the sun or looking at the sun. The mantra 1.80.5cd means that "Let the bird (that is the sun) look at you (that is protect you)". Interestingly, the baby looks at the sun, while the mantra means that let the sun look at you (protect you). We must note here that on the basis of the verb *drś* in the mantra of sun, the mantra is accompanied in the act of *darśana* of the sun.

²⁷ On the names of a person including the *nakṣatranāman*, see Kane (1941[1997]: 240). Kane (1941[1997]: 247) says: "The nakṣatranāma was of importance in the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The Vedāṅgajyotiṣa (of Rg.) in verses 25–28 enumerates 28 nakṣatras (adding Abhijit after Utarāṣādhā and before Śravaṇa) and their presiding deities and adds that in sacrifices the sacrificer is to bear a name derived from the name of the presiding deity of his nakṣatra." He further (p. 248) cites the rules of Pāṇini for deriving male and female names from the *nakṣatras*.

²⁸ See Kane (1941[1997]: 243–253).

4. The deities to whom the offerings are made in Nāmakaṛaṇa in the Paippalāda tradition seem to be different from all those mentioned in other Sūtras.²⁹
5. The KauśS 58.15 prescribes the amulet made of *pūṭadāru* (*Butea Frondosa*). This practice is not seen in the ritual texts of the Śaunaka tradition, the Ātharvaṇīyapaddhati³⁰ or the Saṁskāraprayogaratna.³¹ It is also absent in the Paippalāda tradition.

I.4 Māsavaṛṣavṛddhikarman (Ritual performed after completion of one month and year after birth) [Ku 76v1–77r1]

The next rite is Māsavaṛṣavṛddhikarman. It is to be performed when the baby has lived for one month, and is repeated every month on the lunar date of the birth (*tithi*) for one year. Thereafter it is performed on the birthday every year. In other Vedic traditions, this rite is called Varṣavardhana or Abdapūrṭi. In the Śaunaka tradition of the AV, it is called Vardhāpanavidhi. It is noteworthy that in the Paippalāda tradition, the rite is performed for the first time after one month. In other Vedic traditions as the name Abdapūrṭi suggests, it takes place after one year. The KP also describes the minute differences in the procedure when the rite is performed for the first time after one month and when it is repeated every year. This rite has already been discussed in my 2012–2013 article.³²

I.5 Bahirniṣkramaṇa (Ritual wherein the baby is taken out of the house for the first time in the fourth month) [Ku 77r1–77r3]

The next act is Bahirniṣkramaṇa or Niṣkramaṇa, which is performed in the fourth month from the birth of a child. It is performed on an auspicious day according to the Jyotiḥśāstra. It is expected that the mother and the child after its birth do not go out of the house till the Niṣkramaṇa rite is performed.

²⁹ See Kane (1941[1997]: 253).

³⁰ See Rotaru (2021: 125).

³¹ See Rotaru (2021: 223–233).

³² See Sumant (2012–2013). The article presents the paragraphs of the description of the rite in the Śaunaka ritual texts and the KP. It also discusses the points of similarity and difference between the procedure in both the traditions.

I.5.1 The Acts Involved in Bahirniṣkramaṇa

1. The baby is taken out of the house for the first time with the recitation of Svastyayanagaṇa. The mantras in this group of hymns are: यस्ते प्राचीः (PS 17.4.1); मा मा पश्चाद् (PS 17.4.2); ये ते पन्थाः (PS 17.5.5); ये ते आरण्याः (PS 17.5.7); इमाः पारे (19.31.4–7); अस्य पारे (PS 20.42.4); यदस्य पारे (PS 5.27.8); प्रपथे पथाम् (PS 20.3.2–6); इन्द्रं वयमनुराधम् (PS 3.35.2); भग प्रेहि (PS 20.25.7); अदितिः प्रैतु (PS 20.25.8); प्रेहि प्र हर पादौ (PS 20.50.5–8); आध्वस्तपक्षणे बृहते (PS 20.60.9–20.61.1–3).³³
2. This is followed by the blessings from the Brahmins.

I.5.2 Some Observations Regarding the Bahirniṣkramaṇa

1. The rite is called Nirṇayana in the Śaunaka Śākhā. The Kauś 58.18 prescribes the first stepping out of the child with the ŚS verse 8.2.14.
2. The rite as described by the Ātharvaṇīyapaddhati and Saṃskāraprayogaratna includes looking at the sun. This rite of Sūryadarśana seen in both Atharvavedic Śākhās – though on different occasions – is common to the practice seen in other Vedic Śākhās.
3. It is worth mentioning that the rite of the Paippalādins appropriately prescribes the recitation of Svastyayanagaṇa, which is meant for ensuring safety on a journey.

I.6 Annaprāśana (Ritual of first feeding solid food) [Ku 77r3–78r2]

The Annaprāśana is the last rite described in this group of neonatal rituals of the KP. It takes place in the sixth month from birth. The first ritual feeding of solid food to the baby is performed on an auspicious day declared so by the Jyotiḥśāstra.

I.6.1 The procedure of Annaprāśana

The acts involved are as follows:

1. The performer begins with the *tantra* prescribed by the Nakṣatrakalpa up to the *ājyabhāgas*.³⁴

³³ See Sumant (2017: 142).

³⁴ See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 133–135).

2. The performer cooks rice from the rich variety of rice ripening in the autumn. The rice is consecrated with the recitation of the mantras ये त्रिषप्ताः (PS 1.6), मुञ्चामि त्वा (1.62), अहं रुद्रेभिः (ŚS 4.30), ममाग्रे वर्चः (PS 5.4), यत्ते अन्नम् (PS 1.63.1), यदन्नमद्भि and यस्यामन्नम् (PS 17.4.11). The performer keeps rice in the brass pot.
3. He arranges gold, book³⁵ and an idol of god as per the custom of the house.
4. He makes the child sip *sāntyudaka* (pacificatory water) and sprinkles the child with the same.
5. The performer then makes the child eat that rice with शिवौ ते स्ताम् (PS 16.4.8–9). With the recitation of अह्ने च त्वा (PS 16.4.10) he gives the second feeding at day time. The third feeding at night with other food items is in the accompaniment of शरदे त्वा (PS 16.5.2). These three ritual feedings are mandatory. After these, food is given to the baby as per its requirement.
6. The rite concludes with the performance of Uttaratantra and the blessings by the Brahmins.

I.6.2 Some Observations Regarding Annaprāśana

1. In almost all the Vedic Śākhās including the Paippalāda, this rite is performed during the fourth month from the birth of a child. It is interesting to mention that the Ātharvaṇīyapaddhati mentions the time of performance as the eighth month.³⁶
2. The mantras prescribed in the Annaprāśana ritual of the KP are the same as mentioned in the KauśS 58.19–21.
3. The KauśS prescribes rice and barley as the first feeding as the accompanying mantra mentions both rice and barley. The KP, however mentions only rice.

I.7 Two Oracles in the Neonatal Rites

The Jātakarmādyannaprāśanānta section of rituals describes two oracles, where the relatives interpret future behaviour of the baby based on its reactions. The first

³⁵ The author of the KP does not clarify which specific book is to be arranged here. Perhaps it is any book as a symbol of knowledge. Gold symbolizes prosperity and book symbolizes knowledge. It is wished that the child should obtain both wealth and knowledge in his life. The same wish is articulated in PS 1.6.3.

³⁶ See Rotaru (2021: 132).

oracle is in the Jātakarman. The baby's eyes are anointed with the paste of gold rubbed against stone. After this, if the baby looks at its mother and other relatives without blinking eyes then it is believed that the baby is the lustre of the family (अञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं मात्रादिकमवेक्षेत् तदास्मदीयवंशतेजोऽयमिति [Ku 74v2]). This means that the baby will prove to be an asset to the family.

The second oracle is in the Annaprāśana. As per the custom of the house, gold, book and image of god etc. are kept near the rice pot from which the child is fed. His future is interpreted as per his choice of lifting the things (तदनन्तरमोदनस्य समीपस्थादिहिरण्यादीनां बालकोऽग्रे यत्र द्रव्यं गृह्णाति स तत्र भाजनमिति जानीयात् [Ku 78r1]).

It appears that these are the local customs and therefore have been described by the author of the KP. These are not the part of Vedic rite because they are not accompanied with the recitation of any Vedic or *kalpajā* mantras.

Part II Observations on the Style and Language of the Karmapañjikā

II.1 Author's Tutelary Deity

It is worth mentioning that each section of the KP begins with the benediction to Lord Nṛsimha, the tutelary deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) of the author Śrīdhara.³⁷ The benedictory verse of the section Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi is as follows:

नृकेसरिं नमस्कृत्य मनोवाक्कायिकैस्ततः । जातकर्मादिकं वक्ष्ये दयां मयि कुरु प्रभो ॥ [Ku 73v3]

Having paid homage to the Man-lion with (the acts performed by) mind, speech and body, I shall narrate the (procedure of) Jātakarman etc. O Lord, have compassion on me.

II.2 The Colophon

The style of the author in writing the colophon is uniform throughout the text. He calls himself as a servant at the feet of Lord Nṛsimha and uses the title Śrīmanmahopādhyāya.

³⁷ For more elaboration on this point, see Griffiths and Sumant (2018: xlii, item 5.1).

The long name of the text Vivāhādikarmapañjikā occurs in each colophon, which is sometimes abbreviated as Vivāhakarmapañjikā or Karmapañjikā in some of the manuscripts.

The colophon of the section Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi is as follows:

इति श्रीमन्नृसिंहचरणपरिचारकश्रीमन्महोपाध्यायश्रीधरविरचितायां विवाहादिकर्मपञ्जिकायां जातकर्माद्यन्नप्राशनान्तं नाम कर्म समाप्तम् । [Ku 78r 1–2]

In fact, the colophon has the singular expression *jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntaṅ karma*, which has been reframed in the plural by Griffiths and Sumant (2018: xxxiii), and is retained in this paper.

II.2.1 Beginning and Concluding Sentences of Each Section

The description of each rite begins with the opening sentence such as अथ जातकर्म व्याख्यास्यामः [Ku 73v3], अथ सूतकाग्रौ द्वादशरात्रिहोमविधिरुच्यते [Ku 74v3], अथ नामकरणविधिः कथ्यते [Ku 75r3], अथ बालकस्यायुर्विवृद्ध्यर्थं प्रतिमासं जन्मतिथौ आधानकर्माच्यते [Ku 76v1], अथ निष्क्रमणं व्याख्यास्यामः [Ku 77r1], and अथ षष्ठे मास्यन्नप्राशनं कर्माच्यते [Ku 77r3].

Besides the final long colophon discussed above there are intermediate short concluding sentences after each rite such as इति जातकर्म समाप्तम् [Ku 74v3], इति सूतकाग्रिहोमविधिः [Ku 75r3], इति सूर्यदर्शनसहितं नामकरणं समाप्तम् [Ku 76v1], मासवर्षवृद्धिकर्म समाप्तम् [Ku 77r1], and इति बहिर्निष्क्रमणम् [Ku 77r3]. There is a final colophon at the end of the sixth rite Annaprāśana.

II.3 The Features of Priestly Sanskrit

Similar to other sections of the KP, this section also presents features of priestly Sanskrit.

II.3.1 Problematic Sentence Construction and Readings

1. यावद्दशरात्रं समाप्य तावद्भूवतीति [Ku 74v4–5]. The intended meaning is that this homa takes place and continues for ten days.
2. ओदनस्य समीपस्थादिहिरण्यादीनां बालकोऽग्रे यत्र द्रव्यं गृह्णाति स तत्र भाजनमिति जानीयात् [Ku 78r1]. In this case, we have to understand that ओदनस्य समीपस्थादिहिरण्यादीनि बालकस्य अग्रे कृत्वा हिरण्यादीनां यद् द्रव्यं बालको गृह्णाति स तत्र भाजनम्. The things near the rice bowl are kept in front of the child. Among them whichever

thing he lifts, he is entitled to achieve that in future. The genitive case of समीपस्थादिहिरण्यादीनां is to be understood as accusative in the first place and as genitive in the second place. Also here we have spilt the compound word for construal.

3. ततः कर्ता यस्ते स्तन इत्यृचा पठित्वा माता स्तनं पाययेत् [Ku 74v1]. Here the agents of two acts connected with the gerund are different. Also the case of *rc* has to be the accusative *rcam* and not the instrumental *rcā*.
4. The Paribhāṣā verses are not claimed by the author as his own composition. These verses are also not free from flaws and grammatical mistakes. There is a clumsy construction in the Paribhāṣā verse. न हि प्रतीक्षते यस्माच्छिशुः कर्म सतन्त्रकम् । क्षुधया पीडितोऽत्यर्थं स्तनदानेन वर्जितम् [Ku 74r1]. Here the meaning is quite clear, namely that the baby will not wait until the ritual act including Tantra is over. It will be very hungry if deprived of its mother's breast. Instead of वर्जितम् there should be वर्जितः.
5. In one verse we read पाशमोक्षणमादिकम् [Ku 74r2] instead of the correct पाशमोक्षणादिकम्.
6. We have a reading जीववत्सितमेषस्य [Ku 74r3]. The author probably thinks that in जीववत् *vat* indicates the possessive suffix and the word means 'possessing life, living'. The reading जीवत्सितमेषस्य would have been more justifiable as *jīvat* is the present participle, meaning 'living'.

II.3.2 Violation of Metre

In a line of a verse we have उदपात्रं प्राशनं कुर्यादभिषिञ्चेच्च केवलादिति (Ku74v1). Here instead of eight syllables, we have nine.

II.3.3 Non-Standard Nominal Stem

1. पिताहस्ते [Ku 73v4] is used for पितृहस्ते.

II.3.4 Grammatically Wrong Cases

1. ततस्तेनोदकेन स्नाता सूतिकामाचामति । अभ्युक्षति च । ततः स्नानं कृत्वा । बालकं चैतत् [Ku 75r2–3]. Here, the correct case for बालक should be dative बालकाय. 'And also for the child (The act is prescribed for the child also)'.
2. तदनन्तरं कर्ता चरुविधिना विश्वे देवा प्रजापतिः सरस्वती तदर्हर्षक्षत्रं जन्मनक्षत्रं वा इत्यादि क्षीरौदनं श्रपयित्वा [Ku 75v3]. In this case, the words विश्वे देवाः, प्रजापतिः, सरस्वती,

तदहर्नक्षत्रं, and जन्मनक्षत्रं in the nominative should be in the dative case. He cooks the rice for all gods, Prajāpati, Sarasvatī, the deity presiding over the day and birth–constellation.

II.3.5 Wrong Verbal Suffixes

1. अथ कर्ता जातमात्रमेव संपश्यमाना इति सूक्तं ब्रुवन् बालकमीक्षेत् [Ku 73v4]. Here, the root ईक्ष् takes *parasmaipada* suffixes instead of *ātmanepada*. Again the same form is found in the Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa [Ku 76r1–2].
2. अञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं मात्रादिकमवेक्षेत् तदास्मदीयवशतेजोऽयमिति [Ku 74v]. In this case also the same root ईक्ष् is again used with the *ātmanepada* suffix.

II.3.6 Double Sandhi

1. ततोदपात्रादुद्धृत्य [Ku 74r] is found instead of तत उदपात्रादुद्धृत्य.

II.4 The *pratīkas* Used in the Section Under Discussion

As with all the ritual texts in all the Vedic traditions, the KP also mentions the mantras from its own Śākhā with their *pratīka*, that is the incipits of the mantras. The KP also mentions the *kalpajā* verses with the *pratīka*. Below are a few cases where the author of the KP uses strange *pratīkas*.

1. In the Sūtakāgnihomavidhi, we come across the *pratīka* of the mantra PS 16.79–81 as यौ ते मात इति [Ku 74v4]. The correct *pratīka* would have been यौ ते मातेति.
2. Another *pratīka* in the Sūtakāgnihomavidhi is ये पर्वतेति for the hymn ये पर्वताः (PS 7.11). Here we see double *sandhi*.³⁸
3. In the Nāmakaraṇa, we see the *pratīka* यदाहुः शकधूमामहमित्यृचा [Ku 75v5] for PS 19.24.19 which is यदाहुः शकधूमं महानक्षत्राणाम्.
4. While showing the the sun to the baby the half verse सुपर्णस्त्वाभ्यवपश्यात् (PS 1.80.5cd) is recited. The *pratīka* for this in the KP is सुपर्णस्त्वाभ्यवपश्या इत्यर्धर्चन [Ku 76r3]. The last consonant *t* is missing.
5. In the Annaprāsana, there is a *pratīka* यदन्नमद्भि [Ku 77v3]. Usually, if the mantra is from the PS, the author of the KP does not give any indication. But if the

³⁸ The proper *pratīka* would be पर्वता इति. Griffiths and Sumant (2018: c) report similar case of the *pratīka* हिरण्यवर्णेति, which should be हिरण्यवर्णा इति.

mantra is from another source, he gives the indication as *kalpajā ṛc*. In the present case there is no indication. If we search for the verse in the PS there are three mantras beginning with these words, PS 2.28.2, 2.28.3 and 20.15.1. However, the ritual text of Karmasamuccaya gives the *sakalapāṭha* of this mantra as यदन्नमद्भि बहुधा विरूपं रुद्रैः प्रदग्धं यदि वा पिशाचैः । सर्वं तदीशानोऽभयं कृणोतु शिवं म ईशानाय स्वाहा.³⁹ This means that in the ritual, a different *kalpajā* verse is used, which is probably modeled after the PS verses. The author of the KP does not give his usual indication of identifying the verse as *kalpajā*.

II.5 Citations from Other Texts

1. Most of the accompanying mantras in the rites explained above are from the PS. There are only a few instances where the mantras used are *kalpajā* verses. The full *kalpajā* verses can be found in the Karmasamuccaya manuscripts and the published book Paippalādavivāhādisaṃskārapaddhati (Paṇḍā 2000) based on Karmasamuccaya manuscripts.
2. There are citations from unidentified texts such as Paribhāṣā and Jyotiḥśāstra.
3. In the Nāmakaṛaṇa, there are some verses in continuation with Jyotiḥśāstra verses. The author of the KP does not ascribe these verses to any text. नामधेयं दशस्यां तु द्वादश्यां वास्य कारयेत् । पुण्ये तिथौ मुहूर्ते वा नक्षत्रे वा गुणान्वित इति . This half verse is Manusmṛti 2.30. It says that Naming ceremony should take place on the tenth day of the birth or on an auspicious day, time and constellation. The verse शर्मवद्ब्राह्मणस्य स्याद्राजो रक्षासमन्वितम् । वैश्यस्य पुष्टिसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य प्रेष्यसंयुतम् is found in Manusmṛti 2.32. शर्मेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वर्मेति क्षत्रियस्य च । गुप्तदासात्मकं नाम प्रशस्तं वैश्यशूद्रयोरिति is found in Viṣṇupurāṇa 3.10.9. In the Nāmakaṛaṇa section of KP, there are three verses ascribed to Arthaśāstra which can be found with some variation at Viṣṇupurāṇa 3.10.10–11 and Manusmṛti 2.33 respectively. These are नार्थहीनं न चाशस्तं नापशब्दयुतं तथा । नामङ्गल्यं नायुग्मं वा नाम कुर्यात्समाक्षरम् ॥ नातिदीर्घं नातिह्रस्वं नातिगुर्वक्षरान्वितम् । सुखोच्चार्यं तु तन्नाम कुर्यान्नप्रणवाक्षरम् (Viṣṇupurāṇa 3.10.10.11) and स्त्रीणां सुखोद्यमकूरं विस्पष्टार्थं मनोरमम् । मङ्गल्यदीर्घवर्णोत्तमा शीर्वादाभिधानवत् (Manusmṛti 2.33). They also provide the characteristics of the name that should be given to the baby. Śrīdhara makes use of various sources but is sloppy in citing their accurate name.
4. In the Annaprāśana section, the verse आयुष्यं प्राङ्मुखो भुङ्क्ते etc. is Mahābhārata 13.70.25 with variation in *pāda* c, while verbatim with Kūrmapurāṇa 2.19.2

39 See Paippalādavivāhādisaṃskārapaddhati, p. 221.

and Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 2.86.7. But Śrīdhara does not cite the name of the source text.

II.6 Cross References

This section of Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi in the KP has many cross references. It is natural that it presupposes the earlier sections of KP dealing with preliminary rituals. These earlier sections are Pūrvatantra and Uttarat Tantra, that is the basic ritual performed in all the Jātasamthās. The rites of Sthaṇḍilavidhāna and Nakṣatralpokitatantra, dealt with in chapters seven and eight of the KP respectively⁴⁰ are specific to these neonatal rituals.

Part III The Text and Translation⁴¹ of the Chapter on Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi in the Karmapañjikā

[Ku 73v3]

नृकेसरिं नमस्कृत्य मनोवाक्कायिकैस्ततः ।
जातकर्मादिकं वक्ष्ये दयां मयि कुरु प्रभो ॥

Having paid homage to the Man-lion with (the acts performed by) mind, speech and body, I shall narrate the (procedure of) Jātakarman etc. O Lord, have compassion on me.

अथ जातकर्म व्याख्यास्यामः ।

Now we will explain the (ritual of) Jātakarman.

अथ कर्ता जातमात्रमेव संपश्यमाना इति सूक्तं ब्रुवन् बालकमीक्षेत् । तदनन्तरं वृद्धिश्राद्धं पिताहस्ते कारयित्वा । पिता क्षितिगोसुवर्णादीन् यथाशक्त्यापि दद्यात् । ततः कर्ता स्वस्तिवाचनं कारयित्वा । कर्तारं वरयेत् । ततः कर्ता स्थण्डिलेनाग्निमुपसमाधाय । ब्रह्मस्थापनं कृत्वा ।

As soon as the child is born, the performer looks at the baby with the recitation of the hymn संपश्यमानाः (PS 1.80). After that, he makes the father of the baby

⁴⁰ See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 129–131 and 133–136).

⁴¹ The literal translation of the passages written in priestly Sanskrit appears technical. The working translation is provided for the interested readers to facilitate the understanding of the concerned passages. For the sake of convenience, this continuous chapter in the KP is divided in smaller sections while presenting the translation.

perform the *Vṛddhiśrāddha* himself.⁴² The father should give (to the performing priest gifts such as) land, a cow, gold etc. according to his ability. Then the performer makes (the father) recite *Svasti* (auspicious verses). (The father of the baby, who is *yajamāna* in this ritual) appoints the performer (for the ritual act). The performer establishes the fire on the *sthaṇḍila*. He establishes *brahman*.⁴³

अत्र कर्मणि कथमाज्यभागान्तं परित्यज्य स्थण्डिलमादरणीयं वचनमाह परिभाषायाम् ।
जातमात्रस्य यत्कर्म तत्र तन्त्रं न कारयेत् [Ku 74r]त् । मध्येऽपि जातसंस्थानां पठितस्यापि कर्मणः ॥
न हि प्रतीक्षते यस्माच्छिशुः⁴⁴ कर्म सतन्त्रकम् । क्षुधया पीडितोऽत्यर्थं स्तनदानेन वर्जितम् ॥
मणिं बद्ध्वा व्रीहियवं दत्त्वा व्रीहियवोदकम् ।
स्तनं प्रदीयते यस्मात्तस्मात्तन्त्रं न कारयेत् ॥
स्थण्डिलेऽग्निं समाधाय पाशमोक्षणमादिकम् ।
आञ्जनादिकं तु यत्कर्म तत्र सर्वं समाचरेत् ॥
मणराबन्धनं तत्र यावदुक्तं समाचरेत् ।
स्थण्डिलेनैव कर्तव्या होमा द्वादशरात्रिकाः ॥
इति स्थण्डिलमात्रं भवतीति ।

In this ritual, how does one establish the *sthaṇḍila* by skipping (the acts in the *Pūrvatantra*) up to the offerings of clarified butter? (In this regard, the author) says in the *Paribhāṣā* text (as under:)

In the case of the ritual for the newborn, one should not perform the basic format of the ritual (*tantra*), even though (the ritual for the newborn) comes under the *jātasamsthās*.

Because the baby will be very hungry if kept deprived of the breast, and cannot wait until the completion of the (lengthy) ritual along with the *tantra*.

Because the breast (of the mother) is given (soon) after amulet of rice and barley is tied and water (prepared with) rice and barley is given; for this reason, one should not perform the *tantra*.

After kindling the fire on the *sthaṇḍila*, one should perform all the acts such as loosening the noose etc., anointing the eyes etc. (in the *Jātakarman* ritual).

All the acts beginning from the tying of the amulet are to be performed as prescribed. The oblations for twelve nights are to be performed with the *sthaṇḍila* (fire itself).

Therefore, only (the act of establishing) the *sthaṇḍila* takes place.

⁴² One may witness here Śrīdhara's priestly Sanskrit style of using gerunds instead of finite verbal forms. Such sentences have been translated into English using finite verbal forms.

⁴³ See footnote 8 above.

⁴⁴ शिशुः] corr., शिशु NiKuGu₁Gu₂Gu₃. The style of editing follows Griffiths and Sumant (2018).

तदननन्तरं कर्ता मौञ्जस्य पाशं कृत्वा । बालकस्य शिरसि क्षिप्त्वा तूष्णीं पद्भ्यामपनीय । ततस्तं पाशं गृहीत्वा यस्त्वा मृत्युरभि इत्यृचमुक्त्वा तं पाशं वेदेर्नैर्ऋतकोणे त्यजेत् ।

Thereafter, the performer makes a *pāśa* (noose) of *muñja* grass, throws it on the head of the baby, and then removes it with (his) feet without recitation of any mantra. Holding that noose, he recites the verse यस्त्वा मृत्युरभि (PS 1.61.1) (and) throws that noose to the south-west corner of the altar.

ततो होता धान्यमेकं यवमेकं⁴⁵ च जीववत्सितमेषस्य लोममध्ये धृत्वा वस्त्रेण वेष्टयित्वा सूत्रेण बद्ध्वा उदपात्रोदके प्रक्षिप्य । अभि त्वा जरिमेति तिसृभिर्ऋग्भिरभिमन्त्र्य । ततोदपात्रादुद्धृत्य हस्ते धृत्वा पुनस्तैर्मन्त्रैरभिमन्त्र्य । पुनर्मन्त्रमुक्त्वा स्नापितस्य बालकस्य कण्ठे बध्नीयात् । ततो मणेः शान्तिं कृत्वा । ततो⁴⁶ पुनरन्यस्मिन्नुदपात्रं कृत्वा तस्मिन् ब्रीहियवौ प्रक्षिप्य प्रविशतमिति तिसृभिर्ऋग्भिरनुमन्त्र्य । उदपात्रात्क्रियदुदकं दक्षिणहस्ते कृत्वा पुनरनेनैव मन्त्रेण बालकस्य मुखे दद्यात् ।

Then the *hotṛ*⁴⁷ puts one grain of rice and one grain of barley in the wool of a living white sheep, wraps a cloth around the wool with a thread (and) puts (it) in a water jar and consecrates it with the recitation of three verses beginning with अभि त्वा जरिमा (PS 1.61.2–4). Taking (it) out from the water jar, he consecrates (it) with the (repetition of) the same verses. With the recitation of the mantra, he ties (it) on the neck of the newborn baby, who has been given a bath. The performer performs the pacificatory rite of the amulet. After that, he prepares the *udapātra* (water jar) with another pot by putting the grains of rice and barley in it. He consecrates it with three verses beginning with प्र विशतम् (PS 1.61.3–5). He takes a little water from the *udapātra* (jar) in his right hand and with the same mantra pours it into the mouth of the baby.

तथा च परिभाषायाम् । [Ku 74v]
सहोदपात्रं धान्यादि मिश्रं शुद्धं तु केवलम् ।
उदपात्रं प्राशनं कुर्यादभिषिञ्चेच्च केवलादिति ॥

And thus (is stated) in the Paribhāṣā (text):

The water jar along with grains etc. is (called) *miśra* and when it is pure (water, it is called) *kevala*. One should drink (the water) from the *udapātra* and one should sprinkle (the pure water) from the *kevala*.

45 यवमेकं] em., यवैकं NiKuGu₁Gu₂Gu₃.

46 Here the original reading ततो as against the emended one ततः is retained honouring the priestly style of Śrīdhara's composition. Just see the phrase ततो मणेः in the previous sentence influencing this reading.

47 We come across two different priests, *hotṛ* and *karṭṛ*. It is difficult to differentiate between them. I think probably the *hotṛ* is the main priest, who recites the mantras and the *karṭṛ* is the performer of the acts. In the present-day ritual of the Paippalādins also we see two priests *puṣṭakācārya* and *karṭṛ*. The *puṣṭakācārya* is the main priest, who recites mantras and supervises the whole proceedings. In the translation, I have kept the word as it is and have translated *karṭṛ* as performer, similar to all rituals. Later in the Māsavarṣavṛddhi ritual also, we come across two priests *hotṛ* and *karṭṛ*.

ततः कर्ता यस्ते स्तन इत्युच्चा पठित्वा माता स्तनं पाययेत् । ततः शिलायां घृतं निक्षिप्य तस्मिन् सुवर्णं निघृष्य तेन कल्केन सहस्राक्षेणेति द्वाभ्यां बालकस्याक्षिण्यञ्जयेत् । अञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं⁴⁸ मात्रादिकमवेक्षेत् तदास्मदीयवंशतेजोऽयमिति जानीयादिति श्रुतेः । ततः कर्ता ये देवादिकमुत्तरतन्त्रं कुर्यात् ।

इति जातकर्म समाप्तम् ।

Then the performer recites the verse यस्ते स्तनः (PS 20.2.10), while the mother should breastfeed the baby. Then, pouring clarified butter on a stone, he rubs gold against it. He should anoint the eyes of the baby with that paste with the recitation of the two verses beginning with सहस्राक्षेण (PS 1.62.3–4). If the anointed baby looks at its mother etc. without blinking, then one should understand that the baby is the lustre of our family as per the Vedic statement.⁴⁹

The performer carries out the ritual of Uttarantra beginning with ये देवाः etc. Here ends the ritual of Jātakarman.

अथ सूतकाग्नौ द्वादशरात्रिहोमविधिरुच्यते । तत्रादौ अरिष्टगृहान्तके स्थण्डिलमुपलिप्य । तस्मिन् कर्ता प्रत्यहं सायंप्रातः स्थण्डिलविधानेन सूतिकाग्निमुपसमाधाय ब्रह्मस्थापनान्तं कृत्वा ।

Now, the ritual of offering for twelve nights on the Sūtaka fire is being described. First of all, he prepares the *sthaṇḍila* inside the *ariṣṭagrha* (secure room or the lying-in-chamber of the mother and child). Everyday in the morning and evening, he kindles the fire (called) Sūtika on it by following the ritual of *sthaṇḍila*. He (performs the Purvatantra up to the) placement of *brahman*.

ॐ बृहस्पतिर्ऋषिरनुष्टुप्छन्दः इन्द्रो देवता सितसर्षपादिहोमे विनियोग इति ध्यात्वा । ये पर्वतेति⁵⁰ कण्डिका । यौ ते मात इति तिस्रः कण्डिकाः । एतैः सितसर्षपाश्र्वगन्धकणकुण्डकान् मिश्रीकृत्य जुहुयात् । एवं प्रत्यहं सायंप्रातर्होमो भवति यावद्दशरात्रं⁵¹ समाप्य तावद्भूवतीति ।

He meditates (on the seer, deity and metre as described in the following manner:) The seer (of this group of mantras) is Bṛhaspati, the metre *anuṣṭubh*, and the deity Indra; the employment is in the offering of white mustard seeds etc. (This group of mantras contains) the hymn⁵² ये पर्वताः (PS 7.11), the three hymns beginning with यौ ते मातः (PS 16.79–81). With these mantras, he should offer white mustard seeds and small pieces of *aśvagandhā* (*Physalis Flexuosa*) by mixing them together. In this manner, a daily morning and evening offering takes place, until the completion of ten nights.

48 अञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं] Gu₁Gu₃, lac. Ni, अस्यञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं Ku, सहञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं Gu₂.

49 The source of this unfamiliar Vedic statement could not be traced.

50 Here we see double *sandhi*. The reading here should be पर्वता इति. Griffiths and Sumant (2018: c) report similar case of the *pratika* हिरण्यवर्णति, which should be हिरण्यवर्णा इति.

51 यावद्दशरात्रं] Gu₂, यावद्द्वादशरात्रं NiKuGu₁Gu₃.

52 The word *kaṇḍikā* means a section. The author of the KP consistently uses this word in the sense of hymn throughout his text.

ततः कर्ता दशरात्रोपरिष्टादवशेषदिनद्वयं लौकिकमोदनं तिलचूर्णं श्रपयित्वा । सूतकाग्निः⁵³ प्रज्वलितं कृत्वा । तस्मिन्नग्ने प्रेहीत्यृचा सूतकाग्निमावाह्य । [Ku 75r] यथाविहितं सूतकाग्निं संपूज्याद्विष्ट्वेति कृत्वा त्रिः पर्युक्ष्य । नतायेत्याद्यष्टाभिर्मन्त्रैस्तिलौदनं जुहुयात् । ॐ नताय स्वाहा । विनताय स्वाहा । खञ्जाय स्वाहा । काणाय स्वाहा । कुणाय स्वाहा । कुटाय स्वाहा । त्रिपटाय स्वाहा । ॐ मातृभ्यः स्वाहेति । ततः कर्ता तमग्निं विसृज्य । केचिदेवं दशरात्रोपरिष्टाद्वादशरात्रिमिच्छन्तीति । इति सूतकाग्निहोमविधिः ।

Then after ten nights, for the remaining (period of) two days, the performer cooks the usual rice mixed with sesame powder. He kindles the Sūtaka fire. He invokes the Sūtaka fire with the verse अग्ने प्रेहि (PS 3.38.3). After worshipping the Sūtaka fire in the prescribed manner, he sprinkles around it with water three times with (the *kalpajā* verse) अद्विष्ट्वा. He offers the sesame-rice with the eight formulas beginning with नताय etc. (The formulas are:) ॐ नताय स्वाहा. विनताय स्वाहा. खञ्जाय स्वाहा. काणाय स्वाहा. कुणाय स्वाहा. कुटाय स्वाहा. त्रिपटाय स्वाहा and ॐ मातृभ्यः स्वाहा. Then the performer dismisses that fire. Some people wish to perform in this manner after ten days on the twelfth night.⁵⁴

Here ends the ritual of Sūtakāgnihoma (offering on the Sūtaka fire).

ततः एकादशेऽह्नि कर्ता स्थण्डिले अन्यस्मिन्नग्नौ शान्त्युदकं करोति । ततस्तेनोदकेन स्नातां⁵⁵ सूतिकाचाचामति । अभ्युक्षति च । ततः स्नानकृतबालकं चैतत् । ततः कर्ता शान्तिं वाच्य । तदनन्तरं सूतकाग्निं गृहाद्वह्निरैशान्यां दिशं नीत्वा राजपथे निक्षिपेत् ।

इति जातकर्मणि शान्त्युदकविधिः ।

Then on the eleventh day, the performer prepares *śāntyudaka* (pacificatory water) on *sthaṇḍila* on another fire on the *sthaṇḍila*.⁵⁶ He makes the woman who has delivered (a baby), who has taken a bath, sip that water and sprinkles (her with it). Then the same (procedure is followed) for the baby who is given a bath. Then the performer recites Śānti (mantras). Thereafter, taking the Sūtaka fire out of the house to the northeast direction he should dispose of it on the main road.

Here ends the procedure of (preparation of) *śāntyudaka*, (which is a component) in the Jātakarman.

अथ नामकरणविधिः कथ्यते ।

Now, the ritual of naming ceremony is described.

53 सूतकाग्निः] corr. सूतकाग्नौ NiKuGu₁Gu₃, सूतकाग्नि Gu₂.

54 This means that some people wish to perform longer than ten nights, up to the twelfth night.

55 स्नातां] corr. स्नाता NiKuGu₁Gu₂Gu₃.

56 The fire named Sūtaka, which was used for offerings for up to ten days, is dismissed. The Sūtaka fire is not to be used for the preparation of pacificatory water. Therefore, another fire with another name, probably Pragalbha (see Griffiths and Sumant 2018: 60 for different names of Agni) is invoked on the *sthaṇḍila*.

नक्षत्रकल्पोक्तेन विधिना तस्मिन्नेव दिवसे नामकरणं कुर्यात् । इति नक्षत्रकल्पे कथितम् । लोकस्तु ज्योतिःशास्त्रोक्तशुभदिवसे नामकरणं करोति ।

According to the ritual described in the Nakṣatrakalpa, one should perform the Naming ceremony on the very same day (that is on twelfth day from the birth, on which the ritual offering for twelve days is concluded). Thus, it is stated in the Nakṣatrakalpa. People, however, perform the naming ceremony on an auspicious day, as prescribed by (the text called) Jyotiḥśāstra.

उक्तं च ज्योतिःशास्त्रे ।

रोहिण्युत्तररेवतीमृगशिरास्वघ्नानुराधाश्रिनी वातादित्यहरित्रयं सवितुभ्रंशस्तेषु तिथ्यादिषु ।

दशैकादशकेऽथ द्वादशत रात्रेः कुलाचारतः सौम्यैः केन्द्रत्रिकोणशेष्वपि शिशोर्नाम्ना प्रदत्तं शुभम् ॥

अन्यच्च ।

ध्रुवमृदुचरवर्गे वाजि[Ku 75v]हस्तो समेते क्षणमदुदयमथैषां सत्सु केन्द्रस्थितेषु ।

दशदिशि च गताहे तत्कुलाचारतो वा शुभदिनतिथियोगे नाम कुर्यात्प्रशस्तम् ॥

And it is stated in the Jyotiḥśāstra. . . . and also⁵⁷

नामधेयं दशम्यां तु द्वादश्यां वास्य कारयेत् ।

पुण्ये तिथौ मुहूर्ते वा नक्षत्रे वा गुणान्वित इति ॥

शर्मवद्ब्राह्मणस्य स्याद्वाजो रक्षासमन्वितम् ।

वैश्यस्य पुष्टिसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य प्रेष्यसंयुतम् ॥

अन्यच्च ।

शर्मेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वर्मेति क्षत्रियस्य च ।

गुप्तदासात्मकं नाम प्रशस्तं वैश्यशूद्रयोरिति ॥

One should give the name to this (baby) on the tenth or twelfth day or on an auspicious lunar day (*tithi*) or during an auspicious time span of the day (*muhūrta*) or an auspicious constellation possessing specific characteristics.

The name of a Brahmin is joined with (a word) *śarman* (denoting happiness). The name of a Kṣatriya is connected with (a word denoting) *rakṣā* (protection). The name of a Vaiśya is connected with (a word denoting) prosperity and the name of a Śūdra is joined with (a word denoting) command.

And also (this is stated in the text):

It is said (in case) of (the name of a) Brahmin (that it should be connected with) *śarman*. It is said (in case) of (the name of a) Kṣatriya (that it should be connected with) *varman*. The name of a Vaiśya and of a Śūdra is praiseworthy, when has *gupta* and *dāsa* (connected to these names respectively).

57 These two verses in Jyotiḥśāstra indicating the auspicious day have been cited as found in the manuscripts without further editing. I prefer not to translate these corrupt verses.

अस्य विधिरुच्यते । गृहे नक्षत्रकल्पोक्तं तन्त्रमाज्यभागान्तं कुर्यात् । तदनन्तरं कर्ता चरुविधिना विश्वे देवाः⁵⁸ प्रजापतिः सरस्वती तदहर्नक्षत्रं जन्मनक्षत्रं वा इत्यादि क्षीरौदनं श्रपयित्वा । बालकं शान्त्युदकेनाचमनाभ्युक्षणं कारयित्वा । तदनन्तरं बालकमन्वालय भ्य महेधमानाधाय उक्तदेवताभ्यश्च चतुरवत्तधर्मेण⁵⁹ चरुं जुहुयात् । वाचस्पते पृथिवी नः स्योना इति तिसृभिरऋग्भिः प्रजापतये प्रत्युचं क्षीरौदनं जुहुयात् । प्रत्याहुतिं प्रजापतये न मेति त्यागः । सरस्वति व्रतेष्वित्युक्त्वा सरस्वत्यै अग्निर्देवा यजमानेत्यादि⁶⁰ नक्षत्रदैवतं तदहर्नक्षत्रमपि जन्मनक्षत्राधिदैवतं वा हुत्वा । यथा सूर्य इत्युक्त्वा यो नौ भद्राहं इत्युक्त्वा यदाहुः शकधूमामित्यु[Ku 76r]चा शं मा वात इत्येका एतैराज्यं हुत्वा ।

Its procedure is being described. One should perform the *tantra* in one's house as prescribed in the Nakṣatrakalpa up to the *ājyabhāgas*. Thereafter, the performer, in the manner of offering *caru*, cooks the rice (mixed) with milk for Viśve devas, Prajāpati, Sarasvatī, (the presiding deity of) the constellation of that day or (the deity of) the constellation at the time of the birth of the baby. He makes the child sip *sāntyudaka* and sprinkles (the child with) it. Thereafter, touching the baby (the performer) after putting the big logs (on the fire) should offer the *caru* to the (above-) mentioned deities with the procedure of *caturavattadharma* (by dividing the *caru* into four parts). With the three verses वाचस्पते पृथिवी न स्योना (PS 18.16.7–9), he should offer the milk-rice to Prajāpati (three times) with each verse. At each offering offering is with प्रजापतये न मे (this is for Prajāpati and not for me). He should offer (the same) to Sarasvatī with सरस्वति व्रतेषु (PS 20.27.10), to (the presiding deity of) the constellation of that day or to (the deity of) the constellation at the time of the birth with अग्निर्देवो यजमानः etc. He offers the clarified butter with the verses यथा सूर्यः (PS 8.6.9), यो नो भद्राहम् (PS 19.24.18), यदाहुः शकधूमम् (PS 19.24.19) and शं मा वातः (PS 20.34).

तदनन्तरं कर्ता रक्षन्तु त्वेत्येवमादि अह्ने च त्वेत्यन्तं रक्षामन्त्रान् बालकं स्पृष्ट्वा जपति । ततः कर्ता ये देवादि स्विष्टकृतान्तं कृत्वा । ततः शान्तिं वाच्य ।

Thereafter, the performer touches the baby and recites *raṅsāmantras* (prayers for protection), beginning with रक्षन्तु त्वा and ending with अह्ने च त्वा (PS 16.2.1–4). Then the performer performs (the acts) beginning with ये देवाः ending with the *sviṣṭakṛt* offerings (that is the *ājyabhāgas* of the Uttaratāntra), then he recites Śānti.

तदनन्तरं कर्ता संपश्यमाना इति सूक्तं ब्रूवन् बालकमीक्षेत् । माता च उत्तरीयवस्त्रेणाच्छाद्य । यथाकुलधर्मेण गृहाद्वहिर्निष्क्रामयति । ततः कर्ता प्राङ्गणे स्थण्डिलमुपलिप्य तस्मिन्नष्टदलपद्मं

58 देवाः] corr. देवा NiKuGu₁Gu₂Gu₃. As per their normal tendency, all manuscripts drop the *visarga* of देवा before प्रजापतिः.

59 चतुरवत्तधर्मेण] em. चतुरवत्तधर्मेण NiKuGu₁Gu₂Gu₃. For the discussion of this reading, see Griffiths and Sumant (2018: cxxiii).

60 Here also, we find double *sandhi* as the style of the author. The proper reading should be यजमान इत्यादि.

कर्णकैर्लिखित्वा⁶¹ । तत्कर्णिकायां भगवन्तमादित्यं कर्ता पूजयित्वा । तदनन्तरं सुपर्णस्त्वाभ्यवपश्या⁶²
इत्यर्धर्चेन बालकमादित्यं दर्शयेत् ।

Then the performer should look at the baby with the recitation of the hymn संपश्यमानाः (PS 1.80). And the mother covers (the baby) with (her) upper garment. He makes (the mother with the baby) move out of the house as per the custom of the family. Then the performer prepares the *sthaṇḍila* in the courtyard. He draws an eight-petaled lotus with chalk. He worships the sun on the pericarp of the lotus (diagram). Thereafter, he shows the sun to the baby while reciting the half verse सुपर्णस्त्वाभ्यवपश्यात् (PS 1.80.5cd).

तदनन्तरं कर्ता बालकस्य दक्षिणकर्णे तस्य नक्षत्रदेवतानाम् शर्मैत्यन्तं कथयति । ततो बालकस्य पिता दक्षिणकर्णे बालकस्येष्टनाम ब्रूयादिति ।

Thereafter, the performer utters in the baby's right ear, its name as per the birth-constellation by attaching the word *śarman* at the end. Then the baby's father utters the baby's desired name in the baby's right ear.

नामलक्षणमाह । यदुक्तमर्थशास्त्रे ।
नार्थहीनं न चाशस्तं नापशब्दयुतं तथा ।
नामङ्गल्यं नायुगलं वा नाम कुर्यात्समाक्षरम् ॥
नातिदीर्घं नातिह्रस्वं नातिगुर्वक्षरान्वितम् ।
सुखोच्चार्यं तु तन्नाम कुर्यान्न प्रणवाक्षरम् ॥
स्त्रीणां सुखोद्यमकूरं विस्पष्टार्थं मनोरमम् ।
मङ्गल्यदीर्घवर्णोत्तमाशीर्वादाभिधानवत् ॥
एवं पुंनाम कुर्यात् । स्त्रीणां तु वृक्षनदीऋक्षनगपर्वतादिवर्जमकूरमतिक्षुण्णमलंकारवत्
समाक्षराभिधानं दद्यात् ।

He declares the characteristics of the name as is stated in the (text named) Arthaśāstra:

The name should not be meaningless, not disapproved, not a vulgar word. It should not be inauspicious, not with the odd syllables. One should make it having even syllables (in it).

It should not be too long or too short. It should not contain many heavy syllables. The name that is easy to pronounce and does not contain the syllable *om* should be given.

The name of a girl child should be easy to pronounce, not harsh, it should have a clear meaning and be beautiful. It should contain auspicious (meaning), should have long syllables, and containing good blessings.

61 कर्णकैर्लिखित्वा] NiKuGu₁Gu₃, वर्णकैर्लिखित्वा Gu₂.

62 Here again we see the strange style of cutting the last consonant of the *pratika*.

In this manner, one should give the name of a boy. The name of a girl child should not be (a name of) a tree, river, constellation, hill, mountain etc. It should not be harsh, it should be very soft, it should be like an adornment and with even syllables.

ततः [Ku 76v] कर्ता स्वस्तिवाचनं कुर्यात् । आशीर्वादं कारयेत् । कर्ता उत्तरतन्त्रं कुर्यात् ।
इति सूर्यदर्शनसंहतिं नामकरणं समाप्तम् ।

Then the performer performs Svastivācana (proclamation of well-being). He makes (the elders) give blessings. The performer performs the Uttaratantra ritual.

Here ends the (ritual of) Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa (Naming ceremony along with showing the sun).

अथ बालकस्यायुर्विवृद्ध्यर्थं प्रतिमासं जन्मतिथौ आधानकर्मोच्यते । ततः कर्ता पूर्ववन्नक्षत्रकल्पोक्ततन्त्रं आज्यभागान्तं कृत्वा पूर्ववच्चरुविधिनाग्निचन्द्रप्रजापतीन् श्रपयित्वा । ततः कर्ता त्वमग्ने प्रमतिरित्युचाग्रये चरुं चतुरवत्तधर्मेण हुत्वा । पूर्ववद्यथादैवतं नामोद्दिश्य त्यागः । ततो नवो नवो भवतीति चन्द्राय । प्रजापते न हि त्वदन्य इत्युचा मनसैव प्रजापतये हुत्वा । शेषं पूर्ववत् । इति चरुहोमं समाप्तम् ।

Now is described the act of establishing (the fire for offering)⁶³ every month on a child's birth-tithi (the lunar day corresponding to the birth) for the long life of the child. Then, the performer, performs the *tantra* prescribed by the Nakṣatrakalpa up to the *ājyabhāgas* (butter oblations to Agni and Soma at the end of the principal offerings) as (is described) earlier. He cooks (rice with milk) in the manner of cooking *caru*, for Agni, Candra and Prajāpati as earlier. Then the performer offers the *caru* to Agni with the practice of *caturavatta* (dividing the *caru* in four parts for four oblations) with the verse त्वमग्ने प्रमतिः (PS 1.54.1). Each offering is made by assigning the name of the deity, as before. (He makes an offering) to Candra (with the verse) नवो नवो भवति (PS 18.3.3). He makes an offering, to Prajāpati, only mentally with the verse प्रजापते न हि त्वदन्यः (PS 20.32.10). The rest (of the procedure is) as (prescribed) earlier (which includes an offering to Anumati, immediately following an offering to Prajāpati). In this manner he completes the *caruhoma*.

ततो होता मुञ्चामि त्वेति कण्डिका । आयुर्दा देवेति चतस्रः । एतैराज्यं हुत्वा । ततः कर्ता ये देवादि स्विष्टकृदन्तं हुत्वा । ततः शान्तिं वाच्य । एवं प्रतिमासं कृत्विति¹ वर्षमेकं समाप्तं यावत् ।

Then, the *hotṛ* (recites) the hymn (*kaṇḍikā*) मुञ्चामि त्वा (PS 1.62) and the four verses (beginning with) आयुर्दा देव (PS 15.5.1–4). (The performer) offers clarified butter with these (verses). Then the performer performs (the acts) beginning with ये देवाः up to the *sviṣṭakṛt* offerings (in the Uttaratantra). Then he recites Śānti (verses). In this manner he performs (the ritual) every month until one year is complete.

63 This act seems to be the establishing of the *sthaṇḍila*.

तदनन्तरं प्रतिवर्षं जन्मतिथाविदं कर्मोच्यते । प्रतिवर्षकृते तु विशेषः । तद्यथा । मनायै तन्तुमिति कण्डिकासम्पातवत्कृतवस्त्रं धाता ते ग्रन्थिमित्यूचा⁶⁴ ग्रन्थिमावधीयात् । ततः कर्ता तुभ्यमेव जरिमन्निति कण्डिकयोदपात्रमभिमन्त्र्य⁶⁵ बालकमाचामेत् । हुतशेषं क्षीरौदनं भोजयेत् । तदनन्तरं⁶⁶ होता दूष्या दूषिरसीति कण्डिकाप्रतिसरमभिमन्त्र्यावधीयात्⁶⁷ । ततः कर्ता⁶⁸ शेषं समापयेत् ।

इति मासवर्षवृ[Ku 77r]द्धिकर्म समाप्तम् ।⁶⁹

Hereafter is described the ritual (to be performed) every year on the birthday (of the child according to the lunar calendar). But there is a distinction (in the procedure performed every month until one year, and which is performed on the birthday) every year. It is as follows: (He takes) a garment consecrated with the remnants of offerings (with the recitation of) the hymn मनायै तन्तुम् (PS 2.87), (and) he should make a knot (in it) with the verse धाता ते ग्रन्थिम्. Then the performer should make the child sip water (from) the water-pot (consecrated) with the hymn तुभ्यमेव जरिमन् (PS 1.12). He should feed (the child) the milk-rice, the remainder of the offering. Thereafter, the *hotṛ* should (recite) the hymn दूष्या दूषिरसि (PS 1.57) (and the performer should) tie the *pratisara* amulet consecrated with (the mantras in the hymn). Then the performer should complete the rest (of the procedure of the Uttaratantra).

Thus ends the rite of Māsavaṣavṛddhi.⁷⁰

अथ निष्क्रमणं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

चतुर्थमासि कर्तव्यं शिशोर्निष्क्रमणं गृहादिति ।

शास्त्रोक्तदिवसे निष्क्रमणं कर्तव्यमिति ।

Now, we will explain the ritual of the first taking out (of the the baby) (Niṣkramaṇa).

One should perform the ritual wherein the baby is taken out of the house for the first time in the fourth month (from the birth). The Niṣkramaṇa (ritual) is to be conducted on an auspicious day prescribed by the (Jyotiḥ)śāstra.

उक्तं च ज्योतिःशास्त्रे ।

स्वात्यश्रितिष्यकरणमूलपुनर्वसुपौष्टानुराधहरिपङ्कजवासवेषु ।

वारे भृगुभानुशशीन्दुजानां निष्क्रमणं शुभकरं प्रथमं शिशुनाम् ॥

64 ग्रन्थिमित्यूचा] NiKuGu₁Gu₃, om. Gu₂.

65 कण्डिकयोदपात्रमभिमन्त्र्य] em., जरिमन्निति कण्डिकोदपात्रमभिमन्त्र्य NiGu₂, जरिम कण्डिकोदपात्रमभिमन्त्र्य Ku, जरिमन्निति कण्डिकोदपात्रमभिमन्त्र्य Gu₁ Gu₃.

66 तदनन्तरं] Gu₁ Gu₂Gu₃, दतनन्तरं Ni, ततो Ku.

67 °भिमन्त्र्यावधीयात्] Ku Gu₂, °मभिमन्त्र्य वधीयात् NiGu₁Gu₃.

68 कर्ता] NiGu₁Gu₂Gu₃, om. Ku.

69 मासवर्षवृद्धिकर्म समाप्तम्] em. इति मासवर्षवृद्धि समाप्त Ni, इति मासवर्षवृद्धिकर्म समाप्तम् Ku, इति मासवर्षवृद्धिकर्म करोति ॥ समाप्तम् Gu₁Gu₃, इति मासवर्षवृद्धि समाप्तम् Gu₂.

70 Sumant (2012–2013) contains the translation of this passage. However, a fresh translation has been presented here for the convenience of readers.

आर्द्राधोमुखवर्जितानुपहतेष्वर्ध्वरिक्ते तिथौ वारे भौमशनीचरे घटतुलाकन्यामुगेन्द्रोदये ।
सद्दृष्टेऽथ चतुर्थमासि यदि वा मासे तृतीये शशिन्यक्षीणे शुभदे शिशोरतिनवं निष्क्रमणं
कारयेदिति ॥

It is said in the Jyotiḥśāstra (text):

On (the constellations of) Svātī, Aśvinī,⁷¹ Tiṣya, Karaṇa, Mūla, Punarvasu, Pauṣṭa (Puṣya), Anurādhā, Hari (that is probably Maghā, which falls in the Simha zodiacal sign), Paṅkaja (probably Abhijit, whose symbol is the lotus), Vāsava (Dhaniṣṭhā); on Fridays, Sundays, Mondays and Wednesdays, taking the babies out of the house for the first time is auspicious.

Avoiding the constellations of Ārdrā and the constellations (termed as) *adhomukha* (such as Āśleṣā etc.), on the unimpaired (i.e. auspicious) constellations, on the days avoiding *riktā tithis* (which are the fourth, ninth, or fourteenth day of the lunar fortnight), (if Niṣkramaṇa is performed) on Tuesdays and Saturdays, (then only) when the zodiac signs of Kumbha, Tūla, Kanyā and Simha have arisen, when aspected by auspicious (planets),⁷² in the fourth month or in the third month when the Moon (of the child) is strong and auspicious, (on that day) the very first taking out of the child from the house is to be performed.

ततः कर्ता स्वस्त्ययनगणेन यथाकुलमर्यादानुसारेण शिशोर्निष्क्रमणं कारयित्वा । ब्राह्मणैराशीर्वादिं
कारयेत् ।

Then the performer, while reciting the Svastyayanagaṇa, should conduct the first taking out of the child from the house as per the customs of the family. He should make the Brahmins give blessings (to the child).

इति बह्निर्निष्क्रमणम् ।

Here ends the ritual of Bahirniṣkramaṇa.

अथ षष्ठे मास्यन्नप्राशनं कर्मोच्यते ।

Then, the ritual of the (first) feeding (Annaprāśana) is being described, (which is to be performed) in the sixth month (from the birth).

यदुक्तं ज्योतिःशास्त्रे ।

षष्ठे मासि शुभे चन्द्रे पक्षे चाप्यसितेतरे ।

अन्नस्य प्राशनं कुर्यादितो यत्प्रथमं शिशोः ॥

⁷¹ This constellation is taken as Aśvinī in the translation, though the text has Aśvi.

⁷² *Saddrṣṭa* is translated as “when aspected by auspicious (planets)”. The planets are classified as auspicious or inauspicious. *Drṣṭi* (aspect of a planet) is a specific characteristic assigned to planets in Astrology. The auspicious and inauspicious planets occupy a particular position (called a ‘house’) in the horoscope of a person depending on the birth time of that person. They completely influence the seventh house (and in the case of some planets even the other houses) from the occupied house. The aspects have good or bad effects on the life of a person.

हस्तापुष्यपुनर्वसुकमलजत्वाष्ट्रै⁷³ न्दुमिन्द्राश्विनीवायव्योत्तरवासवानलमघापौष्टास्वरित्के तिथौ ।
 वारेष्विन्दुजभार्गवेन्दुदिनकृद्वाचस्पतीनां शिशोरन्नप्राशनमङ्गनामिथुनसोमानोदये(?) शोभनम् ॥
 लाभत्रिषष्टोपगताश्च पापाः सोमग्रहाश्च नवपञ्चमकण्टकस्थाः ।
 लग्नेषु दैत्यशचिवर्ज्या बृहस्पतिनामन्नोपभोगकरणे विविधोपभोक्तेति ॥

As is said in the (text called) Jyotiḥśāstra:

One should perform the ritual of the first feeding of the child in the sixth month, in the bright fortnight, when the moon (as per the horoscope of the child) is auspicious.

The (first ritual) feeding of the child is favorable during the constellations of Hasta,⁷⁴ Puṣya, Punarvasu, Kamalaja, (probably Abhijit, whose symbol is the lotus), Tvāṣṭra (Citrā, whose deity is Tvaṣṭṛ), Mrgaśīrṣa (whose deity is Indu, the Moon), Viśākhā (whose deity is Indra), Aśvinī, Svāti (whose deity is Vāyu), Uttara,⁷⁵ Dhaniṣṭhā (whose deity is Vasus), Kṛttikā (whose deity is Agni), Maghā and Pauṣṭa (Revatī (whose deity is Puṣan); not on the empty *tithi* (the fourth, ninth, or fourteenth day of the lunar fortnight); on Wednesdays, Fridays, Mondays, Sundays and Thursdays; and when the zodiac signs of Kanyā and Mithuna . . .⁷⁶

अन्यच्च ।

दीप्तान[Ku 77v]लः कमलबन्धुदिने मनुष्यः शान्तानलः शशधरे कुजे रुगार्तः ।

बौधे बली त्रिपुलभोगसुखः सुरेज्ये शुक्ले तु विक्रमयुतस्त्वशितो गतायुः ॥

आयुष्यं प्राङ्मुखो भुङ्क्ते यशस्यं दक्षिणामुखः ।

श्रियं प्रत्यङ्मुखो भुङ्क्ते ऋतं भुङ्क्ते उद्ङ्मुखः ॥

पञ्चपर्वसु सप्तम्यामेकादश्यां सितेतरे ।

शिशूनां प्राशनं हन्यादायुर्विद्यायशोबलमिति ॥

And also:

(If the ritual of the first feeding is performed) on Sunday, the man becomes of good appetite, on Monday of contented appetite, on Tuesday afflicted by diseases, on Wednesday of strong constitution, on Thursday the one with many enjoyments and pleasures, on Friday enjoined with victory (and) the one who has eaten (on Saturday) dead.

73 त्वाष्ट्रै°] em. त्वाष्ट्रै° NiKuGu₁Gu₂Gu₃.

74 The word Hasta is lengthened in the verse, perhaps *metri causa*.

75 I am not sure whether by Uttara, the text means Uttara Phālgunī, Uttara Āṣādhā or Uttara Bhādrapadā.

76 I am not sure what this °सोमानोदये means and I therefore refrain from translating this word. Probably by Soma the text means the zodiac Karka, presided over by the deity Moon. Also the reading of the verse following this one is obscure, and is hence left untranslated here.

(While feeding, the child) facing the east enjoys a long life. The one facing the south enjoys (what is) glorious. The one facing the west enjoys wealth. The one facing the north enjoys (the fruit of) righteousness.⁷⁷

On the five *parvan* days (the days on which moon changes its course, namely the full moon, the eighth and fourteenth days of both the fortnights), on the seventh and eleventh day of the dark fortnight, the ritual feeding of children harms life, knowledge, fame and strength.

ततः कर्ता शुभदिवसे नक्षत्रकल्पोक्तं तन्त्रमाज्यभागान्तं कृत्वा । तत्रौदनं स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा । ओदनं महाव्रीहीणां कर्तव्यम् । महाव्रीहिशब्देन बृहद्धान्यं शारदमिति । यवान्नं वा । ये त्रिषप्ता मुञ्चामि त्वेति द्वे कण्डके । अहं रुद्रेत्यादिभिरष्टौ । ममाग्ने वर्च इति कण्डिका । यत्ते अन्नं यदन्नमद्भि⁷⁸ यस्यामन्नमित्येकैका । एतैरोदनमभिमन्त्र्य । ततः कर्ता तमोदनं कांस्यादिपात्रे निक्षिप्य । तस्य समीपे हिरण्यपुस्तकमूर्तिकादीन्यथाकुलधर्मेण स्थापयेत् । ततः कर्ता बालकं शान्त्युदकेनाचमनाभ्युक्षणं कृत्वा । तदनन्तरं शिवौ ते स्तामिति द्वाभ्यामुग्भ्यां तमोदनं प्रथमं बालकं प्राशयेत् । ततः अह्ने च त्वेत्युच्चा अहोरात्राभ्यामपरमन्नं द्वितीयं प्राशनं ददाति । केचिदहोरात्राभ्यामग्रमन्नं ददाति । शरदे त्वेत्युच्चा ऋतुभ्यस्तृतीयं प्राशनं दत्त्वा । ततो यथा[Ku 78r]सुखं शेषमन्नं बालकं प्राशयेत् । तदनन्तरमोदनस्य समीपस्थादिहिरण्यादीनां बालकोपे यत्र द्रव्यं गृह्णाति स तत्र भाजनमिति जानीयात् । ततः कर्ता उत्तरतन्त्रं कुर्यात् । ब्राह्मणैराशीर्वादां कारयेत् ।

On an auspicious day, the performer performs the *tantra* prescribed by the Nakṣatrakalpa up to the *ājyabhāgas*. He cooks rice (intended for) *sthālīpāka*. The rice should be cooked with the (rich variety of rice called) *mahāvrihi*. By the word *mahāvrihi*, one should understand the long grain ripening in autumn. Or (one should use) the grains of barley. He consecrates rice with the recitation of the mantras ये त्रिषप्ताः (PS 1.6), मुञ्चामि त्वा (1.62), the eight verses beginning with अहं रुद्रेभिः (ŚS 4.30.1), ममाग्ने वर्चः (PS 5.4), यत्ते अन्नम् (PS 1.63.1), यदन्नमद्भि⁷⁹ and यस्यामन्नम् (PS 17.4.11). Then the performer puts rice in a pot made of brass etc. He arranges near it (the rice pot) a piece of gold, a book and an idol (of god) as per the custom of the family. Then the performer makes the child sip *sāntyudaka* (pacificatory water) and sprinkles (the child) with the same. Then he makes the child eat that rice for the first time with the two verses beginning with शिवौ ते स्ताम् (PS 16.4.8–9). With the recitation of अह्ने च त्वा (PS 16.4.10) he gives the second feeding of other food (items) during the day and at nighttime. Some (recommend that he should) give the foremost (?) food day and night. The third feeding is in the accompaniment of the verse शरदे त्वा . . . (PS 16.5.2) (to be modified) according to the seasons.⁸⁰ Then he

77 The translation of this sentence is based on the meaning of the word *ṛtabhḥ*, ‘enjoying (the fruit of) one’s righteousness or pious works’ given in Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary (2006: 223).

78 यदन्नमद्भि] em., यदन्नमज्मि NiKuGu₁Gu₂Gu₃.

79 For the complete mantra see item 4, point 4 above.

80 The mantra mentions four seasons Śarad, Vasanta, Hemanta and Grīṣma. The mantra is to be modified according to the season, in which the ritual is being performed as शरदे त्वा परिदक्ष्मि,

feeds the baby at ease. Thereafter, (he keeps) the things near the rice bowl in front of the child. Among them whichever thing (the child) lifts, he is entitled to achieve that (in the future). Then the performer performs Uttaratāntra. He makes the Brahmins give blessings.

इतिश्रीमन्मृसिंहचरणपरिचारकश्रीमन्महोपाध्यायश्रीधरविरचितायांविवाहादिकर्मपञ्जिकायां⁸¹ जातकर्माद्यन्नप्राशनान्तं नाम कर्म समाप्तम् ।

Here ends (the chapter describing) the ritual beginning with Jātakarman up to the Annaprāśana in the Vivāhādikarmapañjikā composed by Mahopādhyāya Śrīdhara, who is the servant at Śrīṅṣiṅha's feet.

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हेमन्ताय त्वा त्वा परिदद्मसि, वसन्ताय त्वा परिदद्मसि and ग्रीष्माय त्वा परिदद्मसि. This verse is an example of vidhiprayogasamhitā. The verse in the arṣisamhitā is modified in the ritual. For the three types of Samhitā, see DB (p. 1, l. 12–p. 2, l.4). They are: arṣisamhitā, acāryasamhitā and vidhiprayogasamhitā. For more discussion on this, see Divekar 1971.

81 विवाहादिकर्मपञ्जिकायां] NiGu₁Gu₂Gu₃, विवाहकर्मपञ्जिकायां Ku.

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