

2

0-315-04379-2

52273



National Library of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

NAME OF AUTHOR/NOM DE L'AUTEUR: Timothy Moody

TITLE OF THESIS/TITRE DE LA THÈSE: The Agnyādheya: Establishment of the Sacred Fires

UNIVERSITY/UNIVERSITÉ: McMaster

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED /
GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE: Ph.D.

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE DEGRÉ: 1981

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE: Dr. D.R. Kinsley

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

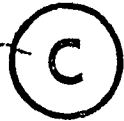
L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication, ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

DATED/DATÉ: October 28, 1980 SIGNED/SIGNÉ: *Timothy F. Moody*

PERMANENT ADDRESS/RÉSIDENCE FIXE: *61 Hamabek St
Kensington, Ont. M6H 3B3*

THE AGNYĀDHEYA:
ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE SACRED FIRES

By



TIMOTHY FLOYD MOODY, B.S., M.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

September 1980

(All Rights Reserved by Author)

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (1980)
(Religious Studies)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Agnyaḍheya: Establishment of the
 Sacred Fires

AUTHOR: Timothy Floyd Moody, B.S. (Otterbein College)
 M.A. (University of Hawaii)

SUPERVISOR: Professor David R. Kinsley

NUMBER OF PAGES: ix, 312

ABSTRACT

The subject of this thesis is the Agnyādheya, the Vedic ritual, through which are established the three or five sacred fires essential to Vedic sacrifice. The thesis aims at an understanding of that rite and proposes that the process of coming to an understanding is analogous to that of learning a new language. The ritual is taken as a syntactic unit and its actions and materials are viewed as a sort of symbolic vocabulary. The denotations and connotations of this vocabulary are then sought in parallel usage in other Vedic rites and the mythology of the Vedic texts.

The thesis suggests that establishment of the śrauta fires accompanied the sacrificer's accession to the head of his household. It then sets about to learn the significance of that event and how each segment of the ritual portrays various aspects of it. An identification of the sacrificer with his fire is discovered, and the transformation of his domestic fire into the "fire of the master of the house" and other śrauta fires is compared to the sacrificer's transformation to a new role. Within the spatial organization of the firehall is found an emphasis on the individual and independent life of the sacrificer as against social ties, the former represented along an axis extending toward the gods in the east and the latter along an axis extending toward one's ancestors in the south. The Vedic view that immortality consists in living a full life is placed

in this context, and the Agnyādheya is seen as the beginning of a sacrificial career which progresses toward heaven in the east. In pursuing its task the thesis has occasion to comment on folk beliefs concerning a variety of substances employed in the ritual including lists of soils which make up the fireplaces and trees which serve as fuel. It also offers new interpretations of a number of myths, the best known of which are those of Purūravas and UrvaśT and of the boar Prajāpati.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to offer my thanks to the following members of my committee: to my supervisor, Dr. David Kinsley, for his encouragement and affirmation of my work, to Dr. John Colarusso, who kept my etymologies on track, to Dr. Phyllis Granoff, who ferreted out many a non sequitur and muddled clause and helped clarify my thinking, and to Dr. Paul Younger, who periodically lifted my gaze from thorny vik añkata trees to a view of the forest as a whole. I would also like to thank Ms. Maureen Killoran who surmounted the impossible task of typing this thesis. Finally, and most importantly, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. J. C. Heesterman of Leiden for our discussions during his stay at the University of Toronto and his continued review of my work. The debt that I owe to his comments and suggestions and to his own work is embossed on the pages of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Descriptive Note	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Abbreviations	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
THE <u>AGNYĀDHEYA</u>	36
1. Time of Performance	36
2. The Churning Sticks	47
3. The Sacrificial Arena	62
3.1 The Sacrificial Spot	62
3.2 The Hall	72
3.3 The Fireplaces	83
4. Preparation of the Sacrificer	88
5. The <u>Brahmaudana</u>	94
6. The Last Night of the Year	109
7. Internalizing the <u>Brāhmaudanika</u> Fire	117
8. Readyng the Fireplaces	126
9. The <u>Gārhapatya</u> Fire	169
10. Journey to the East	174
11. Concluding Rites	203
CONCLUSION	212
FOOTNOTES	218
BIBLIOGRAPHY	305

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.	Ātmanepada
AAS	Ānandāśrama Skt. Ser.
AitAr	<u>Aitareya Āraṇyaka</u>
AitBr	<u>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</u>
Ap*	Āpastamba
Asv*	Aśvalāyana
AV	<u>Atharvaveda</u>
BAU	<u>Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad</u>
Bhar*	Bharadvāja (containing the Śrautasūtra, Pitrmedha S(ūtra), and Par(ībhāṣa) S(ūtra)).
BhG	<u>Bhagavad Gītā</u>
Baudh*	Baudhāyana
ChandUp	<u>Chāndogyaopaniṣad</u>
DhS	Dharmasūtra/śāstra
Gobh	Gobhila
GopBr	<u>Gopatha Brāhmaṇa</u>
GOS	<u>Govt. Oriental Series</u>
GrPar	Grhyaparīśiṣṭa
GrS	Grhyasūtra
Hir	Hiraṇyakeśin
HOS	<u>Harvard Oriental Series</u>
I-E	Indo-European
IJ	<u>Indo-Iranian Journal</u>

* The Śrautasūtra is meant unless otherwise indicated.

JaiBr	<u>Jaimanīya-Brāhmana</u>
JAOS	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
Kat*	Kātyāyana
KausBr	<u>Kausītaki Brāhmana</u>
KausS	<u>Kausīka Sūtra</u>
Khad	Khādīra
KpS	<u>Kapīṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Samhitā</u>
KS	<u>Kāṭhakaśamhitā</u>
KSank	Sūryakānta, <u>Kathaka-Samkalana</u>
L'Agnistoma	Caland & Henry <u>L'Agnistoma</u>
Laty	Lātyāyana
Laugh	Laughākṣi
PaipAV	<u>Paippalāda (Kashmirian) AV</u>
Pan	Pāṇini
Par	Pāraskara
Pokorny	Walde, <u>Vergleichendes Wörterbuch</u>
MBh	<u>Mahābhārata</u>
Mn*	Mānava, Manu
MS	<u>Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā</u>
MW	Monier-Williams
RV	<u>Rgveda</u>
Sankh*	Śāṅkhāyana
SBE	<u>Sacred Books of the East</u>
SBr	<u>Ś(C)athapatha Brāhmana</u>

SH*	<u>Satyāsādha-Hiranyakeśin</u>
Smr'	Smṛti
SmS	Smārtasūtra
SrKos	Kashikar, <u>Śrautakośa</u>
SulbaS	Śulbasūtra
TA	(<u>Kṛṣṇayajurvedīya-</u>) <u>Taittirīyāranyaka</u>
TBr	<u>Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa</u>
TS	(<u>Kṛṣṇayajurvedīya</u>) <u>Taittirīyasamhitā</u>
<u>Vājapeya</u>	Kashikar, <u>The Śrauta Ritual and the Vājapeya</u>
VIJ	<u>Vishveshvarand Indological Journal</u>
Vkh*	Vaikhānasa
VPAK	Visva Bandhu, <u>Vaidika-padānukrama-kośa</u>
Vr*	Vārāha
VS	<u>Vājasaneyi-samhitā</u>
WZKSOA	<u>Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens</u>
YV	Yajurveda
ZDMG	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</u>

INTRODUCTION

This thesis will be a descriptive study of the Agnyādheya, the Vedic ritual for the establishment of the three sacred fires used in all śrauta sacrifices. Western scholarship has shown a long-standing, if somewhat sporadic, interest in the area of Vedic sacrifice. Thus the first work on a Vedic rite was published in 1879, and by 1907 the norms for each of the three types of sacrifice had been described. In this century interest has been less intense, but accounts have appeared of several more major rites and several minor ones.² The earliest works were primarily descriptive in nature and often relied principally on only one Śrautasūtra (Kātyāyana), using other texts, which had not yet been edited, merely to elucidate obscure points. This mode of presentation culminates in Dumont's work on the Agnihotra, which contains a complete set of descriptions of that rite on the basis of all known Śrautasūtras.

It is with Heesterman that the first real study appears, however. In addition to presenting the various versions of the Rājasūya concurrently, rather than separately as in Dumont's work, he follows each section of narrative with an interpretation of its symbolism. His only major defect is that since he deals with such an extensive rite, his narration of it tends to be more of a summary than the complete and detailed description of earlier works. Bodewitz's recent studies of Brāhmanas concerned with the Agnihotra continue in Heesterman's vein, but the focus of these studies is more an exegesis of the

Brāhmanas than an interpretation of the Agnihotra, though the former has considerable bearing on the latter. Since his work on the Rāja-sūya Heesterman has added another dimension to our thinking about Vedic sacrifice. Viewing the material found in the extant ritual corpus as a sort of "classical" systematization, he has set about to discover what vestiges of "pre-classical" forms remain in that literature and what kind of social organization they evidence. This work consists of a lengthy and provocative series of articles, a sample of which is contained in the bibliography. Of special significance for our undertaking has been his most recent work "Other Folk's Fire", to which a number of references will be made throughout our study.

The only other major modern work on Vedic sacrifice is the Śrautakośa,³ an ongoing project which began in 1958. The Śrautakośa is an immensely valuable resource for the study of Vedic ritual, but it is neither a description nor a study of any of the rites with which it deals. It contains a complete translation of Baudhāyana with sūtras from various sections of that text gathered and arranged in logical sequence under the heading of the particular rite in question. This is then followed by translations from the other extant Śrautasūtras of any portions which differ from anything which has preceded.⁴ While this is useful for reference work, it is still a large step from sūtra material, even in translation, to a narrative description of a particular rite.

Against this historical backdrop a few remarks concerning the overall approach of the present author will be in order. To begin

with, we will side with those who insist that we try to understand a given cultural phenomenon on its own terms and who take the position that such understanding is possible. The basis for this position is an assumption that all elements of the phenomenon under study partake of a larger, culturally defined but inherently logical system of meaning and that with time and patience we can uncover at least some of that logic. In the case of our ritual this means that however bizarre or nonsensical may appear the actions or objects it employs, none of these is random or meaningless. The job of uncovering this logic is not an easy one, and there is always the danger that we will simply rediscover our own logic. If the culture in question is a contemporary one, we can ask questions of those living within its domain as to the meaning of objects and events. If not, we are forced to query texts and/or whatever else might remain. But the possibility that our questions, understanding of the answers, and even our very perception of those objects and events will be greatly determined by the predispositions of our own culture is a problem not to be taken lightly. In the case of a contemporary culture we will get some feedback, not only to our questions but also to their appropriateness and importance. In dealing with texts the task is more difficult, and we must try to discern what questions it is that the text attempts to answer. To put it simply, we must try to understand the cultural phenomenon in question as would members of that culture, while constantly guarding against the biases which prevent us from doing so.

If our aim, then, is to understand the Agnyādheya on its own terms, what factors prevent us from doing so? First, it is difficult for us even to visualize the procedure of the ritual, as it is set forth by our texts in a language and style which are foreign to us. We are also largely unaware as to the ritual's context, both in terms of historical development and where it stands in relation to surrounding cultural phenomena. Finally, we need to know the mental associations which convert objects and actions into its symbols. The problems connected with visualizing the ritual and its historical context will become clearer when we examine our sources below, but for now it is sufficient to say that we will attempt to remove the first of these impediments to our understanding through a narrative description of the ritual and we will be forced to reserve a detailed treatment of the second for a later occasion. It is, rather, the last hindrance to our understanding which is the focus of this thesis, and in pursuing it we will also consider the relationship of our ritual to other Vedic sacrifices. Indeed, the stance with which we began, that particular symbols belong to a larger system of meaning, forces us to investigate practices in other rituals which parallel the ritual under study.

The task itself is analogous to that of learning a new language. Just as a new language appears to be a random set of nonsense syllables, so a new symbol system appears unstructured and meaningless. One will usually begin by acquiring a rudimentary vocabulary

and the most basic idea of how to string words together into intelligible phrases. One's native language will serve as a model and equivalences will be sought. As learning progresses, however, one will discover that much of what was taken to be equivalent is not. By observing speech patterns one will gain an increasingly sophisticated mastery of the grammar, and by observing the usage of words in a variety of contexts one will learn their meanings and eventually their connotations. Thus, in time one will acquire sufficient familiarity with a completely new system of symbolic manipulation that he can operate without reference to his native system.

Where, then, does the study of Vedic ritual stand in this process? Through the various descriptions of Vedic rites we have learned a few basic sentence structures. The basic pattern of an isti, paśu, and soma sacrifice have now been delineated, each of which serves as a building block for the next, and all of which may be recombined to form other rites of still greater complexity. We have also become aware of substructures such as initiation, spreading out of the fires, concluding oblations (pūrṇāhuti), and the like. What we have not acquired is a very extensive vocabulary. Vedic sacrifice is extremely rich in the number and variety of objects and actions which it employs as symbols, and it appears that many carry the same or similar semantic value in different ritual contexts. As with actual words there are two major avenues of approach in deciphering this symbolic vocabulary; we can investigate usage, and we can investigate derivation. The

latter is more problematic than the former in that meanings can change with time and the question of derivation is simply that of historical development in another guise. But we are forced to resort to this approach where usage is scanty. In the case of Vedic sacrifice we may distinguish two types of usage. On the one hand there is the occurrence of similar ritual actions and materials in different rites, while on the other there are the myths and folklore which the Brāhmaṇas provide as a commentary to the former. Together, these two contexts will help us gain a sense of the associations which a symbolic act or object invokes when it is made a part of the Agnyādheya.

This linguistic analogy is particularly well suited to our study of the Agnyādheya because, at least in the case of ritual objects, it is often an attribute in the form of a single word or phrase which provides a key to the semantic value of the symbol in question. So, for example, the wood from which the churning sticks are made is taken from a śamīgarbha fig tree (Sect. 2), while that used as fuel in one of the preliminary rites comes from a citriya fig tree (Sect. 5). In the same preliminary rite rice is poured out on a "red ox skin with its neck to the east and hairy side up", a phrase found identically in several other rituals.

It will be helpful here to pursue a less involved example a little further. The night before the fire is churned (Sect. 6) a goat is stationed on the hearth, and this goat is given the attribute kalmāṣa. The word kalmāṣa signifies having variegated or spotted

coloration, especially with dark spots or may refer to the spots themselves. It occurs relatively infrequently and is used chiefly to qualify the above-mentioned goat and the bamboo from which is made a spade used to dig clay for a firepan at the Agnicayana. The question thence arises, how is a goat like a piece of bamboo? The answer comes from a myth told about the bamboo in which it becomes apparent that the dark spots are thought to represent places where Agni (Fire), already present in the wood, has started to burn through. The answer, then, is that goats and bamboo may have little to do with one another but a piece of bamboo which shows Agni's presence is appropriate for digging clay in which to house him, just as it is appropriate to station a goat which shows his presence on the hearth where he will be churned. The word kalmāṣa thus links the goat with a set of associations based on a myth told about bamboo.

Like words too our ritual vocabulary can have more than one semantic value. So in other rituals kalmāṣa goats are offered to several different deities, particularly the Maruts. Here I think it is important to know that the Maruts are often called pr̥śni "variegated". We might therefore ask if kalmāṣa also means pr̥śni like the Maruts in the context of the Agnyādheya. But the answer, as I understand it, is that reference to the Maruts, who have no role here, makes no "sense", whereas reference to bamboo bursting with Agni does. The significance of the spotted goat like that of the word kalmāṣa thus depends on the context in which it is used.

Against my emphasis on ritual vocabulary it will be argued that words have meaning only within the context of structured expressions. This is, no doubt, true, as we have just illustrated, though the converse, which is equally true, is less often stressed. Thus we must attempt to discover the overall intent of our rite and how its constituent elements are structured to serve that intent. And this task must go hand in hand with that of understanding the symbolism, each supporting and furthering the other.

Again let me offer a concrete example. The establishment of the third of the three main fires is accomplished while the priest is standing. Now we might assume this posture to be coincidental or a matter of convenience or even a means of showing respect, as "to stand close" (upa sthā) to an object denotes paying homage. But if we look at this practice from the standpoint of the ritual as a whole, we notice that the priest sits while establishing the first fire and squats while establishing the second. When we then discover that the first fire symbolizes the earth, the second the middle region, and the third heaven, we realize that the three postures of the priest stand in the same relation to one another as do the fires. That is, the significance of standing when establishing the third fire derives from a larger structure within the ritual.

We will also find that within our ritual are substructures which have parallels in other rites. A simple example might be the preparation of the sacrificer (Sect. 4), which has a number of elements in common with the dfksā at the soma sacrifice and the sacrificer's

preparations for the Darśapūrnamāsa. Not only are all of these preparations procedurally reminiscent of one another, but each plays a similar role within the ritual in which it is found. A much more complex example will be dealt with in Sect. 10 where, on the basis of procedural and thematic similarities as well as equivalent roles within the ritual, we will argue that such diverse acts as taking fire from one fireplace to another and a chariot race are all metonyms of a fundamental paradigm of Vedic sacrifice.

In essence, then, our approach will be as follows. We will ask of each particular symbol what associations it calls forth within a global system of meaning and which of these associations makes sense within the logic of our ritual, that logic in turn being determined by the particular constellation of symbols which constitutes the ritual.

Let us turn now to our sources. The primary source for this thesis is the ritual literature of the Vedic corpus. This consists of three recensions of the Black Yajurveda, those of the Taittirīyas, the Maitrāyaṇīyas, and the Kāthakas, as well as the Vājasaneyin recension of the White Yajurveda.⁵ For the Taittirīyas I have used the Samhitā, Brāhmaṇa, and Āraṇyaka as well as the Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Satyāśādha-Hiranyakeśin, and Vaikhānasa Śrautasūtras, for the Maitrāyaṇīyas the Samhitā and Mānava and Vārāha Śrautasūtras, and for the Kāthakas the Samhitā and a collection of fragments entitled the Kāthaka-Saṅkalana. The Vājasaneyins are represented by a Samhitā, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra. Since the priestly

duties for the Agnyādheya de almost entirely upon the Adhvarya, the texts for the other priests contain little concerning this rite and are therefore used only to shed light on the principal texts just enumerated.

The plan of the Taittirīya school, and of the Black Yajurveda in general, is to be distinguished from that of the White Yajurveda in that collections of verses, or mantras, and their corresponding interpretations in prose, or Brāhmanas, are not separated into different texts. Thus the Taittirīya Saṁhitā contains not only mantras but brāhmana portions, and the Taittirīya Brāhmana contains not only brāhmana portions but mantras as well. To avoid confusion, we will use the term brāhmana with lower case "b" to refer to interpretive sections of prose and Brāhmana with upper case "B" to refer to texts of that name.

When initially considering this project, I had hoped to provide a detailed analysis of those portions of these sources which deal with the Agnyādheya in order to further the as yet unaccomplished task of source criticism of the Vedic corpus. This has proved to be a considerable undertaking and one which must be reserved for the moment. However, a number of things can be said about the interrelationship of these texts, if only to elucidate the problems in using them.

Concerning the absolute chronology of these texts we may follow the musings of Max Müller and others or we may remain silent; I choose the latter course. As regards their relative chronology, linguistic evidence shows the language of the mantras to be more archaic than

that of the brāhmaṇas, which is in turn more archaic than that of the sūtras.⁶ This suggests three major strata in the literature, though it says nothing about the redaction of our texts, and the possibility of deliberate archaism can not be discounted. Within each of these three main divisions are numerous substrata, and the likelihood presents itself that substrata from our three main divisions overlap.

Inconsistencies abound. If we postulate that Samhitās are earlier than Brāhmaṇas we discover that the mantras and brāhmaṇas for the Agnyādheya are found in the TBr, while those for the Punarādheya, a modification of it, are found in the TS. And so Keith concludes that this along with other evidence "in some degree invalidates the ordinary view that the distinction of Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa is one of time pure and simple".⁷

While the KS and MS mantra sections appear relatively homogeneous, that of the TBr (2.1.2 and 1.1.7) has at least three strata. The first 17 mantras of TBr 2.1.2 are not known to the earliest strata of Baudh, which otherwise diverges little from the TBr, and must therefore be later. The 7 mantras in TBr 1.1.7 duplicate three found in TBr 2.1.2 and must be either an earlier core or a later addition, possibly a yājamāna or section for the sacrificer.

Brāhmaṇa portions of all three recensions lack an orderly manner of presentation. Thus while some segments deal with a single topic, for instance TBr 1.1.3, MS 1.6.3 and KS 8.2 deal exclusively with materials for the fireplaces, others seem to touch on multiple aspects of the rite, and the same topic is sometimes treated more than

once. Nor is the ritual portrayed by these brāhmanas necessarily identical with that of the mantras. In the KS and MS the situation is much less clear-cut, but in the TBr the brāhmanas include new mantras and in one instance have reversed the order of two mantras from that found in the mantra section.⁸ That there are several strata in the KS brāhmanas is suggested by the fact that, while most of these brāhmanas consist of unaccented text, all of KS 8.12, a synopsis of the rite, is accented as is part of KS 8.2.

The Śrautasūtras too present problems. It has already been intimated that there are at least two strata in Baudh. Thus Baudh 2.12ff gives a complete description of the Agnyādheya, though one which does not include the first 17 verses of TBr 2.1.2, and Baudh 2.6ff details the use of these verses, but then merely sketches the remainder of the rite, clearly relying on 2.12ff and only adding details not found there. The other sūtras traditionally assigned to the Taittirīya school appear more homogeneous textually. It is rather their relationship to the mantra text of their school which is problematic. Whereas Baudh tends to follow the reading and arrangement of the mantras in the TBr, though not without exception, Ap, Bhar, and SH at times change the order of these mantras and also include mantras from the KS and MS. Further, there is often agreement among them as to the order in which these mantras are to be used even when that order differs from any of the three mantra texts of the Black Yajurveda. This may suggest that these three sūtras knew a parallel tradition now lost. Of the two sūtras traditionally ascribed to the Maitrāyaṇīyas, Mn is

clearly the more orthodox, but the deviations of Vr must await further study. No Kāthaka sūtra is extant.

Only the Vājasaneyin recension of the White Yajurveda gives the appearance of a coherent school. Thus the SBr adds no mantras to the list in the VS, and Kat adds very few. This is more remarkable in that the VS lists only 8 mantras, almost an order of magnitude less than the TBr. That the Vājasaneyins were a sort of "back to basics" movement is suggested by the fact that of the 8 mantras in the VS 6 are found in the RV, and the readings are identical, whereas the schools of the Black YV often present their own readings. Further, the SBr quite frequently gives injunctions found in the Black YV only to follow them with the instruction "tan nādriyeta", "that should not be heeded". Kat too is quite faithful to this simpler model of the ritual.

How, then, are we to get our bearings in this maze of strata and sub-strata so that when wandering through it we may know which paths are connected and where one enclave of material stands in relation to another? If we are to interpret the Agnyādheya, whose version are we to choose and on what basis? If we are to base that interpretation on material found in the brāhmanas, how do we know that a parti-brāhmana is applicable and how do we avoid anachronism? Or, if our task is to understand the symbolic vocabulary of a Vedic rite on the basis of its various occurrences, how can we be sure that its semantic value is consistent and that no semantic development has taken place? Grammatical structures too undergo transformation. Finally, without at

least establishing a relative chronology, what can be done about any contradictions which these various texts may present?

When dealing with texts, such as the ritual literature of the Vedic corpus, in which external references are few and far between, the burden of establishing any sort of chronology must rest on internal evidence. This means that the task of chronologically ordering these texts and especially their constituent parts is posterior to, and in fact dependent on, an analysis of the historical developments present within their contents. Speculation on such historical developments is therefore a natural part of a study such as this one; for it will provide a starting point from which others may attempt successively better solutions to this problem. Accordingly we will feel free to posit developmental patterns as a means of dealing with textual inconsistencies. As broad principles, where evidence is not to the contrary, we will assume, on linguistic grounds, that mantra texts are older than brāhmanas which are in turn older than sūtras. We will also assume that the basic pattern of development is one of elaboration, since the sūtras show the most elaborate form of the ritual.

There is, of course, another possibility, namely, that textual contradictions represent not different stages of development but the divergent opinions of differing schools of thought. This is a real possibility but not one which is so divorced from the historical problem as might be imagined; for schism generally occurs when one group interprets the past differently from another. The past is then to be discovered in what all such differing groups have made of it, and a

line, or lines, of development, if difficult to discern, is still present.

The problem of relative chronology and its corollary, that of differing schools of thought, are also at the heart of our questions concerning semantic consistency and development of ritual symbols and the brāhmanas as a source of interpretation. In thinking about problems of chronology we are often tempted to conceptualize time as a continuous line of points and then assign individual events, in this case texts, to points on that line. While such points in time may be useful as theoretical constructs, our experience of time is in terms of intervals, and we measure these intervals in terms of change. This means that we assign texts not to points in time but to time periods and that we define these periods in terms of their relatively homogeneous character or lack of change. But this implies again that questions of chronology are posterior to and dependent on judgements concerning the relative similarity and degree of development present within our material. It is my judgement that the ritual literature of the Vedic corpus shows relatively little dissimilarity, at least so far as the Agnyādheya is concerned. Its various elements are, at worst, mutually intelligible dialects expressing different emphases of a common world-view. That developments, particularly in the form of elaboration, can be seen within this literature is no doubt true. But these developments are of a relatively minor nature; certainly neither the overall intent or basic pattern of the rite changes. It

is therefore, in my judgement, appropriate to take this literature as a whole and to assume, except where actual contradictions arise, that the semantic value of its symbols is constant.

One question remains, that of arriving at a description of the ritual from which to begin. Since it has been my intention to regard Vedic ritual literature as a whole, it was, initially, my hope to provide as comprehensive a narration of the rite as possible. Accordingly I attempted to weave together all available descriptions of the rite detailing their points of agreement and disagreement. This task has proved too time consuming in terms of the present project and too ponderous to impose on the reader. I have therefore been forced to alter the presentation of this material in the direction of simplicity. The reader who wishes a more detailed account of the Agnyādheya is therefore referred to the SrKos, pp 1-84,⁹ to Caland's translation of Ap with its excellent notes, and to the translations of Bhar by Kashikar and Mn by Van Geldner. The easiest means of simplifying this presentation is to choose a single text on which to base it, and the most obvious choice is one of the Śrautasūtras, as these are the texts most concerned with ritual procedure. But which sūtra is to be chosen? Ap would be a good choice in that it is more extensive than most and is representative to the extent that it is closely paralleled by Bhar and SH. Such a choice would, though, somewhat duplicate Caland's fine work.

There is another text, however, which offers some of the advantages of synthesizing our sources along with that of having a single

text from which to work, the Vaikhānasa Śrautasūtra. The thorough discussion of this text in the introduction to Caland's edition need not be repeated here, but Caland's statement that it "has relatively little original matter: the author draws largely on the work of his predecessors: Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin"¹⁰ is supportive of our choice. To this I would add that, in my estimation, Vkh not only draws largely on the work of its predecessors, but has attempted a synthesis of them. Further, its several areas of originality seem designed to amplify or clarify instructions which remain obscure in these other sūtras. Much more could, I think, be said concerning the principles by which this synthesis has been accomplished, but our purpose is to study the Agnyādheya not the Vaikhānasas. My point is simply that this text is well suited to our needs. It has one liability, however, and that is that it shows a sectarian (Vaiṣṇava) bias, which distinguishes it from all other Śrautasūtras. Still, in its favour, this bias has had very little influence on the Agnyādheya, being confined there to a few minor insertions such as meditation on Viṣṇu before churning the fire. That this text is one of the latest of the Śrautasūtras¹¹ might also be a cause for concern, but it is this very posteriority to the other sūtras which allows it to synthesize them and better suits it to our purposes.

Owing to their terse style, the Śrautasūtras, even in translation, are not easily comprehended and require a certain amount of digestion. Accordingly, I have chosen to present a narration of the Agnyādheya on the basis of Vkh's description of it rather than a

strict translation of that text. As notes to this narrative I have included the major variations of the other schools, especially where they are of interest for the interpretation. If the Śrautasūtras are difficult to comprehend, the brāhmaṇas are even more so, and here again I have preferred to narrate the material rather than provide literal translations. As for the mantras which accompany specific ritual actions, only those bearing on the interpretation have been included and, where feasible, the variants presented by the different sūtras have been passed over in favor of the readings of the mantra texts themselves. Here too the object has been simplicity, as a detailed discussion of the mantras is more appropriate to the task of establishing the relative chronology and interdependencies of the texts themselves. This is slightly problematic in light of our choice of Vkh as a starting point in that the Vaikhānasas apparently possessed their own mantra text, which is not yet available in print.¹² But Caland does not notice any large discrepancies in the readings of this mantra text and indeed compares it favorably with the Tāittirīya mantra texts as supplemented by Ap and SH.¹³ Further, the Vaikhānasa school is not the object of this study, but rather their sūtra has been taken as a representative model from which to begin.

One final issue requires comment. In dealing with Vedic literature not only are we often unsure as to what these texts intend or mean, but at times we can hardly even manage a reasonable translation; the problems of language and transmission which give rise to this situation are well known. To aid us in overcoming these problems

commentaries on these texts are often available, authored by others more steeped in Indian tradition than we are. But these commentaries come from beyond the interval of time to which our ritual literature belongs, an interval which, we have argued, is relatively homogeneous. Therefore such commentaries carry with them the possibility of introducing developments subsequent to this period as well as the later biases of an evolving culture. Accordingly, in textual matters I have sought the assistance of such commentaries as were available to me, but in interpreting the ritual itself I have accepted only those views which seem substantiated in the primary sources for this thesis listed above. It would, of course, be interesting to trace the evolution of the Agnyādheya from our earliest records of it to the present, but such an undertaking is beyond the scope of this thesis.

In summary then, this thesis aims at an understanding of the Agnyādheya. It assumes that unfamiliarity with the procedure of the ritual, ignorance of its historical development and cultural context, and lack of awareness of the associations which its symbols convey all hinder such understanding. In response to these impediments it offers a detailed description of the ritual and then focuses its attention on the ritual's symbolic vocabulary. In doing so it turns first to parallel usage within the Vedic cult and secondarily to derivation in the form of historic development. In the process it attempts to learn the ritual's overall design and logic and where they fit into the overarching system of meaning reflected in the Sāmhītās and Brāhmanas. Still, when all is said and done, it must be admitted that we are un-

likely to understand everything, or even anything fully, but we may hope that in the end we will have understood sufficiently to do justice to our material. With these general remarks concerning approach and materials behind us we must now get acquainted with the subject of our study, the Agnyādheya.

The purpose of the Agnyādheya is the establishment of Agni, Fire, specifically in the form of the three, or sometimes five, sacred fires which are at the core of all Vedic rites. Given the centrality of fire in these rituals, it comes as no surprise that we should find a proliferation of technical names for specific fires. Moreover, this terminology is not always consistent and is made more confusing by the existence of synonyms. It will therefore be of help to the reader to initiate our introduction to the ritual itself by distinguishing the various fires which we will encounter.

The best known of these are the three main śrauta fires: the gārhapatya, āhavanīya, and dakṣiṇāgni. The gārhapatya or "fire of the master of the house" is the first established, being churned out, and is, ideally, perpetually maintained. It is generally the fire on which offerings are cooked and ghee clarified and is identified with the earth.¹⁴ The āhavanīya or "oblatory" fire is, as its name suggests, the fire on which offerings are made. It is established the first time with embers taken out of the gārhapatya, and this is its usual means of procurement in other rituals. The āhavanīya is identified with heaven.¹⁵ The third of these fires is the dakṣiṇāgni or "southern fire", also called the

anvāhāryapacana or fire "for cooking (the rice) which is to be brought after (the Darśapūrnamāsa)" or simply odanapacana, fire "for cooking the rice (etc.)".¹⁶ This fire seems to have a special relation to the Fathers, the south being their region,¹⁷ but Keith's view that it was particularly used to avert demons is not supported by his evidence at least.¹⁸ To a certain extent this fire stands apart from the other two as the various sources for its initial establishment indicate. Thus, the southern fire may be fetched from elsewhere¹⁹ or churned itself,²⁰ though it may also be procured from the gārhapatya. Baudh,²¹ on the other hand, starts up this fire from the remains of the brāhmaud-anika fire, to which we will turn shortly.

In addition to these three main fires one may optionally establish the sabhya and āvasathya fires. The sabhya is the fire of the sabhā, usually rendered "assembly", but defined by the commentary on Ap 5.4.7 as dyūtaśālā "gambling hall", and so the adhidevana or gambling area is set up there as part of the rites ancillary to the Agnyādheya. KS 8.7 appears to refer to this fire as the madhyādhidevana "mid-dicing area" fire, though the offering which that text enjoins on it is, by the sūtras, made in the middle of the dicing area, which is clearly different from the sabhya fire.²² The āvasathya, similarly, is the fire of the āvasatha, which the commentary on AP 5.4.8 explains as "atithīnām vāsa-bhūmiḥ", a dwelling-place for guests. In the aforementioned ancillary rites, however, it is the locus of the pariṣad "audience" for which Mn 1.5.5.6 uses the term āmantrana "council".²³ As in the case of the dakṣiṇāgni, these two fires may be procured from elsewhere or churned,

or they may be obtained from the āhavanīya. Finally, there is some discussion by the sūtras and especially the commentaries as to whether the sabhya at least is appropriate only to a Rājanya (i.e. Kṣatriya), but no clear-cut agreement emerges.

The brāhmaudānika fire has been mentioned in connection with the dakṣiṇāgni. It is also in a sense the ancestor of the gārhapatya, and through that fire, of the āhavanīya. The brāhmaudānika, as its name implies, is the fire on which is cooked a meal of rice for the officiating priests (brahmaudana) as a preliminary to the ritual of establishing the fires. We will attempt to show that this rite has as one of its aims the conception and gestation of the three main fires, and it is in this sense that this fire may be considered their ancestor. There are again a variety of sources for this fire, some dealing with special desires of the sacrificer, but the most agreed upon source is the aupāsana fire, which may or may not remain afterwards.

With the aupāsana fire we enter the realm of domestic ritual, performed on a single fire often called simply grhya, domestic,²⁴ but also aupāsana, pertaining to worship or homage.²⁵ This fire too may be procured from a number of sources or churned, but two sources seem to have been preferred. The most commonly agreed upon, and often the first listed, source for the domestic fire is the wedding fire, which is fetched home along with the bride. The second source, though less attested, is the fire on which the rites concluding studenthood are conducted.

The significance of both of these fires, it seems to me, is

that they mark the beginning of adulthood, the entry into the second stage of life.²⁶ And so the adult sacrificer is accompanied by an unbroken chain of fire which leads to the Agnyādheya: the wedding or student fire gives rise to the domestic fire which in turn engenders the brāhmaudanika fire which finally gives birth to the śrauta fires.²⁷ Nor does this chain stop with the Agnyādheya. When the sacrificer is about to die his fires are removed to a spot suitable for cremation, and the cremation fire is kindled from these fires.²⁸ But this is his final fire; for his utensils, and notably his churning sticks, are burned on the pyre with him.²⁹ Thus there is a continuum of fire which accompanies the sacrificer throughout his adult life.

How, then, are we to understand this life-long preoccupation with Fire, and where does the Agnyādheya fit into this continuum? Put simply, Fire is Life. Its essence is tejas, the principle of vitality; for what could better represent vitality than fire, perpetually active, generating light and flame? Moreover, Life is immortal, not in the sense that any one individual lives forever, but in the sense that one lives on through one's offspring. So RV 5.4.10 states, "I, a mortal who is pondering You with extolling heart, invoke You, Immortal; O Jātavedas, grant us eminence; may I attain immortality through offspring". Again, fire symbolizes this fact as its radiance (jyotis) shines off into the distance. Thus towards the close of the Agnihoṭra the priest states the identity "prajā jyotiḥ", "offspring is radiance". Human beings are not only a medium for the continuance of life, we are agents, and so in kindling the fire one creates life and through this creation

receives continuation. Accordingly, the churning of fire is associated with sexual reproduction, and when the fire is first born the sacrificer breathes over it with the breath of Prajāpati, Lord of Offspring, to secure long life and establish immortal Agni in his breath.

There is another aspect of Life which Fire represents: Life consumes. Food must be eaten in order that there be new food to eat; generations reproduce and die to give rise to new generations. This cyclical aspect of life is also perceptible in the daily setting and rising of the sun, the monthly waning and waxing of the moon, and the yearly progression of the seasons, and wittingly or unwittingly human beings are participants in it. It is through ritual, however, that the married couple can actively participate in and further this process. Through the Agnihotra they participate in the cycle of night and day, through the Darśapūrnamāsa the cycles of the moon, and through the Cātur-
māsyas the seasons of the year.

Life is not only a process which transcends individuals, it is also the personal property of each individual, and so there seems to be a close identification between the sacrificer and his fire. The fire kindled at his wedding or departure from studenthood, or even at birth, is his own personal fire. At times it resides in his person, at other times in his churning sticks, and at other times it is manifest as established fires. Thus if the sacrificer makes a journey of sufficient length he places his fires either within himself or the churning sticks.³⁰ Should the householder retire to the forest he consigns the fires to

his churning sticks in order to transport them there,³¹ and should he become a Sannyāsin he withdraws them into himself.³²

This close identification between the sacrificer and his fire is also apparent in the Agnyādheya. Towards dawn of the day on which the churning is to take place the churning sticks are warmed over the brāhmaudanika fire, and the fire is made to 'mount up' into them before the brāhmaudanika fire is extinguished. The sacrificer and his agent, the Adhvaryu, also take the fire into themselves. While doing so they recite: "I first take into myself Agni for increase of wealth, for the having of many offspring, for a host of heroic sons. I deposit in myself offspring, lustre in myself; may we be sound, vigorous in our bodies. We take within ourselves, O Fathers, that immortal Agni who has settled in us, mortals, within our hearts. May he not leave us and go far off."³³ Clearer still is the verse which some sūtras have the sacrificer recite when the fire is first produced and other sūtras after various of the fires have been established: "I am from you; you yourself are from me; you are my source (yonī); I am your source. Being truly mine, O Agni, bear my offerings, (like) a son preparing a world for his father, O Jātavedas."³⁴

Lest we overemphasize the identification of the sacrificer and his fire, Baudh informs us that a brāhmaṇa declares "'The wife is, indeed, one-half of one's own self'"³⁵ and SBr 5.2.1.10 continues that without her one is not whole (asarva). And most sūtras make her responsibility for maintaining the fires explicit. Further, though

the sacrificer is normally cremated with the śrauta fires and the wife with the domestic fire, MnSmr 5.167-8 states that if the wife dies before the husband, she is to be cremated with the śrauta fires, and if the husband remarries, he is to set up new fires.³⁶ Therefore, the chain of fire that begins with the wedding fire is particular to that marriage. Thus, from the perspective of the sacrificer, the only perspective our texts provide us, there is an identity between oneself and one's fire, but the woman with whom one is united in marriage is part of that identity. If she dies and one remarries, one's self changes, and so do one's fires.

The role of fire in daily life also contributes to the sacrificer's identification with his fire. He will have grown up surrounded by fires which cooked his food, fires which gave him light and warmth, protection and comfort. All of the important transitional points in his life will have been marked with the presence of fire, and by means of fires the highest cultural expressions of his day will have been performed. It is no wonder that fire should bear great importance for him to the extent that the career of his fire should parallel that of his own life.

There is a final aspect to fire which deserves mention. If fire represents the spark of life, it also represents the spark of intellect or insight. So, for example, in RV 1.1.5 Agni is styled kavī-kratu, having the power of the sage, and many of his other epithets also connect him with wisdom.³⁷ Accordingly, a frequent concern of the sacrificer in setting up his fires is brahmavarcasa, the illuminating

power of sacred knowledge. Here too, the association with fire is clear; for varcas or varcasa is the illuminating energy of Agni, as also of the sun.³⁸

Thus fire is an extremely potent symbol, laden with multiple and diverse meanings. It is vitality and life, procreation and lineage; it is also illuminating wisdom and a constant presence in daily life. And so it is natural that one should develop an intimate association with fire and seek to maintain it throughout one's life.

We come, then, to our second query, the place of the Agnyādheya in this continuum of fires. Here, surprisingly enough, we find no clear answer to our question. The brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras deal extensively with the seasons and asterisms under which the fires may be established, but contain very little concerning the period in one's life when it is appropriate to do so. The Grhyasūtras and Dharmaśāstras are more explicit concerning the domestic fire, but they too leave much unsaid as regards the śrauta fires. Still, a number of hints are forthcoming, and a broad outline emerges.

Marriage and the domestic fire are clearly requisites for establishing the śrauta fires, but it is equally clear that the Agnyādheya was not normally intended for the young married couple: the śrauta texts contain numerous references to sons, and there is often the implicit expectation that the sacrificer's father will no longer be living.³⁹

It seems quite likely that then, as now, the joint family was the accepted norm. Accordingly, on marrying, a son would bring his wife into his father's household, where he might establish their wedding fire in their quarters as the domestic fire for cooking and oblations,

but larger rites to the Fathers, and above all śrauta rituals, would remain the responsibility of his father. The many alternative sources for the domestic fire further suggest that in actual practice even domestic rites were often performed communally in a joint family so that there was no need to maintain one's own wedding fire. Thus the second stage of life, that of the Grhastha, which begins with marriage and which is normally rendered as "householder", would be more appropriately translated that of "house-dweller", one who lives in a house with his wife, as opposed to with a teacher or in the forest. And a "housedweller" is further to be distinguished from the "head of a household" (grhapati). It is, then, the Grhapati who is entitled, even obliged, to maintain the gārhapatya and other śrauta fires.⁴⁰

Just how and when one becomes the head of his household is even more open to conjecture. Presumably, within the joint family there is only one possibility; one must succeed the previous head as a result of his death or debility. But as the joint family can have only one head, the majority of males will have to move elsewhere if they wish to become heads of their own households, and rivalry and friction may easily have motivated such a desire for independence. Thus we will see in Sect. 3 that the normal situation is that one who plans to establish his fires first secures a homestead. We will also see that even the eldest son may once have been expected to leave home with his inheritance. The basic principle of the Dharmaśāstras that one should not supersede an elder⁴¹ will tend to maintain the joint family by slowing departure from it. But one wonders if even the rules of seniority might not be circum-

vented by a change of venue. So it is that many of the Grhyasūtras give the time of partitioning inheritance as an alternate time for establishing the domestic fire, a prerequisite for the śrauta fires. And MnSmr suggests, though less than wholeheartedly one feels, that the brothers' merit increases if they separate; for, as the commentary explains, each will establish fires and perform the obligatory rites.⁴²

I do not wish to imply by all of this that the head of a household is not also a "house-dweller", only that the reverse is not necessarily the case. The Grhapati still engages in the second stage of life, which is characterized by the acquisition of a home, family, and property. Nor is the son who lives with his father homeless; for he builds his own quarters as evidenced by the rules for building a house in the Grhyasūtras. So we will see in Section 8⁴³ that the sacrificer in establishing the household which he will head is likened to a Grhamedhin, and the reason seems to be that both the head of the household and the house-dweller are concerned with the process of acquiring property and wealth, a process which begins with and is epitomized by the second stage of life. The difference is that the Grhapati has attained a greater degree of independence and full rights to the sacrificial cult and enjoys, I think, a rise in status.

Of interest in this matter are Mandelbaum's observations concerning the cycle of the joint family in contemporary India:

The whole constellation of family relations shifts in a characteristic way, as we have noted, as the children grow up. There comes a time when the daughter must be married and sent off, when the son must receive a wife. The necessary growth through incoming brides also guarantees eventual dispersal,

because there follows a time when the household becomes too cramped, psychologically and socially if not physically, to hold the brothers, their wives and children. Even if the brothers manage to stay together as one joint family through their lives, their sons almost certainly grow restive when they, in turn, become fathers, and then they separate to establish families of their own.

. . . among families of some substance, . . . , the division does not usually take place all at once, in a clean decisive break. The strains mount, but at every stage there are counter-vailing forces and people urging continued cohesion. The first step in the process of family fission is usually that of establishing separate hearths within the household . . . New walls may next be built inside the house as a physical partition foreshadowing the economic and legal partition to follow . . .

At any of these stages, the presence of the father tends to slow the process; the death of the father, and even more of both parents, tends to hasten the legal division. (44)

Here we see that even at present the establishment of one's own fire plays an important role in the transition towards establishing a separate household. In terms of our material this fire would correspond to the domestic fire, and when, either through succession within the joint family or more likely by departure from it, an individual were to become the head of his household, he would then elevate this domestic fire into the śrauta fires. In thus establishing his fires he establishes himself as a Grhapati, a master of the house and full-fledged member of the community. And so each night at the close of his recitation following the Agnihotra the sacrificer prays, "O Agni, Master of the House, may I be a good master of the house with You as Master of the House; may You be a good Master of the House with me as master of the house. A hundred winters- that radiant blessing I ask for my lineage; that radiant blessing I ask for (name of his son)." ⁴⁵

The participants in the Agnyādheya, then, are the sacrificer,

Who as we have seen is the head of his household and who, moreover, must be either a Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Rathakāra, or Niṣada,⁴⁶ his wife, and a number of priests. However, the identification of these priests is not so easy a task as one might imagine. Western scholarship has handed down a tradition that there are four: Adhvaryu, Brahman, Agnīdh or Agnīdhra, and Hotṛ as at the Darśapūrnāmāsa.⁴⁷ Of these four the Adhvaryu is the principal performer of ritual acts; the Brahman is a sort of overseer; the Hotṛ recites litanies from the RV, and the Agnīdh (literally "kindling the fire") plays only a minor role. While it is most probably correct that these are the priests at the Adnyādheya, this view is difficult to substantiate as it is not stated directly by the Śrautasūtras but only by the commentaries on Kat,⁴⁸ Ap,⁴⁹ and SH⁵⁰.

That there are four priests is mentioned in connection with their partaking of the Brahmaudana, and that one of these is the Adhvaryu is obvious. The Brahman is also mentioned directly by several texts.⁵¹ Since sāmans or chants are sung both when the fire is churned and later when it is established in the fireplaces, we would expect an Udgātr or "singer", and in fact Baudh 2.16:60.13-14 has the Adhvaryu direct the Udgātr to sing these sāmans. Mn, the only text to name the four priests at the Brahmaudana, also includes the Udgātr, as well as the Adhvaryu, Hotṛ, and Brahman.⁵² But Ap, Bhar, and Kat specify that it is the Brahman who sings the sāmans at the Agnyādheya.⁵³ Further, Laty, a Sāmavedin Śrautasūtra, also puts forth the view that the Brahman should sing the sāmans at the Agnyādheya and even refutes the counter view that the Udgātr should sing them.⁵⁴

The problem is more complex yet. At the end of the Agnyādheya proper are performed a number of ancillary iṣṭis. Since the Darśapūrnamāsa is the model for all iṣṭis and since the Adhvaryu, Brahman, Hotṛ, and Agnīdh are the priests for it,⁵⁵ we would expect these same priests to perform the ancillary iṣṭis. This expectation is met in the fact that all of our sūtras except Baudh and Kat specify dakṣiṇās for each of these four priests by name.⁵⁶ Further, these dakṣiṇās are stated by Ap, Vkh, and Vr to pertain not only to the iṣṭis but to the Agnyādheya as well,⁵⁷ and this may be inferred to be the case in the remaining texts too as no other dakṣiṇās are mentioned prior to this point.⁵⁸ Still, it is surprising that Mn, which also mentions these four priests in this context, does not mention a dakṣiṇā for the Udgāṭṛ in spite of having enjoined his presence at the Brahmaudana.

Since nothing is said to the contrary, it seems reasonable to conclude, then, that for all but Baudh and Mn there are four priests, the Adhvaryu, Brahman, Hotṛ, and Agnīdh, who are present at the Brahmaudana and remain to serve at the ancillary iṣṭis. The sāmans would thus be sung by the Brahman. For Baudh and Mn it appears that the Udgāṭṛ is present at the Brahmaudana and Agnyādheya proper and is replaced or supplemented by the Agnīdh for the iṣṭis, though his exclusion from those receiving dakṣiṇās in Mn is strange unless Mn intends those particular dakṣiṇās to apply only to the iṣṭis. It is noteworthy that Laty, who has the Udgāṭṛ at the Brahmaudana but the Brahman sing the sāmans, seems to effect a similar solution as he names all five priests as receiving dakṣiṇās.⁵⁹

We come, then, to the Agnyādheya itself, of which a brief description will first be in order. The Agnyādheya begins with a series of preparations: the churning sticks are procured; a hall is got ready and fireplaces built;⁶⁰ a declaration of intent is made and priests chosen, and the sacrificer and his wife are prepared for the ritual. When all is in readiness, the rite of the Brahmaudana or sacred rice is performed. A fire is kindled on which to cook the rice, the brāhmaudanika; the priests are fed, and fuel-sticks are smeared with the remains and offered on the fire. This fire is maintained for a year, and the day preceding the establishment of the fires the Brahmaudana is performed again.⁶¹ That night a spotted goat, Agni's animal, is tied up near the fire, and the sacrificial party remains awake feeding the fire.

Towards dawn the brāhmaudanika fire is transferred to the churning sticks and internalized by the sacrificer and Adhvaryu, and the sacrificer restrains his speech. This fire is then extinguished or allowed to die out, and final preparation is made of the fireplaces by distributing various substances in them. When the rays of the sun appear, the churning sticks are set in place, and the fire is churned out and brought to life. By this time it should be nearing sunrise, and the fire which has been churned is established as the gārhapatya. Now a firebrand is set ablaze in the newly established gārhapatya and transferred to a vessel of sand in preparation for extending this fire to the āhavanīya. A procession, led by a horse, carries this vessel

towards the āhavanīya, stopping for the establishment of the dakṣiṇāgni⁶² and again at the midpoint of the journey. The vessel is raised successively higher as the journey progresses, and meanwhile the Brahman rolls a chariot wheel to the south of the procession. On reaching the āhavanīya fireplace the horse is made to tread twice on the fireplace, and the firebrand is established as the āhavanīya fire when the sun is half risen. At this point the sabhya and āvasathya fires are optionally established. Each fire is then nourished with the addition of fuel-sticks, and the ritual is concluded with a silent performance of the Agnihotra, homage to the fires, and one or two "full-offerings" (pūrṇāhuti). This, the Agnyādheya proper, is then followed by a number of ancillary istis, and the daily Agnihotra is initiated and subsequently the bimonthly Darśapūrnamāsa. Each of these acts is accompanied by proper mantras, and each establishment is also done to the singing of sāmans and followed by the sacrificer's homage to the fires.

As a final prelude to our study and with the above outline in mind let us attempt a quick overview of what is to come. The Agnyādheya has as its purpose the first establishment of the śrauta fires and the initiation of a career of sacrifice for the head of a household. As his fires are established so the sacrificer is established as a full and independent member of the sacrificial community. Accordingly, in interpreting this ritual we will seek to show how each of its subsidiary rites articulates and brings about various aspects of that purpose. We will begin with the time chosen for the Agnyādheya and will see in it a reflection of the initiatory character of our ritual. We will

examine the way in which the fire drill is fashioned and will discover a concern for the personal immortality of the sacrificer, an immortality viewed as continuance through progeny and living a full life. Later we will find that the symbolism of churning the fire combines with that of the fuel placed on the fire at the Brahmaudana to portray the conception, gestation, and birth of the fire and so to make an analogy between sexual reproduction and the production of fire. We will propose that by engendering the fire with which he is identified the sacrificer recreates himself in order to further his personal immortality. Our study of the sacrificial arena will show not only that it is a miniature map of the cosmos but that the social and individual sides of experience are delineated by its orientation. We will consider the elements of transformation in the sacrificer's bodily preparations for our ritual in light of his new role as head of the household and will compare the transformation which his fire undergoes as it changes from the domestic fire to the three sacrificial fires. At the same time we will notice a tension between continuity and discontinuity in the life of the sacrificer and his fire. We will see that the three fireplaces represent the three worlds of the Vedic cosmos and that the materials used to ready them symbolize the elements of a new creation. As our ritual nears its apex we will watch the sacrificer carry forth his fiery essence, newly begotten, and place it in the immortal realm of the gods. Finally, we will observe the feeding and care of the infant fire and the start of its biorhythms, the Agnihotra and Darsapūrnāmasa. This overview of the exposition to follow completes our lengthy series of preparations for the Agnyādheya, and we proceed now to the ritual itself.

THE AGNYĀDHEYA

1. Time of Performance

We begin our account of the Agnyādheya, as does Vkh, with a discussion of the point in time at which the fires are to be established. Vkh states that a Brahmin should establish the fires in the spring (vasanta), a Rājanya (i.e. Kṣatriya) in the summer (grīṣma), a Vaiśya in the autumn (śarad), and a Rathakāra in the monsoon (varṣā) and adds that according to some all varṇas may establish the fires in the cool season (śiśira).² He continues that one should establish the fires on either the new or full moon under one of the following asterisms (nakṣatra): Rohiṇī, Kṛttikāś, Mṛgaśīras, Punarvasū, Uttara, Anurādhā, Śravaṇa, Hasta, or Viśākhā.³ One of these is to be chosen, Vkh explains, in accordance with a special desire of the sacrificer, following the desires listed in the brāhmana passage beginning "One should establish fire under the Kṛttikas . . .".⁴ We are told that it is well if one can arrange to have the proper season, asterism, and phase of the moon, but that if there is a conflict, the proper season and asterism is the best combination. Finally, Vkh allows that one who is setting up his fires in order to offer a soma sacrifice need not trouble over the proper season or asterism.⁵

It has already been suggested that a major concern of Vedic

sacrifice is participation in the cyclical aspect of life reflected in day and night, new and full moon, and the yearly progression of the seasons.⁶ It has also been suggested that the establishment of the fires initiates this participation. Accordingly, we would expect that the time specified for performing the Agnyādhya would correspond to the beginning of each of these cycles, that is to the beginning of the first day of the first month of the year. Our task, therefore, is to discover the beginning of the year in Vkh's list of seasons and asterisms. However, before we attempt this difficult task, and as a preliminary to it, let us see if the fires are to be established at the beginning of the first day of the month.

In India sunrise seems to have marked the beginning of the day since the times of the RV.⁷ But our ritual can not be performed in an instant or even in the brief period of time from the first appearance of the sun's orb to its full ascent above the horizon. Consequently some event within the ritual must be chosen as its high point or epitome. Now the climax of our ritual seems to be the churning and establishment of the fires, especially the āhavanīya fire. So the Tattirīya sūtras specify that the āhavanīya fire is to be established just when the sun is half risen (ardhodita).⁸ Vr and Kat, on the other hand, bracket sunrise with the churning and establishment of the gārhapatya, which is done just before sunrise, and the establishment of the āhavanīya, which is done after sunrise.⁹ Thus, in both schemes the high points of the ritual are clustered about day-break.

As we have seen, Vkh holds that the ideal time for establishing

the fires is either of the two parvan days, that is the days when the moon is either new or full, and this view is generally shared by the other sūtras.¹⁰ Since the Indian pakṣa or fortnight ends with the parvan day, lunar months may be defined as ending with the new moon or as ending with the full moon, and Kane¹¹ informs us that at present both systems are in use in different parts of India. That both systems were also in use in olden times may be seen in the fact that months end with the new moon in the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa but with the full moon in the Arthaśāstra.¹² Thus, both parvans may have been specified for the Agnyādheya in order to accommodate different calendars, though the sanctity of these two days, almost universally attested, must be admitted as a contributing factor in recommending them.

If the fires are to be established on the parvan days, this suggests that they are set up on the last day of the monthly cycle rather than the first. However, the Darśapūrnamāsa rites are also to be performed on the parvan days, and there the new and full moon days constitute the upavasatha, the preparatory or fast day, while the principal oblations are actually offered on the pratipad or first day of the following fortnight.¹³ Since the Darśapūrnamāsa is the general model for non-soma rites,¹⁴ and since the first day of the Agnyādheya is called upavasatha, it seems reasonable to conclude that the injunction to establish the fires at the new or full moon also refers to the preparatory day. The churning and establishment of the fires would then occur at daybreak on the first day of the following fortnight. In fact, this

seems to be the procedure if one establishes the fires at the time of the new moon.¹⁵

If one establishes the fires at the full moon, however, a problem arises; for the Darśapūrnamāsa is to be initiated immediately after the Agnyādheya, beginning with the full moon rite.¹⁶ Therefore, the Agnyādheya, ancillary rites, Anvārambhanīyeṣṭi (a prelude to the Darśapūrnamāsa), and the full moon ritual will occur on top of one another; while if one establishes the fires at the new moon, these rites can be distributed over the fortnight from the new moon on which the fires are established to the full moon on which the Darśapūrnamāsa is begun. Baudh and Kat eliminate this problem by allowing establishment of the fires only at the new moon.¹⁷ But the more common solution is to push the Agnyādheya back a day so that the establishment, ancillary rites, and Anvārambhanīyeṣṭi are performed on the last day of the fortnight and the full moon rite on the first day of the next.¹⁸ Thus, if one's calendar months end with the new moon and one performs the Agnyādheya on the new moon day, the churning and establishment of the fires will occur at daybreak on the first day of the monthly cycle. If, on the other hand, one's months end with the full moon and one performs the Agnyādheya at that time, one's fires will be established on the last day of the cycle in order to accommodate the initiation of the new and full moon rites. But even in the latter case the establishment of the fires is clearly associated with the beginning of the lunar cycle. There may also have been a time when neither the Agnyādheya nor the Darśapūrnamāsa was as elaborate as we know them and both could be performed on the same day.

With certain qualifications, then, we may say that the fires are to be set up at the beginning of the first day of the monthly cycle. We must now see if they are to be set up at the beginning of the yearly cycle. A rough specification of the time of year for establishing the fires is to be had in Vkh's statement that a Brahmin does so in the spring, a Rājanya in the summer, a Vaiśya in the autumn, and a Rathamkāra in the monsoon, a statement with which the other sūtras mostly agree.¹⁹ Spring is generally the first season²⁰ and is accordingly associated with the first varna or class. But the Brahmin is a model in ritual matters, and hence prescribing spring as the season for his Agnyādheya is equivalent to saying that the fires should be set up at the beginning of the year. The seasons for the other varnas are difficult to fit into this line of reasoning, though Hillebrandt²¹ suggests that there may have been different calendar years for the different classes. It is certainly possible that there might have been distinct priestly, royal and agricultural years, the beginnings of which corresponded to the seasons enjoined for these classes.

A more precise way of specifying the time of year for the Agnyādheya is to say that it is performed under a certain nakṣatra or asterism.²² But here too there is a problem in that tradition records a number of such asterisms, and so Vkh treats them as corresponding to special desires on the part of the sacrificer and refers to his brāhmaṇa for details. The brāhmaṇas do list a number of asterisms under which the fires may be established²³ and the desires which correspond to them; however, one in particular, Uttara Phalgunī,²⁴ seems to have received

special attention. MS 1.6.9:100.3-4 and KS 8.1 state that one²⁵ should establish the fires on the full moon in Phalgunī because it is the head (mukha) of the seasons. TBr 1.1.2.8 is more specific. It states that one should not establish the fires on (the full moon) in Pūrva Phalgunī because that is the last (jaghanya) night of the year. Rather one should establish them on Uttara Phalgunī which is the first night of the year.

We have seen in our discussion of the monthly cycle that two days are associated with the full moon. These two days are at times called the full moon day (parvan) and pratipad and at other times the former (pūrva) and latter (uttara) full moon days.²⁶ Now the moon moves approximately one nakṣatra east along the celestial sphere each day; so if the moon is in Pūrva Phalgunī one night, it will be in Uttara Phalgunī the next. Therefore, if on the night of the first day (pratipad) of the first fortnight of the year the moon is in Uttara Phalgunī, the previous night when the moon was in Pūrva Phalgunī will also have been a full moon day. The former (pūrva) full moon day will be the last day, and night, of the year, and the latter (uttara) full moon day will be the first day of the new year. Furthermore, months will end with the full moon and begin with the pratipad of the waning half of the month. Since months are generally named by the asterism in which the moon is full, the last month of the year will be Phālguna, and the next month, Caitra, will be the first month of the year. Kane notes that today too Caitra is the first month in some parts of India.²⁷

That this calendar was widely used for ritual purposes may be seen in the fact that the first of the Cāturmāsyas (four-monthly rites), the Vaiśvadevaparvan, was also to be performed on the full moon in Phalgunī.²⁸ Similarly, the year-long sattra of TS 7.4.8 and PBr 5.9 also seems to have begun on the first of Caitra. Thus, in observing the preparatory day for the Agnyādheya on the first full moon day in Pūrva Phalgunī and establishing the fires at daybreak on the second full moon day one would set up his fires at the beginning of the first day of the first month of the year. One might, however, have to push the Agnyādheya back in order to accommodate his first Darśapūrnamāsa.²⁹

There were, apparently, other calendars as well. So the Vaiśvadevaparvan may optionally be performed in the full moon in Citrā,³⁰ which would make the year begin with Vaiśākha. Concerning the year-long sattra TS 7.4.8 and PBr 5.9 go even further, criticizing the view that it should be performed on the full moon in Phalgunī and favoring the full moon in Citrā. Thus the asterism Citrā may also have begun the year in some calendars.³¹

Although TBr 1.1.2 and the other Taittirīya sūtras begin their discussion of the asterisms with Kṛttikās, Vkh begins instead with Rohiṇī, seemingly indicating a preference. Nor is he alone in this preference. Baudh, after dealing with the seasons and asterism appropriate to the Agnyādheya, returns to Rohiṇī, stating that of the entire year, the only new moon which conjoins with Rohiṇī is that which follows the full moon in Vaiśākha and that one should establish the fires at that time.³² The SBr also criticizes the notion of allowing different

asterisms for different desires and stipulates that one should establish the fires at the new moon in Rohiṇī.³³ This suggests yet another calendar, one in which months end with the new moon and in which Jyaiṣṭha is the first month.

There is another way of symbolizing a beginning besides the first day of the year. At present Āśvini is counted as the first of the 27 nakṣatras, but in the early literature it is the Kṛttikās (Pleiades) which top the list.³⁴ Thus, in my opinion, it is because the Kṛttikās begin the zodiac that most sources recommend them as an asterism under which the fires may be established.³⁵ So TBr 1.1.2.1 states that the Pleiades are the head (mukha) of the asterisms and that one establishing the fires under them becomes foremost (mukhya).

It is also possible, however, that in enjoining the Pleiades our sources recall a much older tradition concerning the beginning of the year. It is clear that the present zodiac in which Āśvini is the first asterism derives from a time when the spring equinox occurred when the sun was in that asterism, and this has led many to suppose that the same might be true for the earlier zodiac which begins with the Kṛttikās.³⁶ The tradition that one should establish the fires under the Pleiades, then, might stem from the remote era, about 2300 B.C.,³⁷ when the heliacal rising of the Pleiades marked the beginning of spring and hence the start of the year. Our texts need not date from this period, however; for today Aries is the first asterism in the West as is its equivalent, Āśvini, in India, but neither has coincided with the spring equinox for almost two millenia. For our texts

the Kṛttikās are simply the first nakṣatra of the zodiac.

Thus we have seen that the beginning of the year may be associated with three different asterisms, four if we count the Pleiades, all based on different calendars, and it is quite possible that there were still other calendars of which we have no knowledge. These calendars may have been contemporaneous in different geographical regions or they may derive from different eras. However, regardless of their origins, they appear to have given rise to a variety of traditions concerning the asterism under which the fires are to be established. One way of coping with these inconsistencies would have been to declare optional, that is pertaining to a special desire on the part of the sacrificer, any asterism which did not fit one's particular calendar.³⁸ This, I think, has been the strategy of our texts. But once the idea of special asterisms had been conceived, other nakṣatras could be added by analogy, and so the list of asterisms became longer in the sūtras than in the brāhmaṇas.

The process of development may have been something like this. The Kṛttikās, which once began the year for the foremost class, the Brahmin,³⁹ became a special asterism for a Brahmin who wished to be foremost.⁴⁰ Rohiṇī, derived from ruh "to grow, increase", became a special asterism for one who wished increase of his goods.⁴¹ Uttara Phalgunī, the deity of which is, in most sources, Bhaga,⁴² became the asterism for one who wished to be prosperous (bhagin), and Citrā, associated with Indra,⁴³ was for one who wished to overcome an adversary. Other associations were based on the name of the asterism. Thus, Punar-

vasu ('wealth again') was for one who, after set-backs, desired to become wealthy again, and Hāsta ('hand') was for one desiring gifts. The remaining asterisms may well have similar explanations.

In summary, then, it is my view that the fires were to be established at the beginning of the first day of the first month of the year and that the lengthy list of asterisms for special desires probably began with differing traditions concerning the beginnings of the ritual calendar. As evidence I cite the fact that where our texts are most specific, they point to the first day of the year. Further, that many of the special nakṣatras began calendars is suggested by the statement in Ap 5.3.15 that some regard these asterisms as obligatory (nitya), not optional. It is also my view that the selection of this time for establishing the fires derives from a desire to symbolize the beginning of the sacrificer's participation in the sacrificial cult. However, within this overall context of marking a beginning there is an element of free choice which is not lost on our ritualists. So KS 7.15 tells us that a human's season is unpredetermined (i.e. random), for one does not know in what season he will be born or under what asterism. But when one brings about the conception of the fires⁴⁴ one obtains a suitable season and asterism for them.⁴⁵ Thus even the scheme which sees the various asterisms under which the fires may be established as corresponding to special desires is consistent with symbolizing the beginning of one's ritual life with the time chosen for the Agnyādheya. For, if the astrological premise be accepted, that the star under which one is born determines the quality of one's life, then it is natural to

initiate one's ritual life under the asterism favorable to the aspirations one's ritual is to promote. In this way the list of possible "beginnings" proliferates until, finally, almost any time may be chosen, and the sacrificer gains full control over the moment at which his sacred time will begin.

2. The Churning Sticks

Vkh begins his preparations for the Agnyādheya with the acquisition of the aranī or churning sticks.¹ He stipulates, in accordance with the unanimous opinion of our sūtras,² that, if possible, they are to be made of wood of a holy fig tree, (aśvattha)³ which grows out of a śamī or "pod" tree.⁴ We will see that these trees play a key role in the mythology surrounding the churning sticks. If a holy fig growing on a pod tree is not available, the holy fig used should at least have fresh shoots, should not have been damaged by lightning or wind, nor burned by fire, should not have an excessive number of birds nesting in it, nor be withered or broken, and, finally, should not have been touched by a person of low caste (antya jāti).⁵

Unlike the other sūtras, Vkh provides a ritual for collecting this wood:⁶ The Adhvaryu, after going to the tree and circumambulating it clockwise (pradaksinā) while reciting the Vaiśvānara hymn,⁷ bows to it. With that same hymn he cuts a branch pointing east or north, cutting clockwise and beginning in the east, and fells it so that the tip is towards the east or north. Then, prior to stripping off the branches and leaves, he makes marks on it to identify the top and bottom sides and the base and tip.⁸ The wood is then split into two pieces, and the lower churning stick is made from the bottom piece. First the bark side is turned up and the bark removed, and then the wood is dried thoroughly. Afterward, the lower stick is fashioned 24 aṅgulas⁹ long, 8 wide, and 4 thick to the accompaniment of the Gāyatrī mantra. In the lower stick

8 aṅgulas from the base, 12 from the top, and 3 from either side, is made a notch (literally "womb", prajanana) for the first churning.¹⁰

In the same way the upper churning stick is made from the top piece of wood.¹¹ The churning tip (pramantha) is cut from the upper stick,¹² 8 aṅgulas long and (?) of a suitable fastening.¹³ It is joined to the base of the mantha¹⁴ (the remainder of the upper stick), and their length together is 26 aṅgulas. We are also told that the part called the "hole" (chidra) is to be made to the appropriate specifications.¹⁵

While the above account is certainly more detailed than anything found in the other sūtras,¹⁶ one is left wondering about certain features of the apparatus such as the means of holding the upper stick in place and the means of rotating it. I therefore present the, albeit later, description of making the churning sticks contained in the paddhati or manual to Kat 4.7, 8, which is more complete.¹⁷

The lower and upper araṇī are to be made from wood of a fig tree growing out of a śamī, and for this purpose a branch pointing east, north, or straight up (ūrdhvaga) is obtained. Both are made 24 aṅgulas long, 6 wide, and 4 thick. The pramantha, 8 aṅgulas long and 2 aṅgulas wide and thick, is taken from the north-east portion of the upper araṇī. From a piece of khadira (Acacia Catechu) wood is fashioned a spindle (cātra), 12 aṅgulas long and round or octagonal, which is bound on both ends with iron bands. An iron pin (kīlaka) is fastened to the top end of the cātra, and at the bottom is made a square hole into which the pramantha may be inserted. A handle (auvīlī), 12 aṅgulas long is also

constructed of khadira wood, with an iron plate on the lower side; in this plate is made a cavity into which the pin on the spindle will fit. In order to rotate the spindle during the churning, a cord (netra) is provided formed of cowhair mixed with hemp; it is three-stranded but roundish and a vyāma in length.¹⁸ On the lower arani, 8 aṅgulas from the bottom and 12 aṅgulas from the top, is made the notch (here called tīrtha) and towards the east is made a channel (vāhinī) out of which the fire is supposed to issue.¹⁹ This description includes a number of features not covered by Vkh, but the main point on which it appears to differ is that the uttarārani, which in this case refers only to the upper half of the fig branch, serves only as a source for the churning tip (pramantha) and not the rest of the upper churning stick.

With the physical description of the arani behind us we move on to the more fascinating area of the rich and diverse symbolism which pervades these sticks. The most common statement made about them is that they are to be constructed of wood from a śamīgarbha aśvattha, that is a holy fig which grows out of a śamī tree. So the two verses recited when the arani are brought to the place of sacrifice address them as a fig tree, the "embryo of a śamī".²⁰ In the brāhmanas, treatment of this śamīgarbha fig tree and its relationship to the churning sticks centres around the well-known myth of Purūravas and Urvaśī, and our examination of this myth will focus on two major themes. The first of these themes, that there is a mythological connection between the tree from which the churning sticks are made and the divine origin of fire in the form of lightning, has been discussed by Kuhn. Kuhn notes

a number of parallels in Indo-European mythology in which fire is churned with wood taken from a parasitic or epiphytic plant.²¹ His thesis is that by growing on another tree, such a plant symbolizes lightning, or lightning further represented as a fire-bird, which lights in a tree-top, thus bringing fire to earth. This wood is therefore said to contain fire and to be efficacious in the churning of fire.²²

Our second theme is that the symbolism of the churning sticks and the wood from which they are made involves a paradox.²³ This paradox finds expression in the fact that, although part of the symbolism of the churning sticks relies on an identification of the lower churning stick with the śamī tree, all of our texts recommend that both sticks be made from the fig which grows out of a śamī. We will see in this paradox two complementary views of immortality, that it consists in living on through one's offspring, and that it consists in living a full and independent life.

Let us begin, then, with a few remarks concerning the sources of our myth. Four versions of this myth exist in the Vedic corpus: RV 10.95, MS 1.6.12:106, KS 8.10, and SBr 11.5.1.²⁴ Though the intent of the RVic account remains unclear,²⁵ the other versions clearly have as their aim the etiology of the fig tree which grows from a śamī and the churning sticks made from it. Further, the Agnyādheya appears to be the context in which the story is told,²⁶ and so the MS and KS include it among the brāhmaṇas which deal with the Agnyādheya.

In the SBr, however, this myth has not been placed with the other brāhmanas concerning the Agnyādheya but in a supplemental portion of the text which deals with a variety of topics. Since the section which follows our myth pertains to the Cāturmāsyas, and since the formulas 'You are Urvaśī', 'You are Purūravas', etc. apply to those rites,²⁷ Sāyaṇa opines that the Cāturmāsyas are the context in which the myth is related.²⁸ But at the end of our myth there is a discussion of cooking a cātusprāśya, a rice dish for four priests, a practice which is not part of the Cāturmāsyas, and the description of it is identical to that of the ceremony which precedes the Agnyādheya.²⁹ Further, I hope to show that within the myth itself are references to the procedure of the Agnyādheya.

The myth of Purūravas and Urvaśī as narrated in the SBr, then, is as follows: A certain apsaras or nymph named Urvaśī has desires on Purūravas, son of Idā. On marrying him, she informs him that he must (not) poke (han) her three times a day with his can rod, (not) sleep with her when she does not desire it, and that she may not see him naked.³⁰ She then lives with him for some time and becomes pregnant. Meanwhile, the gandharvas decide that she has been among mortals too long and scheme to get her back. A ewe (avi) and two young rams (urana) had been tied to the foot of Urvaśī's bed, and the gandharvas steal (pra math) one of the rams during the night. She complains that her son is being carried off as if there were no hero or man of any sort around. The second ram is stolen, and she repeats her complaint. Purūravas finally gets the insult and wondering how there could be no hero

or man of any sort around when he is present, jumps up to the rescue. In his haste, however, he decides not to take time to get dressed. The gandharvas cause lightning to flash as bright as day, and Purūravas is seen naked. Immediately Urvaśī disappears.

Purūravas, returning to find her gone, sets out in grief, wandering about Kuruksetra in search of her. At last he comes to the shore of a lotus pond where a number of apsarases are swimming about in the form of water birds.³¹ Urvaśī, who is among them, recognizes Purūravas and points him out to the others, who convince her that they should reveal themselves to him. There ensues a dialogue taken from the 15 verses of the Bahvr̥cas,³² in which she tells him he can not get her back, he threatens to kill himself, and she tells him not to take it to heart.

Now, however, as the SBr continues on its own, the mood shifts, and Urvaśī instructs Purūravas to return on the last night of the year.³³ Then, she says, she will sleep with him for one night, and his son will be born. Purūravas returns on the last night of the year and finds a golden hall,³⁴ into which the gandharvas bid him enter. They then send Urvaśī in to him.

Urvaśī now tells Purūravas that in the morning the gandharvas will offer him a boon and that he must decide what to take. He tells her to choose for him, and she says to ask of the gandharvas that he become one of them. In the morning, hearing this request, the gandharvas reply that no sacrificial body (yajñiya tanū) of Agni exists among men, by offering with which he would become one of them. So they pour fire into a vessel (sthāli) and tell him that by offering with this fire he will become one of them.

Now Purūravas sets off with this fire and his son, and leaving the fire in the forest (aranya), he takes his son to the village. When he returns, he finds that the fire has disappeared, but that the fire has become an aśvattha and the vessel a śamī. Since he has lost his fire, Purūravas returns to the gandharvas. They tell him to prepare a dish of rice for four (cātuṣprāśya odana, i.e. a Brahmaudana) for a year and to place on the fire for cooking it three fuel-sticks of this fig tree, which have been smeared with ghee, reciting the appropriate verses. They tell him further that the fire which will be engendered from the cooking fire will be that fire, by offering with which he will become one of them. Then, however, they insist that such a procedure is obscure³⁵ and that instead he should make the upper churning stick of the fig tree and the lower churning stick of the śamī and with these produce the fire with which he would become one of them. But this too is obscure, and they finally instruct him to make both churning sticks from the fig tree in order to gain the fire through which he will become one of them. The story concludes that Purūravas made both churning sticks from that fig tree, and the fire which was produced was that very fire, offering with which he became one of the gandharvas. Therefore, one should make the upper and lower churning sticks from the wood of a fig tree, and by doing so one produces the fire whereby one becomes one of the gandharvas.

This myth clearly deals with the origin of the churning sticks. In fact, the stealing of the two young rams, an act which precipitates the events which lead to acquisition of the churning sticks, contains a pun which prefigures the outcome of the story. Thus the gandharvas

steal (pra math) the rams (urana) so that humans may churn (pra manth)³⁶ the aranī. At one level of meaning Purūravas and Urvaśī themselves are the two churning sticks, and so in the Paśubandha and Cāturmāsyas the lower stick is addressed as Urvaśī and the upper as Purūravas.³⁷ This fact and the sequence of events in the Agnyādheya have, I think, influenced the course of our story.

In the myth Purūravas and Urvaśī are together for some time, and she becomes pregnant. They are then separated and meet again in Kuruksetra. A year later, on the last night of the year, they are joined sexually for one night in a golden hall, and in the morning a boon is given which involves fire and a son. In the Agnyādheya both churning sticks are made from an aśvattha which has germinated on a śamī tree; thus prior to being fashioned the two sticks are in a sense together, growing in the same shoot. The lower churning stick is also pregnant in the sense that it is said to bear the fire which churning will produce. The ritual parallel to the separation of Purūravas and Urvaśī might then represent the cutting and splitting of the aśvattha in the process of making the churning sticks.

We have already seen that in our ritual the fire is churned on the first morning of the year. The previous evening the Brahmaudana is performed, but many texts³⁸ inform us that the Brahmaudana should also be performed a year before the actual establishment of the fires. According to the order of topics in these texts it appears that the sacrificial spot (devayajana) is obtained and a hall constructed prior to the first Brahmaudana and that the bringing of the churning sticks

to this spot also precedes the first Brahmaudana. Now in SBr 14.1.1.2 Kurukṣetra is said to be the devayajana of the gods;³⁹ so the first reunion of Purūravas and Urvaśī, as of the churning sticks, is on the sacrificial spot. When Purūravas returns after a year he finds a golden hall (hiranyavimita). Vimita is used by SBr 3.1.1.6 and Kat 7.1.19 to refer to the sacrificial enclosure build on the devayajana at a soma sacrifice, and although Kat 4.7.8 prefers the term agāra for the enclosure at the Agnyādheya, Baudh 2.12:54.5 gives vimita as an alternative.⁴⁰ It is true that in our myth the golden hall appears at the second meeting, whereas in the ritual the fire hall is constructed before the first Brahmaudana, but practices may have changed. Also, in some texts⁴¹ the fireplaces within the hall seem to be constructed only the night before the churning, and this may be the reference. At any rate, the churning sticks have two meetings a year apart in conjunction with the two Brahmaudanas. Just before dawn on the night before the churning takes place the sticks are fitted together, as Purūravas and Urvaśī are joined sexually, and at dawn, fire, the son of these sticks, is produced. Thus the story line of our myth closely parallels the procedure of our ritual.

But how did the churning sticks come to contain the fire which they are capable of engendering? In the SBr version of the myth Purūravas brings fire from heaven, leaves it in the forest, and when he returns the fire has vanished, the container having become a śamī tree and the fire a fig tree. KS 8.10 is more specific. There, Purūravas fixes the fire on the branch of a tree, and when he returns he finds fire

flaming on the tip of the tree. He reflects that this is the same fire as was brought from heaven and makes the churning sticks from this tree. In the SBr the phrase is "punar emīty et tirobhūtām", "(he returned thinking) I am back, and behold it had vanished".⁴² This phrase parallels Purūravas' return after retrieving the young rams: "punar emīty et tirobhūtām (Urvaśīm)", "(he returned thinking) I am back, and behold she had vanished".⁴³ Now in this latter instance lightning is the agent which brings about Urvaśī's disappearance and translates her from the human plane to the divine, and we may infer that in the former instance too it is lightning which brings about the disappearance, this time transforming divine fire into human. So the tip of the tree flames in the KS. Thus it is that the aśvattha, with its red coloration, sprouting from another tree, represents and contains this lightning, and the churning sticks made from this aśvattha can engender fire. This idea is also expressed in the Baudh version where Yajña, sacrifice or perhaps the sacrificial fire, descends from the gods to men onto the fig tree growing from a śamī.⁴⁴

The symbolism of the churning sticks becomes clearer when we examine the boon which Purūravas requests and the form in which it is granted. Purūravas asks to become a gandharva, and the gandharvas give him a fire through which he may become one. Now in PBr 19.3.2 the gandharvas, along with the apsarases, are said to hold mastery over whether or not one will have offspring. This mastery seems to derive from the sexual prowess and even lasciviousness attributed to the gandharvas.⁴⁵ Thus in MS 3.7.3:77.16 they are said to be desirous of,

or lustful towards, women (strīkāma). Nor is their lust confined to their own wives, the apsarases; ⁴⁶ for while the gandharvas are distracted, preying (gr̥dh) on the wives of the gods, the gods carry off the essence of the sacrifice. ⁴⁷ Human females too fall prey, and AV 4.37 threatens castration if the gandharvas do not leave the women alone. ⁴⁸ To become one of these over-sexed beings, therefore, means sexual potency and the ability to reproduce. ⁴⁹

The fire which the gandharvas give Purūravas becomes the two churning sticks, and these sticks represent masculine and feminine sexuality, and their union in churning represents intercourse. So RV 10.184.3, used by some in the rite of conception, ⁵⁰ states 'we would summon for you (the wife) that embryo (garbha) which the Aśvins churn out of two golden churning sticks, to issue in ten months'. Similarly, AV 6.11.1ab., employed by Kaus S 35.8 in the rite to produce a male child (pūmsavana), reads 'the fig (aśvattha) has mounted (ā ruh) the śamī; therein is made the issuing of a male'. Sāyaṇa explains that the śamī is the woman and the fig the man and that the latter mounts for the purpose of reproduction. ⁵¹ This recalls the verse used for fetching the churning sticks which speaks of them as taken from an aśvattha mounted on (ā ruh) a śamī. ⁵² 'Mounting' is also applied to human intercourse as in AV 14.2.37 'as a man a woman, mount her; ⁵³ may you two produce offspring' and verse 39 'mount the thigh . . . may you two produce offspring.' ⁵⁴ Thus the physical relationship of the aśvattha growing, mounted on the śamī is associated with the relationship of the upper churning stick to the lower during churning and that of a man and a woman during intercourse. ⁵⁵

In becoming a gandharva, Purūravas gains sexuality not merely for sport, but for reproduction. So in the KS version of our myth Purūravas is told not that the fire which he is given will allow him to become a gandharva but that it will allow him to reproduce himself (pra jan). Now if churning is seen as the equivalent of sexual intercourse, then the fire generated must be the equivalent of offspring. Thus it is that Purūravas receives his son Āyu and the fire of reproduction at the same time as they are equivalent. Moreover, although Urvaśī was previously pregnant with Āyu, the myth portrays his birth as resulting from the night which Purūravas and Urvaśī spend together at the end of the year, and the fire also results from this union. Hence we return to the assertion that fire is Life. Indeed, in the KS, when the gods⁵⁶ give Purūravas his son Āyu they tell him "this is Life (āyu)" and the pun is intentional.

To say that Purūravas and Urvaśī represent the two churning sticks is to specify only one aspect of a more complex relationship. It could also be said that Urvaśī is the śamī tree and Purūravas the aśvattha. We have already suggested that although both churning sticks are in practice made from the fig which grows on a śamī tree, the sexual aspect of churning is made clearer by identifying the lower churning stick with the śamī and the upper stick with the aśvattha which 'mounts' it. The śamī thus becomes the wife of the aśvattha. But this is only half of the relationship between the two trees; for the aśvattha is śamīgarbha, the embryo of a śamī, and the śamī is therefore its mother. This dual relationship between the śamī and aśvattha

trees is, I think, made part of the symbolism of the churning sticks by the fact that Urvaśī is also both wife and mother of Purūravas in our myth.

That Urvaśī is the wife of Purūravas we are told plainly; that she is also his mother requires further scrutiny. In the myth a ewe (avi) and two young rams (urana) are bound to the foot of Urvaśī's bed, and we have already seen that the two uranas are somehow parallel to the two aranī (churning sticks), both being the object of the verbs pramath/manth (steal/churn). Now as the rams are being stolen Urvaśī complains that her sons (putra) are being carried off; this suggests that Urvaśī herself is the ewe. Thus, if Purūravas is the aśvattha from which are made the churning sticks, the equivalent of the rams, Urvaśī is his mother. In the SBr and MS versions Purūravas is given the metonym Aiḍa, which is generally understood to mean "the son of Idā", being so explained in later versions of the story.⁵⁷ But there is very likely a pun here; for eda means sheep, and edā or edī would therefore mean ewe.⁵⁸ Since Aiḍa can be derived from edā, or edī, Purūravas becomes the offspring of a ewe, and this confirms that Urvaśī is the mother as well as the wife of Purūravas.

In portraying this dual relationship between Purūravas and Urvaśī our myth thus forges an important identity. By making Purūravas' wife also his mother, our myth asserts that Purūravas is his own son. That Purūravas and his son Āyu are equivalents may be seen in the fact that in the MS version it is Āyu who brings fire from heaven. Now if father and son are identical, then the father becomes immortal as long as he has an unending line of sons, and this must be another sense in

which Pūrūravas becomes a gandharva.⁵⁹ Here too is the sense in which Purūravas' son is called Āyu, Life.

The identity of father and son is also present in the churning sticks. The aśvattha represents both fire in the form of lightning which impregnates the śamī and the fire burning in the tree top which is the result of that union. And this fire in the form of the churning sticks gives rise to the fire which is churned. So by asserting the identity of these fires as a continuity of one substance, fire, the identity of father and son as a continuity of Life is also secured.

Hence, immortality is continuance through the offspring with whom one is symbolically identified. So in AitBr 7.13 we are told that a father, on seeing the face of his son born living, gains immortality. So too, the passage continues, 'The husband enters his wife; having become an embryo (he enters) the mother; having become renewed in her, he is born in the tenth month. Thus a wife (jāyā) becomes (really) a wife when he is born (jāyate) again in her.'⁶⁰

We come, then, to the paradox to which we alluded earlier. On the one hand the identification of the lower churning stick with the śamī tree, which serves as a wife and as a mother, makes the point that in reproducing as in churning the father becomes identified with his son and so gains immortality through his lineage. But the other side of the paradox is that in actual practice the śamī tree forms no part of the churning sticks and therefore is excluded from the churning of fire. We might conclude that this exclusion of the feminine part of

the equation is consistent with the emphasis on male lineage and leave it at that, but the matter goes further. For, if the sacrificer's immortality consists in an unending line of male offspring, why churn the fire at all; why not hand it down from father to son? The answer to these questions will become clearer as our study progresses. We will see that within the scheme of Vedic sacrifice is an opposition between social relationships, which are negatively valued, and the individual life of the sacrificer. We will also see that there is another view of immortality as living a full and autonomous life. The reason, then, why wives and fathers are taken out of the picture is that they entail social relations and responsibilities. The paradox is that fathers need sons for their personal immortality, but sons require independence from their fathers. Husbands need wives to gain sons, but wives have no place in the male lineage but rather confuse it through ties to another family. So in engendering his fire each sacrificer begins anew and sees himself not as a link in a chain but as the founder of a line, a line which emanates from himself without the agency of his wife. The fire born becomes his alone, and his immortality is a personal matter.

3. The Sacrificial Arena

Sacred activity requires the delineation of a sacred space in which to perform it. So, as part of their preparations for the Agnyādheya our sūtras give instructions concerning the selection of a sacrificial spot (devayajana) and the construction of an edifice in which the fires will reside. In examining these instructions we will discover that a common theme emerges, an opposition between self and society, the former positively valued and the latter negatively. Accordingly we will find that the selection of a sacrificial spot is equivalent to settling new land, and that the characteristics of the land chosen insure autonomy and independence for the sacrificer. We will also see that setting out on one's own is actively encouraged. As for the sacrificial arena itself we will observe that space is organized along two fundamental axes which symbolize the social and individual dimensions of experience and that here too social relationships are minimized in favor of the individual. Finally, we will perceive that the plan of the firehall portrays a miniature cosmos within which takes place the sacrificer's personal quest for the world of heaven. We proceed, then, to the sūtras.

3.1 The Sacrificial Spot

The sacrificial spot (devayajana) is not mentioned in Vkh, and thus we must resort to other sūtras for information concerning it. Ap, Bhar, and SH state that a sālīna should go off (ud ava so), according to SH to the north or east, to establish his fires. A yāyāvara should

not heed this instruction (Ap and Bhar), but rather (SH) should perform the Agnyādheya at home. Ap adds that alternatively the yāyāvara should journey forth for one day. Finally, all three texts specify that the sacrificial spot should slope towards the east.² The commentaries on Ap and SH explain śālīna as one who stays at home or in one place³ as opposed to a yāyāvara who normally travels,⁴ and the commentary on SH further explains that the yāyāvara establishes his fires in the home in which he happens to be staying.⁵ It would be natural to read these commentaries in the light of the DhSs where the śālīna and yāyāvara represent two different life styles, the śālīna living in a fixed place of residence, accumulating possessions, and the yāyāvara being a sort of mendicant who subsists on gleaned grain. We will discuss these two terms in greater detail later, but let us begin by pointing out that if we accept the understanding of the DhSs, then the instructions of the SrSs present us with problems. If the śālīna, who goes off to establish his fires, is contrasted with the yāyāvara, who does not, and if as an alternative the yāyāvara is to go off at a distance of one day's journey, then presumably a journey of one day's duration is a minimal distance, and a śālīna is to go that far or further. Now if the śālīna's fires are more than a day's travel away from his residence, how will he perform the Agnihotra twice a day? On the other hand, if the yāyāvara sets up his fires in the house in which he happens to be staying at the moment, where will he offer his Agnihotra when he continues travelling?

In the case of the śālīna I conclude that going off to estab-

lish the fires is tantamount to changing his residence. The verb ud ava so too suggests this. According to MW, ava so means to find a resting or stopping place, but also has the sense of "to settle". Thus in KhadGrS 4.2.6 avasāna refers to the site for a house.⁶ Ud ava so, then, seems to denote moving to a different settlement or dwelling. So AsvGrS 4.1.1 states that if one who has established his fires is ill he should go off (ud ava so) to the north, east, or northeast.

There are two aspects to moving: leaving one's place, expressed by ud ava so, and settling on another, apparently expressed by adhy ava so.⁷ Both aspects are found in the soma sacrifice. Thus, in preparation for a soma sacrifice a site is selected, a hall built, and this hall is then occupied (adhy ava so) by the sacrificer, who brings his fires from his firehall at home.⁸ At the end of the soma sacrifice an udavasāntya rite is performed, after which the sacrificer goes off with his fires and takes up residence at home.⁹ This rite portrays the process of moving to a new location: the fires used in the soma ritual are first consigned to the churning sticks and the sacrificial party goes off (ud ava so) to the north or east. There a new enclosure is raised, the fires churned out, and offerings made. Then the fires are again consigned to the churning sticks, and the sacrificer goes off to settle (adhy ava so) at his own firehall where he performs the evening Agnihotra. In fact the "new" place in which the sacrificer settles is his own home, but the transformation of the sacrificer and his fires which the soma sacrifice has effected renders his home a new place.¹⁰

Settling on a new spot involves gaining title to it, and so Baudh gives a rite for asking the priests for a sacrificial spot.¹¹ Prior claims of the deceased must also be eliminated, and Bhar has the sacrificer settle (adhy ava so) on his spot for the Agnyādheya reciting: 'Go off, depart, and slink away from here you old and recent (spirits) who are here. Yama has given this earthly spot (avasāna),¹² and the Fathers have appointed this place for this (sacrificer).'¹³ One should also secure this spot from the encroachment of others. Thus Baudh, in requiring that a site be chosen with a source of water to the east of it, states that the sacrificial spot should be located close enough to this water that there is not room for another sacrificial spot in between, but that one should leave space for another spot to the north.¹⁴ This allows for subsequent expansion without jeopardizing the sacrificer's water supply.

The rules for selecting a site on which to sacrifice set forth in the brāhmanaś also intimate that such selection was associated with taking up a new residence.¹⁵ As in the case of the nakṣatras, variant traditions have been treated under the rubric of "special desires" on the part of the sacrificer or his priests, and this process has been so thorough that even characteristics of sites which are not mutually exclusive have been separated into alternative choices on the part of the sacrificer.¹⁶ Behind these texts, however, one can easily imagine a body of lore concerning good and bad places on which to settle. So, for example, what might once have been a recommendation to settle on level, verdant land as the former makes for a stable house and the latter

is beneficial to one's cattle becomes the injunctions that one desiring stability (pratiṣṭhākāma) should sacrifice on level ground and one desiring cattle (paśukāma) should sacrifice on land where a variety of plants intertwine.¹⁷ In KS 25.2 one desiring food (annakāma) is to sacrifice on land where water flows together from all sides,¹⁸ and in KS 25.3 one wishing to be prosperous sacrifices on a site around which water flows clockwise and gathers to the east.¹⁹ These two rules are remarkably similar to AsvGrS 2.7.6 which concerns the ground for building a house: "It (the house) is completely prosperous (on land) where waters gathering from all sides in the center go clockwise around the living quarters and flow to the east quietly."²⁰ Within this rubric of special desires the attributes of bad land are treated as pertaining to special desires on the part of priests who wish harm to the sacrificer, since he would be unlikely to desire such land on his own. Thus the priest causes a sacrificer whom he hates (KS 25.2) or whose sacrifice he wishes to destroy (TS 6.2.6.4) to sacrifice on barren land.²¹ Again AsvGrS 2.7.2 where the ground on which one intends to build a house should not be saline,²² and therefore infertile, is comparable.

As with Baudh above, a major concern which emerges from these rules is that the sacrificer's land should be secure from encroachment on the part of others and thus provide independence for the sacrificer. So the sacrificial spot should be fully extended to the east,²³ which is clarified to mean extending close enough to a road (panthan) or hole (karta) that there is not room for a cart or chariot to pass.²⁴ The reason for this, MS tells us, is that if one leaves room for a

sacrificial spot adjoining his own spot, one leaves a space (loka) for his enemy.²⁵ KS 25.2 adds two negative examples. A priest who wishes to separate his sacrificer from future offspring and cattle has him sacrifice on a place where a road runs through the middle of the sacrificial spot. If he hopes that the opportunity for another sacrifice will not present itself to the sacrificer he has him offer on a spot where a path runs between the site and its source of water.²⁶

Concern for security in the east seems to derive from the fact that ideally the water supply is located there. Thus the sacrificial spot is to slope down on the east side,²⁷ and MS states that one who wishes that a subsequent sacrifice should fall to him should sacrifice on a site with water to the east, calling such a spot pūrohavis "having a (subsequent) offering in front".²⁸ TS defines a purohavis devayajana as a spot where the Hotṛ, presumably facing east, can see the fire, water, and the sun at the morning litany and also enjoins such a spot for one who hopes to offer subsequent sacrifices.²⁹ The idea, apparently, is not to be cut off from one's water supply and thereby prevented from offering further rites. In addition, the east is the region of the gods, and a secure eastern boundary prevents someone else from interposing his sacrifice between the gods and one's own ritual. So MS calls a spot which is extended fully to the east (purastād āpta) sadeva "accompanied by the gods".³⁰

Though the sacrificer wishes to prevent another's expansion at his expense, he nevertheless wishes to leave room for his own expansion. Hence Baudh has him leave room for another sacrificial spot to the

north. MS too states that one who wishes that a subsequent (uttara) sacrifice should fall to him offers on a spot to the north of which there is space for another sacrificial spot.³¹

Let us summarize what has been said thus far. It has been pointed out that it will be impossible for the śālitna to offer the Agnihotra twice daily if his fires are more than a day's journey from his home and that this leads to the conclusion that going off to establish his fires means changing his place of residence. In support of this conclusion we have seen that the phraseology of the injunction to go off suggests moving to a new home. We have also seen that the rules for obtaining a sacrificial spot, as amplified under the heading of the soma sacrifice, are consistent with good advice as regards the selection of a homestead and compare favorably with the rules for choosing a site for a new house in the AsvGrS. Finally, we have noted that attending these rules is a concern for security and independence on the part of the sacrificer.

We must now return to the question of identifying the śālitna and yāyāvara. The understanding of these two terms provided by the commentaries to our sūtras has been cited above, and this understanding is consistent with the view of the Dharmaśāstras. Lakṣmīdhara, in his Kṛtyakalpataru,³² has collected and commented upon all of the relevant passages of DhS, many of which are also discussed by Kane.³³ Here the śālitna and yāyāvara emerge as the two principal types of householder, the latter superior to the former.³⁴ Kane defines them:

"The śālīna is one who dwells in a house, is possessed of servants and cattle, and has a fixed village and has grain and wealth and follows the life of worldly people; the yāyāvara is one who subsists by the best of livelihood, viz. picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken to the house or threshing floor by the owner and who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as priest, or by teaching or by accepting gifts."³⁵

Prior to their inclusion in the classificatory system of the DhSs, however, the terms śālīna and yāyāvara seem to have lacked the above technical sense. Pan. 5.2.20 glosses śālīna as adhr̥ṣṭa, "lacking confidence", "shy", or perhaps "non-assertive", and the Kāśīkāvr̥tti offers the definition "one who is fit (only) to stay home".³⁶ I suggest, therefore, the translation "home-body".

In the brāhmaṇas we do not find the opposition śālīna/yāyāvara; instead we find kṣemya/yāyāvara. But kṣemya, I think, is equivalent to śālīna as defined by Pāṇini. In TS 5.2.1.7 we are told that the attention of some creatures is set on gain (yoga or yama as KS 19.12 has it) and that of others on security (kṣema).³⁷ KS 19.12 explains that when one sets forth, one is thereby bent on gain, and when one stays nearby, one is thereby bent on security.³⁸ MS 3.2.2:16.15ff, after a briefer statement of these two views,³⁹ says that therefore some creatures are yāyāvaras and some are kṣemyas. Thus the distinction seems to be between the timid, security-minded "home-body", the kṣemya or śālīna, and the active, aggressive "go-getter", the yāyāvara. TS and KS conclude that the yāyāvara is master over the kṣemya and settles⁴⁰ on the kṣemya (i.e. takes over his land).

The basis of this polarity between gain and security is setting forth (pra kram) and staying nearby (upa sthā A.), and this is again reflected in the terms yāyāvara, from the intensive of yā "to go", and śālīna, from śālā "hall" or "home". Thus the "home-body" appears to be the timid settler who does not move on to new lands, while the "go-getter" is a sort of nomad or migrant who settles in one place, but then picks up and moves on.⁴¹ Moreover, the expansive character of the latter is clearly the ideal as he is master over the former and may even settle on the former's land. In fact, MS even goes so far as to state that the yāyāvara attacks the kṣemya and that the kṣemya has become fodder for the yāyāvara.⁴²

This same preference for the migrant over the settler may be seen in AitBr 7.(3.3.)15 where the nṛṣadvāra, one who dwells with men, is contrasted with one who roams (carant). There Indra tells Rohita, who has just returned from the forest to the community, that it is said that there is manifold wealth for the fatigued (śrānta, i.e. one who has exerted himself). He continues that "folks who dwell with men are inferior",⁴³ but "Indra is the friend of him who roams". Here again the migrant is superior to the settler, and it is his exertion or activity which is singled out. Sāyaṇa offers an interesting explanation as to why the nṛṣadvāra should be inferior. He observes that "even one who is superior (śreṣṭha), if he remains always in the home of his relatives, would come to be regarded by them as pāpa, that is inferior", and he paraphrases Indra's instructions "therefore remaining in your father's house is not suitable".⁴⁴

Indeed there is some evidence that even the eldest son, who might be expected to inherit the family estate, was to take his inheritance in movable property and strike out on his own. In TS 1.6.9.2 it is said that in the beginning Sacrifice belonged to Parameṣṭhīn and that by means of Sacrifice he reached the farthest pole (kāṣṭhā).⁴⁵ There follows what appears to be a series of inheritances in which Sacrifice passes from Parameṣṭhīn to Prajāpati to Indra to Agni and Soma, and in each case the phrase is "Parameṣṭhīn (etc.) sent Prajāpati (etc.) off to settle ('hirāvāsāyayat!') with that (Sacrifice); with that Prajāpati (etc.) reached the farthest pole!". TS 2.5.2.7 picks up the story, explaining that the Darśapūrnamāsa sacrifice derives from Prajāpati because 'with it he sent Indra, his eldest son, off to settle' and adds that "therefore they send the eldest son off to settle with his wealth (dhana, i.e. inheritance)".⁴⁶

The ideal, then, is that one should not be a home-body, remaining on one's father's land, but a go-getter, seeking one's fortune in the settlement of new land. This explains why the home-body is forced to leave home in order to establish his fires and why the selection of a sacrificial spot resembles the choosing of a homestead. It also explains why this rule has no application for the go-getter as he has already set out on his own. Our question as to where the yāyāvara will offer his Agnihotra is therefore also answered; for we now see that the yāyāvara is not perpetually on the go as a means of livelihood. Rather, he is one who has already sought and obtained a homestead. What this ideal stresses is the independence of the sacrificer, and so in

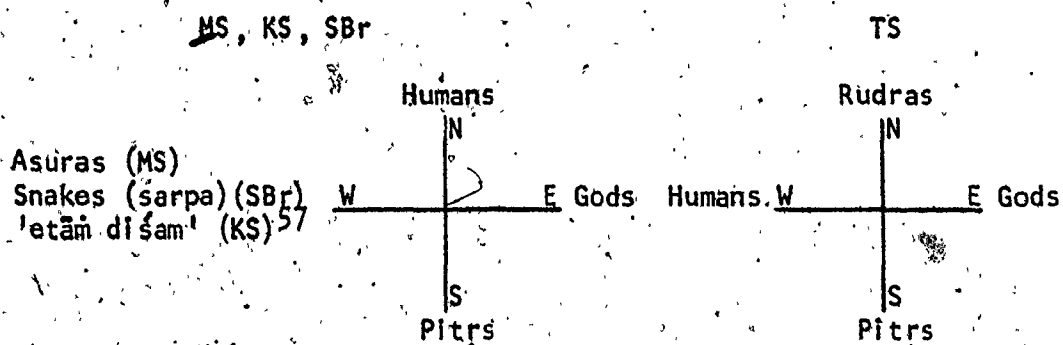
establishing one's fires one sets himself up as independent and autonomous. This autonomy involves eliminating or at least minimizing social ties, and we will see that the sacrificer actually creates for himself an independent world in which he moves beyond the nexus of social relationships.

3.2 The Hall

Though Vkh takes no notice of the sacrificial spot, it does agree with the other sūtras in prescribing an enclosure for the sacred fires. Vkh states: In a cool or pleasant (saumya) house (grha) (? the Adhvaryu) has prepared a firehall (agnisālā), with its length and beams running east-west and a door in the east and the south, of pure clay, after removing any bones, hair, fur, coals, chaff, wood, stones, clods, ants, and the like.⁴⁷ These instructions show several points of divergence from those of our other texts. First, there is more detail as regards the removal of impure substances, bones and so forth, though the other sūtras do provide for digging up and sprinkling the ground for the fireplaces in order to remove impurity.⁴⁸ But more importantly, Vkh is virtually alone in requiring that the beams of the hall run east-west; Ap, Bhar, SH, Mn, and Vr specify that the beams should run north-south.⁴⁹ Further, Vkh's two doors are known only to Baudh and Kat,⁵⁰ and while Ap, SH and Kat construct separate chambers (agāra) for the gārhapatya and āhavanīya fireplaces,⁵¹ Vkh, which knows of the practice,⁵² makes no mention of it here in spite of an otherwise hearty appetite for detail. All of these last three discrepancies are, I think, related.

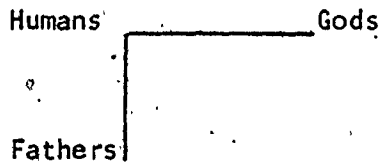
stemming from a common problem. To understand this problem we must understand the significance of the distinction between a north-south and an east-west orientation, and while we will want to investigate this distinction further when discussing the layout of the fireplaces, it is necessary to begin our investigation at this juncture.⁵³

Heesterman has already noted that in listing the deities connected with the four cardinal directions and zenith the Samhitās are unanimous only as regards the south and east, their deities being Yama and Agni respectively.⁵⁴ This suggests that these two directions are more important than the others as does the fact that these are also the directions toward which face the two doors in Vkh's firehall. In the four parallel passages TS 6.1.1.1, MS 3.6.1:60.1ff, KS 26.7 and SBr 3.1.1.6-7 various beings or their respective worlds are located in the various directions. If we eliminate the zenith, which is only mentioned by two of these texts,⁵⁵ the following schemas occur:⁵⁶



Several things are readily apparent. First, there is again total agreement as regards the south and east. Secondly, there is also total agreement that humans should occupy one of the two remaining directions, but lack of agreement as to which it should be. And

finally, there is total disagreement as to the remaining class of beings, though some agreement as to which direction it should occupy. I suggest that the areas of disagreement derive from an attempt to map two fundamental oppositions onto the four compass points or, put another way, from an attempt to extend one quadrant into four. The two fundamental oppositions are between those of this world and those of the world of the gods and between those of this world and those of the world of the pitrs, the Fathers or ancestors. Moreover, these two oppositions are apparently perceived in spatial terms so that the gods are off to the east and the Fathers off to the south. This may be represented graphically thus:



If this representation in one quadrant is extended to four quadrants, the result is that we gain an extra point, or two if the center is considered. This gives rise to two problems: on which point do we locate humans and what is the fourth class of beings, which is somehow opposed to that pole to which humans have not been opposed? And it is precisely in the solution of these two problems that all of the discrepancies between our texts occur. In one quadrant humans are at the same time north of the Fathers and west of the gods. So MS, KS, and SBr locate humans to the north while TS places them in the west. MS then stations the asuras in opposition to the gods, SBr snakes, and KS has nothing to suggest. The basis on which the Rudras are opposed to

the Fathers is less immediately apparent and will require further discussion below. However, the main point for now is that using a scheme in which there are four directions disrupts the fundamental relationships humans/gods and humans/Fathers.

But the scheme of four directions must also have advantages; else it would not have been chosen. The four directions often represent wholeness or totality, and this suggests that here we get the complete picture. Moreover, the relationship between humans and Fathers is qualitatively different from that between humans and deities; for the relationship between humans and Fathers is one between humans and other, albeit dead, humans, while that between humans and gods is one between humans and superhumans. Further, there are positive superhuman forces and negative superhuman forces, just as living human beings are positive, while dead ones are in a sense negative. This gives rise to two new pairs of opposites, which are related to our two fundamental oppositions but are now fully symmetrical: human/divine or superhuman, and positive/negative. From this standpoint the schemes of all four of our texts are structurally the same, though pictorially different. Thus MS, KS and SBr have a human axis and a superhuman axis with positive and negative at opposing poles of each axis, and TS has a positive and a negative axis with human and superhuman at the opposing poles of each axis. Now if we view these two schemes, which are structurally the same, as different portraits of the same worldview, we discover that north-south represents the human dimension of

experience (MS, KS, SBr) and is negative (TS) and east-west represents the superhuman dimension of experience (MS, KS, SBr) and is positive (TS). As a result, then, of our four directional schemes, and especially their diverse representations, we have gained more information. We now see that not only does the human dimension of experience become more negative as it tends towards the Fathers in the south and the superhuman dimension become more positive as it tends towards the gods in the east, but the superhuman dimension is better than the human.

It is already clear that the north-south line, which symbolizes the human dimension of experience, comprises at least one social relationship, that of ancestry. For the Fathers are located to the south, and rites in their behalf are conducted in that direction.⁵⁸ But other social relationships also occur on the north-south continuum. When the sacrificer and his wife enter the firehall at the Agnyaḍheya she sits directly south of him,⁵⁹ and in other rites her spot remains to the south of the householder's fire.⁶⁰ In two of the GrSs the north-south axis is prominent in rites which parents perform with a newborn child including the rite of name-giving.⁶¹ Co-operation too seems oriented north-south, and so the sadas, the hut in which sit the majority of priests who participate in the soma sacrifice, runs north-south.⁶²

Often it is enemies or rivals who are found to the north and especially the south, and here the negative or conflictual side of human relationships emerges. Thus SBr 2.3.2.6 states that the gārhapatya fire has the sacrificer as its deity (yajamānadevatya) and the anvāhāryapaçana or southern fire has his enemy as its deity (bhrātrvyadevatya). In the second of the Four-monthly rites, the

Varunapraghāsa, a second altar is created to the south of the uttaravedi, and the actions of the Adhvaryu on the northern altar are paralleled by those of the Pratiprasthātṛ on the southern altar.⁶³ Again TBr 1.6.5.3-4 tells us that the fire on the northern altar has the sacrificer as its deity and that of the southern altar has his enemy as its deity.

In the soma sacrifice there is no southern altar, but in at least one instance, the dvidevatyaçara, the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthātṛ seem to play the complementary roles of the sacrificer and his enemy or rival. There, for each cup of soma the Adhvaryu draws, the Pratiprasthātṛ draws a counter or complementary cup (pratinigrāhya),⁶⁴ and these two priests then exchange and mingle these cups in a variety of ways.⁶⁵ Ap gives as alternatives that if the sacrificer feels that his enemy has transgressed against him the Pratiprasthātṛ should draw his cup, offer, and so forth first, while if the Adhvaryu desires to make the sacrificer equal in valor to his enemy the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthātṛ should perform these acts simultaneously.⁶⁶ This suggests that the Adhvaryu stands for the sacrificer and the Pratiprasthātṛ for the enemy. When offerings have been made with these cups, the sacrificer, seated to the south of the uttaravedi, the location of the southern altar at the Varunapraghāsa, recites: "O Indravayu,⁶⁷ Lords of Splendor, I stamp down here the enemy who is inimical towards us, who shows hostility, so that I may appear, O Indra, the greatest."⁶⁸

The ambivalence surrounding social relationships may be seen in the fact that at the subsequent Sukra and Manthin cups the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthātṛ go out of the hut for the soma cart (havirdhāna) arm in arm,⁶⁹ and this may also explain why at times one is to the

north and at times the other. In fact, these two priests seem to symbolize the complementarity of rivalry in general; for in the above passage from Ap if the Adhvaryu wishes that the sacrificer lose his realm to a rival or that a rival lose it to the sacrificer, he removes his cup and replaces it with the Pratiprasthātr's.⁷⁰

This theme of the complementarity of rivals is further developed by Heesterman in "Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer".⁷¹ Briefly, Heesterman finds evidence for a preclassical period of Indian ritual in which the concerns of renewal and continuance of life were furthered by ritual exchange of death and pollution on the part of competing sacrificial parties. What is defiling and encumbering in the hands of one party becomes productive in the hands of the other, and so renewal takes the form of continual exchange between complementary pairs of rivals.

Death must constantly be overcome in order to renew life. The preclassical dualistic system of ritual brought this about through the cooperation of the rival parties in endless rounds of 'qui perd gagne'. This meant that one was all the time doubly dependent on the other. One needed the other so as to be able to shed one's dead, impure self; but, on the other hand, to fill the vacuum thus created, one again depended on the other. Pāpman had to be passed to the other so as to be reconverted into śrī; but in order to receive it back one again depended on the other. (72)

From this perspective it is easy to see why exchange and social relationships in general should come to be negatively valued as involving conflict and pollution. So Heesterman opines that the classical ritual moved away from this mutual dependence of two rivals

to a scheme in which exchange was eliminated, and the independence of the sacrificer stressed.⁷³

Thus the north-south dimension symbolizes human relationships and exchange, social identity, and is primarily characterized by conflict and dependency. Further, we should expect that activity in this dimension will be minimized within the ritual and only employed to portray undeniable social realities. Even in such cases we would expect that the independence of the sacrificer will be stressed.

Juxtaposed to the line which stretches off towards the Fathers and death in the south, a line which symbolizes social relationships and their attendant conflicts and interdependencies, is a line which stretches towards the gods in the east. If this line represents the superhuman dimension of experience, it is also evident that the personal, as against the social, side of the individual, his development, prosperity, independence, and ultimately his personal immortality, find expression primarily within this dimension. Hence, changing phases in the sacrificer's life are portrayed as movement from west to east. When his domestic fire is transformed into the householder's fire the latter is placed to the east of the former.⁷⁴ Later fire again advances to the east from the gārhapatya to the āhavanīya, an event which occurs daily through the Agnihōtra.⁷⁵ Again in the soma sacrifice the consecrated sacrificer moves from the hall in the west to the mahāvedi in the east as part of his progression towards rebirth from the sacrifice.⁷⁶ Even his fires are transformed as the āhavanīya in the east, which has been taken from the gārhapatya, be-

comes the new gārhapatya fire and a new āhavanīya is carried further to the east. Material progress too apparently moves toward the east; for MS 3.8.4:97.19f states that when a sacrifice concludes one's prosperity goes to the east, lack of prosperity to the west.

There is thus a 90 degree shift in perspective as the sacrificer changes his bearings from the world of social relationships and orients himself toward the world of heaven. When the sacrificer and his wife first enter the firehall at the Agnyādheya they sit north and south of one another. But later the sacrificer takes his place to the south of the āhavanīya so that he is directly east of his wife, and these relative positions continue at all subsequent rites.⁷⁷ The social dimension of their relationship is thus minimized, and she becomes almost a stage in his personal development. Similarly, whereas the sacrificer might be said to descend from his ancestors in the south and in some domestic rites the newborn child is passed to the north,⁷⁸ the churning of the householder's fire, which, as our study of the Purūavas and Urvaśī myth revealed, represents personal immortality through offspring, is performed from west to east.⁷⁹ Here again it must be emphasized that the sacrificer's reproduction is separated from its connection with his ancestral lineage and re-oriented toward the goal of his own personal immortality.⁸⁰

We have seen, then, that human, social relationships are portrayed along a south-north axis and the course of individual progress toward heaven and the gods along a west-east axis. In simple terms, the world of human beings is oriented south-north while that of the gods, into which the sacrificer wishes to enter, is oriented west-east.

So SBr 3.1.1.7 states that a hall or shed for human purposes is built with its beams pointing north, but for one who is consecrated (diksita), and only for one who is consecrated, its beams should point east. This returns us at last to the issue with which we began, the orientation of the beams of the firehall for the Agnyādheya.

The significance of north-pointing as opposed to east-pointing beams is now clear. But our question concerned why our texts diverge as to whether the beams in the firehall should point east or north. The problem for our texts is the intersection between the human and divine worlds, and their dilemma is that although the entire sacrificial arena is sacred space and therefore the world of the gods, it is also a miniature cosmos and therefore contains both the human and divine worlds.⁸¹ The most popular approach seems to be to represent this intersection in the distinction between the permanent firehall at home, built at the Agnyādheya, and the temporary hall constructed for a soma sacrifice. So Ap, Bhar, SH, Mn, and Vr have the beams of the former pointing north and those of the latter pointing east,⁸² thus contrasting the everyday sacrificer with the consecrated soma sacrificer. This is not entirely satisfactory, though, as the permanent firehall is also sacred space, and at least one part of it, the āhavanīya fire, is regularly equated with the world of heaven. One could build half the hall with its beams pointing north and half with beams pointing east, but only Kat mentions this approach and then only as an alternative. However, there are other ways of marking a division. One could divide the hall into two chambers, or one could

place doors in such a way as to indicate separate orientations, and all of our texts use one or both of these coding schemes in addition to that of the direction of the beams. Yet, the dilemma is insoluble, and the symbolism of the firehall remains inconsistent for the very reason that the paradox is thereby maintained. One final approach, that of Vkh and optionally of Kat, is to locate the juncture of the human and divine worlds on the human side of even the permanent firehall by making its beams point east. That such an approach, which most nearly eliminates the human dimension from the sacrificial arena, should be taken by the two latest of our texts supports our contention that there is a gradual trend toward increased isolation of the sacrificer from the world of human concerns. But even these texts retain something of the paradox; for both mention doors to the south and east.

There is one final aspect of the way in which space is mapped in Vedic ritual which deserves treatment. If the opposition between the social and individual dimensions of life is in simpler terms portrayed as an opposition between the relationships human/Fathers and humans/gods, we might go a step farther and say that the fundamental opposition is between death and life. So social relationships are perceived as conflictual, confining, and ultimately allied with the Fathers and death, while in the personal dimension one strives for the gods and immortality. But because a four directional schema conveys more information and perhaps to state a fundamental discontinuity and qualitative difference between events which tend towards life and

those which tend towards death, life and death have not only been opposed but have been set at right angles. Nevertheless, life is still perceived as opposite to death, and so in some instances north and east are equivalent. Principally this equivalence occurs in instructions concerning setting off for a sacrifice or resettling in which one is to go to the north, east, or north-east, that is north and/or east. In these specific instances I think that going away from death and the Fathers in the south is made the equal of going toward the gods in the east.

To recapitulate, then, we have said that the orientation of the firehall reflects two fundamental dimensions of human life, the social and the individual, and that the former is minimized in favor of the latter. It remains to be shown how the firehall contains a miniature cosmos, and so we proceed to a discussion of the fireplaces within the firehall.

3.3 The Fireplaces

Vkh is the most complete sūtra concerning the fixtures inside the fire hall, giving details which other texts relegate to the Śulbasūtras. We therefore return to Vkh's narrative where we find the following instructions:

In the west of the firehall the gārhapatya fireplace is made with the utterance bhūr (earth):⁸³ A circle is formed with a cord 18 aṅgulas long, and on it is built a base (sthandila) 8 aṅgulas high. A periphery 4 aṅgulas wide is left for the upper girdle, and the center

is hollowed out to a depth of 6 aṅgulas. Surrounding all this a lower girdle is made, 4 aṅgulas wide and 4 high. East of that at 8 paces for a Brahmin, 11 for a Kṣatriya, or 12 for a Vaiśya⁸⁴ the āhavanīya fire-place is made with the utterance suvar (heaven): A square base is constructed 32 aṅgulas on a side, and the upper girdle, cavity in the middle, and lower girdle are built as before. With the phrase "You are the altar", the altar is built in between the two fires. It is to be 4 aṅgulas wider to the south and north than the āhavanīya and at the other end 16 aṅgulas wider to the south and north than the gārhapatya.⁸⁵

To the south of the altar in the western part⁸⁶ the anvāhārya-pacana fireplace is made with utterance bhuvah (spaces): A circle is formed with a cord 25 aṅgulas long, and on the southern half of it a base is fashioned in the shape of a half-moon. The upper girdle, cavity in the middle, and lower girdle are then constructed as before. One pace to the north of the eastern part of the altar the rubbish heap (utkara) is raised with soil from the altar. To the east of the āhavanīya the sabhya fireplace is constructed with the utterance janah (?beings): A square base the size of the āhavanīya but 12 aṅgulas high is made, and the upper girdle is made as before except that the middle cavity is 12 aṅgulas deep. This time there are three girdles all 4 aṅgulas high and wide except the middle one which is 5 aṅgulas wide. To the east of that the āvasathya fireplace is formed with the utterance mahah (? might); This fireplace is triangular (trikona),⁸⁷ with corners to the west, south, and north, 45 aṅgulas on a side. The height, middle cavity and two girdles are as before.⁸⁸

The tripartite structure of Vedic cosmology has long been recognized⁸⁹ and in its most basic form consists of this world, that is the earth, an atmospheric middle region (antariksa), and the world of the gods or heaven. To identify the firehall with this cosmos the three principal fireplaces are simply mapped onto the three regions. So SBr 12.4.1.3 calls the gārhapatya this world, the daksināgni the world of the middle region, and the āhavanīya yonder world.⁹⁰ Hence too Vkh has the gārhapatya constructed with the utterance bhūr, the daksināgni with bhuvah, and the āhavanīya with suvar.

This scheme is not universally agreed upon, however. While virtually all texts concur in identifying the gārhapatya with the earth and the āhavanīya with heaven, the world with which the southern fire is to be identified elicits less agreement. At times this fire is simply omitted from the formula.⁹¹ At other times, in the older texts, it is identified with the world of the Fathers (pitrloka),⁹² and this is to be expected in light of our previous analysis of the cardinal directions. In fact, the three fires here represent the three points of the single quadrant which we found to be fundamental to other, more complicated symbol systems involving the directions. In later texts, however, the southern fire is equated with the antariksa or middle region.⁹³ Since the middle region is between the earth and heaven and not off to the south, this serves to bring this fire, at least symbolically, onto the west-east axis, thus minimizing the south-north axis.⁹⁴ Thus the ambivalent attitude toward the sphere of social relationships is transmitted to the symbolic content of the southern fire.⁹⁵

The sabhya and āvasathya fires pose another problem for our miniature cosmos, namely, how can there be something beyond the world of heaven? The most common solution is to speak only of the three principal fires and leave these other two fires as vague options. There are, nevertheless, meager attempts to incorporate these fires into a symbolic cosmos. KS 8.8 intimates that Virāj's three strides are the three worlds, and KS 8.7 equates these three strides with the gārhapatya, āhavanīya, and madhyādhidevana (i.e. sabhya) fires respectively. This approach omits the problematic dakṣiṇāgni, but also does not account for the āvasathya fire. It would be nicer, therefore, if Virāj could have five strides, one for each fire, and so KS 8.7 follows its discussion of Virāj's three strides with the five strides of Virāj. There and in the parallel TBr 1.1.10 these five strides are equated less with regions of the cosmos than with areas of concern: food, offspring, cattle, and the like. But in both texts the myths related place each area of concern further east (TBr) or towards the gods (KS). Further, TBr 1.1.10.4 states that all this universe ("sarvam idam") is fivefold, and KS 8.7 calls these fires the courses (samkrama) of the gods and avows that one who knows thus ascends to better and better worlds (loka). Clearly these are attempts to extend the threefold universe in order to identify it with the five fires. The most successful attempt, however, is that of Vkh when describing the construction of the fireplaces. There two new vyāhrtis or utterances are added denoting higher heavens, and these are set in correspondence to the sabhya and āvasathya fires. Thus the sacrificial arena seems to be

conceptualized as a miniature cosmos, differences in formulation resulting only from divergent attempts to reconcile different symbol systems..

In summary, then, we have seen that in setting up his fires the sacrificer attains a greater degree of autonomy. Even the shy sacrificer is thrust forth to carve out for himself a secure niche. There he creates his own world in which the conflicts and dependencies of his social nexus are minimized and his personal aims furthered. There he and his fires become established.

4. Preparation of the Sacrificer

The motifs of transformation, renewal, and rebirth which pervade a wide variety of initiation rites are well known. In the context of Vedic ritual it is the initiatory rite for the soma sacrifice or dīkṣā which has received the most attention, but much of what has been said is also applicable to our ritual.¹ We therefore need not detain ourselves long with the preparation of the sacrificer at the Agnyādheya. Our task will be only to present Vkh's description of it and to offer a few observations as to the role of various of its items in furthering the general theme of regeneration.

Most of our sūtras are quite brief as regards the sacrificer's preparation, modelling it on that of the Darśapūrnamāsa.² Vkh, on the other hand, is more elaborate, prescribing almost everything mentioned by the other texts and more. Vkh is also a bit confusing as it seems to provide activities for more than one day of preparation.³ The text sets forth the following series of rites.

The sacrificer, suitable (yukta), endowed with faith, and authorized by the priests (vipra), after having the hair on his head, his bodily hair (romān) and his nails cut and after bathing according to precept, should perform his personal recitation (svādhyāya) of the text which begins "you for ṣap, you for vigor . . ." ⁴ Then, after performing breath-control (prāṇāyāma) 100 times and fasting while meditating on Nārāyaṇa, he eats sacrificial food (havisya) mixed with ghee, prepared with milk, as does his wife. Now, acting in the prescribed manner, he⁵ should offer the Amātya and Kūśmānda homas for the

purpose of purification.

These homas and all that has preceded them, including the making of the churning sticks and the construction of the fire-hall, are apparently done in advance of the upavasatha⁶; for Vkh next states that on the preliminary or preparatory day (upavasatha) the sacrificer, after declaring "I will establish the fires for the sake of all my wishes", cuts his hair, beard, and bodily hair, (keśaśmaśruoman). However, it is also reported that according to some he should not cut them at this point.

Then he performs the Abhyudaya Śrāddha,⁷ which is to be carried out entirely as a rite to the gods (daivikavat).⁸ He selects two Brahmins to represent the Viśvedevas and four to represent the Fathers and, after honoring them, gives them arghya (water offered to a guest). A pitcher of water containing dūrvā grass and unhusked grains of rice (aksata) is set aside; offerings are made to the gods and Fathers, and then the sacrificer bathes or anoints himself (abhi sic) with the water in the pitcher. Finally the sacrificer has those present proclaim the day auspicious⁹ and binds a cord (pratījsara) on his wrist.

On this same preparatory day the sacrificer chooses Brahmins of suitable characteristics as priests,¹⁰ and after honoring them gives them madhuparka.¹¹ The sacrificer and his wife are then adorned with new clothes (vastra), outer garments (uttarīya), flowers, and the like. Finally, the churning sticks are brought out and placed together, and appropriate matras are recited over them.¹²

The most elemental form of these rites is to be seen in the

other sūtras which generally provide only for the removal of hair, a bath, and the putting on of new, linen garments, and here the resemblance to dīkṣā is the strongest.¹³ Heesterman summarizes the opinion of Lévi that "the purpose of dīkṣā is to prepare the sacrificer for his rebirth through the sacrifice by reducing him to the embryonic state."¹⁴ In support we may cite, as does Lévi,¹⁵ MS 3.6.7:68.10ff, "truly the dīkṣita's consecration hut is the womb, the black antelope skin the placenta, the dīkṣita's (linen) garment the embryonic membrane, the girdle the umbilical cord, the dīkṣita the fetus".¹⁶ In the Agnyādheya portion of MS too the text states: "Unborn indeed is a person so long as he does not establish his fires; when he establishes the fires, then only is he born". The passage continues that the sacrificer and his wife should establish the fires wearing linen garments and that these are representations (nirrūpa) of the embryonic membrane.¹⁷ Though this statement is less detailed than the list of correspondences MS provides for the accoutrements of the dīkṣita, the theme of regression to an embryonic state is still clearly present. The condition of the embryo is further simulated by the removal of the sacrificer's hair, and his bath might symbolize entry into the amniotic fluids.¹⁸

Into and around these simple actions Vkh places a profusion of rites. Some, like the statement of intent and election of priests, seem more perfunctory in nature and not directly connected with the theme of initiation, and we will therefore pass over these.¹⁹ Vkh's other major additions, the Amātya and Kūsmānda homas and the Abhyudaya Śrāddha, are more central to our inquiry. It is uncertain as to what the first of these homas refers, though its purpose must be similar

to the second, to which it is linked.²⁰ The second, however, is easily identifiable and refers to the rite described in TA 2.3-8.²¹ Most of the verses employed for the Kūśmānda homas seek release from various faults (pāpa) as befits the purificatory function Vkh ascribes to these offerings. This is only natural since renewal and regeneration imply purification. The rite itself is associated with dīksā in TA, though dīksā here may mean more regeneration in general than specific preparation for a soma sacrifice:²² "one undertakes dīksā (for as long a time) as his sin (enas) is great; (while) undergoing dīksā he offers these oblations daily. One undergoes dīksā for a year; only after a year does he purify his (whole) self (ātman)."²³ As the year most often represents the period of gestation, these offerings must be the means of purifying the performer during the process of his regeneration.

The Abhyudaya or Nāndī mukha Śrāddha is in VkhSmS prescribed at the saṃskāras or sacraments with the exception of cohabitation.²⁴ The text elaborates that this rite takes place on the day preceding such rites as the rite of conception (garbhādhāna, literally "establishment of the fetus") and so forth.²⁵ Saṃskāras serve to mark points of transition in an individual's development from one stage to another,²⁶ and it is most likely the association of the Abhyudaya Śrāddha with these rites of passage which accounts for its inclusion in the initiation of the sacrificer. The ideas of regeneration and transformation are mutually suggestive of one another. Transformation to a higher state requires death to one role or identity and rebirth to another, and regeneration too is often represented as death of an old self and rebirth of a transformed renewed self. So it is that rites of passage which

punctuate transitions in personal development find common ground with rites which periodically renew the sacrificer.

As regards the anointing of the sacrificer in this Śrāddha we may draw on Heesterman's view concerning the unction of the king at the Rājasūya which he considers to mark the king's rebirth.²⁷ Not only is one regenerated through sacrifice, but one must be regenerate in order to perform it. Thus symbolic rebirth occurs within the preparatory rites as well as later in the ritual. Hence, in Vkh the sacrificer puts on the garment which represents the embryonic membrane after his rebirth, symbolized in the unction at the Abhyudaya Śrāddha, and the garment and its means of disposal are again recalled at the point at which the fire, and so the sacrificer, has its birth.²⁸

Rebirth is also present in the case of dīksā, and not merely regression; for the 12 day period it occupies symbolizes full term pregnancy, and the emergence of the sacrificer from the consecration hut, which has been identified with the womb, is tantamount to birth. If the final stage of renewal, rebirth, takes place not only through the ritual but in preparation for it, the same must also be said of the process of renewal in the form of purification, which from one standpoint is brought about by the ritual itself and from another is preliminary to it.

We have seen, then, that in the rites of preparation for the sacrificer at the Agnyādheya, as in many initiatory rituals, the theme of regeneration is central. We might view the process of regeneration as consisting of three modes: regression to an embryonic state;

transformation, in our material in the form of purification; and rebirth. The first of these modes we found in the essential elements of the sacrificer's preparations as given in the other sūtras, especially when seen in the light of dīksā. As regards the second of these modes, we discovered that it consists largely of purification and is effected in Vkh through the Amātya and Kūśmāṇḍa homas. Finally, it was pointed out that while preparation for sacrifice may be considered only the first of these modes, transformation and rebirth occurring in the sacrifice itself, regeneration may also be seen as a prerequisite for sacrificing. Thus the symbolic rebirth of the sacrificer takes place in the Abhyudaya Śrāddha prior to his being clad in new garments which represent embryonic membrane.

The regeneration of the sacrificer serves two purposes. First, as in other sacrifices, it prepares him to enter the sacrificial arena, the sacred cosmos from which he will be reborn. Secondly, it begins the transformation which will lead him to a new stage of life, that of head of his household, which is initiated by performance of the Agnyādheya. This second function is underscored by Vkh's use of the Abhyudaya Śrāddha which normally prefaces the samskāras. Thus the preparations of the sacrificer at the Agnyādheya ready him for ritual rebirth and signal that he is being reborn to a new role in life.

5. The Brahmaudana¹

Towards sunset on the preparatory day is begun the Brahmaudana or "Sacred Rice", a rite which consists essentially of a meal of rice for the four officiating priests followed by the depositing of three fuel sticks into the fire on which the rice was cooked. For the purposes of discussion we may distinguish three functions which this rite serves within the overall ritual, two of which are related and are common to other Vedic sacrifices, and one of which is unique to the Agnyādheya. First of all, the Brahmaudana serves to initiate the performance of the ritual. Secondly, and in a similar vein, the Brahmaudana begins the journey to the world of heaven, which will culminate with the establishment of the āhavanīya fire, by obtaining passage from the guardians of the path to the gods. Finally, within the fire on which the rice is cooked occur the symbolic conception and gestation of the three principal fires to be established, and we will need to investigate the relationship between this symbolism and that of churning. For a full description of the Brahmaudana, then, we return to Vkh, which gives the following.

When the rays of the sun are on the tree tops, the sacrificer takes out into a vessel (śarāva) five pieces of kindling which have been set ablaze on the aupāsana fire and pays homage to them. Then he sweeps the ground to the west of where the gārhapatya will be with three swaths toward the north by means of a branch of a śamī or palāśa tree,² digs up the ground, and sprinkles it with water. There he establishes the fire taken from the aupāsana as the fire for cooking the Brahmaudana (brāh-

maudanika). Vkh also states the opinion of some that this fire is instead to be churned or taken from a frying pan or from an uttapanīya fire.³ If none of the apāsana fire remains after the brāhmaudanika has been procured, the evening domestic offerings are made on the brāhmaudanika fire itself.⁴

When it is night ('niśāyām') a red ox skin is spread out with its neck to the east and hairy side up, on which are poured out four vessels (śarāva) of rice for the Brahmaudana. The sacrificer touches the grains and sprinkles them with water and then, placing a mortar on the ox skin, threshes and winnows the grain. After cleaning the pot (sthāṭī), he pours the grains into it with the same four vessels used for measuring. Water is not to be added for washing nor is any of the fluid in which the rice is cooked to be poured off, the fluid specified being either milk or four potfuls of water.⁵ When the rice has been cooked, ghee is poured over it and the pot is removed to the north. Some of the rice is scooped out with a wooden ladle (darvī), sprinkled with a large amount of ghee, and offered on the fire; alternatively homage is paid to the rice in the pot without removing any.⁶ Then four portions are drawn out of the Brahmaudana, sprinkled with a goodly amount of ghee, and given to the four priests, who eat. After eating and rinsing their mouths, the priests declare to the sacrificer, 'Accomplished (rāddha) is your Brahmaudana', whereupon he gives them a young bull (vatsatara, 'more than a calf'). Now the remaining ghee is put into the pot, and three fuel sticks which are green (ādra),

foliated (sapalāśa), a prādeśa in length,⁷ and taken from a fig tree (aśvattha) which serves as a landmark (lakṣanya) are smeared with the ghee and remains of the Brahmaudana by stirring them around in the pot. A mantra is recited over these sticks, and they are then deposited into the fire with three verses in the gāyatrī meter if the sacrificer is a Brahmin, the tristubh if he is a Rājanya, or the jagatī if he is a Vaiśya. The sacrificer gives the Adhvaryu⁸ a pair of cattle which have not previously copulated.

After the above rite is completed the sacrificer maintains the fire for cooking the Brahmaudana for a day, two days, three days, four days, twelve days, a season, or a year. If it becomes extinguished or the sacrificer leaves it or after a year the sacrificer has not been able to establish his fires, the Brahmaudana is to be performed again. During the time the brāhmaudanika fire is maintained the sacrificer undertakes the following vow: He abstains from sexual intercourse and does not eat meat. Fire is not taken from his house to another's house nor from another's house to his. Finally, the Brahmaudana is repeated on the day before the fires are established.⁹

GopBR 1.2.16 states that sacrifice has two heads, the Brahmaudana and the Pravargya.¹⁰ KS 7.15 is more direct: "When this rice is cooked it is indeed a beginning which is made, a commencement indeed".¹¹ In beginning the Agnyādheya we might expect that the Brahmaudana would serve to produce harmony and cooperation among the priests and to vitalize them for the tasks ahead. Co-operation and harmony are certainly

sought at the beginning of the soma sacrifice through the Tānūnaptra rite,¹² though any formal similarities between that rite and ours are not immediately apparent. But one might see an attempt at unity in the fact that in some texts the priests are given a single gift, held in common.¹³

That the Brahmaudana serves to fructify or vitalize the priests is more easily substantiated; the clearest indication is perhaps the fact that it is given to them symbolically still alive.¹⁴ One of the major points of the myth of Aditi and the Brahmaudana,¹⁵ of which more will be said later, is the fertilizing potential of the rice left after the priests have eaten. In discussing the symbolism of "remains" Malamoud points out that they are frequently the seeds of new creation and revitalization. He notes that only the remains of food which has been offered is considered proper food and concludes that food must be symbolically converted into "leftovers" before it becomes a source of vitality.¹⁶ By offering a portion of rice into the fire prior to feeding the priests, their portions become a "remains" and so fructifying. But the priests play a double role; for they in turn create the remains which, as we will see, impregnate the fire.

The red ox skin, on which the rice is measured out, also brings with it mental associations which, I think, convey the idea of vitality. The red ox skin, less common the black antelope skin, finds two other major applications in Vedic ritual, one in the soma sacrifice and one in the funeral rites.¹⁷ In the soma sacrifice the soma which, is to be purchased is measured out on a red ox skin, as is the rice

for the Brahmaudana.¹⁸ The rice must therefore be associated with soma, which, as the king of plants and the drink of immortality, imparts vitality and nourishment. After the funeral rites have been carried out, a rite is undertaken between the village and the funeral ground in order to prevent an untimely death for any of the relatives of the deceased.¹⁹ In that rite the relatives are instructed to mount a red ox skin for full life. Here it is not simply a vegetative source of vitality but life itself which is meted out in full measure. So the Brahmaudana begins the performance of the Agnyādheya and imparts vitality to the priests, making them potent for the ritual ahead.

At first glance this association between measuring out vitality and a red ox skin seems entirely arbitrary. The basis for this association, however, is the ox's role as a means of conveyance; in fact the word anāvah 'ox' itself means 'cart-drawing'. Now the Vedic conception of immortality as continuance through offspring has already been stated, but there is another view of immortality in our texts, namely that it consists of living a full life.²⁰ In our examination of spatial relationships within the sacrificial spot we have seen that the individual life of the sacrificer is portrayed along a continuum from west to east, the east being the abode of the immortal gods. A full life might, therefore, be represented as a journey to the east reaching the world of heaven. It is thus significant that in each instance where a red ox skin is used it is spread with its neck to the east, toward which it must therefore be facing. Moreover, it is placed with its hairy side up as if it were a beast of burden about to be ridden towards the east.²¹ That this is indeed the image may be seen in the

previously mentioned funeral rite²² where a red ox is stationed to the north of the fire facing east, thus paralleling the red ox skin. The relatives of the deceased touch this ox reciting, 'We touch the ox for well-being; as such be for us a bearer, carrying across to the end (sampārana), like Indra for the gods.'²³ They then proceed towards the east with the verse, 'These living beings (jīva) have separated from the dead; our invocation of the gods has been efficacious (bhadra) today. We have gone toward the east to dancing, laughter, holding on to life still longer.'²⁴

The red ox, then, is a vehicle carrying the sacrificer toward the east and long life, and its skin is therefore an appropriate place on which to measure out vitality for priests and sacrificer alike. The presence of this skin at the Brahmaudana also suggests that we are about to begin a journey, and we will see that this is another sense in which the Brahmaudana serves as a "commencement".

The brāhmanas center their discussion of the Brahmaudana around a myth in which Aditi cooks several Brahmaudanas for the gods and by eating the remains conceives the Ādityas.²⁵ The Brahmaudana is therefore connected with Aditi and her sons the Ādityas. In the soma sacrifice an expedition is mounted to acquire the soma plant, and prior to its setting out a Prāyanīyeṣṭi ('offering for going forth') is performed.²⁶ As the soma to be acquired is then on the uttaravedi, the ultimate site of the āhavanīya fire, and since the āhavanīya is symbolically the world of heaven, the goal of this expedition is the world of heaven.²⁷ Now the principal offering of the Prāyanīyeṣṭi is a caru, that is a rice dish,

to Aditi. So, like the Brahmaudana, the Prāyanīyeṣṭi is a rite in which there is a rice dish associated with Aditi, and it is therefore quite possible that both rites mark the same event, setting forth for the world of heaven.

Returning to the Agnyādheya brāhmanas, we find in TBr 1.1.9.8, 'Truly the Ādityas went first of all from this world to the world of heaven; surely they turn back one who goes forth from this world. Now these (priests) who are Brahmins verily are Ādityas. One attains harmony (literally "togetherness" santva) with them indeed; they do not turn him back."²⁸ The Ādityas are thus guards of the paths to the gods,²⁹ and access to the world of heaven must be sought from them at the beginning of the sacrifice.³⁰

While TBr connects gaining permission to enter the world of heaven with feeding the priests, the other texts, strangely, place it in the context of depositing fuel sticks into the fire. The general explanation is that Ādityas have as their portion the remains and that by offering the remains of the Brahmaudana, smeared on the fuel sticks, one announces oneself or one's Agnyādheya to the Ādityas, and they grant passage to the world of heaven.³¹ In so saying our texts simply reiterate the myth of the Ādityas' birth from Aditi's having eaten the remains of various Brahmaudanas. But there is an aspect of the fuel sticks, the tree from which they are taken, which, I think, has a role here, though as we will see it also contributes to the symbolism of engendering the fires.

The fuel sticks which are deposited into the fire for cooking

the Brahmaudana are to be taken from a fig tree (aśvattha) called variously citriya "conspicuous",³² lakṣanya "suitable for a marker",³³ and nirmārga "a boundary".³⁴ The commentary on SH explains lakṣanya as "suitable for a mark by which a village, ford, boundary, or the like is designated", and citriya is similarly explained elsewhere.³⁵

The word nirmārga looks unusual in this context, being derived from the root mrj which ordinarily means to wipe or rub. But since nirmārga parallels citriya and lakṣanya, it should have a similar meaning, and an examination of the etymology and usage of nirmārga suggests that this is the case. The origin of mrj is not completely decided. Pokorny prefers a derivation from Indo-European *melǵ but admits that some forms of mrj could belong to the parallel root *merǵ.³⁶ Under *merǵ we find a variety of derivatives with the meanings "border", "boundary", "landmark" as well as words meaning "attention", "notice" just as the English verb "mark" can signify both making a mark and taking notice.³⁷ Nirmārga could, therefore, mean something that marks off, namely a boundary.³⁸

The only occurrences of nirmārga, outside of the present context, are found in TBr 1.5.3: "The gods measured out the Agniṣṭoma from that (juncture) which is after the last instant of morning and before the gathering of the cows (the second period of the day); that is that from which strength is derived, the boundary."³⁹ Here "boundary" seems a much more plausible meaning for nirmārga than Sāyaṇa's attempt to relate it to a cessation of cleansing.⁴⁰ In the context of the Brahmaudana KS 7.15 tells us, "One deposits (fuel sticks) of (an aśvattha which

serves as) a boundary. By warning off truly strength is made; when one deposits (sticks) of (a fig which serves as) a boundary it is for warning off indeed.⁴¹ Here too "boundary" seems a likely meaning for nirmārga as something which warns off trespassers and provides strength and security.

It appears to me, then, that one purpose of the Brahmaudana is the gaining of access to the world of heaven. This is accomplished by propitiating the priests, who as symbolic representatives of the Ādityas, border guards of the world of the gods, then grant passage to heaven. This is also accomplished through announcing one's intention to cross the boundary by placing in the fire sticks of a tree which serves as a boundary, which have been smeared with the Ādityas' portion. Just how placing these sticks symbolizes one's intent to cross the boundary is not clear. It may be that they are simply an offering, sticks from a boundary marker being appropriate offerings for deities who guard a boundary. It might also be, however, that in placing these sticks one sets up a boundary⁴² and thereby acknowledges the border one wishes to cross. It appears, further, that just as the Ādityas who first went to the world of heaven attempt to keep back others who might follow, the sacrificer, in placing sticks from a boundary tree in the fire, seeks to set up a boundary to "warn off" others who might follow him.⁴³ So a boundary is set up which includes the sacrificer in the world of heaven, but excludes others. Thus it is that the Brahmaudana begins the journey which culminates in the establishment of the sacrificer's fire in the āhavanīya fireplace, the world of the immortals.

A brief digression is necessary before we move on to the engendering of the fires. The reader will have noticed that there are in fact two Brahmaudanas, one a year, or some lesser period, before the fires are established, and a second the day before the establishment. The reader may also have noted that the two principal parts of the Brahmaudana, feeding the priests and depositing the fuel sticks, are in a sense two separate rites, each followed by the giving of a gift.⁴⁴ Now it has already been stated that the Brahmaudana serves two main functions, that of "setting forth", discussed above, and that of the engendering and gestating of the fires, to which we will turn in a moment. It is therefore tempting either to divide these two functions between the two Brahmaudanas or to assign one to each of the two separate parts of both Brahmaudanas.⁴⁵ However, as both Brahmaudanas appear to be identical, it strikes me as untenable that the first should serve one function and the second another. Nor do any of our texts state this to be the case. As regards the two parts of our rite, since the fuel sticks have a role in the symbolism of both functions, it is not suitable to assign to that portion of the rite in which they are deposited the sole function of engendering the fires. Likewise, the remains of the rice fed to the priests, who represent the Ādityas, become a key ingredient in engendering the fires. It therefore seems preferable to me to consider the Brahmaudana a unitary rite with two main purposes, especially since the myth of Aditi and the Brahmaudana weaves together both the theme of the fructifying nature of the leftover rice, which engenders the fires, and that of the journey to heaven. That the rite has two functions is

then coded in the partial separation of its parts⁴⁶ and its reiteration a year later.

The second major purpose of the Brahmaudana is the symbolic engendering and gestation of the sacred fires. In examining this purpose we must first see how it is brought about and then consider where it stands in relation to the production of fire by churning. The Brahmaudana is clearly connected with fertility and conception, and so it is invested with a variety of sexual images: Cooking rice creates a womb, while depositing the sticks impregnates.⁴⁷ The ghee is semen;⁴⁸ the fuel sticks are to be fresh because semen is sprinkled fresh.⁴⁹ And, of course, Aditi becomes pregnant by eating the leftover rice.⁵⁰ TBr 1.1.9.3-4 summarizes: "One cooks the Brahmaudana; one thus impregnates indeed. . . Truly Aditi became pregnant from the remains; from the remains indeed (that) thus becomes pregnant."⁵¹ But who or what becomes pregnant? It could be the sacrificer's wife, and the rite therefore one of marital fecundity.⁵² It seems more likely, however, that it is the fire on which the rice has been cooked which is impregnated. Hence TBr 1.1.9.7 tells us that "One should maintain this fire for a year; for semen which has been deposited grows for a year",⁵³ and MS 1.6.12:105.12ff states "Fetuses are born after having developed for a year; one establishes him (Agni) born (fully) developed."⁵⁴ Further, it is into this fire that the fuel sticks smeared with rice and ghee, a semen-like mixture, are deposited. This raises the possibility that the fuel sticks represent phalluses, and while there are no direct statements to this effect, there is support for such an interpretation.⁵⁵

Thus the fuel sticks are said to be equal in length to the Lord of Offspring (Prajāpati) and to the Sacrifice's member (parus), and of the extent of virility (vīrya) in a person.⁵⁶ In the mantra recited over the fuel sticks before they are deposited their number, three, is related to the number of principal fires to be established with the phrase "three (sticks), forming pairs with the threefold (fires) for generation".⁵⁷ Now since the three main fires do not yet exist, "forming pairs with" must mean something like "in a one-to-one correspondence with" or "equal in number to". Hence the fuel sticks are not copulating with each of the three fires, as the phrase might otherwise suggest, but rather three times with the brāhmaudanika fire in order to produce the three fires a year later.⁵⁸ To recapitulate, then, the fire on which the rice is cooked serves as a womb which is impregnated three times with phallic sticks smeared with a mixture of rice and ghee resembling semen, and thereby the three fires are conceived. These fires are then allowed to gestate for a year,⁵⁹ through the maintenance of the brāhmaudanika fire, until they are ready to be brought to life.

If the Brahmaudana thus serves to engender the fires, the question arises as to why it should duplicate, at least symbolically,⁶⁰ the function of churning the fires. In discussing the significance of the churning sticks we have already noted the centrality of the idea that immortality is continuance through one's offspring and that the production of fire by churning forges a symbolic identity between father and son. We have also seen that a major ingredient of this symbolism is, therefore, the modeling of the production of fire on sexual repro-

duction. One reason, then, why sexual generation of the fires is present in both the Brahmaudāna and the churning of fire is that such an important theme bears reiteration.⁶¹

However, there is another, more important reason. If, for symbolic purposes, fire is to be produced in a way analogous to sexual reproduction, churning does not fully fit the analogy. Churning portrays sexual intercourse almost graphically, and the birth of the fire from the womb of the lower churning stick is also quite dramatic. What is absent is a period of gestation or growth. With the Brahmaudana, on the other hand, intercourse is portrayed less clearly and birth not at all, but gestation is fully symbolized in the year long maintenance of the brāhmaudanika fire. Perhaps this is why KhadGrS 1.5.3 states that fire which is churned is meritorious but does not promote growth.⁶²

The Brahmaudana and churning thus complement one another in symbolizing the conception, gestation, and birth of the sacred fires. Still, these two aspects of the same symbolism must be linked to preserve the unity of the fires engendered. So in order for the fires which have been gestating in the brāhmaudanika fire to be born from the churning sticks the brāhmaudanika fire is made to enter the churning sticks prior to churning, an act with which we will deal at a later point.⁶³

The brāhmaudanika fire is thus maintained for a year to gestate the threefold nascent fire. Hence, like the sacrificer as a result of his preparations, the sacrificer's fire is in an embryonic state, and so similar rules are applied to both sacrificer and fire. Both are

to remain isolated. The sacrificer must not go away from the fire and must not have sexual intercourse, while the fire must not be taken elsewhere to engender other fires nor must other fires be brought to it. If the sacrificer leaves the fire or the fire goes out it is as if the embryo dies, and the Brahmaudana must be performed again. Moreover, if the sacrificer is unable to establish his fires at the end of a year, the embryo misses its chance to be born, and the Brahmaudana must be begun anew. The gestation of the sacred fire, the sacrificer's alterego, thus replicates the sacrificer's own preparation, and we will see later that when this fire is taken from the brāhmaudanika fire into the churning sticks it is also taken into the sacrificer. So KS 7.15 states 'The fuel sticks are a span in length; for of this extent is the self, of the same measure as Prajāpati'.⁶⁴ Thus in engendering and gestating the fire with which the sacrificer is to be identified, the sacrificer in effect also generates and prepares himself.

There is one final way in which engendering the fires through the Brahmaudana contributes to the symbolism of giving birth to the fires. If the churning sticks are the archetypal male and female and their mating chiefly biological, the Brahmaudana presents the cultural aspects of reproduction and parentage. Thus the verses recited as the fuel sticks are deposited in the fire vary as to whether the sacrificer is a Brahmin, Rājanya, or Vaiśya,⁶⁵ and TBṛ informs us that this is 'for the 'coming round again' (? = reproduction) of one's own meter'; that is one's own kind.⁶⁶ The fuel sticks taken from a tree which serves as a boundary marker also play a role here. A tree chosen to

serve as a marker will need to be conspicuous (citriya); it will stand out or have unique characteristics. Moreover, in serving as a marker such a tree will become well known, even highly regarded.⁶⁷ So TBr 1.1.9.5 holds that depositing fuel sticks of a citriya fig tree brings about eminence (citra).⁶⁸ The hope seems to be that the fires, born of eminent parentage, will also become distinguished, as will the sacrificer with whom they are identified.⁶⁹ The Brahmaudana thus provides two important cultural or social considerations in reproducing, the specification of varṇa and the assurance of good parentage.

Let us conclude by repeating the major points which have been made concerning the Brahmaudana. The Brahmaudana plays three principal roles in the Agnyādheya, two of which may be grouped together. The Brahmaudana is a "commencement", both in the sense that it begins the ritual proper and prepares the priests for their part in it, and in the sense that it begins a journey to the world of heaven where the sacrificer intends to establish his fire. The latter sense involves, above all, gaining permission to enter the world of the gods from the deities who guard the paths leading there. The third role is that of engendering the fires. Here we have seen that the Brahmaudana complements the symbolism of churning by providing the fires with a period of gestation. It remains to be seen, then, the course that this journey will take and the manner in which the fires will come to be born.

6. The Last Night of the Year

In our discussion of the time frame of the Agnyādheya we discovered that the fires are churned on the first morning of the year. We have also seen that a year in advance of this day the Brahmaudana is performed and that the Brahmaudana is repeated on the last day of the year, thus punctuating a period of gestation for the fires.¹ Our texts tell us little of the events which follow the second Brahmaudana, which is not long enough to extend very far into the night, until the pace of the ritual activity quickens again with the first appearance of light in the predawn sky. But the last night of the year is clearly not spent in slumber, and even our staid sūtras show hints of revelry. Still, apart from this revelry, there are several ritual acts which are symbolically important, and we will want to look at this symbolism at least briefly. Here, then, is Vkh.

The night before the fires are established the Adhvaryu² observes the same vow that the sacrificer has undertaken during the previous year.³ After the Brahmaudana, the Adhvaryu ties up a goat with dark spots (kalmāṣa) to the north of the place for the gārhapatya fire.⁴ Thereafter the sacrificer stays awake during the night and feeds the brāhmaudanika fire with chips of wood. The sacrificer also gathers up a variety of substances which had been previously stored in the altar: He puts into a separate vessel (śarāva) a kuduva measure⁵ of each of seven types of earthen (pārthiva) substances, which are pure, and puts together in bundles of 15, or as many as are available, eight arboreal (vānaspatya) substances,⁶ which are not dried out and are

devoid of worms and spots. He also gathers together pieces of gold and silver.⁷ Finally, the sacrificer reassembles all these materials (? in the altar).⁸

Let us examine each of these actions in turn. There is little to be said concerning the vow undertaken by the Adhvaryu except that he thus enters the sanctified state which the sacrificer has already entered by means of his preparations. The tying up of the goat is more interesting. The goat is frequently Agni's animal,⁹ and so SBr 2.1.4.3 cites the opinion of some that this goat belongs to Agni and that it is tied up to gain the wholeness of Agni.¹⁰ MS 1.6.4 amplifies the connection between Agni and the goat: "Truly, the gods dispatched Gāyatrī towards the sacrifice; she arrived exhausted (rikta). Agni gave her energy (tejas); that became the goat."¹¹ Thus the goat stationed in or to the north of the gārhapatya fireplace represents Agni or at least his energy.

It is of further interest that the coloration of this goat is expressed by all of our sūtras, except Kat, with the uncommon term kalmāsa "having dark spots".¹² Several of the sacrificial animals at the Aśvamedha are called kalmāsa, but little is said which would explain the significance of the term.¹³ It is, rather, with the spade used to dig clay for the ukhā at the Agnicayana that the purport of such coloration becomes clear. This spade is to be made from a piece of hollow bamboo with dark spots, and the following myth is told in support of such a practice.¹⁴

Agni ran away from the gods¹⁵ through fear of the offering¹⁶ and dwelt in all beings.¹⁷ The dwelling place he took among the trees

was bamboo.¹⁸ There he roamed along the hollow center¹⁹ and tied on the nodes (parvan/ parus) as shields²⁰ so as not to be discovered.²¹ Now, TS tells us, wherever he remained became dark (kr̥ṣṇa).²² KS is more explicit, "wherever he stayed he burned through, and there a dark spot (kalmāṣa) occurred".²³ Thus the dark spots on the bamboo used to make the spade mark the presence of Agni inside, rendering the spade suitable for digging the clay, also said to contain Agni.

Why the goat at the Agnyādheya should have such spots now becomes apparent. The goat is an embodiment of Agni and his energy which have been gestating and growing for a year. Now on the last night of the year the fire is beginning to make itself evident, and the dark spots on the goat stationed on this night show that in a short time the fire will burst out and come to life. Agni will be no longer hidden in the goat but in full view on the gārhapatya hearth.

We shift our attention now to the question of the night's revelry. If we search Vkh for hints of a New Year's Eve party we find only the innocuous statement that the sacrificer stays up all night feeding the fire, hardly a raucous event. The hints of a celebration appear only in the means the other sūtras provide for keeping the sacrificer awake. So Ap 5.8.2 specifies that the sacrificer be kept awake with lute (vīṇā) and flute (tūṇava), to which Bhar 5.4.2 adds sacred songs (punya nītha). SH 3.2:304 stipulates "fine arts" (śilpa) in general.²⁴

These instructions call to mind the celebrations at the Mahā-

vrata and to a lesser extent the Pāriplava Ākhyāna or "revolving legend" of the Aśvamedha. Following the release of the horse at the Aśvamedha a ten day cycle of legends is begun.²⁵ On each day the Hotṛ is called upon to recite an account of a mythic king and his realm,²⁶ and then the singers extol the king offering the sacrifice by likening him to the ancient kings to the accompaniment of lute playing.²⁷ Finally, in the evening a Rājanya sings of the exploits of the king to the accompaniment of a lute.²⁸ When the ten day cycle is completed it is begun anew and is thus continued for the entire year that the horse wanders. It is likely that such activity allows for the inclusion within the ritual of more popular entertainment, and it is therefore quite possible that the music at the Agnyādheya has the same origin.²⁹

The Mahāvratā day serves as an element of variety of Ahīnas and Sattras,³⁰ but its fullest treatment is found under the heading of the Gavāmayana, the model for yearlong Sattras. On this day are done a number of acts not in keeping with the normal sacrificial schemes;³⁰ slave girls dance; instruments are played; the Hotṛ swings on a swing, and an Aryan and a Śūdra hold a tug of war.³² Now PBr 5.6.12 tells us concerning the playing of the lute, "They string the lute; the lute is the end and the mahāvratā is the end; thereby they salute by its music the end by means of the end."³³ The sense in which the Mahāvratā is the "end" is supplied by the commentary, namely that it is the end of days, i.e. the last day of the year.³⁴ Caland³⁵ notes that the Mahāvratā is in fact that last day of the year but one, since the Gavāmayana begins and ends with an overnight rite (atirātra) and the Mahāvratā precedes the last Atirātra.³⁶ But the arithmetic seems to have gone

awry. The year in question appears to be a savana year of 12x30 days except that there is an extra day.³⁷ However, if the two Atirātras are made to coincide, a 360 day cycle is obtained of which the Mahāvratā is the last day.³⁸ On the other hand, if, as Keith thinks,³⁹ the Mahāvratā was originally a celebration of the winter solstice, the year should be solar and four days longer.⁴⁰

Regardless of the arithmetic, the Mahāvratā is treated as the last day of the year and contains a variety of celebrations appropriate to such a day. It therefore seems likely that the singing and playing of instruments on the last night of the year at the Agnyādheya mark a similar celebration. However, since such activity came to be regarded as forbidden,⁴¹ it has been eliminated altogether in some of the sūtras and, even where included, is used only to maintain the wakefulness of the sacrificer who remains sedate, adding fuel to the fire.

Consideration of the earthen and arboreal substances which Vkh has the sacrificer gather together during the night disrupts our procedure of treating each element of the ritual as it occurs. For it is necessary to consider the gathering of these materials in light of the use which is subsequently made of them. Accordingly, I have elected to reserve a detailed examination of these substances and their symbolism until later in our study when their usage will have been fully described and so offer here only a preview.

We will see evidence later that, whereas Vkh calls for the construction of clay fireplaces into which earthen and wooden materials are subsequently deposited, originally the earthen materials themselves were used to fashion the fireplaces. This fashioning is then represented

as an act of creating the world, ~~just~~ as the fireplaces have already been identified with the three worlds of the cosmos. Further, since these worlds are Agni's abode, the theme of containing Agni is also prominent, especially as regards the wooden substances placed in the fireplaces as fuel, which will literally contain fire.

The technical term for these materials is sambhāra from sam bhr 'to gather together, assemble', and in this term is to be found the relationship between the themes of creation and the containing of Agni. Prior to creation Agni is dispersed, his various parts contained in a variety of substances which must be gathered together to bring about creation. Still, dispersal is also not necessarily the original state of affairs, and so the myths concerning these substances speak of Agni's hiding from the gods in various forms or of his parts entering various substances. Thus Agni hides as a rat and as a horse standing in a fig grove; his seed becomes gold, and his heart enters a tree struck by lightning, his eyesight the vikaṅkata tree, and his blood the udumbara tree.⁴² These elements must then be gathered together to form creation.

In the case of the arboreal materials which contain Agni one often gains the impression that dispersal and reassembly are recurring events and that Agni's creation is a sort of periodic renewal.⁴³ However, in the case of the earthen materials the uniting of the elements of creation seems more like a primordial event. Both points of view are appropriate. From the standpoint of the sacrificer the creation of the fireplaces is primordial and represents the beginning of his own

personal cosmos. But from the standpoint of the community and its cult the sacrificer's fire is only one of a long series of fires which periodically pass into and out of existence. The fire must be gathered together for this particular sacrificer and will, presumably, become dispersed again at his death. Hence the creation of the fireplaces is portrayed as both primordial and periodic.

There are two aspects to creating the worlds which the fireplaces represent, the bringing together of the dispersed elements and the commingling of them into a single entity. The latter aspect occurs with the actual fashioning of the fireplaces, or in the case of Vkh with the depositing of the materials into the fireplaces already constructed, an act which transpires later in the ritual. The former aspect, however, consists of assembling these materials in one place in preparation for their later use, and this is what concerns us at present.

The majority of sūtras seem to prefer to gather these materials in advance, Ap and Bhar providing a formal rite for doing so.⁴⁴ SH 3.3: 304, on the other hand, delays this rite until the night after the Brahmaudana. Vkh, then, combines these two practices in that, as in SH, the formal gathering together of the materials is performed on the last night of the year, but the fact that these substances are at that time stored in the altar implies that they were obtained earlier.⁴⁵

By moving the formal gathering of the materials to the eve of the establishment of the fires Vkh and SH achieve a dramatic effect. Throughout the year forces have been gathering for the creation of Agni and his worlds which begins with the depositing of the sambhāras

in the fireplaces towards dawn. In bringing these materials together on the last night of the year Vkh and SH underscore the fact that conditions are now nearly ripe. And so the verse recited as the materials which have been measured out are finally again gathered together announces the imminent union of these elements into a new creation: "May you, O Jātavedas, whom they have gathered together, concealed in beings according to their (various) bodily forms, remain so gathered, beneficial to creatures (prajā). Wise, you bring along a broad world for us."⁴⁶

The last night of the year, then, is one of potency coming to fruition. The goat, symbol of Agni and his energy, is fairly bursting at the seams as evidenced in the dark spots forming on the surface. The elements of creation are gathered, ready to be fused into a new union with the dawn of the new year. We have also seen that this night was once one of celebration, though our demure sūtras have toned the festivity down to an antisoporific. All that remains before the dawn of creation is that the fire, now ripe within the brāhmaṇika fire, should be assimilated by the sacrificer and his churning sticks, and the old fire discarded.

7. Internalizing the Brāhmaudanika Fire

As color begins to return to the eastern sky our ritual again comes to life with a variety of acts, the main objects of which are the fire on which the Brahmaudana was cooked and the churning sticks. Here the brāhmaudanika fire is transferred to the churning sticks, which are formally presented to the sacrificer. He then internalizes the fire and restrains his speech, after which the brāhmaudanika fire is extinguished. A major source for our discussion of these actions is the verses which accompany them, and so it will be necessary to include these verses in our description of this section of the ritual. In considering these actions we will want to pursue a number of topics already encountered. Thus we will be interested in the symbolic means by which the fire gestating in the brāhmaudanika is transferred to the aranī and in the identity of the sacrificer and his fire portrayed in his internalization of it. We will also be interested in the tension between continuity and transformation in the life of the sacrificer in view of the extinction of his brāhmaudanika fire. Finally, we will look at the relationship between the sacrificer's vow of silence and his journey to the east. We continue, then, with Vkh's description of the ritual.

At the approach of dawn (upavyuṣa), if the entire aupāsana fire was established as the fire for cooking the Brahmaudana,¹ some hold that the morning domestic offering is to be made on the latter. Now the Adhvaryu heats the churning sticks over the brāhmaudanika fire reciting, 1)² 'O Jātavedas, you who cause delight, sprinkle here the seed of the world which will be born of this heat, producing in the

aśvattha, offspring of a śamī tree, the fire that bears the oblation.

2) This is your womb in proper season, born from which you once shone; recognizing it, O Agni, mount up on it; thus increase our wealth."³

He then takes the fire within himself repeating, "3) I first take into myself Agni for increase of wealth, for the having of many offspring, for a host of heroic sons. I deposit in myself offspring, lustre in myself; may we be sound, vigorous in our bodies. 4) We take within ourselves, O Fathers, that immortal Agni who has settled in us, mortals, within our hearts. May he not leave us and go far off."⁴

With the verse 5) "Both the one to be milked and the one which bears the milk are tow⁵ for you; I present these as your lot (bhāgadheya); with them I establish you."⁶ he hands the churning sticks to the

sacrificer. The sacrificer beholds them as they are being handed to him with 6) "May you two great protectresses of the household, abodes of ṛta, come forward, bearers of riches. Pregnant, you produce Jātavedas, belonging to our people (janya), the leader of rites."⁷

The sacrificer accepts the churning sticks reciting, 7) "May you two mount my tenfold able (fingers), O Agni, along with ṛta, life, lustre; (may we go on) living a long time, year after year, that I might (continue to) offer the full and new moon rite."⁸ He then repeats over

them 8) "You two are in your proper season, possessing Agni's seed; conceive a fetus. I preserve you in that condition. This is sure: since you bear a heroic son, you will give birth to a heroic son. 9) As such you will give birth on my account at dawn; so having given birth you will regenerate me with offspring, cattle, Brahman splendor

in the world of heaven."⁹ At this point the sacrificer takes the fire within himself with the same two verses used by the Adharyu. Then, with the words 10) 'Now I go forth from falsehood to truth; from the human I go forth to the divine; I hold in divine speech' he restrains his speech.¹⁰ Finally, the Adharyu recites 11) 'Agni, of bright radiance, immortal, radiant purifier, to be praised, drives off Rak-sases'¹¹ over the brāhmaudanika fire and extinguishes it.¹²

Let us begin with the internalization of the fire by the sacrificer since we have already discussed this topic in the introduction and are therefore familiar with it and because it is logically anterior to remarks we will make subsequently. In the introduction¹³ we pointed out that fire symbolizes Life in a variety of ways. As energy (tejas) it symbolizes the principle of vitality; as radiance (iyotis) shining off into the distance it represents continuance through offspring, and as lustre (varcas) it portrays the illumination of insight. We also said that just as fire in general symbolizes Life as a process which transcends the individual, in the same way the individual sacrificer is identified with his particular fire, and thus at times the fire resides within the sacrificer or his churning sticks. As one instance of this identification we cited the practice here under consideration whereby the sacrificer internalizes his fire with the verses V3 and V4.

There is little to add at this point; the verses recited are quite clear, and the texts are generally explicit that in reciting them one takes the fire within (ātmani grah).¹⁴ But in Baudh and Mn the identity between the sacrificer and his fire is demonstrated still more graphically. So Baudh, which omits V3 and V4, has the sacrificer

clutch the churning sticks to himself (upa ni grah) when reciting V8 and V9,¹⁵ and Mn has the sacrificer and Adhvaryu recite V4 holding on to the region of the heart.¹⁶

One issue still requires our attention here. If there is such a strong identification between the sacrificer and his fire, and the evidence seems overwhelmingly in favor of such a conclusion, one might ask why the Adhvaryu also internalizes the fire. This is indeed a sore point, and the only answer I can give is that the Adhvaryu is the sacrificer's agent, almost his alterego, performing in his stead all of the principal actions in the rite. It must be on the basis of this role that the Adhvaryu shares in the sacrificer's identity with his fire, to the exclusion, I might add, of the other priests.¹⁷ I therefore conclude that in taking the fire within himself the sacrificer affirms his identity with his fire, an identity which the Adhvaryu is required to share in order to function as priest.

We may now turn back to the transfer of the brāhmaudanika fire to the churning sticks. In heating the churning sticks over the brāhmaudanika fire the Adhvaryu performs a rite employed elsewhere in Vedic sacrifice whenever the fires must be consigned to the churning sticks in order to move the fires to a new location.¹⁸ But our examination of the Brahmaudana has shown that here this act has a more specific significance. It serves to transfer the threefold fire from the brāhmaudanika where it has been gestating for a year to the churning sticks from which it will be born.

The symbolic images upon which this rite relies are found in the verses used in it. At the most literal level of meaning V2 merely asks Agni to mount up onto (ā ruh) the churning sticks from the fire

below. However, we recall from our discussion of the churning sticks earlier¹⁹ that ā ruh often has sexual connotations. So later in V6 the aranī are said to be pregnant and in V8 they are asked to conceive (dhā) a fetus (garbha). Thus it appears that our texts again resort to sexual imagery to portray the transfer of fire from the brāhmaudanika to the churning sticks, that is, the churning sticks come to contain the embryo from the brāhmaudanika because Agni impregnates them. Hence, in V1 Agni is called on to sprinkle his seed in order to engender in the aśvattha which grew out of a śamī tree, the churning sticks, the fire which will bear the oblation. Or again in V2 (and V8) the churning sticks are said to be Agni's womb in proper season; in V2 Agni mounts this womb, and in V6 the sticks contain his seed.²⁰

Now in view of our exposition of the complementary relationship between the Brahmaudana and churning sticks in portraying the conception, gestation, and birth of the fires we might have wished for some means of implanting the fetus, fully developed in the brāhmaudanika fire, directly into the churning sticks. But no such means is presented. Rather, this transferral of the brāhmaudanika to the aranī is portrayed as yet another conception of the fires and so reiterates the analogy between sexual reproduction and the generation of fire. Employing the image of conception also reiterates the reason for this analogy, the identity of father and son; for it is Agni who fertilizes his own womb. Thus Agni again fathers himself and is his own son.

The motif of the identity of father and son is elaborated in the verses the sacrificer recites over the churning sticks after receiving them, V6 and V7. In V6 we are assured that the churning sticks

will give birth to a heroic son, and V7 makes it plain that this son is the sacrificer's fire which will be churned at dawn. Now the identification of the sacrificer with his fire has already been stated, and this suggests that Agni's son which will be born at dawn is the son of the sacrificer as well. Further, the fact that Agni engenders himself and is therefore identified with his offspring makes the same true for the sacrificer, and this forges the link necessary to insure the sacrificer's immortality through the continuance of his offspring.²¹

Thus V9 affirms that in giving birth to the fire the churning sticks regenerate the sacrificer with offspring and cattle, that is the goods necessary for the continuance of his line, in the world of the immortal gods. But immortality is also viewed as living a full life, and this is another sense in which the sacrificer is regenerated in the world of heaven. Just as the sacrificer's fire renews itself through the medium of churning, so the sacrificer renews himself, not only physically but spiritually with the splendor of Brahman.

We move on now to the question of the tension between continuity and transformation on the part of the sacrificer and his fire, and here we encounter the extinction of the brāhmaudanika fire and the sacrificer's vow of silence. In order to orient our discussion we must gather together a number of ideas developed above. In examining the sacrificial spot we discovered that the individual life of the sacrificer is portrayed along an axis stretching toward the world of the immortals in the east.²² We enlarged upon this idea when considering the Brahmaudana to the effect that one view of immortality is that it consists

of living a full life, that is making a complete journey to the east,²³ and we have just seen this idea reiterated in the verses recited over the churning sticks. We also noted that just as the sacrificer's life progresses from west to east, so too his fire moves successively towards the east.²⁴ Now, our look at the preparations of the sacrificer suggested that one aspect of our ritual is that it marks a transformation in the sacrificer's life wherein he assumes a new social role, that of head of his household, and that as such it bears some resemblance to rites of passage.²⁵ Thus, if the sacrificer's life is symbolized by a line extending toward immortality in the east, this line is punctuated by points of discontinuity and transformation. It is therefore of interest that we should find a similar discontinuity as regards the sacrificer's fire with the transfer of the brāhmaudanika fire to the churning sticks and extinguishing of the brāhmaudanika.

The significance of this discontinuity becomes apparent when we recall the origin of the brāhmaudanika fire, namely the aupāsana or domestic fire, which in turn derives most often from the wedding fire.²⁶ The brāhmaudanika fire, therefore, is an extension of the fire which symbolizes the sacrificer's role as a householder who is not yet the head of his household. It is natural, then, that this fire should be extinguished to make room for the gārhapatya, the fire of the master of the house.²⁷ But it is the same sacrificer who leaves the one role and enters another, and so provision is made for a link between the two fires in the form of the churning sticks. However, the link is not a direct one as when coals are taken from the domestic fire to start up the brāhmaudanika. Rather, by means of churning the fire is regenera-

ted and transformed as is the sacrificer with whom it is identified. So the yearlong gestation of the fire parallels the sacrificer's preparations and the transfer of the fire to the churning sticks parallels the sacrificer's internalization of it in order to indicate that a new self and a new fire have been engendered and are about to be born.²⁸

Interposing the churning sticks between the brāhmaudanika and gārhapatya fires serves another purpose. The domestic fire, with which the brāhmaudanika is connected, derives from a social event, marriage. Further, the cooking of the Brahmaudana is a social affair wherein a group of people are fed. Now our study of the sacrificial spot revealed that social relationships, portrayed along a south-north axis, are negatively valued in the ritual, being regarded as conflictual. We also saw that in entering the sacrificial sphere the sacrificer orients himself away from the south and towards the east, embarking on a life of greater independence and autonomy.²⁹ That the brāhmaudanika represents the sacrificer's social nexus may be seen in its origin, use, and the fact that two of our texts reserve it for establishing the dakṣiṇāgni or southern fire instead of extinguishing it.³⁰ The transfer of the brāhmaudanika fire to the churning sticks thus begins the reorientation of the sacrificer's life toward heaven in the east. And we have seen that the Brahmaudana prepares for this reorientation by securing permission to journey to the world of the gods.

The sacrificer is thus ready to leave the world of human, social relationships and proceed toward the gods. Though he will not actually enter the world of heaven for some time yet, he is about to undergo the

transformation which begins the journey. Here, then, is the meaning of the sacrificer's last words before he restrains his speech, 'from the human I go forth to the divine'. The restraining of speech like the extinguishing of the brāhmaudanika fire marks a break with the past and the severing of social bonds.³¹ Hence forth the sacrificer will be master of his house and free to pursue his immortality in the east.

8. Readying the Fireplaces

With the extinction of the old, brāhmaudanika fire the stage is set for the creation of new fire, a creation which takes place in three stages. First the worlds the fire will occupy must be made ready; then the fire must be brought to life, and finally the fire must be established in the three worlds of the cosmos. The first of these stages has in a sense already been accomplished by Vkh with the construction of the fireplaces,¹ but is now reiterated through the final preparation of these fireplaces. These preparations include a variety of acts such as digging up the soil, sweeping, and sprinkling with water, which serve to remove impurities, and the depositing into the fireplaces of earthen and arboreal materials (sambhāra) which were gathered together during the night.² As we have already taken notice of the removal of impurities on prior occasions, there is little to add here, and we will instead focus our attention on the sambhāras and the themes of gathering Agni and creating his worlds.³

In Vkh the acts of assembling the fire and creating the fireplaces find representation in the simple pouring into the fireplaces of a number of soils and pieces of wood, which must symbolize the elements of creation. However, if one examines the mythology which surrounds these materials, especially in light of the paddhati or manual to Kat, one comes to the conclusion that behind the highly stylized creation found in Vkh was once the actual fashioning of the fireplaces themselves and stocking them with fuel. The symbolic creation of Agni's worlds was then their actual creation, and the gathering of Agni the

laying of fuel to contain the churned fire.

Our procedure, therefore, will be to look first at Vkh's description of this segment of the ritual and then broaden our investigation to include the above mentioned paddhati and the brāhmaṇas. Along the way we will also find it necessary to call on ritual practices outside the Agnyādheya to elucidate elements of our myths. To further simplify matters we will treat separately the earthen substances where the theme of primordial creation preponderates and the arboreal substances where the theme of gathering Agni is most noticeable. We will then conclude with the two materials gold and silver, which present further problems, where there are traces of both themes. We proceed, then, to Vkh's description of readying the fireplaces.

In order to set the final preparations of the fireplaces in motion the sacrificer forms a mental image of the three or five fires he is going to establish.⁴ Then the Adhvaryu smears the fireplaces with cow dung, sweeps them as he did the place for the brāhmaudanika fire,⁵ and sprinkles water over them. He next puts down darbha grass in each of the four cardinal directions. With a gold or silver instrument (not specified) he digs out nine holes and connects them with three lines a prādeśa in length, running west to east, and three running south to north.⁶ He again sprinkles water over the fireplace and sprinkles the materials (sambhāra).⁷ Finally, the Adhvaryu puts a piece of gold in each fireplace and makes an offering on the base (sthaṇḍila) of each.⁸

Now one of the materials, sand (sikatā),⁹ is divided into two portions, and half of one portion is put into the gārhapatya fireplace

and half into the dakṣiṇāgni. Then the other portion is divided into thirds and distributed among the āhavanīya, sabhya, and āvasathya fireplaces, or, if the last two are not being set up, all of it is put into the āhavanīya. The same procedure is carried out for each of the other earthen materials: saline soil (ūṣa), the diggings of a rat,¹⁰ an anthill (valmīkavapā), mud (sūda), the furrows of a boar (varāhoddhata),¹¹ and gravel (śarkarā). The depositing of each of these materials into the fireplaces is accompanied by a verse. In addition, an extra verse is recited mentally while the saline soil is being deposited, and separate verses for the gārhapatya, dakṣiṇāgni, and āhavanīya fireplaces are provided for the anthill. Also, while gravel is being deposited the sacrificer concentrates on the slaughter (vadha) of someone he hates: Alternatively, pieces of iron or copper may be used instead of these earthen materials.¹² Then the Adhvaryu spreads out the materials in the fireplaces and mixes together the sand and saline soil. Afterward, he combines the various arboreal (vānaspatya) substances and deposits them in the fireplaces all at once or, in the opinion of some, one at a time. These substances are wood from the Holy fig (aśvattha),¹³ the wild fig (udumbara),¹⁴ the palāśa,¹⁵ the samī,¹⁶ the vikañkata (a type of thorn),¹⁷ a tree struck by lightning (aśanihata), and a lotus leaf (puṣkaraparna).¹⁸ Then he tosses a piece of gold¹⁹ onto the gārhapatya fireplace to the north of the materials and "foists" (atiprayam) a piece of silver on an enemy (dvesya).²⁰ If no enemy is available he throws the piece of silver away towards the direction in which there is an enemy, and it is not to be taken back again.²¹ This procedure with gold and silver is then applied to the other fire-

places. Finally, the Adhvaryu signals the readiness of the materials which have been deposited with a recitation and instructs a guardian, "the fires have been gathered together; let no one pass among them."²²

8.1

One is tempted to see Vkh's method of building the fireplaces in the other sūtras. Like Vkh they express the depositing of materials with the phrase āyatane ni vap which the SrKos mostly renders "deposit in (once 'into) the fireplace".²³ This suggests Vkh's procedure wherein clay fireplaces are prepared in advance, into which the materials are later deposited. But Vkh's details concerning the actual construction of the fireplaces are absent in the other sūtras, which treat only the distances between the three main fires. It seems quite plausible, therefore, that the other sūtras intend only that the location of the fireplaces should be marked when preparing the sacrificial spot and that their actual construction be performed at the present stage of the ritual with the earthen materials. In support of this view is the fact that Mn, Vr, SH and Kat discuss even the layout of the fireplaces in the context of depositing the materials, Mn and Vr specifically prescribing only the making of marks (lakṣaṇa).²⁴ Moreover, when the dhiṣṇiyas (individual fireplaces for various officiants) are built at the soma sacrifice, loose soil (purīṣa)²⁵ is also "deposited" or "poured out" (ni vap), but there this soil is clearly made into a mound to serve as the fireplace.²⁶ It therefore seems likely to me that Vkh represents a later stage of development and that the other sūtras must use the earthen materials to fashion the fireplaces as an act of crea-

tion just prior to churning the fire. Their procedure would then be to pour all of the earthen substances onto the spot for the fireplace and then mix them together to form a mound on which the fire is established.²⁷ We will see, however, that this procedure too is perhaps a later development and that various of these materials may once have had more specialized functions.

Turning now to the earthen materials themselves, if we add the water sprinkled over the ground to Vkh's materials we get the following list, a list identical in all the Taittirīya sūtras and their Brāhmaṇa:²⁸ water, sand, saline soil, diggings of a rat, anthill, mud, furrowings of a boar, and gravel. Since this list includes every material mentioned by any of the other schools,²⁹ it seems likely that it may contain duplicates in the form of alternatives. Therefore, for the sake of argument, let us make the following groupings: water and mud; sand and saline soil; diggings of a rat, anthill, and furrowings of a boar; and gravel. Here mud is watery earth;³⁰ sand and saline soil are barren and infertile;³¹ and the three diggings are loose, workable soils which are piled up by some creature like fireplaces. Gravel, though infertile, is separated from sand and saline soil for reasons not yet apparent.

We may further justify these groupings in that all of the brāhmaṇas have at least one item from each group, and no group contains more than one item attested in all the brāhmaṇas. Thus all have water in one form or another, and all have saline soil, though the TBr and MS add sand to it. Moreover, all of the texts have one or more of the

loose, worked soils. The SBr has the diggings of a rat, and KS the anthill and furrowings of a boar, and the MS and TBr all three. Gravel is also maintained by all traditions.

We are now in a position to consider the paddhati to Kat 4.8,³² which, though it must be later still than the sūtras, may very well preserve an early stage of development. An outline of each of the fireplaces has been previously demarcated, and now the five preparations of the ground are done.³³ Following this lines are again drawn on each fireplace,³⁴ water sprinkled over them, and gold placed in the middle of each fireplace.³⁵ Saline soil and the diggings of a rat are in turn poured onto the place for each fire and fashioned into the proper shape: round for the gārhapatya, square for the āhavanīya, and semi-circular for the daksināgni.³⁶ Finally, gravel or pebbles³⁷ are lined around each fireplace to prevent the other materials from overflowing: 50 for the gārhapatya, 73 for the āhavanīya,³⁸ and 22 for the daksināgni.³⁹ Here again we have an item from each of our groupings above. Thus we have water to sprinkle the ground, saline soil and one of the loose soils to form the fireplace, and gravel or pebbles to line around it.⁴⁰ Moreover, each group serves a separate function, except that we are not yet able to distinguish between saline soil and the group of loose soils.

If there ever was a single, ur-tradition as regards the materials which make up the fireplaces, it is another of the loose soils, the furrowing of a boar, which has the strongest claim to belong to it.

This claim is based on the fact that the myth concerning this material comes closer than any other to relating an actual procedure for building the fireplaces to the symbolism of creating the world. That this material serves to give form to the fireplace, like the rat's diggings in our paddhati, may be seen in KS 8.2 where it is said to make the fire visible or manifest (pratyakṣa) on earth. Likewise, in MS 1.6.3 this material is first tossed (upās) on the ground, and the others, including gravel, are then spread out (upa kr) on top. The MS explains that the earth, which represents the fireplace, was at first the size of a boar's tusks, that one therefore establishes the fire on the measure of the earth, and that thereby one does not range beyond, or perhaps outrank, the earth.⁴¹

I interpret this to mean that by fashioning the boar's furrowing into the proper size and shape of the fireplace and then spreading the other soils on top, one keeps each fireplace to its proper size and does not allow it to become larger than the earth was at first.⁴² This explanation by MS is a reference to the brahmanic precursor of the well-known myth of the boar avatāra of Viṣṇu, a myth in which Prajāpati in the form of a boar creates the world. The myth is as follows.⁴³

In the beginning the world was only waters, a torrent.⁴⁴ Prajāpati roamed over the earth in the form of wind⁴⁵ and spotted a lotus leaf,⁴⁶ which he perceived as the earth, a suitable foundation for the world.⁴⁷ Prajāpati became a boar, dove down into the waters, and re-emerged with the mud he had furrowed up on his snout.⁴⁸ He then spread (prath) the mud out on the lotus leaf which he had spotted earlier, and it became the earth (prthivī).⁴⁹ The earth was still soft (śithira),⁵⁰ however, and the wind blew it about;⁵¹ so Prajāpati made it firm and

stable with gravel.⁵²

Let us begin with two observations. First, this myth relates not only the furrowing of a boar to the creation of the world, but four other materials as well: water, mud, and gravel from our list, and a lotus leaf. Secondly, though saline soil is absent, our three other groupings of materials are all represented. These two facts suggest that the myth serves not merely to justify the use of one particular material in building the fireplaces but portrays the whole procedure of construction as an act of creation. Such a procedure might involve sprinkling the ground with water to represent the primordial waters, pouring out a mound of boar furrowings, and lining it with gravel. Or a lotus leaf might be included prior to the furrowings, and mud could also be added. This procedure could thus expand or contract depending on which of the five items in the myth one considers materials and which one regards as simply part of the story line. We will see that the various schools appear to have taken different positions as to which of these substances are to be taken as materials per se.

The largest obstacle in the way of interpreting the above myth as representing the construction of the fireplaces is the fact that none of our texts refers to it when enjoining either water or mud, and so we must examine these two materials further. Mud is listed only by the Taittirīyas, and even there water may at one time have been intended. The word used by the TBr and all the Taittirīya sūtras is sūda.⁵³ Śāyaṇa on TBr 1.1.3.5 explains the word as mud located in a place

where the water does not dry up,⁵⁴ as does the editor's comment to Ap 5.1.7.⁵⁵ The karmānta portion of Baudh (24.14), commenting on the list of materials in Baudh 2.12, says that one should procure (? mud or water) from a sūda which will not dry up;⁵⁶ so sūda here must be the source, a well or pond, and not the object procured, presumably mud since it is grouped with other types of soil. This is more in line with what we know of this word from the RV. Thus we find in RV 7.36.3b "the sūdas have swelled like cows" and in RV 9.97.44a "filter (for us) a sūda of honey, a well of wealth".⁵⁷

In TBr 1.2.1.3 sūda is compared to rasa or life-fluid, nourishment (iṣ), and vigor (ūrj) which destroys hunger and is called fissured (upaprabhinna). TBr 1.1.3.5 explains that the food of the creatures created by Prajāpati became exhausted (upa kṣi); so Prajāpati opened up a sūda for them.⁵⁸ Thus sūda appears to be both the hole in the ground opened up to contain water and the water contained in it, much as the English word "well". But sūda, in the sense of well-water, begins to look like our other material, water, and in fact, where the Taittirīya sūtras have sūda, the Maitrāyaṇīyas specify water, or water from a well (autsa)⁵⁹ and Mn water which does not dry up (anupadāsuka).⁶⁰ Further, in KS 8.2 and SBr 2.1.1.3-4 water is considered one of the materials for the Agnyādheya,⁶¹ and in both passages it is said to be food. Moreover, the SBr explains that water produces food, and this suggests the TBr myth concerning sūda.

This water is used by the KS and SBr in sprinkling the fire-places or perhaps the entire sacrificial spot (devayajana). MS 1.6.3:

89.14ff employs water in the same manner, but it is not clear if it is considered a material per se. The sprinkling of water is also mentioned in TBr 1.1.3.1, but the water itself does not appear to have been regarded as a sambhāra.⁶² The situation, then, is this. The water sprinkled on the fireplaces is counted as a material by the KS, SBr, and possibly the MS, but not by the TBr, which instead has sūda, mud, or perhaps originally water, from a well. Further, this sūda shares some characteristics with the water of the other schools in terms of mythology. Thus, either the majority of schools have combined water from a well, which was to be put on the fireplaces, with the ordinary water used for sprinkling, or else the fireplaces were originally to be sprinkled with well-water, called sūda, and the Taittirīyas later interpreted this term as "mud" and placed it with the other types of soil. However, it is impossible to determine which of these possibilities is historically accurate.

Returning to our myth of the creation of the earth from the primordial waters, I must confess that none of the brāhmanas makes any reference to this story in connection with either the water which is sprinkled or sūda. Instead they stress the usefulness of these substances in growing food, and we may therefore interpret them as providing fertility for Agni's world. Still, these substances may have some relation to our myth; for rasa, iṣ, and ūrj are epithets which might easily be applied to the primordial waters or the primordial ooze beneath them. Further, if one pictures, as our well a pond or tank with lotuses growing in it, a common source of water in India, one may have the

image behind this myth. If this is the case, though, the connection between these materials and the myth must have been severed quite early; for none of our texts record it.

The three remaining materials, the furrowing of a boar, lotus leaf, and gravel, are clearly part of our myth, and all the brāhmanas make reference to the myth when any of them is enjoined. But here again, not all of our texts enjoin all three materials. Thus the SBr has only gravel, the KS and MS gravel and the furrowing of a boar, and TBr all three. These absences are more remarkable in that there is evidence that all of these texts are aware of the roles of these various materials in the myth. Thus SBr 14.1.2.11, concerning the use of the furrowings of a boar at the Pravargya,⁶³ says the boar Emūṣa dug up the earth in the beginning.⁶⁴ Similarly, SBr 2.1.1.8-11, concerning the use of gravel in the Agnyādheya, gives as the reason for its employment that in the beginning the earth quivered like (though not on) a lotus leaf, being tossed about by the wind. MS 1.6.3:90.5 says one establishes the fire on the measure (mātra) of the earth, which in context refers to the furrowings of a boar, but which seems more appropriate to the lotus leaf which in our myth forms a base over which the boar's furrowings are spread. KS 8.2 has the boar spread the mud which he brings up from the waters, but does not tell us where, though subsequently the earth quivers, and in KS 22.9 Prajāpati quivers on a lotus-leaf.⁶⁵ None of these statements is random; each tells us some fragment of our myth.

The lotus-leaf, enjoined exclusively by the Taittirīya school,⁶⁶ was, nevertheless, not without difficulties for the Taittirīya sūtra writers; for, though it is listed in the mantras with the soils, it is clearly not a type of soil. Thus Ap and Vkh have moved it down with the woods,⁶⁷ and only the earliest stratum of Baudh retains the order of the mantras.⁶⁸ Moving this material had an added advantage in that, while the TBr has a mantra for the lotus leaf, which the sūtras use to gather it, the KS does not, and it is predominately the KS mantras which the sūtras use to deposit the materials in the fireplaces. This allowed the lotus leaf to be deposited along with the woods, which also do not have individual mantras in the KS. Finally the uncertain position of the lotus leaf in the Taittirīya sūtras and its complete absence in the other schools are still more curious in that there seems to be RVic authority for its use in churning the fire. Thus RV 6.16.13ab states "You, O Agni, Atharvan churned out over a lotus", though this could be simply a metaphor based on our myth.⁶⁹

Just why there should be such diversity as regards use of the boar furrow, lotus leaf, and gravel is difficult to say. It may be that for some reason the SBr preferred the diggings of a rat to the furrowing of a boar as a representation of the fireplace and so used the boar myth only to justify gravel as a material. It may also be that the schools other than the Taittirīya regarded the lotus leaf as metaphorical and only part of the story line. There may also have occurred a complex cross borrowing between the use of these materials at the Agnyādheya and their use elsewhere at the Agnicayana and Pravargya. Nevertheless, the salient point is that we have in the

boar myth a cosmogonic myth, related largely in the context of the Agny-
ādheya, which closely parallels the construction of the fireplaces.
The central feature of building the fireplaces is therefore the creation
of the world.

We must now consider saline soil (ūṣa) which, though attested
in all of our sources, has no part in the boar myth. If the central
theme of the construction of the fireplaces is creating a world, we
would expect fertility to be a strong motif, and indeed that is the
case. But what role can such an infertile substance as saline soil⁷⁰
have in this creation, and how and why do our texts connect it with
fertility? To answer this question fully we must examine the mythology
surrounding saline soil in light of the procedure for constructing the
altar (vedi) at the Darśapūrnamāsa. However, let me anticipate our in-
quiry with a few remarks. First of all, the answer as to why saline
soil should be connected with fertility is clearly that our texts
wish it so, and indeed have developed their mythology to make it so,
precisely because of the creative aspect of building the fireplaces.
But there is also a natural basis for this connection in that if saline
soil is inhospitable to plants, salt is nevertheless necessary for
cattle. So the MS avows that cattle do not breed without licking sa-
line soil.⁷¹ We might, therefore, conclude that saline soil symboli-
cally endows our newly created world with livestock and leave it at
that. This, however, is not its principal function. Put simply, the
function of saline soil is to keep the fireplaces fit for sacrifice

(yajñiya) and ritually pure (medhya) by preventing plants from growing on them because killing those plants would be defiling.

The construction of the altar at the Darśapūrnamāsa⁷² begins with a rite the main aim of which seems to be the removal of grass growing on the spot for the altar. A piece of grass is placed on the ground, the wooden sword (sphya) hurled at it, and the clod of earth dug up by the sword is thrown on the rubbish heap (utkara). This is repeated four times. Then the outline of the altar is traced out, and the top layer of soil is removed to the rubbish heap. Now loose soil (purīsa) is brought from elsewhere and poured onto the altar, after which the boundaries are again traced out and the soil smoothed out and formed into the proper shape.⁷³

This procedure bears a basic resemblance to that of readying the fireplaces; in both the ground is first dug up and new soil is then brought to form the altar or fireplaces as the case may be. The difference is that in the case of the fireplaces no details are provided concerning the rationale for digging up the ground except that it serves to remove impurities. We must therefore pursue the construction of the altar a little further.

The removal of plantlife from the site of the altar is evidently a traumatic event. It is portrayed as a slaughter in which the wooden sword, equated with Indra's vajra,⁷⁴ is hurled at defenseless clumps of grass; yet the accompanying verse apologizes to the earth and hopes not to harm the plants' roots.⁷⁵ But these roots are more than harmed; they are cut out of the soil when the top layer of earth is removed.⁷⁶

Now the digging out of the top layer of soil serves two purposes according to the TBr; it removes soil which is ritually impure (amedhya), and it gets rid of plantlife.⁷⁷ Moreover, being ritually impure or unfit for sacrifice (ayajñiya) results from contact with death (abhimṛta, literally "over which something has died".)⁷⁸ The problem for our ritualists is thus that, although they do not want a weedy altar, the removal of plants involves killing which defiles the altar. The solution to this problem is to root out completely any plantlife along with the top soil in which it was growing, and which could sprout more plants, and to replace this soil with new soil (purīṣa) brought from elsewhere. Still, in order for this solution to work the new soil must be infertile, else more plants, more killing, and more defilement result.⁷⁹

The source of this purīṣa is not mentioned in the sūtras, but Sāyaṇa gives an important clue in that he says it is sand-like soil.⁸⁰ As this purīṣa is spread out over the altar with the wooden sword a verse is recited which is not entirely clear but which I translate as follows:⁸¹ "The wise sacrifice after beholding⁸² that earth of quickening drops⁸³ which they⁸⁴ removed, O Mighty One,⁸⁵ before the spreading of (your) slaughter⁸⁶ and transported to the moon with offerings (svadhā)."⁸⁷ SBṛ 1.2.5.18 relates the myth behind this verse: Truly, the gods, who were about to get ready for battle, said, "come, let us deposit on the moon that (part) of the earth which is a sacrificial spot not defiled by death (anāmṛta) so that if the asuras expel us from here we might conquer again from there, praising and toiling."⁸⁸

So they deposited on the moon that (part) of the earth which was a sacrificial spot undefiled by death. That (became) the dark (spots) on the moon. Thus they declare, "the sacrificial spot of the earth is on the moon".

The reason for our lengthy treatment of the function of the soil used to fill in and form the altar now becomes apparent; for the myth which the SBr relates concerning it is clearly a variant of the myth told elsewhere with regard to saline soil and its use in constructing the fireplaces. TBr 1.1.3.1-3 says that saline soil is fatness (puṣṭi), generation (prajanana),⁸⁷ and also the harmony or concord (saṁjñāna) of cattle.⁸⁸ In support of this a myth similar to that of the SBr above is related. Heaven and Earth (dyāvāprthivī) were at first together. When they were separating, they asked that the part of each of them fit for sacrifice (yajñiya) might remain together; so the part of Heaven fit for sacrifice was placed on the Earth and the part of Earth in Heaven. The former became saline soil and the latter the dark spots on the moon. The verse in TBr 1.2.1.2 supplies the rest of the story; Heaven and Earth (rodasī) united (saṁ bhū)⁸⁹ (again), acknowledging or harmonizing (saṁ jñā) the part of each which was in the other.

AitBr 4.27(4.4.5), PBr 9.10.1-6, and JaiBr 1.145 provide more details. While Heaven and Earth were apart, AitBr tells us, it did not rain, and it (perhaps the sun, but more likely the sacrificial fire) did not heat, and the five classes of beings⁹⁰ were not in harmony (saṁ jñā). Or, as the JaiBr puts it, the gods and men went hungry, because the gods live on gifts from earth and men on gifts from

heaven.⁹¹ Accordingly, the gods lead Heaven and Earth together, and they conclude a matrimonial alliance in the form of a divine marriage (daivavivāha).⁹² Various sāmans are then used by Heaven and Earth to quicken or fructify (jinv) each other (AitBr) or given (pra yam) to each other (PBr), and JaiBr actually uses the technical term śulka, dowry. JaiBr and AitBr continue this exchange: Earth quickens Heaven with smoke, Heaven Earth with rain; Earth places the sacrificial spot in Heaven as the dark spots on the moon, and Heaven places cattle, or as is subsequently said, saline soil on the Earth.⁹³

Through the medium of this myth an exchange in which soil defiled by death is traded for soil which is infertile becomes the basis of a living exchange which fertilizes both heaven and earth. We are assured that the soil dug out of the earth is in fact the living essence of the earth not defiled by death, which has been safeguarded on the moon. Its counterpart on the earth, saline soil, is therefore also fertile as evident in its benefit to livestock. Finally, this exchange becomes part of a cosmic cycle of renewal in which smoke from the sacrificial fire, established on saline soil, fructifies heaven, and rain from the heavenly sacrificial spot, located in the dark spots of the moon, fructifies the earth. Thus saline soil is the fertile, living part of the earth, to which gifts from heaven flow in the form of rain and which fructifies the earth by supplying cattle with the salt necessary to their existence.⁹⁴ It is also, by way of exchange, the earthly node from which flows the smoke of the sacrificial fire, which fructifies heaven, and as such it is a suitable substratum for Agni's world, the fireplace.⁹⁵ So soil which is fertile and therefore

subject to death and defilement is exchanged for soil which is not subject to such defilement but which is therefore infertile. Our myth resolves this conflict between the desire to eliminate death but not bring about infertility by asserting the ultimate fertility of both soils. It thus affirms the centrality of the theme of creation in constructing the fireplaces and at the same time justifies the use of a substance which eliminates death and defilement from this creation.⁹⁶

We suggested initially that sand should be grouped with saline soil, and we see now that the basis for this grouping is that, like saline soil, sand is an infertile substance which eliminates defilement through death by preventing the growth of plants on the fireplaces. We would therefore expect that in the case of sand too our texts would attempt to assert the symbolic fertility of this material in order to bring it into line with the theme of creation. While this assertion is made, there is no natural connection between sand and fertility like the need of cattle for salt on which to draw, and so other lines of reasoning are pursued as well.

The simplest, and perhaps most common link between sand and fertility is based on a play on words. So sand (sikatā) is called seed because seed is sprinkled (sikta).⁹⁷ However, there are also vague hints of a connection between sand and the myth concerning saline soil related above or at least the image of an exchange between heaven and earth which lies behind the myth.

TBr. 1.2.1.1 informs us that on earth litter (parisrasā, literally

'What falls apart, breaks down') is the form or representation (rūpa) of Vaiśvānara, and TBr 1.1.3.1 explains that this is Agni Vaiśvānara and that the "litter" is sand. TBr 1.2.1.17, used by the sūtras to deposit sand in the fireplaces, addresses this sand as the ash (bhasman) of Agni and also as his rubble or excrement (purīṣa).⁹⁸ While there have been numerous attempts to identify Agni Vaiśvānara,⁹⁹ I am inclined to accept the statement of MS 1.6.3:91.5ff that he is the sun (Āditya),¹⁰⁰ though it must be added that it is the sun viewed as the universal hearth, and thus intimately connected with the sacred fire of each household, which receives the appellation "Fire Belonging to All Men."¹⁰¹ The MS continues that sand is the ash of this Āditya, which remains from the time when he was here on earth.¹⁰² That sand is the ash of the celestial fire is further suggested by the myth in SBr 1.4.1.10ff where Agni Vaiśvānara escapes from the mouth of king Videgha Māthava and falls on the earth, where he goes about scorching or drying up (ati dah) the rivers.¹⁰³ Thus sand, the end-product of the dessication, or consumption by the celestial fire, of the rivers is regarded as the ashes of the sun. Similarly, sand is referred to as purīṣa, crumbling or loose soil. So SBr 7.5.2.59 calls sand the purīṣa of the waters, which Eggeling translates "sediment",¹⁰⁴ but which may be sand, soil which breaks down through being dried out. In fact this seems to be the sense of parīśrasā above. The association between sand and the sun's ashes is likely further strengthened by the fact that sand retains the sun's heat more than any other soil and might seem like ashes not yet extinguished.

In our myth concerning saline soil heaven leaves behind or gives to the earth saline soil in exchange for the dark spots on the moon, and this exchange parallels that of rain and smoke from the sacrificial fire. In our present myth heaven, or in this case the sun, leaves behind sand, said to be its ashes. But what does heaven or the sun get in return? We have seen that sand is likened to both ash and loose soil, and the answer to our question lies in the fact that an association seems to have been made between fine particles of soil, sand, and ash as well as water vapor when suspended in the air. That is, dust clouds, smoke, and mist were viewed as comparable phenomena. This association may be seen in the word pāmsu "dust" which is also applied to loose soil dug out of the ground¹⁰⁵ as well as ashes.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, pāmsu and mist or water vapor are associated in TS 4.5.9.1 where the deities belonging to both (pāmsavya and rajasya) are praised together.¹⁰⁷

The above set of associations is seen even more clearly in the root dhū and its derivatives dhūli and dhūma. According to MW dhū means "to shake, agitate" and less often "to fan, kindle a fire", which suggest a meaning "raise dust, smoke". Dhū derives from I-E *dheu-, for which Pokorny gives a long list of derivatives with meanings from "swirl" as dust, smoke, and vapor to "blow" to "storm, shake".¹⁰⁸ From this root comes dhuma, "smoke, vapor, mist" as well as dhuli "dust, dusty soil, powder, pollen". Thus there seems to have been an association between rising swirls of smoke, ash, dust, soil, sand, and water vapor.

In the myth pertaining to saline soil we saw that heaven and earth fructify each other in an exchange in which earth sends smoke from the sacrificial fire to heaven, and heaven sends rain to earth. We see now that this smoke is identified on the one hand with swirls of sand and dust and on the other with vapors rising from the earth. In North America we experience a vegetative cycle which alternates between poles of freezing and snow and thawing and rain. In India, however, the monsoon follows a hot, dry period, and the opposition is between dryness and dust and wetness and rain. So, as in the myth of Agni Vaiśvānara, during the hot season the earth becomes increasingly parched as the sun moves across the land, drying up rivers and turning them to sand. Hot winds blow, raising dust and sand into the air. But towards the end of this season, when the swirls of sand are at their apex, clouds begin to form of the vapor from the earth in preparation for the monsoon rains. Thus it is that rising vapor, smoke, and dust lend themselves to the image of earth fructifying heaven that heaven might fertilize the earth. Sand, then, is connected with this fertile cycle in that it is evidence of the earthly half of the cycle. As the sun's ashes it is evidence that the sky, in the form of the sun, has drawn its sustenance, water vapor, from the earth, and as it blows skyward it represents the very passage of that sustenance. In this way sand, though a form of barren soil, is brought into the creative act of building the fireplaces. Further, by placing the sun's ashes in the fireplace they become also the fire's ashes, and this fortifies the sacrificial ideal that smoke from the fire, bearing oblations, fructifies heaven. For the fire on the hearth becomes one with the

universal fire, Agni Vaiśvānara, and the smoke from the fire becomes identical to the dust and vapor which give rise to the monsoon rains. So MS 1.6.3:91.6f concludes that in depositing sand one establishes the fire in its own ash, its very own womb (as fires may be started up from coals), thus binding together the natural and sacrificial schemes.

Two earthen materials remain, the anthill and diggings of a rat. Both of these materials are similar to the furrowing of a boar, with which we have grouped them, in that they are loose, workable soils which may be used to fashion the fireplaces. Also, like the fireplaces they are mounds which come about through the agency of some creature, perhaps even appearing over night as do the fireplaces. Like the fireplaces, too, these mounds are miniature worlds for their creators. However, these two materials also share the major feature of sand and saline soil, namely that plantlife does not generally grow on them, though this is due less to any inherent lack of fertility than to continuous working of the soil. So these soils are also undefiled by death. But whereas saline soil is the earthly counterpart of the portion of the surface of the earth removed to the moon before it could be defiled, the soil dug up by ants and rats is undefiled by reason of the fact that it lies beneath the surface. Thus these creatures bring up to the surface the living essence of the earth. Finally, the mythology surrounding the diggings of a rat also brings the cosmic theme of creating a world back into the personal context of the sacrificer's new fireplaces while at the same time introducing a theme which will dominate our discussion of the arboreal materials,

the gathering of Agni.

We begin with the anthill. The anthill is said to be the rasa of the earth, which the ants have brought up, and also its nourishment or vigor (ūrj).¹⁰⁹ Like saline soil, it is the living part of the earth, fit for sacrifice, and not defiled by Vṛtra's death.¹¹⁰ That the shape of the anthill suggested a miniature fireplace is perhaps to be seen in the fact that it also suggested the breast (stana) of Prajāpati,¹¹¹ the latter reiterating the nourishment theme.

The association of the ants with the nourishment or vigor of the earth seems to be based on their reputed ability to survive in harsh environments, supplying themselves with food and water even in the desert. Moreover, this association is quite possibly an etymological one, though such a view is not without difficulties. In TBr 1.1.3.4 the ants (upadīka) are said to plaster up (ud dih) the rasa of the earth; thus upadīka is explained as derived from ud (upa)+dih. The same word for ant is used in SBr 14.1.1.8 and TA 5.1.4 where the well-known story is told of how the ants gained the ability to find water¹¹² in the desert by gnawing the string of the bow on which Viṣṇu's head was resting.¹¹³ This story is alluded to in AV 6.100.2 and 2.3.4, but in both cases the word used is upajīka, and it is this word which I think provides the key to the myth. The key is a lost root *ji/jyā related to jīv and jinv "to live".¹¹⁴ Hence jyā "bowstring" could also at one point have been construed as a verbal noun meaning "life".¹¹⁵ Now the ants find their life-giving food and water in the desert (dhanvan), but dhanvan also means bow. So ants eat¹¹⁶ the string/life (jyā) in the bow/desert (dhanvan).¹¹⁷ Thus, though from the standpoint of

plantlife the anthill is barren like a desert and so undefiled by death, it is nevertheless to be associated with the life-giving essence of the earth. In this way the dilemma of creating a fertile world which is still untouched by death and killing, given the fact that lack of death implies lack of growth, is once again resolved.

Like ants, rats also bring up the rasa of the earth through their digging,¹¹⁸ and the remarks made concerning the anthill also hold for these diggings. However, the brāhmaṇas focus their interpretation of the diggings of a rat on the word purīṣin (possessed of purīṣa or loose, workable soil), a term applicable to the rat with its diggings, but which is also applied to the sacrificer and to Agni. So MS 1.6.3: 91.13ff says that they call a householder (grhamedhin, literally 'whose rites are in a house!') purīṣin, and SBr 2.1.1.7 says that one possessed of wealth (śrī) is called purīṣya, a synonym. In TS 4.1.1.2 Agni is also several times called purīṣya. The reason given in TS 5.1.2.4 is that Agni has an abode (āyatana)¹¹⁹ made of purīṣa or loose soil.

If Agni is called purīṣin because his abode is constructed of loose soil, it is possible that a householder is called purīṣin for the same reason. Now in present day India the process of building a house begins with the raising of a mound to serve as floor and foundation, and there is no reason to assume that this is not a very ancient practice. Further, we have seen that the establishment of the fires marks the accession to the position of head of a household on the part of the sacrificer and that this often involves moving to a new spot and building a home. There is thus a parallel between the raising of a mound on which to build a house and the construction of the mound

which serves as a fireplace. Linking these two mounds are the diggings of a rat, whose small mound resembles a fireplace but is also the rat's home. The use of these diggings in constructing the fireplaces, then, makes two important points. It identifies the establishment of the fires with the establishment of a new home, and it asserts that the fireplaces themselves are the home of Agni, who like the sacrificer is called purīṣin. Thus, like the rat, whose mound is compared to a hoard,¹¹⁹ the sacrificer and his fire become possessed of śrī, wealth, property, status. Moreover, just as the rat's diggings are its domain and in a sense its world, so in the sacrificial scheme of things the fireplaces represent a private cosmos for the sacrificer and his alterego the fire.

Since Agni's abode is made of loose soil Agni is called purīṣin and purīṣya. But purīṣya is not only a synonym of purīṣin 'possessed of purīṣa', it also means 'consisting of, or inherent in, purīṣa'. Thus Agni is said to be already present in the soil from which his abode, the fireplace, will be made. Here we encounter the theme of gathering Agni, or materials imbued with his nature, a theme with which we will deal more fully when considering the arboreal substances.

To account for how Agni first entered the rat's diggings TBr 1.2.1.2 explains that once Agni hid from the gods. Taking the form of a rat (ākhu), he wandered about hoarding up riches¹²⁰ or, as SBr 2.1.1.7 has it, the essence (rasa) of the earth. TBr 1.1.3.4 tells us that these riches became the diggings of a rat, which, the TBr continues, are therefore imbued with Agni's nature.¹²¹ So KS 7.12.54, used by the sūtras when depositing this material on the fireplaces, calls Agni up from his abode (sadhastha) in Mother Earth to enter the human community.

The diggings of a rat, then, offer an important contribution to the symbolism of fashioning the fireplaces. They represent the essence of the earth, undefiled by death, and so obviate defilement of the fireplace through further killing of plantlife, thus protecting the fertility of Agni's abode. They also provide a link between the construction of the sacrificer's home, the raising of his fireplaces, and the building of his own personal cosmos. Finally, the rat's diggings contain Agni's nature, which is therefore incorporated into the fireplace.

Let us gather together once again what has been said concerning the earthen materials which Vkh has deposited in the fireplaces. We have seen that in the brāhmanas and possibly the early sūtras these materials were used to form the fireplaces themselves rather than deposited into already constructed fireplaces. We have also seen that this act of building the fireplaces is treated as a creation of the world, a theme expressed principally in the myth of the boar Prājāpati. Within this myth is a core list of materials which seems to have expanded or contracted in different sources depending on whether various substances were considered simply part of the story line and not materials per se. We further discovered that a major concern in constructing the fireplaces is that they should not be defiled through the killing of plantlife and that this concern leads to a conflict between a desire for fertility and a desire for the absence of life and so death. To resolve this conflict certain inert substances have been incorporated into the fireplaces, about which myths are then related

which stress their symbolic fertility. Finally, we have seen that two of the earthen materials are mounds, like fireplaces, which are raised by certain creatures to serve as an abode or perhaps a world and that in employing these materials our ritual emphasizes the parallels between the sacrificer's new home, his new fireplaces, and his personal ritual cosmos.

One final theme deserves mention, a theme which derives directly from the fact that the earthen materials function to form the fireplaces which contain Agni. If on the symbolic level the fireplace as Agni's world is given cosmic proportion, on the level of practicality it is desirable that the fire not burn everywhere indiscriminately but be contained in a restricted space. So, common to a number of the substances used to build the fireplaces is a theme that Agni is potentially dangerous to the earth, as he may scorch her, and must be restrained. Therefore, the fire must be made more neutral, less active,¹²² and there must be prevention or buffering of its scorching effects (anati-dāha). This idea is frequently expressed mythically: Prajāpati has just created Agni, and the earth fears scorching. Prajāpati therefore employs some agent to neutralize the fire or sometimes to prevent the scorching of the earth.¹²³ Foremost of these agents is water.

Thus TBr 1.1.3.1 says that one sprinkles the fireplaces with water for śānti, and MS' 1.6.3:90.1-2 says the sprinkling prevents scorching of the earth. The same thing is also said of spreading sand in the Agnicayana.¹²⁴ In the Rājasūya the sacrificer puts on sandals made of boar-skin before descending from his chariot,¹²⁵ and in TBr 1.7.9.4 these sandals serve as a buffer between the sacrificer and

the earth so that they will not harm each other.¹²⁶ Again, in the Agnicayana a lotus-leaf is placed on the ground where the fire-altar will be built, and MS 3.2.6 tells us that this is done to prevent scorching the earth. That the property of neutralization was also associated with anthills is suggested by AV 2.3.4 where the ants bring up medicine which neutralizes (śam) disease, and by AV 16.100.2 where the ants are said to spoil (duṣ) poison with the water they find in the desert. Finally, KS 8.2 states that gravel is placed to firm or stabilize the quivering earth, as do the other texts, but instead of wind, it is fear of scorching which causes the earth to tremble. Moreover, in TBr 1.1.3.7 and TS 5.1.6.2 gravel is placed for the purpose of śāntva, which I take to be a synonym of śānti.¹²⁷ These materials thus serve to contain the fire and keep it from burning out of control.¹²⁸

8.2

We turn now to the wooden or arboreal (vānaspatya) materials which are placed on the fireplaces. These are pieces of wood from a variety of trees, which will serve as fuel for the newly generated fire. As this wood will contain the fire, Agni is said to be already present in it, and so the theme of gathering Agni or his parts dominates the mythology surrounding these materials.

The tree most naturally connected with fire is one which has been struck by lightning,¹²⁹ concerning which KS 8.2 and TBr 1.1.3.12 give the following myth: Agni went away from the gods to be with men, and the gods thought he might become the whole world [?i.e. burn everything] (KS). So the Maruts suffocated or extinguished (tam) him with

water (TBr) and split his heart, with thunder according to the KS. His heart then became lightning. The TBr concludes that one establishes Agni possessed of a heart with wood of a tree struck by lightning, which the KS simply says is imbued with him. This scenario is not complicated. The Maruts or storm clouds quench fires, perhaps forest-fires, with rain, but they also put the essence of fire in lightning where it is preserved. This heart or essence of Agni is then provided for him when he is established. The aśvattha too is imbued with Agni; for he once hid from the gods, by taking the form of a horse (aśva) and stayed (stha) in an aśvattha (? grove).¹³⁰

As the tree struck by lightning contains Agni's heart, so the vikañkata contains his vision, though this is not stated directly. The vikañkata appears to have been associated with blindness, most likely on account of its treacherous thorns. So in TS 6.4.10.5-6 and KS 27.8 Prajāpati's eye swells up, falls out,¹³¹ and enters the vikañkata, where it does not remain (TS) because it can not exist there (KS),¹³² and so enters barley. The TS continues that the manthin soma cup, which is made of vikañkata, should not reach (i.e. be passed to) the sadas or assembly because it is the cup of misfortune (ārta) and because the Adhvaryu would thus become blind or fall into misfortune ("ārtim ārchet"). In TBr 1.2.1.7 and 1.1.3.12 we are told that when he was created, Agni's bhās "reached" ("ārchat") the vikañkata, but we have just seen that ā + r/rch often has the connotation of "fall into (misfortune)". MS 3.1.9:12.8ff says that Agni's bhās went away and entered the vikañkata and that when one employs vikañkata fuel-sticks

one secures (? regains) that bhās. Thus, whatever this bhās is, Agni appears to have had the misfortune of losing it to the vikañkata.

The roots bhā/bhās mean to shine, illumine, but the notion of shining or illuminating seems also to be associated with those of appearing, the sight which appears, and perhaps even with seeing itself. Thus locana, eye, also means illuminating and is connected with what must be an old complex of roots, lok/loc/ruc, expressing various of these notions.¹³³ Thus, just as Prajāpati's eye is taken by the vikañkata but can not exist there and the Adhvaryu can become blind on account of a cup made of this tree, so Agni's light or vision is taken by the vikañkata. By kindling fuel of this tree, however, Agni regains his "light" and can illumine the visible world (loka).¹³⁴

The idea of containing, that is providing an abode for, Agni is closely connected with that of restraining Agni, keeping him in check.¹³⁵ Thus fuel provides him with a home by giving him something to burn, but also restrains him from burning indiscriminately. This returns us to the concept of śānti, with which the śamī tree is very often associated. So TBr 1.1.3.11-12 and 1.2.1.6-7: Prajāpati created Agni, but feared that Agni would burn him. Therefore he neutralized (śam causative) Agni with śamī (fuel). The TBr concludes that the material from the śamī tree is for the purpose of śānti, that is, not being burned (apradāha).¹³⁶

With the parna tree we enter the realm of Kuhn's thesis¹³⁷ that there is an intimate association between fire (Agni) and the drink of immortality (Soma) in Indo-European mythology. Put simply,¹³⁸ both are churned in the sea of storm clouds and come down to earth to light upon

the world tree. Fire is sparked by lightning, and the drink of immortality falls as ambrosial rain which becomes a parasitic plant from which the beverage is obtained. Thus the lightning, which causes rain, is the bringer of both fire and soma. This lightning is then symbolized as a bird which steals fire and/or soma from heaven and brings it to earth to rest in the world tree,¹³⁹ and the parasitic plant from which ambrosia is obtained is the embodiment of that bird.¹⁴⁰ The species serving as world tree will then be chosen in relation to this myth: it will serve as host for the parasitic plant or have characteristics which suggest the fire-bird such as pinnate leaves, thorns for claws, or red coloration. Alternatively, the parasitic plant itself will have these characteristics. Finally, this tree, the parasitic plant, or both will be connected both with the production of fire and with the preparation of the drink of immortality.

This interpretation is particularly well suited to the myth concerning the origin of the parna tree found in the RV and told more elaborately in the brāhmanas.¹⁴¹ Assembling these fragments we arrive at the following: Soma was in yonder world¹⁴² or heaven¹⁴³ or sometimes the third heaven.¹⁴⁴ The gods and ṛṣis¹⁴⁵ or sādhyas¹⁴⁶ instructed the meters to fetch soma, and the jaḡatī and tristubh tried but failed.¹⁴⁷ The gāyatrī became an eagle¹⁴⁸ and flew up to the soma¹⁴⁹ where she frightened the soma-protectors¹⁵⁰ and stole (ā dā) the soma,¹⁵¹ grasping it with her two feet and mouth.¹⁵² As she was bringing soma back to earth,¹⁵³ the "footless archer" (apad astr),¹⁵⁴ a soma-protector¹⁵⁵ named Kṛśānu,¹⁵⁶ shot at her. Thence, a leaf (parna) of soma¹⁵⁷ or a feather (parna) of the eagle gāyatrī¹⁵⁸ was cut off, and it or

shoots/portions (amśu) of it¹⁵⁹ fell down and became the parna tree.¹⁶⁰

TBr 1.1.3.10-11 concludes that one who has parna wood as a material secures a draught of soma.¹⁶¹

In light of this myth, it is surprising to discover that *Butea frondosa* does not have pinnate leaves like the majority of legumes.¹⁶² It does, however, have large leaves with pinnate veins, and this may be the association with the parna of our myth. Cohen calls it the "Flame of the Forest" and describes it when blooming as a "tree of flame, a riot of orange and vermillion flowers covering the entire crown".¹⁶³ Such brilliant flowers might very well suggest a tree struck by lightning or in which the "fire-bird" had landed. In fact, these fiery flowers are associated with a bird and account for another name for this tree, kimśuka "quasi-parrot". Cohen states:¹⁶⁴ "Each flower consists of five petals comprising one standard, two smaller wings and a curved beak-shaped keel. It is this keel which gives it the name Parrot Tree." Thus the parna tree also appears to be associated with a parrot, its green leaves perhaps representing the wings or body and its curved, red flowers the beak.

It is of great interest, therefore, when Banerjea¹⁶⁵ states concerning Garuḍa, the medieval heir of our myth, "In the earliest period he is represented as a huge parrot-like bird . . ." Banerjea further subscribes to Grünwedel's view that "The parrot type on the one hand and the west Asian griffin on the other, are the bases upon which modern iconography developed its Garuḍa."¹⁶⁶ One wonders, however, if instead of the half-eagle, half-lion griffin, the second "basis" of

this iconography is rather the śyena/śakuna of our myth. While this second model seems to have predominated,¹⁶⁷ the Viṣṇudharmottara P. recalls that of the parrot in that Garuda is to be made emerald-colored (marakataprakhya),¹⁶⁸ and the Parameśvara S. says he should have a red beak (raktatunda).¹⁶⁹ That our "fire-bird" should have a red beak is not surprising; for elsewhere myths abound which explain red markings on a variety of birds as derived from their being burned while obtaining fire.¹⁷⁰

In our myth the connection between the fire-bird and parna tree is secondary; the main theme is the association of this tree with soma. If the parna was not the soma plant, it was at least a substitute for it,¹⁷¹ and it is in this context that JaiBr. 1.355 relates our myth.¹⁷² According to Cohen¹⁷³ the flowers of this tree do in fact produce a large quantity of nectar, which is at least prized by birds. As regards Kuhn's thesis that the soma plant should be a parasite on the world tree, though Butea frondosa is not a parasite, the two other species of Butea listed by Hooker¹⁷⁴ are described as climbers.

To summarize, then, the parna tree, owing to its suitable characteristics, seems to have been adapted to an old Indo-European myth in which a fire-bird, lightning, brings to earth fire and ambrosia, the two most highly prized substances of the brahmanical cult. These two substances are therefore contained, at least symbolically, in this tree. It is further possible that an indigenous myth in which a parrot, later Garuda, brings down fire aided in this adaptation.¹⁷⁵

There is a second myth, which is frequently told concerning the parṇa,¹⁷⁶ that it is called suśravas, "illustrious" or "renowned" but also "hearing well", because it overheard the gods discoursing on brahman. But I have found nothing which supplies any further details or background to the myth, except that this tree is quite often connected with brahman. Apte declares brahmavādinī, discoursing on brahman or sacred knowledge, to be an epithet of gāyatrī, which could provide a relationship with our first myth, though one hardly needs to look that far to find a relationship between the most sacred meter and brahman. If Sāyaṇa, commenting on TBr 1.1.3.11, is correct that the parṇa overheard the gods because they were conversing in its shade, this might be further evidence that the parṇa served as a "world tree". Due to this tree's association with brahman the sacrificer employing it is said to secure brahmavarcas, the lustre of Brahman,¹⁷⁷ again a part or aspect of Agni.¹⁷⁸

The udumbara is least easily fit into the schema of gathering wood imbued with Agni's nature. It is most often styled ūrj "hourishment, vigor", and SBr 6.6.3.3 explains that it produces as much fruit as all other trees,¹⁷⁹ is always green (ārdra), and milky (ks̥trin).¹⁸⁰ The origin of this vigor is recounted in several ways. So, for instance, the udumbara arose from the place where the gods partook of their nourishment (ūrj).¹⁸¹

SBr 6.6.3.2-3 offers a more elaborate etiology: The gods and asuras were vying with each other. All of the trees went over to the asuras; only the udumbara did not abandon the gods. When the gods had conquered the asuras, they wrenched (vr̥j) these trees away from them.

Then, the gods said, 'Now then, let us put whatever vigor (ūrj), whatever rasa, is in these trees into the udumbara. (Then) if they should go away (from us again), they would go away spent (yātayāma), like a cow that has been milked, like a draught ox which has been drawing (a cart)".¹⁸² It is by means of this vigor, the SBr concludes, that the udumbara produces as much fruit as all other trees and is thus always green and milky. Therefore it is the equivalent of all food, all trees.

The connection between ūrj and Agni becomes more apparent when we examine Suśruta's description of human physiology.¹⁸³ There, rasa, the sap or essence of ingested food, is colored through contact with the bodily fire and thus becomes blood. Now, in the above myth we have seen that ūrj and rasa are used synonymously, or at least in senses similar enough to be equated.¹⁸⁴ So, by assimilating the red color of the internal fire ūrj becomes blood,¹⁸⁵ and we will see that Agni is associated with red blood and that both fire and blood are associated with the udumbara on account of its red fruit.

Thus the MS and KS relate the following myth:¹⁸⁶ In the beginning Prajāpati was this world (KS) and created offspring (MS), the first of which was Agni. The MS tells us that he created Agni from his forehead, and the KS explains that Agni flowed or ran out (ud dru) of the top of his forehead. This suggests that Agni was created in the form of blood, and the MS says that Prajāpati wiped around the area from which Agni had been created and brought down blood (lohita). The KS confirms that he wiped off the blood (lohita) from his forehead. Prajāpati then wiped the blood on the ground, and thence the

udumbara tree was produced.¹⁸⁷ Because of this origin, both texts assert, the udumbara produces red fruit.¹⁸⁸ We may conclude, then, that both Agni, and the udumbara arose from Prajāpati's blood and that therefore they are linked to each other through their sanguine color and because both partake of the essence of bodily vigor. By adding udumbara wood to the fireplaces Agni is not only assembled but vitalized.¹⁸⁹

In summary, then, these wooden materials contain Agni or are imbued with his nature. So the tree struck by lightning contains the very heart or core of Agni, and the parṇa tree also contains lightning in the form of the firebird. The vikaṅkata contains his sight and luminance and the udumbara the fire-red blood which gives life. Again the parṇa bears the illumination of insight. The aśvattha contains Agni because he once entered it and because the churning sticks are made from this tree, and the śamī contains Agni by offering him fuel to burn so that he will not burn where he is not wanted. In placing wood from these trees on the fireplaces one thus assembles Agni in the fuel which will contain him.

8.3

We come, finally, to the two precious metals, gold and silver, of which the first is deposited on or near the fireplaces and the second is foisted upon an enemy. But this practice appears to be a later development; for there is only one occurrence in the brāhmaṇas of this use of silver, though all speak of gold. We must therefore trace the development in usage and symbolism of these two materials in order to apprehend fully their meaning.

The use of gold (hiranya)¹⁹⁰ in connection with the formation of the fireplaces is common to all of the brāhmanas.¹⁹¹ Gold is perhaps most often styled as radiance (iyotis) and immortality (amṛta), the latter possibly due to its resistance to corrosion,¹⁹² and so TBr 1.2. 1.4-5 calls gold candra, glittering, and the immortal in creatures or offspring (prajā). But this passage also tells us that gold is Agni's seed, produced from (or on account of)¹⁹³ the waters, and this is the focus of the discussion in the brāhmanas concerning the Agnyādheya.¹⁹⁴ Thus the TBr, SBr, and KS relate the following myth.

Agni desires the waters, who, according to the TBr and KS, are also the wives of Varuṇa. They copulate with him (TBr), or he with them (SBr), and he emits his seed (SBr), which falls away (into the waters) (TBr) and becomes gold.¹⁹⁵ In the first of the KS's two versions of this myth no copulation is mentioned, but rather Agni's desire causes his tejas¹⁹⁶ to fall away, and it is that which becomes gold. MS 1.6.4:93.9ff, which does not contain our myth, echoes the KS when it states "Agni's tejas truly is gold". Thus gold is the seed or vital energy of Agni.

SBr 2.1.1.5 includes the above myth in its treatment of the materials which make up the fireplaces. So in Kat 4.8.16 gold is simply placed on the spot for each fireplace and the materials which form the fireplace placed on top.¹⁹⁷ The intent here is clear. Incorporating gold into the fireplaces serves to fructify the fireplaces with Agni's seed, an aim consistent with the theme of creation which permeates the earthen materials as well as that of gathering Agni which dominates the wooden materials.

Nevertheless, others of our texts show an ambivalence towards this gold. To begin with, in all of the other sūtras gold is not simply set down in the fireplaces but is tossed (upās), which might suggest that prolonged contact is to be avoided. Moreover, in the Taittirīya sūtras it is tossed not directly onto the fireplaces but off to the side.¹⁹⁸ TBr 1.1.3.8-9 explains that one tosses (upās) gold and thus establishes Agni endowed with seed; however, it continues that a man feels an aversion for, or shrinks from,¹⁹⁹ his own seed, and that therefore one tosses the gold to the north of (and not directly into) the fireplace to prevent aversion (ābībhatsā). The MS appears to disagree with this view. MS 1.6.4:93.9ff, after declaring that one tosses gold to provide Agni with tejas, states that it is not to be thrown away (nir as) (i.e. off to the side), arguing that if one were to throw away what would be useful or wholesome later on (anuhita), one would later be sorry (anudhyāyīn) and feel hunger (kṣodhūka). Here we see that there is a positive and a negative side to Agni's seed. It is positive in the sense that it is fructifying and produces offspring, and it is negative in the sense that it is abhorrent. The Maitrāyaṇīyas then stress the wholesome side of this semen while the Taittirīyas take care to avoid contact.

It is, I think, this negative side of semen which has given rise to the use of silver which we find in all of the sūtras but Kat. In these texts one is to "get rid of" (ati pra yam)²⁰⁰ silver to an enemy (i.e. foist it upon him) or else throw the silver away (nir as).²⁰¹ TBr 1.1.3.9 explains this practice, "'āti prāyacchatī': one gets rid of misfortune (ārti)".²⁰²

Let us turn back to KS 8.5 where the above myth concerning gold is related twice and with interesting differences. In the first version, as we have seen, Agni desires the waters, and without any mention of copulation, his tejas falls away and becomes gold (hiranya). In the second telling, it is the waters, Varuṇa's wives, who desire Agni, and here he copulates with them and emits his seed (retas), which becomes gold (harita). The myth continues that the sexual fluid²⁰³ of the waters became silver. Then, as if to justify this innovation, our text states that both gold (harita) and silver (rajata) are hiranya.²⁰⁴ This silver is impure (sāmala)²⁰⁵ and not to be worn by Brahmins, which suggests that it should be thrown away.²⁰⁶

Suśruta's view of sexual physiology is helpful here. The waters (ap) of the body, or rasa of digested food, become colored (rañjita) by the bodily tejas and are then called blood (rakta).²⁰⁷ The blood of a woman, also produced from rasa, becomes rajas 'menstrual flow', also called ārtava.²⁰⁸ In a man blood produces flesh, which produces fat, which produces bone, which produces marrow, which, finally, produces semen.²⁰⁹ So the male sexual fluid like the female ultimately derives from blood. During intercourse, the circulatory principle (vāyu) excites or arouses tejas from the body, and with the mingling of vāyu and tejas semen is emitted and falls into the womb (yoni), where it mixes with ārtava, and conception occurs.²¹⁰ Notice that the same word ārtava (from rtu, mense) is used for both the menstrual flow, which occurs when there is no pregnancy, as well as the woman's blood or "seed", which combines with semen to form a fetus, and that it comes from the same root r as does ārti 'misfortune'. So the KS tells us

that silver (durvarṇa, as opposed to survarṇa, gold) is 'yad garbhasya śāmalam', 'what of the womb is impure',²¹¹ that is menstruation. Here, then, is the sense in which one gets rid of misfortune in the TBr; for by getting rid of silver = ārtava one gets rid of ārti (misfortune). Thus gold represents the male seed, which seems to be positively valued, while silver is the female "seed", which is negatively valued due to its identification with menstrual blood, a substance both defiling and infertile. But both are still "seed", having a common physiological origin.

The point that silver represents the negative side of Āgni's seed is made in another way in a myth concerning the origin of silver in TS 1.5.1.1-2. The myth begins with a familiar scene. The gods, who are about to vie with the asuras, place some of their wealth with Agni so that they will have something left if they are conquered. Agni desires this wealth and absconds with it. After conquering the asuras, the gods chase after Agni, hoping to regain their property, and try to take it from him by force. Now the text says, "He (Agni) cried (rud); in that he cried, that is the essence of the name Rudra."²¹² The tear which fell became silver (rajata hiranya)."

I think the full significance of this myth only becomes apparent if we understand silver as one half of the binary pair gold/silver. Indeed the fact that the myth terms silver rajata hiranya when rajata would have sufficed suggests that silver is "tainted gold". We must therefore place the identification of silver with Agni's tears in this myth within the context of the identification of gold with his semen elsewhere. The point then becomes that while gold corresponds to a

bodily emission associated with positive emotions, silver corresponds to a bodily emission associated with negative emotions. The reason for these negative emotions is also given; an anticipated gain, the wealth Agni received from the gods, has become a loss. The insertion here of a seemingly unconnected folk etymology of the god Rudra now makes sense as well; for the negative, destructive side of Agni is identified with Rudra.²¹³ "Tears", then, are "tainted gold", the negative side of semen which involves loss and may be dangerous.

On the basis of the several myths we have examined I suggest that gold and silver represent "good" and "bad" seed. Good seed is creative, producing offspring and increase. The bad side of seed consists in the fact that it may be abhorrent and defiling, and, since contact with such seed takes place outside the womb, it may involve loss without gain. One is also not certain of the results of procreation, and bad seed may produce a monster, the destructive and dangerous Rudric aspect of Agni. The ambivalent nature of semen and creation finds representation in the fact that gold is placed not wholly within nor wholly outside the fireplaces by the majority of sūtras. But the point is made even more forcefully by assigning the positive and negative sides of semen to two different materials, gold and silver. In this way only the positive life-giving aspects of creation need be brought into conjunction with the fireplaces. Bad seed can be disposed of where one may benefit from its negative potency, and so it is foisted upon an enemy.

Finally, it is interesting that no attempt has been made by our texts to incorporate gold into the myth of the earth's creation out of

the primordial waters, as to do so would not have been difficult. A simple "Agni truly is Prajāpati" would have made it Prajāpati's seed which was shed in the waters. Since this seed is golden, it would not be unimaginable that it might produce a golden embryo (hiranyagarbha). Now if only this golden embryo could become a lotus, the stage would be set for Prajāpati to perceive that lotus as the foundation of the world, take the form of a boar, and so forth.²¹⁴ The placing of gold after sprinkling the ground with water would then have re-enacted this myth.²¹⁵ But perhaps the ambivalence associated with gold blocked such a formation or perhaps we are simply attempting to out-brahmanize the brāhmanas; for no such myth is related.

It remains, then, to offer a brief summary of our lengthy treatment of readying the fireplaces. With the expiration of the brāhmaudanika fire the process of creating new fire is begun. Here impurities are removed from the places for the fire, and the material elements of creation, gathered together during the night, are brought to bear. In the case of the earthen materials, these were once used to fashion the fireplaces, an act analogous to creating the world. Thus not only is Agni's new home made ready, like that of the sacrificer, but the three-fold cosmos is fashioned in miniature. Within these worlds Agni is assembled in the wood which will serve as fuel, his various parts retrieved from the trees in which they are concealed. Finally, these creations are again fructified with Agni's golden seed, while the dangerous and defiling aspects of creation are disposed of on the person of an enemy. So the fireplaces stand ready, assembled, like

icons of Agni into which only the divine spark must be set. But this must await the churning of the fire.

9. The Gārhapatya Fire

At first light (prabhāta)¹ the ashes are removed from the brāhmaudanika fire, and in their place a "nest" (kulāya) of muñja grass is spread. On this nest is placed the lower churning stick with its notch to the west, and the upper churning stick is fitted into the notch while the Daśahotṛ formula² is repeated. As he performs these actions the Adhvaryu meditates on the lower churning stick, the upper stick, himself, Viṣṇu, and the fire to be produced.³ With a horse standing nearby, the Adhvaryu churns the fire reciting, "Together, O Agni, with fire be born, together with wealth, together with fatness, together with offspring, together with Brahman splendor."⁴ In the meantime he has the sacrificer recite the Caturhotṛ formulae.⁵ Homage is paid to the fire as it is being born (jāyamāna); the sacrificer releases his speech and, when the fire has been born, gives a gift to the Adhvaryu.⁶ Now the sacrificer "huzzles"⁷ over the fire with the words, "I breathe over you with the breath of Prajāpati, with the fullness of Pūṣan that there might be for me long life of a hundred autumns, life beyond a hundred autumns, splendor, vitality,⁸ merit. I establish in breath you who are immortal, an eater of food for food to eat, a protector for protection."⁹ He then declares, "I am from you; you yourself are from me; you are my source (yonī); I am your source. Being truly mine, O Agni, bear my offerings, (like) a son preparing a world for his father, O Jātavedas."¹⁰

Now the Adhvaryu performs a recitation over the fire, takes it in his cupped hands (? in the muñja nest), and places it in a vessel

(sarāva) on dry cow-dung and the like where he makes it flame up with chips of wood. The sacrificer and his wife put on new linen garments. Then, while the Rathantara sāman¹¹ is being sung, the Adhvaryu draws the fire toward the east and, seated, establishes the gārhapatya fire before sunrise in the following manner: He adds the fire from the vessel into the materials on the gārhapatya fireplace with the appropriate verses¹² and builds up the fire with chips of wood. Afterward the sacrificer pays-homage to the young fire. Finally, the Adhvaryu takes seeds from such cultivated and wild plants as are available, puts them in ghee, and with this ghee offers oblations to pacify (sam) the newly established fire.¹³

Much of what there is to say about churning the fire has already been said. The symbolism of the churning sticks has been dealt with in Sect. 2, and the tension between continuity and transformation in the relationship between the brāhmaudanika and gārhapatya fires has been treated in Sect. 7. We have also seen the conception and gestation of the fire, and it remains now to offer some remarks concerning the way the birth of the fire is symbolized.¹⁴

Let us begin with the observation that the process of producing the fire as also of the fire's coming into existence is expressed with the verb jan "give birth, be born". So the fire is referred to as "being born" (jāyamāna) while it is churned, and a gift is to be given when it is "born" (jāta). Again in TBr 1.1.9.10 the drawing out of the fire is explained as giving birth to the seed which has lain for a year

in the womb.¹⁵ The new fire, then, is viewed as a newborn infant, and KSank specifically calls it a child.¹⁶ Moreover, we will see later¹⁷ that the placing of fuel on all of the newly established fires is rubricated under the heading of such postnatal acts as removing the afterbirth and first feeding.

The symbolism of the new fire as infant also finds expression in the sacrificer's "nuzzling" over it. Here, though the image is primarily that of a cow and its newborn calf, it also expresses the affection of a father for his son.¹⁸ Thus the sacrificer is the procreator of this fire and the fire his son. Further, in the sūtras other than Vkh the creativity of the sacrificer is even more strongly emphasized. There the sacrificer exhales over the fire, breathing the breath of life into his infant son. This symbolism is reiterated by the Adhvaryu as he gently lifts the newborn child in his cupped hands.

But the fire's filiation is only half the symbolism; for the sacrificer also states his identity with the fire. Further, as at the fire's conception,¹⁹ verses are recited at its establishment which reflect the sacrificer's varna and even his family (gotra) in the case of some Brahmins.²⁰ The importance of this identity between father and son has been stated before but bears repeating as it goes to the very heart of our ritual. The identity of sacrificer and fire as father and son secures the sacrificer's immortality in two ways. First, it provides the link with the sacrificer's future generations through which he will continue to live. Secondly, it means that the sacrificer has in fact engendered himself so that, renewed and revitalized, he may attain old age, living a full life. So in Kat 4.8.30 after the

sacrificer exhales over the fire, breathing out life, he inhales with the formula "I establish the immortal in my breath". The two conceptions of immortality as consisting of a full life and continuation through offspring thus coalesce in the production of fire.

The establishment of the gārhapatya fire is accomplished simply by adding the flaming embers from the newly churned fire into the fuel on the fireplace to the accompaniment of numerous verses. Since these verses are large in number and many are obscure,²¹ we will not treat them in detail. However, there is a pattern to the employment of verses at the establishment of each of the three major fires,²¹ which is worth delineating. Thus one or more of the vyāhrtis or sacred utterances²² are used for each fire: "bhūr bhuvā" for the gārhapatya, "bhuvā" for the dakṣiṇāgni, and "bhūr bhuvā suvā" for the āhavanīya. A formula is also recited which varies with the class (varṇa) and, in the case of Brahmins, the family (gotra) of the sacrificer, which has the general form "O Lord of Vows (vrata), I establish you with the vow of X".²³ There X is Bhṛgu or Aṅgīras or Indra or some other divine being associated with the sacrificer's class. A permutation of the four Queen of Serpents verses²⁴ and one of the Gharma Śīras verses²⁵ are used for each of the fires as well. Up to this point there is general agreement. However, the liturgical pattern at the establishment of the fires includes a number of additional verses and the singing of a sāman where the various Vedic schools differ as to which verses are employed and which sāman sung.²⁶

One final point needs to be made concerning the establishment of the gārhapatya fire. If the gārhapatya fireplace represents this world and the fire the sacrificer's alterego, then establishing fire on the gārhapatya hearth symbolizes establishing the sacrificer on the earth. This is completely consistent with what we have seen throughout our study, namely that the Agnyādheya marks the elevation of the sacrificer to a new and more independent status as head of his household. In this role the sacrificer becomes an established member of the community with full rights to the sacrificial cult. Moreover, we have seen the likelihood that the sacrificer now owns property which he hopes will prosper and which he must defend against the encroachment of others. So the sacrificer pays homage to the newly established gārhapatya fire, "As a good fire of the lord of the house, burning up enemies, may he ordain better and better dawns. O Agni, driving away rivals, bestow on us fatness of wealth, nourishment, vigor."²⁷

However, the symbolism of setting up the fires does not end with the elevation of the sacrificer's status and his establishment in this world. With a firm foundation on the earth the sacrificer sets forth to establish his fiery essence in the world of the immortals.

10. Journey to the East

With his fire securely planted on the gārhapatya hearth the sacrificer mounts a procession toward the east to establish the āhavanīya fire. We will examine four aspects of this expedition. First, we will consider its solar character and how it represents an ascent through the three worlds of the cosmos with the heavenly fire. Secondly, we will examine the ambiguous place of the dakṣiṇ-āgni in that ascent. Thirdly, we will find it necessary to refine our model of the cosmos in order to accommodate the midpoint of the journey to the āhavanīya and the acts performed there, and in so doing we will discover the gate to heaven. Finally, we will broaden the scope of our inquiry to include a number of parallel practices from other rituals. There we will see that this journey to the āhavanīya expresses a fundamental paradigm of Vedic sacrifice which embraces such disparate events as carrying forth fire to the āhavanīya and the racing of chariots. With these aims in mind we continue with Vkh's description of our ritual.

The adhvaryu ignites the fuel for spreading the fire to the āhavanīya fireplace in the gārhapatya and stations a horse to the east. He draws the flaming embers which will become the āhavanīya out into a vessel (śarāva), supports this vessel with a pot (pātra) filled with sand, and raises it to the height of the knees.¹ While the embers are held at that height, the Āgnīdhra brings secular (laukika) or churned (mathita) fire² into the firehall through the southern door and,

squatting,³ establishes this fire as the anvāhāryapacana fire (i.e. dak-
ṣiṇāgni). As he does so he recites the second vyāhrti, the Ṛṣi formu-
lae, the second and third Queen of Serpents verses, the second Gharma
Śiras verse, and several other verses.⁴ The oblation of seeds and the
sacrificer's homage are performed as they were for the gārhapatya.⁵

Now the sacrificer is made to recite the Agni Tanu verses⁶ in
the horse's right ear, and "they"⁷ go toward the east with the horse
in front. During the first part of the journey the Adhvaryu carries
the flaming embers at the height of the knees, during the middle part
at the height of the navel, and during the third part at the height
of the mouth (āśya), and he does not pass between the fire and the
sun, which is about to rise. At the midpoint of the journey the
sacrificer pays homage to the fire being carried and gives a gift.
At the same point the Adhvaryu deposits a piece of gold, and the pro-
cession passes on (ati kram). To the south the Brahman rolls a char-
iot wheel three times uninterruptedly from the gārhapatya fire to the
āhavanīya, and while he does so the horse, facing east, is made to
tread with its right foot on the north side of the materials in the
āhavanīya fireplace such that when the fire is established coals will
roll down into the footprint. The horse is then led around the fire
clockwise and made to tread again in the same fashion,⁸ after which
it is stationed to the east facing west.⁹

The Adhvaryu recites a mantra over the embers he has carried
and, standing to the east facing west, establishes those embers on the
horse's footprint in the fireplace as the āhavanīya fire.¹⁰ At
the establishment of the āhavanīya all of the vyāhrtis, the Ṛṣi formu-
lae, the first and last Queen of Serpents verses, the last Gharma

Śiras verse, and several other verses are employed. When the āhavanīya has been set up the sabhya and āvasathya fires are established with secular fire, churned fire, or fire from the āhavanīya. Finally, the oblation of seeds and the sacrificer's homage are performed for these fires as before.¹¹

We would expect that since the āhavanīya fireplace represents the world of heaven¹² the procession which carries the fire to that fireplace might portray an ascent to heaven. This expectation is met in several ways. As the journey progresses towards the āhavanīya the fire is carried first at the height of the knees, then at the height of the navel, and finally at the height of the head. If the symbolism of the fire ascending to heaven were not already obvious to us in these actions it would be made so by TBr 1.1.5.7 which identifies these three levels with the three worlds.¹³ This ascent through the cosmos is also conveyed by the postures in which one establishes the three fires. Thus one establishes the gārhapatya fire while sitting, the daksināgni while squatting, and the āhavanīya while standing.

Just as the āhavanīya fireplace represents the world of heaven, the fire burning there seems to represent the sun,¹⁴ and so at the simplest level of meaning the procession to the āhavanīya fireplace serves to place the sun within the heavenly world of the sacrificer's personal cosmos. Accordingly, solar symbolism abounds. RV 1.163.1,¹⁵ recited as the horse is made to tread on the fireplace, speaks of a horse with the wings of an eagle and forelegs (bāhu) of a deer (harina), and the following verse makes it clear that the Vasus

fashioned this horse out of the sun.¹⁶ In GopBr 1.2.21 another verse recited to the horse declares it to be Agni Vaiśvānara, which also refers to the sun.¹⁷ Again, according to Ap the horse should be white, red, or have white knees, colors which suggest the heavenly luminary.¹⁸ In another vein, the chariot, and especially its wheel, which the Brahman rolls to the āhavanīya, are representations of the solar disk which rolls across the sky, and the fact that the wheel is made to turn three times again symbolizes an ascent through the three worlds. Finally, as the Adhvaryu carries what will become the āhavanīya fire towards its fireplace he must not pass between the fire and the sun, that is he must not separate the two. For the establishment of the sun in the sacrificer's cosmos relies on an identity between fire and sun which the priest dare not sever.¹⁹ The overarching theme of our procession to the āhavanīya is clear then; this journey is an ascent by which the celestial fire is carried to heaven. But our ritual contains more than one motif in its symbolic coffers, and we must examine this procession further to grasp the richness of its significance.

We therefore turn back to the establishment of the anvāhārya-pacana, the southern fire.²⁰ Our study of the sacrificial spot revealed a predilection for the west-east continuum within the sacrifice, and this predilection is reflected here in the theme of carrying fire to heaven in the east. The southern fire forces itself on this continuum like an unwelcome intruder. It would be more systematic if

the dakṣiṇāgni, equated with the middle region, could be established with fire from the procession to the āhavanīya simply as a stage on the way to heaven. But none of our sūtras has enjoyed such an approach except as a last resort; for the social side of life can not be wholly eliminated from the sacrificer's personal cosmos. Rather, there is a tension between continuity and discontinuity with the other fires and so with the west-east continuum, a tension apparent in the divergent opinions concerning the source of the dakṣiṇāgni and the exact point within the ritual at which it is to be established.

A variety of sources are given for the southern fire.²¹ The primary and most common source is secular (laukika) fire brought (āhr) from elsewhere,²² and the principal alternative is churning.²³ It seems to me that the import of both of these sources is that they set the dakṣiṇāgni apart from the gārhapatya-āhavanīya continuum, secular fire in that it is completely foreign to the other two fires, and churning in that it allows only an indirect link with the other two. Further, even this indirect link is severed by Vkh and Mn since in the former one is to fetch fire which has been churned, presumably elsewhere, and in the latter separate churning sticks seem to have been used for the dakṣiṇāgni.²⁴ Moreover, three of our texts have the Agnīdhra establish the southern fire instead of the Adhvaryu, who establishes the other two.²⁵

The nature and significance of these outside sources for the dakṣiṇāgni are more readily discerned in two other sources given as

special (kāmya). A sacrificer desiring food is to procure the dakṣiṇāgni from a frying pan²⁶ and one desiring opulence from the house of a Brahmin, Rājanya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra who has great opulence, like an asura.²⁷ Yet in Mn the frying pan is not a special source but simply a general alternative as is the house of a Brahman, etc., who is rich like an asura; in SH. This raises the possibility that these two sources might once have been alternative ways of obtaining secular fire which were later relegated to special desires.²⁸ In both of these sources food is involved, directly in the case of the frying pan, and by implication in the second case since one is subsequently forbidden to eat at the house of the rich man from whom fire has been procured.²⁹ Further, in the latter instance food is shared in a social setting, and here we may recall that Baudh, and optionally Kat, reserved the fire for cooking the Brahmaudana to be used in establishing the dakṣiṇāgni.³⁰

All of the sources of the dakṣiṇāgni thus serve to separate it from the gārhapatya and āhavanīya. If the gārhapatya fire, and through it the āhavanīya, are transformations of, and therefore isolated from, the sacrificer's old social life, represented by his domestic and subsequent brāhmaudanika fires, the dakṣiṇāgni circumvents this transformation, bringing fire from the social side of life directly into the sacrificial arena. Even where this fire is also transformed through churning it is churned separately to minimize any connection with the gārhapatya and āhavanīya fires. We also see in the sources of the southern fire that the social side of life is again portrayed as nega-

tive, asuric, involving conflict, exchange, and obligation. So KSank 6 complains that fire from a frying pan is asuric because it eats anything, pure (medhya) and impure (amedhya), like the son of a Vṛṣala (low caste).³¹ In his social setting the sacrificer is not purely himself, free to pursue his own aims, but is to a certain extent a series of relationships with others, to whom he is bound.

Nevertheless, the above means of portraying a discontinuity between the dakṣiṇāgni and the gārhapatya-āhavanīya continuum are only half of the picture; for the sacrificial arena remains an integral cosmos. There is, accordingly, a tension between the distinctiveness of the dakṣiṇāgni and its integration with the other fires. To a lesser extent this integration takes the form of another source for the dakṣiṇāgni which emphasizes continuity with the other fires, namely the gārhapatya itself.³² The tension between continuity and discontinuity is also evident in the rule that the southern fire be churned which makes it similar but not identical to the gārhapatya. However, this tension is reflected most clearly in the time at which the dakṣiṇāgni is to be established.

In Baudh and Vr the dakṣiṇāgni is established immediately after the gārhapatya and before fuel is kindled for the procession to the āhavanīya, while in Kat it is established after the āhavanīya so that in either case the dakṣiṇāgni is isolated from the leading forth of the āhavanīya fire and the ascent through the cosmos. But the other texts seem to allow, or even require, more of an ambivalence as to whether the establishment of the dakṣiṇāgni is part of the pro-

cession to the āhavanīya or not. This ambivalence is facilitated by a deliberate ambiguity as to what event marks the beginning of the procession. In Ap, Bhār, and Mn the following sequents of events occurs: establishment of the gārhapatya, recitation of the Agni Tanu verses in the horse's ear, igniting and drawing out of fuel for the procession to the āhavanīya, establishment of the dakṣiṇāgni, and moving forward of the procession to the āhavanīya. Now the Agni Tanu verses, drawing out of fuel, and moving forward are each in a sense the beginning of the procession to the āhavanīya, the Agni Tanus because they instruct the horse to draw forth the three cosmic forms of Agni, identified with the three fires,³³ the drawing out of fuel because it begins the symbolic ascent of the fire to heave, and the moving forward because it literally begins the journey. Establishing the dakṣiṇāgni in the midst of these three beginnings says symbolically that the procession to the āhavanīya has begun and it has not begun, that the dakṣiṇāgni is a stage on the journey and it is not a stage. SH and Vkh differ from Ap, Bhār, and Mn in that they move the recitation of the Agni Tanus to after the dakṣiṇāgni has been established, further isolating that fire from the procession to the āhavanīya. But the ambiguous position of the dakṣiṇāgni is perhaps best illustrated by the point on which all five of these texts agree, namely that the preferred practice is that the fire to be taken to the āhavanīya fireplace is drawn out of the gārhapatya fire, and while it is being held, fire from another source is established as the dakṣiṇāgni. Thus, the fire rising through the three worlds to the heavenly

āhavanīya is held in suspended animation while outside influences enter the sacrificial arena, and the dakṣiṇāgni remains ambiguous, neither wholly a part of the journey through the cosmos nor wholly external to it.

We continue now with our journey to the āhavanīya fireplace, and in doing so we encounter a somewhat more complicated map of the cosmos than has thus far been in evidence. While our texts speak most often of three worlds, each of these three worlds, and especially heaven, is at times itself divided into three regions.³⁴ The third or highest heaven is the realm of the immortals and apparently was once also the abode of the dead, when Yama and the Fathers were not off to the south or in the middle region (antarikṣa) but in the highest heaven with the gods. Thus in RV 10.14.8 the fathers meet Yama in the parama vyoman, and RV 1.35.6 states "three are the heavens (dyo): two the laps of Savitr, one harbors heroes in Yama's abode."³⁵ We may presume, then, that it is this highest, immortal realm which is the object of our journey to the east. Now this cosmology would add two stages to our journey, the two lower regions of heaven, and so it is noteworthy that Vr prescribes carrying the fire at five different levels instead of the three of the other sūtras.³⁶ The names of these two other levels are uncertain,³⁷ but there are two terms which appear frequently in discussions concerning heaven, nāka, usually translated "firmament, vault, sky", and bradhna, "yellow, ruddy one". If the two additional stages are to find expression in our ritual they must occur somewhere

between the establishment of the daksināgni and the arrival at the āhavanīya, and thus the halting of the procession at the midpoint of the journey is a likely candidate for at least one of these stages. This candidacy is strengthened by the fact that the verse recited there calls the midpoint nāka and bradhna as well as pratisthā and samkramana.³⁸ We must, therefore, examine each of these terms more closely and find its place in the journey to heaven.

The term nāka is variously rendered "vault (of heaven), firmament, sky" and occurs either alone or in the phrase "nākasya pr̥ṣṭha/sānu", "ridge of the sky". Frequently nāka is simply a synonym for heaven and especially the highest heaven. So TS 4.6.5.1 states, "Set forth with Agni to the firmament (nāka), bearing in your hands the vessel of fire; having gone to heaven (suvar), the ridge (pr̥ṣṭha) of the sky (dyu), sit mingling with the gods."³⁹ But the very next verse proclaims, "From the earth I have mounted up to the middle region (antarikṣa); from the middle region I have mounted to the sky (dyu); from the sky, the ridge (pr̥ṣṭha) of the firmament (nāka), I have gone to heaven (suvar), radance (jyotis)."⁴⁰ Here nāka seems like a stage on the way to, or perhaps even the entrance to, heaven. Hertel⁴¹ holds that "originally" heaven, as Yama's abode of the dead, was depicted as a three-story building in which there were three nākas, the vault of one level being the floor of the next. He cites as evidence the story of Yima's creation of heaven in Vendidad 2, but admits that such a depiction is foreign to the RV.⁴² However, he finds a remnant of it in RV 9.113.9 "make me immortal where one can wander at will (in that

region) of the sky with three nakas, three heavens, . . . ⁴³ An even clearer remnant would have been AV 9.5.10, especially with the variant of the Paip AV: "The goat establishes its giver on the ridge of the firmament (in the world of the righteous ⁴⁴ Paip AV) consisting of three nākas, three heavens, three ridges . . . ⁴⁵ One wonders, however, if nāka or pr̥ṣṭha refers not so much to levels in a house as to succeeding ridges in a mountain range, a pr̥ṣṭha or sānu being a ridge or plateau. The journey to heaven, then, would entail climbing to this plateau and then proceeding to heaven, or in the more complex cosmology, it would entail climbing three ridges. This ridge, or in the latter case the third ridge, would then mark the boundary of heaven, the realm of immortality. It is this boundary which, I think, the midpoint of the journey to the āhavanīya fireplace represents, standing as it does between the gārhapatya and āhavanīya firehalls, ⁴⁶ and so it is called the (ridge of) the firmament. Finally, I suspect also that the ridge, the first stage of the journey, was at times identified with the first of the three heavens.

The adjective bradhna means "ruddy, yellow, bay" and when used as a substantive refers particularly to the sun. Just as nāka by itself often connotes the fuller phrase "nākasya pr̥ṣṭha" so bradhna connotes the phrase in which it is most often found, "bradhnasya viṣṭap(a)", the "tip, height of the sun". Like nāka too, bradhna seems at times simply a synonym for heaven and especially the highest heaven. This is to be expected in that the āhavanīya fireplace represents

heaven and presumably the highest heaven, and the fire burning there represents the sun. But if the sun is the fire in the realm of immortality in one scheme, there is apparently another scheme in which the sun plays a different role and occupies a different place in the cosmos.

In TBr 3.11.7.4 the sun is between the lowest and highest heavens, and in TBr 3.11.9.7 the sun wins the world of heaven by piling succeeding firebricks toward the east. SBr 2.3.3.7 tells us that the sun is Death (mrtyu) and that therefore creatures below it die while those beyond it are the gods who are immortal. Here the sun is not in highest heaven but between earth and the immortal realm.⁴⁷ Further, Hertel has collected a number of passages which show that not only is the sun below heaven, it is in fact its gate so that one passes through the disk of the sun to reach heaven.⁴⁸ Thus, for example, ChandUp 8.6.5 calls the sun the door to the after world. MaitUp declares that one of the rays located in the heart extends upwards piercing the disk of the sun and passing beyond (ati kram) to the world of Brahman and that by way of this ray one goes to highest heaven (parā gati).⁴⁹ From the standpoint of our ritual this passage is noteworthy for two reasons, first because the sun appears as a station on the way to heaven, and secondly because many of our texts make a point that the procession "passes beyond" (ati kram) the midpoint after halting there.⁵⁰

Here we must recall what was said in our earlier discussion concerning the Brahmaudana. There we examined passages in which the Ādityas, nominally forms of the sun, were said to guard the path to heaven and the gods. We concluded that one function of the Brahmaudana was to gain advance permission from these Ādityas to cross the

boundary into heaven. We see now that the midpoint of the journey to the east represents that boundary and the sun is stationed there as a gate guarding the path.⁵¹

The mantra recited at the point half-way to the āhavanīya fire contains two further terms, pratiṣṭhā and samkramaṇa. Pratiṣṭhā most often means "foundation" both in literal and metaphoric senses. But MW reports, and Apte concurs, that pratiṣṭhā can also have the meaning "limit, boundary"; perhaps the clay platform which serves as the foundation for a house is also its threshold. So we have another indication that the midpoint of the journey represents the boundary of heaven. Similarly, samkramaṇa refers to crossing, passing over, and according to MW later carries the connotation of passing on to the next world at death. It is also a technical term in astronomy for the passage of the sun into a sign of the zodiac and therefore designates the passage of the sun through various heavenly stations. This is particularly relevant given the solar character of the fire which is carried to the āhavanīya fireplace. Further, in the version of this verse found in Mn 1.5.4.10 we have the compound pratiṣṭhāsamkramaṇatama which must mean "highest crossing of the boundary"

Thus a consistent image is presented by all of the terms with which the point half way to the āhavanīya hearth is identified, namely that it is the boundary of heaven. As a ridge it is the edge of the plateau on which heaven is located, as the tip of the sun it is the gate to heaven, as a pratiṣṭhā it is again a boundary or threshold, and as a samkramaṇa it is a point of passing over or transition. The major inconsistency between this image and the cosmology with which

we are already familiar is the place of the sun. That the fire carried to the āhavanīya represents the sun as does the āhavanīya itself is not really a problem in that the former in time becomes the latter. The real inconsistency lies in the fact that the sun is located at the entrance to heaven and also in highest heaven and that the sun in the form of the fire passes through the sun to get to heaven. Perhaps we should not attempt to reconcile this discrepancy. That there should exist two slightly different visions of the cosmos in a single culture and that both should find expression in our ritual are certainly not beyond the realm of possibility. But since there is some evidence which points to a reconciliation of these two schemes let us carry our discussion a bit farther.

In carrying fire from the western gārhapatya fire to heaven in the east our procession follows the course of the sun, except in reverse, and in fact this anti-solar path seems generally regarded as that which leads to the gods.⁵² So Kat 9.8.22 prescribes recitation of the following verse to the sun: "O Path-lord (adhvapati) of the Paths (adhvan) pass me across; may there be well-being for me on this path which leads to the gods."⁵³ Now if the journey we are retracing is that of the sun from sunrise to sunset, then the midpoint is the position of the sun at noon. Here we must turn to Hertel's discussion of the parallel Avestan tradition and in particular to the story of Yima in Vendidad 2. There Yima builds a vara or enclosure to protect the creatures of earth from an impending deluge of snow. Hertel sees behind this story, besides the Near-eastern flood myth, an Indo-Iranian tradi-

tion in which Yima builds a paradise for the dead in the firmament. In Vendidad 2.10, 14, 18 Yima goes forth to the light (regions)⁵⁴ "ā upa rapiθwam hū paiti adwanam". Darmesteter⁵⁵ not very literally translates "southward, to meet the sun". Hertel⁵⁶ objects to Bartholomae's translation of "upa rapiθwam", "at midday", on the grounds that "roacā" refers to stars which are not visible in the daytime. He proposes "toward midday", i.e. toward the position of the midday sun, which he takes to be southward, thus agreeing with Darmesteter. I suggest that "toward the midday sun" does not mean "southward" but "toward the height or zenith" and that this passage tells us that Yima, approaching the midday sun, went by the path of the sun to the light (regions), i.e. heaven. Thus in our ritual it is the midday sun which stands at the midpoint of the journey and marks the entrance into heaven, and it must be the sun in the east at dawn which sits in the highest heaven on the āhavanīya hearth.⁵⁷ The journey to heaven, then, is a sort of ascent to the ridge of the sky, the position of the tip or height of the sun, and then, as it were, "straight on till morning". In halting at the point half way to the āhavanīya the expedition again seeks permission to enter heaven from the sun, who guards the path, and so the Adhvaryu places a piece of gold, and the sacrificer gives a gift. It is also possible, however, that the piece of gold itself is meant to represent the midday sun and that as it is placed the sacrificer's cosmos becomes endowed with yet another vital feature.

One problem remains, the relationship between the three heavens and the terms nāka and bradhna. One is tempted to equate the

ridge of the sky, as the first stage of heaven, with the lowest heaven; the height of the sun, which serves as a gate, with the second heaven, and reserve the highest heaven for the immortal realm. But the evidence which supports such equations is scanty,⁵⁸ and here we are better off leaving the two schemes side by side. The imagery of our ritual is simply that the midday sun which serves as the entrance to heaven sits on the ridge of the sky; how many heavens there are beyond the gate does not seem to enter the picture.

In carrying fire to heaven back along the path of the sun our ritual employs a fundamental paradigm of the śrauta cult in general. Indeed one of the general terms for Vedic ritual is adhvara, related to adhvan "path (to heaven)",⁵⁹ and one of the principal priests is called Ādhvaryu. Further, this practice of "stretching apart" the fires seems to have been regarded by some as the defining characteristic of śrauta ritual.⁶⁰ It is therefore incumbent upon us to examine, at least briefly, the procession to the āhavanīya fireplace in this larger context, especially since some of the symbolism which our texts provide in the present context relies on a larger set of associations.

The carrying forth of fire at the Agnyādheya in a procession with horse and chariot calls to mind two sets of ritual parallels within the Vedic sacrificial corpus. On the one hand we have the carrying of fire to the āhavanīya fireplace performed in every ritual from its simplest form in the Agnihotra to more complicated forms with several reiterations in the Soma and Agnicayana rites. On the other hand we have the sacrificer's chariot drive in the Rājasūya, and

Aśvamedha and the chariot race in the Vājapeya. Now at first glance it would appear that the Agnyādheya is unique in combining elements from both sets into a single rite. But a closer examination of the Agnicayana reveals a similar, if more subtle, combination of elements, and the same is true of the Soma sacrifice. Further, if we turn to the three rituals in which a chariot is driven, we find that the theme of mounting to heaven and/or the sun is prominent, as it is in the journey to the āhavanīya fireplace. We must, therefore, consider these two sets as more intimately linked than it first appeared and as partaking of common imagery, and we must inquire of each how it may enlighten us concerning the other and concerning our procession at the Agnyādheya.

Let us begin with the Agnicayana. The event in the Agnicayana which is functionally most parallel to our procession in the Agnyādheya is, of course, the carrying of fire to the completed āhavanīya altar and establishing it there. And in fact the two events contain several parallel actions and verses.⁶¹ But it is two other expeditions in the Agnicayana which are procedurally most reminiscent of our procession, the expedition to get clay for fashioning the fire pan (ukhā), and the expedition which carries and establishes the foundational bricks for the āhavanīya altar. Both of these expeditions take the form of a procession led by a horse, and to the south of this procession walks the Brahman, though without chariot or wheel. Further, in both cases the horse is made to tread with its right foot on the object of the journey, the place for digging the clay in the first instance and the place for the bricks in the second.⁶²

These two expeditions are of interest for two reasons. First, to the extent that these two processions parallel and prefigure the carrying of fire to the āhavanīya altar, the theme that a horse should lead the carrying of fire to the āhavanīya will already have found expression and will not need to be repeated when the fire is actually carried forth. The parallel between our procession at the Agnyādheya and these three processions at the Agnicayana, when taken as a unit, is thus strengthened.

The second reason for our interest in the expedition to fetch clay and to carry the first bricks for the altar is that they tell us something about the role of the horse and its treading. The fact that one is to think of an enemy as being under the horse's hoof when it treads⁶³ suggests that the treading is a militant act, and we will return to this theme when examining the chariot drives in the Vājapeya and other sacrifices. But there is another less obvious significance to the treading of the horse, which is revealed in a myth told not only in the context of the Agnicayana but also in the context of the Agnyādheya. The myth is as follows:⁶⁴

Sacrifice (medha) did not incline towards Śāmyu Bārhaspatya; it entered Agni (TS).⁶⁵ Agni, having become a black antelope, then entered a horse and went to where the "deer hoof" is located (MS a, b; KS) or the "intermediate hoof" (avāntaraśapha) according to TS.⁶⁶ The moral of the story as variously given is that when the horse treads one thereby secures the sacrifice (TS), Agni (KS), or what is imbued with Agni (MS b), or the fireplace becomes possessed of Agni (MS a).

In Section 8 we noted the theme of procuring Agni, said to be already present in various of the materials used in the fireplaces. The moral of the myth here under consideration points to a similar concern. In fact the two expeditions at the Agnicayana serve to transfer Agni from the clay, out of which are fashioned the fire pan and bricks, to the altar, an act of transference whose principal representation is the treading of the horse. In the clay expedition the horse is made to tread on the spot where the clay is to be dug. The clay is then dug, placed on a black antelope skin, and transported back to the sacrificial spot where it is made into the fire pan and bricks, fired, and fumigated with horse dung. Later the foundational bricks are again transported by the horse, which is made to tread on the spot where they are to be placed and made to sniff the bricks.⁶⁷

The purport of our myth, then, is that Agni, in the guise of the clay, takes the form of a black antelope, in whose skin the clay is carried, and enters the horse, which transports it to where it is fashioned and again to the spot for the altar.⁶⁸ When the horse treads on the spot for the altar, one thereby secures Agni or even the sacrifice itself as the TS puts it. A link is also made by analogy between the clay in the fire pan and the fire carried to the altar in that the procession to the āhavanīya altar is prefigured by the two previous expeditions. Finally, the horse also provides a link between the clay and the altar in that the fire pan is fumigated with horse dung and the horse is made to sniff the altar; for KS 8.5 tells us that the horse sniffs at its excrement wondering if it has excreted Agni or a Ṛṣi.⁶⁹

While there is no formal rite for securing clay and fashioning the vessel used to carry fire at the Agnyādhēya, the treading of the horse on the āhavanīya fireplace is, I think, nevertheless analogous to the above practices in the Agnicayana. The significance is again that the treading marks the transference of Agni from clay to fireplace. In this light it is noteworthy that one sūtra at least has the horse sniff the āhavanīya fireplace as well as tread upon it.⁷⁰

If the horse is not present at the carrying of fire to the āhavanīya altar at the Agnicayana, there is another aspect of our developing paradigm which receives full treatment, the stopping at the midpoint of the journey. As the procession wends its way to the āhavanīya altar it pauses at the spot for the agnīdhriya, the Agnīdh's altar, where the Adhvaryu sets up a stone.⁷¹ The verses recited are as follows: 'Measuring off (vimāna), this one sits in the middle of the sky; it has satisfied heaven and earth, the middle region. It espies (cows= mahāvedis) rich in everything, rich in ghee,⁷² between the eastern mark and the western. Bull, ocean,⁷³ red bird, he has entered the source of his eastern father; a variegated stone has been placed in the middle of the sky. He has stepped beyond⁷⁴ and guards the two ends of the sky'.⁷⁵

Looking first at the stone itself, we notice that it is characterized as prśni, "variegated", a word which is often synonymous with citriya. This brings to mind the citriya/nirmārga/lakṣanya fig tree used as fuel at the Brahmaudana, which, we argued, serves as a boundary marker. It seems likely, therefore, that this stone too is to be conspicuous by its coloration in order to mark off a boundary. This

interpretation is further suggested by the adjective vimāna, 'measuring off', applied to the stone, which could even be taken as a noun in apposition meaning 'marker'. That this boundary marker is in fact the sun may be seen in such epithets as the 'red bird' in the verses just cited and is stated plainly in MS 3.3.8:41.6f: 'one sets up a stone with the verse 'measuring off . . . ' ; for the sun is the boundary marker (vimāna) of the world of heaven'.⁷⁶ It appears likely to me that this sun-marker is again the midday sun, located in the 'middle of the sky'. Also the fact that the stone is placed to the north of the straight line running from the gārhapatya fireplace to the āhavanīya indicates the ascent to the ridge of the sky on the path to heaven and dawn in the east. The variegated stone which represents the sun is thus the counterpart of the piece of gold placed halfway to the āhavanīya at the Agnyādheya, and the piece of gold, like the stone, must symbolize the midday sun through which one goes to heaven.⁷⁷

There is another important aspect of our procession at the Agnyādheya, the chariot or chariot wheel, which looks to be absent at the Agnicayana. But looks can be deceiving. The rolling of the chariot itself has been displaced so that rather than rolling a chariot to the āhavanīya altar a chariot is rotated over the altar after the fire has been established there.⁷⁸ However there is a vestige of the chariot in the actual procession to the āhavanīya. There, as at the Agnyādheya, the Brahman goes along to the south, but instead of rolling a chariot he recites the Apratiratha or 'Unassailable Chariot' hymn.⁷⁹ Again, at the Soma sacrifice, where the chariot is totally absent, the

Brahman follows the procession to the āhavanīya fireplace along to the south, and one text⁸⁰ has him recite the Apratiratha hymn. Apparently, then, the Brahman is somehow connected with the chariot, and his presence on the right flank of the procession constitutes the symbolic presence of the chariot as well.

This association between Brahman and chariot is clearer in the Vājapeya and Rājasūya. In the former instead of the Brahman rotating a chariot wheel, it is the wheel, placed on a post, which rotates the Brahman who sits on it. As he rotates a chariot race is run around another post so that the revolving Brahman clearly mirrors the circling chariots. In the Rājasūya instead of a race the sacrificer performs a chariot drive by himself, and SH 13.6.5 tells us that the Brahman accompanies him to the south or right (dakṣiṇatah),⁸¹ apparently guarding the right flank of the chariot. The role of the Brahman in these two rites thus supports our contention that there is a strong connection between Brahman and chariot and that merely the presence of the Brahman to the south of the procession is sufficient to represent a chariot drive and all that goes with it. We may therefore conclude that the image of a chariot drive is an essential part of the paradigm of carrying fire to the āhavanīya, and so we turn to an examination of the three rituals in which a chariot drive takes place.

At the Aśvamedha there are two events in which the sacrificial horse is formally led forth to a pond and bathed, one before it is released to wander for a year and the other before it is immolated. It seems to me that these two events parallel one another within the

structure of the Aśvamedha and may therefore be taken as a unit. This is particularly advantageous for our study as each contains specific elements which we have connected with the leading forth of fire. In the first of these events the militant aspect of the treading of the horse, to which we alluded above,⁸² becomes apparent. A dog is led forth along with the horse, and after the horse has been bathed, this dog is beaten to death by the son of a harlot (paumīscaleya) and submerged in the water under the horse's hooves. The dog is then left floating to the south of the horse.⁸³ One could hardly ask for a more graphic portrayal of the significance of the horse's treading, except that the actual killing of the dog is too defiling for the sacrificial horse to perform it and must be done vicariously by some "son of a harlot". But it is the horse which symbolically tramples the dog as TBr 3.8.4.2 shows: "one throws (the dog) under the horse's hoof; possessed of a thunderbolt truly is the horse dedicated to Prajāpati; with a thunderbolt indeed one tramples (ava kram) one's evil enemy (bhrātrivya)".⁸⁴ Thus the treading of the horse is a militant act against one's enemy.

Parallel to the above expedition in which a dog is trampled is another expedition to bathe the horse in a pond. However, in the latter instance there is no dog, but rather the militancy of the event is signalled by yoking the horse to a chariot and driving it to the pond. The purport of the journey is further indicated by the fact that prior to setting forth in his chariot the sacrificer is fully armed.⁸⁵ We have, then, an alternation between the trampling

of a dog and an armored chariot drive in two segments of the ritual which are otherwise quite similar and serve as preludes to the two main features of the Aśvamedha, the wandering of the horse and its immolation. These alternatives thus complement one another in demonstrating the militant character of these two expeditions and of such expeditions in general. Let us proceed, then, to the Rājasūya where the militancy of the chariot drive is even more in evidence.

After the unction of the king, and prior to his enthronement, the royal sacrificer undertakes a chariot drive. Heesterman narrates three versions of this drive based respectively on the sūtras of the Black Yajurveda, excluding Baudh, Kat, and Baudh.⁸⁶ In the first version the sacrificer shoots arrows at an armed Kṣatriya stationed to the east or north and then returns, while in the second he raids a herd of cattle stationed to the north which belong to a relative. Baudh combines the attack on a Kṣatriya with the cattle raid and places both in the context of a chariot race modelled on the Vājapeya. The heir apparent, substituting for the sacrificer, is instructed to vanquish the Kṣatriya and carry off the cattle. These observances hardly require comment; the image of conquest and cattle raiding is clear. However, it is worth noting that Baudh associates this raid with the chariot race in the Vājapeya⁸⁷ to which we therefore turn as a final step in examining the sacrificial context of the journey to the āhavanīya fireplace at the Agnyādheya.

With the Vājapeya we come full cycle in our investigation. We began with an expedition in which fire is carried to the āhavanīya

hearth, and we saw in that expedition a journey through the midday sun to heaven in the east. We followed other similar expeditions and noted the persistent presence, at least in symbolic form, of horse and chariot, and this led us to consider chariot drives in the Aśvamedha and Rājasūya. In the Vājapeya we have not only a chariot drive but the unmistakable image of a journey toward heaven again.

The two principal distinguishing features of the Vājapeya are a chariot race and the subsequent ascent of the sacrificial post by the sacrificer. Dissimilar as these two events might appear, they are, I think, placed in apposition, linked by the actions of the Brahman. The purpose of climbing the post is announced by the sacrificer himself to his wife: "I will ascend to heaven for us both".⁸⁸ Now as a prelude to the sacrificer's ascent the Brahman mounts a pole on which has been placed a chariot wheel, declaring, ". . . may I ascend to the highest ridge (of heaven) (nāka)".⁸⁹ That this ridge is the same as that symbolized by the midpoint of the journey in the Agnīdheya is suggested by the fact that according to SBr 5.1.5.2 it is situated at the level of the navel.⁹⁰ Further, the post on which the wheel is placed stands in the cātvalā, which is located parallel to the āgnīdhrīya, elsewhere the boundary of heaven,⁹¹ and TBr 1.3.6.1 avows that from the cātvalā the Aṅgirasas went to the highest world of heaven (uttama suvarga loka). Of further interest still is the fact that the MS tells us that the sun (Āditya) used to be on the cātvalā before it was taken aloft to yonder world, for the completion of

the world of heaven adds the KS.⁹² Thus the Brahman's mounting of his post parallels the sacrificer's mounting of his, and the fact that the Brahman's post is on the boundary of heaven signals that he begins the sacrificer's ascent.

If the Brahman's mounting of a wheel placed on a pole is thus symbolically linked with the sacrificer's ascent to heaven, it is even more directly connected with the chariot race. This connection is suggested, first of all, because the Brahman sits on a chariot wheel and, further, because he and the wheel are rotated while the chariots circle the race course.⁹³ Moreover, the Brahman is said to "accompany" (anu i) the chariots, not physically as in the Rājasūya but symbolically through his recitations and revolutions on the chariot wheel.⁹⁴ Further, the cātvāla in which the post is planted appears to be the start of the race.⁹⁵ We might also cite the fact that the mounting of the pole by the Brahman parallels the sacrificer's mounting of his chariot prior to the race, to the extent that SH reverses the mantras enjoined by the TBr and MS for these actions.⁹⁶ Thus the Brahman's mounting of the post parallels the start of the race, and his rotation on a wheel parallels the race itself.

So the Brahman on his wheel links the chariot race with the subsequent climbing of the sacrificial post by the sacrificer, and we would therefore expect to find that these two events are also parallel symbolically. We have seen that climbing the post represents an ascent to heaven and must now seek such symbolism in the chariot race. We need not look far; for TBr 1.3.6.5 states, "The post (around

which the chariots race) is truly the world of heaven; they go to the very world of heaven. Truly to the world of heaven do they go who run the race."⁹⁷ The purpose of this race to heaven is declared by the sacrificer as he mounts his chariot, ". . . may I conquer (ji) vigor (vāja)",⁹⁸ a desire he amplifies when atop the post, "We have gone to heaven, to the gods; we have become immortal. . . . may I be with offspring, offspring with me; may I be with wealth, wealth with me."⁹⁹ This, of course, reminds us that heaven symbolizes immortality, which means not only continuance through offspring but long life and vigor. What is new is that vigor and vitality may be won in a race. And if we are correct in connecting this race with the mock raid of the Rājasūya and the trampling of the dog in the Aśvamedha, the winning of immortality may involve militant conquest.

We have, then, a complex of ritual acts with which are associated such ideas as taking fire to heaven, gaining vigor and long life, raiding, conquest, and overcoming enemies. Further, each aspect of this complex finds expression in our procession at the Agnyādheya. In transporting fire to the āhavanīya fireplace the sacrificer places his own essence in the realm of immortality, thus ensuring long life and vigor. But the chariot and treading of the horse invoke an image of conquest. Here I must return to a view already put forth that establishing one's fires accompanies a rise in status and may often involve setting off on one's own to homestead new land. To what extent actual raiding or military conflict was a part of such migration is less to the point than the fact that such acts represent an idealized form of conquest, and the image of conquest is symbolically applicable to

settling new land. Thus in setting off on one's own one overcomes former rivals and indeed the effects of all social relationships and conflicts.¹⁰⁰

One final point requires comment. There is a distinction between circularity and linearity in the ritual parallels just described, the chariot race, for example, being circular and the various processions to the āhavanīya fireplace linear. In his interpretation of the chariot drive in the Rājasūya Heesterman sees its rotary motion as central and as evoking a "renewing of the circulation of the productive forces of the cosmos."¹⁰¹ More recently¹⁰² he has proposed that behind such images of circulating goods and vitality lies an earlier pattern of transhumance and conflict. Within the classical ritual such circularity, representing social conflict and reciprocity, has been minimized in favor of a more personal and individualistic linearity. Nevertheless, the social dimension of life can not be wholly denied even within the sacrificer's personal fire ritual. If the procession to the āhavanīya fireplace is essentially linear, it retains a circular feature in that the horse is made to circle the āhavanīya prior to its second treading, and there is an ambiguity as to whether the chariot is rolled to and from or simply to the āhavanīya fireplace.¹⁰³ Similarly, the chariot is rotated over the āhavanīya altar at the Agnicayana. But the complementarity of the personal and social sides of existence receives its most profound treatment in a discussion of the reason for carrying fire from the gārhapatya to the āhavanīya.¹⁰⁴

The gods were unable to separate Agni (MS, KS), because the

āhavanīya fire longed for (ni kam) the gārhapatya and the gārhapatya longed for the āhavanīya (TBr).¹⁰⁵ When they carried Agni to the east everything came to be in the east; when they carried him west everything came to be in the west (MS). They used a horse to take him east (TBr, MS, KS),¹⁰⁶ which served to separate the fires (TBr, KS).¹⁰⁷

Here existence is reduced to two fundamental poles, this world with its social realities, and the world of heaven toward which the sacrificer progresses in the course of his life, pursuing his own aims. When these poles are not distinguished and the fires refuse to be divided, either this world is wholly excluded and all endeavour occurs in the world of heaven or else the reverse is the case. But the gods in their wisdom have realized the necessity of setting these poles apart, a circumstance which is first brought about by the horse at the Agnyādheya and is later repeated at every other ritual with the spreading out of the fires. A place is thus created for this world and yonder, for social ties and personal desires.

With the establishment of the āhavanīya fire our ritual is nearly complete. The sacrificer's personal cosmos in the form of his firehall has been rounded out to include the fire in heaven, and at the same time the sacrificer's fiery essence has been established in the immortal realm which promises long life and vigor. It remains only to ensure that the infant fire glowing in the three worlds will grow to maturity.

11. Concluding Rites

The main objective of our ritual, the establishment of the fires, is now accomplished, and after several concluding rites the Agnyādheya proper will come to a close. In examining these closing rites our attention will fall on two major themes. One of these themes we have encountered at various points throughout our study, namely that the production of fire is rubricated in terms of biological reproduction, and here we will observe the fire's postnatal care. The other theme, that there is a malevolent as well as a benevolent side to Agni, has been only slightly in evidence and finds its fullest expression in the final moments of the ritual.

Following the Agnyādheya proper are a number of ancillary rites which can continue for as long as a year. These we will regard as ancillary to our study as well, and so we will offer only a few brief comments concerning reiteration of themes already stated and the task of phasing the new fires into the liturgical calendar. In addition, for the sake of completeness, we will include our text's treatment of the giving of daksinās and the vows incumbent upon one who has established the fires, though without comment. We proceed, then, with Vkh's concluding narration of the Agnyādheya.

The Adhvaryu deposits three fuel sticks of a fig tree (aśvattha) on each of the fires in the order they were established or in the order āhavanīya, gārhapatya, dakṣiṇāgni, sabhya, and āvasthya. In either

case the same order is maintained when adding fuel at all succeeding rites.² He then deposits on each fire three sticks of śamī wood smeared with ghee, a stick of udumbara, a stick of vikañkata, and another of śamī.³ Now he offers the morning Agnihotra silently or in its place makes an offering of ghee, meditating on Nārāyaṇa.⁴ When this is completed the sacrificer stands to the west of all the fires and pays homage with the Śiva Tanū verses.⁵ Then, after reciting "go to (my) evil (enemy) with those which are your malevolent (ghora) forms, O Agni", he recites the Ghora Tanū verses,⁶ inserting the name of his enemy where appropriate and washes his hands. Next the Adhvaryu offers two pūrṇāhutis or "full oblations". The sacrificer, after giving a gift (? to the Adhvaryu) again pays homage with the Ghora and Śiva Tanū verses⁷ and then with the Virāṭkrama verses.⁸ Here ends the Agnyādheya proper.

When the grains for the first ancillary rite, an īṣṭi⁹ to Agni on eight potsherds, have been readied, a dicing area is created in the sabhā, dice placed there, and oblations offered on the dice and in the gallery (āvasatha) for the onlookers (pariṣad). The sacrificer, having won at dice, cooks the food won¹⁰ and presents it to the Brahmins sitting in the assembly (sabhāsad), who eat it in the āvasatha.¹¹ The īṣṭi to Agni continues, and when the "rice brought out afterwards" (anvāhārya)¹² has been set out, the dakṣiṇās for the Agnyādheya are given: to the Agnīdh a cushion with threads of all colors, the goat (stationed in the gārhapatya), and a full pot (? of grain); to the Brahman the horse (which led forth the fire); to the Hotṛ a cow; and

to the Adhvaryu an ox. A pair of cattle, the (? consecration) garment, and the chariot are given to all the priests in common.¹³

For the next twelve days the sacrificer, who has now established his fires, should not eat meat, have sexual intercourse, nor speak falsehood. He should not drink from a clay vessel; he should wash his feet himself; he should not eat salt or alkalines or any pulse (śamīdhānya) except sessamum, and he should fetch his own fuel and dwell in his firehall. His fires should all be kept burning during this period, and any Brahmin staying in his house should be fed. Also during this time the sacrificer is to offer the Agnihotra himself, with ghee instead of the usual milk.

When twelve nights have elapsed¹⁴ the Pavamāna or Tanū offerings are made to the three forms of Agni, Pavamāna, Pāvaka, and Śuci. The dakṣiṇā for these offerings is 30 measures of gold for the first two and 40 for the last. There follow two more iṣṭis including a rice dish for Aditi. On the next parvan day, the last day of the fortnight, the Anvārambhanīyeṣṭī, which initiates the monthly cycles of offerings at the new and full moon, is performed in conjunction with the preparatory day for the Darśapūrnamāsa, and on the following day, the pratipad, the Darśapūrnamāsa itself is performed.¹⁵

Finally, the vows to be observed by one who has established the fires (āhitāgni) are given. A guest arriving at sunset for lodging is not to be turned away, and should the āhitāgni do so his fires would go out. He should not eat food cooked in a pit¹⁶, nor add damp fuel to his fires, nor consume water in the interior of a boat.¹⁷ He should neither choose as a sacrificial spot nor sacrifice in a place

naturally barren¹⁸ or in a crevice (pradara). He should have intercourse with his speech retrained (vāgyata)¹⁹ after uttering the syllable 'hīm'. He should not take his meal until the Agnihotra has been offered,²⁰ and in the evening he should not give anything other than food (to a guest).²¹ During the year after the establishment of the fires he should not eat meat as long as he has not offered an animal sacrifice, but if he is obliged to do so he should eat only after reciting "I direct (this) to the fires."²²

According to Ap, Bhar, and SH²³ one should not come in contact with the newly established fires until they have been neutralized or appeased (sām) with offerings of ghee and plants.²⁴ Apparently there is a dangerous or harmful side to Agni which must be eliminated. So, for example, each of the Gharma Śiras verses²⁵ asks Agni to be on friendly terms with cattle, and the TBr explains that the fire which is being established is Rudra and has the ability to harm the sacrificer's cattle.²⁶

Several strategies are employed to overcome these harmful effects. First, the fires are appeased by means of the above offerings of plants and ghee. But these offerings also serve to purify the fire of its harmful aspects, and accordingly they are known as the Pāvamānī oblations,²⁷ dedicated to the three forms of Agni, Pavamāna (Self-purifying), Pāvaka (Purifier), and Śuci (Gleaming). Again, dispersal weakens Agni's potency, and so the identification of these three forms of Agni with the three worlds, with cattle, water, and the sun, and with various sāmans and meters disperses Agni throughout the cos-

mos. TBr 1.1.8.1 elaborates that "should the fires be established without having been separated they would bring the sacrificer to grief . . .".²⁸ Hence the apportioning of the fire among the various hearths, like its symbolic distribution over the various worlds of the cosmos, insures the sacrificer against too potent a fire. Finally, ~~while~~ the sacrificer summons the benevolent (śiva) forms of Agni, he implores the malevolent (ghora) forms to go to his enemy.²⁹

We shift our attention now to the various fuel sticks deposited after the fires are established, the significance of which is set forth in the MS.³⁰ We are told that Agni, newly created, was unable to get rid of his embryonic membrane; so Prajāpati removed it with the Āgneya Pāvamānī verses.³¹ Depositing sticks of aśvattha wood with these verses is said to bring the same result; it purifies Agni and is compared to a cow licking her newborn calf.³² As regards the sticks of śamī wood we are told that Agni, newly created, was babbling,³³ not yet being fed with fuel. Prajāpati, fearing Agni might harm him, fed the fire with śamī wood and quieted him.³⁴ So the fire becomes śam "benevolent" for the sacrificer and his cattle. Lastly, the udumbara is as usual said to contain ūrj "nourishment, vigor", which is thus secured for the fire. The treatment here of these various fuel sticks under the rubric of postnatal care is quite clear. The aśvattha sticks symbolize the cleansing of the embryonic membrane from the infant fire. The young fire babbles from hunger and is fed śamī fuel to quiet it, lest it burn indiscriminately, and then udumbara fuel to impart vigor.

While it is helpful for the purposes of our understanding to distinguish the theme of caring for the infant fire from that of purging the fire of harmful effects through purification, the two processes are really complementary. In fact the reader will already have noticed a certain amount of overlapping between the rites which accomplish these two aims. Here we might recall that purification is a major component of vitalization and especially renewal as evident in the sacrificer's preparations for our ritual (Sect. 4). Indeed a variant tradition of the three Pāvamānī verses used when depositing aśvattha fuel forms a part of the mantras for the Kūśmāṇḍa homas, offered at the preparation of the sacrificer,³⁵ and Ap 5.17.2 prescribes this reading of the verses for the aśvattha sticks as well. In the same light must be viewed the specification of these verses for oblations which precede several of the domestic rites of passage (samskāra) in AsvGrS 1.4.4 and especially the recitation of these verses over a child at its first feeding of solid food (annaprāśana) in SankhGrS 1.27.8.

The depositing of fuel sticks and oblations for neutralizing harmful effects find their greatest convergence in the three principal ancillary rites, the so-called Tanū or Pāvamānī offerings (havis). Even the alternative names for these offerings suggest that they are concerned with the welfare of Agni's various bodies as well as with purification. The deities are again Pavamāna, Pāvaka, and Śuci, and in two texts the "after-verses" (yājñānuvākya) are again the Pāvamānīs.³⁶

Under the heading of nurturing, the SBr, which omits the adding of fuel, says of these offerings that the one to Pavamāna is breath and that breath must be placed in the newborn who no longer breathes its mother's breath, that the one to Pāvaka is food which must be given the newborn, and that the one to Śuci is vitality (vīrya) which follows the growth food produces.³⁷ Further, the daksinā for these offerings totals 100 measures of gold, and MS 1.6.4:93.4 explains that a human has a lifespan of 100 years and 100 vitalities (vīrya), both of which are thus obtained.³⁸ Moreover, the nurturing and vitalizing qualities of these offerings may be seen in the fact that they are to be repeated every year because the fires gradually become worn out and must be renewed periodically.³⁹ For the same reason the Pāvamānī verses are made a part of the homage to the fires (Agnyupasthāna) which follows the daily Agnihotra.⁴⁰

At the same time these three offerings are connected with purification and so the elimination of harmful effects.⁴¹ Hence they are also connected with the dispersal of Agni's forms to the three worlds⁴² and especially to elements of those worlds in which Agni is said to reside: cattle, the pluvial waters, and the sun.⁴³ Thus the process of vitalization and purification extends beyond the fires to the sacrificer's personal cosmos and through that to the world at large.

Finally, we should take notice of the way in which the conclusion of our ritual is signalled and the easing of the fires into the cyclical patterns of Agnihotras, Darsāpūrnamāsas, and so on,

which will occupy the rest of their days. The Agnyādheya proper is brought to a close with one or more pūrṇāhutis or "full oblation", a device used for this purpose in instances too numerous to recount. However, the last of the ancillary rites, a rice dish (caru) to Aditi, also provides closure in that it parallels the rite with which our ritual began, the Brahmaudana, thus providing our ritual with a sort of symmetry. The parallel nature of these two rites consists in the fact that both involve a rice dish and that in both either the Ādityas or their mother Aditi plays a key role.⁴⁴ Further, as at the Brahmaudana, the caru is divided into four portions and fed to the four priests,⁴⁵ and this occurs after it has been brought to the Brahman, so that the rice is a sort of brahma-odana.⁴⁶ Even the time for performing this caru mirrors that of the Brahmaudana as it follows the Agnyādheya by a year or a symbolically equivalent period.⁴⁷

If during the period of time from the Brahmaudana to the establishment of the fires the fires were gestating, during the period from their establishment to the Aditi Caru they gain in vitality and strength. Following their postnatal nurturing the fires receive their first Agnihotra. But the fires are not yet mature enough for the full power of the Agnihotra and its mantras, and so the Agnihotra is performed silently with enriched oblations of ghee instead of milk.⁴⁸ Alternatively the pūrṇāhuti itself serves as an Agnihotra. During the time interval up to the Tanū offerings and Aditi Caru the sacrificer himself must spoon-feed the Agnihotra, still with ghee, but now the mantras may be recited. Only after this enrichment and the various

forms of Agni have been strengthened with the Tanū offerings can the regular cycle of Agnihotrās begin and the Darśapūrnamāsas be initiated with the Anvārambhanīyeṣṭi. Now the fires are healthy children who in time will be allowed meat and finally their portion of soma.

CONCLUSION

Let us conclude our study of the Agnyādheya by drawing together its major points. In the Introduction we said that our goal was to understand the Agnyādheya, and in pursuing that goal we have put forth a number of interpretations concerning the meaning which the ritual expresses. We began with the assertion that Agni, Fire, represents Life. We related tejas, Agni's energy, to vigor and vitality, Agni's radiance (jyotis) to offspring radiating into the future, and his illumination (varcas) to the spark of insight. We also observed that like Fire Life consumes, new life feeding on old, and that this cyclical quality of Life finds a ready representation in day and night, the phases of the moon, and passage of the seasons. We then suggested that the sacrificial cult, which begins with the establishment of the sacrificial fires, affords an opportunity to participate in, affirm, and finally to transcend such cycles. From Life and Fire as abstract phenomena which go beyond the particular forms in which they are manifested we moved on to the personal life of the sacrificer. We noted the continual presence in the adult life of the sacrificer of a fire with which he is personally identified and that the history of his fire parallels the course of his life.

Having thus set the stage for a consideration of our topic, the establishment of the sacred fires, we wondered where that event

might fit into the life of the sacrificer. We concluded that it did not follow immediately on his marriage and entry into the second stage of life and suggested that it marked his ascension to the head of his household. We also suggested that this event was, in most cases, preceded by separation from the joint family and signalled an interest in pursuing personal aims as an independent agent. The bulk of our task, then, has been to see how the various segments of our ritual express one or more aspects of its purpose, the establishment of the sacrificial fires for the new head of a household. Let us therefore review the several themes we have encountered and how different parts of the ritual have contributed to our understanding of these themes.

We have seen that the Agnyādheya represents a new beginning. The time at which the fires are established coincides with the beginning of the daily, monthly, and yearly cycles. Through his preparations for the ritual the sacrificer is purified and reduced to an embryonic state in order to be regenerated by and for the ritual, and this procedure is comparable to rites of passage which mark a transition to a new role. In parallel fashion the sacrificer's domestic fire, which in most cases derives from his wedding fire, is transformed into the "fire of the master of the house" and other sacred fires. It is reborn through churning after its conception and gestation in the fire for cooking the Brahmaudana. Continuity in the life of the sacrificer is maintained by the symbolic transfer of his fire from the domestic fire to the brāhmaudanika to the gārhapatya. But the discon-

tinuity and transformation of the sacrificer's role is expressed by the extinction of the brāhmaudanika fire and ~~assimilation~~ of that fire by the sacrificer and his churning sticks, from which it again issues forth. Again, the fireplaces for the sacred fires are treated as a new creation, the elements of which are gathered together during the course of the ritual and finally fused into a new world.

We have also seen a preference for striking out on one's own. The "homebody" is told to go off to establish his fires, and the language used suggests resettlement. The rules for selecting a sacrificial spot seem equally applicable to finding a new homestead, and a personal cosmos is provided for the sacrificer in the form of his firehall. In accordance with this emphasis on independence social relationships are minimized within the ritual and are only admitted where undeniable. When fire is generated, relations of descent and marital kinship, though acknowledged, are played down or else slanted entirely toward the sacrificer. The sacrificer continues through his offspring, but is not simply a continuation of his father; his wife is necessary to obtain sons, but the lineage is wholly his. The north-south line in the sacrificial arena, along which social relationships are portrayed, is devalued in favor of the west-east line, which represents the independent life of the sacrificer extending toward personal immortality. The "southern" fire, the most social of the sacred fires, is given an ambiguous place within the cosmos of the firehall. The place of sacrifice, like a homestead, is to be secure from the encroachment of others and lies off to the east, away from social entanglements. Our ritual also attempts to overcome or eliminate those with whom the

sacrificer might have conflicts by foisting its negative side effects on rivals and enemies.

In becoming an independent head of his household the sacrificer is free to pursue his personal immortality, and this immortality has two modes of expression. First, the sacrificer founds a line of progeny through which he will live on. The complex symbolism of the churning sticks provides the equation whereby the sacrificer's wife is also his mother and he is his own son, so that by engendering the fire with which he is identified the sacrificer equates himself with his offspring. Secondly, immortality consists in living a full life, and so as he begins his sacrificial career the sacrificer reorients the course of his life towards the immortal gods in the east. His domestic fire becomes the brāhmaudanika fire which moves eastward as it is transformed into the gārhapatya and further eastward as it is carried to the āhavanīya. This progression toward the east is repeated at each sacrifice as fire is spread from the gārhapatya to the āhavanīya fire-place and is made even more evident in the soma paradigm where at each performance the old āhavanīya fire becomes a new gārhapatya from which a new āhavanīya fire is carried east. This quest for the gods, although a lifelong process, finds expression in our ritual as a journey which begins with the Brahmaudana and culminates in the establishment of the āhavanīya fire. At the Brahmaudana a full measure of vitality is meted out on the skin of an ox, which stands as a beast of burden bearing the sacrificer toward heaven, and permission to enter heaven is obtained from the guardians of the path. Later, an expedition is

mounted toward heaven which ascends through the three worlds, pausing at the gate to heaven. This procession carries forth the āhavanīya fire, which is at the same time the vital essence of the sacrificer and the solar fire which daily rises within his firehall. Associated with this expedition are images of raiding and conquest, and so in winning heaven's vitality the sacrificer puts rivals and social conflict behind him. The fire carried forth is the sacrificer's personal essence, which he renews through churning and places in the immortal realm, but it is also the immortal spark of life which the sacrificer takes within himself. Hence the sacrificer breathes over the newly churned fire, exhaling life into the fire and inhaling immortality.

Our ritual thus blends various aspects of the experience of becoming a new head of the household into a symbolic whole: the identity of the sacrificer and his fire, his desire for independence from others, and his hope for immortality in the form of a long and fruitful life. The unity of this symbolism is perhaps best summarized by SBṛ 2.2.2.8-14. The story begins that the gods and asuras were vying with one another, and because only Agni was immortal the gods were wasting away in their fight. But the gods perceived that the Agnya-dheya was immortal. Then, verse 14 tells us, "The gods established (Agni) within themselves; having established this immortal (fire) within themselves and having become immortal and indestructible, they overcame their destructible rivals (sapatna) who were mortal. So indeed this (sacrificer) establishes within himself this immortal (fire). For him there is no hope of immortality, (but) he attains

a full life; he becomes indestructible. Indeed his rival, even though desiring to destroy him, does not destroy him. Therefore when one who has established the fires and one who has not vie with one another, the one who has established the fires wins; for he is indestructible. In this way he becomes immortal.⁴⁹ So in establishing his fires the head of a household begins a life of sacrifice through which his fires reach out for the gods; he creates his own world where, free from the vicissitudes of social bonds, he can attain the full measure of life.

We have seen, then, that far from being a random set of events, the Agnyādheya is a meaningful sequence of ritual acts so arranged as to express the rich significance of establishing the sacred fires. We have also seen that this significance is at least partly intelligible to us. To convey its meaning our ritual draws on the symbolic lexicon of the sacrificial cult as a whole, choosing its ritual vocabulary in accordance with its purpose and fashioning that vocabulary into a syntactic unit. The denotative and connotative associations which this vocabulary calls forth rely in turn on a broad spectrum of myths and folk beliefs and the instances of parallel usage within the corpus of Vedic ritual. So composed the Agnyādheya articulates the sacrificer's new beginning and gives expression to his hopes and aspirations for a full and independent life.

FOOTNOTES

Notes to the Introduction

¹The Darśapūrnamāsa by Hillebrandt, the Paśubandha by Schwab, and the Agniṣṭoma by Caland and Henry.

²The Aśvamedha and Agnihotra by Dumont and the Rājasūya by Heesterman as well as the Savayajñas by Gonda and the Pravargya by van Buitenen.

³C. G. Kashikar, ed. Śrautakośa (Poona: Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, 1958, 1962, 1970, 1973).

⁴In point of fact, it is my experience that even differing statements are sometimes omitted from these translations. This format has been changed for the latest volume.

⁵The Kānva White YV and the Kapīṣṭhala Black YV have been mostly passed over in favor of their better known counterparts.

⁶See A.B. Keith, The Relig. & Phil. . ., pp. 19, 27.

⁷TS, Keith trans., p. lxxvi.

⁸TBr 2.1.2.25 vs. the brāhmaṇa in TBr 1.1.10.

⁹References are to vol. I of the Śrautakośa unless otherwise stated.

¹⁰VkhSrS, Caland ed., p. xxvii.

¹¹See C. G. Kashikar, A Survey of the Śrautasūtras (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1968), pp. 157, 158-9.

¹²VkhSrS, Caland ed., p. xivff.

¹³ibid., p. xxviii.

¹⁴Louis Renou, Vocabulaire du Rituel Védique (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1954), pp. 61-2.

¹⁵ibid., p. 32.

¹⁶ibid., pp. 14-15, 73-4; see also SrKos, pp. 389ff.

Introduction

¹⁷See, for example, the Pindapitryajña, SrKos, pp. 480ff.

¹⁸A. B. Keith, The Relig. & Phil. . . ., p. 288.

¹⁹It is noteworthy that Ap and SH use the term secular (laukika) fire for this source; other sources are also enjoined in accordance with specific desires of the sacrificer; see Sect. 10, p. 178.

²⁰Ap 5.13.8, Bhar 5.7.15-16; SH 3.4:314.

²¹Baudh 2.17:61.10-11, 2.16:58.17.

²²See further Renou, op. cit., p. 159.

²³The other sūtras mention both sabhāsads and pariśads, the former presumably in the dining hall, and the latter a larger audience in the guest-room. See also Renou, p. 30.

²⁴KhadGrS 1.5.1, AsvGrS 1.9.1, SankhGrS 4.15.3.

²⁵HirGrS 1.26.1, ParGrS 1.9.1, VkhSmS 6.15:98.16. It is curious that ParGrS 1.2.1 and AsvGrPar 12 should call this fire āvasathya, a name already encountered as one of the śrauta fires. Laugh. GrS 47.1 uses the term aupasada, and the commentary says that upasad means āvasatha. But the āvasathya fire of the Agnyādheya can not be the same as the domestic upāsana fire; for the latter is clearly present before the former comes into existence, and Bhar PitṛmedhaS 1.7.2 lists the āvasathya and upāsana as two separate fires. Upasad might be a synonym for upāsana "homage", however, and perhaps āvasatha later came to have the same meaning through the practice of honoring guests. Against my view Kane, Hist. Dh. Ś., II, pp. 678-9, seems to identify the āvasathya of the Śrautasūtras with that of the Grhyasūtras and later literature as does K. V. Rāngaswami Aiyangar in the introduction to vol. II (p. 48) of his edition of Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtyakalpataru, G.O.S. CI (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1944).

²⁶Neither of these fires has a clearly stated origin, but we may infer that they come either from the fire of the father of the bride or the teacher, respectively, or that they are procured from such sources as the house of a one who is learned (śrotriya) or a wealthy Vaiśya or through churning as these are the usual alternatives for procuring fire. However, the genesis of these fires is not important, and this explains the silence concerning it; for the salient point remains that the adult's fire begins with the event which signals his transition to adulthood.

²⁷In some texts this chain begins with the individual's birth, and thus the fire on which the sacrament of birth (Jātakarman) is performed becomes the first link. See, for example, Mn 8.4 where the fire for the Jātakarman is churned, and this fire is maintained for all of the child's sacraments including his wedding, thus becoming the upāsana and so forth.

Introduction

²⁸See SrKos, II, pp. 1033ff. Alternatively the fires are consigned to the churning sticks and churned out again at the cremation spot. In the case of one who has maintained only the domestic fire, this fire serves the same purpose; ParGrS 3.10.11.

²⁹SrKos, *idem*; If the bones are to be re-cremated the churning sticks are reserved, but they are then destroyed at the second cremation (*ibid.*, p. 1089).

³⁰Sect. 6 of the Agnihotra in SrKos, pp. 88ff *passim*; some authors allow the fires to be consigned to a piece of fuel. See also HirGrS 1.26.12 and SankhGrS 5.1.1ff.

³¹Kulluka's commentary to MnSmr 6.4.

³²MnSmr 6.38.

³³TS 5.7.9.1.

³⁴TBr 2.1.2.20; the order of verses in the TBr suggests the former usage.

³⁵Quoted in SrKos, p. 98; see TS 6.1.8.5.

³⁶A similar view is given in BharParS 182-6.

³⁷See MacDonell, Vedic Mythology (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, (reprint)), p. 97.

³⁸See RV 1.23.23.

³⁹Cf. Śabarabhāṣya 1.3.3 which cites śruti to the effect that one should establish the fires after one has sons but while one's hair is still dark and a similar quotation in BaudhDhS 1.(2.)3.5; cited in Aiyangar (ed.), Kṛtyakalpataru, II, p. 3. Vyāsa Saṁhitā 2.16 states that śrauta fires are established after some wealth has been set aside.

⁴⁰The major weakness of this interpretation is the fact that the term grhasthā occurs not in the brāhmanas or Śrautasūtras but only in the Grhya and Dharma sūtras. However, there is another term in brāhmanas and Śrautasūtras which, although its usage does not seem wholly consistent, may signify the performer of domestic rites as opposed to the head of a household who engages in śrauta ritual. This term is grhamedhin, and there are two things in particular which support the meaning I suggest. The first is that the Grhamedhya offering to the Maruts at the Sākamedha is to be performed like a pāka-

Introduction

yajña, the norm for domestic rites; KS 36.9 "grhamedhyo vai pākayajño", cf. MS 1.10.15:155.2ff. In TBr it is to be performed pākatrā which Sāyaṇa glosses pākayajñavat. The second point comes from AV 8.10.2ff where Virāj ascends and then descends into each of the fires, and in each case "one who knows thus" gains something appropriate to the fire in question. In verses 2-3 Virāj descends into the qārhapatya fire, and a Grhamedhin who knows thus becomes a Grhapati. Thus grhamedha appears to refer to domestic rites, and the elevation of one who performs such rites to a Grhapati revolves around the qārhapatya fire.

⁴¹Cf. the commentary to SH 3.1:279 which holds that one whose father is still living may establish his fires only if the father has already established his. In BaudhDhS 4.6.7 and ApDhS 2.5.22 it is an offence to establish the fires before one's elder brother.

⁴²SBE, XXV, p. 347.

⁴³Below, pp. 149-151.

⁴⁴David G. Mandelbaum, Society in India (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1972), pp. 125-6.

⁴⁵TS 1.5.6.4. The new role and transformation of status of one who thus becomes the head of his household is underscored by MS 1.6.4:93.6 which states that a person remains unborn so long as he does not establish his fires.

⁴⁶See sect. 1, p. 36; the Niṣāda is permitted to establish the fires in SH 3.1:279. The significance of Rathakāra (literally "chariot-maker") and Niṣāda ("a wild non-Aryan tribe" according to MW) is not clear here as both are explained as mixed castes in the later literature. Kane pursues the issue further in HistDhS, II, pp. 45f, 86f, 94.

⁴⁷This view likely begins with Weber, Ind. Stud., X, p. 327, who does not give his source, but may have followed the paddhati which he includes in his edition of Kat, p. 355. It is repeated by Hillebrandt, Rit. Lit., p. 97, and by Eggeling, SBE, XII, p. 274.

⁴⁸Weber edit., p. 355.

⁴⁹Mysore edit., I, p. 494, which reports that some include the Udgātr.

⁵⁰Ānandāśrama edit., I, p. 293.

⁵¹Ap 5.16.6, Bhar 5.10.6, Kat 4.9.8, Vr 1.4.2.17, and Mn 1.5.3.8.

Introduction

⁵²Mn 1.5.1.21.

⁵³Ap 5.16.5, Bhar 5.10.6, Kat 4.9.8. Actually Kat has the Adhvaryu or Brahman sing the sāmans.

⁵⁴Laty 4.10.1-20. One of the objections of the pūrvapakṣa is that since the Udgātr takes part in the Brahmaudana he must, therefore, sing the sāmans. It is interesting to note that Laty does not refute his participation in the Brahmaudana but only the extension of this fact to include the singing of the sāmans; see 4.10.11, 20.

⁵⁵Again this is often left implicit, but each of these priests and only these priests are mentioned by all sūtras in describing this rite.

⁵⁶Baudh and Kat merely provide for the number of dakṣiṇās without naming the priests.

⁵⁷Vr even puts these dakṣiṇās before the īṣṭis; so they clearly apply to the Agnyādheya.

⁵⁸A number of gifts (vara) have been given, but they are not called dakṣiṇās. Bhar may have to be excluded from these remaining texts. See Ap 5.20.7-10, Vkh 1.15:17.3-4, Vr 1.4.3.36-8, Bhar 5.12.15-18.

⁵⁹Laty 4.12.8.

⁶⁰Some reserve the building of the fireplaces until closer to the time of establishment; see Sect. 8.

⁶¹It is not clear if the preparatory acts precede the first Brahmaudana, the second, or both, though the order of presentation in the sūtras suggests the first. Also, Mn, Vr, and Kat mention the period of a year as a possible amount of time to maintain the brāhmaudanika fire but do not mention a second Brahmaudana, and Baudh takes no notice of either practice (except in karmānta 24.15:199.4ff); see Sect. 5.

⁶²Opinions vary as to whether the dakṣiṇāgni is to be established before the procession begins; see Sect. 10, pp. 180 ff.

Notes to Section 1

¹See Introd., note 46.

²For a discussion of the earliest references to the seasons in Indian literature see Kane, Hist. Dh.S., V, pp. 492-3. In the main there are six seasons in India, the five listed here plus winter (hemanta).

³The term nakṣatra applies to the 27, or occasionally 28, divisions of the Indian zodiac as well as to the star groups which mark them. In the brāhmanas the latter, less technical usage seems likely, though our author in repeating brahmanical tradition may have understood nakṣatra in a more technical sense. In the identification of individual asterisms I have consulted E. Burgess, "Sūrya-Siddhānta" JAOS, VI, p. 468; Richard H. Allen, Star Names (N.Y.: Dover Publ, 1963 (reprint)); and A. L. Basham, The Wonder that Was India (N.Y., Grove Press, 1954), p. 490. Kane, Hist. Dh.S., V, pp. 501-504 has also tabulated the number of stars in each asterism according to the TS, TBr, AV, KS, MS and Vedāṅgajyotisa. For reasons which will become apparent, I assume Uttara in Vkh's list to be Uttara Phalgunī.

⁴This must be TBr 1.1.2; see also MS 1.6.9, KS 8.1, and SBr 2.1.2-3.

⁵Vkh 1.1:1.1-8. The other sūtras prefer to treat the asterisms in detail rather than refer to the brāhmanas; see Ap 5.3.2-21, Baudh 2.12:53.13-54.4, Bhar 5.1.7-5.2.8, SH 3.2:294-7, Mn 1.5.1.1-8, 31, Vr 1.4.1.1-4, and Kat 4.7.1-7.

⁶B. G. Tilak, Orion (Poona: Tilak Bros., 1955 (4th edit.)), p. 12 supports this conclusion, citing in evidence Baudh 2.4.23 and MnSmr 4.25-26. He even goes so far as to suggest that the yearly round of sacrifices served to maintain the calendar.

⁷Kane, Hist. Dh.S., V, pp. 675-6, II, p. 644; I exclude the more recent adoption of midnight as the starting point of the civil day.

⁸Vkh does not state this directly, but his other time references are consistent with those of the remaining Taittīrya sūtras; see Ap 5.13.1, Baudh 2.17:62.1-2, Bhar 5.9.1, and SH 3.4:312. This approach appears to follow TBr 1.1.4.3.

⁹Vr 1.4.2.9, Kat 4.8.21-23; Mn probably does the same, but only specifies that the āhavanīya be established when the sun has risen (1.5.4.14). This approach is found in KS 8.3 and TBr 1.1.4.3. SBr 2.1.4.8 states that the churning of the āhavanīya (accomplished vi-

Section 1.

curiously in the churning of the gārhapatya) is to be done when the sun is risen (udīta), and this may be the sense of Kat's "utsrpte (sūrye) agnimanthanam" (4.8.21). But the latter is distinguished from "udīte (sūrye)" (Kat 4.8.23) so that "utsrpte" may mean when the sun's orb appears and "udīte" when it is fully risen. This may also be the distinction in MS 1.6.10:102.1-2, which likewise focuses on the churning as the high point, stating that it should not be done before the rising of the sun ('há purā sūryasyódetor') but rather as the sun's rays are rising ('udyátsu raśmīṣu'). This multiplicity of views might further demonstrate that synchronizing the establishment of the fires with the beginning of the day was a major concern of our authors.

¹⁰Ap 5.3.17, Bhar 5.2.7, SH 3.2:296, Mn 1.5.1.8, Vr 1.4.1.1. SH adds the half of the month in which the moon is waxing as an alternative; Kat 4.7.1 allows only the new moon day.

¹¹Kane, Hist. Dh.S., V, p. 641.

¹²A.K. Chakravarty, Origin and Development of Indian Calendrical Science (Calcutta: Indian Studies: Past and Present, 1975), p. 24.

¹³I follow the SrKos, p. 211, in this general formulation of the rules. In actual practice things can become more complicated because the exact points at which the moon is new or full can occur at any time during the solar day, and which solar day is selected as the upavasatha will be determined by how early in the day the moon actually becomes new or full. In fact it appears that one reason for making the new and full moon sacrifices two day affairs is that a lunar day can span two solar days. For more particulars see SrKos, pp. 217f, Hillebrandt, Das Altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1879), pp. ix f, and Max Müller's commentary to Ap's paribhāsa in SBE XXX, pp. 332ff.

¹⁴Hillebrandt, Rit. Lit., p. 105.

¹⁵See the commentary to Kat 4.7.1.

¹⁶Hillebrandt, Rit. Lit., p. 114.

¹⁷Baudh 2.12:54.2-4, Kat 4.7.1; the karmānta sūtras, Baudh 20.16:200.11-20.17:201.1, appear to allow both.

¹⁸See, for example, Ap 5.24.9-5.25.1. Nevertheless, Vr 1.4.4.40 seems to imply that the fires are established on the first day of the fortnight even at the full moon parvan. It states that one

Section 1.

establishing the fires at the full moon should prepare for the Agnyādheya on the first full moon day, that is the last day of the fortnight.

¹⁹Baudh 2.12:53.16-17, Bhar 5.2.1-4, Ap 5.3.18, SH 3.2:296, Mn 1.5.1.1, Vr 1.4.1.1, Kat 4.7.5-7. Ap, Bhar, and SH add winter (hemanta) as an alternative for the Rājanya; Kat gives the monsoon for both Vaiśya and Rathakāra, while the latter is not mentioned at all by Mn. See also TBr 1.1.2.6-7, MS 1.6.9:100.3-6, KS 8.1, SBr 2.1.3.5.

²⁰Kane, Hist. DhS., V, p. 659 and the references cited there; this is also implied in MS 1.6.9:100.3ff.

²¹A. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965 (reprint)), I, p. 91.

²²Obviously, to say that the Agnyādheya is performed under a certain nakṣatra means that the fires are established when something is in conjunction with that asterism. Since, discounting precession of the equinoxes, the sun moves through all 27 nakṣatras in a year, conjunction of the sun with a particular asterism will occur at a specific time of year. So TBr 1.5.2.1, which deals with the asterisms in another context, describes the method for determining the heliacal rising of a nakṣatra. However, in order to be new, the moon must be in conjunction with the sun, and in order to be full, it must be 180 degrees from the sun. Therefore, the points of the new and full moon will also pass through all the asterisms during a year, though not continuously as in the case of the sun. Thus it is that the sūtras seem unclear as to whether conjunction with the sun or the full moon is intended (see Bhar 5.1.18, SH 3.2:296), and it is likely that our list of nakṣatras derives from both methods of marking time.

²³See note 3 for references.

²⁴Pūrva and Uttara Phalgunī are identified as delta and theta leonis and beta and γ leonis respectively by Basham, p. 480, and Allen, pp. 258, 260. The number of stars in either is not clear as both are dual in the TBr, but plural in the MS and KS; see Kane, V, p. 502.

²⁵A Brahmin in MS.

²⁶See note 12.

²⁷Kane, Hist. DhS., V, p. 659; in other parts, he tells us, it is Kārttika.

Section 1.

²⁸Vkh 8.3:80.12 specifically places this in the spring. See SrKos, 652 ff, Ap 8.1.2, SH 5.1:448, where other options are also given. The phrase "phālgunyām caityām vasante vā" in Mn 1.7.1.5 is strange, but it must mean "in the spring on the full moon of Phālguna or Caitra" rather than "on the full moon of Phalgūna or Caitra or in the spring", as Caitra and Vaisākha, which would follow the full moon in Citrā, are normally the two spring months.

²⁹This, I assume, is the origin of the addendum in MS 1.6.9: 100.12 to the effect that one should establish one or two days before the full moon in Phalgunt. It is repeated by Ap 5.3.16 and Mn 1.5.1.3.

³⁰See the references cited in footnote 28.

³¹This is interesting in light of Chakravaraty's statement (pp. 31-3) that the conventional starting point of the zodiac in India has been 180 degrees from Citrā since the third century A.D. at which time this point coincided with the spring equinox. Thus, at that time the moon would have been full in Citrā on the day of the spring equinox, which might, therefore, have been regarded as the beginning of the year. Though surprisingly absent in Vkh's list, Citrā is mentioned by all the other sūtras except Vr, which gives no asterisms, and by all the brāhmanas; see footnotes 4 and 5 for references.

³²Baudh 2.12:54.2-4.

³³SBr 11.1.1.1-7; this explains why Kat 4.7.1 does not allow the fires to be set up at the full moon.

³⁴See Kane, Hist.Dh.S., p. 501.

³⁵The references have been given in footnotes 4 and 5.

³⁶The argument is perhaps best set forth by B. G. Tilak in Orion, pp. 33ff.

³⁷Kane, V, pp. 507-8.

³⁸For similar instances of associating variant traditions with special desires on the part of the sacrificer see Sect. 3, p. 65 and Sect. 10, pp. 178f. Renou takes notice of this device in "La Valeur du Silence dans le Culte Védique" JAOS vol. 69 (1949) pp. 12f.

³⁹See above, p. 6, where spring begins the priestly year.

⁴⁰The relevant passages from the brāhmanas and sūtras for this and subsequent asterisms have been cited in footnotes 4 and 5.

Section 1

⁴¹There may be a second factor in associating Rohinī with increase and growth. If the year begins with Caitra or Vaiśākha, Rohinī will rise later in the spring when the year has "grown" and also when cattle might be calving. - Certainly increase of cattle is a favorite subject of our texts.

⁴²Kane, V, p. 502.

⁴³Idem.

⁴⁴The text actually speaks of depositing fuel sticks, but the context is the Brahmaudana, and we will see in Sect. 5 that this act symbolizes the fires' conception.

⁴⁵"abhaktartur vai puruṣo na hi tad veda yam ṛtum abhijāyate yan nakṣatram yat samidha ādadhāti ya evāsyartur yan nakṣatram tad āpnoti".

Notes to Section 2

¹These constitute the fire drill with which fire is generated by the friction of one stick rotating in a hole in the other.

²Vkh 1.1:1.8-10; see also Ap 5.1.2, Baudh 2.6:42.16f, 2.12:53.7, Bhar 5.1.1f, SH 3.2:293f, Mn 1.5.1.9f, Kat 4.7.22f.

³*Ficus religiosa*, also known as the pippala or bodhi tree. J. D. Hooker, The Flora of British India (Delhi: Periodical Experts, 1973 (reprint)), V, pp. 494-537, suggests that there are about 600 species of fig, of which he names something over 100. The later Samhitās and Brāhmanas appear to have distinguished four main varieties: the banyan (*Ficus Bengalensis* or *Indica*, nyagrodha), the holy fig (*Ficus religiosa*, aśvattha), the wild fig (*Ficus glomerata* or *racemosa*, udumbara), and the less mentioned plakṣa (*Ficus infectoria* or *Iacor*); see TS 3.4.8.4 and AitBr 7.27.32. The banyan seems to have been known for its aerial roots "growing down" (nyagrodha), the aśvattha for its epiphytic characteristics, that is the ability to germinate on other trees, the udumbara for its reddish fruit (see Ap 5.2.4 where the commentary glosses audumbara as tāmra, cuprous), and the plakṣa possibly for its latex (see TS 6.3.10.2 and MS 3.10.2 where plakṣa is explained as "pla (=pra) kṣarayati", "causes to flow"; these four trees are later known collectively as the kṣīravrkṣas or latex trees. SBr 3.8.3.12 explains the name plakṣa as prakhya, visible, which may be a reference to a plakṣa which once marked the head-waters of the Sarasvatī; see PBr 25.10.20-21). However, aerial roots, epiphytic propagation, reddish fruit, and latex are common to most varieties of fig, and these four species, or at least the banyan and aśvattha, are often confused. In the RV only the holy fig is mentioned (aśvattha: RV 1.135.8, 10.97.5; pippala RV 1.164.20, 22, 5.54.12), and this and the udumbara are by far the most common in ritual usage. The reader is further referred to the excellent article by M. B. Emeneau, "The Strangling Fig in Sanskrit Literature", Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Classical Philology, vol. XIII (N.Y.: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1971 (reprint)), pp. 345-370, with which, however, this thesis will be found to disagree on several lesser points. These trees, as well as the śamī, are discussed further in connection with the gathering of materials for the fireplaces; see below, pp. 154f.

⁴MW reports *Prosopis spicigera* "or (according to others) *Mimosa suma*"; Ray and Gupta, Caraka Śamhitā (A Scientific Synopsis) (Delhi: Nat. Instit. of Sci. of India, 1965), p. 72 hold with the former identification as does A. Mukhopadhyay in S.S. Gupta (ed.) Tree Symbol Worship in India (Calcutta: Indian Publ., 1965), p. 163. Kuhn, Die Herabkunft . . ., p. 40, suggests *Acacia suma*, and K. L. Bhisagratna in his translation of The Sushruta Samhita (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. Off., 1963 (2nd edit.)), III, appendix, p. 77, agrees. *Prosopis*, *Mimosa*, and *Acacia* are all genera of the legume family, concerning

Section 2.

which C. F. Brockman, Trees of North America (N.Y.: Golden Press, 1968), p. 182, states: "This family contains more than 500 genera and about 13,000 species of herbs, vines, shrubs, and trees found throughout the world. Many species have thorny branches. Leaves are alternate, compound in most [pinnately so in the Acacia and Prosopis pictured]. All produce a legume, or pod." Though the etymology is problematic, there seems to have been a connection between śamī, śimī, and śimbi. The first two with accent on the first syllable are used in the sense of "toil, labor"; with accent on the second syllable, as in the śamī tree, they appear to have meant "legume" or "pod", as does the third. So SBr 1.1.1.10 mentions śamīdhānya, pulse; cf. Nepali simī, bean. Since all of the trees with which the śamī has been identified are members of the legume family, I have dubbed it the "pod" tree.

⁵The text is not entirely clear: "yathopapādaṁ śamīgarbham aśvattham yady aśamīgarbham śuklāṅkuram . . . antyajātyanupahataṁ gatvā . . . (the rite for gathering the wood)". I take "śuklā . . . upahataṁ" as modifying "aśamīgarbham", but both "śamīgarbham" and "aśamīgarbham" as the object of "gatvā" so that the rite of gathering the wood applies whether the aśvattha grows out of a śamī or not. Caland's punctuation of the text, takes the phrase up to "aśvattham" as a separate unit, but if that were the case I would have expected a nominative instead of accusative.

⁶Vkh 1.1:1.8-3.5.

⁷According to Caland, VkhSmS, trans., p. 37, this is VkhSamh 11. 10 = TBr 1.2.1.1 ("vaiśvānarāśya rūpam"), but the SrKos, pp. 22 gives "vaiśvānaro na ūtyā" (=TS 1.5.11.1).

⁸Since the lower stick is to be made from the bottom half of the branch and the upper stick from the upper half and since stripping the branch will disturb and obscure its orientation, identifying marks are made beforehand.

⁹Vkh 1.3:5.4-5 states that the middle section of the middle finger of the right hand of either the sacrificer or the Adhvaryu is to be used for all measurements pertaining to the sacrifice, which I take to be an operational definition of one aṅgula.

¹⁰As churning wears out the notch, it may subsequently be moved. At this point Vkh intersperses a brāhmaṇa which maps the parts of the human body onto the lower churning stick and gives the result of churning on its various members. The conclusion is that the loins are the source (yoni) of the gods. This passage is remarkably similar to Kāthaka-Samkalana, p. 21.

Section 2.

¹¹ Apparently the similarity lies in the removal of bark, drying of the wood, specification of dimensions, and recitation of the Gāyatrī mantra.

¹² The term uttarāraṇi seems to be applied both to the top piece of wood from which the upper churning stick is made and to the upper churning stick itself, but see below. Though the churning tip is made a separate part, it is apparently not to be replaced; for the Karmaṣraḍīpa (1.7.1-14), cited in Kuhn, p. 66, states that it is to be used always and that one who churns with another acquires the stain of mixed descent (yonisaṁkaradoṣa).

¹³ The printed text reads ". . . yuktināham yathāyogapariṇāham . . .", though none of the mss actually gives this reading; Vkh 1.1:3.2. Rather five of the mss have 'yuktānāham' and a sixth 'yuktānāhām', while three add or have instead 'yathāyogapariṇāham'. I therefore suggest that 'yuktānāham' is the correct reading and that 'yathāyogapariṇāham', 'of suitable circumference', is a later gloss. The idea seems to be that the pramantha should be of such a diameter as to fit tightly into the bottom of the upper churning stick.

¹⁴ Mantha also appears to be a general term for the upper churning stick, referring to it with or without the pramantha.

¹⁵ "tathā chidram iti", "thus (is explained) the 'hole' (in the bottom of the upper stick)". I take this to mean that the diameter of the hole must correspond to that of the pramantha and that the depth of the hole is to be such that when the pramantha is fitted into the mantha the overall length of the two together will be 26 aṅgulas.

Vkh concludes its treatment of the churning sticks with the statement "uttānā prākśīrā araṇis tathā vediḥ", which is not clear to me. If it is an addendum with regard to the lower araṇi, it could mean "(it is fashioned) lying (on its back) with its head to the east; the altar has the same orientation". Cf. Baudh 2.6:43.3-4 "tasyā uttānāyā anulomam adhasāt pratīcīnapravaṇam prajānam kurvanti", "they make the notch, sloping to the west, in the lower part of the araṇi lying on its back, following the grain".

¹⁶ The majority of sūtras mention only the upper and lower araṇī, though some of Vkh's treatment is found in Mn 8.2.7 and especially in Baudh 2.6:42.17-43.4.

¹⁷ Weber edit., pp. 356, 366; my understanding of this text has benefitted from Roth's treatment of it in "Indischer Feuerzug" ZDMG, vol. 43 (1889), pp. 590 ff. See also Karmaṣraḍīpa 1.7.1-14 and Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 22.

Section 2.

¹⁸According to MW a vyāma is the span of both outstretched arms equalling 5 aratnis; 1 aratni = 24 aṅgulas.

¹⁹Modern versions of the churning sticks are depicted in Caland and Henry, L'Agniṣṭoma (Paris: Société Asiatique, 1906), vol. 1, plate I following p. 256, and C. G. Kashikar, The Śrauta Ritual and the Vājapeya Sacrifice (Poona: Vājapeya Performance Com., 1955), plate following p. 59.

²⁰The two verses are found in TBr 1.2.1.8-9, though in the reverse order from that of the sūtras; see Ap 5.1.2-4, Bhar 5.1.1-3, SH 3.2:293f, Vkh 1.4:6.5-7, Baudh 2.6:43.4-7, 2.12:53.11-13, and Mn 1.5.1.9-10 for minor variations in the application of these verses. We would expect the compound śamīgarbhá to be a bahuvrīhi "having a śamī as its womb or source", especially in light of the pun śāntāyoni "possessing an auspicious womb", based on the brahmanical derivation of śamī from śam, in the second of these mantras. But the accent of this compound is ordinarily that of a tatpuruṣa, and its gender in our second mantra is not that of the word it would modify if it were a possessive adjective. Accordingly, I have rendered it "embryo of a śamī". It may be that a sharp distinction was not made between the womb and its contents as evidenced by the fact that garbha can mean "womb" as well as "embryo", "fetus", and "offspring".

²¹Kuhn, passim and especially p. 40.

²²Kuhn cites as a major example the myth of the eagle Gāyatrī, with which I have dealt below, pp. 154 ff, in considering the parṇa tree.

²³Though my formulation of this paradox differs somewhat from that of Heesterman, "Other Folks' Fire", I must acknowledge an indebtedness to this work.

²⁴KpS 7.6 is very nearly identical to KS 8.10. The absence of this myth in the Taittirīya tradition is remedied by Baudh 18.44-45.

²⁵The SBr attempts to assimilate a 15 verse version of the Bahvr̥cas, perhaps our RV 10.95 or another recension of it, even quoting directly, but the intent of the RVic version need not necessarily be the use which the SBr makes of it.

²⁶In the case of Baudh, while the etiology of the churning sticks is a strong motif, the context in which the myth is related is an explanation of two one-day rites (ekāha), the Śada and Aupaśada.

²⁷These formulas are addressed to the churning sticks; see SrKos, pp. 667ff.

Section 2.

²⁸It is also interesting that he argues that the essential form (sadbhāva) of churning occurs in these rites.

²⁹See the Introd., p. 33, and SBr 2.1.4.5, the source of Kat 4.8.11 which states that as an alternative to churning fire with the śamīgarbha churning sticks one may perform the Brahmaudana daily for a year and establish the fires directly from the fire for the Brahmaudana. In the MS too there seems to be a relationship between our myth and the Brahmaudana as they are found in the same anuvāka.

³⁰The text is ambiguous as regards the first two of these conditions as the word mā can be taken as either an enclitic pronoun or a prohibitive particle; the accent of the printed edition is no help. Since the syntax is relatively parallel in all three conditions, I have taken them all as negative. Eggeling, SBE, XLIV, p. 69, takes the first as positive; cf RV 10.95.5.

³¹āti: the word is uncertain, but Eggeling, SBE, XLIV, p. 70, proposes that it is the same as āti, a type of water-bird.

³²RV 10.95.1,2,14,15,16 are quoted verbatim.

³³sāmvatsatamī rātrī; Eggeling, SBE, XLIV, p. 72, translates "last night of a year from now". Both ideas are intended, namely that he come a year hence and that it will be the last night of the year.

³⁴"vimitāni"; Eggeling, *idem*, translates "palace", which is certainly possible, but I prefer "hall" for reasons which will become apparent.

³⁵parokṣa; Eggeling, p. 74, suggests "esoteric".

³⁶See further Johanna Narten, "Das Vedische Verbum math", IJ vol. IV (1960), pp. 121-135.

³⁷See note 27 and SrKos, pp. 805ff.

³⁸See Ap 5.7.15, SH 3.2:303, Vkh 1.6:8.6-7, Baudh 24.15: 199.10-11, and TBr 1.1.9.10.

³⁹See also MS 2.1.4, 4.5.9; SBr 4.1.5.13; and TA 5.1.1.

Section 2.

⁴⁰In our myth vimita is plural while in the other locations cited it is singular. But this plurality as well as the fact that the hall is golden simply make it more grandiose as befits the fire all of the gandharvas. Note also that Ap 5.4.6, Bhar 4.5.1, and Kat 4.7.8 mention separate halls (agāra) for the gārhapatya and āhavanīya fires and that the commentary on SH 3.3:306 states that the śālās for the sabhya and āvasathya fires are different yet from those two.

⁴¹See SH 3.3:305ff, Vr 1.4.1.23ff, and Mn 1.5.2.9.

⁴²SBr 11.5.1.13; the phrase continues "(ed) yo 'gnir aśvattham tam yā sthālī śamī tam", "(behold) what was the fire, that (had become) an aśvattha, what the vessel, a śamī". KS 8.10 'punar emīty ed vṛksasyāgre 'gnim jvalantam' is similar; see Raghu Vira's edit. of the KpŚ, p. 90, fn. 4, regarding the restoration of 'aid' of the printed edition to 'ed' of the mss.

⁴³SBr 11.5.1.4.

⁴⁴Baudh 18.45:400.4-5. In this version Urvaśī pours out Purūravas' semen into a container which is buried, the container becoming a śamī and the semen an aśvattha. Men then make the churning sticks from the aśvattha thinking it to be Yajña.

⁴⁵See Alain Daniélou, Hindu Polytheism, Bollingen Series LXXIII, (N.Y.: Bollingen Foundation, 1964), p. 306.

⁴⁶AV 4.37.7.

⁴⁷SBr 3.9.3.20.

⁴⁸See especially verses 7 and 9.

⁴⁹Note also that the gandharva form of marriage is for lovers; MnSmr 3.32.

⁵⁰See HirGrS 1:25.1 and BAU 6.4.22.

⁵¹He also notes that the image is that of the churning sticks, the son being the fire which is produced.

⁵²See note 20; cf. ApGrS 6.14.10 where the shoot from a fig tree (here nyagrodha) used in the Pūmsavana is to have two figs, likened to testicles.

Section 2.

⁵³ adhi ruh causative; Whitney's translation, II, p. 760 suggests that the causative refers to making the penis mount her.

⁵⁴ According to the commentary on ApGrS 3.8.10 the latter verse is used in the rite of conception. The verb here is ā ruh.

⁵⁵ It is further worth noting in passing that this is also the relationship of the liṅga and yoni in later Hinduism.

⁵⁶ In the KS and MS the gods occupy the role played by the gandharvas in the SBr.

⁵⁷ Alternative spellings are Aiḷa and Iḷā, respectively. A convoluted explanation of this metronym can be found in Sāyaṇa's preface to RV 10.95, which goes to great lengths to make Aiḷa both metronym and patronym; the passage is taken from the Ṣaḍguruśiṣya according to MacDonell, Ṛhad-Devatā, transl., p. 290.

⁵⁸ I am indebted to Prof. Heesterman for this suggestion! Since edaka is a member of the ajādigana (Pan. 4.1.4), we might infer that the feminine of eda too is formed in ā. However, aīda can be derived from either edā or edī, and Edī actually occurs in MBh 9.45.13 as a member of Skanda's retinue. It must be admitted that neither eda, edā, or edī is in fact used in any of the brāhmanas to the best of my knowledge. But SBr 12.4.1.4 has the derivative aīdaka, and Kat 25.4.18 substitutes eda for the aīdaka of the brāhmaṇa. Further, lack of usage does not rule out the existence of a word, and it is difficult to account for the ewe and rams in our myth without the pun I have put forward.)

It is noteworthy in this connection that MW reports edikākṣi as a plant mentioned in the commentary to the Brhat Samhitā and wonders if it might be the same as edagaja (? corrupted from edakaja), which he identifies as Cassia Tora or Alata. MW further reports that edaka itself is a medicinal plant in Suśruta, though I am unable to locate it. Apte agrees that edagaja is Cassia Tora or Alata and that edaka is a medicinal plant, but he also gives the view that uranākṣa, uranākṣaka, and uranākhya are names of Cassia Tora or Alata as well. This implies that an urana is the same as an edika, the offspring of a male and female eda.

⁵⁹ It is not clear if the gandharvas are immortal, though they are certainly non-mortal as heavenly beings. However, the fact that their role is taken by the gods in other versions of the story supports the idea that they represent immortality here. In fact they are better suited to our myth's purposes than the gods since they combine immortality with sexual prowess.

⁶⁰ "patir jāyām pra viśati garbho bhūtvā sa mātarām tasyām punarnavo bhūtvā daśame māsi jāyate taj jāyā jāyā bhavati yad asyām jāyate". The accentuation of the printed text has too many errors to be worth restoring.

Notes to Section 3.

¹This edifice is variously designated a hall (śālā, Bhar, SH, Vkh), a shelter (śaraṇa, Ap), and a chamber (aḡāra) or shed (vimita) (Baudh); Ap 5.4.1,6; Bhar 5.2.12; SH 3.2:298; Vkh 1,2:3.6-8; Baudh 2.12:54.5-7.

²Ap 5.3.22f; bhar 5.2.11; SH 3.2:297f.

³"śālīna ekasthānanivāsī" the commentary on Ap, "śālā grhās, teṣu nivasati" the commentary on SH.

⁴The commentary on Ap glosses this word nityayātr, that on SH "yātraśīla, yātvā yātvā vṛttiṃ sampādya jīvati".

⁵"yatra tiṣṭhati grheṣu teṣv eva . . . ādadhīta".

⁶I follow Oldenberg who quotes "gaure bhūmibhāge brāhmaṇo . . . avasānam joṣayet" (transliteration normalized), SBE XXIX, p. 428.

⁷I use the English phrase "settling on" as it connotes the idea of selecting or agreeing upon a place as well as that of taking up residence as does, I think, adhyava so.

⁸See L'Agniṣṭoma, I, pp. 6-8, 9-10, which terms the occupation of this site adhyavasāna.

⁹L'Agniṣṭoma, II, pp. 411-413, Baudh 8.22:264.5f.

¹⁰Thus it is that a new firehall is constructed for the udavasānīya rite before the sacrificer returns home. In this light too must be seen the discussion of the brāhmanas and consequent disagreement among the sūtras as to whether the offering is a cake to Agni on five or eight potsherds. The cake to Agni on eight potsherds is characteristic of the Agnyādheya while that on five is characteristic of the Punarādheya; so the controversy concerns whether the sacrificer is a completely new being who must now set up his fires or whether he maintains a continuity with his former self and must only re-establish his fires; TS 3.5.4.3, MS 4.8.6, KS 29.4, SBr 4.5.1.13 and L'Agniṣṭoma, II, p. 411. See further J. C. Heesterman, "Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer" WZKSOA, XIII (1964), p. 7 concerning the transformation of a sacrificer of any varna into a Brahmin.

Section 3

¹¹Baudh 2.2; in most sūtras this is placed in the context of acquiring a spot for a soma sacrifice. See SrKos, II, pp. 4ff and L'Agniṣṭoma, I, pp 6-7 where the king is asked to grant a sacrificial spot and cursed if he does not do so.

¹²The readings of TS 4.2.4.1 and RV 10.14.9 show that 'vasāna should be substituted for vasāna in the printed edition.

¹³This verse is TBr 1.2.1.16 and is used by Ap and Vkh when reading the fireplaces for various earthen and wooden materials and by Vkh also when preparing to establish the brāhmaudanika fire; see below, pp. 94, 127. The variants in RV 10.14.9 and AV 18.1.55 are part of funeral hymns and are so used by KrausS 80.42.

¹⁴Baudh 2.2:36.3-5.

¹⁵TS 6.2.6, MS 3.8.4, KS 25.2-3; the context is the soma ritual. Though residence is temporary at the place of a soma sacrifice, the substance of these rules seems to derive from practices more applicable to permanent or long term settlement.

¹⁶The end result seems to be the canonization of whatever land is available. So special desires are given for land raised in the middle, raised to the south, and raised in three places, and finally we are told that the sacrificial spot is any place where the Brahmins are satisfied and where the fires are established.

¹⁷TS 6.2.6.3-4; KS 25.2 specifies level ground for one who has lost wealth (gataśrī). Cf AsvBRS 2.7.3-4 where the site for a house should be possessed of plants and trees (auśadhivanaspativant) and have profuse kuśa and vīrina (Andropogon Muricatus) grass (yasmin kuśavīriṇaṃ prabhūtam).

¹⁸"yatṛāpas sarvatas samavadraveyus".

¹⁹"yatṛāpo dakṣiṇā pariplūya paścāt prācī rameramaṃ".

²⁰"yatra sarvata āpo madhyaṃ sametya pradakṣiṇaṃ śayanīyaṃ parītya prācyah syanderann apravadatyas tat sarvaṃ samṛddham".

²¹TS reads "sadṛśyai satyā ṛkṣam" which Sāyaṇa explains as "a barren spot, that is a place devoid of grass etc., belonging to ground which is the same by reason of the absence of hollows or rises." KS has simply "barren, bald", "ṛkṣam alomakam".

Section 3.

²²anūkhara: the commentary on SH 10.1:1011f notes concerning anūsara (non-saline) land that some texts read anūkhara. The latter is glossed as land which does not produce a crop ("dhānyotpattirahitā bhūmir"). Most likely we have here an example of a shift from ṣ to kh, and in fact the glossary to AsvGrS, Shaṣma edit., p. 213, reports the word as anūsara. Cf. Nepali bikh and okhati for skt viṣa and oṣadhi and perhaps āmukha in MS 3.8.3:95.4 for emūsa.

²³KS 25.3 "purastād āptam"; see also TS 6.2.6.1-2 and MS 3.8.4:97.13ff. In all three cases this instruction is given for one possessed of an enemy (bhrātrvyavant).

²⁴TS 6.2.6.1-2 "pānthām vā 'dhisparśāyet kartaṁ vā yāvan nānase yātavāi nā rāthāya"; MS adds a bare spot (irina) as a possible boundary.

²⁵"yād dhī devayājanād devayājanam ucśimṣed bhrātrvyāya lokam ucśimṣet" MS 3.8.4:97.15; KS 25.3 has the same view with slightly different wording.

²⁶"yat samayā devayajanam panthā vidhāvet"; "yad antarāpas ca devayajanam ca panthā vidhāvet".

²⁷See Baudh above and MS 3.8.4:97.3 "yād vāvā prācīnapravaṇam tād devayajanam".

²⁸MS 3.8.4:97.11f.

²⁹TS 6.2.6.1; a similar site is prescribed in KS 25.3 and MS 3.8.4:98.14ff for one who desires Brahman-splendor (brahmavarcasa).

³⁰MS 3.8.4:97.14.

³¹MS 3.8.4:97.5ff.

³²Bhatta Lakṣmīdhara, Kṛtyakalpataru, K.V. Rangswami Aiyangar, ed. (Baroda: Oriental Inst., 1944) hereafter abbreviated KKT. All references are to vol. II (Grhasthakānda).

³³Kane, Hist.DhS, II, pp. 641-3.

³⁴Hārīta: "dvidham eva grhastham prāhuḥ- śālīnam yāyāvaram ca/ śālīnāt puṇyataro yāyāvaraḥ śreyān" quoted in KKT, p. 168. In Baudh DhS 3.1.1 a third type, the cakracara or "circle-goer" is mentioned, though the commentary considers it an explanation of the yāyāvara. VkhSmS 8.5 names four types including a śālīnavṛtti and yāyāvara.

Section 3.

³⁵Kane, pp. 641-2. It is interesting that Hārīta gives as an alternative definition of the yāyāvara "one who travels spending ten nights in each place" ("daśa daśa rātrīḥ vasaṅ prayāti"). This is significant in that if one spends ten nights or more in one place one is obliged to set up his fires; see SrKos, pp. 100 ff passim.

³⁶"śālāpraveśanam arhati"; we might translate "one who is worthy of going home", but the tone is clearly derogatory as is that of the following phrase explaining kaupīna as "one who is fit to be thrown into a well" ("kūpāvatarānam arhati"). The Padamañjarī clarifies that "he is unable to stay elsewhere on account of his timidity; he is fit to stay only at home" ("anyatrāprāgalbhyād āsitum aśaktaḥ śālām eva praveṣṭum arhati"). S. D. Shastri, K. Shukla (eds.) Nyāsa or Pañcikā Commentary of Ācārya Jinendrabuddhipāda and Padamañjarī of Haridatta Miśra on the Kāśikāvṛtti (Varanasi: Tara Publ., 1967), vol. 4, pp. 139f.

³⁷"yoge 'nyāsām prajānām mānaḥ kṣéme 'nyāsām'.

³⁸"yat prakramān prakramati yāmam tena dādihāra yad upatiṣṭhate kṣemam tena".

³⁹"yogakṣemam vā etāt [setting forth and staying nearby] prajānām dādihāra".

⁴⁰Note that the verb is adhy ava so.

⁴¹Cf. Hārīta's definition, fn 34 above.

⁴²"tāsmād yāyāvarāḥ kṣemyām abhiprāyāti; tāsmād yāyāvarāsyā kṣemyo 'nnaṁ babhūva" MS 3.2.2:16.16f.

⁴³"pāpo nṛṣadvaro janah"; Sankh 15.19 reads niṣadvara "settler" nṛṣadvara.

⁴⁴"śreṣṭho 'pi bandhugrheṣu sarvadāvasthitaḥ [sic] tair avajñātaḥ pāpaḥ tucchī bhavet/ atas tava pitṛgrhe vāso na yuktaḥ". Sāyaṇa reads nṛṣad and vara as two words and sees in vara the phrase "śreṣṭho 'pi". I have followed Keith's transl. p. 302 in taking it as a single word which then finds a ready parallel in yāyāvara. Also the variant niṣadvara in Sankh 15.19 is regarded by the commentary there as one word. However, this difference of opinion concerning nṛṣadvara does not invalidate Sāyaṇa's observations about the liabilities of remaining in one's ancestral home.

⁴⁵See Sect. 10, pp. 199 f, where the pole around which a chariot race is run symbolizes the world of heaven and below, pp. 79ff, where movement toward heaven in the east represents pursuit of personal desires and autonomy.

Section 3.

⁴⁶"ténéndraṁ jyeṣṭhám putráṁ nirávāsāyayad íti tasmā jyeṣṭhám putráṁ dhānena nirávāsāyayanti". I must admit that my interpretation of "nirávāsāyayat" is at odds with Sāyaṇa. This passage is of special importance for the DhSs as it is taken to authorize sole inheritance by the eldest son; see ApDhS 2.14.12, BaudhDhS 2.2.5. Accordingly Sāyaṇa assumes that inheritance of the family estate is intended and attempts to isolate the prefix *nih* "away, off" from the verb "cause to settle". But his first explanation "*niḥśeṣavittadānena sthiranivāsam akarot*", "he provided a stable home by giving his acquisitions without exception", and his second explanation "*niḥśeṣam āyuso 'vasānam dhanena yukto yathā prāpnoti tathā kurvanti*", "they act such that after their lifetime (the eldest son), possessed of wealth, acquires the estate without exception", both seem fanciful to me. Just what sort of economy would permit such a strong emphasis on migration is unclear. Nomadic cattle raising and slash and burn agriculture are possibilities. However, it is worth noting Srinivas' claim that prior to 1800 there was still plenty of arable land available in India so that it was easy to escape political and caste pressures simply by resettling; M. N. Srinivas, Social Change in Modern India (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1969 (reprint)), pp 42-45.

⁴⁷Vkh 1.2:3.6-8. It is also possible that by saumya Vkh means "as at a soma sacrifice".

⁴⁸See Baudh 2.6:41.12ff; Ap 5.4.1; Bhar 5.4.12; SH 3.3:305; Mn 1.5.1.14.

⁴⁹Ap 5.4.1; Bhar 5.2.12; SH 3.2:298; Mn 1.5.1.13; and Vr 1.4.1.6. Baudh is silent, and Kat 4.7.8-9 gives both opinions.

⁵⁰Baudh 2.12:54.5-7; Kat 4.7.10.

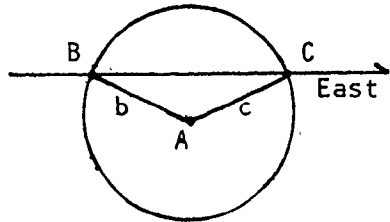
⁵¹Ap 5.4.6; SH 3.3:306; Kat 4.7.8.

⁵²See Vkh 6.9:39.17ff where separate gārhapatya and āhavanīya agāras are called for at the Darsapūrnāmāsa. This practice is in fact recorded by all of our sūtras except Baudh; see Ap 4.4.17; Bhar 4.5.1; SH 6.1:509; Mn 1.4.1.11; Vr 1.1.2.11; Kat 2.1.14; and SBr 1.1.1.11. In Baudh 2.16:59.19f materials for the āhavanīya fireplace are carried out (upa nir hr) through the eastern door, which suggests that only the gārhapatya is enclosed unless we assume a second unnamed enclosure for the āhavanīya.

⁵³It may be of interest to the reader to include here the means by which the cardinal directions are determined. These are essentially two, the one stellar and the other solar. Thus in Baudh 25.5:233.3ff one marks off the east by sighting either the Kṛttikās (Pleides), Śroṇa (=Śravaṇā, Altair), or the midpoint between Çitrā and Svāti (Spica and Arcturus). Mn 10.1.1.3 and 10.3.1.11 appear similar, though the first

Section 3.

of these passages is not completely clear to me and several additional stars are given as options. The solar method is found in Kat SulbaS 1.2 and is as follows: On level ground a peg is fixed (A) around which a circle is inscribed with a cord equal in length to the peg. At the two points (B and C) where the end of the shadow cast by the peg (b and c) falls on this circle (i.e. early and late in the day) two more pegs are driven. The line between these two pegs (BC) runs east-west.



The simplest means of finding east might have been to mark the direction of the sun at sunrise, but it was early discovered that the sun moves north and south of east during the course of the year. The relatively fixed positions of the stars therefore made the stellar method preferable. However, the results obtained by this method will vary according to the latitude and time of observation. The solar method solves both of these problems and, discounting inaccuracies due to measurement, produces a line very close to east-west. Nevertheless, the importance of the stellar method may have been that it integrates temporal and spatial frames of reference for the ritual; see Section 1.

So far we have only an east-west line. In Kat SulbaS 1.3 the midpoint of a cord longer than the distance between the pegs at B and C is marked. Its ends are then fastened to B and C, and it is stretched south and a peg driven at the midpoint. The same is done to the north so that these two new pegs define a north-south line. The familiar geometrical method of bisecting a line by means of arcs drawn from both of its ends is used in Baudh SulbaS 1.24-25.

⁵⁴Rājasūya, p. 31 fn 5. The passages in question are TS 1.8.7.1; MS 2.6.2:65.4ff; KS 15.2; and VS 9.35,36.

⁵⁵KS places the world of heaven above (ūrdhva) and SBr says that the direction from whence the gods ascended is the "complete" (ahīna, i.e. central) direction.

⁵⁶MS does not actually name any of the directions but only uses the pronoun "imām" for each. However, since the first two directions enumerated are associated with the gods and pitṛs and all the other texts agree in assigning to these beings the east and south respectively, and because two of the three texts (TS and SBr) begin with the east and proceed clockwise around the compass, I have assumed that MS too begins with the east and then proceeds to the south and so on clockwise around the compass.

⁵⁷In KS the pattern is one does such and such to the sacrificial animal which is in such and such a direction and thereby conquers the world of such and such beings. But for the western direction the text says merely that one thereby conquers "etām diśām" "this direction".

Section 3.

⁵⁸See, for example, the Pindapitryajña, SrKos, 480ff, and Mahāpitryajña, SrKos, 713ff where all of the principal actions occur south of the east-west line between the gārhapatya and āhavanīya fires.

⁵⁹Kat 4.7.21.

⁶⁰Cf. the diagrams in L'Agniṣṭoma, I, plate IV (following p. 256) and Hill., NVMond, p. 191.

⁶¹KhadGrS 2.3.1ff, GobhGrS 2.8.1ff. This namegiving is further significant in that it involves the social name by which the child will be generally known as opposed to the secret name whispered in its ear at birth and known only to the parents.

⁶²See SrKos, II, pp. 280ff.

⁶³SrKos, pp. 679ff passim. It is here that the sacrificer's wife is made to declare her lovers, and Heesterman remarks that the position of the wife is ambivalent in that she is of the sacrificer's household but also from another, possibly rival clan; J.C. Heesterman "Kautalya and the Ancient Indian State" WZKSOA, XV (1971), p. 13.

⁶⁴Also written pratiniṅgrāhya.

⁶⁵L'Agniṣṭoma, pp. 199ff.

⁶⁶Ap 12.21.18-22, cited in translation in Bhar, Kashikar trans., p. 391. See also SH 8.6:869f which, however, differs somewhat on the first alternative: 'yadi kāmayeta pāpam āsya saṁsyād iti etc.' (?) "if he desires that his (enemy's) misfortune should occur, etc.".

⁶⁷Or Mitrāvaruṇa or Aśvins depending on the offering.

⁶⁸L'Agniṣṭoma, p. 200; the verse is TS 3.2.10.2.

⁶⁹L'Agniṣṭoma, p. 207.

⁷⁰One wonders further if the opposition between the Adhvaryu's cup for Śukra (the pure) and the Pratiṅgrāhya's cup for Manthin (mixing, mingling) also characterizes the dichotomy between the individual and society, social relationships and conflict somehow polluting pure identity.

⁷¹See note 10 above.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁷³Ibid., p. 12. It is significant for our inquiry that he finds

Section 3.

a vestige of the rival in the person of the Brahman priest, who is most often seated to the south; ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁴See below, Sect. 9.

⁷⁵See below, Sect. 10 and SrKos, pp. 88ff passim, Section 1 of the Agnihotra.

⁷⁶See L'Agniṣṭoma, pp. 109ff.

⁷⁷I refer again to the diagrams cited in note 60 above.

⁷⁸KhadGrS 2.3.1ff, GobhGrS 2.8.1ff.

⁷⁹See below Sect. 2.

⁸⁰We will see subsequently that even the Fathers in so far as they are associated with the southern fire, are brought into the west-east continuum.

⁸¹This assertion will be dealt with more fully in our discussion of the fireplaces.

⁸²See note 49 above for references; the soma hall is universally said to have its beams oriented toward the east; L'Agniṣṭoma, pp. 7f.

⁸³Normally there are three vyāhrtis or sacred utterances: bhūr "earth", bhuvah "spaces" or "spheres", and s(u)var "heaven". Vkh adds two more, janah and mahah, which are found in the Purānas and correspond to higher worlds.

⁸⁴These distances are also given by Ap 5.4.3; Bhar 5.2.14-15; SH 3.3:306; Vr 1.4.1.23; and Kat 4.8.19. Other distances based on the diverse views of TBr 1.1.4, KS 8.3, and MS 1.6.10 are given in various of the sūtras.

⁸⁵My thanks to Prof. Heesterman for deciphering this difficult passage. The text reads ". . . gārhapatyāhavanīyasāmbandhām dakṣiṇottarayos caturaṅgulivistāronnatām tadantare ṣoḍaśāṅgulivistārām vediṁ kurute", which we might render ". . . he makes the altar, which in relation to (the measurements of) the gārhapatya and āhavanīya fireplaces is bowed out (an additional) width of 4 aṅgulas to the south and north (of the āhavanīya) and opposite that is of (an additional) width of 16 aṅgulas (south and north of the gārhapatya)"; Vkh 1.2:4.4ff. Cf. Vkh 4.12:51.8ff. where the "hips" and "shoulders" of the altar are extended on either side of these two fireplaces. We might have taken the 4 aṅgula extension as referring to the gārhapatya instead of the āhavanīya, but in

Section 3.

that case the altar would be wider at the eastern end than at the western whereas the reverse is true in the other texts. In most sūtras the construction of the altar is treated as part of the Darśapūrnāmāsa, for which see Hillebrandt, NVMond, pp. 44ff, 189ff.

⁸⁶The text reads "vedyām dakṣiṇasyām paścime bhāge", but it seems unlikely that the dakṣiṇa fire is actually within the altar. The SrKos, p. 22, translates "towards the south [of the altar of the previous sentence], in the western part".

⁸⁷One wonders if by trikoṇa, literally "three-cornered", is meant three-sided, i.e. a square with one side open. The "corners" are said to be in the west, south, and north, and this is exactly the location of the paridhis or enclosing sticks for the āhavanīya at the Darśapūrnāmāsa, where the sun forms the enclosing stick in the east; see TS 1.1.11m and Keith's note (trans., p. 12) as well as Hill. NVMond, p. 67. Further, Vkh reports that some consider the āvasathya square; Vkh 1.3:5.3f. The other texts seem to be silent except that the paddhati to Kat 4.7 holds that the sabhya and āvasathya fireplaces are like the gārhapatya i.e. round; Weber edit., p. 356.

⁸⁸Vkh 1.2,3:3.6-5.4. See also Hill. NVMond, pp. 197ff which discusses the firehall for the Darśapūrnāmāsa on the basis of two prayogas.

⁸⁹See for example MacDonell, Ved. Myth., pp. 8ff.

⁹⁰The same view is found in KSank 6:15.

⁹¹TS 6.1.8.5, MS 3.7.7:84:4ff, SBr 9.2.3.14.

⁹²TS 1.6.7.1, MS 1.4.10:58.1ff, KS 32.7.

⁹³The SBr and KSank passages cited above.

⁹⁴As far as I am aware the texts never go so far as to equate the antarikṣa and pitṛloka and thereby spoil the paradox.

⁹⁵Additional examples abound. The problematic character of the dakṣiṇāgni can be seen in discussions concerning its source, which varies from worldly (laukika) fire to the gārhapatya, the source of the āhavanīya; see below Sect. 10. Here again the issue seems to be whether or not the sphere of human relationships lies within or outside the sacrificial arena. And so, while Vkh and most of our sūtras clearly place the dakṣiṇāgni within the firehall, there are hints that some do not regard this as its proper place. In Baudh 2.16:59.14f and 2.17:61.10f various items are carried out (upa nir hr) through the southern door to the dakṣiṇāgni. Further, SBr 2.3.2.4 considers remembering the dakṣiṇa

Section 3.

fire while exiting the firehall as a symbolic homage; I follow Egge-ling, SBE XII, p. 33 and the commentary on Kat 4.15.32 in this interpretation of the verb sam vraj. The SrKos, p. 133, takes it as referring to passing through the firehall. The myth of Idā and the order of establishing fires (MS 1.6.13, TBr 1.1.4, KS 8.4) too seems an attempt to place the fires into a straight, west-east line and eliminate the south-north dimension. One might also expect that, as in Vkh's description of constructing the fireplaces, one of the vyāhrtis would be used for establishing each of the fires. But TBr 1.1.5, MS 1.6.5, KS 8.4 and SBr 2.1.4.10-14 make no mention of the dakṣiṇāgni but rather take great pains in distributing the three "utterances" between the two fires, the gārhapatya and āhavanīya.

Notes to Section 4.

¹ See for example Sylvain Lévi, La Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brâhmanas (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966 (2nd edit.)), pp. 102ff. More recently Gonda has undertaken an elaborate study of dīksā and initiation in general in India from ancient to modern times; J. Gonda, Change and Continuity in Indian Religion (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1965), pp. 315ff.

² Ap 5.4.9f, Bhar 5.2.22f, SH 6.5:527, Baudh 2.12:54.10-13, Vkh 1.4.1.5. Some simply refer directly to that rite; Mn 1.5.1.11f and Kat 4.7.11.

³ The other sūtras have only one preparatory day. Most confusing in Vkh is the fact that there are two haircuts (see below) which seems unnecessary unless these two days of preparation are substantially separated in time. Our author may have recognized the problem as he notes that some do not enjoin the second haircut; see Vkh 1.4:5.6f, 10-12.

⁴ This is the opening line of the TS, but perhaps also that of the VkhS.

⁵ Ordinarily when the performer is not named the Adhvaryu is understood, but as the priests have not yet been chosen it must be the sacrificer who offers these oblations. The "prescribed manner" (uktavrata) probably refers to the treatment of the Kūsmāṇḍa offerings in TA 2.8.

⁶ It is possible that the first set of preparations precede the first Brahmaudana (Sect. 5), but no priests have yet been chosen.

⁷ The Nāndī mukha or Abhyudaya Śrāddha is described twice in VkhSmS, VkhSmS 2.1-2 and 6.2, and the few details given here by the SrS should represent only modifications of one or both of these two passages. However, the relationship between these two passages is not clear, and it is therefore uncertain as to which should be the model. On the basis of the material surrounding it the latter should be an expiatory rite for the former. But the fact that the SrS is more in tune with the latter mitigates against this conclusion; see Caland, VkhSmS, trans., p. 153 fn 7.

⁸ This refers to such matters as whether the sacred thread is worn over the left or right shoulder, whether circumambulation is clockwise or counter-clockwise, and whether offerings are followed by the expression svāhā or svadhā. In each instance the first option is the practice in rites to the gods and the second in rites to the Fathers.

Section 4.

⁹Proclaiming the day auspicious (punyāha) is described in detail in VkhSmS 1.6-7, transl., pp. 13-16.

¹⁰Rules concerning the choosing of priests are given at the beginning of Vkh's Agnistoma section, Vkh 12.1-2, but it is not clear to me whether or not they are to be applied here. They are, however, similar to those in Baudh's Agnyādheya section; Baudh 2.3-4. The problem is that Baudh is the only sūtra to include detailed rules for the selection of priests within the context of the Agnyādheya and even there the rules are applicable to a variety of rites.

¹¹For a discussion of varying opinions concerning which substances are used to make madhuparka see Kane, Hist Dhs, 11, p. 545. Generally yoghurt, honey, and ghee seem to be involved, though the phrase "ghṛtadadhikṣīramiśraṁ madhuparkam" in VkhSmS 8.4:114.6f suggests that only honey is in the madhuparka itself. The rite for its giving and receiving with appropriate mantras is found in VkhSmS 2.16, transl., p. 63.

¹²Vkh 1.4:5.6-6.7.

¹³See note 2 for references.

¹⁴Heesterman, Rājasūya, p. 97.

¹⁵Lévi, op. cit., p. 104.

¹⁶"yónir vái dīkṣitāsya dīkṣitavimitám jarāyu kṣṇājīnám úlbam dīkṣitavāsó nābhīr mékhalā gārbho dīkṣitáh".

¹⁷"ájāto vái távat púruṣo yāvad agnīm nādhatté; sá tárhy evá jāyate yārhy agnīm ādhatté; kṣāume vásāna agnīm ādadhīyātām; té adhvaryāve déye; úlbasya vá etán nírrūpaṁ yát kṣāumam; úlbam evā-palumpete" MS 1.6.4:93.5ff; These garments are given to the Adhvaryu at the end of the ritual to get rid of the embryonic covering; see Heesterman "The Significance of the dāksinā", IJ, 111 (1959), pp. 250f concerning the disposal and reintegration of this covering and its creative energy through the mechanism of dakṣinā.

¹⁸One might also compare the food eaten, predominately milk and ghee, to baby food.

¹⁹Both the statement of intent and selection of priests are given in more elaborate form in Baudh to which the reader is referred for further details; see Baudh 2.1, SrKos pp. 7-8 and Baudh 2.3-4, SrKos pp. 8-12.

Section 4.

²⁰The word amātya derives from amā "at home" and apparently denotes members of the same household; see for example Bhar 12.16.12f where the amātyas are the sons and brothers of the sacrificer. However, I find no other mention of homas by this name in Vkh. According to Baudh these homas are offered as part of the rite to the Fathers which that text alone enjoins on the day of preparation for the Agnyādheya; SrKos p. 30. In this context Baudh states that they (the mantras for the Amātya offerings according to the SrKos) are called the Kūsmāndas, the Kājavas, the Amātyahomas, or the Atīmoksas; Baudh 2.11:52.11ff. The Atīmoksa offerings are detailed in Baudh 14.20-21, being based on the verses in TS 3.5.4, and are by some texts included in the Viṣṇu steps at the Darśapūrṇamāsa, which seem directed against enemies; see SrKos p. 430. The Kājavas appear to be MS 2.1.4:6.9ff, a special offering for one who is hostile towards his neighbor (samāntam abhidruhin), though also for one who is ill (āmayāvin). Perhaps the more peaceful stance of Baudh 24.12:195.8ff is to be compared: "One who is going to establish the fires should make himself suitable for regeneration (prajya); he should make good relations with him with whom he might have bad relations". It may be, then, that these offerings have as their purpose the settling of domestic, worldly conflicts within the household or with neighbors, which must be dealt with as a prerequisite for regeneration.

²¹The verses are found in TA 2.3-6 and brāhmaṇa and injunctions in TA 2.7-8. KSank 20:87ff, 125ff has a similar treatment, and the verses are also contained in MS 4.14.17 and partially in TBr 3.7.12.

²²Concerning broad application of the term dīkṣā see Gonda, op cit., pp. 318f.

²³"yāvad éno dīkṣām úpaiti; dīkṣitá etáih [hómaih] satatí juhoti; samvatsaráṁ dīkṣitó bhavati; samvatsarád evá "tmānám punTte" TA 2.8. The text goes on to reconcile shorter periods of time symbolically to the year.

²⁴The term used is actually "bodily" (śārīra) saṁskāras, but these as defined in VkhSmS 1.1 comprise the usual list of saṁskāras or sacraments enumerated in the GrSs; see Kane Hist Dhs, II, pp. 188ff.

²⁵VkhSmS 2.1:21.1ff and Çaland trans., p. 37.

²⁶See Renou Ved. Ind., p. 114.

²⁷Rājasūya, p. 66. Heesterman notes numerous parallels between royal consecration and dīkṣā or initiation in general as rites of renewal.

Section 4.

²⁸ I assume that the new "clothes and outer garments" (vastrott-
arīya) in the preparatory rites (Vkh 1.4:6.4) are related to the two
linen garments (kṣauma) mentioned after the fire has been churned
(Vkh 1.11:12.10) since the garment worn for dīksā is normally linen.

Notes to Section 5.

¹In the KausS of the AVic tradition the Brahmaudana has become the model for a series of rites called Savayajñas, and Gonda has discussed the Brahmaudana in general with reference to these rites; J. Gonda, The Savayajñas (Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1965).

²Concerning the problems in the text see VkhSmS, Caland trans., p. 127, notes 15-17, where the same action, but with directions reversed, is performed in the funeral rites. In both that and the present instances the accompanying verse is that used by Bhar to obtain the sacrificial spot from the spirits, above p. 65. In the Darśa-pūrnamāsa a branch of either a śamī or a palāśa tree (*Butea frondosa*) is used to drive off the calves, and such a branch here must serve to drive off spirits.

³The VPAK, I, p. 437 glosses ambarīṣa (frying pan) pākapātra, bharjanapātra "cooking vessel, frying vessel". An ambarīṣa is also one of several sources for the dakṣiṇāgni in Ap 5.14.3 for which the commentary gives bhraṣṭra and the parallels in SH 3.4:315 and Vr 1.4.3.6 bharjana and bhraṣṭra respectively, all from the roots bhrj/ bhrajī "fry, roast". In the index to his edit. of Baudh, p. 45, Caland reports the opinions of two of his commentaries concerning uttapanīya. According to one it is produced from a glowing ceramic vessel or the like (kapālādisantāpaja). The other explains that a handful of grass is kindled on a glowing vessel; then a second handful is kindled on the first fire and a third on the second, and the fire burning in the third handful is called an uttapanīya fire. "kapālāgnau darbhamuṣṭim ādīpya tasminn agnau muṣṭyantaram ādīpya tṛtīyamuṣṭigatāgnav uttapanīyākhye . . . juhuyāt". A similar, though less complicated, procedure is found in VkhSmS 3.15:46.5f where a vessel is put on the kitchen fire and the uttapanīya started with balls of bull dung; "culliyāṁ kapālam āropyā vṛṣabhaśakṛtpiṇḍair jātakāgniṁ sādhayet tam enam uttapanīyam ity udāharanti".

⁴The same view is found in Ap 5.7.8 and Baudh 2.7:44.3ff. In Ap 5.4.14 a rite is prescribed in this case in which a cake of rice and a cake of barley are placed on either side of the fire to propitiate it at its destruction; see MS 1.6.5:93.13ff. The same rite is given in Kat 4.11.8 for the removal of the old fires at the Punarādheya.

⁵"na nirṇenecti nānvasrāvayati payasi śrapayati caturṣu vā pātreṣu śrapayitvā . . ."; Vkh 1.5:7.7ff. We might think that the rice is cooked either in a single large vessel (sthālī) or four

Section 5.

smaller pots (pātra), one for each priest, but the alternative is rather between cooking in milk or four potfuls of water. Cf. Baudh 2.13:56.1ff "athaitenaiva pātreṇa catura udapātrān ānayati yadi vīḍitā sthālī bhavati yady u vā avīḍitā pañca yā bhūyaso vā". "then with the very same pot (used to measure the rice) he pours four potfuls of water (into the cooking vessel) if the cooking vessel is strong (i.e. of thick sides); however, if it is not strong (he pours in) five or more"; see also Ap 5.5.4; Bhar 5.3.7, SH 3.2:300, and Vr 1.4.1.7. The point both in regulating the amount of liquid and in prohibiting washing the rice seems to be that one must avoid adding too much liquid, which would overcook the rice. So Baudh takes into consideration even the thickness of the vessel. The reason behind all this is that the grains of rice are to be served "as if still alive", that is still possessed of their fructifying potential; see MS 1.6.12:104.10 "jīvātaṇḍulam ivōpaharet". One may also not pour off any excess liquid as some of the fructifying essence of the rice may be lost.

⁶I follow the commentaries to Ap 5.5.8 and SH 3.2:301 in this interpretation.

⁷According to the commentary on SH 3.2:302 a prādeśa equals the span between the extended thumb and forefinger or else 12 aṅgulas.

⁸It is not clear whether only the Adhvaryu, who performs the act of depositing the fuel sticks, or all the priests receive this gift. The commentary on Ap 5.7.1 holds that the gift following placement of the sticks belongs only to the Adhvaryu, while that on SH 6.5:527 holds that it belongs to all the priests.

⁹Vkh 1.4:6.6-1.6:8.7; see also Ap 5.4.12-5.7.15, Bhar 5.2.26-5.3.20, Baudh 2.7:44.1-4, 2.13-14:54.14-57.9, SH 3.2:298-303, Mn 1.5.1.14-30, Vr 1.4.1.6-13, and Kat 4.8.3-12.

¹⁰"dve śīrṣa iti brahmaudanapravargyav eva . . . etad vai yajñasya śīro yan mantravān brahmaudano"; the comment is made with regard to RV 4.58.3 "four are its horns . . . two its heads . . ." The Pravargya is frequently called the head of makha, the sacrifice; see van Buitenen, Pravargya, pp. 16ff.

¹¹"ya eṣa odanaḥ pacyata ārambhanam evaitat kriyata ākramaṇam eva".

¹²SrKos, II, 150ff passim.

Section 5.

¹³Cf. Ap 5.7.3 'prāśitavadbhyas [sic] samānam varam dadāti' as well as Bhar 5.3.11 and Vr 1.4.1.9.

¹⁴See note 5.

¹⁵The several versions of this myth are told by Gonda, Savayajñas, pp. 55ff.

¹⁶Charles Malamoud, "Observations sur la notion de 'reste' dans le brāhmanisme" WZKSOA, vol. 16 (1972), pp. 5-26. He holds that such food may be offered not only to the gods but to guests, teachers, and the like. The paradox that "remains" are at other times considered polluting and the social implications of this paradox go beyond the present ritual context.

¹⁷In the GrSs the bride is made to sit on a red ox skin upon arriving at her new home, and the mantras, where recited, refer to offspring and fertility; see for example AsvGrS 1.8.9.

¹⁸SrKos, II, 102, 114ff passim. This skin, located on the uttaravedi or at the pressing site, is subsequently placed over the boards on which the soma is pressed; SrKos, II, 284ff passim.

¹⁹SrKos, 1110ff; the verses are in TA 6.10.

²⁰See Lévi, Doctrine, p. 94, who cites a number of passages in support of this contention. Among them are PBr 24.19.2 (=22.12.2) 'etad vāva manuṣyasyāmṛtatvaṁ yat sarvam āyur eti vasiyān bhavati' 'this indeed is a human's immortality that he attains a complete life, that he becomes better off' and SBr 10.2.6.8 'ya eva śataṁ varṣāni yo vā bhuyānsi jīvati sa haivaitad amṛtam āpnoti' 'only he who lives 100 years or who lives more (and not the lesser periods previously mentioned) obtains this immortality'.

²¹In the soma ritual this is not entirely appropriate since the skin is, at least symbolically, already in the world of heaven; see below. But soma's celestial origin may have forced this discrepancy, and even when the sacrificer is symbolically with the gods he still desires that his life continue.

²²BharPitrmedhaS 1.11.7-9.

²³TA 6.10.1 'anadvāham anvárahāmahe svastāye/ sá na índra i va debébhya váhniḥ sampāraṇo bhava'; note that 'devébhya' could also mean 'towards the gods'.

Section 5.

²⁴TA 6.10.2 "imé jīvá vi mṛtáir āvavartinn (?āvavartann) ábhūd bhadrá deváhūtim(?r) no adyá/ práñjo (? práñco) gāmā nṛtáye hásāya drāghīya áyuh pratarām dádhanāḥ".

²⁵See note 15 and TS 6.5.6.1-2, TBr 1.1.9.1-3, KS 7.15 (KpS 6.5, GopBr 1.2.15), and MS 1.6.12:104.10ff.

²⁶SrKos, II, pp. 105ff passim.

²⁷As noted above, the soma is alternatively at the pressing site on the mahāvedi, but the whole "high altar" likely stands in opposition to the consecration hut as the world of heaven to the earth. Heaven is also the mythic abode of soma; cf. the myth of its theft by the eagle Gayatri, below pp. 156f. It may be that this offering prepares not only for the immediate expedition to heaven but, in a larger sense, for the whole ritual which moves progressively towards the āhavanīya in the east.

²⁸"ādityā vá itá úttamāḥ suvargám lokám āyan/ té vá itó yántam prátinudante/ eté khálu vāvá 'dityāḥ/ yad brāhmaṇāḥ/ táir evá santvám gacchati/ náinaṁ prátinudante".

²⁹MS 1.6.12:105.9f "devayānān pathó gopāyanti"; in KS 7.15 they are called pathiraksis.

³⁰Cf. the opinion of MacDonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 121, that aditi means boundless, like the sky, that is without boundaries.

³¹MS 1.6.12:105.9ff, KS 7.15, GopBr 1.2.15. In the soma sacrifice the Āditya cups are also made up of the soma remaining from Dvidevatya cups; TS 6.5.6.3, KS 28.6.

³²TBr 1.1.9.5, Ap 5.5.10, Bhar 5.3.12; Mn 1.5.1.24 reads caitya, and though the printed edit. of Vr 1.4.1.10 has caitrya, the note p. 37 indicates that the ms (first hand) had caita. Notice that the commentary on ApGrS 3.9.3 explains citriya vanaspati as either lokaprasiddha "widely known" or cayanamūla "having a mound at the base".

³³SH 3.2:302, Vkh 1.6:7.14.

³⁴KS 7.15, GopBr 1.2.15.

³⁵"lakṣaṇopayogyo lakṣaṇyo yena grāmatr̥thas̥tmādi lakṣyate"; commentary on SH 3.2:302. The editor's note to Ap 5.5.10 (Mysore edit., I, p. 494), taken from Rudradatta, is similar as regards

Section 5.

citriya: "citriyaḥ- lakṣmaṇyaḥ grāmatīrthādivyapadeśika ity arthaḥ", while the commentary understands "designate" not simply in the sense of "to mark off" but in the sense of "to name", giving the example Aśvattha village.

³⁶Pokorny, II, p. 298.

³⁷ibid., pp. 283-4.

³⁸That nirmārga is paralleled by citriya is further interesting in light of Lithuanian mārgas, which Pokorny, II, 275 renders with the German word bunt, which in turn carries most of the connotations of Sanskrit citra, "brightly colored, variegated, spotted", that is conspicuous as befits a marker. However, Pokorny derives mārgas from *mer "glitter, sparkle", with which he also connects Sanskrit maryādā "boundary" (Pokorny, II, pp. 273, 275). In any case, it is clear that the ideas of marking and conspicuousness are frequently associated. Finally, we might add that a panthan "road", a synonym of mārga, can serve as a boundary for the sacrificial spot above, p. 66.

³⁹"yāt pratīcīnaṁ prāstaṇāt/ prācīnaṁ saṁgavāt/ tāto devā agniṣtomān nīramimata/ tāt tād āttivīryam nirmārgah"; TBr 1.5.3.1. The passage continues with the gods creating other forms of the soma sacrifice from the junctures between the various periods of the day, the phrase "tāt tād . . ." being repeated for each juncture.

⁴⁰"mārgo marjanaṁ śuddih, tāto nirgato nirmārgah"; idem.

⁴¹"nirmārgasyādadhāty: apagūrtyā vai vīryam kiryate; yan nirmārgasyādadhāty, apagūrtyā eva". The word apagūrtyā requires comment (GopBr 1.2.15 reads avakūti, though the VPAK, II, p. 247, takes it as avagūrtyā, presumably on the strength of KS and the parallel KpS). Mayrhofer, I, p. 340 glosses the root gur "salute" and gūrta as "welcome, agreeable" to which he relates Latin gratus "erwünscht, willkommen" (p. 342). Now, while gur, especially with such prefixes as abhi, ā, pra, signifies positive salutation, greeting or welcoming, with the prefixes apa, ava, and ud it seems to denote negative salutation, warning off or threatening, and this may take the form of verbal threats as well as gesticulations, the latter often involving a show of arms. (I think Mayrhofer (p. 340) is wrong in positing a second root gur with the meaning "raise", as in a weapon, of which his only examples bear the prefix ud.) So RV 5.32.6d ". . . uccāir īndro apagūrtyā jaghāna (vṛtrām)" is rendered by Griffith "Him, after loud-voiced threats, the Hero Indra . . . slaughtered" (p. 251), though Sāyana explains "uccair ūrdhvam apagūrtya vajram udyamya" "after raising up the thunderbolt". On TS 2.6.2.5, however, Sāyana says apagūrtyoccair dhvaniṁ krtvā "apagūrtya, (that is) having made a loudly voiced sound, while again on TS 4.5.9.2 he glosses apaguramāna

Section 5.

as udyatāyudha "with weapon raised". A final example is TS 2.6.10.2 "One should not threaten a Brahmin; one should not strike (him); one should not draw (his blood); "brāhmaṇāya nāpa gureta ná ní hanyān ná lóhitam kuryāt". Here both verbal and visual threats or warnings may be involved.

Mayrhofer, *loc. cit.*, Whitney, *Roots*, p. 37, and Pokorny, I, p. 686, all regard gur as another form of gr̥, and in this context the case of the apagara and abhigara, the so-called "reviler" and "praiser", is of interest. In the Mahāvratā rite the "praiser" praises actions within the ritual while the "reviler" reviles them in the form of unwelcome comments. However, in light of the distinction between apa gur and (abhi) gur it is possible that the apagara is himself an unwelcome outsider. In one form of the rite the abhigara is an Aryan stationed within the mahāvedi, and the apagara is a Sūdra stationed outside to the south. These two hold a tug of war with a piece of white hide, which must therefore stretch over the boundary of the mahāvedi, said to be the form (rūpa) of the sun (āditya), and one wonders if part of what is at stake is the delineation of the boundary and whether the apagara is welcome to cross it or whether he will pull the Aryan outside it. See PBr 5.5.13ff with Caland's notes (trans., pp. 82ff) and Heesterman "Vrātya and Sacrifice" WZKS0A XII/XIII (1968/69), pp. 22ff and "On the Origin of the Nāstika" IJ VI (1963-2), p. 177.

Finally, one might, I suppose, attempt to refer nirmārga to the remains of the rice; I take it that is what the VPAK, I, p. 1824 means by the gloss rjīṣa which often signifies the residue left after the soma has been pressed. But I must object that it is the fuel sticks, not the remains themselves, which are deposited (ā dhā) in the fire, as is what is "hirmārgasya" in our passage, whereas the remains are smeared (añj) on the sticks, a fact clearly stated in this same passage.

⁴²The verb ā dhā can mean both "to deposit" and "to establish" as in the name of our ritual.

⁴³It is worth mentioning in this context the Brahmaudana which precedes the releasing of the horse at the Aśvamedha as it too marks the beginning of a journey, which again may well involve the crossing of boundaries; see SBr 13.4.1.5, Ap 20.2.4-6. We might also mention VrGrS 15.4 where one pays homage to either a laksanya or a caitya tree when setting forth on the journey to fetch the bride home.

⁴⁴If these gifts (vara) are to be construed as dakṣiṇās, dakṣiṇās are usually given following the rite to which they pertain. The separation of these two parts of the Brahmaudana by a gift is not unique to Vkh, being found in all but Kat; however, Bhar, Mn and Vr do not provide for a second gift after the fuel sticks have been deposited. See note 9 for references.

Section 5.

⁴⁵Cf. the karmānta section of Baudh (24.15:199.10ff) "some declare there to be a double Brahmaudana, the former for the remainder (smeared on the fuel sticks), the latter to cause togetherness (of the sacrificer and priests)" "dvibrahmaudanam u haikē bruvata uccheṣaṇṭyo hetaraḥ sāntvakaṛaṇa uttaro". The commentary on SH 3.2:303 also holds that fuel sticks are not to be deposited at the second Brahmaudana, but the sūtras do not seem to me to support this view.

⁴⁶Whether or not the "gifts" are dakṣiṇās is left purposely ambiguous.

⁴⁷KS 7.15.

⁴⁸TBr 1.1.9.4.

⁴⁹TBr 1.1.9.5.

⁵⁰TBr 1.1.9.1-3, MS 1.6.12:104.10ff, KS 7.15.

⁵¹"brahmaudanām pacati/ réta evá tād dadhāti . . . uccheṣaṇād vá áditī réto 'dhatta/ uccheṣaṇād evá tād réto dhatte".

⁵²See Gonda, Savayajñas, p. 46.

⁵³"tām saṁvatsarām gopāyet/ saṁvatsarām hí réto hitām vārdhate".

⁵⁴"saṁvatsarē vṛddhā gárbhāḥ prájāyante; prájātam enaṁ vṛddhám ádhatte".

⁵⁵Our texts seem to prefer to identify the sticks with semen since like semen and unlike the penis they are not withdrawn.

⁵⁶TBr 1.1.9.4-5 "íyatīr bhavanti/ prajāpatinā yajñamukhēna sámmitāḥ/ íyatīr bhavanti/ yajñaparúṣā sámmitāḥ/ íyatīr bhavanti/ etávad vái púruṣe víryam/ víryasaṁmitāḥ".

⁵⁷TBr 1.2.1.8 "(samídhaḥ). tistrás trivṛdbhir mithunāḥ prájātyai".

⁵⁸Notice also that in TBr 1.6.3.1 a pairing is said to consist of mother, father, and son "mātā pitā putráḥ/ tād evá tán mithunám". The emphasis here is on the three sons, the three fires to be.

⁵⁹Or a lesser though symbolically equivalent period such as twelve days.

⁶⁰The duplication need not be merely symbolic as the fires could be taken directly from the brāhmaudanika fire. Kat 4.8.11 mentions such a possibility, albeit as an alternative to churning.

Section 5.

⁶¹This theme is also reiterated with the second Brahmaudana.

⁶²nirmanthyo vā (grhyāgniḥ); puṇyas, so 'nardhuko' (transliteration normalized and punctuation added), quoted in the notes to Oldenberg's trans., SBE XXIX, p. 385, Gobh 1.1.17-18 is similar.

⁶³See Sect. 7.

⁶⁴prādeśamātrīs samidho bhavanty etāvān hy ātmā prajāpatinā saṁmito".

⁶⁵The gāyatrī, tristubh, and jaḡatī meters, employed here for a Brahmin, Rājanya, and Vaiśya respectively, are frequently associated with these varṇas. The reader will also recall that the distance between the gārhapatya and āhavanīya fires is to be 8, 11 or 12 paces depending on the sacrificer's varṇa, these being the number of syllables per pāda of these same meters.

⁶⁶svāsya chāndasaḥ pratyayanastvāya". Sāyana glosses pratyayanastvā, which is not found elsewhere, punahprāpti "regaining". The "s" is puzzling, and the VPAK, II, p. 988, considers it an upajana, "an additional phonetic element" according to K. V. Abhyankar, A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar (GOS no. 134), p. 78. The word is therefore equivalent to the more recognizable formation pratyayana, which as a derivative of prati i should have something like the meaning I have given.

⁶⁷Cf. the commentary to ApGrS 3.9.3 which gives as one gloss for citriya "widely known", above note 32.

⁶⁸cītriyasyāśvatthāsya "dadhāti/ citrām evā bhavati". Sāyana even goes so far as to render citra "lordship" (aiśvarya).

⁶⁹Given that caitya is found as a variant for citriya or is at least put in the same category as citriya and lakṣanya trees, we might cite the view of O. Viennot, Le Culte de l'Arbre dans l'Inde Ancienne (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), esp. pp. 92, 128, that at the time of the epics there were sacred trees known as caityas which served as the focus of identity for local communities. She suggests further that this tree likely had ancestral connections with the leading family of the community. I am, however, unable to locate the two key pieces of her argument (p. 90): R(āmāyana) IX, 42-44 (?) and Sabhāparvan 816-817 (?). The latter could be MBh (Crit. Ed.) 2.19.12ff, esp. 17-19, which relates the destruction by the Pāṇdavas of a caitya revered by the inhabitants of Girivraja, though this caitya appears to be a mountain.

Notes to Section 6.

¹We have observed the same time sequence in the myth of Pur-
ūravas and Urvaśī, pp. 54f.

²According to Mn 1.5.1.32 and the commentary on Ap 5.7.1
all of the priests observe this vow, while SH 3.2:303 agrees with
Vkh 1.6:8.7 in specifying only the Adhvaryu. Bhar 5.3.23 gives both
views.

³See Sect. 5, p. 96.

⁴In Bhar 5.4.1 and SH 3.2:303f. the goat is tied within the
fireplace.

⁵The mss vary between kudupa, kuṁduva, and kuduba, kuduva
being Caland's reconstruction; Caland edit., p. 8. I assume this is
another variant of kudava/kudapa which MW, p. 289, defines as the
"4th part of a Prastha, described by some as a vessel four fingers
wide and as many deep and containing 12 Prakritis or handfuls".

⁶For details see below Sect. 8, p. 128. Unlike the other
sūtras Vkh counts the "nest" of muñja grass (muñja kulāya), used for
churning, as an arboreal substance.

⁷Vkh notes that some fetch the churning sticks at this point
rather than previously; see Sect. 4, p. 89.

⁸Vkh 1.6:8.7-1.7:9.8; see also Ap 5.7.16-5.8.4, Bhar 5.3.21-
5.4.3, SH 3.2:303f, Baudh 2.15:58.6ff, Mn 1.5.1.32-1.5.2.1, Vr 1.4.
1.14-16, and Kat 4.8.1.

⁹There may have been a real or imagined etymological
connection of the sort aja <aj=ang> agni; see Mayrhofer, I, pp. 18,23.

¹⁰"tad haikē 'jam upabadhnanti/ āgneyo 'jo 'gner ēva sar-
vatvāyeti vadantas"; however the SBr. disagrees with this practice.

¹¹"gāyatrīm vai devā yajñam ācha prāhinvant sā riktāgachat
tāsya āgnis tejah prāyachat sō 'jō 'bhavat"; MS 1.6.4:92.10f. This
connection is further strengthened by the fact that the goat is
given to the Agnīdh as a dakṣiṇā; idem.

¹²See note 8 for references.

¹³TS 5.5.22,24; 5.6.22; the victims are dedicated to the
Maruts and Tvaṣṭr.

Section 6.

¹⁴TS 5.1.1.4, MS 3.1.2:2.16ff, KS 19.1 (KpS 29.8), SBr 6.3.1.31.

¹⁵All sources.

¹⁶MS.

¹⁷MS.

¹⁸"yām (vasatīm) vānaspātiṣv āvasat tām vēnā avasat"; MS 3.1.2:2.17f. The other texts make no mention of other beings or trees, stating simply "sā vēnum prāviśat".

¹⁹TS, MS, KS.

²⁰SBr, KS.

²¹SBr.

²²"sā yātrayatrāvasat tāt kṛṣṇām abhavat".

²³"sa yātrayatrāvasat tan niradāhat tat kalmaṣam abhavat; in his edition of KpS, p. 157, Vira suggests emending "kalmaṣam" in KS to "kalmāṣam". See also MS and SBr "yātra nirādāhat (yātrayatra nidadāha SBr) tāni kalmāṣāny abhavan".

²⁴The commentator explains śilpa as "song, playing of instruments, etc.", "gītavādyādi". He refers to this passage again in the yājamāna section (6.5:527), where he gives "lute, flute, drum, etc.", "vīṇāvenumrdaṅgādi".

²⁵SBr 13.4.3; Eggeling, SBE, XLIV, pp. 360ff.

²⁶Manu Vaivasvata, Dharma Indra, as well as the kings of snakes, fish, and birds are mentioned. However, each is brought into relationship with a segment of the population, e.g. snake-charmers, fishermen, and bird-catchers.

²⁷"vīṇāganagīna upasametā bhavanti tān adhvaryuḥ saṁpreṣyati . . . purānair imāṁ yajamānaṁ rājābhiḥ sādhuḥkrdbhiḥ saṁgāyateti"; SBr 13.4.3.3. The commentary (Weber edit. p. 1013) explains the possessive vīṇāganagīn as referring to the master (ācārya) of the vīṇāganagās, those who play a variety of vīṇās; "vīṇānām alāvuvīṇā tritantiḥ saptatantiḥ ityādīnām vīṇāganāḥ tena vīṇāganāsaṁghātena ye gāyanti śabdāyanti te vīṇāganagāḥ". But gai means more "to sing" than "to play", and it seems more plausible to me that a vīṇāganaga is a singer who sings accompanied by a lute ensemble. Otherwise, if there are no lyrics, how will the comparison with ancient kings be made? As for the likening of the sacrificer to ancient kings the commentary on SH 14.2.16 mentions "Yudhiṣṭhira and so on", and the

Section 6.

commentary on Kat 20.3.2 speaks of Rājarṣis.

²⁸Vīnāgāthin, applied to this Rājanya, presents problems similar to those of vīnāganaga. Perhaps it signifies a minstrel who sings and plays.

²⁹We might cite the telling of the Śunaḥśepa legend during the Rājasūya as another example; see Heesterman, Rājasūya, pp. 158ff.

³⁰See Hillebrandt, Rit. Lit., pp. 147f, 154ff. These are extended rites which can last up to a year or more.

³¹Cf. AitAr 1.1.3, 1.2.1 "bahu vā etasminn ahani kiñca kiñca vāraṇam kriyate" which Keith renders "Much indeed is done on this day that is forbidden"; transl., pp. 167, 169.

³²TS 7.5.8-10, KS 34.5, PBr 5.5-6.

³³Caland transl., p. 88, "vāṇam vitanvanti anto vai vāno 'nto mahāvratam antenaiva tad antam abhivādayanti". Caland notes that "abhivādayanti" means both to salute and to make music. The commentary glosses vāṇa as mahāvīnā, the great vīnā, and offers the interpretation that it is the ultimate and best of vīnās as of all instruments; "vāno vīnānām antaḥ paramaḥ śreṣṭha ity arthaḥ/ vāṇaḥ khalu sarveṣāṃ vādyaviśeṣāṇām anto . . .".

³⁴"mahāvratam ahnām antaḥ".

³⁵PBr transl., p. 88.

³⁶Eggeling provides a chart of the various days which make up this yearlong Sattra; SBE XXVI, p. 427.

³⁷The rite consists of 2+(5x30)+28+1+28+(5x30)+2 days, the initial and final sets of two days combining with the last two 28 day months to form 30 days each; idem.

³⁸Alternatively the Mahāvratā itself could be performed as an overnight rite.

³⁹Keith, TS transl., p. cxxxi.

⁴⁰It may be that the two 28 day months were artificially shortened because of the two initial and two final surplus days, which in turn originally served, along with the Viśvant or central day, to bring the year to (12x30)+5 days, a solar year. See further Eggeling's note, SBE XLIX, p. 167, where he regards the Mahāvratā as the last day of the year.

Section 6.

⁴¹See note 31 above.

⁴²For details and references see below Sect. 8.2, pp. 153ff; for other versions of the myth of Agni's dispersion see O'Flaherty, Hindu Myths, pp. 98ff.

⁴³Similarly SBr 6.3.3.5f speaks of the search for Agni in the materials used to make the ukhā at the Agnicayana, and we might compare the verb ni lī "hide" with pralaya (from pra lī), the periodic dissolution of purāṇic cosmology.

⁴⁴Ap 5.1.7-5.3.1, Bhar 5.1.4-6; the oldest strata of Baudh (2.12:53.3ff) simply lists the materials without any formal rite, while Baudh.2.6:42.1ff supplies the same rite as Ap and Bhar, but places it just prior to the Brahmaudana. Mn, Vr, and Kat say nothing of the acquisition of these materials, though they are employed subsequently, the implication being that they are obtained in advance of the ritual.

⁴⁵In each case where a formal rite is given, whether for acquiring the materials (Ap, Bhar, SH), or for gathering them up where they are stored (Vkh, Baudh), the rite is based on the verses in TBr 1.2.1.1-9.

⁴⁶yām tvā samābharaṅ jātavedo yathāśarīrām bhūteṣu nyaktam/ sā sambhṛtaḥ sīda sivaḥ prajābhya urúm no lokām ānuneṣi vidvān"; TBr 1.2.1.9. The verse is similarly used in Ap 5.3.1, Bhar 5.1.6; and Baudh 2.6:43.7ff.

Notes to Section 7.

¹See Sect. 5, especially note 4.

²For ease of reference the verses employed in this section will be numbered consecutively and cited as V1, V2, and so on.

³"jātavedo bhūvanasya réta ihá síñca tápasso yáj janīṣyáte/ agnīm aśvatthād ádhi havyvāham śamīgarbhāj janáyan yo mayobhūh// ayám te yónir ṛtvíyo yáto jātó árocathāh/ tám jānann agna árohátha no vardhayā rayím// TBr 1.2.1.15-16. There is a play on "ároha" which here means 'mount up' but can also mean 'grow, increase', hence the phrase "increase our wealth".

⁴"máyi grhñāmy ágre agnīm ráyasposāya suprajāstvāya suvīryāya/ máyi prajām máyi várco dadhāmy áriṣṭāh syāma tanúvā subīrāh [sic]// yó no agnīh pitaro hṛtsv àntár amartyo mártiyām āvivéśa/ tám ātmán pári grhñīmahe vayám má só asmām avahāya pára gāt// TS 5.7.9.1.

⁵I follow Caland's transl. of Ap 5.8.7 p. 144, and Whitney, Grammar, p. 440 in rendering urvārt "tow", that is unwoven plant fibres; see also KausS 107.2, a rite for unravelling tangled threads. The "one to be milked" is the upper churning stick, and the "one which bears the milk" is the lower. This verse employs a complex mixture of images. Manipulation of the upper churning stick in churning is compared to milking which produces milk, often equated with semen, which the lower stick bears, thus becoming pregnant with the fire. Again the sticks are compared with plant fibres which are fashioned into rope by rubbing them between the palms of the hands in a manner similar to primitive methods of churning fire. Both metaphors would seem to refer to a time before a cord was used to rotate the upper stick; cf. above, p. 48.

⁶"dóhyā ca te dugdhabhṛc corvárī té te bhāgadhéyam práyachāmi tábhyām tvādadhe" MS 1.6.1:86.2.

⁷"mahī viśpātnī sādane ṛtasyārvācī étam dharúṇe rayīnām/ antārvatnī jānyām jātāvedasam adhvarāṇām janayathaḥ purogam" TBr 1.2.1.13.

⁸"árohataṁ daśátaṁ śákvarīr mámarténāgna áyuṣā várcasā sahá/ jyóg jīvanta úttarām úttarām sámām dárśam ahám pūrṇámāsam yajñām yáthā yájai" TBr 1.2.1.14.

⁹"ṛtvīyavatī stho agnīretasau gárbham dadhāthām té vām ahám dade/ tát satyám yád vīrām bibhṛtho vīrām janayīṣyáthaḥ// té mát prā-tāh prájanīṣyethe té mā prājāte prájanayīṣyathaḥ/ prajāyā paśúbhir brahmavarcaséna suvargé loké//" TBr 1.2.1.14-15. The TBr appears to consider these two a single verse as does Vkh which gives only the pratīka for the first.

Section 7.

¹⁰"(idam aham Vkh) áñtāt satyám úpaimi / mānuṣād dáivyaṃ úpaimi / dáivīm vācam yacchāmi" TBr 1.2.1.15. Vkh gives only the phrase "Now I go forth from falsehood to truth", which, if a pratīka, does not fully agree with the TBr. But Baudh, which is usually quite faithful to the Taittirīya mantra text, and SH give the entire TBr verse with "idam aham" at the beginning; Baudh 2.15:58.5f, SH 6.5:528. I assume, therefore, that Vkh too intended the complete verse, giving, as is its practice, only the pratīka.

¹¹"agnī rakṣāṃsi sedhati śukraśocir amartyaḥ / śuciḥ pāvaka Tḍyaḥ" Ap 5.8.6 = SH 3.3:305. The verse does not appear in the Agnyā-dheya section of our mantra texts.

¹²Vkh 1.7:9.8-1.8:10.1; see also Ap 5.8.1, 5-8, 5.9.1; Baudh 2.15:57.10-58.6, 2.16:58.13-17; Bhar 5.4.4-11; SH 3.3:305, 6.5:528; Mn 1.5.2.2-9, 1.5.3.7; Vr 1.4.1.17-22, 1.4.2.12; Kat 4.7.22-25, 4.8.15.

¹³Introd., pp. 23ff.

¹⁴Vkh 1.8:9.15^f, Bhar 5.4.11, SH 3.3:305 and 6.5:528; Ap 5.9.1 and Vr 1.4.2.12 state only that these verses are recited (jap) as the internalization of the fire is evident in the verses themselves. In the latter the internalization is done just prior to churning.

¹⁵Baudh 2.15:57.20ff; the SrKos, p. 30 renders upa ni grah "hold to his heart".

¹⁶Mn 1.5.3.7 "hrdayadeśam ārabhya"; in this case the fire internalized is the fire which has just been churned.

¹⁷The separation of the Adhvaryu's internalization of the fire from that of the sacrificer is unique to Vkh. Notice also that the middle knuckle of the middle finger of the right hand of either the sacrificer or the Adhvaryu can serve as the basic unit of measurement in the sacrifice; Vkh 1.3:5.4-5.

¹⁸See TS 3.4.10, MS 1.5.13, and SrKos, pp. 98ff passim, where the context is journeying away from home for more than ten days. V2 is found in these passages while V1 is unique to the present context.

¹⁹Sect. 2, p. 57.

²⁰Note that this image is even extended to the sacrificer's taking hold of the churning sticks as in V7 he asks them to "mount" his fingers. The implication seems to be that thereby his fingers become productive or perhaps dexterous in providing the means for

Section 7.

life, lustre, and the performance of the ritual. We might also note in passing the theme of creating a world in constructing the fire-places or, as VI has it, in engendering the fire which occupies that place.

²¹See Sect. 2, pp 59f.

²²Sect. 3, pp. 79ff.

²³Sect. 5, p. 98.

²⁴Sect. 3, pp. 79f.

²⁵Sect. 4.

²⁶See Sect. 5, p. 94 and Introd., p. 22.

²⁷In Baudh 2.13:55.12f, Mn 1.5.2.9, Vr 1.4.1.23 and Kat 4.7.15 the gārhapatya is put where the brāhmaudānika was, while in Ap 5.10.7, Bhar 5.6.1, SH 3.3:310, and Vkh 1.10:11.17ff it is simply churned there. See Sect. 9, p. 169.

²⁸See Sect. 5, pp. 106ff.

²⁹Sect. 3, p. 80.

³⁰Baudh 2.16:58.17, 2.17:61.10f; Kat 4.8.15. In Kat this is given as an alternative to extinguishing the fire.

³¹Renou has shown that restraining one's speech (vāgyamana) does not refer to all speech but only to profane speech and is used to preserve the solemnity of key parts of the ritual; Louis Renou, "La valeur du silence dans le culte védique" JAOS, vol. 69 (1949), pp. 11-18. However for practical reasons the sacrificer is permitted profane speech during less intense portions of the ritual. This may be why the Taittirīya sūtras allow the sacrificer to release his speech once the churning has been accomplished; Ap 5.11.2, Bhar 5.4.10, SH 6.5:528, Vkh 1.10:12.3, Baudh 2.16:60.7f. But in Mn, Vr, and Kat the sacrificer's speech is to remain restrained until the end of the ritual, that is until the journey to the east is complete; Mn 1.5.4.21, Vr 1.4.3.35, Kat 4.7.24. See further Kat's Darśapūrnamāsa, where at the end of the rite the sacrificer says "now I am that which I am", i.e. a man again (VS 2.28), which is regarded as a modification of the phrase "now I go forth from the human to the divine"; Kat 2.1.11, 3.8.29; see SBr 1.1.1.4-6. See also TS 1.6.6.1 and the brāhmaṇa in TS 1.7.6.2 where the formula is different, but the intent appears to be the same.

Notes to Section 8.


¹See Sect. 3.3, pp. 83ff.

²See Sect. 6, pp. 109, 113ff.

³Similar actions are performed to remove impurities when building the firehall (Sect. 3, p. 72) and prior to kindling the brāhmaudanika fire (Sect. 5, p. 94). Though we will not be concerned with these acts themselves we will have occasion to refer to the removal of impurities in so far as it relates to one of our materials, saline soil.

⁴"samkalpayati" can mean both "imagine, visualize" and "make arrangements for". Cf. VkhSmS 6.1:89.8f "rtvijor abhāve . . . kūrcaṃ nidhāya brahmasomau samkalpayati" which Caland, trans., p. 151, renders "If the two priests (the Brahman and Soma) are absent, he lays down . . . a bundle of grass . . . and imagines these as the Brahman- and Soma-priests . . ." In VkhSmS 2.15:33.10f this verb is used in the latter sense: "viṣṭaram kūrcaṃ pādyam . . . samkalpayati", "he arranges for grass to strew, water for washing the feet . . ." I think both usages are implied here in that the sacrificer's act of visualizing the fires, indicated by the recitation of a verse, signals the Adhvaryu to begin final preparations. The SrKos, p. 35, differs, translating "pronounce his intention".

⁵Sect. 5, p. 94.

⁶Cf. VkhSmS 1.9:10.2ff. Caland, transl., p. 18, is no doubt correct that the lines are meant to connect the holes, thus forming a grid pattern .

⁷See Sect. 6, p. 109.

⁸See Sect. 3.3, pp. 83f. Virtually all of the above is unique to Vkh, an elaboration on the basis of grhya practices. The other sūtras simply have the Adhvaryu dig out the ground and sprinkle the area with water to remove impurities; see note 22 for references. However, Baudh 2.16:59.1 also mentions smearing the fireplaces with cow-dung, and Mn 1.5.2.9 and Vr 1.4.1.23 mention marks (laksana) when laying out the position of the fireplaces, though nothing so elaborate as Vkh's practice is intimated.

⁹Here begin the earthen substances of Sect. 6.

¹⁰The akhūddhata of the printed edition (Vkh 1.9:11.2) should be ākhūddhata; cf. Baudh 2.12:53.3 ākūtkara, Ap 5.1.7 ākhuḥkarīṣa, and

Section 8.

Mn 1.5.2.17 ākhukiri. The word ākhu is variously translated as 'mouse', 'rat', and 'mole', and probably means 'the burrower', being derived from the root khan 'to dig'; Mayrhofer, 1, p. 301. Eggeling, SBE XII, p. 278, translates ākhukarīṣa 'molehill', a translation which fits English idiom nicely in that it conveys the emphasis placed on the mound raised by the ākhu. Unfortunately, it appears unlikely that ākhu means 'mole', but rather that it means 'rat'. According to P. Ray and H. N. Gupta, Caraka Samhita (A Scientific Synopsis) (Delhi: Nat. Instit. of Sci. of India, 1965), pp. 36, 30, Caraka classes the ākhu, which the authors gloss 'rat', among 'creatures with poisonous fangs or stings', while he places the mūṣika/mūṣaka, which they term 'mouse', with 'creatures which grab and tear off their food'. The ākhu is not named in Susruta's classificatory scheme (sūtrasthāna 46.78) where mūṣika is used as a generic term; apparently covering a variety of rats and mice, within the larger group of 'hole-dwellers'. However, in kalpasthāna 7, which deals with treatment of the poisonous bite of the mūṣika, of which 18 varieties are named, ākhu occurs as a synonym of mūṣika (7.6). The word ākhu is also found in MnSmr 12.62 where the commentary glosses it mūṣika, and the parallel, YajSmr actually reads mūṣika. Finally, Sāyaṇa on TBr 1.1.3.3-4 and TS 6.6.4.5 again explains ākhu by mūṣaka. We may therefore conclude that ākhu is a synonym for mūṣika/mūṣaka, a generic term including various rats and mice, but that when rats and mice are distinguished, it refers to rats, which are known for their treacherous bite. The terms utkara, karīṣa, kiri, or uddhata, mostly from kṛ 'to scatter', then suggest the scatterings or rubble around the rat's hole, which have been dug out of the ground, a point stressed in the mythology. We will therefore refer to this material as the 'diggings of a rat'. The reader is cautioned, however, that the English word 'rat' may carry more negative connotations than does Sanskrit ākhu, though the latter too has a negative side in the severity of its bite and the fact that it is Rudra's animal; see MS 1.10.20:160.2ff and TBr 1.6.10.2.

¹¹The other sūtras read varāhavihata; see note 22 for references.

¹²Cf. SH 3.3:308; in Ap 5.2.4(3) this alternative applies only if only five earthen materials are used and then only to the fifth, which the commentary takes to be gold.

¹³See Sect. 3, note 3.

¹⁴dem.

¹⁵Butea frondosa, also called the palāśa or kiṃśuka. We might refer to this as the 'feather-leaf' tree; see below p. 156.

Section 8.

¹⁶See Sect. 2, note 4.

¹⁷Flacourtia sapida is the prevalent view, though Gupta and Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 77, prefer Gymnosporia montana; see J. D. Hooker, The Flora of British India (Delhi: Periodical Experts, 1973 (reprint)), 1, p. 193. This tree is less widely mentioned than the khadira (Acacia catechu), which is also thorny and remarkable by its absence in this ritual.

¹⁸See below p. 137 for the anomalous inclusion of a lotus leaf among the vānaspatyas.

¹⁹sauvarṇa rukmaśakala; this may be a coin or ornament; see further note 190.

²⁰See pp. 163ff.

²¹The text says simply "tām diśam prati nirasyet", and one wonders if "tām diśam" could be the south, since gold is tossed to the north, that is away from the south; Vkh 1.9.11.13.

²²"sambhṛtā agnayō mā kaścanāntareṇa saṁcāriṣṭa"; Vkh 1.9:11.16. Vkh 1.8:10.1-1.10:11.17; see also Ap 5.9.1-5.10.6; Baudh 2.16:59.1-60.3, 61.3-5; Bhar 5.4.12-5.5.16; SH 3.3:305-310; Mn 1.5.2.9-20, 1.5.3.8-10; Vr 1.4.1.25-1.4.2 17-20; and Kat 4.8.16+18.

²³SrKos, pp. 31ff passim. For Vkh's treatment see Sect. 3.3

²⁴Mn 1.5.2.9, Vr 1.4.1.25, SH 3.3:305f, Kat 4.8.19f.

²⁵The word purīṣa derives from the root prī "to fill" and must have originally meant something like our "land-fill" or "filler". We will see that it is applied to sand as also to the rat's diggings and the ants' hill. It seems to refer to any loose, crumbly soil, sand, or ashes, especially to soil which is loose by reason of having been worked by rats or ants. In the Agnicayana it is used to make bricks and mortar. See Renou, "Vedique purīṣa", *IJ*, IV (1960), pp. 104ff. Such soil would be easily molded into a fireplace.

²⁶SrKos II, pp. 285ff passim, L'Agniṣṭoma, pp. 104ff, and SH 7.7:723, Mn 2.2.4.1ff.

²⁷I find no mention in the SrSs other than Vkh or the SulbaSs of "girdles" (mekhalā) or tiers to the fireplaces for which, rather, one must have recourse to the later literature; cf. Rauravāgama 14.4, Agni Pur. 24.

Section 8.

²⁸See TBr 1.1.3 and references note 22.

²⁹See SBr 2.1.1, MS 1.6.3, KS 8.2.

³⁰Other reasons for placing these two together will be seen below.

³¹It may also be that sand and saline soil were regarded as similar in that Suśruta (sūtrasthāna 46.321) considers salt extracted from saline soil (ūśasūta) and salt from sandy soil (vālukaila) to have the same properties.

³²Weber edit., pp. 365f.

³³See Eggeling, SBE XII, p. 2, who enumerates these as sweeping, smearing with cow-dung, drawing lines with the wooden sword, removing dust, and sprinkling with water. An abbreviated form of this procedure is found in the Darśapūrnamāsa (SrKos, p. 236) and is also common to the GrSs. See also Vkh's practice, above p. 127.

³⁴Scoring the ground with a grid of lines is common to the GrSs and may have developed out of simpler marks made to locate the position of the fireplaces prior to construction.

³⁵The other three schools reserve the placement of gold until after the fireplaces are prepared.

³⁶Concerning the shapes of the fireplaces see Sect. 3.3.

³⁷śarkarā: Eggeling, SBE XII, p. 279, is probably correct, at least for the Vājasaneyins, in translating this word as "pebbles"; for here they are countable, whereas gravel implies bulk material.

³⁸trisaptati: a square figure should yield an even multiple of four.

³⁹This procedure, naturally, accords quite well with the account of the materials in SBr 2.1.1.

⁴⁰In similar fashion we often line campfires with stones. That this is an ancient practice may be seen in RV 3.29.6d which speaks of Agni escaping beyond the stones and burning the grass ("pāri vṛnakty āsmanas tīnā dāhan"). The Agnicayana remembers this practice in that even the large brick āhavanīya altar is surrounded with gravel; see Keith's note to TS 4.2.7, TS transl., p. 318.

Section 8.

⁴¹"nāpārād": the meaning of this word is not certain as it occurs only here and in MS 4.8.3:109.19. I follow the VPAK, I, p. 337 in deriving it from apa+rāj, which must mean something like 'over-rule', 'have dominion beyond', or 'outrank'. In the present passage the point seems to be that by fixing the size of the fireplace to the extent of the earth one keeps the fire from spreading beyond its proper sphere and thus outranking the earth.

⁴²In the mantra portion of KS (7.12) the verse used by the sūtras to deposit the boar's furrowings occurs prior to the verses for the other soils. This suggests too that the furrowings are to be deposited first to give form to the fireplace. However, the soils are given in a different order in the brāhmaṇa (KS 8.2).

⁴³TBr 1.1.3.5-8; MS 1.6.3:90.4-6, 91.7-9; KS 8.2, 22.9; SBr 2.1.1.8, 14.1.2.11; TS 5.6.4.2, 7.1.5.1. O'Flaherty, Hindu Myths, pp. 185ff narrates the fragments in TS 7 and SBr 14 as well as two purānic versions.

⁴⁴TBr, KS, TS.

⁴⁵TS, KS 22.9; in TS 5.6.4.2 and KS 22.9 Prajapati as the wind also quivers on a lotus leaf, perhaps because he lacks a firm earth. However, in SBr 2.1.1.8 and KS 8.2 it is the earth which quivers, being blown about by the wind, and this part of the narrative probably belongs below. We might note in passing that the physical act of birth is compared to the quivering of a lotus in BAU 6.4.23, RV 5.78.7.

⁴⁶TBr.

⁴⁷The fact that the mantra used to gather the lotus leaf follows that used for the boar's furrowing (TBr 1.2.1.3-4) suggests that the spotting of the lotus leaf belongs below. In TS 7.1.5.1 it is the earth that Prajapati sees, while in TS 5.6.4.2 and KS 22.9 it is a kulāya, presumably the 'nest' or web of muñja grass over which the fire is churned. In KS 8.2 the boar is said to spot food on the earth.

⁴⁸TBr calls what is brought up furrowings (upahata), and SBr 14.1.2.11 says the boar dug up (ud han) the earth. KS 8.2 calls it mud (mrd) as large as the boar's mouth (mukha), which explains the statement in MS 1.6.3:90.4 that in the beginning the earth was as large as the tusks of a boar as well as a similar statement in KS. 7.12.53: "Instead of mentioning mud (mrd), MS 1.6.3:90.6 has the earth become soft (vi mrad) for the boar. Gonda, Aspects of Early Visnuism

Section 8.

(Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1969; 2nd edit.), p. 133, has shown that the furrowing of a boar in the earth is often compared to sexual intercourse, the furrow being the earth's genital, the snout or tusks of the boar the phallus. Here the furrow becomes soft or turns to mud to allow the boar to penetrate. TS 7.1.5.1 has a variant in which the earth does not become soft (vi mrad) for the boar, but rather the boar strokes (vi mrj) the earth; she spreads (prath); he toils (śram), and the gods are created.

⁴⁹TBr; in TS 5.6.4.2 and KS 22.9, where the myth is told in connection with the Agnicayana, Prajāpati instead piles the altar, in the middle of the water according to KS, and that becomes the earth.

⁵⁰MS 1.6.3:91-7.

⁵¹TBr; in SBr 2.1.1.8-11 the earth quivers, the wind blowing her about like a lotus leaf, and the above statement of the TS and KS (note 45) that Prajāpati quivered on a lotus leaf may belong here in the narrative. In KS 8.2 also it is the earth that quivers, and the reason given is that she is still fresh (ārdra) and fears scorching by Agni. MS 3.2.6 concurs that one places a lotus leaf on the altar in the Agnicayana because the earth feared that Agni would scorch her.

⁵²TBr, MS, and KS 8.2 use the verb drmh "to firm"; SBr 2.1.1.8-11 speaks of the earth becoming dhruva "fixed" and aśithila "not soft"; TS 5.6.4.2 and KS 22.9 use the verb prati sthā "to found, establish". In KS 8.2 and SBr 2.1.1.8-11 it is the gods who do this.

⁵³SrKos, p. 5, translates "mud from a pond".

⁵⁴"aśoṣyajaḥpradeśāvasthitam kardamam".

⁵⁵"sūdaḥ jaḥśayasya mat [mrd]? aśoṣyasya".

⁵⁶"yo 'nupadāsī sūdaḥ syāt tata āhārayet".

⁵⁷Griffith translates "springs" and "fount" respectively. There are only two other occurrences of this word in the RV; in one, RV 10.62.2, Sāyaṇa's gloss himsaka śastra "injurious weapon" is plausible given sūdana "destroying". The other, RV 8.69 (58).3, contains the compound sūdadohas, for which the verse is named, and its quotation constitutes the only occurrence of this word in the other Samhitās. MW renders this compound "yielding milk like a well".

Section 8.

⁵⁸MW, after Sāyana, translates upa pra bhid "to crumble and scatter", and Sāyana elaborates that Prajāpati took mud from an area of the earth where the water did not dry up and spread it around in other areas of the earth so that his creatures' food would not become exhausted. The primary meaning of bhid is "to split, pierce", however, and it seems to me more likely that the image here is one of opening up the ground to form a well.

⁵⁹One wonders if KS 7.12.52, used by the Taittirīyas to deposit sūda and by the Maitrāyanīyas to deposit water, has been read "ūt samudrān mādhumām ūrmīr āgāt", "a wave of honey came forth from the ocean", by the Taittirīyas, but "ūtsam udrān . . .", "a wave of honey came forth from the water to the well" by Vr and perhaps Mn. Samudra "the collective waters" could be subterranean here. Cf. English "well" as a place where water billows up, beside German welle "wave" and Sanskrit ūrmi; C. D. Buck, A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 40, 45.

⁶⁰Cf. "anupadāsī sūdah" of Baudh 24.12.

⁶¹This is clear because both specify five as the number of materials, and water must be included to attain that number.

⁶²This departure from the other schools was also noticed by Eggeling, SBE XII, p. 280.

⁶³The passage deals with the verse in KS 7.12.53, used by the sūtras to deposit the boar's furrowing at both the Agnyādheya and the Pravargya, though by the SBr only at the Pravargya.

⁶⁴Eggeling even translates "raised up", SBE XLIV, p. 451.

⁶⁵The latter passage concerns the placing of a lotus leaf on the altar at the Agnicayana.

⁶⁶While the mantra text of the TBr provides a verse for the lotus leaf, the brāhmana appears not to have regarded it as a material, in spite of including it in our myth. The brāhmana concludes its narration of the myth with the statement "when the furrowing of a boar is present as a material, one establishes the fire unfailing on this very earth; the gravel is for steadfastness and, moreover, for neutralization" (TBr 1.1.3.7), but nothing is said concerning the lotus leaf.

Section 8.

⁶⁷Bhar and SH simply make reference to the mantra text of the TBr; so we do not know in what order they collected the materials. But in other matters they generally agree with Ap.

⁶⁸This is remarkable in that the earliest stratum of Baudh does not seem to know these mantras, or at least chooses not to use them. The later stratum simply makes reference to the mantral text; so again the order is uncertain.

⁶⁹The lotus leaf is used at the Agnicayana in two ways. First, it serves as a receptacle for gathering clay used to make the ukhā or firepan. A black antelope skin is placed on the ground, on which is put a lotus leaf, on which is put the clay; Mn 6.1.1.25f and Keith, TS transl., p. 292. The procedure for gathering clay for the mahāvīra at the Pravargya is similar, but no lotus leaf is put on the black antelope skin. There, however, the furrowing of a boar and an anthill are mixed with the clay, and these are gathered in the same way as the clay (van Buitenen, Pravargya, p. 57). Secondly, a lotus leaf is placed on the ground over which the āhavanīya altar will be piled; Mn 6.1.7.1 and Keith, TS transl., p. 320. Extrapolating from these practices, one wonders if originally the lotus leaf served as a receptacle for gathering the soils for the fireplace, especially the furrowing of a boar as indicated in our myth, and was then placed on the spot for the fireplace with the soil still on top.

⁷⁰Notice that the sacrificial spot and site for a house are to be anūsara (Sect. 3.1, p. 66), as is the place for growing medicinal herbs; Suśrūta, sūtrasthāna 36.3.

⁷¹MS 1.6.3:91.3f "há vā anūṣarihaḥ páśavo réto dadhate".

⁷²The making of the mahā- and uttara-vedis is similar.

⁷³SrKos, pp. 291ff passim.

⁷⁴TBr 3.2.9.10.

⁷⁵TS 1.1.9.1.

⁷⁶sBr 1.2.5.10, TBr 3.2.9.10.

⁷⁷TBr 3.2.9.9 "úddhanti/ yád evāsyā amedhyām/ tād āpa hanti/ úddhanti/ tasmād ośadhayaḥ pārābhavanti".

⁷⁸Cf. Kps 39.4 concerning digging soil out of the uttaravedi "yan nihsārayati yad evāsyā abhimṛtam amedhyām yad ayajñiyam tan nihsārayati". See further below, pp. 148f, where ants find the living (jTva) part of the earth not defiled by death (anabhimṛta) and fit for sacrifice (yajñiya); KS 8.2.

Section 8.

⁷⁹This same ambivalence over the presence or absence of plants can be seen in TS 6.2.4.5 where after plants have been vanquished by digging them out of the the altar they are brought back by strewing the altar with grass.

⁸⁰"sikatayā sadrśi mrd"; TS AAS edit., I. p. 116. The comment concerns TBr 3.2.9.12.

⁸¹TS 1.1.9.3 "purā krūrāsya bisrpo [sic] virapsinn udādāya pṛthivīm jīrādānur yām ārayaṅ candrāmasi svadhābhis tām dhīrāso anudīśya yajante"; cf. MS 1.1.10:6.9f, KS 1.9, KpS 1.9, VS 1.28.

⁸²MS, VS read "anudīśya", "pointing out".

⁸³"jīrādānur" should be accusative as the other texts read. See further note 91.

⁸⁴Perhaps the gods as in the myth below.

⁸⁵Virapsin in the RV frequently refers to Indra, and Keith, TS transl., p. 10, is probably correct that it here refers to the wooden sword which is equated with Indra's vājra.

⁸⁶"purā krūrāsya bisrpo": Keith, *idem*, with Sāyana translates "before the cruel foe slips away" and makes reference to the demon Araru of a previous verse. Eggeling, SBE XII, p. 64, translates "before the bloody (battle) with its rushings hither and thither", following his commentary and the exegesis of SBr 1.2.5.19, though he regards this interpretation as "more than doubtful". While I agree that "with its rushings hither and thither" is doubtful for "visrpo", which is most likely an ablative infinitive, I think the interpretation essentially correct that krūra refers to a bloody event, namely, the killing of plants in constructing the altar.

⁸⁷The word is often used in the sense of "genital", at times male, at others female.

⁸⁸Sāyana suggests that, because they like the flavor of grass grown on saline soil, cattle eat it zealously, thus becoming fat and producing offspring. He explains samjñāna by the fact that cattle recognize saline soil on account of its smell. But the parallel seems to be TS 5.3.1.3-4 which states that cattle are of various tastes and behavior and agree only as regards water; nānāmanasaḥ khālu vai paśāvo nānavratās te 'pa evābhi sāmanasaḥ". KS 20.10 is more explicit: "this truly is the concord or harmony (samjñāna) of cattle which is water"; "samjñānam vā etat paśūnām yad āpah". The difference is that in the present context it is the need for salt and not water over which cattle are in agreement. Moreover, it is salt which makes them fat and prolific.

Section 8

⁸⁹This verb often expresses sexual union.

⁹⁰According to the commentary these are the gods, men, Gandharvas and Apsarases, serpents, and Fathers.

⁹¹As Caland explains in his translation of the PBr, p. 159, these are offerings carried up by the smoke from the sacrificial fire and food produced by rain respectively. Prādāna, Caland idem 'what is given' might also mean 'what flows'; see MW 2. dānu 'drop' and 2. dāna 'rut-fluid'. Both of these words come from the root do 'to cut, mow' and perhaps refer to the sap which forms on cut vegetation. See further SBr 1.2.5.19 where the earth is called jīvadānu 'having the drop of life' and TS 1.1.9.3 and elsewhere where it is called jīradānu 'having quickening drops'. (Jīra may be related to jinv or is at least synonymous.) Thus these 'gifts' are perhaps the living sap which flows between Heaven and Earth. Did this sap form when Heaven and Earth were cut apart?

⁹²I follow Caland, p. 158, in so interpreting the middle voice of vi vah. A daivavivāha is defined in MnSmr 3.28 and elsewhere as the offering of a daughter to a priest of one's sacrifice, though the word may be used here in a non-technical sense suggested by the fact that the gods arranged the marriage.

⁹³AitBr also reports that men look for saline soil when finding a suitable place for cattle. In JaiBr it is smoke and saline soil which are exchanged, followed by rain and the devayajana.

⁹⁴In accordance with the fertilizing function of saline soil it is in several places called seed (see MS 1.6.3:91.2ff, 3.2.3:18ff, SBr 13.8.1.14) and also the embryonic membrane (ulba, see SBr 7.1.1. 6-8 where one pouring out saline soil is said to become of the same ulba as the gods.)

⁹⁵Cf. KhadGrs 2.3.2-4 where one of the verses recited over saline soil at the Agnyādheya is among the verses recited as a newborn child is handed from mother to father to mother again. The problem of death and infertility, though dealt with somewhat differently, is again treated in terms of the opposition between soil dug up and saline soil in a variant of the well-known myth of Indra's killing of Viśvarūpa found in TS 2.5.1. There Indra asks the earth to take a third of his guilt of slaying a Brahmin. The earth expresses a fear that she will be destroyed by digging and asks for a boon to alleviate the situation. So Indra grants a boon to the effect that soil dug out of the earth will sprout again in less than a year. The earth

Section 8

takes a third of the guilt which becomes a place naturally barren (svakṛta irina), which Sāyaṇa glosses ūsara, saline soil. (One wonders with Mayrhofer, I, pp. 91f, if irina/Trina is not related to Tr since in Mn 1.5.2.13 saline soil is deposited with the phrase "transport (Tr causative) here that (which is) the dark (spots) on the moon", "candramasi kṛṣṇam tad iheraya"; cf. the use of ā Tr in TS 1.1.9.3 to transport the living part of the earth to the moon.

⁹⁶The practice of building the fire altar at the Agnicayana also reveals a conflict between fertility and defilement through death. There the ground is plowed and sown with seed, actions which we must interpret as stressing the fertility involved in creating the fire altar. But on top of this ground sand and saline soil are later poured, which must prevent the seeds from sprouting and eventually dying.

⁹⁷See SBr 7.1.1.10-11, TS 5.2.6, MS 3.5.3, and KS 20.4.

⁹⁸I am not convinced that Renou is correct that purīsa does not yet mean "excrement" in the early language; see note 25 for reference. The connection seems to be that the breakdown of soil into small particles is likened to the breakdown of food in digestion. Cf. SBr 6.6.4.1-2 where ashes are what remain from Agni's food, the fuel.

⁹⁹See MacDonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 99, Eggeling, SBE XII, p. 104 who cites Weber, Ind. Stud., I, pp. 170ff; Keith, Relig. & Phil., p. 254, and Renou, Vedic India, p. 69, cite Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth., I, p. 75, Keith unfavorably.

¹⁰⁰"eṣā vā agnir vaiśvānaró yád asā ādityáh". Heesterman, Rājasūya, pp. 46f, is no doubt correct that Agni Vaiśvānara is very often identified with the year, as in MS 2.1.2 where this identity is stated no less than eight times. However, the passage concludes with two statements that Agni Vaiśvānara is the sun (āditya). It is not surprising that the sun, which determines the length of the year, should be connected with it.

¹⁰¹In the RV, where the name Agni Vaiśvānara already appears, it is not clear how many fires were used for offerings. Keith, op. cit., pp. 158f, discusses this problem, noting that only the gārhapatya is mentioned by name, though there may be indirect reference to the other fires. Nevertheless, it is most likely the round gārhapatya fire in the sky which is Agni Vaiśvānara, as this is the fire which is kept burning perpetually. The identification between sun and fire can be seen clearly in the Agnihotra where in the evening fire is spread from

Section 8

the gārhapatya to the āhavanīya, into which the sun enters, and in the morning is again spread from the gārhapatya to the āhavanīya, from which the sun is reborn; see SBr 2.3.1.2+5, 2.3.4.24.

¹⁰²"sá yád ihásit tásyaitád bhásma yat síkatā". This sounds as if Agni Vaiśvānara was first on the earth and then became the sun, while in RV 6.8.4 he is brought here from afar, or from the sun as Sāyaṇa interprets it.

¹⁰³It is not clear why he should have been in the mouth of the king, though in RV 6.7.1 the gods produce Agni Vaiśvānara as a vessel to be their mouth (to consume offerings), and in later speculation he is converted into the fire of digestion; see BhG 15.14.

¹⁰⁴SBE XLI, p. 416. Again I disagree with Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 106. Sand in this passage is not the "abode" of the waters but the "residue" of dried up bodies of water.

¹⁰⁵The soil taken from the "sounding holes" (uparava) at the soma sacrifice is so called; SH 7.6:704, Mn 2.2.3.4. In the latter citation this soil is used to form a mound as is purīṣa in the case of the dhiṣṇiyas (above, p. 129).

¹⁰⁶SBr 2.3.2.3, 4.5.1.9. According to MW pāmsu also means sand; cf. Old Church Slavonic pěšukŭ "sand"; Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Buck derives these cognates from *pēs "blow" and cites Old Church Slavonic páčhati "toss, fan", i.e. raise dust or ashes.

¹⁰⁷As we have already connected sand with saline soil as two types of barren soil, we might note that Caraka (sūtrasthāna 27.304) lists pāmsūja (=pāmsuja) as a type of salt.

¹⁰⁸Pokorny, l., pp. 835ff.

¹⁰⁹MS 1.6.3:90.14, TBr 1.1.3.4.

¹¹⁰MS 1.6.3:90.12-14, KS 8.2.

¹¹¹MS 1.6.3:90.17.

¹¹²SBR 14.1.1.14 tells us that water is in fact food; so we are to understand the ants' ability to find water as the ability to find life-giving nourishment.

¹¹³See Bhattacharji, Ind. Theog., p. 305. The ants thus aid the gods whom Viṣṇu has defeated in contest. In passing we might mention that in TA 1.5.1-2 it is Indra who takes the form of ants to perform this deed, and this is used to explain the origin of the rainbow (indrathanus).

Section 8.

114 See Pokorny, I, p. 668, and especially Avestan gaya and iyāiti.

115 Cf. Greek bíos "life" and biós "bowstring".

116 The verb in both the SBr and TA is ad.

117 Bloomfield, Amer. Journ. of Philol., 7, pp. 482ff, holds that upajīka is derived from upadīka as iyut from dyut. Emeneau in H. Birnbaum and J. Puhvel, Ancient Indo-European Dialects (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1966), p. 130, explains this phenomenon as a case of the Middle Indic pronunciation of Old Indic "dy", "j", being borrowed back into Old Indic. However, the fact that the above play on words works only with upajīka suggests a transformation in the opposite direction. Now, if Old Indic "dy" or "di" as Bloomfield asserts, and "j" fell together, and if a root ji/jyā, the etymological basis for upajīka were lost, some speakers might understand upajīka as upadīka, reconstructing a form which could be explained by the root dih, as in TBr 1.1.3.4. Other attempts to explain upajīka might be seen in RV 8.102.21 upajīhvikā (? before the dy to j shift allowed the back-formation upadīka) and the several instances of upacīka (? from ci "to pile up" in the PaipAV. On the other hand, the root dih is also associated with ants in the RV; for in 1.51.9 their hill is called sandīh.

Concerning the connection between ants and water see further Brhat Samhitā 53.9ff where the presence of anthills is used to divine water; apparently water percolates up through the holes ants make. Heesterman, Rājasūya, p. 19, focuses on the motif of fertility and interprets the anthill as the earth's womb through which the remains of several offerings are returned to the earth for renewal; see KS 35.19, MS 2.2.1:15.12ff, and SBr 2.6.2.17. This motif is also found in the brahmanical treatment of the rat's diggings; see MS 1.10.20:160.sff and SBr 4.5.2.15.

118 SBr 2.1.1.7.

119 TBr 1.2.1.2 and see next note.

120 ūtīh kurvāṇō involves a pun. ūti has a number of meanings among which are "wealth, riches". However, there seems to be another word ūti, "hole, shaft", found in the myth of the black spots on bamboo; see Sect. 6 note 14 for references. There TS reads ūti where the other texts read susira, the hollow centre of bamboo, and Sāyaṇa holds that in the present passage too ūti means "hole". The image suggested is that in making holes for himself the rat makes riches for himself and that the soil heaped up around these holes is similar to a hoard. This may be a reference to mūsika "stealer", another word for rat.

Section 8.

¹²¹Nyakta has both the sense of "imbued with" and "hidden or concealed in".

¹²²The word sānti is used in this context and means less "tranquility" than the "neutralization of harmful effects"; see Kane Hist.DhS, V, pp. 719-814, especially p. 728.

¹²³See for example MS 1.6.3:89.15-90.2.

¹²⁴SBr 7.11.9. Eggeling, SBE XLI, p. 300, interprets this scorching as referring to the saline soil, here called the embryonic membrane, which has just been deposited. But the context is the preparation of the ground for the gārhapatya pile, and it is likely the ground that is being protected.

¹²⁵Heesterman, Rājasūya, p. 130.

¹²⁶She by stealing the virility or potency he has acquired and he, perhaps, by scorching her with his potency, though this is not stated outright.

¹²⁷While Sāyaṇa may be correct that this is from 2. śam "happiness, prosperity", it is also possible that śamtva is a synonym for sānti, as Kane, loc. cit., seems to hold that 1. and 2. śam are the same.

¹²⁸While the foregone discussion of the soils employed in building the fireplaces has attempted to identify the function of these soils, at least in so far as it bears on their symbolism, time has not permitted a thorough investigation of the technology involved. However, I should like to make two observations which might serve as a basis for future research. First, these soils are remarkably similar to the components of cement. Thus we have water, sand, gravel, and powdered clay in the form of loose soils. Only lime is missing, but the frequent compound ūśaksāra suggests that saline soil had alkaline properties. The main problem here is the fact that water is not mixed with these soils but is instead sprinkled on the ground, though the treatment in KS 8.2 of water after the soils implies that the Kāthakas sprinkled it on top.

A more profitable line of inquiry might be to investigate the relationship between these soils and known techniques of making ceramics. Here an article by Meera Mukherjee, "Gharuas of Bastar", Roopa-Lekha, vol. 35, pp. 76ff, especially p. 82, is of interest in that it describes the Gharua procedure for making ceramic molds for casting bronze. Besides clay and sand, anthills and (?) molehills (the term

Section 8

is not given) are mentioned as soils used to provide a "stickier clay" to form larger molds. The reader will recall that anthills and the furrowing of a boar are also mixed with clay when fashioning the mahāvīra at the Pravargya; see note 69. Apparently these loose soils are friable, that is easily reduced to fine particles, and so produce a more consistent and therefore cohesive clay. I am indebted to Phyllis Granoff for this reference. Finally, we should take notice of an article by Hyla Stuntz Converse, "The Agnicayana: Indigenous Origin?", Hist. Rel., 14, pp. 81ff, in which the author compares the methods for constructing the fire pan and bricks at the Agnicayana with what archeology reveals of the Indus techniques of making bricks and pottery.

¹²⁹See A. Kuhn, Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Götterdranks (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968 (reprint)), who interprets much of the mythology surrounding Agni and Soma in light of the phenomenon of procuring fire from a tree which has been struck by lightning.

¹³⁰TBr 1.1.3.9, KS 8.2; that Agni stayed in an aśvattha suggests the large, spreading banyan more than the Holy fig. KS explains that where the horse stayed the aśvattha arose. In the TBr Agni remains in the aśvattha for a year, a period of time which often represents gestation.

¹³¹In the KS it is the pupil (kanīnikā) which falls out.

¹³²Literally "is not borne, maintained (dhr) there".

¹³³MS reports that Dhātūpada 33.104 gives as one of the meanings of loc in the causative bhāsa.

¹³⁴See TBr 1.2.1.7; loka from lok is the apparent, visible world which which surrounds us.

¹³⁵Cf. above, pp. 152ff.

¹³⁶See also MS 1.6.5:95.6ff, 4.1.1:1.1ff; KS 30.10; SBr 9.2.3.37. KS 8.2 differs that the śamī fuel-sticks are for the purpose of making a pair (mithunatva, ? i.e. Agni and his fuel) because they are Agni's very own fuel-sticks (samidh) with which Prajāpati first built up (samidh) Agni after creating him. This is a poor pun (śamī=samidh), but it does register disapproval of the idea of neutralizing (śam) the fire.

¹³⁷See note 129 for reference.

Section 8.

¹³⁸Space does not permit a detailed description of Kuhn's careful development of this thesis, to which the reader is therefore referred for elaboration, clarification, and substantiation.

¹³⁹See RV 7.15.4 where Agni is called the eagle (śyena) of the sky. The world tree is at the same time the vault of heaven from which fall the ambrosial drops and sparks of fire.

¹⁴⁰Kuhn holds that this symbolism is also to be seen in the churning sticks; see Sect. 2, pp. 49f.

¹⁴¹RV 4.26-7; AitBr 3.25-6; MS a) 3.9.3:116.10ff, b) 4.1.1:1.4ff; TBr 1.1.3.10f (=KS 30.10= TS 3.5.7= TBr 3.2.1.1); PBr a) 8.4.1, b) 9.5.4; SBr a) 1.7.1.1 (= 3.3.4.10), b) 11.7.2.8; JaiBr 1.355.

¹⁴²RV, AitBr.

¹⁴³SBr b.

¹⁴⁴TBr, MS b.

¹⁴⁵AitBr.

¹⁴⁶PBr a.

¹⁴⁷In the RVic account there is no mention of the meters, but only a bird which brings down the soma; whereas in the brāhmanas, except the JaiBr, the bird is called gāyatrī. AitBr and PBr a seem to make the meters' role the central feature of the story: the jaḡatī, trīṣṭubh, and gāyatrī are each instructed to fetch soma, and in order to do so they become birds. The jaḡatī tries first, but only flies half way up and loses three of her four syllables in the process. (We are told at that time these meters consisted of four syllables (per pāda) each.) Now the trīṣṭubh tries; she fares a little better and only loses one syllable. Finally the gāyatrī has a go; she not only brings back the soma, but also picks up the four syllables lost by the other two meters, thus becoming of eight syllables per pāda (as now constituted). The other meters complain (AitBr) and ask to join the gāyatrī (PBr a). She joins the trīṣṭubh's three syllables to become 11 (as the trīṣṭubh is now) and adds the jaḡatī's one syllable to become 12 (as it is now). Thus the origin of the number of syllables in these meters becomes a major concern of this myth, and these two brāhmanas go on to explain the relationship of these meters to the three soma pressings in light of it.

¹⁴⁸MS b; SBr b speaks of the gāyatrī becoming a bird (vayas), while the other brāhmanas, but JaiBr, simply name the bird gāyatrī. JaiBr calls the bird suparna, of beautiful wings, and the RV uses this term, bird (vī), eagle (śyena), and śakuna, apparently a large

Section 8

bird of prey, though "vulture" in the later language. TBr 3.2.1.1-2 suggests that the parna tree is connected with the gāyatrī meter because the former is trifoliate and the latter has three pādas (as opposed to the four of most meters).

149AitBr, SBr a.

150AitBr.

151RV.

152AitBr; PBr a states that she had the first two soma pressings in her hands and the third in her teeth.

153A11.

154SBr a.

155PBr b, AitBr.

156RV, AitBr. Kuhn, p. 152, derives krśānu from krś "to be lean, emaciated" and thinks a demon of drought who withholds the ambrosial rains is meant.

157TBr, MS b, SBr b, JaiBr.

158MS a, RV, ? PBr a. SBr gives both alternatives, and PBr b is ambiguous; the play on the word parna, leaf/feather, is so complete that in most cases the direction of the original pun has been lost. In AitBr it is a talon (nakha) which is severed, and this becomes the śalyaka, which Keith (AitBr transl., p. 181) translates "porcupine", after the commentary, but which Kuhn (p. 131) thinks means "thorn (tree)". Parnas are also mentioned in the AitBr version, but these are said by the commentary to be the feathers of the arrow which was shot (other parts of it are included in this version), and these become manthāvalas, MW "flying fox" (fruit bat).

159PBr a, b.

160TBr, SBr a, b, JaiBr; in MS a, b the parna tree grew from where it fell. In PBr a, b the shoots or portions of the falling parna become instead the pūtika plant, and the myth is used to justify the pūtika as a substitute for soma.

161The above myth is paralleled to a certain extent by that found in TS 6.1.6, MS 3.7.3, KS 23.10, and SBr 3.2.4.1-6, 3.6.2.2-12 in which it is a contest between Kadrū and Suparnī which leads Suparnī,

region) of the sky with three nakas, three heavens, . . . ⁴³ An even clearer remnant would have been AV 9.5.10, especially with the variant of the Paip AV: "The goat establishes its giver on the ridge of the firmament (in the world of the righteous ⁴⁴ Paip AV) consisting of three nākas, three heavens, three ridges . . . ⁴⁵ One wonders, however, if nāka or pr̥ṣṭha refers not so much to levels in a house as to succeeding ridges in a mountain range, a pr̥ṣṭha or sānu being a ridge or plateau. The journey to heaven, then, would entail climbing to this plateau and then proceeding to heaven, or in the more complex cosmology, it would entail climbing three ridges. This ridge, or in the latter case the third ridge, would then mark the boundary of heaven, the realm of immortality. It is this boundary which, I think, the midpoint of the journey to the āhavanīya fireplace represents, standing as it does between the gārhapatya and āhavanīya firehalls, ⁴⁶ and so it is called the (ridge of) the firmament. Finally, I suspect also that the ridge, the first stage of the journey, was at times identified with the first of the three heavens.

The adjective bradhna means "ruddy, yellow, bay" and when used as a substantive refers particularly to the sun. Just as nāka by itself often connotes the fuller phrase "nākasya pr̥ṣṭha" so bradhna connotes the phrase in which it is most often found, "bradhnasya viṣtap(a)", the "tip, height of the sun". Like nāka too bradhna seems at times simply a synonym for heaven and especially the highest heaven. This is to be expected in that the āhavanīya fireplace represents

Section 8.

or Gāyatrī at her behest, to bring soma from heaven. There is an added variant in that while soma is being fetched it is stolen by the gandharva Viśvāvasu. This myth and the one with which we have been dealing seem to be behind the epic and purāṇic myths concerning Garuḍa's procurement of soma; see Gonda, Aspects of Early Visnuism, pp. 101ff.

¹⁶²See D. V. Cohen, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of India (Bombay: Thacker & Co., 1957 (3rd edit.)), plate I (facing p. 3).

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁶⁴Idem.

¹⁶⁵J. N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography (Calcutta: Univ. of Calcutta, 1956 (2nd edit.)), p. 530.

¹⁶⁶Grünwedel and Burgess, Buddhist Art in India, p. 51 quoted in Banerjea, op. cit., p. 531.

¹⁶⁷The model of a predatory bird may be seen in the Viśnudharmottara P., quoted in T. A. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography (N.Y.: Paragon, 1968 (reprint)), Appendix C, p. 73, where Garuḍa has the nose or beak of an owl (kaśika) and the legs, knees, and feet of a vulture (grdhra) and in the Parameśvara S., quoted in Alain Daniélou, Hindu Polytheism (N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1964), p. 430; where he has the face of a vulture (grdhravaktra).

¹⁶⁸Rao, idem.

¹⁶⁹Daniélou, idem.

¹⁷⁰See J. Frazer, Myths of the Origin of Fire (London: Macmillan & Co., 1930), pp. 207-12 for the mythic associations between the procurement of fire and the red crest of the cockatoo, the red patch on the fire-tail wren, the red streak around the mouth of the black-cockatoo, the red feathers on the kingfisher's neck, the robin's red breast, and so forth. Concerning the woodpecker see C. Lévi-Strauss, The Raw and the Cooked, John and Doreen Weightman transls., (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 292. A similar etiology is often given for the black of the raven and vulture.

¹⁷¹At this point it must be admitted that Kuhn's thesis, which I have accepted, is to a certain extent at odds with the identification of the soma plant in R. Gordon Wasson, Soma: Divine Mushroom of Immortality (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich). Kuhn offers no opinion regarding the "original" beverage of the Indo-Europeans, nor even the "original" Indian soma, though his evidence suggests that at one point at least

Section 8.

the fig tree may have served this purpose. Rather, it is the nature of soma as a parasitic plant or creeper, an epiphyte propagated by the droppings of birds, which emerges from his analysis of soma mythology, and it is this characteristic which contradicts Wasson. Thus, however persuasive is Wasson's pictorial argument, it must be reconciled with what the mythology reveals, even if that reconciliation occurs only through positing the use of different plants at different points in time.

¹⁷²The myth is told again in this same passage as a justification for using any plant at hand. In PBr 8.4.1 and 9.5.4 this myth justifies the use of the pūtika plant as a soma substitute; so there is a clear connection between the falling leaf/feather and soma.

¹⁷³Loc. cit.

¹⁷⁴op. cit., vol. II, p. 195.

¹⁷⁵However, Garuḍa seems to be connected with the śālmali or silk cotton tree (see the epithet śālmalin), which Cohen (p. 6) describes as also having large, crimson flowers with much nectar and producing a cottony fluff which is used, among other things, for tinder. If such an indigenous myth existed, perhaps the role of the śālmali was assimilated by the parṇa.

¹⁷⁶TBr 1.1.3.11; TS 3.5.7.3; KS 30.10; MS 4.1.1, 4.4.2.

¹⁷⁷TBr 1.1.3.11. It may be that suśrayas is no more than a gloss on varcas so that brahmavarcaśa, having the illumination or lustre of Brahman, is taken to mean brahmasuśrayas, illustrious with Brahman, and the whole myth has been concocted to elaborate this gloss.

¹⁷⁸See Introd., pp. 26f.

¹⁷⁹According to AitBr 5.24 it ripens three times a year.

¹⁸⁰That is to say full of sap; the udumbara is one of the ksīravṛksas or latex trees; see Sect. 2 note 3.

¹⁸¹TBr 1.1.3.10, MS 1.6.5:95.9f. Sāyaṇa on the TBr passage holds that the udumbara arose from the pieces of food which fell.

¹⁸²Milking removes nourishment from the cow as the exertion involved in pulling a cart removes vigor from the ox.

¹⁸³Suśruta's physiology is treated more fully below, p. 164, and references will be given there.

Section 8.

¹⁸⁴See also KS 8.2 which states that without ūrj food does not nourish (MW 3. dhi).

¹⁸⁵ūrj is also the essence of blood as blood is of flesh, fire being in both cases the agent of transformation; see the translator's note to K.K. Bhishagratna's trans. of the Suśruta Saṁhitā, vol. 1, p. 109. We may imagine that in the less technical physiology of the non-physician rasa, ūrj, and blood were all viewed as relatively similar vitalities. See further the cosmogonic myth in SBr 12.7.1.1-9 where Indra disintegrates on account of forcibly drinking the soma which Tvaṣṭṛ had withheld from him for killing his son Viśvarūpa. Indra's indriya or vīrya, vital power, flows out from all his limbs becoming various trees and animals. In verse 9 the ūrj flows out of his flesh (māṁsa) and becomes the udumbara.

¹⁸⁶MS 1.8.1:114.11ff, KS 6.1.

¹⁸⁷In the Taittirīya version of this myth (TBr.2.1.2.1-2) what Prajāpati wipes from his forehead becomes ghee, while in SBr 2.2.4.10 it becomes the vikaṅkata tree.

¹⁸⁸In light of the udumbara's connection with food it is interesting that Cohen (p. 65) describes *Ficus glomerata* as "the wild fig with edible fruit which, although always full of crawling insects and dangerous to eat, is much relished by the country people." However, it is the fruit of the banyan which he describes as "bright red" (p. 64).

¹⁸⁹F. B. J. Kuiper, Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit, Kon. Ned. Akad. Wet., Verh. Afd. Letterk. Deel LI, No. 3 (Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1948), pp. 23-7, attempts to show that the word udumbara or udumbara is derived from a proto-Munda d/tumb- "ovoid, round" or "full of seeds", which he supposes to be the distinguishing characteristic of this tree's fruit and which is also to be seen in Skt. tumba "gourd" and godumba "watermelon". It is this derivation, he holds, that brings about the udumbara's association with vigor and vitality. While I am not qualified to judge this view on etymological grounds, my reading of the mythology suggests that it is their red color which distinguishes the udumbara's fruits "in popular belief". Further, the adjective audumbara is used in the sense of red or copper-colored in Ap 5.2.4, Vkh 1.9:11.6, and SH 3.3:308 as well as in Mn 9.1.4.1 and Baudh 12.14:106.7.

¹⁹⁰MW reports that originally hiranya referred to uncoined gold and other precious metals, but that in the later language it means gold coinage. It is not certain in which sense the brāhmanas

Section 8.

use the term. TBr, SBr, and MS speak of hiranya, MS hiranya survarna, which probably means simply gold; see note 191 for references. In KS 8.5 hiranya is used in the sense of "precious metal" so as to include both gold (harita) and silver (rajata). The sūtras are perhaps best represented by Baudh 2.12:53.9 where one gathers "ṣaḍ dhiranyaśalkāms trīn survarṇāms trīn rajatān". Here one is tempted to see a development of hiranyaśalka (=śakala), "gold-piece", to "coin" in general, which may then be either gold or silver. However, the SrKos, p. 5, prefers the more literal interpretation "piece of precious metal". In Vkh 1.10:11.11 the term is rukmaśakala (both gold and silver) which could mean "ornament".

¹⁹¹SBr 2.1.1.5 states that one collects (sam bhr) gold, meaning that it is a sambhāra or material, and TBr 1.1.3.8-9, though it does not use the technical term sambhāra, does include gold in its section on materials. The MS and KS are less clear, however. Gold is not mentioned in MS 1.6.3 or KS 8.2, both of which deal exclusively with the materials for the fireplaces. But MS 1.6.4 and KS 8.5, though they are primarily concerned with the giving of gold as a dakṣiṇā, speak of gold as being tossed (upās), and in MS this is said to be done prior to establishing the fire. Further, upās is the verb used by the TBr and all the sūtras but Kat to express the tossing of gold onto the fireplaces, and the myth told in this context by the KS is the same as that of the TBr and SBr.

¹⁹²See for example TS 5.2.9.3, MS 3.2.6, KS 21.6, and SBr 12.5.2.6. Jyotis and amṛta are often equated, and the idea that continuous radiation, especially of the fire, was viewed as representing immortality in the form of the continual generation of descendants has already been noticed.

¹⁹³The ablative can have either sense. "adbhyaḥ sambhūtam" could mean "produced from the waters", but since it is Āgni's desire for the waters, or sometimes theirs for him, which causes him to emit his seed, "on account of the waters" may be the intended meaning.

¹⁹⁴TBr 1.1.3.8-9, SBr 2.1.1.5, KS 8.5.

¹⁹⁵This may refer to the golden glitter of sunlight on water, though the SBr's conclusion that one thus finds or obtains (vid) gold in the water almost suggests panning.

¹⁹⁶The word tejas means something like "vital energy", but often has sexual connotations.

Section 8.

197Kat 4.8.17 notes that some place the gold on top of the other materials, which is the practice of the other sūtras. Vkh actually follows both procedures by putting down a piece of gold before the other materials are placed and tossing another piece on top; see above pp. 127f.

198See note 22 for references.

199"bTbhatsate" (badh desiderative): literally "desires to drive away or repel".

200pra yam in Ap 5.10.4 and Mn 1.5.3.9.

201Mn 1.5.3.9 and Vr 1.4.2.19 read apa vyadh, perhaps to avoid confusion with the injunction against throwing away (nir as) gold in the MS. Bhar 5.5.14 reads ati pra vyadh.

202While no silver is mentioned directly in this passage, I am inclined to agree with Sāyana that it is the injunction of the sūtras which is explained here. The situation is made more complex by the phrase "tāt [hīraṇyām] sambhārann uttaratō nidhāya/ atiprayācchan dūritim tareyam", "gathering that (gold), and after putting it down to the north, getting rid of (? gold or silver), may I avoid misfortune", in the mantra of TBr 1.2.1.4-5. But it may be that hīraṇya means "precious metal" and refers to both gold and silver, and that the ambiguity in this passage results from compressing everything into a single verse and serves to convey the bivalence of this material.

203"yad agne reto 'sicyata tad dharitam abhavat, yad apām tad rajatam". In this context we should supply "reto 'sicyata" to the second phrase; so that it is the seed of the waters which became silver. This accords with the traditional Indian view that both males and females emit semen during intercourse.

204See note 190.

205śamala derives from the root śam and signifies something whose ill effects must be neutralized and so not only what is impure but what is dangerous.

206But the passage suddenly, and somewhat surprisingly, concludes "when one tosses hīraṇya, one increases Agni with his very own seed". Nothing is said about getting rid of misfortune or throwing away silver, and it is almost as if silver had been mentioned only parenthetically in the myth.

Section 8.

207 Sūtrasthāna 14.3,5. Rakta derives from rañj as does rañjita "colored", rajata "silver", and rajas 'menstrual flow'.

208 Sūtrasthāna 14.6-7.

209 Ibid. 14.10.

210 Sārīrasthāna 3.4.

211 See note 205.

212 "yád árodīt tád rudrásya rudratvám"; this is the standard form in which our texts give their etymologies.

213 See Sect. 11, p. 206.

214 The transformation of hiranyagarbha into a lotus is not implausible. SBr 11.1.6.1ff begins, as does our myth, that at first this world was waters, a torrent, but continues that the waters produced a golden egg (hiraṇmaya āṇḍa), which floated about for a year (? like a lotus) and served as a foundation for Prajāpati. Further, in the later literature Brahmā is sometimes born from hiranyagarbha, which his seed has engendered, and sometimes from a lotus. However, the most common purāṇic synthesis of these various creation myths is to allot separate kalpas for each. Thus there is a Brahmā kalpa in which Brahmā is born from a golden embryo, a Boar kalpa in which Viṣṇu as a boar brings the earth up from the primordial waters, and a Lotus kalpa in which Brahmā is born from a lotus, which grows out of Viṣṇu's navel. See for example The Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇam. Rajendra Nath Sen, trans. Sacred Books of the Hindus, vol. XXIV (N.Y.: AMS Press, 1974 (reprint)), Part 1, pp. 10-11. Concerning hiranyagarbha see F.D.K. Bosch, The Golden Germ ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960).

215 Practices in the Agnicayana come even closer to enacting such a myth. There a lotus leaf is placed on the spot for the fire altar and a piece of gold placed on top of it, to the accompaniment of a mantra which speaks of the birth of Brahman. On top of this piece of gold is placed a golden man, and here the mantra refers to hiranyagarbha; SH 11.7.18ff.

Notes to Section 9.

¹This must be after the approach of dawn (upavyūṣa), when the sky is slightly tinged (Sect. 7), but before the sun's orb becomes visible, at which time the āhavanīya fire is to be established (Sect. 1, p.37). Ap 5.10.8 and SH 3.3.310 use the phrase "udyatsu raśmiṣu", 'as the rays (of the sun) are rising', and Vr 1.4.2.9 specifies that the fire is to be churned when the rays become evident, "prādurbhūteṣu raśmiṣu".

²TA 3.1.1.

³I agree with the SrKos, p. 35, that this is the most literal interpretation of the text: "adharām araṇīm mantham ātmānaṁ viṣṇum janyam agniṁ ca dhyāyan"; Vkh 1.10:11.19-12.1. Caland, Vkh p. xxi, holds that when churning the performer "should think himself as the mantha, and the fire as Viṣṇu", but does not indicate the meaning of adharā with which the lower stick must them be associated. If, however, a set of equivalences is intended, it seems more logical that he should meditate 'on the lower churning stick (and) mantha as himself (and) Viṣṇu and on the fire to be produced'. The commentary on SH 3.3:310 is equally ambiguous "vaikhānasenoktam adharāraṇim ardhm ātmānaṁ viṣṇum ardhm agniṁ dhyāyan". Meditation of this sort is not found in the other sūtras.

The performer of this meditation is also unclear, the subject being as usual unexpressed, which should only be the Adhvaryu. The SrKos, p. 35, takes the sacrificer to be the subject, but there is no change of subject between here and a subsequent phrase "yajamānaṁ vācayati", the subject of which can not be the sacrificer. Perhaps this is yet another indication of the extent to which the Adhvaryu doubles for the sacrificer.

⁴KS 7.13.60.

⁵TA 3.1-5, for a philosophical interpretation of which see Dipak Bhattacharya, 'The Hotṛ-formulae in the Agnyādheya', VIJ, XVI.i (1978), pp. 10ff.

⁶Vkh does not specify who receives the gift, but according to the commentary on Ap 5.11.4 it is the Adhvaryu.

⁷abhi ghrā, literally "sniffs over". The image is that of an animal, especially the cow, nuzzling its young; cf. TS 6.4.11.4 which speaks of the cow as nuzzling its newborn calf. In PBr 7.10.15f Prajāpati nuzzles his offspring, creatures, and in HirGrS 2.4.17 and GobhGrS 2.8.22 the householder is to nuzzle his son when returning from a journey, while reciting a verse which refers to cattle nuzzling

Section 9.

and lowing over their offspring. See further E. Washburn Hopkins, "The Sniff-kiss in Ancient India", JAÖSXXVIII, pp. 120-134. In the other sūtras, except Kat which speaks of abhiśvāsa, the verb is abhi.pra an, as it is in TBr 1.2.1.19-20, which means "to breathe out over".

⁸jīvātu: Sāyana suggests "life-potient" (jīvanausadha).

⁹TBr 1.2.1.19-20.

¹⁰TBr 1.2.1.20; see Introd. p. 25.

¹¹According to Caland, Ap trans., p. 149, this is Āraṇyā-gāna 2.1.21.

¹²See below, p. 172.

¹³Vkh 1.10:11.17-1.11:13.4; see also Ap 5.10.7-5.12.3, Baudh 2.16:60.3-61.9, Bhar 5.6.1-5.7.8, SH 3.3:310-3.4:313, Mn 1.5.2.21-1.5.3.18, Vr 1.4.2.9-1.4.3.3, and Kat 4.8.21-4.9.9. The majority of texts reserve the pacificatory oblations until all of the fires have been established; see Sect. 11.

¹⁴Another noticeable feature of churning, the stationing of a horse nearby, will become clearer when we discuss the procession to the āhavanīya fireplace which the horse leads, Sect. 10.

¹⁵"sāmvatsarām evā tād réto hitām prājanayāti".

¹⁶"bālo vā eṣo 'gnis"; KSank 8:20. The comment is made in order to argue against the singing of sāmans at the Agnyādheya as they are too powerful for a young child.

¹⁷Below, Sect. 11, p. 207.

¹⁸See note 7 for references.

¹⁹Sect. 5, p. 107.

²⁰See p. 172.

²¹This pattern applies to a lesser extent at the establishment of the sabhya and āvasathya fires as well.

²²See Sect. 3.3.

²³See TBr 1.1.4.8, MS 1.6.1:86.7f, KS 7.13.60. These are the so-called Ṛṣi formulae.

Section 9.

²⁴TS 1.5.3.1-2, KS 7.13.61, 68, 72, MS 1.6.1:85.9ff, VS 3.5-8. All but the first in TS, which MS and KS also omit, are approximately RV 10.189. These verses are fascinating for their obscurity, numerous variants, and almost universal inclusion in the Agnyādheya, all of which suggest a very old tradition.

²⁵TBr 1.1.7, KS 7.14.79, MS 1.6.2:88.17ff.

²⁶See the Introd., p. 31 for the complex issue of who sings the sāmans. In some texts the singing of sāmans is excluded at the Agnyādheya; above, note 16.

²⁷TBr 1.2.1.20-21.

Notes to Section 10.

¹In the other sūtras the embers appear to be placed directly on the sand so that there is only one vessel involved; see note 11 for references. "jānudaghna udyacchati" is Caland's emendation, but he reports that the majority of mss read "janudaghnān nodyacchati", "one does not raise it above the height of the knees", which there is no reason not to accept; Vkh, p. 13.

²Vkh notes that some take this fire from the gārhapatyā; other sources given by the other sūtras are dealt with below, pp. 178ff.

³ūrdhvajānu, literally "with knees raised".

⁴See above, Sect. 9, p. 172.

⁵Sect. 9, p. 169.

⁶KS 7.13.65, MS 1.6.2:86.12ff.

⁷It is not clear who "they" are besides the sacrificer and Adhvaryu. The commentary to Ap 5.14.4 holds that the plural is used because the horse is included, while that on SH 3.4:315 suggests that there are more priests than one.

⁸"dakṣiṇato brahmā ratham rathacakraṃ vā gārhapatyād āhavanīyād saṃtataṃ triḥ parivartayati; yāvat triḥ parivartayati tāvad . . . aśvam . . . ākramayati"; Vkh 1.12:14.5ff. This passage, which is supported by only one ms, is ambiguous; nor are our other texts unified as to what transpires here. That the Brahman's course parallels that of the fire is spelled out more clearly in Mn 1.5.4.7-9, which, if we omit the mantra, reads "(7) agnipraṇāyanāny ādāya . . . aśvapra-
thamāḥ prāñco 'bhipravrajanti (8) praṇīyamānasyottarato yajamāno vra-
jati (9) dakṣiṇato brahmā ratham vartayati rathacakraṃ vā". I trans-
late "(7) Having taken (the coals) for leading forth the fire . . .
they go forth with the horse at the fore. (8) To the north of (the
fire) being carried forth walks the sacrificer. (9) To the south the
Brahman rolls a chariot or else a chariot wheel." This also seems
to be the sense of Ap 5.14.4-5, ". . . prāñco 'śvapra-
vrajanti (5) dakṣiṇato brahmā ratham rathacakraṃ vā vartayati yāvac
cakraṃ triḥ parivartate", except that the chariot's journey ends with
three turns of the wheel. We might be tempted to see this addendum
in Vkh's "yāvat triḥ parivartayati . . .", but the question is what
then does "gārhapatyād āhavanīyād saṃtataṃ triḥ parivartayati"
mean? It could mean "he causes (the wheel) to revolve three times
uninterruptedly from the gārhapatyā to the āhavanīya fireplace."
But it could also mean "he causes (the chariot or wheel) to circle

Section 10.

around uninterruptedly three times from the gārhapatya (to the āhavanīya) and from the āhavanīya (back to the gārhapatya).⁹ The question, then, is whether Vkh intends that the chariot be rolled from the gārhapatya toward the āhavanīya until the wheel turns three times or whether it is to circle around both fireplaces three times. The commentary to SH 3.4:316, which cites Vkh, takes the latter position, holding that the chariot goes from the gārhapatya to the āhavanīya and back three times and that in the meantime the fire is led forth and the two treadings of the horse are performed. To make matters worse, in TBr 1.1.5.5,8 it appears that the whole procession goes to the āhavanīya, returns to the gārhapatya, and goes back to the āhavanīya, or so Sāyaṇa would have it, though none of the sūtras mentions this practice. Finally, in MS 1.6.6:96.14f we are told that "they should roll a chariot wheel around afterwards three times for one who has a rival or adversary", "yāḥ sapātnavān bhrātrvyavān vā syāt tāsya rathacakrām trīr anu pārivartayeyus", and Mn 1.5.4.16 and Vr 1.4.3.18 place the rolling of the wheel in this context. Ap 5.14.6, Bhar 5.8.8, and SH 3.4:316 add the three turns of the wheel for one who has an enemy to the three already given to make six, presumably on the strength of "anu" in the MS passage quoted.

In spite of all this diversity of opinion several aspects of the symbolism remain constant. A chariot or chariot wheel accompanies the procession to the āhavanīya fireplace; the journey has three segments, and the journey is longer for one who has a rival or adversary. The main source of ambiguity is whether the journey to the āhavanīya is circular or linear.

⁹Here alternatives to the horse are given, an ox or goat, or according to some a kamandalu. More often a kind of vessel, kamandalu is taken by Rudradatta on Ap 5.15.1 to be a type of animal, apparently on the analogy of the other alternatives, and this interpretation is accepted by the VPAK, IV, p. 844.

¹⁰In some sūtras the fire is established to the side of the footprint in accordance with TBr 1.1.5.9, and Vkh seems to have forgotten that he too placed the footprint to the side. The printed text reads ". . . tiṣṭhan . . . ūrdhvajñur eva . . . ādadhāti", seemingly a contradiction, and "ūrdhvajñur", "squatting", is not found in any of the other texts. Further, ūrdhva-" is supported by only three mss and "-jñur" by only one; Vkh, p. 14. Perhaps the text should read "ūrdhvasthur"; cf. Mn 1.5.4.14 ". . . ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan . . . ādadhāti".

¹¹Vkh 1.12-13; see also Ap 5.13.1-5.15.2, Bhar 5.7.9-5.10.5, SH 3.4:313-318, Baudh 2.17, Mn 1.5.3.19-1.5.4.17, Vr 1.4.3.4-1.4.3.32, Kat 4.9.10-4.10.2.

Section 10.

¹²Sect. 3, p. 85.

¹³"īyaty ágre harati/ áthéyaty áthéyati/ tráya ime lokáh/
eṣv éváinaṃ lokéṣu prátiṣṭhitam ádhatte".

¹⁴See for example SB 7.1.1.35 and Eggeling's note, SBE, XLI, p. 309. This identity is less often stated than that of the āhavanīya hearth and heaven but may be inferred from the latter and from the numerous references to the sun in verses addressed to the āhavanīya fire.

¹⁵Variants occur in TS 4.2.8.1, 4.6.7.1, MS 1.6.2:86.15f, KS 39.1 and elsewhere.

¹⁶"sūrād ásvaṃ vasavo nírataṣṭa"; RV 1.163.2d.

¹⁷Sect. 8, p. 144.

¹⁸Ap 5.10.10.

¹⁹Cf. the Agnihotra where the same rule is given and where the sun actually enters the āhavanīya fire from which it is reborn in the morning; see Sect. 8, note 101.

²⁰For the following treatment of the southern fire and that of the procession to the āhavanīya fireplace which concludes this section I owe a special debt of gratitude to J. C. Heesterman for our discussions and for his publication "Other Folk's Fire".

²¹The source and times for establishing the daksināgni here under consideration are found in Ap 5.13.8ff, Bhar 5.7.15ff, SH 3.4: 314f, Baudh 2.17: 61.10ff, Vkh 1.12:13.9ff, Mn 1.5.4.4, Vr 1.4.3.4ff, and Kat 4.9.19.

²²This is the first named source in Ap, SH, Vkh, and Bhar (simply "from elsewhere") and an alternative in Vr and Mn (specifically "from a frying pan").

²³Ap, Bhar, SH, Mn (first choice), Vr, Vkh (churned fire is fetched).

²⁴See Mn 1.5.2.5 where the sacrificer holds the regular churning sticks and his wife holds the churning sticks for the daksināgni. The priest churns this fire facing north, whereas the gārhapatya is churned while he faces east.

Section 10.

²⁵Ap, SH, Vkh; Mn has the Adhvaryu establish the dakṣināgni while the Āgnīdhra holds the fire being carried forth, and the other texts are silent.

²⁶Ap (ambarīṣa), SH (bharjana), Vr (bhraṣṭra); see Sect. 5, note 3 concerning these terms.

²⁷Ap 'yo brāhmaṇo . . . śūdro vā 'sura (SH vā sura) iva . . ." is ambiguous due to sandhi and could mean "like an asura" or "like a sura, i.e. god"; the commentary on SH gives both interpretations. However, the phrase in KS 8.12 'yo . . . puṣṭo 'sura iva' can only mean "like an asura".

²⁸See Sect. 1, p. 44 and Sect. 3, p. 65, for similar situations in which alternatives have been placed under the rubric of special desires.

²⁹SH 3.4:315.

³⁰Baudh 2.16:58.17, 2.17:61.10; Kat 4.8.15. Concerning the social connotations of the brāhmaudanika fire see Sect. 7, pp 123f.

³¹"yathā vai vṛṣalayonijaḥ putrakāḥ sarvam atti medhyam cāmedhyam caivam vai bhrāṣṭrāgniḥ sarvam atti . . ."; cf. Sect. 3, note 70 concerning the Śukra and Manthin cups.

³²Vr, Kat (commentary and paddhati), Baudh and Mn as an alternative, and Vkh according to some.

³³Actually the three fires are not mentioned. Rather the horse is asked to bear forth Pavamāna, the pleasing form of Agni in cattle, Pāvaka, the form in the waters, and Śuci, the form in the sun. But SBr 2.2.1.14f connects these three forms of Agni with the three worlds, with which are associated the three fires. Concerning the form of Agni in cattle see SBr 2.2.4.15 where Agni copulates with the cow, and his seed becomes milk, which is therefore said to be cooked even though the cow is raw. The qārhapatya fire, though already established, is carried forth in the sense that it is the source of the āhavanīya.

³⁴MacDonell, Vedic Mythology (N.Y.: Gordon Press, 1974 (reprint)). Heaven and earth are so divided in RV 2.27.8, 4.53.5.

³⁵"tisró dyāvah savitúr dvā upásthām ekā yamāsya bhúvane virāṣāt"; for vira=vīra see Grassman, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964 (reprint)), column 1290. Sāyaṇa tries to reconcile this statement with later cosmology by making

Section 10.

Yama's abode the antarikṣa and Savitr's two "laps" earth and heaven, but I trust such an interpretation will become increasingly less convincing as our discussion progresses.

³⁶Vr 1.4.3.13; the heights indicated are the ankles, knees, navel, shoulders, and ears. The source of this rule must be MS 1.6.6: 96.3ff in which the fire is first placed on the ground, perhaps while the dakṣiṇāgni is being established, and then lifted to each of the levels mentioned by Vr. The MS first attempts to reconcile all these heights with three worlds by making the ground the earth, the ankles a higher world (uttara loka), and the rest another higher world, but then rejects the whole scheme in favor of one in which the fire is carried at three heights.

³⁷The three heavens are called udanvātī, pīlumatī, and pradyū in AV 18.2.48, but these names seem not to have gained currency.

³⁸"nāko 'si bradhnāḥ pratiṣṭhā saṅkrāmaṇam"; KS 7.13.71.

³⁹"krāmadhvam agnīnā nākam ukhyaṃ hāsteṣu bībhrataḥ/ divāḥ pṛṣṭhām sūvar gatvā miśrā devēbhir ādhvam".

⁴⁰"pṛthivyā ahām úd antāriḥṣam ā 'ruham antāriḥṣād divam ā 'ruham/ divo nākasya pṛṣṭhāt sūvar jyōtir agam"; TS 4.6.5.1-2.

⁴¹Johannes Hertel, Die Himmelstore im Veda und im Avesta (Leipzig: H. Haessel Verlag, 1924).

⁴²Ibid., p. 66; see especially Vendidad 2.30,38, SBE IV, 18f.

⁴³"yātrānukāmāṃ cāraṇāṃ trināké tridivé divāḥ/ . . . tatra māṃ amṛtāṃ kṛdhi . . ." Hertel notes that most take trinākā as a karmadhāraya, i.e. as trīya nāka, but proposes that it and tridivā be taken as bahuvrīhis; op. cit., p. 68. In either case heaven must have three nākas whether all three or only the third is meant here.

⁴⁴sukṛt: literally "doing good", those whose good deeds earned them the world of heaven.

⁴⁵"ajās trināké tridivé tripṛṣṭhé nākasya pṛṣṭhé (sukṛtām loke Paip AV) dadivāṃsam dadhāti". The Paip AV variant is from the VPAK edit. of the AV, pt. II, p. 1182. The VPAK knows the compound trinākā only in these three instances from the RV, AV and Paip AV.

⁴⁶See Sect. 3, pp. 72ff, where providing separate fire chambers is one of several means used to distinguish the realm of the gārhapatya from that of the āhavanīya.

Section 10.

⁴⁷This is confirmed by SBr 8.7.1.17 in which the viśvajyotis ("all radiance") brick of the top layer of the Agnicayana is to be placed before the svayamātrnā ("with natural holes") because the latter represents the sky (dyu) and the former the sun (Āditya), and the sun is below the sky. Note also that in RV 1.35.6, cited above, only two of the three heavens are called the "lap of Savitr".

⁴⁸Hertel, pp. 44ff.

⁴⁹"anantā raśmayas . . . hṛdi/ . . . // ūrdhvam ekaḥ sthitas teṣāṃ yo bhittvā sūryamaṇḍalam/ brahmalokam atī kramya tena yānti parāṃ gatim"; MaitUp 6.30. In this and the other Upanisadic citations given by Hertel the cosmology in which we are interested is becoming internalized and combined with yogic physiology; see ChandUp 8.6.2 and Yogaśikhā Up. 1.5-2.2 where splitting the sun is now a meditation technique.

⁵⁰Bhar 5.8.10, Ap 5.14.12, SH 3.4:316, Vkh 1.12:14.4.

⁵¹Notice that in AV 11.5(3).1(50) the odana itself is called the "height of the sun".

⁵²See Sukumari Bhattacharji, The Indian Theogony (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 74ff.

⁵³"ādhvanām adhvapate prā mā tira svastī me 'smīn pathī devayāne bhūyāt"; VS 5.33b. See also PBr 1.4.1, Sankh 6.13.2.

⁵⁴"roacāṃ": Hertel, p. 20, translates "stars", but cf. RV 5.69.1 which speaks of three light (rocana) regions of heaven. The difficulties presented by the fact that after going to heaven Yima touches the earth to make it wider are discussed by Hertel, pp 14ff, and by Darmesteter, SBE IV, p. 13.

⁵⁵idem.

⁵⁶Hertel, p. 20. Hertel argues further, for reasons of meter, that the phrase "upa rapīṭwam" is a later gloss on "towards the path of the sun" and should be struck. But even if this phrase was not part of the original it is nevertheless a valuable interpretation.

⁵⁷Cf. SBr 1.9.3.15 "atha sūryam udīkṣate saiṣā gatiḥ eṣā pratiṣṭhā tad etāṃ gatim etāṃ pratiṣṭhāṃ gacchati tasmāt sūryam udīkṣate", "then one looks up at the sun; that is the gati, the pratiṣṭhā; thus one goes to the gati, to the pratiṣṭhā; therefore one looks up at the sun". Eggeling, SBE, XII, p. 271, translates gati "final goal", but Apte gives as another meaning "entrance, access", and this is consistent with what we have said regarding pratiṣṭhā. Note also the verbal prefix ud "up", which suggests that it is the midday sun at which the sacrificer looks.

Section 10.

⁵⁸See TS 7.5.8.5 where the ridge and height of the sun may be stages to heaven and RV 1.35.6 quoted above.

⁵⁹Cf. the sun as Adhvapati, above, p. 187.

⁶⁰AsvGrS 1.1.1; cf. ParGrS 3.10.32, Sankh 4.15.6. Oldenberg, SBE, XXIX, p. 159, takes vihāra "carrying apart", which can also refer to the firehall, as a synonym of vitāna the term for "stretching apart" the fires.

⁶¹Cf. TS 4.6.5 a, k, l, and m.

⁶²For the clay expedition see SH 11.1.12ff, Vkh 18.1:249.19ff, Mn 6.1.1.8ff, Vr 2.1.1.5ff, and Kat 16.2.1ff; for the procession which carries the first bricks for the altar see SH 11.7.2ff, Vkh 18.16:269.10ff, Mn 6.1.6.13ff, Vr 2.1.6.5ff, and Kat 17.3.17ff.

⁶³SH 11.1.22.

⁶⁴The myth is found in relation to the Agnyādheya in KS 8.5, in relation to the clay expedition in MS 3.1.4(a), and in relation to carrying bricks in MS 3.2.5(b) and TS 5.2.6.4-5.

⁶⁵I follow Keith, trans., p. 410, and Sāyana here. The printed edition reads "śamyūm bārhaspatyām médhā nāpanamat sā 'gnīm prāviśat" while Sāyana quotes ". . . medho napanamat so 'gnim. . ." One wonders if the top of the Devanāgarī "o" can have been lost in all three places where Sāyana diverges from the text. Certainly "hapanamat" makes more sense, and the text later refers to "yá evá médho".

A Śamyu Ātharvaṇa is in GopBr 1.2.18 connected with pacifying the primordial solar horse in the context of the Agnyādheya. Elsewhere Śamyu Bārhaspatya is mostly credited with the śamyuvāka of the Darśapūrnāmāsa, the health and welfare branch of sacrificial services; see TS 2.6.10, SankhBr 3.8, SBr 1.9.1.24-26.

⁶⁶The reason the inner part of the horse's hoof is called a "deer hoof" must be the fact that the solar horse is said to have the forelegs of a deer; see RV 1.163.1, above p. 176.

⁶⁷See note 62 for references.

⁶⁸The myth simplifies things here; for in actual practice the clay is carried on the back of an ass. But the horse is the leader of the expedition, and the ass is not present when the bricks are taken to the altar.

⁶⁹The latter refers to another myth in which the Yati Śyūmarāsmi entered a horse in order to avoid being eaten by jackals.

⁷⁰Vr 1.4.3.23.

Section 10.

⁷¹SH12.5.5, Mn 6.2.5.8, Kat 18.3.19 (south of āgnīdhrīya on the prsthya line). Later when the āgnīdhrīya is built up with bricks this stone is placed on top.

⁷²See TBr 3.7.7.13, employed when the mahāvedi is marked off, where the "great altar" is called the cow of the gods, full of milk and well-yielding, and AV 13.1.27, used to mark off the altar (vedi) in KausS 137.10, where the vedi is called a cow, rich in ghee. However, according to SBr 9.2.3.17 both altars and ladles are intended.

⁷³MS and KS read "in the ocean", which makes more sense to me as the sky is more often called an ocean than the sun. But even the KS later cites the pratka of this verse with "samudro"; KS 21.8.

⁷⁴vi kram: "transversed" Eggeling, SBE, XLIII, p. 197.

⁷⁵TS 4.6.3.3-4 with variants in MS 2.10.5:137:11ff, JS 18.3, KpS 28.3, and VS 17.59-60. "Sky" (dyu in the first two instances and rajas in the third) refers, I think, to everything above the earth including the middle region, of which heaven is the uppermost part.

⁷⁶"vimāna eṣā . . . ity āsmānaṃ sādāyati; vimāno hī asā ādityāḥ svārgasya lokāsyā"; see also SBr 9.2.3.14ff.

⁷⁷A similar practice is found at the Soma sacrifice where the fire is carried to the āgnīdhrīya, which is kindled, and then on to the āhavanīya fireplace; SrKos II, pp. 312ff.

⁷⁸Kat 18.5.17-18; see also SH 12.6.15-18, Mn 6.2.5.33, and SBr 9.4.1.14 with Eggeling's note, SBE, XLIII, p. 234.

⁷⁹TS 4.6.4 with variants in the other Saṃhitās.

⁸⁰Kat 11.1.9.

⁸¹See also Mn 9.1.3.28 and Vr 3.3.3.1.

⁸²Above, p. 191.

⁸²p.-E. Dumont, L'Āśvamedha (Paris: Paul Geuthner Louvain, 1927), pp. 26ff (Kat 20.1.37-20.2.2), 250ff (Ap 20.3.6ff), 298ff (Baudh 15.5-6); SH 14.1.30ff, Mn 9.2.1.22ff, and Vr 3.4.1.22ff. See further Hertha Krick, "Die vieräugige Hund im Āśvamedha" WZKS0A, vol. 16 (1972), pp. 27-39.

Section 10.

⁸⁴"ásvasyādhapadām upāsyati/ vajrī vā ásvaḥ prājāpatyāḥ/
vājrenaivā pāpmānam bhrātrvyam ávakrāmati". Note that one is to think
of an enemy when the horse treads in the Agnicayana; above, p. 191.

⁸⁵Dumont, op. cit., pp. 145ff (Kat 20.5.10ff), 272ff (Ap
20.16.1ff), 328f. (Baudh 15.24); SH 14.3.24ff, Mn 9.2.3.19ff, 3.4.3.25ff.

⁸⁶Heesterman, Rājasūya, pp. 129ff; the first narration is based
specifically on Ap and SH, but Mn 9.1.3.25ff and Vr 3.3.2.52ff are
similar.

⁸⁷Heesterman too builds his understanding of the chariot drive
in the Rājasūya on the Vājapeya; op. cit., pp. 133ff.

⁸⁸TS 1.7.9.1; see SH 13.2.3, Vkh 17.14:245.16, Mn 7.1.3.4,
Vr 3.1.2.16. The sacrificer's wife had previously been invited to
climb the pole as well.

⁸⁹TS 1.7.8.1; for this application of the verse, see TBr
1.3.6.1 and MS 1.11.7:168.11ff.

⁹⁰The SBr, however, holds that it represents the middle region.

⁹¹Above, pp. 193f.

⁹²MS 1.11.7:169.3f, KS 14.7.

⁹³It is not clear if the chariots, like the wheel, circle
three times.

⁹⁴Heesterman raises the possibility that the Brahman's
"accompaniment" in the Rājasūya also refers to his recitations but
notes that Caland and the commentary on SH hold the view which we share;
op. cit., p. 129.

⁹⁵See Mn 7.1.2.20; the other sūtras are not as clear.

⁹⁶SH 13.1.46.

⁹⁷"suvargó vái lokāḥ káṣṭhā/ suvargám evá lokám yanti/ suvargám
vá eté lokám yanti/ yá ājīm dhāvanti"; see also MS 1.11.7:168.19, KS
14.7.

⁹⁸TS 1.7.8.1; cf. MS 1.11.7 where "vājasyójjityai", "for the
winning of vigor", is a frequent explanation of elements of this race.

⁹⁹TS 1.7.9.2

Section 10.

¹⁰⁰ See further KS 8.5, TBr 1.1.5, and MS 1.6.4 where the horse which leads the procession to the āhavanīya fireplace at the Agnyādheya is said to conquer enemies.

¹⁰¹ op. cit., p. 135.

¹⁰² See Introd., p. 2.

¹⁰³ See note 8.

¹⁰⁴ KS 8.5, TBr 1.1.5.6, MS 1.6.4:91.16ff.

¹⁰⁵ In KS 8.5 Agni simply does not wish to go east.

¹⁰⁶ This is an explanation of the horse's epithet pūrvavah, "drawing for the first time" = "carrying east".

¹⁰⁷ MS says rather that giving a horse at the Agnyādheya serves to separate the fires.

Notes to Section 11 and the Conclusion

¹See Sect. 8, p. 166.

²This seems to be the sense of the text: ". . . tisrah samidha ekaikasminn ādhānavad ādadhāty āhavanīye gārhapatyē dakṣiṇāgnau sabhyāvasathyor iti vā sarvakarmasv eṣām evānūpūrvyam"; Vkh 1.14:15.8ff. The second alternative is not found elsewhere.

³Concerning the types of wood here used for fuel see Sections 2 and 8, especially Sect. 2, notes 3 and 4 and Sect. 8, note 17.

⁴This offering and meditation are unique to Vkh; in the other sūtras a pūrnāhuti (below) can serve as an alternative to the silent Agnihotra; see note 22 for references.

⁵TBr 1.1.7.2-3; cf. MS 1.6.2:87.10ff.

⁶TBr 1.1.7.3; TA 4.22-23.

⁷This second recitation of these verses is unique to Vkh.

⁸TBr 1.2.1.25-26.

⁹An iṣṭi is a type of subsidiary rite patterned on the Darśa-pūrnāmāsa.

¹⁰Apparently a cow is staked but is exchanged for grain of equal value which is cooked and served; Bhar 5.12.9-10, SH 6.5:530. In Baudh's version (next note) the cow itself is served.

¹¹Vkh specifies the rite of dicing only for a Rājanya, but in the other sūtras it appears to apply to any sacrificer. While the ritual dicing which follows the Agnyādheya is certainly the most interesting of the ancillary rites, it seems out of keeping with the ritual as a whole, and Heesterman, "Other Folk's Fire", is no doubt correct in interpreting it as a vestige of an earlier form of our ritual. With it is to be compared the prescription unique to Baudh that the sacrificer and his family dice for a cow in connection with an offering to the Fathers on the day preliminary to the Agnyādheya, the Upavasāthagavī or Gopitryajña as the SrKos terms it; Baudh 2.8-11, SrKos, pp. 26ff. Again as the latter is essentially a rite to the Fathers, the Abhyudaya Śrāddha enjoined by Vkh (Sect. 4) as well as the commentary on Ap 5.3.1 and that on SH 3.2:287 for the preparatory day is also to be compared. Nevertheless, an examination of this material is better suited to a consideration of the predecessor of the classical establishment of the fires than to our present study and so will not be undertaken here.

Section 11 and Conclusion.

¹³Vkh allows that one who is not rich may give only a cow in place of all the daksinās and notes that the gifts specified here are in addition to those mentioned throughout the ritual.

¹⁴Vkh gives as alternative time intervals a year, season, month, fortnight, four days, three, two, one, or the same day, and the other sūtras are similar; cf. the alternative intervals from the Brahmaudana to the establishment of the fires; Sect. 5, p. 96. As in the case of the Brahmaudana, though shorter periods of time are allowed for practical reasons, it is a year which is symbolized. So 12 days is the preferred alternative, being as TBr 1.1.6.7 notes a symbol of the year.

¹⁵I refer back to Sect. 1, pp. 38f for details and also the possibility that all of the rites from the establishment of the fires to the first Darsapūrnāmāsa may be collapsed into two days.

¹⁶ṛbīsa: 'matured by [the] warmth of the earth', SrKos, p. 61. The commentators seem to have had in mind something more in line with a luau, especially for use in ripening fruit, a practice still in use in Nepal for ripening plantains. Thus the commentary on SH 6.5:531 glosses the word "gartādaṁ sthāpitaṁ phalādikam upariṣṭād vyavahānenāgninā pakvaṁ yat tad ṛbīṣapakvaṁ", "ṛbīṣapakva" refers to fruit and the like which is placed in a hole etc. and cooked with fire indirectly from above". According to Rudradatta ṛbīṣapakva refers to "that which is cooked with the heat of a concealed fire", "yat tirohitasyāgner ūṣmaṇā pakvaṁ . . ." Still, one wonders how much faith to put in these traditional interpretations when the textual tradition itself is in doubt; for Ap 5.25.6 and Bhar 5.16.19 read ṛjīsa as do two of van Geldner's mss for Mn 1.5.6.14, two others reading ṛjīsa. ṛjīsa usually refers to the residue left after soma is pressed, which makes little sense here.

¹⁷The editor of KSank, p. 12 note 8, holds that "boat" here means the Agnihotra, citing the fact that the Agnihotra is called a boat to heaven in SBr 2.3.1.15. However, the commentary on SH 6.5:532 takes "boat" in the literal sense and is of the opinion that the prohibition is against drinking water while one is in a boat as well as water which comes from the interior of a boat.

¹⁸svakṛta irina: see Sect. 8, note 94.

¹⁹Ap 5.25.15 extends this rule to include anyone staying in the āhitāgni's house.

²⁰See Sect. 7, note 31.

²¹Ap 5.25.18, Bhar 5.16.18, and SH 6.5:531 add that the āhitāgni should have the guest eat this food. Apparently the prohi-

Notes to Section II and Conclusion

bition has to do with giving gifts, food eaten in one's house not being considered a gift; see Rudradatta on Ap 5.25.16 and the commentary to SH 6.5:531.

²²He might participate in some one else's animal sacrifice.

²³A longer version of this recitation is found in SH 6.5:532 and Ap 5.25.20. Vows included by other sūtras but omitted by Vkh include not speaking falsehood, feeding any Brahmin who stays with him, not going to the council (āmantrana) in the morning without offering and not staying past afternoon, being meritorious (punyā), and not giving silver as a dakṣiṇā.

The concluding portion of the Agnyādheya is found in Vkh 1.14-18; see also Ap 5.16.3-5.25.20, Bhar 5.9.11-5.16.24, SH 3.4:318-3.5:329, 6.5:529-534, Baudh 2.18-21, Mn 1.5.4.17-1.5.6.25, Vr 1.4.3.32-1.4.4.49, and Kat 4.9.21-4.10.16.

²³Ap 5.16.3, Bhar 5.9.11, SH 3.4:318.

²⁴Vkh performed these offerings for each fire as soon as it was established; see Sect. 9, p. 170, and Sect. 10, pp 175-176. The other sūtras tend to reserve these oblations until the three main fires or all of the fires have been established.

²⁵See Sect. 9, note 25.

²⁶TBr 1.1.8.4 "rudró vá eṣāḥ/ yád agr̥h̥/ sá ādhīyāmāna īśvaró yájamānasya paśún hímsitoḥ".

²⁷SH 3.4:318.

²⁸"té yád ávyāvrttā ādhīyeran/ śocáyeyur yájamānam"; "śocáyeyur" means literally "they would cause him to burn".

²⁹The benevolent forms named in TBr 1.1.7.2-3 are mostly personal and political power and mastery. The malevolent forms of TA 4.22-23 include such things as hunger, thirst, weariness, bad temper, and so forth.

³⁰MS 1.6.5:95.1-11. The discussion of this topic in MS 1.6.5 and 1.6.7 is more in line with the procedure found in Mn than that of Vkh and the other Taittirīya sūtras. In Mn 1.5.3.17f three sticks of ásvattha wood, three of śamī, and one of udumbara are placed on the gārhapatya fire immediately after its establishment, while in 1.5.4.19 only three pieces of śamī and one of udumbara are placed on the āhavanīya after it has been established. This has the effect of concentrating postnatal attention on the gārhapatya where the theme

Notes to Section 11 and Conclusion

of birth through churning is most evident. The vikañkata stick and extra piece of śamī are not placed on either fire. The placing of these two woods along with the udumbara in other texts parallels the establishment of the fire on the āhavanīya altar at the Agnicayana where the same three types of wood are employed and with the same verses as at the Agnyādheya.

³¹Three of these verses are employed when depositing the aśvattha fuel in all the sūtras.

³²MS gives as an alternative explanation that when Agni was created his vitality (tejas) flamed up and entered the aśvattha tree, from which it is now restored.

³³bibibā bhū I take to be imitative of the sounds of an infant much as English "babble".

³⁴This is the usual folk etymology of śamī from śam; see Sect. 8, p. 155.

³⁵Sect. 4, p. 91, TA 2.5.

³⁶Vkh 1.16:17.16ff, Baudh 2.20:67.8, 13f; the verses are found in TS 1.5.5.2-3.

³⁷SBr 2.2.1.10-12.

³⁸"śatāyur vai pūruṣaḥ śatāvīryā āyur evā vīryam āpnoti"; see KS 8.5.

³⁹MS 1.5.6:74.12ff "jīryati vā eṣā āhitaḥ . . . etāny evāgnyā-dhēyasya havīmṣi saṁvatsarē saṁvatsare nīrvapet tēna vā eṣā nā jīryati tēnainam punaravām karoti"; cf. TS 1.5.5.7.

⁴⁰Idem.

⁴¹MS 1.6.8:98.12ff.

⁴²SBr 2.2.1.14.

⁴³KS 8.8, TBr 1.1.6.1-3.

⁴⁴Notice that the parallel to the Brahmaudana which we cited from the Soma sacrifice is also a Caru to Aditi; Sect. 5, pp. 99f.

⁴⁵See Ap 5.22.3f, Bhar 5.15.3f, SH 3.5:323, Mn 1.5.6.7,9.

Notes to Section II and Conclusion

⁴⁶This procedure is not radically different from the normal paradigm of the anvāhārya rice at all iṣṭis; SrKos, pp. 389ff. Rather it is the insistence of our texts on these key aspects which forges a connection with the Brahmaudana.

⁴⁷See note 14. {

⁴⁸Notice that in the domestic rite of birth (Jātakarman) ghee is given to the newborn child prior to its mother's milk; see for example ParGrS 1.16.4,20, HirGrS 2.1.3.9, 2.1.4.3, Ap 6.15.4-5.

⁴⁹"athainam devāḥ/ antarātmann ādadhata ta' imam amṛtam antarātmann ādhāyamṛtā bhūtvāstaryā bhūtvā staryān sapatnān martyān abhyabhavaṁs tatho' evaiṣa etad amṛtam antarātmann ādhatte nāmṛtat-vasyāśāsti sarvam āyur ety astaryo haiṣa bhavati na hainam sapatnas tustūrṣamāṇas cana strnute tasmād yad āhitāgnis cānāhitāgnis ca spardhete' āhitāgnir evābhibhavaty astaryo hi khalu sa tarhi bhavaty amṛtaḥ".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Aitareya Āraṇyaka, The. A. B. Keith, ed. & trans. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.
- Aitareya Brāhmana. Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, ed. Calcutta: Satya Press, 1897.
- Āpastamba-Grhya-Sūtra. Umesh Chandra Pandey, ed. Benares: Chowkhamba Skt. Ser., 1971.
- Āpastamba-Śulbasūtram. Satyaprakash & Ram Swarup Sharma, eds. Transl. by Satyaprakash. Delhi: Res. Inst. of Anc. Sci. Studies, 1968.
- Āpastambīyam Śrautasūtram. Narasimhachar, ed. Mysore: Govt. Branch Press, 1945.
- Āśvalāyana-grhyapariśiṣṭa. K. Parameswara Aithal, ed. Madras: Adyar Libr., 1964.
- Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtram. Narendra Nath Sharma, ed. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1976.
- Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra. M. D. Shastri, ed. Prince of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts no. 74, pt. II. Benares: Vidya Vilas Press, 1955.
- Atharvaveda (Śaunaka). Vishva Bandhu, ed. Hoshiarpur: Vishvesvarand Ved. Res. Inst., 1960.
- Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra. W. Caland, ed. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1904.
- Baudhāyan-Śulbasūtram. Satyaprakash & Ram Swarup Sharma, eds. Transl. by G. Thibout. Delhi: Res. Inst. of Anc. Sci. Studies, 1968.
- Bharadvāja Sūtras of Bharadvāja. C. G. Kashikar, ed. & trans. Poona: Vaidika Saṁsodhana Maṇḍala, 1964.

- Bühler, Georg, transl. The Sacred Laws of the Āryas. SBE vols., II XIV. Reprint. Benaras: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965.
- The Laws of Manu. SBE, vol. XXV. Reprint Benares: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967.
- Caland, W. Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba. Praśnas 1-7 Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921. Praśnas 8-15, 16-24, 31 Verhandelingen der Koninklijke akademie van wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling letterkunde. Nieuwe reeks, deel XXIV, no. 2; deel XXVI, no. 4. Amsterdam, 1924-28.
- , 'Über das Vādhūlasūtra', Acta Orientalia, I, pp 3ff, IV, pp 6ff.
- , trans. Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1929.
- , trans. Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1931.
- Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, The. Albrecht Weber, ed. Reprint. Benares: Chowkhamba Skt, Ser., 1964.
- Collection of the Fragments of Lost Brāhmaṇas. B. K. Ghosh, ed. & trans. Calcutta: Bharati Mahavidyalaya, 1947.
- Daśopaniṣadaḥ. Ganash M. Kurulkar, ed. Poona: Saradeśa Pāṇḍe, 1973.
- Dutt, Manmatha Nath, ed. & trans. The Dharma Śāstra. Vol. I texts, Vol. II translations. Calcutta: Elysium Press, 1908.
- Eggeling, Julius, trans. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. SBE vols. XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII, XLIV. Reprint. Benares: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972.
- Gopatha Brahmana, Rajendra Lal Mitra, ed. Delhi: Indol. Book House, 1972.
- Griffith, Ralph T. H., trans. The Hymns of the R̥gveda. Reprint. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973.
- Hume, Robert Ernest, trans. The Thirteen Principal Upanishads. 2nd edit. Oxford: Ox. Univ. Press, 1971.
- Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda. Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra, eds. Nagapur: Sarasvatī Vihāra, 1954.

Jaiminīya-Śrauta-Sūtra-Vṛtti of Bhavatrāta. [with the Jaiminīya Sr.].
Premnidhi Shastri, ed. Delhi: Intern. Acad. of Ind. Cult.,
1966.

Kapiṣṭhala-Katha-Samhitā. Raghu Vira, ed. Reprint. Delhi: Mehar-
chand Lachmandas, 1968.

Kashmirian Atharva Veda, The. [Paippalāda] Leroy Carr Barret, ed.
New Haven: Amer. Or. Soc., 1936 (books 16, 17), 1940
(books 19, 20).

Kāthaka. Leopold von Schroeder, ed. Reprint. Wiesbaden: Franz
Steiner, 1970

Kāthakasamhitā. Bhaṭṭācārya Śrīpādaśarman, ed. Aundhanagara:
Svādhyāyamaṇḍala, 1943.

Kātyāyana. Śrautasūtra of Kātyāyana, The. Albrecht Weber, ed. Re-
print. Benares: Chowkhamba Skt. Ser., 1972.

Kātyāyanaśulbasūtram. J. H. Gupta, ed. Benares: Chowkhamba Skt.
Ser., n.d.

Kauśika Sūtra, The. Maurice Bloomfield, ed. Reprint. Benares: Mo-
tilal Banarsidass, 1972.

Keith, A. B., trans. The Veda of the Black Yajus School. [TS].
HOS, vol. 18. Reprint. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967.

----- Rigveda Brāhmanas. [AitBr & KausBr]. HOS, vol. .
25. Reprint. Benares: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971.

Kṛṣṇayajurvedīya-Taittirīyāranyaka. K. V. Abhyānkara, et. al. eds.
AAS no. 36. Anandāśrama Press, 1967.

Kṛṣṇayajurvedīya-Taittirīyasamhitā. K. Āgaśe & T. Śāstrī, eds. AAS
no. 42. Anandāśrama Press, 1959.

Lāṭyāyana. Śrauta Sūtra of Lāṭyāyana. Anandachandra Vedantavagisa,
ed. Calcutta: Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, 1872.

Lauākshi-Grhya-Sūtras, The. M. K. Shāstrī, ed. Bombay: Nirnaya
Sagar Press, 1928.

Maitrāyanī Samhitā. Leopold von Schroeder, ed. Reprint. Wiesbaden:
Franz Steiner, 1970.

- Mānavaśrauta Sūtra, The. J. M. van Geldner, ed. & trans. Delhi: Arya Bharati Press, 1961.
- Manusmṛti, The. Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya. 10th edit. Bombay: Nirnaya Saḡar Press, 1946.
- Oldenberg, Heṛmann, trans. The Grhya-Sūtras. SBE vols. XXIX, XXX. Reprint. Benares: Motilāl Banarsidass, 1973.
- Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa. A. Chinnsami Sastri, ed. Benares: Chowkhamba Skt. Ser., 1935-6.
- Pāraskaragrhyasūtram. Hanumaddattaśarma, Devanāthaśarma, & Bālamu-kundaśarma, eds. Benares: Medical Hall, 1952.
- Parīśistas of the Atharvaveda. G. M. Bolling & J. von Negelein, eds., re-edited by Ram Kumar Rai. Benares: Chaukhamba Orientalia, 1976.
- Rig-Veda-Samhitā. F. Max Müller, ed. Reprint. Benares: Chowkhamba Skt. Ser., 1966.
- Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtram. S. R. Sehgal, ed. Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1960.
- Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, The. Alfred Hillebrandt, ed. Calcutta: Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, 1888.
- Satyāśādhaviracitaṃ Śrautasūtra. Kāśināthaśāstrī Āgaśe, ed. AAS no. 53. Anandāśrama Press, 1908.
- Sūryakānta. Kathaka-Saṃkalana. Lahore: Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, 1943.
- Taittirīya brāhmaṇam. Nārāyaṇaśāstrī, ed. AAS no. 37. 3rd edit. Anandāśrama Press, 1979.
- Upaniśadāṃ Samuccayah. AAS no. 29. Anandāśrama Press, 1925.
- Vaikhānasaśmārtasūtram. W. Caland / ed. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1927.
- Vaikhānasa-Śrautasūtram. W. Caland, ed. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1941.

Vaitāna-Śrauta-Sūtra. Viśhva Bandhu, ed. Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvar-anand Inst., 1967.

Vājasaneyi-mādhyaḍina-śukla Yajurveda-sāmhita. S. D. Sātavalekara, ed. Baroda: Svādhyāyamaṇḍala, 1970.

Vārāha-Grhya-Sūtra. Raghu Vira, ed. Lahore: Univ. of Panjab, 1932.

Vārāha-Śrauta-Sūtra. W. Caland & R. Vira, eds. Reprint. Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas, 1971.

Whitney, W. D., transl. Atharva-veda Sāmhita. Reprint. Benares: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962.

Selected Secondary Materials

Abhyankar, K. V. A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar. Baroda: Orient. Inst., 1961.

Apte, V. S. The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary. 4th edit. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965.

Bhargava, P. L. India in the Vedic Age. 2nd edit. Aminabad: Upper Ind. Publ. House, 1971.

Bhattacharji, Sukumari. The Indian Theogony. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1970.

Bhishagrata, Kavirāj Kunjalal, trans. The Sushruta Samhita. 2nd edit. Benares: Chowkhamba Skt. Ser., 1963.

Bloomfield, Maurice. A Vedic Concordance. HOS vol. 10. Reprint. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964.

Bodewitz, H. W. The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra) According to the Brāhmanas. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976.

Brhad-devatā, The. A. A. MacDonell, ed. & trans. HOS, vol. VI. Reprint. Benares: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965.

Buck, C. D. A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1949.

- Buitenen, J. A. B. van. The Pravargya. Poona: Deccan College, 1968.
- Caland, W. and V. Henry. L'Agnistoma. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906.
- , Altindische Zauberei, Darstellung der altindischen 'Munschopfer'. Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1908.
- Caraka Saṁhitā. Ram Karan Sharma & Vaidya Bhagwan Dash, eds. & trans. Benares: Chowkhamba Skt. Ser., 1976.
- Dumont, P.-E. L'Āśvamedha. Paris: Paul Geuthner Louvain, 1927.
- , L'Agnihotra. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1939.
- Gonda, J. The Savayajñas. Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1965.
- Heesterman, J. C. The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration. [Rājasūya]. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957.
- , "Reflections on the Significance of the Dāksinā", IJ, vol. III (1959), pp. 241ff.
- , "Vrātya and Sacrifice", IJ, vol. VI (1962-3), pp. 1ff.
- , "Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer", WZKSOA, vol. VIII (1964), pp. 1ff.
- , "The Case of the Severed Head", WZKSOA, vol. XI (1967), pp. 22ff.
- , "On the Origin of the Nāstika", WZKSOA, vol. XII/XIII (1968/69), pp. 171ff.
- , "Kauṭalya and the Ancient Indian State", WZKSOA, vol. XV (1971), pp. 5ff.
- , "Other Folk's Fire", in J. F. Staal, ed., Agni, vol. III. Forthcoming.
- Hillebrandt, Alfred. Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1879.
- , Ritual-Litteratur. Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertums-kunde, vol. III, pt. 2: Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1897.

- Hillebrandt, Alfred. Vedische Mythologie. Reprint. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965.
- Kane, P. V. History of Dharmasāstra. GOS no. 6. 2nd ed. Poona: Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst., 1968.
- Kashikar, C. G. The Śrauta Ritual and the Vājapaya Sacrifice. Poona: The Vājapaya Performance Com., 1955.
- , et. al., eds. Śrautakośa. Poona: Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, 1958.
- , A Survey of the Śrautasūtras. Reprinted from the Journ. of the Univ. of Bombay, XXXV (1966), pt. 2, Bombay: Univ. of Bombay, 1968.
- Keith, A. B. The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1925.
- Kuhn, Adalbert. Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks. Reprint. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968.
- Lévi, Sylvain. La Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brāhmanas. 2nd edit. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966.
- MacDonell, A. A. Vedic Mythology. Reprint. N.Y.: Gordon Press, 1974.
- Mahābhārata, The. Vishnu S. Sakthankar et al., eds. Poona: Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst., 1933-59.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred. Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1956-76.
- Monier-Williams, M. A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Reprint. Benares: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974.
- Oertel, Hanns. The Syntax of Cases in the Narrative and Descriptive Prose of the Brāhmanas. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1926.
- O'Flaherty, Wendy. Hindu Myths. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1975.
- Pāṇini. The Ashtādhyāyī of Pāṇini. Śrīśa Chandra Vasu, ed. & trans. Reprint. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962.

- Renou, Louis. Vocabulaire du Rituel Védique. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1954.
- , Vedic India. Translated by Phillip Spratt. Benares: Indological Book House, 1971.
- Schwab, Julius. Das altindische Thieropfer. Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1886.
- Sūrutasaṃhitā, The. Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya, ed. Bombay: Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, 1945.
- Thite, Ganesh Umakant. Sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa-Texts. Poona: Univ. Press, 1975.
- Tsuji, Naoshiro. On the Relation Between Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1952.
- Vishva Bandhu. Vaidika-padānukrama-koṣa. [A Vedic Word-concordance]. Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvarand Vedic Res. Inst., 1976.
- Walde, Alois. Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen. Edited by Julius Pokorny. Berlin & Leipzig: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1927.
- Whitney, W. D. The Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language. Reprint. Benares: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963.
- , Sanskrit Grammar. 2nd edit. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1971.
- Yāska. The Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta. Lakshman Sarup. ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967.