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PŪṢAN AND SARASVATĪ

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Contents

1. The river goddess – 5
 2. The three goddesses – 17
 3. Sarasvatī Vāc – 30
 4. The cow – 39
 5. Sarasvatī and the Waters – 54
 6. Pūṣan in the Ṛgveda – 68
 7. Pūṣan in the Atharvaveda – 97
 8. Pūṣan in the other Vedic texts – 114
 9. Pūṣan and Sarasvatī – 145
- Abbreviations 165
- General index – 166
- Index of Sanskrit words – 171
- Index of Sanskrit text-places – 174

I. The river goddess

1. Among the many problems of the history of Vedic religion about which finality has not been reached are the transformation of the river goddess Sarasvatī into the post-Vedic ‘goddess of wisdom and eloquence’ – or the origin of the latter and the co-existence of two Sarasvatīs, the river and the ‘goddess of eloquence and learning’¹ – ; the nature and ‘original’ or central, most characteristic functions of the god Pūṣan; and the relation of the two divine figures, Sarasvatī and Pūṣan. It would seem that there will be much profit in discussing these problems in one publication because upon closer examination they appear to be connected in more than one respect².

As to the first problem³ Macdonell⁴ was inclined to find the transition from the older to the latter conception of the goddess in passages such as VS. 19, 12 stating that when the gods celebrated a healing sacrifice⁵, the Aśvins as physicians, and the physician Sarasvatī “through speech” (*vācā*⁶), bestowed his characteristic qualities (*indriyāni*) upon Indra. This seems to

1. Thus M. Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford 1899, s.v.; “Genie der Stimme und der Rede” (Petersburg Dictionary s.v.); H. Zimmer, Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization, New York 1947, p. 88 preferred “(the) patroness of speech, song, and wisdom”; H. von Glasenapp, Die Religionen Indiens, Stuttgart 1943, p. 147: “Beschützerin der Künste und Wissenschaften”.
2. Various problems of secondary importance may be tackled in passing.
3. I abstain from reviewing all that has been published, not only on the much disputed identity of the river (see especially A. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, II², Breslau 1929, p. 335 ff.; H. Lommel, Anahita-Sarasvatī, in Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller, Leipzig 1954, p. 405 ff.), but also on Sarasvatī’s relations with other female deities (H. Willman-Grabowska, Roczn. Orient. 17, p. 250 ff.) and her occurrences and functions in the epic and puranic literature. See the bibliographical note in L. Rocher, The Purāṇas, HIL II, 3, Wiesbaden 1985, ch. 223, n. 11.
4. A.A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 87.
5. The prototype of the *sautrāmaṇī* on which see § 12 below.
6. The potency of spoken words was considered to be an effective creative force. Things came into existence when, in the mythical past, the gods uttered their names (RV. 10, 71, 1; 10, 82, 3; cf. 10, 125, 7; 10, 177, 2). See also W. Norman Brown, in JAOS 85 (1965), p. 23 ff.

have been also Renou's opinion⁷. There is, however, a wide difference between uttering potent spells or formulae for the purpose of healing, which is a widespread and very common custom⁸, and being identified with, or acting as the patroness of, speech, word or spells. According to Oldenberg⁹ the beginning of the transition to the later conception of the goddess (her identification with Vāc, Speech or, rather the sacral or powerful word¹⁰) should be sought in the function of a "Förderin der Gebete" which she is related to perform; he does not quote texts but obviously wishes to remind the reader of places such as RV. 5, 43, 11, where the goddess is said to hear man's words and 1, 3, 12, where she is described as ruling *dhiyo viśvā*¹¹. This valuable suggestion was not followed up; the supposition that Sarasvatī was identified with Vāc at a great distance from the river in order to give its sacred conception another content¹² is a gratuitous guess. Hillebrandt¹³, admitting that he was unable to solve the problem, drew attention to the important fact that the banks of the Sarasvatī were the home of religious tradition handed down in the sacred language, adding that there might have been a second factor "of a mythological nature", a term by which he obviously understood the interpretations and associations of divine figures in the ritual sphere. If this really is a demonstrable factor in the process, it will be worth explaining and dealing with at greater length¹⁴. Hillebrandt's former supposition was subscribed to by Griswold¹⁵: "the goddess Sarasvatī, as the apotheosis of that river, came to be regarded as the inspirer of hymns". This is no doubt true, but it is not the whole truth, and not an attempt to reconstruct the process¹⁶. Other scholars, among them Keith¹⁷ and Miss Bhattacharji¹⁸, adduced the same geographical argument¹⁹.

7. L. Renou (and J. Filliozat), *L'Inde classique*, I, Paris 1947, p. 328: "(Sarasvatī,) identifiée dans les Brāhmaṇa à la parole (Vāc) qui dès le Yajurveda était donnée pour son instrument".
8. Literature may be found in F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 308 ff.; H. Webster, *Magic*, Stanford Cal. and London 1948, ch. IV.
9. H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1923, p. 248.
10. Not only in cases such as AVŚ. 1, 18, 3; 2, 31, 3; 6, 85, 2; AVP. 19, 6, 2 a translation "speech" would be completely wrong.
11. See p. 47 below.
12. H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft. Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte*, Göttingen 1919, p. 81, n. 2.
13. Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, p. 338, n. 2.
14. E.W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 53 observes that the same name viz. Sarasvatī, a "flowing one", is the goddess Fluency in one place and the Flowing (river goddess) in another.
15. H.D. Griswold, *The religion of the Rigveda*, Oxford 1923, p. 303.
16. See also A.L. Basham, *The wonder that was India*, London 1956, p. 316: "In the Rgveda she was a sacred river, but in later Vedic literature was identified with a hypostatic goddess of temporary importance, Vāc ("Speech")".
17. A.B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 173 f.
18. S. Bhattacharji, *The Indian theogony*, Cambridge 1970, p. 163 f.
19. For a sample of intuitive reasoning disregarding all information imparted by the texts

2. That Sarasvatī²⁰ primarily was a river is beyond dispute²¹. Her name occurs in enumerations of rivers in the North-West of the subcontinent: ṚV. 10, 64, 9 Sarasvatī, Sarayu, Sindhu; 10, 75, 5; 3, 23, 4; TĀ. 10, 1, 13 Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Śatudrī; MNUp. 141. In AVP. 20, 29, 5 she is invoked together with the rivers in general. ṚV. 1, 3, 12 (VS. 20, 86) describes her as a great or mighty flood (*mahó árnah*); AVŚ. 6, 41, 2 as extending far and wide (*uruvyacas*). In regard to the paradoxical grandeur of these descriptions of an insignificant river²² – she is the river, mother and

see J. Muir's attempt to explain the problem as quoted by J. Dowson, A classical Dictionary of Hindu mythology etc., London 1928, p. 284: "When once the river had acquired a divine character, it was quite natural that she should be regarded as the patroness of the ceremonies which were celebrated on the margin of her holy waters ... (This) connection ... with sacred rites may have led to the further step of imagining her to have an influence on the composition of the hymns ... and of identifying her with Vāc, the goddess of speech".

20. We need not enter into particulars concerning Sarasvatī's male partner (cf. Geldner, RV. übers. on ṚV. 1, 164, 52 and 7, 95, 3; Oldenberg, Rel. d. Veda^{3p}. 243, n. 3), the 'Wassergenius Sarasvant' (cf. AVP. 20, 9, 7), and discuss the relevant opinions of A. Bergaigne, La religion védique, I, Paris 1878 (1963), p. 144 and II, p. 47 and Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth., 2I, p. 357 ff. It may suffice to mention here that in post-ṛgvedic passages Sarasvant and Sarasvatī are said to be a pair (*mithunam*), which PB. 16, 5, 3 f. is invoked "for the sake of obtaining progeny"; see also TB. 1, 6, 1, 11; that they sometimes are regarded as each other's complement (ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 31, quoting VS. 13, 35, where mention is made of the two wells of Sarasvant or Sarasvatī (*sārasvatāu utsau*), and he is *manas* ('mind'), she speech (according to Mahīdhara on VS., i.e., the Ṛg- and Sāmaveda are meant)); 11, 2, 4, 9; 11, 2, 6, 3; MS. 1, 4, 5: 65, 3 (cf. ŚB. 11, 2, 4, 9) he is the full, she the new moon; cf. the use of AVŚ. 7, 40 and 68 in VaitS. 8, 2). See also ĀśvŚ. 3, 1, 14; VaitS. 18, 6 f.; MG. 1, 4, 2. Though no doubt attesting to a secondary interpretation, these places corroborate the conclusion drawn from ṚV. 7, 96 that there originally were two rivers or, at least, two river deities. Examples of masculine and feminine forms derived from the same stem denoting a river are not wanting (H. Krahe, Sprache und Vorzeit, Heidelberg 1954, p. 55 f.). In TB. 2, 5, 7, 4 Sarasvatī is called *puṣṭipatnī*, in AVP. 20, 9, 5 Sarasvant *puṣṭipati*. However, in BD. 4, 39 Vāc and Prāṇa are mother and son, the former being Sarasvatī, the latter Sarasvant: an intimation of Sarasvant's inferiority? (cf. also BD. 2, 51). If, what seems probable, *sarasvant* in ṚV. 1, 164, 52 (cf. AVP. 20, 9, 8) is a proper name, not an adjective ("abounding in large sheets of water", describing the sun, Sāyaṇa, P. Deussen, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, I, 1⁴ Leipzig 1920, p. 119), the question may arise if not the poet of that *sūkta*, being a worshipper of Sarasvant and, in this final stanza (cf. Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 93), alluding to reward (cf. AVŚ. 7, 40, 2) or to evidence of the deity's favour, was on this special occasion tempted to eulogize Sarasvant beyond measure. (For Sarasvant as a mighty being see also AVŚ. 9, 4, 9 (AVP. 16, 24, 9)). Compare also the ritual use of variants of ṚV. 1, 164, 52 in TS. 3, 1, 11, 3 as well as MS. 4, 10, 1: 142, 14; ŚŚ. 6, 11, 8 etc. Sarasvant alone is mentioned also in the formulae ĀpŚ. 17, 2, 6 (where MS. 3, 12, 12: 164, 3 has Sarasvatī). Was Sarasvant originally the name of a small river or sheet of water in the neighbourhood of the Sarasvatī and other rivers with feminine names?: cf. ṚV. 7, 95, 3 where he is called a young bull grown up among young goddesses? (cf. the Anukramaṇī and see also Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 116).
21. On sacred rivers see, e.g., Zimmer, Myths and symbols, p. 109 ff.
22. See A.A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, Vedic Index of names and subjects, II, London 1912 (Delhi 1958), II, p. 435 ff.; Hillebrandt, op. cit., II, p. 335 ff.; Keith, op. cit., p. 172 ff.; Griswold, op. cit., p. 303.

goddess par excellence (RV. 2, 41, 16)²³, distinguishes herself from the other rivers by her splendour or majesty (*dyumnebhīh*) and *mahimnā* which does not only mean ‘by her greatness’ but also ‘by her glory or sublimity’ (6, 61, 13), by her greatness ‘she presses all other rivers forward’ (7, 95, 1) etc.²⁴ – it may be parenthetically observed that even a comparatively insignificant main²⁵ river of a people’s native country or customary environment may be worshipped, deified or identified with a mythical prototype and eulogized out of all proportion to reality²⁶. Feeling that life was dependent upon and supported by the divine powers residing in the environment and welcoming every source of living water as a miracle almost any village, town or settlement tended to revere its source or river. A holy river is in itself a hierophany, a modality of the sacred, a revelation of an aspect of cosmic sacrality.

So it is not surprising that those who lived in the region of the Sarasvatī should have called her the chief or most excellent (*jyesthā*) of the waters (AVP. 16, 13, 1): when king Nāhuṣa in former days wished to consecrate himself and asked all the streams to bring him shares for his sacrifice, they replied that they had but very little power and advised him to resort to the Sarasvatī; she received him and gave him milk and ghee (BD. 6, 20 ff.). Nor is it incomprehensible that a certain Kavaṣa, being considered a cheat, no *brahman*, and therefore excommunicated, was no longer allowed to drink the water of this river (AiB. 2, 19, 1). Those who drove him away from the soma sacrifice were *ṛsis* who performed a sacrificial session (*sattram*) on the river, an event also commemorated in the parallel version of the story in KB. 12, 3 (12, 3, 11), where no mention is made of the water and Sarasvatī, figuring as a goddess, came to Kavaṣa’s aid after being praised by him²⁷. These seers were no doubt not the only men who performed important religious ceremonies on the Sarasvatī, which in AVPar. 42, 2, 4 together with the Ganges etc. is said to be a *tīrtha* (i.e. a (holy) bathing-place or place of pilgrimage on the banks of a sacred stream) and already in RV. 3, 23, 4 is

23. Cf., e.g., Mbh. 3, 82, 5 (crit. ed.).

24. For a survey of the relevant characterizations see also J. Nobel, Register zur Übersetzung, vol. IV of K.F. Geldner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, Cambridge Mass. 1957; and AVP. 16, 48, 2; ŚB. 1, 4, 1, 14.

25. As observed by H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951-1959 p. 163 f. names of rivers with a numeral (especially seven) have in India throughout all ages been used to indicate the river-system of a country; hence RVKh. 3, 6, 4 *sārasvatī* ... *saptā sindhavah*; cf. also VS. 34, 11. – For the Sarasvatī as the top or prominent part of the waters (*apām pṛṣṭham*) see TB. 1, 7, 5, 5.

26. Cf. M. Ninck, Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten, Leipzig 1921; M.P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion, ³I, München 1967, p. 236 ff.; Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart VI, 2774 ff.; G. Spaltmann, Das Wasser in der religiösen Anschauung der Völker, Thesis Bonn 1939. Sarasvatī’s water is said to contain honey (TB. 2, 5, 8, 6).

27. For the strengthening and stimulation of a deity by ‘praise’ see J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, ³I, Stuttgart 1978, p. 41.

regarded as belonging to the best place on the earth (*vāra ā pṛthivyāḥ*) where to establish one's sacred fire. Indeed, one of the longer soma rites described in ŚŚ. (13, 29) is the *sārasvatānām ayana*, performed on the bank of the Sarasvatī. It is therefore no wonder that those who execute a soma sacrifice of six days' duration in order to reach the world of heaven should go along the Sarasvatī, "for this is the path that leads to the gods" (*devayānah panthāḥ*, TS. 7, 2, 1, 4). "One goes (indeed) to the heavenly world by a journey that is of the same length as the Sarasvatī" is also the opinion of the author of PB. 25, 10, 16, who in this connexion mentions also the place where the river disappears in the sands, which, adding to its holiness, is recommended to those who undertake the consecration for a *saltra* (PB. 25, 10, 1; JB. 2, 297). That the river also became an element of the mythical system designed to explain the structure of the universe and the phenomena of nature appears from PB. 25, 10, 11 stating that the gods wished to prop the sun by means of (the) Sarasvatī (here probably viewed as a goddess); being unable to sustain it she collapsed, hence her many bends²⁸.

3. The conclusion is therefore warranted that the Sarasvatī – which, notwithstanding an explicit reference to the waters of its bed, said to be mothers (st. 10), is in the passage RV. 10, 17, 7–10 (AVŚ. 18, 1, 41–43) addressed as a goddess (st. 8), invited to sit down on the *barhis* (the grass strewn over the sacrificial ground or the sacrificial bed (*vedi*)) and besought to grant the objects of the worshipper's desire – was the local deity²⁹ of those Aryans who lived in the surrounding country (cf. RV. 7, 95, 2; 7, 96, 2; 6, 61, 14; 10, 17, 8; 2, 41, 17)³⁰. At the same time invoked as a river and a goddess (2, 41, 16; cf. 10, 17, 7)³¹ she is often described as being "rich in those that are well supplied with (re)generative power, i.e. mares" (*vājīnīvatī*³², 1, 3, 10; 2, 41, 10; 6, 61, 3; 4; 7, 96, 3), as "fair, gracious, auspicious" (*bhadrā*, 7, 96, 3), as very generous and liberal (6, 61, 1; 8, 21, 17; 10, 17, 7; ŚB. 11, 4, 3,

28. The sacred river is often mentioned in the Mahābhārata. For instance, in 3, 37, 36 ff. it is told that Yudhiṣṭhira went to the Kāmyaka woods on the bank of the Sarasvatī, followed by austere brahmins; there "they were bent upon the art of archery and listening to the Veda"; 3, 80, 79 ff.; 118; 130 ff.; 3, 81, 43; 3, 82, 5 ff.; 3, 129, 20 ff.; 3, 179, 14 ff.

29. On the significance of a (semi-)primitive man's home and place of residence see G. van der Leeuw, *L'homme primitif et la religion*, Paris 1940, p. 51.

30. Compare Oldenberg, *Rel. d. Veda*, p. 91. Were the Sārasvatas mentioned in RV. 3, 4, 8 minor local deities of the region? (cf. Geldner, *RV. übers.* I, p. 340 and see p. 17 below); L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, XIV, Paris 1965, p. 45; 116 prefers "descendants de Sarasvatī" and "appartenances de Sarasvatī et Sarasvatī".

31. See also the explicit statement in the *Bṛhaddevatā* 2, 135 f. (*stutā nadīvad devatāvaca*); cf. J. Gonda, *The prāugaśāstra*, Amsterdam Acad. 1981, p. 12 f. The poets did not regard her character as a river irreconcilable with her divinity.

32. For *vāja* etc. see J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954, ²Delhi 1969, p. 44 ff.; translations such as "reich an Belohnungen, freigebig" (Geldner) are, in my opinion, inadequate. The Indus region has long been well known for its horses.

6), associated with wealth (7, 95, 4; MS. 4, 14, 7: 225, 16), besought to give vigour to him who praises her (RV. 10, 30, 12, the first line of which is addressed to the Waters; also KS. 39, 1: 118, 4), to be benevolent or favourable (*śivā*) and very compassionate (*sumṛṭika*, AVP. 20, 12, 3; TĀ. 4, 42, 1), and expected to grant her worshippers various favours, gifts and benefits (RV. 10, 141, 5; TS. 1, 7, 10, 2; AVP. 1, 106, 6; cf. also AVŚ. 7, 57), among them milk (cf. VS. 20, 75), butter, honey and water (TB. 1, 4, 8, 4), virility (AVŚ. 4, 4, 6), protection (TB. 2, 4, 6, 1), successful conception and offspring (RV. 2, 41, 17; AVP. 5, 11, 6; 6, 19, 9; hence her association with Sinīvālī, the goddess presiding over fecundity and easy birth, in AVŚ. 5, 25, 3; cf. also AVP. 20, 25, 7), a complete duration of life (RV. 2, 41, 17³³), wealth and offspring (AVP. 6, 19, 9; 12, 6, 4 (harvest); the possibility of eating food (VS. 20, 3; MS. 3, 11, 8: 151, 14); RV. 6, 61, 14 (see above), often quoted in ritual contexts, e.g., TS. 7, 2, 7, 4; AiB. 5, 20, 8; MŚ. 5, 1, 6, 26 “O Sarasvatī, lead us to prosperity”; ŚB. 11, 4, 3, 16 where she is not only requested to bestow prosperity (*puṣṭi*) upon the person sacrificing but is also associated with the Lord of *puṣṭi*; in the parallel formula TB. 2, 5, 7, 4 she is addressed as Puṣṭi and as the mistress or wife of Puṣṭi (*puṣṭipatnī*) as well as happiness (RV. 7, 96, 3; VS. 25, 16; AVP. 8, 10, 11); she is stated to strike “those that come from a distance” (*pārāvata*, which may have been used as a proper name³⁴; 6, 61, 2), conquers the enemies (RV. 2, 30, 8³⁵), and is implored to overthrow those who hate the gods (6, 61, 3), to protect against hatred (11) and enmity (9) – Indra’s epithet *vṛtrahan* is even applied to her (RV. 6, 61, 7 *vṛtraghnī* “killing opponents”; in st. 5 she is in this respect even compared to Indra; cf. 2, 1, 11)³⁶ –, to protect her worshippers from (the consequences of) sin and speaking untruth (TĀ. 2, 3, 1, or also against distress, MS. 4, 14, 17: 244, 8) or to protect them at night (TB. 2, 6, 12, 3; MS. 3, 11, 3: 144, 5).

It is clear that in the above passages Sarasvatī is a typical ‘local goddess’, a helper, supporter and protector of those inhabitants of the region who duly worship her. Her original character as a river (goddess) is either vaguely discernible or has been completely pushed into the background. Yet she sometimes appears distinctly as one of the divine elements of the surrounding nature allowing the audience to realize her original and proper function. In AVP. 16, 13, 1 the herbs or useful (medicinal) plants (*oṣadhīḥ*), to which the *sūkta* is addressed, are together with Sarasvatī, “the most excellent of the waters” (see above), besought to save or protect cow, horse,

33. I take the *āyūmsi* that are said to rest or depend on Sarasvatī (and which Sāyaṇa explains as *annāni* “victuals”) to mean “living beings enjoying a complete duration of life”.

34. Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 131.

35. In this stanza and in 6, 52, 6 she is associated with Indra; see J. Gonda, *The dual deities in the religion of the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1974, p. 79; 264.

36. This is not to conclude that she exclusively was the goddess of the warrior class (R. Airi, 26 AIOC, S.P. 1972, p. 336 f.). Cf. also AVP. 16, 48, 2.

man, *paśu* (i.e. a domestic or sacrificial animal)³⁷. The poet of RVKh. 3, 6, 4 requests not only Pūṣan, Viṣṇu and Sarasvatī, but also the waters, the wind, mountains, the Lord of the forest trees as well as the earth to hear his invocation. In the *tarpana* ritual (the offering of water libations to deities) as described in BDh. 2, 5, 9, 10 her name occurs between those of Śrī, Puṣṭi (Thriving, Prosperity) and Tuṣṭi (Satisfaction)³⁸.

4. That the goddess was worshipped and regarded as a divine figure of importance by the settlers of the region and at least part of their descendants who did no longer live in the neighbourhood of the river is in any case apparent from the following mantras which belong to the formulary of the sacrifices of full and new moon³⁹. When the chaff of the grains has been offered the patron of the sacrifice has to wipe his mouth while pronouncing the words: ‘‘Sarasvatī who nourishes the settlers (*viśabhaginā*)⁴⁰, give me out of her⁴¹, may we become participants (*bhaktivānaḥ*) of thee’’ (BhŚ. 4, 19, 7; ĀpŚ. 4, 13, 7⁴²). Thereupon the *adhvaryu* offers oblations of ghee to Sarasvatī to the accompaniment of ‘‘To Sarasvatī who nourishes the settlers *svāhā*’’ and ‘‘To Sarasvatī who nourishes the settlements (*veśabhaginā*)’’ and a third to Indra with the prayer that ‘‘the thoughts of the settlers may be directed here and that the kins- (or country-)men (*sajātān*) may be well-disposed ...’’ (ĀpŚ. 3, 10, 2)⁴³. According to MS. 1, 4, 3: 51, 8 and MŚ. 1, 4, 3, 3 the former formula contains the word *veśabhaginā* instead of *viśabhaginā* and according to MS. 1, 4, 3: 51, 7; MŚ. 1, 3, 5, 12 the latter is ‘‘To Sarasvatī who manages (governs) the settlements (*veśayamānī*) *svāhā*’’. The curious name or epithet *vaiśambhalyā* in the formula to be pronounced by the patron when he wipes off his mouth (TB. 2, 5, 8, 6 f.; ĀpŚ. 4, 14, 4) ‘‘Sarasvatī *vaiśambhalyā* ..., may I partake of thee, in thee we would like to participate (share) most’’ has been regarded as a proper name and tentatively been explained as a derivative of **viśambhala* (= **viśambhara*) ‘‘supporting the

37. In the parallel and partly identical stanza AVŚ. 8, 7, 11 Sarasvatī does not occur.

38. Cf. also MNU p. 335.

39. It is interesting to compare the ancient Indian views of the Sarasvatī (and other holy rivers) with the relations that existed between the ancient Egyptians and the Nile (see, e.g., S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 49; 158).

40. As to the meanings of *viśas* and *veśa* see J. Gonda, *Triads in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1976, p. 137 ff. Translations such as ‘‘Bauernstand’’ (W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, Göttingen and Leipzig 1921, p. 123) or ‘‘people’’ (C.G. Kashikar, *The sūtra of Bharadvāja*, Poona 1964, p. 98) may create misunderstanding.

41. ‘‘give ... her’’ only in ĀpŚ. following KS. 5, 4: 47, 6; for the rare use of the locative compare *Atri-Saṃhitā* 48, 20 ‘‘pour water out of a pot (*kumbhe*)’’ (J.S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden 1886, p. 105).

42. Chaff is inauspicious, wiping off an eliminatory rite.

43. KS. 5, 4: 47, 5 reads *yā sarasvatī veśabhaginī*; also 32, 4: 22, 19. For shorter forms of the mantras containing the above compounds see VaikhŚ. 7, 10: 76, 3 f.

settlers”⁴⁴. – Kauś. 77, 23 enjoins the bride to pay homage to Sarasvatī and the Fathers by means of the stanza AVŚ. 14, 2, 20 (cf. AVP. 18, 19, 1): no doubt another indication of the high esteem in which Sarasvatī was held as a local goddess. See also BD. 6, 145: “He who should meditate on (Soma) Pavamāna, the Fathers, the gods, and Sarasvatī, to his Fathers milk, melted butter, honey and water will come”; similarly, RVKh. 3, 10, 16; for paying homage to Agni, Soma and Sarasvatī RgVidh. 3, 3, 6. Passing mention may also be made of the variant form of the so-called *anubhū* formulae⁴⁵ in KS. 35, 15 “... fiery energy (*tejas*) came (*ābhū-*) along with (subordinate to, through, *anu*) the sun, breath along with (etc.) the wind, the gods along with (etc.) Indra, the Fathers along with (etc.) Yama, men along with (etc.) Sarasvatī (*sarasvatyā manusyāh*)”; this points in any case to the conviction that Sarasvatī was an indispensable condition for the existence and prosperity of mankind.

Some mantras used in the domestic ritual supply welcome information on Sarasvatī’s significance in the religion of the Aryan population. When (PG. 3, 4, 8) the one who is building a house makes offerings of cooked food in order to induce the divine powers to give him a dwelling, he addresses not only Agni, Indra, Br̥haspati and the Viśve Devāḥ, but also Sarasvatī (the local goddess) and Vājīn (the eponymous founder of the school of Vājasaneyā, whose followers use the Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra as their domestic manual). To the mantras to be pronounced by a teacher during the *upanayana* ceremony (the initiation of a student) belongs also: “I consign you to Bhaga (the god who allots shares of fortune), Aryaman (the patron of hospitality and other forms of social intercourse), Savitar (Impulse), Sarasvatī, Indra-and-Agni and the Viśve Devāḥ” (MG. 1, 22, 5). When water is sprinkled round the fire the goddesses Aditi, Anumati (Consent) and Sarasvatī are besought for consent (HG. 1, 2, 8 f.; ĀpG. 1, 2, 3; GG. 1, 3, 1 ff.; KhG. 1, 2, 17 ff.). The most informative passage occurs in the description of the marriage ceremonies, viz. PG. 1, 7, 2 which after the words “Sarasvatī, promote this (our undertaking), O gracious one, bountiful one, thou whose praise we sing first of all that is and will be”, for which see also HG. 1, 20, 1 and MG. 1, 10, 15, continues: “... in whom what is has been born, in whom this whole world dwells” (words which in VS. 9, 5; ŚB. 5, 1, 4, 4 are used in connexion with Aditi).

5. Whereas many names and cults of river, source or mountain gods never spread outside a small area, others came to win the hearts of a

44. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1, Göttingen 1905, p. 206; M. Mayrhofer, *Etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, III, Heidelberg 1964-1976, p. 269. Likewise already Sāyaṇa on TB., l.c.: *viśāṇ prajānāṇ bharaṇaṇ poṣaṇaṇ viśambhalaṇ tat kartuṇ kṣamā vaiśambhalyā*.

45. Belonging to the *aśvamedha*; see, e.g., TS. 7, 3, 14; TB. 3, 8, 17, 3; in KS. the first formula is *agninā tapo ’nvābhavat*.

sufficient number of worshippers and to enjoy such a good reputation that they succeeded in gaining access to the pantheon of a larger part of the population, or, at least, were invoked or worshipped together with one or some of its greater figures. We should not however content ourselves with the statement that Sarasvatī was such a successful deity; it is worth while to examine a number of relevant texts and to ascertain facts such as the various companionships of the goddess and the reasons for which she is invoked or worshipped together with other deities. It will strike us that already in the Ṛgveda she often keeps some of the great or well-known gods company.

After st. 4 f., in which the bountiful goddess Rākā is besought to give a son and 6 f., a prayer to Sinivālī⁴⁶, sister of the gods, who presides over easy birth, for offspring the hymn ṚV. 2, 32 ends with an invocation of these two goddesses, preceded by Guṅgū, whose name is seldom found, Sarasvatī and the wives of Indra (Indrāṇī) and Varuṇa (Varuṇāṇī), who, though playing an insignificant part, remind the audience of the impressive names of their husbands, with whom they were perhaps supposed to intercede for the worshipper (st. 8, AVP. 20, 10, 10). The poet of AVP. 11, 1, 6 implores the help of the three 'birth goddesses' as well as the goddess of consent Anumatī, Sarasvatī and Indrāṇī, the *ṛṣi* of ṚV. 10, 184, 2 that of Sinivālī, Sarasvatī and the Aśvins (the divine physicians, cf. 1, 116, 13; 117, 24; 10, 39, 7; AVP. 20, 25, 7) for the same reason. While these places attest to the conviction that the local goddess could extend her influence also to this sphere of human interest, in the Śrīsūkta⁴⁷ (RVKh. 2, 6, 28), Sarasvatī seems to be verging on 'identification' with the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī (st. 28), Viṣṇu's consort (st. 25)⁴⁸. In the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā Sarasvatī is not infrequently associated with the Maruts, a prominent troop of brilliant and impetuous deities representing the phenomena of thunderstorm (lightning, wind and thunder) and often functioning as shedders of rain. In ṚV. 7, 96, 2 she is – quite intelligibly – said to have them for companions (*marútsakhā*); in 3, 54, 13 together with them asked to hear the poet and to bring possessions and sons; in 7, 39, 5 Sarasvatī and the Maruts are expected to rejoice on the occasion of eulogies; 2, 30, 8 the goddess is requested to conquer the enemies in unison with them; in 7, 9, 5 Agni is urged to worship Sarasvatī, the Maruts, the Aśvins (succouring gods par excellence⁴⁹), the Waters and all the gods in order to induce them to distribute treasures. After stating that that man will be powerful and vigorous whom the Maruts favour, the author of 7, 40, 3 adds that Agni (the great ritual god) and Sarasvatī will animate him. When in AVŚ. 6, 30, 1 (AVP. 9, 8, 2 (cf. 19, 24, 4)) the gods are described as having obtained by ploughing (cf. 12, 2, 36)

46. See above, § 3 and Gonda, Aspects, p. 226 f. For Sarasvatī with Idā and Bhārati see p. 17 ff. below.

47. See Gonda, Aspects, p. 212 ff.

48. In AVŚ. 7, 46, 3 Sinivālī is explicitly stated to be Viṣṇu's consort.

49. See p. 22 ff. below.

“this barley on the (river) Sarasvatī on account (for the sake) of mankind”⁵⁰, “Indra of hundredfold resourcefulness was the lord of the plough⁵¹, the bounteous Maruts were the ploughmen”⁵²; here the natural substratum of this association is pointed out with all clearness desirable: on the authority and under the supervision of the great god Indra the Maruts – often acting as Indra’s associates or helpers and as farming settlers (ŚB. 5, 1, 3, 3; 5, 2, 1, 17; 5, 3, 1, 6) – are active in order to enable (the) Sarasvatī to feed the people⁵². This situation sheds light on RV. 8, 21, 17 where, in praise of king Citra’s liberality it is stated that only Indra and Sarasvatī are his equals in generosity. In 6, 52, 6 the Maruts are replaced by the god of rain Parjanya who causes delight by the useful plants while Sarasvatī overflows her banks, Indra comes quickly to (the people’s) aid and Agni (see above) is easily invoked.

Another instance of co-operation of some gods on behalf of their worshippers occurs in AVP. 20, 6, 1: What (i.e. the medicinal plant which⁵³) Agni, Indra, the Viśve Devās and the Maruts uprooted for us, “that (I expect) will Sarasvatī, being associated (with them)⁵⁴ (and) true to her duties (*satyadharmā*)⁵⁵, (and) Anumati bestow upon (confirm to) us”⁵⁶. The two goddesses are in a *sūkta* intended to counteract the effects of niggardless (AVŚ. 5, 7, 4) invoked together with Bhaga (the divine dispenser or distributor of shares of wealth or fortune). In the curious stanza AVŚ. 14, 2, 15 the bride is after rising from the couch (cf. st. 14; 31 and 14, 1, 60) ordered to stand firm and ‘identified’ with *virāj*, i.e. a creative principle, which, sometimes conceived as the earth or a cow, stands for the hypostatization of the conception of the universe as a whole⁵⁷; these words are followed by “as it were, Viṣṇu here, O Sarasvatī”; now, one of Viṣṇu’s concerns is the continuance of the human race (cf., e.g., RV. 10, 184, 1; 7, 36, 9; 7, 100, 4; BaudhGPar. 1, 10, 13; 15)⁵⁸. Thereupon Sinivālī is requested “to let her have progeny” and the bride is recommended to the favour of Bhaga. The difficulty resides in the vocative Sarasvatī: is the goddess addressed or does the bride impersonate her? In the corrupt stanza AVP. 8, 12, 10 the goddess is in company with Bhaga and the Aśvins, the

50. I take *manāv* (in TB. 2, 4, 8, 7 etc. *manāv*) to be a locative of motive (*nimittasaptami*).

51. For Indra as a god of agriculture and vegetation see J.J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich and Leipzig 1937, III, p. 132; 154 ff.

52. The variant forms of this stanza and its interpretations (Sāyana on TB. 2, 4, 8, 7; H. Oldenberg, *The Grihya-sūtras*, I, Oxford 1886, p. 338 (PG. 3, 1, 5); Caland, Śr. Āp. I, p. 218 (ĀpŚ. 6, 30, 20) need not detain us.

53. Cf., e.g., AVŚ. 4, 4, 1; 4, 7, 6; 6, 109, 3 etc.

54. *sayujā* instead of *sayujyā*.

55. Cf. J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Academy 1965, p. 413 f.; *The dual deities in the religion of the Veda*, Amsterdam Academy 1974, p. 200.

56. In AVŚ. 7, 24, 1, which is for the greater part identical, Savitar and Prajāpati take the place of Sarasvatī.

57. I refer to Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 67 f.; 172; 187.

58. And see Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 18 ff.

twin gods whose consort she is in VS. 19, 94 etc. In AVŚ. 16, 4, 4 the protection of the three presiding deities of the universe, Sūrya, Vāyu and Agni, is implored from the day, the intermediate space and the earth respectively, that of Yama (the ruler of the dead, who is also one of the deities that reside “in him who exists” (ŚB. 2, 3, 2, 1) and has power over the abode on the earth (13, 8, 2, 4)) against men, and that of Sarasvatī against “the terrestrial ones” (*pārthivebhyah*), which in this connexion may perhaps mean “inhabitants of the earth other than men”. In the three stanzas of AVŚ. 6, 3 (AVP. 19, 1, 15) various deities are invoked for protection (from distress and detriment); those mentioned in st. 2 are Heaven and Earth, Soma (the well-known ritual god), Sarasvatī, who is here given the epithet “very prosperous or fortunate” and “conferring benefits” (*subhagā*). Other texts in which she finds herself in respectable company are: RV. 1, 89, 3, where the *subhagā* Sarasvatī is asked to give those speaking, who by means of a traditional formula (*pūrvayā nivīdā*) have invoked Bhaga, Mitra, Aditi, Dakṣa, Aryaman, Varuṇa, Soma, and the Aśvins, refreshment or restoration (*mayas*); 10, 141, 5, where, after Aryaman (the god of family friendship, hospitality, etc.), Bṛhaspati, Indra, Vāta (Wind)⁵⁹, Viṣṇu and before Savitar, she is urged to give donations (every god is no doubt expected to do that in his own way); 6, 50, 12, praying to Rudra, Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Ṛbhukṣan, Vāja (two of the three marvellously skilful minor gods, the Ṛbhus), Vidhātār (the disposer) for their unanimous favour. Some places deserve special mention: in KSAśv. 3, 1 and TS. 7, 3, 11, 2 she figures in an invocation “by Agni, Indra, Soma, Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu, the gods (in general)”; in the partly corrupt AVP. 13, 5, 11 Prajāpati, Parameṣṭhīn (the One in the Highest), Mṛtyu (Death) and (Agni) Vaiśvānara keep her company. When, however, in MS. 4, 5, 8: 75, 19 f. Sarasvatī is together with Agni, Soma, Savitar (the stimulator, the arousing and vivifying one, to whom the student of the Veda was committed, ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 3), and Bṛhaspati (the priest of the gods and prototype of priesthood) one of the five gods of the *brahman*, she probably owes this important position to her identity with Vāc, to which we shall have to turn in another section of this publication.

6. From this survey – which is by no means intended to suggest a historical development of Sarasvatī’s rank and position – it appears that already at an early moment she was, or rather, could be, regarded as a member of the general pantheon. In a ṛgvedic hymn addressed to many gods, among them Heaven and Earth, Vāyu, Indra, the Aśvins, Bṛhaspati the river goddess, worthy of worship (*yajata*) is in the same stanza (5, 43, 11) in which she is invited to the speaker’s sacrifice asked to come from the mountain and from the firm or immovable heavens⁶⁰, the abode of the gods

59. For TS. 1, 7, 10, 2 reading *vācam* instead of *vājam* see p. 30 below.

60. As to *divo bṛhatāh* cf. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 42; 68; on *bṛhat* see J. Gonda, Notes on Brahman, Utrecht 1950, p. 31 ff.

(RV. 1, 19, 6; 1, 73, 7; cf. 6, 2, 4; 6, 12, 2; 5, 43, 13). In RV. 6, 61, 11 f. the goddess is stated to have filled the three provinces of the universe and to reside there; the poet of AVŚ. 7, 68, 1 refers to the heavenly locations or manifestations of her divine power (*divyēsu ... dhāmasu*)⁶¹.

Passing mention may be made of some other facts that seem to attest to Sarasvatī's prominence. As already noticed⁶² her name is in the R̥gveda, 2, 30, 8 and 6, 52, 6, associated with that of Indra, and elsewhere with the names of other important gods: AVŚ. 5, 25, 6 Varuṇa, Sarasvatī and Indra; 6, 3, 2 Soma, Sarasvatī and Agni; 6, 89, 3 Varuṇa-and-Mitra and Sarasvatī⁶³. With Varuṇa, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Soma, Agni, Varuṇa-and-Mitra and Uṣas she has the epithet *rlāvarī* (*rlāvan*) "adhering to, keeping within the sacred universal Order" in common. MS. 4, 5, 8: 75, 19⁶⁴ informs us that the brahmin has five deities, viz. Agni, Soma, Savitar, Bṛhaspati, and Sarasvatī. Now, Agni and Soma are the two great ritual deities, the representatives of fire and of the power of life that circulates in the universe; Savitar is the great impeller of the gods (e.g. ŚB. 4, 6, 6, 8), who makes the sacrifice prosper (5, 1, 1, 4; 14); Bṛhaspati represents and is the Brāhman itself (12, 8, 3, 29; 5, 3, 3, 5 where he is styled Bṛhaspati Vāc) and the priest of the gods. And that is why, the text continues, other people have recourse for assistance to a brahmin. A learned brahmin (*śrotriya*) has three gods, Agni, Bṛhaspati, and Sarasvatī, who are the most important ones (*bhūyiṣṭhāh*) and that is why other brahmins have recourse to him.

61. See also J. Gonda, *The meaning of the Sanskrit term dhāman*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967, p. 29. Cf. AVP. 20, 26, 10.

62. See p. 10, n. 35.

63. See, e.g., also AVP. 2, 35, 5; 2, 90, 5; 5, 11, 6; AVŚ. 5, 25, 6; 6, 89, 3; R̥gVidh. 1, 5, 1 ff.; 3, 3, 5 f.

64. Cf. § 3 and n. 35 above.

II. The three goddesses

7. This seems to be a suitable place to insert some lines on the regular association of Sarasvatī with two other female figures, viz. Iḍā (Iḷā) and Bhāratī. This triad of goddesses has a permanent place in the *āprī* hymns¹, “hymns of propitiation” of certain deities – among them Dawn and Dusk (the regular and auspicious moments for offering) and various sacrificial requisites. They are composed in accordance with a fixed pattern and probably belong to a comparatively early and uncomplicated stage of the Vedic ritual. The purposes for which they were composed centered round Agni. Their combination with the animal sacrifice found in the brāhmaṇas is for lack of internal evidence obviously secondary. Their ritual use did not exclude the belief that they possessed an autonomous capacity to effect propitiation or to confer much desired qualities on the sacrificer². Since most ṛgvedic families possessed an *āprī* hymn for their own use, the popularity of these texts may have been due to family rites associated with them.

As to the three deities, they are invited to sit down on the *barhis* (RV. 1, 13, 9 (= 5, 5, 8); 1, 142, 9; 2, 3, 8; 3, 4, 8 (= 7, 2, 8); 10, 110, 8)³; this means that they are regarded as gods and are wanted to partake of oblations (in 1, 142, 9 they are called “worthy of worship”, *yajñiyāh*). In 3, 4, 8, in which Sarasvatī is stated to be accompanied by the Sārasvatas⁴, Bhāratī is expected to approach with the Bhāratīs, a hapax which may denote another class of minor local gods⁵, Iḍā with the gods, Agni – who is here added to

1. J. Gonda, *Vedic literature*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 104; Dual deities, p. 124 ff.
2. See AiB. 2, 4; KB. 10, 3 (10, 5, 16 ff.); PB. 15, 8, 2; ŚB. 6, 2, 1, 28 ff.
3. Likewise in AVŚ. 5, 27, 9 which is in Kauś. 23, 7 used in the ceremony of consecration of a new house and 45, 8 in a rite to appease the evil produced by a barren cow. The text occurs also in VS. 27, 19; TS. 4, 1, 8 i; MS. 2, 12, 6: 150, 14; KS. 18, 17: 278, 1; KapS. 29, 5: 133, 12.
4. See § 3, n. 30 above.
5. See also Geldner, *RV. übers.* I, p. 340; H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig 1873, 1936, 933 “Götinnen der Darbringung”; according to Renou, *E.V.P.* XIV, p. 116 the plural forms in this stanza are “fictifs, destinés à gonfler la notion divine”. Remember however the existence of the Rudras, Ādityas, Ṛbhvas beside Rudra, Āditya, Ṛbhva.

the triad – with men: as is well known he is not only a god residing on the earth or among men (RV. 1, 73, 3; 2, 4, 1; 3, 1, 18 etc.), but also the lord or protector of the settlers and settlements (*viśpali*; 1, 12, 2; 1, 26, 7 etc.) and a herdsman of the people (*jánasya gopāh*, 5, 11, 1) etc.⁶ In 2, 3, 8 the three goddesses are requested to give uninterrupted protection, in 1, 188, 8 “to stimulate us to welfare (or success, prosperity, auspiciousness”, *codayata śrīyé*⁷). They have some epithets in common: in 1, 13, 9 (= 5, 5, 8) they are styled “causing refreshment or delight” (*mayobhuvah*), in 9, 5, 8 “well adorned” (*supesāsah*), in 10, 110, 8 “skilful” (*suapasah*) qualities that may be said to correspond with our expectations.

8. With regard to the three goddesses individually, there is no reason to suppose Sarasvatī to act or figure here in a capacity other than that we know already. As to Iḍā, she is the ‘personification’ of the portions cut, according to strict rules, by the *adhvaryu* from the oblatory materials – in the ritual of full and new moon a cake to be offered to Agni⁸ – which are sprinkled with sacrificial butter, i.e. consecrated, and distributed among those who participate in the sacrificial rite, viz. the officiants and the patron of the sacrifice (the *yajamāna*) to be consumed by them to the accompaniment of mantras⁹. To the characteristic features of this rite belongs the obligation laid on the *adhvaryu* and the *hotar* to remain in, or come into, contact with the *iḍā*-pot before the following invocation of (the) Iḍā by the *hotar*, and (according to BhŚ. 3, 1, 17; ĀpŚ. 3, 2, 8) the *adhvaryu* as well as by the patron or (according to KŚ. 3, 4, 12) by the latter and all the officiants during the invocation by the *hotar* (*iḍopahvānam*). The invocation consists of the long series of formulae in ĀśvŚ. 1, 7, 7 (in a somewhat different form ŚŚ. 1, 11 f.), in which Iḍā, the daughter of Manu (see ŚB. 1, 8, 1, 1 ff.), is besought to come together with the three provinces of the universe and their presiding deities and “to call us near”; similar double invitations are addressed to the cows, the seven divine *hotars* (i.e. the *hotar* and his assistants and the chief assistants of the *brahman*), to the comrade, the food (*sakhā bhakṣah*), to Iḍā, the rain (in ŚŚ. also to speech or the word (*vāc*) together with breath and to *vāc* together with ‘mind’ (*manas*)), etc. After Iḍā has been invoked the *hotar* consumes his portion with the formula “I consume thee (that hast been) offered to Vācaspati (the Lord of the word) and to Sadasaspati (the Lord of the seat of the dwelling”¹⁰). Then the officiants and

6. As to the manifold relations between Agni and men see Nobel, Register, p. 30 ff.

7. Not “eifert uns zur Vortrefflichkeit an” (Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 269) or “aiguillonnez nous pour (que nous jouissions de) la beauté (du rite)” (Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 42).

8. For references to the *iḍā* in other sacrifices see, e.g., BhŚ. 8, 13, 27; 9, 17, 4; 10, 22, 13; 13, 27, 11 ff.; 14, 11, 4; 14, 24, 19; 14, 25, 5.

9. See KŚ. 3, 4, 3 ff.; ŚB. 1, 8, 1; BaudhŚ. 1, 17 f.; BhŚ. 3, 1 ff.; ĀpŚ. 3, 1, 7 ff.; A. Hillebrandt, Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, Jena 1880, p. 122 ff.

10. Notice that the *hotar* smears his lips with the formulae “of thee that has been offered by

the patron partake of the *idā* whilst praying “O *Idā*, do thou partake of our portion, animate (quicken) the cows and horses; may we who are partaking of thee and our attendants be safe and sound”. Thereupon all (*ĀpŚ.* 3, 3, 1) should remain silent (unpropitious utterances would make the rite ineffective¹¹). Then they sprinkle themselves with water and the *adhvaryu* breaks the cake that is intended for Agni.

It is clear that this rite is to form a bond between the participants on the one hand and between them and the god who receives the oblation on the other, that it establishes a communion¹² (cf. *ŚB.* 1, 8, 1, 17 “(the *adhvaryu*) makes it visibly enter (remain in) the *hotar* and through it the *hotar* invokes a blessing on the sacrificer”; 39 f.: the *idā* is not offered in the fire but rather in the vital powers (cf. 11, 1, 6, 33) of the officiants and the patron, who while eating it think, ‘May it be offered for me in all’). They participate in the powerfulness of what is divided among them. From the invocation it appears that those present regard the sacred food as divine and are aware of their being placed in connexion with the creative powers of the universe which so to say keep *Idā* company or follow her (notice the use of formulae such as “Invoked is *Brāhman* fashioned by the gods” (also *TS.* 2, 6, 7, 4; *TB.* 3, 5, 8, 2; 3, 5, 13, 2), “Invoked are Heaven and Earth”). The portions of the sacrificial food produce a strengthening of the power of the eaters, a consolidation of their common powerfulness (cf. *ŚB.* 1, 8, 1, 11 “whosoever ... practices sacrificial rites with the *idā* ceremony propagates this race which *Manu* (the first man) generated, and whatever blessing he invokes through it (or “her”, *Idā*) all that is granted to him”; cf. also *VS.* 2, 10; *KŚ.* 3, 4, 21; *ŚB.* 1, 8, 1, 42; *BhŚ.* 3, 2, 1 ff.; 4, 16, 2; *ĀpŚ.* 3, 2, 8; 4, 10, 6). It is worth noticing that by (the) *Idā* the gods gained, and the sacrificer gains, food (*ŚB.* 11, 1, 6, 28) and that mythologically *Idā* is the daughter of *Manu*, the first sacrificer (1, 8, 1, 7; according to *TS.* 1, 7, 1, 1 (cf. 2, 6, 7, 1) and *ŚB.* 1, 8, 1, 24 she was a cow); that she was produced by his sacrifice (ibidem); and that one of the purposes of the *idā* ceremony is also the preservation of the cycle of power through the continuation of sacrificial worship¹³ (see the formulae at the end of the *idopahvānam* “Invoked is the sacrificer on account of the subsequent worship of the gods ...”). It may be surmised that *Idā*’s relation with *Manu* was already known to the poet of *RV.* 10, 110, 8, who says that “here, as (formerly in her conversation) with *Manus* (= *Manu*), she makes attentive to or calls to

the Lord of the word (*Vacaspati*), ... by the Lord of mind (*manaspati*) I eat ...” (*ŚŚ.* 1, 10, 2; *ĀśvŚ.* 1, 7, 2).

11. J. Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, Leiden 1980, p. 78.

12. On a ‘sacrificial meal’ and communion see, e.g., F. Bammel, *Das heilige Mahl im Glauben der Völker*, Gütersloh 1950; H. Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, Berlin 1927-1942, II, 1022 f.; V, 1490 ff.; VIII, 156 ff.; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, ch. 50 ff.

13. See also § 10 below on *VS.* 20, 43 etc.

memory (*celayanti*)¹⁴ (her origin, nature and function)”; is this a reference to the story handed down in ŚB. 1, 8, 1, 9? (The) *Idā* is *śraddhā* (i.e. an active, positive and affirmative attitude towards religious acts, confidence in their transcendental effects and in the competence of the authorities and officiants) and whosoever knows this secures for himself *śraddhā* and whatever is to be gained by it (ŚB. 11, 2, 7, 20).

9. The third goddess, *Bhārātī*, does not often turn up alone, that is, without her two colleagues, in Vedic texts. In RVKh. 2, 13, 2 – a text which deals with the appeasement of evil and is used to safeguard a person against demons, evil spirits and diseases (RVidh. 2, 25, 11) – she receives the epithet *brahmavādini* “expounding or discoursing on Vedic texts”, which characterizes her as belonging to the ritual and exegetical sphere. A similar inference can be drawn from RV. 3, 62, 3, which expresses the wish that the female guardian deities (*varūtrīḥ*) with their various forms of refuge or protection (*saraṇaiḥ*) will favour those speaking and that *hotrā* *Bhārātī* with her *dakṣiṇās* (offerings presented to the officiants without which the oblations are not complete¹⁵) will do likewise. Here the question might arise whether *hotrā* – which is also added to the name *Bhārātī* in RV. 1, 22, 10; 1, 142, 9 and 2, 1, 11 – is an epithet or a proper name denoting another deity. In contradistinction to earlier lexicographers¹⁶ who translated it by “invocation” later scholars rightly consider it to be identical with *hotrā* “the function of the *hotar cum suis*”¹⁷. To all appearance Oldenberg¹⁸ was right in regarding it as an epithet of *Bhārātī*. It then characterizes the deity as the representative of the *hotar* (and, used as a more general term, of the officiants) of the *Bharatas* (RV. 3, 53, 12; 5, 11, 1 etc.), who once were settled in the country of the *Sarasvatī* (cf. also 3, 33, 11 f.). In 1, 142, 9 this *Hotrā Bhārātī* is described as being “placed among the gods, (more exactly) among the *Maruts*”, the deities who, as we have seen¹⁹, are often mentioned together with *Sarasvatī*. In RV. 1, 22, 10, which is addressed to various gods, she is together with *Varūtrī* (see above, now in the singular,

14. Geldner, RV. übers. III, p. 332 translates “hier belehrend”, Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 49 “qui se signale ici”; W.D. Whitney and Ch.R. Lanman, Atharva-veda Saṃhitā, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 241 “taking note” (AVŚ. 5, 12, 8); P.E. Dumont, in Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc. 106 (1962), p. 253 (TB. 3, 6, 3 i) “instructing (us) here like Manu”.

15. See Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 338 f. and Index, s.v.

16. See Petersburg Dict., VII, 1666; Monier-Williams, s.v. 2 *hotrā*; H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, Leipzig 1873 (1936), 1682, regarding *Sarasvatī* as the “Göttin der Anrufung”. See also Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, 3p. 247 f.

17. See also Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 29; XIII, p. 89.

18. Oldenberg, Rel. d. Veda, 3p. 247, n. 3 (translating “Opferspende”); Griswold, Religion, p. 302 f. (“the personified offering of the *Bharatas*”); (Renou’s translation of RV. 1, 142, 9, E.V.P. XIV, p. 41 is not felicitous); otherwise Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 87.

19. See § 5 above.

cf. 5, 41, 5) and Dhiṣaṇā, who probably represents the poetic inspiration²⁰, one of the “divine females” (*gnā*). In TB. 1, 5, 11, 2 f. we are informed of the fact that once, when they were disordered, the Aśvins were cured by means of fried grains of barley or rice (*dhānāḥ*), Pūṣan by means of gruel (*karambha*), Bhāratī with husked fried rice for making a cake (*parivāpa*), Varuṇa and Mitra with a sort of curds (*payasyā*). In ĀpŚ. 12, 4, 6 describing the preparation of the sacrificial cakes during the morning service of a soma ceremony²¹ the *parivāpa* is destined for Sarasvatī and Bhāratī, in MŚ. 2, 3, 2, 2 for Indra and these two goddesses, in KŚ. 9, 1, 15 for Sarasvatī alone – likewise MS. 3, 10, 6: 137, 17; KS. 29, 1: 168, 8; AiB. 2, 24, 5²² – variants pointing to the different deities Bhāratī was supposed to associate with²³. In BD. 5, 101 Bhāratī²⁴ is another name of the goddess Vāc, who is related to have come in bodily form to a sacrificial session (*sattram*) of Prajāpati and became the mother of three sons. We shall have to revert to this identification.

10. Returning now to the triad of goddesses I call attention to those places where they are accompanied by, or mentioned together with, other deities. In RV. 2, 1, 11 – part of a *sūkta* in which Agni is ‘identified’ with several other gods – the god of fire is said to be Aditi for the devout one (*dāśuṣe*) (that means that then he behaves like a mother and protector, and frees from sin); to increase²⁵ by the eulogies (*girā*) as (i.e. when he assumes the form of) Hotrā Bhāratī (another reference to a connexion between this goddess and the liturgical word²⁶); to be able, adroit or skilful (*dakṣase*) as Iḍā, “who lives a hundred years” (*śatahimā*: I venture the supposition that the goddess is expected to grant a life of that duration (cf. RV. 1, 73, 9; 6, 4, 8; 6, 10, 7) to those who duly perform the *iḍā* ceremony); to be a destroyer of obstructions or a killer of opponents or enemies (*vytrahan*) as Sarasvatī²⁷; in this connexion Agni receives the epithet *vasupati* “lord (dispenser) of goods, possessions” which is also given to him in 2, 6, 4, where he is asked to ward off enmities; 8, 61, 10 to Indra the destroyer of strongholds: conquering

20. I refer to Renou, E.V.P. I, p. 4 f.; IV, p. 54; 60; VII, p. 50; J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 116.

21. W. Caland and V. Henry, L’agniṣṭoma, Paris 1906-1907, p. 135.

22. Strike out the comma after *bhārativān* in Aufrecht’s edition, p. 47.

23. In TB. 2, 6, 17, 6 the plural Bhāratīs stands for the three goddesses Bhāratī, Iḍā and Sarasvatī.

24. In later texts (e.g. Mbh. 3, 61, 20 cr. ed.) *bhāratī* is used in the sense of “speech, voice, word”.

25. Not “erbauest du dich an” (Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 277). See Gonda, Notes on brahman, p. 40 ff.; cf., e.g., RV. 3, 10, 6.

26. However, one would expect the goddess of the Holy Word to make another god increase or to strengthen him; may we recall RV. 10, 125, the self-laudation of Vāc ending with (8) “so great have I become (and am now)”?

27. See p. 10 above.

chiefs, human as well as divine, – implicitly also Sarasvatī – usually distributed part of the booty to their attendants and followers²⁸.

Proceeding now to discuss the yajurvedic mantras in which the names of the three goddesses are combined with one or more names of other deities I first draw attention to VS. 20, 43 (TB. 2, 6, 8, 3; MS. 3, 11, 1: 140, 10; KS. 38, 6: 108, 3), the last quarter of which – containing Bhārati's epithet *viśvatūrtiḥ* which I would translate by "expeditious in every respect"²⁹, a characterization that suits her very well (see above) – is identical with RV. 2, 3, 8 d. In this stanza the goddesses are stated or, rather, requested (there is no verb) to preserve the thread – no doubt rightly explained as the succession of sacrificial performances (Uvaṭa, Mahīdhara on VS.³⁰) – unbroken by means of *payas* which here seems to mean in the first place "semen" and then "oblation" (Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara)³¹: in the first half of the stanza the three goddesses are said to find satisfaction (in intercourse) with Indra, like wedded women, his wives (VS., the other texts read *vṛṣaṇam* instead of *janayah*: "like wives (their) man or bull"); cf. RV. 1, 105, 2 where the wife milks the liquid (*rasa*) specified as "manly (seminal) fluid" (*vṛṣṇyam páyah*). And the goddesses are believed to do so when they are strengthened by oblations (*haviṣā vārdhamānāḥ*).

11. This stanza belongs to a set of eleven³² consecratory stanzas that constitute an 'āpri hymn' (KŚ. 19, 6, 12) of the secondary yajurvedic type. In contrast to the ṛgvedic āpri hymns the deities are mentioned in due order as manifestations of Indra, the great god of the intermediate world. According to MŚ. 5, 2, 11, 7 these stanzas are to be recited by the *hotar* when a bull is offered to this god in the first section of the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual³³. Being a means of warding off or annihilating various manifestations of evil in the personal sphere of the sacrificer, the mythical account of its institution deals with the cure of Indra by Sarasvatī and the Aśvins, when the god was suffering from the effects of his excessive indulgence in *soma* (cf. already RV. 10, 131 as well as ŚB. 5, 5, 4 and 12, 8, 3). The rite, by which Indra was restored to health, consists mainly in the offering, to these deities and

28. In (semi-) primitive societies the prestige of a chief depends largely on his ability to maintain a reputation for generosity.

29. It may be a *bahuvrīhi* (cf. *viśvamanas* "whose mind is directed to everything, perceiving everything", *viśvapēśas* "containing all adornment"). Otherwise: Wackernagel and Debrunner, *Altind. Grammatik*, II, 2, p. 637 "die Allesüberwindung", i.e. "die alles übertrifft". Monier-Williams translates "all-surpassing" (likewise Grassmann and Geldner, *RV. übers.* I, p. 280 (RV. 2, 3, 8), Renou, *E.V.P.* XIV, p. 43 ("qui l'emporte sur tout")). Sāyaṇa, on TB. l.c. reads and explains *viśvamūrtiḥ*.

30. Sāyaṇa, on TB. otherwise: *putrapautrādisaṅghaṃ tanvānam*.

31. Not "milk" (R.T.H. Griffith's translation, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 227).

32. Not eight (Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 226).

33. For particulars see J. Gonda, *The mantras of the Agnyupasthāna and the Sautrāmaṇī*, Amsterdam Acad. 1980, p. 152. On this ritual in general p. 63 ff.

Indra, of the spirituous liquor called *surā*, which, mixed with strong *soma*, was the beverage given to Indra by the Aśvins and the goddesses (VS. 20, 63; TB. 2, 6, 12, 4; MS. 3, 11, 3: 144, 7; KS. 38, 8: 110, 1). The following stanzas quoted from VS. XIX-XXI and XXVIII (and the parallel texts) belong to this ritual. The first to be discussed is VS. 28, 8³⁴. It forms part of another series of 'āprī hymns', viz. VS. 28, 1-11 and is identical with TB. 2, 6, 7, 4 f. The *hotar* is urged to worship the three goddesses who are described as *tridhātavo 'pāsah*, i.e. "being threefold, active", as *mahīh* "great, mighty"³⁵, and – in harmony with the preceding VS. 20, 43 – as consorts of Indra (*īndrapatnīh*). This stanza is partly identical with VS. 21, 37³⁶, which occurs also MS. 3, 11, 2: 142, 8 and, with a variant, TB. 2, 6, 11, 6f. The goddesses are related to have given (there is no verb) a golden outward appearance to Indra, together with the Aśvins – Sarasvatī *vācā*, i.e. with *Vāc*³⁷, the Holy Word, which Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara no doubt rightly consider to be a reference to the threefold Veda – also greatness or might and his characteristic power *indriyam*. In VS. 28, 31 (TB. 2, 6, 17, 5 f.) the *hotar* is requested to worship the goddesses, now described as well-adorned, golden (gold-decked), firm (*brhatīh*) and mighty (great), and also as their husband (*pati*) Indra who possesses or (and) bestows vigour (*vayodhas*). In VS. 21, 54 (MS. 3, 11, 5: 147, 11; ritually used ĀśvŚ. 2, 16, 12; ŚŚ. 3, 13, 27) "the three goddesses" (Bhāratī's name is omitted) and the Aśvins are related to have placed in the midst of Indra's navel³⁸ energy (*sūṣa*) and *indriyam* (cf. TB. 2, 6, 14, 4). The navel, which plays an important part in the religious and philosophical speculations of the ancients³⁹ – in early Indian texts it is almost exclusively used in connexion with deities and very potent conceptions – is not only the centre of the body (and of the earth etc.), but also the place through which the embryo is fed, so that the deities here function as a sort of womb, or as a pregnant woman (cf. VS. 19, 94).

12. In connexion with the nature and functions of the three goddesses it may be noticed that these yajurvedic mantras belong to an important ritual, the *sautrāmaṇī* which is characterized by offerings to the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra Sutrāman ("the good protector")⁴⁰; that they are either to be pronounced by the *hotar* or intended to urge him to worship; that the rite is essentially performed for curative purposes. It would seem that the

34. Gonda, Mantras ... Sautrāmaṇī, p. 151, sub h.

35. Notice that in the ṛgvedic Āprī hymns this word or name occurs after Sarasvatī instead of Bhāratī (1, 13, 9), after Sarasvatī being the last of the three names (1, 142, 9) and after Ṛā being the last of the three (9, 5, 8).

36. Gonda, Mantras ... Sautrāmaṇī, p. 164, sub i.

37. See § 1 above.

38. Not (with Griffith, op. cit. p. 240) "in Indra's midmost navel".

39. For the navel in general and the navel of gods see Gonda, Aspects, ch. XI.

40. See, e.g., VS. 10, 31 f. and XIX-XXI passim; TB. 1, 8, 5, 4; 2, 6, 1, 1; 4; ĀpŚ. 19, 1, 5.

characters of the three ṛgvedic goddesses who were regularly invoked in the ṛgvedic hymns of propitiation lent themselves admirably to another purpose, viz. that of healing by means of a complicated ritual, and that the ritualists did not take objection to their being transferred from rites centering round Agni to a ritual that according to tradition was instituted for the sake of Indra who even comes to be regarded as the husband of the goddesses. That the divine physicians, the Aśvins, play an important role in the *sautrāmaṇī* is not surprising, but that in the stanzas collected in VS. XIX-XXI⁴¹ Sarasvatī should so often (over 40 times) – together with the divine twins, a few times also with these and another deity (Tvaṣṭar 20, 64; Vanaspati, 20, 65), and in a number of cases alone – have taken an active part in the process of Indra's healing deserves our special attention. In these stanzas she is explicitly called a physician (*bhiṣaj*, 19, 12; 21, 31; cf. 20, 3), and in this capacity she has given medicine to Indra (21, 33); she is repeatedly said to have accompanied the Aśvins or assisted them in performing the relevant tasks and actions (20, 35; 56; 57; 60 ff.); together with the Aśvins she milked⁴² one of the ingredients of the beverage with which they cured Indra (19, 15) – in connexion with the milking of *soma* she is called a milch cow (20, 55; see also 21, 34) – ; she pressed out (distilled) the liquid which the Aśvins had taken away from Namuci⁴³ (19, 34; cf. 20, 59); Aśvins and Sarasvatī gave the drink to Indra (20, 66 f.); the Aśvins and Sarasvatī restore his 'immortal' form to Indra⁴⁴ (19, 81 ff.; 88 ff.); Sarasvatī gives the god his faculties and manly energy (*indriyāni*, 19, 12; 20, 58; cf. 61; virtue (*vīryam*), 20, 61; 80). The Aśvins and the goddesses⁴⁵ are addressed as celestial *hotars* and besought to protect those speaking (and performing the rites) as well as Indra (20, 62); the Aśvins, Indra and Sarasvatī "who possesses oblations" (*haviṣmatī*) are implored for assistance in their rites (20, 74); and the Aśvins, associated with Sarasvatī, are, like Indra, invited to drink the prepared beverage (20, 90). When Sarasvatī's name occurs alone she concerns herself with the restoration of Indra's form (19, 90) and functions as the protector of the persons of those who perform the rites (21, 13). The passage VS. 20, 84-86 is a literal quotation from ṚV. 1, 3, 10-12⁴⁶.

41. For the parallel texts see Gonda, *Mantras ... Sautrāmaṇī*.

42. See Gonda, *Mantras ... Sautrāmaṇī*, p. 89; 162.

43. Gonda, *Mantras ... Sautrāmaṇī*, p. 116.

44. Gonda, *Mantras ... Sautrāmaṇī*, p. 124 ff.; cf. ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 14; 12, 7, 3, 3; 12, 8, 1, 3; TB. 2, 6, 13, 1.

45. For their close co-operation see, e.g., also VS. 19, 88; TB. 2, 6, 4, 6 ("for the Aśvins, Sarasvatī, their consort, bears in her womb the well-formed embryo").

46. On these stanzas see also J. Gonda, *the Praūgaśāstra*, Amsterdam 1981, *Indices*, s.v. Sarasvatī and ṚV. 1, 1, 2 and 3. Among the formulae mentioned in MS. 3, 11, 8: 151, 13 are "by means of the *tejas* (fiery energy) of the Aśvins I sprinkle thee for brahminical illustriousness" (cf. VS. 20, 3) and "by means of the *vīrya* ('virtue') of Sarasvatī I sprinkle thee for *tejas* and the possibility of eating food".

13. I now proceed to resume the discussion of the yajurvedic stanzas which contain the names of the three goddesses. The poet of VS. 28, 18⁴⁷ (TB. 2, 6, 10, 4 f.; see also 3, 6, 13, 1 g) says that they have strengthened (their) husband (or lord) Indra; that Bhāratī has – according to TB. 3, 6, 13, 1 together with the Ādityas – touched the sky (i.e. she abides there, comm. TB.), Sarasvatī with the Rudras the sacrifice (sacrificial worship, i.e. she protected it, comm. TB.; favoured it, TB. 3, 6, 13, 1), Idā with the Vasus (*vasumati*⁴⁸) the homesteads (i.e. the terrestrial world, Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara). This is one of those cases in which the three persons or entities that form a triad are severally co-ordinated with the constituents of one or more other triads. The three goddesses are here, and more completely in VS. 29, 8; TS. 5, 1, 11, 3 (cf. MS. 3, 16, 2: 184, 12), co-ordinated with three groups of well-known deities, the Ādityas who had been placed in the sky, the Rudras who belong to the intermediate sphere, and the Vasus who are co-ordinated with the earth (e.g. ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 10; 6, 5, 2, 3 ff.)⁴⁹. Although this place attests, to a certain extent, to the belief that the three goddesses and their functions or activities formed wholes that just like the tripartite universe are complete in themselves, the problem remains why they are co-ordinated with the Ādityas etc., and with sky, air, and earth in the above way, and why Sarasvatī is associated with sacrificial worship⁵⁰.

As to the last question it may be recalled that Sarasvatī with the Rudras is in VS. 29, 8 (etc.) said to have favoured or assisted the worshippers, and that she is sometimes associated with the sacrifice: RV. 10, 17, 7 (AVŚ. 18, 1, 41), where she is called (upon) when the sacrifice is spread (performed) – and here the word *adhvara* is used, denoting the sacrifice which is en route for the heavenly regions or is, at least, connected by roads with the celestial abodes of the deities⁵¹; AVŚ. 18, 1, 42; RV. 1, 3, 11 (VS. 20, 85); VS. 20, 74 (see above); the sacrificial gift is spread so as to reach or to arrive in the heavenly regions (RV. 10, 80, 4) and the sacrifice is sometimes compared to a bird (ŚB. 4, 1, 2, 26; cf. 10, 1, 2, 1; 10, 2, 1, 1). Notice that in VS. 19, 18 Sarasvatī is ‘identified’ with the *āgnīdhra*, the fire-shed on the sacrificial ground which at ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 15 is ‘identified’ with the intermediate space. Also that in RV. 1, 3, 11 (VS. 20, 85) she has taken, accepted, received or borne (*dadhe*)⁵² the sacrifice. The relations between the earth and food – and Idā represents food – need no comment; in RV. 2, 17, 5 the earth is called all-nourishing (*viśvadhāyas*); see, e.g., also ŚB. 2, 1, 1, 3. As to the relations

47. See Gonda, *Mantras ... Sautrāmaṇī*, p. 160 and for the series of stanzas to which it belongs, p. 156 ff.

48. Not *dhanayuktā* (comm. TB.), “enriched with wealth” (Griffith).

49. J. Gonda, *Triads in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1976, p. 62; 69 f.; 85.

50. She is of course implicitly co-ordinated with the intermediate space.

51. See J. Gonda, *Adhvara and adhvaryu*, Vishv. Ind. Journ. 3, Hoshiarpur 1965, p. 163 ff. (= *Selected Studies*, Leiden 1975, II, p. 86 ff.).

52. See also Sāyaṇa on RV. and the commentaries on VS., not, as Griffith has translated, “has allowed”.

between Bhārati, who represents the *hotrā* and the heavenly regions, the officiants convey the sacrifice to the gods who are supposed to reside in the heavens (ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 32), but elsewhere the Ṛgveda, which is the corpus of the *hotar*, is co-ordinated with the earth, the Sāmaveda with the heavenly world (4, 6, 7, 2; 11, 5, 8, 2 f.). Likewise BD. 8, 110 adding that the Yajurveda belongs to Vāyu. For the officiants and their place in heaven see 9, 5, 2, 16; besides, the *hotar* is 'identified' with the sacrifice (14, 1, 3, 3; 7; 14, 3, 1, 34) which has one finale, viz. heaven (8, 7, 4, 6)⁵³. Anyhow, in VS. 29, 8 which belongs to an 'āpri hymn' for the horse sacrifice, Bhārati and the Ādityas are said to "long for or love our sacrifice". In the same stanza Bhārati, Sarasvatī and Iḍā who is invoked with the Vasus⁵⁴ are requested to place "our sacrifice among the immortal ones"⁵⁵. That means that they are expected to function as mediators. If appearances are not deceptive, Sarasvatī alone may be supposed to play such a part in the funeral texts ṚV. 10, 17 and AVŚ. 18, viz. ṚV. 10, 17, 7 f. and AVŚ. 18, 1, 41-43; 18, 4, 45 ff.⁵⁶: those who wish to enter into contact with the gods (*devayantah*) as well as the Fathers call on her while the sacrifice is being performed; she has come together with the eulogies.

In VS. 21, 19 (TB. 2, 6, 18, 3 f.; MS. 3, 11, 11: 158, 12; KS. 38, 10: 112, 7) the three goddesses are besought for *indriyam* and vigour (*vayas*) together with the Maruts – whose assistance is, e.g., implored in ṚV. 10, 35, 13; 10, 66, 4, whose liberality is praised in 5, 57, 8; 5, 58, 2, and whose medicines are mentioned in 8, 20, 23; 25; they are expected to cure men of illness (8, 20, 26) and to protect them from a premature death (7, 57, 6) – ; with the *virāj* metre which is often 'identified' with (all) food (e.g. ŚB. 8, 1, 2, 11; 8, 3, 2, 13; 9, 2, 3, 40), and at 6, 3, 1, 21 also with Agni (the deity who presides over the earth); and with the milch cow (*dhenúr gauḥ*)⁵⁷. As stated above⁵⁸ the Maruts are not infrequently associated with Sarasvatī; their sphere is the atmosphere. Because of the 'identification' with food and Agni the *virāj* may be supposed to correspond to Iḍā (and the earth). Did the poet assume that there existed a connexion between a milch cow (which "is" vigour, ŚB. 8, 2, 4, 10) and Bhārati or the heavens?

14. In connexion with the *āpri* hymn ṚV. 1, 13 the author of the Bṛhaddevatā inserts the interesting statement that "they who are called the three goddesses (st. 9 *tisró devīḥ*) are here (representatives) of Vāc (Speech,

53. Since two of the three goddesses are more or less clearly associated with earth and air, it would not be surprising if it was tacitly assumed that the third maintained relations with the heavens.

54. See § 8 above.

55. In MS. 3, 16, 2 Iḍā alone, being in accord, is asked to bring it to a prosperous issue.

56. What about AVŚ. 6, 89, 3? (see Gonda, Dual deities, p. 159, and on Mitra-and-Varuṇa also p. 158).

57. Not "a cow in milk, a bull" (Griffith)

58. See p. 13 f. above.

the Holy Word) in three places (the three spheres or provinces of the universe). Vāc is spoken of by a threefold name as abiding in the three lights (which appear in the three spheres, cf. BD. 1, 90; 97). Iḷā follows (the terrestrial) Agni, Sarasvatī is attached to the middle one, while yonder (celestial) form of Vāc becomes Bhāratī as occupying yonder (celestial) sphere ('world', *loka*)' (BD. 3, 12 f.). Now, the threefold nature of Vāc had already been mentioned in 2, 72: "... Vāc, who is threefold terrestrial, middle, (and) celestial". While Iḷā is in BD. 1, 112 one of the terrestrial deities connected with Agni, Vāc is in 2, 76 related to have become, in the middle sphere, Aditi⁵⁹ and Sarasvatī; in these passages also the name of Bhāratī does not occur, and in 2, 79 the celestial Vāc is stated to become Sūryā and Uṣas⁶⁰.

These places should not be disconnected from the other passages in the Bṛhaddevatā which deal with Vāc⁶¹. The correlation between the threefold Vāc and the tripartite universe is also stated in 1, 74; 3, 14 and, in connection with R.V. 10, 189⁶², in 8, 91. She is characterized as "all-pervading" (*sarvagatā*, 6, 121). In 7, 106 mention is made of the middle Vāc and that with reference to R.V. 10, 65, 6 dealing with a cow; remember Sarasvatī's place in the triad. Likewise in 7, 107. Consistently, the author says that in R.V. 2, 30, 8 ab addressing Sarasvatī the middle Vāc is praised (4, 85). In 4, 39 and 2, 51 (cf. 2, 138) both deities are identified. It is, moreover, intelligible that in BD. 2, 45 Vāc is explicitly regarded as identical with the universe (*sarvam evedam*). In 2, 40 Vāc, Satyam ("Reality, Truth") and the whole world (*sarvam idaṃ jagat*) are declared to be 'identical' with Brahman. The authors of these 'identifications' and explanations pursued the same method and lines of thought as the poets who enunciated the views of Vāc in the ṛgvedic texts 1, 164, 39-46; 10, 71; 10, 125⁶³. Just as these passages the relevant places in the Bṛhaddevatā attest to a tendency to a certain systematization of the pantheon and the powers that made their influence felt in the world on the one hand and to a tentative monism, a search for one single principle in the universe on the other. The 'identifications' are an important dialectic means of achieving these purposes. The inspired sages (*viprah*) speak of that which is one (neuter) in various terms (R.V. 1, 164, 46). According to those who concentrate upon the fundamental concept of Vāc, this deity is supreme over the whole universe and over the divine powers residing in it. In her self-laudation Vāc

59. For Aditi representing Vāc see, e.g., VS. 4, 21; for Aditi, Sarasvatī and Pūṣan, 22, 20; for Iḍā, Aditi, Sarasvatī (*pravargya* ritual) 38, 2.

60. See also the notes on these places in A.A. Macdonell, *The Bṛhad-devatā*, Cambridge Mass. 1904, II.

61. Notice that Sinīvālī, who is sometimes associated with Sarasvatī, is occasionally held to "be" Vāc (ŚB. 6, 5, 1, 9).

62. See Geldner, R.V. übers. III, p. 403.

63. For 1, 164, 45 and 46 as well as the two hymns see also F. Edgerton, *The beginnings of Indian philosophy*, London 1965, p. 51; 58 f.; 71 f. (translations etc.); see also p. 19 f.

calls herself the sovereign and the first of beings worthy of reverence (10, 125, 3). She is all-powerful because people do not eat, see, breathe etc. without her (4); even the power of the gods depends on her (1 f.; cf. 1, 164, 39), she supports and inspires the great gods and moves with the Rudras, Vasus and Ādityas (st. 1, notice the occurrence of this triad which we know already⁶⁴). She has many stations and the gods have settled her in numerous places (10, 125, 3; cf. 8 and 10, 71, 3). Having entered into heaven and earth she extends herself throughout all the (inhabited) worlds (7 f.).

15. What strikes us is that while the poet of ṚV. 10, 125, 1 associates Vāc with the Rudras, Vasus, and Ādityas⁶⁵, the author of the Bṛhaddevatā regards the three goddesses as her representatives in the three spheres of the universe. It may tentatively be suggested that a consideration of the characteristics of the two texts leads up to the explanation of this difference. The interest of the poet of the comparatively brief hymn ṚV. 10, 125 (eight stanzas) is mainly cosmic. Vāc is eulogized as an all-pervading, omnipresent, omnipotent deity, the real agent when gods or men want some deed to be done or some event to take place (st. 6). The triad of gods in st. 1, Rudras, Vasus, and Ādityas, was no doubt well known to him (see ṚV. 1, 45, 1; 3, 8, 8; 3, 20, 5; 10, 66, 3; 10, 128, 9); in 10, 66, 12 they are urged to activate the power inherent in the texts that are being recited (*brāhma śasyāmānāni jinvata*). The three goddesses of the *āpri* hymns were for the moment beyond his horizon. The author of the Bṛhaddevatā, on the other hand, was primarily concerned in identifying and classifying the gods of the ṛgvedic hymns and stanzas, for “only when one knows the gods one understands the object of the hymns and the various ritual ceremonies (connected with them)” (1, 2 f.; cf. also 8, 130⁶⁶). Distinguishing three groups of gods, viz. those that respectively belong to Agni, to Vāyu or Indra, and to Sūrya (1, 5), he expounds the view that the Sun, whom some regard as the only source of all existence (1, 61) – in his opinion this is Prajāpati who is identical with the eternal Brahman which can be expressed by the Sacred Word (*vācyam*, 1, 62) – has divided himself into three to abide in the three spheres of the universe (1, 63 ff.). He pervades these (1, 96) as the three forms of Agni (1, 66⁶⁷) that are extolled by the ṛṣis as Agni (in this world), Jātavedas (in the intermediate world), and Vaiśvānara (in heaven, 1, 67), or as Agni, Indra or Vāyu, and Sūrya (1, 69). The author recognizes the three figures mentioned in ṚV. 1, 164, 44⁶⁸ as identical with them (1, 94).

64. See also § 13 above.

65. The Rudras belong to Indra's sphere (the middle region, BD. 1, 127), the Vasus to Agni's (1, 116), the Ādityas to Sūrya's (2, 12).

66. And 8, 139 f. “Only when a man distinguishing the Self in his self knows the deities and duly recites the mantras can he realize his being Brahman”.

67. Viz. Agni Pavamāna, Agni Vanaspati (elsewhere Agni Pāvaka), Agni Śuci. See J. Gonda, Agni in ṚV. 9, 66 and 67, JRAS 1979, p. 137 ff.

68. See Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 235.

It is therefore not surprising that the threefold Vāc, in whom the author took special interest, who abides in the three provinces of the universe (2, 72; 3, 14; 8, 91; see also the stanzas 72-81 dealing with her terrestrial, middle (atmospheric) and celestial forms), who is all-pervading (6, 121) and, like Satyam which is Brahman (2, 40), is identical with the universe (2, 45), should be correlated and co-ordinated with the Sun or Prajāpati, who as the Ultimate Reality are likewise believed to pervade (cf. 1, 96), as identical with Brahman (1, 61 f.), the universe and, dividing themselves into three (1, 63), to abide in the three spheres (1, 64). Nor should we be surprised to see that the author, whose mind was preoccupied with the exegetical and ritualistic problems of the Ṛgveda, which he believed to be the eternal ultimate reality appearing in the form of the Holy Word, preferred to associate the threefold Vāc (2, 72) with the three goddesses of the *āpṛī* hymns⁶⁹ who represent three important aspects of the ritual.

16. It would seem that it is now time to summarize the evolutionary development of the river goddess Sarasvatī as far as she belonged to the triad of goddesses and to venture to raise the possibility of an answer to the following question. To what extent may Sarasvatī's association with two other female deities, and her membership of this triad have contributed to her becoming 'identified' with Vāc? (e.g., BD. 2, 51; 2, 74; 2, 81; 3, 13; 4, 39). As far as I am able to see, Iḍā and Bhāratī were from the beginning figures of some ritual significance, or had even a ritual function, Iḍā as the representative of the sacred food, Bhāratī as that of a special priestly activity. In contrast to them the local goddess Sarasvatī was not ritually specialized. Since, however, the performance of rites is incomplete as long as no use is made of the spoken word, sacred texts, mantras, the association of Sarasvatī with the two other goddesses may be supposed to have made her fill that vacancy. May the fact that in those passages in which all three goddesses figure as representatives of Vāc Sarasvatī came to be connected with the middle or atmospheric Speech, the Sacral Word which ascends unto the gods in the celestial regions (BD. 2, 76, Aditi and Sarasvatī; 3, 13), be regarded as a preliminary stage in her career?

69. This did not prevent him from inserting Iḍā's name in a series of rivers (1, 112) and regarding Sarasvatī, beside Vāc, Sinivālī, Uṣas and others, as a goddess belonging to Indra's sphere (1, 128). For Vāc and Sarasvatī see also BD. 4, 36 (RV. 1, 164, 45 and 49).

III. Sarasvatī Vāc

17. It should, indeed, be emphasized that, notwithstanding the explicit 'identification' of the three goddesses with – the likewise grammatically feminine – Vāc residing in the three spheres (3, 12 f.), the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā* does not hesitate to affirm that it is Sarasvatī alone who represents Vāc. In a long discussion of Indra's 26 names he says (2, 51) that the ṛṣis call this god also Sarasvatī because he has lakes or ponds (*sarāṃsi*) full of ghee in the three worlds, "(while) Vāc they call Sarasvatī". This may of course refer exclusively to the representation of Vāc in the middle sphere (cf. 1, 74 "Vāc is praised separately as this (terrestrial one), as connected with Indra, and celestial", 2, 74; 2, 76 and 2, 81) but similar statements with regard to *Ilā* (cf. 1, 112; 126) and *Bhāratī* – who do not so often attract the author's attention – are not to be found. Moreover, in 2, 138 a certain *Aitara* is quoted who, regarding *ṚV.* 1, 3, 10 as a consecratory text for a victim offered to Sarasvatī (cf. *MS.* 4, 10, 1: 142, 7 etc.) was of the opinion that it is addressed to Vāc. It may also be noticed that in *Nirukta* 2, 23 Sarasvatī is the only of the 57 names of Vāc enumerated in the *Naighaṇṭuka* (1, 11, where *Ilā* and *Bhāratī* are not omitted), to which the author refers.

18. It would seem worthwhile to survey a number of places where Sarasvatī is unequivocally connected, co-ordinated or 'identified'² with Vāc, Speech, Word, the Holy Word. In reading them one should, however, be aware that there exist places where Vāc and Sarasvatī obviously are different deities appearing as such in enumerations of names: *VS.* 9, 27; *TS.* 1, 7, 10 f *vācam viṣṇum sarasvatīm*, but in the otherwise identical *ṚV.* 10, 141, 5 *Vāta* instead of Vāc; *VS.* 21, 58.

The fact or, rather, the conviction that the goddess is, or represents, Vāc

1. See ch. I, n. 20 above and Macdonell's note, *BD.* II, p. 44.
2. This term, especially when placed between inverted commas, includes also "what from a certain point of view may be called Sarasvatī may from another point of view be given another name, is homologized to, equalized, interchangeable, put on a par with, corresponds with Sarasvatī".

appears, to begin with, from those remarkable places where she is called Sarasvatī Vāc, e.g. VS. 9, 30 “I place (thee) by the support (guidance) of Sarasvatī Vāc, the supporter (guide)”³ which is quoted at ŚB. 5, 2, 2, 13 and explained “for Sarasvatī is Vāc, he thus places him in the support (guidance) of Vāc, the supporter (guide)”. Similarly, VS. 18, 37 and ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 17; MS. 1, 11, 4: 165, 7; 3, 4, 3: 47, 9 etc., cf. also VS. 10, 30. In the enumeration of the ten deities to whom the *samīpāṇi havīṃsi* are offered at TB. 1, 8, 1, 1 f. each name is followed by an apposition which in the case of Agni and Indra is *deva*, but in that of Sarasvatī Vāc, in that of Savitar *prasava* “impulse”, in that of Pūṣan *paśu* “cattle”, in that of Brhaspati *brāhman*, in that of Viṣṇu *yajña* “sacrificial worship” etc.: it is clear that in this way the deities are characterized by words denoting their respective fields of action, influence, or interest. See also KS. 11, 8: 154, 1 “Agni is the totality of gods (also ŚB. 5, 2, 3, 6), Viṣṇu is the sacrifice (also ŚB. 12, 4, 1, 4 etc.), Sarasvatī (is) Vāc, and Brhaspati (is) Brāhman”, ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 2 and ĀśvŚ. 3, 1, 14; 4, 13, 2 *sarasvatyai vāce svāhā*; TĀ. 4, 5, 1; 4, 15, 1 *vāce sarasvatyai svāhā*; ŚŚ. 7, 10, 15. In BGŚ. 3, 6, 2: 273, 8 Sarasvatī is addressed as Vāgdevi, Gīrdevi (Goddess (of) Speech), Brāhmaṇī.

19. It is easily intelligible that the belief in Sarasvatī’s interest in, or in her presiding over, Vāc led up to practical applications, to attempts at deriving profit from this knowledge of the goddess’ character. It is even probable that people already availed themselves of the opportunity of being cured of, for instance, speech-impediments by the helpful and benevolent local goddess before the triadic speculations and ‘identifications’ found in the Brhaddevatā had been fully evolved. After a partly corrupt stanza 2 in which Sūrya, the Sun, is invoked to defend the person speaking against the (evil) eye, Brhaspati (the representative of *brāhman* which makes its influence also felt in charms) against the word (calumny, curse etc.), king Soma against the *sabhā* (place for public meetings, assembly(-room))⁴, the poet of AVP. 20, 21, 3 says: “O *sabhā*, I know your name⁵; thou art very gracious (favourable, auspicious, *subhadrā*), O Sarasvatī, and those who assist at a meeting (*sabhāsadas*) must speak well (with fellow-feeling, *suṁvācasah*) to me, abstain from addressing imprecatory mantras to me”. The connexion between this prayer and the invocation of Sarasvatī seems undeniable. If the commentator’s explanation of AVŚ. 19, 40, 1 is in the main right⁶, the

3. Also MS. 1, 11, 4: 165, 7; KS. 14, 2: 202, 10; 14, 2, 8: 207, 21; 40, 9: 143, 13; TS. 1, 7, 10, 3.

4. Soma’s help is implored against the malignity or enviousness of rivals (RV. 9, 79, 3), hatred (9, 110, 1), contempt (9, 70, 10), wickedness (9, 61, 19), contemners (9, 61, 26), enemies (9, 85, 2), and so on.

5. This implies “I am able to exercise power over you”; see J. Gonda, Notes on names and the name of God in ancient India, Amsterdam Acad. 1970, Index, p. 106 s.v. knowledge.

6. For the opinion of Whitney and Lanman see their Atharva-veda Saṁhitā, p. 962.

person pronouncing this stanza and AVP. 19, 38, 6, which is almost identical, supposes Sarasvatī⁷ to have gone to somebody enraged (Ś.) or “seized with a fit of rage” (P.) (i.e. an enemy) – that is, to have deserted him with the result that his mind (*manas*) and his voice have become defective, a fact that necessitates an appeal to Br̥haspati.

This belief in the identity of Sarasvatī and Speech (in its various aspects, but especially in that of sacral speech) explains also a custom as that described in TS. 2, 1, 2, 6 and 3, 4, 3, 4 (cf. also KS. 13, 12: 164, 13), which may have originated in popular circles of worshippers of the local goddess: a man who, though being able to speak, cannot speak properly should offer a ewe to her, because she is Vāc; then she will bestow speech on him and he will become one who speaks (well). Compare MS. 1, 10, 5: 145, 16; 2, 5, 2: 49, 4 and KS. 12, 13: 175, 12 “the man whose voice fails him should offer a ewe to Sarasvatī, because it is Sarasvatī who then fails him (“has gone away from him”)” or restrains his voice from speaking (KS. 13, 12: 194, 1); by this sacrifice he gets his voice back. The man who offers a ewe to the goddess will become firmly founded on (in) speech (KS. 12, 12: 174, 6; cf. 13, 1: 179, 14). If, however, it is desired to deprive the patron of a sacrifice of speech the officiant should recite the Sarasvatī mantra in confusion (AiB. 3, 3, 9).

20. A person who wishes to address the meeting or assembly while enjoying prestige (*varcasvān*) seems in AVP. 10, 6, 4 to identify the word or speech with “sweet” and “splendid, glorious, vigorous, highly esteemed” (*suvarcas*)⁸ Sarasvatī (*bhagena vācam iṣitāṃ vadāni sarasvatīm madhumatīm suvarcasam*). It may be recalled that *madhu* denotes anything sweet, especially if liquid, but metaphorically also that property or characteristic of wind, plants, water of the rivers and so on which gives pleasure (RV. 1, 90, 6 f.; 3, 54, 21; 4, 57, 8 etc.), while *madhujihva* means “sweetly, agreeably speaking” (9, 86, 10). One might compare AVP. 20, 27, 1 (MŚ. 1, 4, 3, 10 and TB. 2, 5, 8, 6; BhŚ. 4, 20, 6; ĀpŚ. 4, 14, 4 (without *varcasā*)) “the sweetness that is in thy waters, O Sarasvatī, in the cows, in the horses, do, O Sarasvatī that possesseth horses, bearers of (re)creative power (i.e. swift horses, *vājīnīvatī*) anoint our mouth with that, with *varcas*”. The epithet as well as the mention of cows and horses are no doubt intended to recall the goddess’ primary character of a fertilizing river. But she is – and possibly was even before she was ‘identified’ with *vāc* – considered able to lend the charm of sweetness to a speaker’s mouth. Her double character is also clear in ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 3 f. where the officiant, after having taken water from the Sarasvatī with VS. 10, 1 “The gods took water that was rich in sweetness”, sprinkles the royal

7. The commentator explains Sarasvatī by *saraṇavatī vāk* “speech characterized by quick motion”.

8. The word *varcas* and its compounds are untranslatable, “brilliant vital power, illustriousness, vigour, energy, prestige etc.” may serve for particular contexts.

patron of the sacrifice (who is being consecrated) with it; the author observes that, Sarasvatī being Vāc, the officiant actually sprinkles him with speech. See also ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 8; MS. 4, 3, 9: 49, 8; and TS. 3, 1, 10, 1 etc. The ceremonious sprinkling with water from the Sarasvatī, which brings fruitfulness and prosperity and was regarded as a means of communicating with divine power, may have been an old custom⁹ preceding the goddess' identification with Vāc. One should not, on the other hand, make a libation in water from the Sarasvatī "lest one should injure Vāc", for "Sarasvatī is Vāc" (ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 25)¹⁰.

The man who is long and seriously ill or who wishes to live all his days should offer oblations to Agni (the god to whom his body goes when he has died), to Soma (to whom the liquid substances of his body go) ..., and to Sarasvatī, the goddess to whom the faculty of speech of a dying person goes (TS. 2, 3, 11, 2; ĀpŚ. 19, 23, 10 etc.¹¹); by means of these offerings he ransoms his body from Agni etc. and he places speech (in himself; TS. 2). The invitatory and oblatory stanzas for the offering to Sarasvatī are TS. 2, 5, 12 g and h (1, 8, 22 c and d, = RV. 6, 61, 4 and 5, 43, 11, in which the poet (and the reciter) implore the help and favour of the goddess who, worthy of worship, is expected to come from the heavens, from the great mountain. MS. 2, 3, 5: 32, 1 and 6 (cf. MŚ. 5, 2, 2, 1 ff.) and KS. 11, 8: 154, 3 mention an oblation for Sarasvatī, who is 'identified' with Vāc, to be offered on the first, one for Aditi on the second day of the ceremony. According to MS. 32, 3 the officiant places by means of *vāc* and *brahman* (there is also an oblation for Bṛhaspati) a complete duration of life in the patient.

21. It is, generally speaking, difficult to decide, if or to what extent, those ritualists who introduced rites such as the following utilized, adapted and (or) re-interpreted pre-existent popular practices. The man who practises witchcraft or against whom witchcraft is practised should offer, among other things, a portion of sacrificial butter to Sarasvatī¹². Sarasvatī is Vāc; that means that one practises with *vāc* (speech, *in casu* potent words) against the adversary (TS. 2, 2, 9, 1, using 1, 8, 22 cd as invitatory and oblatory mantras¹³); MS. 2, 1, 7: 8, 5 observing that he deals with or counteracts the (potent) word(s) of the adversary with *vāc*; MŚ. 5, 1, 3, 23 ff., the

9. Baptism and anointing are nearly universal in the history of religion; see, e.g., F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, Index, s.v. Taufe, Salbung, Königsweihe.

10. For the particular character of the Sarasvatī water see J.C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht, 's-Gravenhage 1957, p. 81. – Cf. also KS. 13, 15: 198, 15.

11. See W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei. Darstellung der 'Wunschopfer'*, Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 112 ff.

12. Caland, *Wunschopfer*, p. 33 f. (n^o 46 and 47).

13. See above, § 20. – Cf. TĀ. 4, 5, 1 etc. *manase svāhā vāce sarasvatyai svāhā*.

accompanying mantras being MS. 4, 11, 2: 166, 2 and 3 (RV. 1, 3, 10 and 6, 61, 14 referring to the speaker's fellowship and residence in Sarasvatī's neighbourhood); KS. 10, 1: 124, 13. A similar rite is prescribed to a person who wishes to be victorious in war; he also should drive away the deities of the enemy, among them the enemy's *vāc* (MS. 2, 1, 7: 8, 17; MŚ. 5, 1, 6, 31; KS. 10, 1: 125, 5). If one should litigate about a field or cattle one should offer a milch cow that has ceased to give milk to Sarasvatī in order to avert or divert with (by means of) *Vāc* the adversary's *Vāc* (i.e. his eloquence and debating technique) (MS. 2, 5, 4: 52, 12). For a similar effect of this sacrifice see KS. 13, 6: 187, 16 (and 20): if the one who is the object of verbal contempt offers such a cow he will cause the voice (*vāc*) of his rivals to cease ("he will break their *vāc*") with *vāc*. The officiant who wishes to "put sweetness" in his client by means of speech (*vācā*) should prepare an oblation for Sarasvatī with jujube berries (which make an excellent confection); see MS. 2, 3, 9: 37, 3; KS. 12, 10: 173, 6.

22. In order to understand some of these texts well it should be realized that the mere uttering of a formula addressed to Sarasvatī *Vāc* or even the mentioning of her name suffices to activate or stimulate the power that is inherent in the (sacred) word. Sacred words, or words uttered in a ritual context as well as the names of the deities that represent them are not empty things; they have life and a highly characteristic power of their own, a decisive power and the one who utters such words, or the divine name, sets power in motion¹⁴. Thus by pronouncing the formulae "To Sarasvatī *svāhā*. To Sarasvatī the firm one *svāhā*. To Sarasvatī the purifying *svāhā*" the *adhvaryu* "lifts the horse sacrifice by means of the (sacred) word" (TB. 3, 8, 11, 2). For other cases see ŚB. 13, 1, 8, 5; PB. 1, 3, 1 (LŚ. 1, 11, 9; DŚ. 3, 3, 17) where "To Sarasvatī *svāhā*" is preceded by "Reverential salutation to *Vāc*, to the Lord of *Vāc*. O goddess *Vāc*, what of thy voice (speech, word) is sweet, place me therein"¹⁵. Likewise PB. 6, 7, 6 and 7 f.: "Sarasvatī is *Vāc*. Of her he lays hold with a share. (When sacrificing) for one whom he hates he should ... think in his mind of *Vāc*; he (thereby) deprives him of his power of speech". AiB. 3, 1 it is stated that whereas there is a cup of *soma* (accompanied by a triplet addressed to them) for all other deities of the *prāuga* litany, there is no cup for Sarasvatī¹⁶. In § 10 this anomaly gives occasion to the following comment: "But Sarasvatī is *Vāc*. Whatever cups are taken with speech, they have all litanies recited for them (*śastokthāh*)". That means, the commentary observes, that (all) cups taken relate or belong to Sarasvatī, because they are taken with speech. Compare KB. 14, 4 (14, 5, 19) "Sarasvatī is speech in all the pressings (of a *soma* ceremony)". A similar

14. See van der Leeuw, Religion, ch. 58.

15. For the name *Bekurā* which occurs in this paragraph see Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index on names and subjects, II, p. 73.

16. See J. Gonda, The *prāugaśāstra*, Amsterdam 1981, p. 14.

mantra is in KB. 10, 6 (10, 10, 16 ff.) followed by the comment: “Thus he releases speech; therefore hence onwards speech being released supports the sacrifice ...”. See also TS. 7, 2, 7, 4 f. Indeed, the fact that in every word there is something creative and that the sacred word is a great power led the ritualists to affirm that Vāc (being ‘identical’ with Sarasvatī) is the power by which the sacrifice is extended (i.e. uninterruptedly performed, MS. 1, 11, 9: 171, 1). – The poet of RV. 1, 187, 11 eulogizing food and drink says that he has made the food addressed palatable by means of words (*vacobhiḥ*); in my opinion, that is with his potent words¹⁷. – In a discussion of an animal sacrifice requiring eleven victims most of the explanations are tripartite: “the first (victim) is for Agni; Agni is Brahman, (it serves) to win brahminical illustriousness”, but in Sarasvatī’s case the explanation is inevitably quadripartite: “the second is for Sarasvatī; she is Vāc, by *vāc* (mantras) food is made palatable and eaten, (it serves) to obtain the possibility of eating food” (KB. 12, 8 (12, 10, 4 ff.). – According to the mythical narrative told in ŚB. 3, 9, 1, 7 ff. Prajāpati strengthened himself by (the faculty of) speech (identical with Sarasvatī) and with food (that is identical with Soma). – This is also why the brief formula “Overflow for Sarasvatī” accompanying the milking of the cow (*pravargya* ritual, the milk is addressed) is pronounced to please the Aśvins, because these gods restored the head of the sacrifice with *vāc*, i.e. with the potent word (ŚB. 14, 2, 1, 12).

23. In connexion with the relations between Sarasvatī and sacrificial worship the following statement is not devoid of interest: “Sarasvatī is *vāc*. By means of *vāc* one spreads (i.e. performs uninterruptedly) the sacrifice. What one knowingly does not perform of the sacrifice, (or) what one unknowingly omits, that is a defect, that one sets in order by means of *vāc* (appeasing, redressing mantras), of Sarasvatī” (KS. 14, 9: 208, 17; MS. 1, 11, 9: 170, 21). – Mention may also be made of the stanza RVKh. 5, 6, 7, which was used as a so-called *puroruc*, a formula of the *nivid* type preceding the recitation of a principal text: “With speech (*vācā*) we invoke the great goddess Vāc, the beautiful one, Sarasvatī, on the occasion of this sacrifice”. – The man who is desirous of brahminical illustriousness, offspring, cattle and the office of a *purohita* should offer victims to Agni, to whom the brahmin belongs¹⁸, to Sarasvatī who ‘is’ Vāc, because he speaks words (*vācaṃ hi vadati*, sc. in sacrificing), to Soma, because he drinks *soma* etc. (KS. 29, 10: 179, 13; KKS. 46, 3).

Those places where the ‘identification’ of Sarasvatī and Vāc is followed by the ‘identification’ of Vāc and sacrificial worship (*yajña*) are of special interest. In connexion with the cow that is being milked (*pravargya* ritual, see, e.g., also ĀpŚ. 15, 9, 6; ŚŚ. 5, 10, 5) the stanza VS. 38, 5 (= RV. 1, 164, 49) in which Sarasvatī is besought to allow those speaking to suck her

17. According to Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 269, however, “(mit seinen) süszen Worten”.

18. See Eggeling, Śat. Br. I, p. XVI f.

breast which is characterized as a source of refreshment (*mayobhūh*), wealth, and treasures) is at ŚB. 14, 2, 1, 15 commented upon as follows: “Sarasvatī is Vāc and so is this (cow)¹⁹ and Vāc is sacrificial worship (*yajña*). Thus he means to say, “Grant us sacrificial worship by which we may satisfy the gods”. The stanza – which is elsewhere used when a father offers his wife’s breast to his new-born son (PG. 1, 16, 21; BĀU. 6, 4, 27) – is capable of a double interpretation: both the river goddess and Sarasvatī Vāc can be said to be the source of the same variety of things desirable, especially when the latter is regarded as identical with the sacrifice²⁰. One cannot however help being struck by the fact that the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa states this ‘identity’ of *vāc* and sacrificial ritual (*yajña*) quite positively: 3, 1, 4, 2 “for he makes it (a particular libation, which in § 1 has been declared to be a perceptible *yajña*) with an *anuṣṭubh* stanza, which is *vāc* and the *yajña* is also *vāc*”; similarly in 3, 1, 4, 21 with the addition “so that he thereby obtains (i.e. derives as much benefit as possible from) the perceptible (i.e. actual, real) *yajña*”; 3, 1, 4, 9 after quoting the formula “To Sarasvatī, to Pūṣan, to Agni, *svāhā*”: “Now, Sarasvatī is *vāc*, the *yajña* is *vāc*”.

24. The recognition of Sarasvatī as (the goddess) of speech or the (holy) word was, in the usual way, supposed to have already been possible in the mythical past. “When Prajāpati has created offspring he thought himself emptied; he saw these ‘faculties and virtues’ (*indriyāṇi vīryāṇi*); he connected these two and two with himself. Sarasvatī is *vāc*, Soma *indriyam*²¹; (so by being acquainted with a sacrifice requiring the immolation of a ewe to the former and of a brown victim to the latter) he connected *vāc* and *indriyam* with himself” (MS. 4, 7, 8: 103, 11). In the section that deals with the *samsṛp* oblations it is told that Varuṇa stole along (crept away) with speech; that is why the one who performs this rite should prepare a rice-pap for Sarasvatī (ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 7). For a similar passage see 5, 5, 4, 16. On the occasion of the *mahāvahis* (one of the rites of the *sākamedha* ceremony) there is a rice-pap for Sarasvatī because, when the gods first performed that rite in order to slay Vṛtra, Vāc had cheered them up (ŚB. 2, 5, 4, 6).

25. The many ‘identifications’ and homologations found in the brāhmaṇa literature were essentially meant to explain the relations between the ritual acts and their effects in the universe, in the sphere of the divine, often also in nature, society and human life. The passages in which Sarasvatī being Vāc are used for this purpose show the importance attached to this function of the goddess. The last triplet to be

19. For Sarasvatī and the cow see chapter IV.

20. For the sacrifice as a source of blessings see, e.g., ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 19, as being all-sustaining 9, 2, 3, 27. – See also AVŚ. 7, 10, 1 and Kauś, 32, 1.

21. Cf. RV. 9, 48, 5.

recited in the rite described AiB. 3, 2, 10 is addressed to Sarasvatī, “therefore when a child has been born, the faculty of speech enters him last”. See also TB. 1, 3, 4, 5. For a similar reason “all voices speak (cry etc.) in the rainy season” (TB. 1, 8, 4, 2). One should, on the other hand, immolate a victim to Sarasvatī if the soma ceremony one is performing is an *atirātra* (which takes place overnight), and that because both *vāc* and *rātri* (night) are feminine (“females” according to ŚB. 4, 2, 5, 14; 4, 6, 3, 3)²².

26. Attention may also be drawn to those places where Sarasvatī is not only associated (‘identified’) with *Vāc* but also connected with *manas* “mind, spirit”, more precisely that specific ‘Daseinsmacht’ which, as a vital principle of gods and men, essentially appears to be a creative élan and a source or bearer of energy which manifests itself in manifold forms in the physical, conceptual and emotive spheres²³. AVŚ. 5, 7, 5 makes mention of a person whom the speaker solicits “with speech, with ‘mind-yoked’ Sarasvatī”, that is, not “yoked by a mere thought or wish” (Monier-Williams): Sarasvatī-*Vāc* is implicitly compared, with regard to the nature of the process of speaking and reasoning, to a chariot drawn by horses; it is the swift *manas* that conveys the speaker’s words which he hopes represent the goddess’ characteristic power to the person addressed. The psychological process is briefly described in ŚB. 12, 9, 1, 13 “whatever one thinks with one’s mind that one says with one’s speech”, and while Sarasvatī is *vāc*, Indra is declared to be *manas*. It is metaphorically suggested in RV. 10, 177, 2²⁴: “the bird, i.e. the internal light of visionary and spiritual illumination, bears speech with its *manas*”. It may also be observed that the *manas* of gods, which is often mentioned in the R̥gveda, was no doubt considered to be an essential element of their personality to which the worshippers obviously used to address their prayers²⁵. Enumerating, in some formulae, faculties and capabilities in two’s the author of TĀ. 4, 5, 1 combines, not only vision and hearing, authority (*ojas*) and physical strength (*balam*), but also *manas* and *vāc*²⁶. Notice that at ŚB. 10, 5, 3, 4 “mind” is said to have created, or rather, to have produced by a process of emanation (*asrjata*), *vāc*; that 12, 9, 1, 11 *vāc* is said to be *manas* “explicitly” or “manifestly” (*pratyakṣāt*); that in 14, 3, 2, 19 f. quoting VS. 39, 4 both *manas* and *vāc* are means of healing whatever is unsuccessful in

22. In the long enumeration of animals that are severally dedicated to a large number of deities the *maina*, which had (and has) some popularity as a talking (cage)bird, belongs to Sarasvatī, her partner, “the human-voiced” parrot, to Sarasvān (VS. 24, 33).

23. See J. Gonda, *The Creator and his Spirit*, WZKSA 27 (1983), p. 11 ff.

24. Gonda, *Vision*, p. 131 f.

25. See, e.g., RV. 1, 54, 9; 1, 55, 7; 7, 27, 5; 8, 31, 15; 8, 45, 32.

26. On Sarasvāt and Sarasvatī as *manas* and *vāc* (ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 31 etc.) see ch. I, n. 20.

the sacrifice and of gaining everything in this world²⁷. – In a stanza which does not seem to occur elsewhere the goddess Vāc – who, as appears from the preceding mantra is identical with Sarasvatī – is given the epithet *manoneṭrā* “whose eyes (guide) are ‘mind’ ” (ĀśvŚ. 4, 13, 2)²⁸.

27. See also KB. 10, 6 (10, 10, 17 ff.).

28. For particulars see J. Gonda, *The Vedic morning litany*, Leiden 1981, p. 19. – For Sarasvatī as *prāṇaḥ* and *vīryam* “breath or vital power” and “energy or virtue” see ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 5.

IV. The cow

27. Proceeding now to discuss the relations between Sarasvatī and the cow I recall the well-known fact that the bovine animals were Vedic man's main property. The gṛhyasūtras pay much attention to the numerous rites and customs to be observed for their benefit¹; the ritualists make them an element of their speculations, 'identifications' and mythological explanations; in the imagery of the poets they play a prominent part symbolizing, not only milk, food, plenty and liberality, but also poetic art and sacrificial technique. Already in the Ṛgveda² the cow is regarded as a gift of a god to his worshipper (1, 91, 20; 10, 169, 4); she is the very pattern of liberality (2, 18, 8; 10, 65, 6); her milk is her ornament (4, 1, 16) and, like the water of the river (1, 73, 6), an indispensable ingredient of the *soma* draught (1, 153, 4; 1, 173, 8) and as the giver of milk she is urgently required for the performance of sacrifices (6, 28, 3). It may be noticed that rivers flowing down to the sea are compared to cows, whether these are described as licking (their calves, 3, 33, 1) or as desiring to be milked (10, 75, 4). Also that the identity or the name(s) of this animal often engaged the attention and curiosity of the poets. The cows that are believed to have come to the highest or most eminent *ṛtam* (3, 56, 2) have – not quite convincingly, it is true – been taken to represent the powers that make their influence felt in the world³. If this explanation be right, the question would arise whether these powers include also Vāc and Dhī, to which we have to turn instantly. Not infrequently, mention is made of the several names of the cow (4, 16, 1; 7, 87, 4) or of their secret name(s) (5, 3, 3; 7, 87, 4; 8, 41, 5; 9, 87, 3). But,

1. Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 98. For general information also J. Gonda, Mensch und Tier im alten Indien, Studium Generale, 20 (Heidelberg 1967), p. 105 ff. (= Selected Studies, IV, p. 484 ff.); M. Muusses, Koecultus bij de Hindoes, Thesis Utrecht 1920.
2. D. Srinivasan, Cow in the Ṛgveda, Delhi 1979. See, e.g., ṚV. 1, 160, 3; 1, 164, 29; 2, 34, 8; 10, 71, 5; 10, 175, 2.
3. Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 403. H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951-1959, p. 58 and Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 54 are silent on their identity.

since a name was widely regarded as an essential part of its bearer, and as in a way identical with him⁴, a person or entity that had more than one name would easily be supposed to manifest himself as more than one personality or to appear in more than one form; thus their various aspects or manifestations tended to become more or less independent. Since similes, on the other hand, often create a 'parallel world' beyond the apparent one – food is made palatable by means of (powerful) words just as a cow makes (the butter of) the oblations tasty (1, 187, 11; cf. 4, 50, 5); one calls with invocations a *brahmán* (i.e. one who represents and (or) understands *bráhman*) to whom one offers *bráhman* (i.e. the power inherent in sacred words, in casu pronounced as invitations) like a cow one calls in order to milk her (6, 45, 7) – they may imperceptibly assume the character of correspondences or homologies or even blend into identifications. Add to this that the principle of contradiction was not recognized, and it will be clear that there were various reasons for and predispositions towards an almost unlimited possibility of double, triple, or even multiple homologies or 'identifications' of divine persons and entities in their various aspects with other persons, entities or concepts. The word for "cow" could be used to denote her milk (2, 36, 1) or butter (5, 1, 3), or also the ruddy clouds of daybreak (1, 92, 1) – the word for this phenomenon (*usrā*) can also denote the cow (4, 1, 13) – but also the *dakṣiṇā* (the reward or offering owing to the officiant(s), 10, 31, 6). In 4, 23, 10 heaven and earth are said to give their milk like excellent milch cows, but in ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 35 "the cow means these worlds"⁵.

28. So it is not surprising that the cow should also be homologized to or 'identified' with female divine persons. In ṚV. 1, 153, 3 the goddess Aditi, the representative of freedom, breadth, width, boundlessness in the productive life-supporting nature⁶, appears as a milch cow (*dhenúr áditih*) that swells exuberantly for the benefit of the man who duly sacrifices; in 9, 96, 15 mention is made of Aditi's milk; in 10, 63, 3 Heaven-Aditi (*dyaúr áditih*) gives abundant milk. Remember that Aditi is the mother of gods and that the cow accompanying, looking for, calling her calf is a well-known topic (1, 38, 8; 1, 164, 9; 27; 28; 6, 45, 25); according to MS. 4, 2, 1: 21, 11 *yoni*, the female organs of generation is the real (divulged) or the secret name of the cow⁷. Remember also that Aditi represents and grants freedom from

4. J. Gonda, Notes on names and the name of God in ancient India, Amsterdam Acad. 1970, p. 7 ff. and passim.
5. For the glorification of the cow for which the *soma* is purchased see VS. 4, 19; ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 16 ff.
6. Cf. Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I², p. 84.
7. The chapter MS. 4, 2 has been translated into Dutch by Miss Muusses, op. cit., p. 26-47.

guilt, whereas the cow should not be killed (*aghnyā*⁸); hence 8, 101, 15 “do not kill the guiltless cow Aditi”.

With *Iḍā* the cow has other characteristics in common. As stated above, *Iḍā* represents sacrificial food and the cow supplies milk and butter for daily use and numerous rites. In MS. 4, 2, 7 it is told that the cow, after having been created by a process of emanation, valued gods and men less than herself. When the gods set out her (products) for the sacrifices of full and new moon they obtained her as the *iḍā*. That is why *hic et nunc* those who have come into possession of a cow think that they have converted her to their own use, when they call her as *Iḍā*. On this point further information is given in MŚ. 1, 4, 2, 10 (for the formulae see MS. 4, 2, 5: 26, 13): the *hotar* invokes the *iḍā* as follows: “O (thou that art) uncommonly (or comparatively) excellent, come; – prosperous (auspicious), come; – abundant, come; O desired one, come; O bold one, come; O *Iḍā*, come; O thou that possesseth vital strength, come” and “Thou art thought (*cit*); thou art zeal (*manā*); thou art inspiration (*dhī*), property, delight, well-disposed ...; O *Iḍā*, come; free one (*aditā*), come ...”. MS. 4, 2, 7: 28, 5 continues: “When one calls (a cow) ..., one utters these two sets of seven names each. Wherever he comes across (useful) plants with their roots or cattle, there he should utter these seven names ...”, because cattle is *Iḍā* (4, 2, 6: 27, 11). Under other circumstances however the terms of the predication may, or should, be reversed and the *iḍā* is considered to be a milch cow: MS. 4, 2, 2: 23, 5 “To him who knows the *iḍā* to be a milch cow, all quarters of the universe are milch cows, all adversaries are fond of giving”. This means that to the man who regards the sacrificial food as a source of plenty and good things just as the cow is, the universe as well as the community of his fellow-men will behave as benevolently as the cow. Elsewhere in the same chapter (4, 2, 3: 25, 5) the author relates that when Prajāpati, being alone, wished to propagate himself, he made (his) ‘mind’ (*manas*) emanate from himself; thereupon ‘mind’ made emanate *Vāc*, *Vāc Virāj* (the hypostatization of the conception of the universe as a whole) and *Virāj* the cow; in the same way the cow produced *Iḍā* who produced her enjoyments (such as eating etc.) which men now enjoy ... “The cow is *Vāc*, is *Virāj*, is *Iḍā*, is this All”. But in 4, 2, 8: 30, 3 we are informed that when a calf has been born one should address this animal as son or daughter of *Iḍā* and pronounce the prayer that it “has been born together with food and property or increase of wealth or prosperity”. As observed elsewhere⁹, “son of, e.g., *Iḍā*” may stand for “manifestation of the power inherent in, e.g., *Iḍā*”.

8. H.P. Schmidt, in Kuhn's Zs. 78 (1963), p. 1 ff.; J. Narten, in Acta Or. Neerl., Leiden 1971, p. 120 ff.

9. J. Gonda, 'Gods' and 'powers' in the Veda, 's-Gravenhage 1957, passim.

29. Now it should be noticed that the names of Aditi and Iḍā are also used together to call a cow that is to perform a function in a sacrificial ceremony. See, e.g., VS. 3, 27; ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 34 (*agnihotra*) “O Iḍā come, O Aditi come” (one cow is addressed). Elsewhere, however, Sarasvatī’s name is added to that of Iḍā: PB. 20, 15, 15; MŚ. 9, 4, 1, 28 “Thou art the desirable one, the dear one ..., O Iḍā, O charming one, O Sarasvatī, great one ...; these, O Aghnyā (see above), are thy names”. Elsewhere again all three names are used in the same context: JB. 2, 251 “O Iḍā, O Sarasvatī, these, O Aghnyā, are thy names”; similarly VS. 8, 43 and ŚB. 4, 5, 8, 10¹⁰ (in the same order, *soma* ritual); TS. 7, 1, 6, 8 (dealing with the characteristics of the *soma* cow), and see also TS. 1, 6, 3, 1 “O Iḍā come, O Aditi come, O Sarasvatī come” (full and new moon ritual); VS. 38, 2 and ŚB. 14, 2, 1, 7 observing that the cow is all three goddesses; *pravargya* ritual).

This interchangeability of Aditi and Sarasvatī is as intelligible as the equivalence of the three goddesses in contexts of the above variety. They have much in common, and all three of them are ‘identical with’ the cow. As to Sarasvatī, in the brief but corrupt *sūkta* AVP. 20, 23 in which *inter alia* mention is made of a calf, a (the) goddess, the Veda characterized as propitiating, Agni, and a cow, Sarasvatī is (st. 5) given the epithet *gobalinī* which must mean “mighty because of cows” and may denote a characteristic of the river or local goddess. In the long *sūkta* AVP. 13, 5, which deals with the inviolable (st. 1) (barren) cow (*vaśā*)¹¹, Sarasvatī is one of the deities which are ‘identified’ with this mighty and wonderful animal: (st. 21 f.) “Iḍā is the *vaśā*, Anumati (Consent) is the *vaśā*, they say that Sarasvatī¹² is the *vaśā*, they regard Virāj as the *vaśā*, the space (*āśā*) is the *vaśā*, the earth is the *vaśā*, Deṣṭrī (the female Indicator, also RV. 10, 85, 47), Sinīvālī¹³, Uṣas and Nirṛti (Decay) are (manifestations of) the *vaśā*”. Since this *vaśā* is also said to be ‘identical’ with such important deities, faculties and phenomena as fire, the word (*vāc*), water, eye, ‘mind’, wind, the ruler (in this order, st. 23) and since her true nature can (only) be perceived by inspired sages (24), the conclusion is legitimate that the poet describes some of the characteristics of the primeval (cf. AVŚ. 12, 4, 33) or cosmic Cow, references to whom are not absent from the Ṛgveda – 4, 33, 8 the cow Viśvarūpā animates everything; 10, 74, 4 – and who engaged the attention of several of his atharvanic colleagues: the cosmic Cow, of divine origin (12, 4, 11) and ‘immortal’ (10, 10, 26), who is sky and earth (10, 10, 30), who is this All (*idaṃ sarvam*, AVŚ. 10, 10, 26; 34), who has united with wind and sun (10, 10, 14; 15), produced first the waters, then the cultivated fields (10,

10. One should not follow Egeling, ŚB. II, p. 415 in translating the names of the goddesses (moreover, Aditi does not mean “inviolable”, Sarasvatī not “sapful”).

11. Cf. M. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, Strassburg 1899, Index, p. 131, s.v.

12. Sarasvatī’s name occurs also in st. 2 and 11, Aditi’s in 2 and 9.

13. See § 3 above.

10, 8), on whom gods and men subsist (ibidem), who is also a mother (10, 10, 18; 12, 4, 33), mighty and wonderful. This means that the goddesses, Iḷā and so on, are regarded as manifestations of that primeval and cosmic animal. That those who worshipped these goddesses as representatives of such an all-feeding and motherly being as the cow would easily become inclined to believe them to be also mother goddesses is not beyond possibility¹⁴.

30. Sarasvatī's name is also in other texts associated with the milch cow (*dhenu*): in VS. 20, 55; 20, 65; 21, 34; MS. 3, 11, 2: 142, 1; 3, 11, 3: 143, 10; 144, 12; KS. 38, 8: 109, 7; TB. 2, 6, 12, 1; 4 she yields or pours in the capacity of a cow (*dhenur bhūtvā*, Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara) soma, the sweet *kīlāla* beverage or medicine. According to ŚB. 4, 5, 8, 10 quoting VS. 8, 43 Sarasvatī is one of the cow's names with the gods, that is to say, a name of that cow that as the thousandth is left over, when 3×333 cows have been destined to be *dakṣiṇās* (see KŚ. 13, 3, 41 ff. = 13, 4, 15 ff.). One would, moreover, well ask, whether the words *māpa sphariṭh* "do not move suddenly aside (as a cow during milking)" and *payas*, which is often used to denote "milk", that is to say, whether the image of a recalcitrant cow suggesting that the river might shirk the responsibility for the supplying of water, in RV. 6, 61, 14 – which in all probability is addressed to the river goddess¹⁵ – does not show that the poet was acquainted with Sarasvatī's manifestation as a cow. In a later text this stanza beginning with "O Sarasvatī, lead us to increasing welfare" is followed by the statement that Sarasvatī is Vāc (TS. 7, 2, 7, 4). For the same metaphor see RV. 6, 48, 11¹⁶. Another metaphor worth noticing and giving occasion to the same question occurs in RV. 1, 164, 49 "that breast (*stanah*) of thine ... may thou cause (us) to suck that here"¹⁷; should we say that this stanza is "originally addressed to the goddess, and in VS. 38, 5 (ŚB. 14, 2, 1, 15) to the cow also"¹⁸ or that the conception of Sarasvatī manifesting herself as a cow was not unknown to the poet and his audience?¹⁹ – Anyhow, in the Nighaṇṭu, 1, 11, *gauḥ* is mentioned as a synonym of *vāc*; in the Nirukta, 6, 2 it is a name of the atmospheric speech; in later works it sometimes occurs with the same meaning (Kālidāsa, Ragh. 5, 12) as a name of Sarasvatī (Mbh. 5, 122, 26).

14. S. Kramrisch, The Indian Great Goddess, in Hist. Rel. 14, p. 235 ff. dealing with Sarasvatī and other goddesses onesidedly (and in particulars unconvincingly) emphasizes the Magna Mater idea. On the main conceptions that are characteristic of the Mother-Goddess complex see W.Ch. Beane, Myth, cult and symbols in Śākta Hinduism, Leiden 1977, p. 39 ff.

15. See § 3 above.

16. See below, § 31.

17. See p. 10 above.

18. Thus Griffith, White Yajurveda, p. 354.

19. In KS. 13, 12 (193, 16) Vāc is said to have become a barren goat (cf. TS. 3, 4, 3), which belongs to Sarasvatī.

31. Turning now to the relations which were supposed to exist between the cow on the one hand and the word, verbal art and verbal inspiration on the other we should remember that this animal was – and even in modern times sometimes still is (in Dutch and English, etc. *milch cow* can denote a source of profit) – a pattern of unselfish generosity. The favourable response for which a god is besought (RV. 2, 32, 3) is characterized as a milch cow that unceasingly swelling with milk, is always willing to give that fluid; the cow (*aghnyā*) that is expected “to invigorate the proclaimer of praise” (*kāru*) with her refreshing milk is no doubt the liberality of his patron (7, 68, 9)²⁰; the verb used in 2, 18, 8 in connexion with Indra’s *dakṣiṇā* is *duhīta* “to give, yield (of a cow or an udder)”. Addressing a prayer for generosity to Indra the poet of 10, 42, 2 enjoins the reciter to bring near the cow, the friend, Indra by (the prospect of) a milking and to induce him to come near in order to give bounteous presents just as a box or trunk²¹ filled with treasures (which people bring near). The goddess (*devī*) Vāc²² who has been created by the gods (8, 100, 11) is in the same stanza called the milch cow Word (*dhenúr vāc*), that, being agreeable, gives, in the form of milk, refreshment and invigorating food and should be welcomed with praise²³.

In view of this ‘imagery’ the application of the word for milch cow to the almost inexhaustible source of inspiration and imagination on which all those that had the gift of speech could draw freely and copiously and to the psychological substratum in which all processes connected with verbal expression and poetic art have their origin is not so strange as it would seem to be at first sight. The great importance of the cow as a metaphysical concept and – in connexion with the process of speaking and the production of sacred texts – its character as a fundamental principle is briefly and clearly stated in RV. 8, 101, 15 f.: the cow, said to be Aditi²⁴, is the navel of *amṛtam*, i.e. the (place of) origin of that by which life is maintained and continued; this *amṛtam* – often but inadequately translated by “immortality” (cf., e.g. 1, 125, 6) – which in 10, 53, 1 is stated to be generated by the secret words (*padā gūhyāni*) of the expert inspired poets – spreads, so to say, out from a central point conceived as the navel of the cosmic cow. This animal is further regarded as the sister of the Ādityas, a group of great gods who have relations with the luminous heavenly regions

20. Unconvincingly “a real cow” (H.D. Velankar, *R̥gveda maṇḍala VII*, Bombay 1963, p. 159, referring to st. 8).

21. I prefer this translation of *kośam* to Geldner’s (RV. übers. III, p. 196) “Eimer”, because in this context a pail, being a receptacle of the milk, is not, like Indra, its primary source. But who will know, if Geldner has not shared the view of the poet himself?

22. For *vāgdevī* see also KS. 14, 2: 202, 2; MS. 1, 11, 4: 164, 9.

23. As to RV. 8, 100, 10 compare BĀU. 5, 8, 1 enjoining that one should meditate on speech as a milch cow. – For the ‘identification’ of a (specific) cow with Vāc see, e.g., also KS. 29, 1: 168, 5; PB. 21, 3, 1; ŚB. 4, 5, 8, 3; (used for purposes of prognostication) 11; 14, 2, 1, 15. See also RV. 1, 173, 3.

24. See § 28 above.

(2, 27, 9; 5, 29, 1; 6, 51, 4); as the mother of the Rudras who are active in the atmosphere²⁵; and as the daughter of the Vasus, deities that in later Vedic texts are led by Agni, the god who presides over the terrestrial world. I am much tempted to regard this threefold relationship and unmistakable reference to the cow's cosmic nature as suggesting the complex idea of her earthly origin as a physical cow on the one hand and her existence as a metaphysical or at least supermundane concept on the other²⁶. In st. 16 the cow, being a goddess (*devīm*), is represented as having descended from the regions of the gods, approaching with all visions or inspirations (*viśvābhir dhibhīr upatiṣṭhamānām*) and rousing visionary speech to activity (*vācam udīrāyantīm*) (among men), who, being mortal and of deficient mind, have appropriated her²⁷. That means that the cow that in everyday life supplies men with an abundance of food appears, in this passage, as a mediator between the Invisible and the world of human beings in that she transmits speech and 'vision', two faculties indispensable to those who want to rise above the level of inertia or animal existence and aspire to the higher forms of humanity²⁸.

32. There are several other passages in the Ṛgveda in which cow and speech are associated. The poet of 3, 57 begins this *sūkta* by stating that the one who is gifted with discernment has discovered or understood his (the poet's) inspired emotional thought (*manīṣā*²⁹) which is (like) a milch cow that roams about, left to herself (and) without a cowherd – that is, in all probability, before she had reached the poet and inspired his mind³⁰ –; at that very moment she has given abundant milk (in the form of inspired poetry). The ṛṣi of 6, 48, 11 urges his comrades to drive the cow near with a

25. In ṚV. 8, 94, 1 the cow is the mother or foster-mother of the Maruts who as the sons of Rudra are several times called Rudras.

26. Along with the cake of the so-called *anūbandhyā* cow immolated at the end of a soma ceremony one should offer oblations to ten goddesses (ŚS. 9, 28, 4 ff.) viz. to the Waters, the useful plants, the cows, Dawn, Night, Sun, Sky, Earth, Word and Cow (mentioned last, after Word and not included among the preceding cows!). The invitatory and oblatory mantras for Vāc are ṚV. 8, 100, 11 and 10 (see above), and for the cow ṚV. 8, 101, 15 and 16.

27. On the passage see Gonda, *Vision*, p. 91 f.

28. On the cosmic cow see also B. Essers, *Vāc. Het woord als Godsgestalte en als Godegeleerdheid in de Veda*, Thesis Groningen 1952, p. 84 ff. (not in all respects convincing; emphasizing the lowing of the cow); on the cosmic or celestial cow in ancient India and Egypt also H. Lommel, *Die alten Arier. Von Art und Adel ihrer Götter*, Frankfurt a.M. 1935, p. 114 ff.; on the cow as the first living creature mother of the gods, and goddess of the heavens in Egypt H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, Berlin 1956, p. 75 ff. etc. – For the *virāj* (see § 28) as a cow which is successively milked for the *asuras*, Fathers, men, etc. see AVŚ. 8, 10, 22 ff.

29. See Gonda, *Vision*, p. 51 ff.

30. See also Renou, *E.V.P.* I, p. 10; IV, p. 55; V, p. 17 f.

new word (or call,?)³¹, the cow which in st. 13 is described as “milking or yielding all things” (*viśvadohas*) and as “all-nourishing refreshment”; from st. 12 it appears that this cow is expected to yield as milk ‘immortal’ renown to the troop of the Maruts who are being eulogized. For Vāc as a milch cow yielding food and milk in four squirts see 8, 100, 10. The milch cow which according to 1, 139, 7 the gods have given to the Aṅgirasas is likewise the ‘poetic art’ of the Vedic poets; as surmised by Geldner³², this may include also the sacrificial technique (possibly, as far as the spoken word was an indispensable element of the ritual); anyhow, the text continues to say that the patron (cf. 10, 117, 6) and the officiant milk this cow. It would seem that in 8, 1, 10 mention is made of two such milch cows, the first being identical with Indra (cf. 8, 52, 4)³³ and receiving the epithet *gāyatravepas* “whose inspired speech consists of Vedic hymns”³⁴ and the other appearing in the form of refreshment that streams abundantly and makes (the ‘milker’) fit to fulfil his function (*aramkṛtam*³⁵). In 10, 133, 7 Indra is requested to “give us the cow that yields her milk according to wish” to the invoker.

33. Attention may also be invited to some places where this cow is closely associated with the vision or inspiration (*dhī*) of the ṛṣi. RV. 2, 2, 9 reads as follows: “Thus, O ancient Agni, the vision of men has become swollen among the ‘immortal’ (denizens) of the firm heaven, a cow that yields milk to the proclaimer of praise on the sacrificial enclosures”. Here the hymn which originated in inspiration will for the benefit of the poet and (or) the eulogist swell with ‘milk’. Compare 10, 64, 12, the poet of which wants the gods to “fill up the *dhī* which they have given to him, to make it swollen like an udder filled with milk”³⁶. Whereas the poet of 4, 41, 5 resorts to a simile: “O Indra and Varuṇa, be ye lovers of this *dhī* like two bulls of a cow; may she yield us milk, having gone as it were over the pasture ...³⁷, the author of 10, 101, 9 regards this animal and the product of vision as identical: “I draw hither, O gods, your divine³⁸ ... (power) of ‘vision’ ... which is

31. I omit the word *sabardūghām* of uncertain meaning (“immermelke”, Geldner, RV. übers. II, p. 148 and others) and unknown etymology (cf. M. Mayrhofer, Etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen, III, Heidelberg 1964-1976, p. 432 f.). The text is not altogether clear; in RV. 2, 31, 5 the same expression *nāvyaśā vācaḥ* denotes the new recitation (see J. Gonda, ‘Ein neues Lied’, in WZKM. 48, p. 275 ff. (= S.S. IV, p. 144 ff.)) which is being delivered making us suppose that the poet has already received the inspiration. On the interpretation of these stanzas see Geldner, l.c. and Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 144 f.

32. Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 193.

33. For other images see RV. 6, 45, 25 and 28, where the eulogies are compared to the mother-cow and Indra to the calf.

34. Not “der einen Schwall von Sangesweisen hat” (Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 200 (RV. 1, 142, 12)). As to *vepas* see Gonda, Vision, p. 36.

35. On *aram*, *alam*, *alamkāra* etc. see J. Gonda, in New Ind. Antiquary, extra series I, Bombay 1939, p. 97 ff. (= S.S. I, p. 257 ff.).

36. On these passages see Gonda, Vision, p. 124; 126 f.

37. See also W.P. Schmid, in Indog. Forsch. 64, p. 1 ff. Also RV. 1, 164, 39.

suitable for sacrificial worship (*yajñiyām*); may she, the great cow, give us milk ...”. As however the ‘cow’ needs a good pasture and a good herdsman, a poet would say that elaborated visions (*dhiyaḥ*) swell like cows in their own place (9, 94, 2), or that his materialized visions (*dhūṭayaḥ*)³⁹ go along like cows along the pastures, looking for the one who sees far (*urucakṣasam*, i.e. Varuṇa to whom the *sūkta* is addressed, 1, 25, 16). Mention may also be made of the opinion expressed by the poet of 8, 41, 5: the one who knows the secret and mysterious names of the cows⁴⁰ is a *kavi* (i.e. an inspired sage, who mentally or spiritually enters into contact with divine power, the transcendent, the world of the unseen), who displays many gifts of inspired poetry; this man is also a supporter of the worlds (and their inhabitants)⁴¹.

34. Now, it is not only the cow that is associated with *dhī*, there are also various relations between Sarasvatī and that power concept⁴². In RV. 1, 3, 12 the goddess is stated to preside over every manifestation of *dhī*, to be mistress over them (*dhīyo víśvā ví rājati*). This probably means also that the goddess – whose two-sided nature is explicitly stated in this stanza (“she makes known, gives evidence of her great flood”) – is also able to dispense visions or inspiration⁴³. In 1, 3, 10 the goddess is described as rich in bearers of (re)generative power (especially horses) as well as various other forms of *vāja* and “to long for our sacrifice” whilst “possessing and transmitting goods by means of inspiration” (*dhiyāvasuḥ*). It would seem that in this stanza she is characterized as eager to come to a sacrifice performed by the poet or reciter *cum suis* there to transmit inspiration from which those present will derive benefit⁴⁴. The goddess is indeed supposed to be able to inspire one’s mind with *dhī* (*dhiyaṃ dhāt*); thus in 6, 49, 7 where she appears as a young woman of wonderful vitality (*citrāyuh*)⁴⁵ and the wife of an energetic man; the verb used allows not only translations such as “lays in, confers on” but also “produces, generates”; she is, moreover, besought to

38. *devīm*: it should be noticed, first that like the Latin *divinum* this word (*deva*) could also indicate something divinely inspired (see, e.g., also RV. 7, 34, 9) and second that the idea of suitability for sacrificial worship is emphasized: the adjective is repeated.

39. Not “Gedanken” (Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 27); Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 67 preferred “pensées-poétiques”.

40. See § 27 above.

41. The cow for which the *soma* is bought and which in ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 10; 15; 20 is ‘identified’ with Vāc, is in VS. 4, 19 addressed as thought (*cit*), *manas*, and *dhī*, and also as *yajñiyā* (see above).

42. For some of the following places see also Gonda, Vision, Index and Morning litany, Index.

43. Not “alle (frommen) Gedanken” (Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 4) or “all devotions” (L. Sarup, The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, Delhi 1962, p. 177).

44. For another, and in my opinion, incorrect interpretation see Griffith, White Yajurveda, p. 231 (VS. 20, 84).

45. Not “the one of varied life” (A.B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 306 (TS. 4, 1, 11 h = RV. 6, 49, 7)).

accord protection to the one who praises her (and by his eulogy fortifies her so that she becomes able and willing to comply with his wishes⁴⁶). In 7, 35, 11 Sarasvatī, associated with *dhī* (in the plural, *sahā dhībhiḥ*; also TB. 2, 8, 6 h etc.) is coupled with the gods, the Viśve Devāḥ and deities of lower rank, viz. the Attendants and Escorts of gifts, all of them being requested to be kindly disposed or favourable to those speaking. It is difficult to decide, whether in this stanza the central position of the goddess is of any significance, and whether it was the poet's intention to suggest that she is escorted by bearers of gifts. Renou⁴⁷ was no doubt right in referring for the combination *sārasvatī sahā dhībhiḥ*⁴⁸ to the parallel word group *āditiḥ ... vratébhiḥ* "Aditi's fixed and regular behaviour, functional conduct and observances" in st. 9. One could add that in st. 1 Indra-and-Agni are besought to promote the well-being of those speaking with their favours (*avobhiḥ*), in 3 the earth to do likewise with her "inherent powers and manners of being or acting" (*svadhābhiḥ*)⁴⁹, and in 6 Indra, Varuṇa and Rudra to be accompanied, respectively, by the Vasus, Ādityas and Rudras. These parallel prayers seem to corroborate the conclusion that the transmission of *dhiyaḥ* is as characteristic of Sarasvatī as the conferment of favours etc. is of Indra and other gods, and so on⁵⁰. In 10, 65, 13 Sarasvatī is accompanied, not only by (the) *dhiyaḥ*, but also by a divine power known as Puramdhi, a name that is usually explained as "Wunscherfüllung, Freigebigkeit, Beglückung"⁵¹, but seems more to the point translatable by "Gift". This means that the goddess is accompanied by 'power-concepts' that so to say represent the two main spheres of her activity, the transmission of inspiration and the bestowal of material advantages. One might compare KS. 5, 1: 44, 11; 32, 1: 19, 9; ĀpŚ. 4, 10, 1; MŚ. 1, 4, 2, 6 "By the worship of Sarasvatī may I prosper in speech and the possibility of eating food". In 2, 3, 8 she is stated to render the *dhī* of the *ṛṣi cum suis*, i. e. of the transmitted *dhī*⁵², successful (*sādhāyanti dhīyaṃ naḥ*). In 6, 61, 4 she is besought to promote the inspiration (and the inspired poems resulting from it) of those speaking (*dhīnām avitry avatu*). When the reciter of 5, 43, 11 implores the goddess who descends from the heavens and the mountain to

46. For this process see Gonda, *Vision*, p. 64 ff.

47. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 97; otherwise and unconvincing H.P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vrata and awestisch urvata*, Hamburg 1958, p. 69.

48. Incorrectly translated by "prayers" (Whitney and Lanman, *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā*, p. 917 (AV. 19, 11, 2)).

49. Cf. Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 115.

50. In a similar passage, RV. 10, 66, 5, it is Sarasvatī's partner Sarasvant who, accompanied by (the) *dhiyaḥ*, is besought for refuge or protection. I abstain from speculation concerning the reasons of this anomaly.

51. Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 455; see also Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 183, s.v.

52. Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 280, gives his readers the option between "fromme Gedanken" and "Gebet"; both translations miss the point.

hear his call, this prayer may have included a request for successful inspiration⁵³.

Sometimes a poet (or the reciter) prays to Sarasvatī for *medhā*: RVKh. 4, 8, 2 *médhām me ... devī sárasvatī / médhām me aśvínau devāu ā dhattam*, the wish being added that the *medhā* that is in the *apsarases*, the *manas* that is in the *gandharvas* and the *medhā* that belongs to man and gods should enter the speaker. In TĀ. 10, 40, 1 it is Indra, *devī* Sarasvatī and the Aśvins whose names occur in a similar context. Also MNUp. 378 f., st. 381 expressing the wish “Let the divine (*daivī*) *medhā* Sarasvatī, the fragrant (charming) one, be pleased with me”. Now *medhā*, one of those Vedic terms that are difficult to understand and translate⁵⁴, belongs to the same semantic field as *dhī* and seems to denote “enlightenment, wisdom, supranormal insight, spiritual power”, which however, in ancient and (semi-)primitive milieus is decidedly ‘practical’ or creative in character, enabling its possessor to do something extraordinary. The inspired sage (*vipra*), who according to RV. 8, 6, 28 has been born together with the power or faculty which is characteristically his, viz. *dhī*⁵⁵, is 8, 3, 18 said to aspire by means of *dhī* to *medhā* (*vāvasúr ... medhāsātaye*).

35. So there is a sufficiency of places to show that there was, in ṛgvedic times, a belief in a constant and close relation between Sarasvatī and inspiration. She was one of the deities that played an important part in the processes connected with the vision and inspiration of the Vedic poets. In this connexion some words may be said on a few passages in RV. 10, 71, the so-called ‘Hymn of higher knowledge’ (*jñānasūkta*) from which it is perfectly clear that the author and probably many of his brother poets were completely conscious of the different stages through which the process of inspiration and production of liturgical composition – the only form of speech and literature in which they took interest – had to pass, conscious also of the part played by those who received *dhī*, of the close relation between *vāc* and *dhī*, and of the functions for which their hymns and eulogies were intended⁵⁶. “When”, the poet informs us, (st. 1) “they (i.e. the wise

53. It is perhaps worth noticing that Sarasvatī here receives the epithet *ghṛtācī* “receiving, furnished with, accompanied by, having, interested in ghee”, which in 1, 2, 7 is given to the *dhī*; there the poet wishes to obtain divine assistance – *in casu* that of Varuṇa and Mitra – in the transformation of his inspiration into a hymn or eulogy which may be expected to produce the results desired (see Gonda, *Vision*, p. 131 f.). In both cases the epithet seems to refer to a ritual function or to being concerned in a rite. – Remember also the eulogist’s prayer for vigour (*vayas*) in 10, 30, 12.

54. I refer to L. Renou, *Études sur le vocabulaire du Rgveda*, Pondicherry 1958, p. 29, n. 1; Gonda, *Vision*, p. 57; 104; 127. See, e.g., AVŚ. 12, 1, 53.

55. *dhīyā vipro ajāyata*, not “wurde ... unter Gebet geboren” (Geldner, RV. übers. II, p. 297).

56. On RV. 10, 71 see Renou, E.V.P. I, p. 22 f.; Gonda, *Vedic literature*, p. 69 f.; for an explanation of the text etc. Gonda, *Vision*, p. 107 ff.

seers of the mythical past) started instituting name-giving, the first and foremost part of Speech, (what was) concealed became manifest through their sympathetic disposition”; (2) “when the wise seers (*dhīrāḥ*, i.e. those who were (to be) characterized by *dhī*) cleaning it ... produced Speech by means of their *manas* (intentional thought, purposeful mind), then their partners became conscious of their partnership”; (3) “by means of sacrificial worship they (another group, viz. the historical seers who were interested in the liturgical function of speech) ... discovered Speech that had entered the *ṛṣis* (i.e. the *dhīrāḥ*) ... and distributed her over many persons”. There is, in my opinion, no doubt that the ancient connexion between Sarasvatī and *dhī* has to a considerable degree contributed to the intimate association and ‘identification’ of the goddess with Vāc “sacral speech”. It is the god who is disposed to give a *ṛṣi* inspiration (RV. 10, 25, 1) or to further his intuition (1, 61, 16) and it is *vāc*, speech, which conveys it⁵⁷. Or, as the Mīmāṃsakas of the post-Vedic period formulated it: The Divine, the Highest, assumes the form of sound substantialized in mantras which are ‘seen’ by privileged men, who are able to come into contact with the supermundane and to transform the inspiration they have received into the materialized form of what we moderns would call sacred poetry. A Vedic poet would have said that the *ṛṣis* by means of their *dhī* (*dhī* converted into, or represented as, an actuality), come into touch with divine secrets, thereupon to find and proclaim Speech⁵⁸.

36. It is no part of my task to deal with the post-Vedic Sarasvatī⁵⁹. Nevertheless, it seems relevant to notice that there is no break in her career, no disturbance of continuity. While extending her activities to a wider field and finding herself also in other situations she has essentially remained true to her character and traditional interests. I shall confine myself to a few particulars and references⁶⁰.

In the Veda Sarasvatī is a goddess who knows (AVŚ. 5, 25, 6; RVKh. 4, 6, 6) and, as has been stated earlier, acts as a guide (VS. 9, 30; 18, 37). Knowledge and guidance are her distinctive features to which Tārṅṣya makes an appeal, when in Mbh. 3, 184 he wants the goddess to instruct him and to reveal to him what is the best for a man on earth. Answering him she extols the one who knows Brahman everywhere, studies the Veda, offers into the fire, gives cows, is devoted to the Highest that is supreme above all

57. As to *vāc* and *dhī*, it may be noticed that the cow which is the price of the *soma* is now called *dhī* (TS. 1, 2, 4), now *vāc* (ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 10).

58. Cf. Gonda, *Vision*, p. 199.

59. On the river goddess see A.S. Gupta, *Sarasvatī as the river goddess in the Purāṇas*, Proc. All-India Or. Conf. 22, 2 (1966), p. 68 ff.

60. See also J. Nobel, *Das Zauberbild der Göttin Sarasvatī*, in *Beiträge zur indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Vol. W. Schubring, Hamburg 1951, p. 123 ff. Buddhist texts need not be considered here.

and was already worshipped in ancient times. The doctrine which she expounds suits the goddess of the sacred word who is so closely associated with the Vedic ritual very well. Being asked about the *agnihotra* she replies that she herself has arisen from that sacrifice. Is it warranted to suppose that this theme has developed from some statements in the older literature, such as ŚB. 14, 3, 1, 21 “the *agnihotra* is the mouth of the sacrifices” and 11, 3, 1, 1 “the *agnihotrī* cow is the speech (*vāc*) of the *agnihotra* and her calf is its mind”? As we have seen⁶¹, Sarasvatī appears in more than one context as a cow.

When the ritualists deal with the ceremony of offering the diverse members of the sacrificial horse to various deities (TS. 5, 7, 11; MS. 3, 15, 1: 177, 8; VS. 25, 1 etc.), they give the tip of his tongue, according to expectation, to Sarasvatī. And when an attempt is made to co-ordinate the *sautrāmaṇī* with the human body (ŚB. 12, 9, 1, 11 ff.), the two men that seem to be in the eyes, the ears and the nostrils belong to the Aśvins, the black in the eye⁶², speech and the tongue to Sarasvatī, the white in the eye, ‘mind’ and breath to Indra⁶³. This identification with the tongue has, intelligibly enough, survived in an adapted form. When, in Mbh. 6, 61, 42 Brahmā himself worships Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva as the supreme lord of the world, he declares the Aśvins to be the Lord’s ears, and *devī* Sarasvatī to be his tongue (st. 56). When in MārKpur. 21, 49 (23, 48) the goddess being praised is about to answer, she receives the epithet Viṣṇu’s tongue (*viṣṇor jihvā*). In the same chapter (st. 58) she is the tongue of the All (*sarvajihvā*). A co-ordination of *vāk* Sarasvatī with the tongue occurs also in Mbh. 12, 231, 8.

We know that the Vedic Sarasvatī feels interest in the speech of an individual human being and is sometimes supposed to have failed him⁶⁴. Post-Vedic authors believe her to enter a man in the form of *vāc*. In Mbh. 12, 306, 6 ff. Yājñavalkya, informing his audience of the source of his own knowledge of the Veda, relates that after having honoured Sūrya this god made him open his mouth so that Sarasvatī could enter it; when thereupon he was burnt by fire⁶⁵, had to enter water, and had cooled down again, Sūrya promised him that the Veda would have an abiding place in him and that he would promulgate the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. In another story found in Mbh. 12, 322 seven seers are related to have conceived the plan to compose an authoritative compendium (*śāstram*); they propitiated Hari Nārāyaṇa who ordered *devī* Sarasvatī to enter them (st. 32). Similar stories occur in narrative literature: in a dream somebody saw a lotus fallen from

61. See § 29 ff. above.

62. The black colour seems to be a reminiscence of the original river goddess; for this colour and water see Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 44 f.

63. For the three deities of the *sautrāmaṇī* see § 12 above.

64. See § 19 above.

65. The Veda is Brahman (e.g., ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 8) and Brahman is Agni (8, 5, 1, 12; 10, 4, 1, 5).

heaven and out of it came a divine woman clad in white⁶⁶ who entered his mouth; having waked up he knew that this woman was Sarasvatī; thereupon he became a very learned and efficient teacher (Kathāsaritsāgara 6, 137 ff.). In the next story he tells that once Skanda had given him a sight of himself within and that thereupon Sarasvatī had in visible shape entered his mouth (7, 9) with the result that he was able instantly and thoroughly to understand, promulgate and teach a new grammar. In 5, 94 a person says that by the favour of Sarasvatī he was enabled “to reveal what has happened”⁶⁷. See also Rāmāyaṇa, 7, 10, 35 ff.

That the goddess should, on the one hand, enlarge the field of her interests and activities or go through a process of adaptation and modernization, and on the other, come to play a part in non- and post-Vedic mythical narratives as well as philosophical and psychological theories was unavoidable. She came to be regarded as the inventor of the Sanskrit language and its script and is up to the present day worshipped by students, authors and musicians. The man who teaches or explains learning in the field of the dharma and the Veda (sacred knowledge, *dharmyām brāhmīm sarasvatīm*) gains merit (Mbh. 13, 68, 5). Sarasvatī does not forsake those who study the sacred texts (MārḱPur. 4, 5 ff.). – To Aśvatara who praises her she gives perfect skill in poetry and music (MārḱPur. 21 (23), 29 ff.), but in the same context the cause of wealth as well as of final emancipation is held to reside in her (st. 32); in this connexion she receives the epithets “nurse of the world” (*jagaddhātrī*) and “sprung from Brahmā” (*brahmayoni*). But sometimes she was also supposed to transmit profane knowledge or secular news (Kathāsaritsāgara 5, 94). Apāntaratamas, who was to distribute the Veda in every period and to be reborn as Vyāsa in the Kaliyuga, came into existence as Sarasvatī’s son (Sārasvata), when the creator let the goddess issue out of his mouth whilst making the syllable *bhoḥ* resound (Mbh. 12, 337, 37 f.). Devī Sarasvatī, the mother of the Vedas is, like all other deities and entities, declared to be in the Supreme Being, Vāsudeva (12, 326, 52). In a confused passage on the relation between *manas*, *vāc* etc. (14, 21, 9 ff.) she makes her appearance as *vāc*, *devī vāc* and *devī Sarasvatī* and claims to be the *kāmaduh* “the cow that fulfils all wishes” – already a Vedic idea⁶⁸ – of the *bhūtātman*, a sort of ethereal inner body enveloping the *manas*.

When she is worshipped as a great goddess, sacrifices are performed to her (MārḱPur. 69, 27 f. (72, 25 f.)). She is an adorable deity “taking form as speech to man’s heart’s delight” (Kathās. 104, 3). She is often

66. Likewise in Kathāsaritsāgara 4, 11, where she says that she continually dwells in the body of a young man who has gradually attained perfection in all sciences. In 4, 137 the goddess, present in bodily form, gives him advice (also 5, 18).

67. Cf. also AVPar. 64, 10, 3.

68. See, e.g., AVŚ. 4, 34, 8; 9, 5, 10; 12, 1, 61 (of Aditi); VS. 12, 72; ŚB. 4, 5, 8, 16. – For Sarasvatī, *manas* and *vāc* see also AVŚ. 19, 40, 1 (AVP. 19, 38, 6).

accompanied by Lakṣmī, the goddess of prosperity (3, 3, see, e.g., also VāPur. 9, 85) who is also called Śrī (Kathās. 73, 81); occasionally the name of the latter appears where one would expect hers (106, 24). The author of the above eulogy (MārkaPur. 21 (23)) says that everything is comprised in her; Brahman resides in her and so does the whole world including a considerable number of important triads such as the three Vedas, the three sacrificial fires, the threefold light in the universe and so on.

A process the beginnings of which reach perhaps back to ṛgvedic times continues in the later period: a few times mention is made of her family and members of her family: *pāvīravī kanyā* in RV. 6, 49, 7 (see also 10, 65, 13) has been explained as “the daughter of Lightning”⁶⁹; see also AiB. 3, 37, 8. In VāPur. 28, 11 Pūrṇamāsa (the Full Moon) procreated two sons with her; in MatsyaPur. 49, 7 her partner is Rantināra. Sometimes she is called the daughter of Brahmā (Mbh. 12, 330, 11), on another occasion she is regarded as his wife (MatsyaPur. 3, 32)⁷⁰.

69. Although the meaning of *pāvīru* is unknown. See A. Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, I, Paris 1878, p. 252; 327; Geldner, *RV. übers.* II, p. 150.

70. When she goes for a festal drive in Brahmā's chariot (BhavPur. 1, 18), the popular context reminds us of her original character as a beneficent local deity. See also V.V. Dixit, *Brahman and Sarasvatī*, in *Poona Orient.* 8, p. 66 f.

V. Sarasvatī and the Waters

37. It seems worth while to dwell for a moment upon the fact that Sarasvatī, being in origin a river goddess, was as such, notwithstanding her importance¹, one of the numerous waters which in the opinion of the Vedic poets and 'philosophers' are found, not only in our world but also in other provinces of the universe². Among the many deities and power concepts with which the *ṛsis* and ritualists are concerned these waters occupy an important place³. Already in the Ṛgveda the word *āpah* – almost always a *plurale tantum* used when the religious or 'philosophical' significance of this widely distributed 'element' is envisaged⁴ – occurs in some hundreds of stanzas. The large number of features which Sarasvatī and the Waters have in common, the numerous respects in which descriptions of the goddess and the divine element resemble each other, the many cases in which these deities are believed to fulfil the same function cannot escape notice. For the present purpose the following observations may suffice.

The Waters are very often called 'goddesses' or 'divine' (*devīḥ*, *daivīḥ*), and are worthy of worship (*yajñiyāḥ*)⁵; so is Sarasvatī (*devī* and worshipped with eulogies)⁶. In ṚV. 10, 30 and elsewhere the Waters are a full-fledged deity, receiving oblations and, like Sarasvatī (in 10, 17, 8), invited to sit

1. Cf. the statement "all rivers are Sarasvatīs" (Mbh. 12, 255, 39).
2. "The universe is surrounded by (the) water(s), for on both sides of yonder sun are waters below and above" (KB. 24, 4, 25 f. quoting ṚV. 3, 22, 3 "the waters that, in the luminous sphere of the sun, stand above and below"; see, e.g., also TS. 4, 2, 4, 2; VS. 12, 49; ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 13). Cf. H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen 1951-1959, passim.
3. One might compare the pages on aquatic symbolism in M. Éliade, *Patterns in comparative religion*, New York 1958, ch. V (§ 60 ff.); *Images et symboles*, Paris 1952, ch. V, p. 199 ff.; *The sacred and the profane*, New York 1961, p. 129 ff. – As to the primaeval waters see, e.g., H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens*, Stuttgart 1970, p. 98 ff.
4. Cf., e.g., ṚV. 1, 161, 8 ff.; 10, 102, 10; 10, 166, 5.
5. See, e.g., ṚV. 1, 83, 2; 1, 153, 4; 1, 173, 8; AiB. 8, 27, 7; ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 6; 3, 1, 4, 15; 3, 9, 3, 25; 11, 5, 9, 8; TS. 7, 3, 13, 1; cf. also ṚV. 10, 85, 47 *vīṣve devāḥ ... āpah*; 10, 64, 9. – For *divyā āpa ośadhayah* see TĀ. 1, 1, 3; 1, 21, 3; 1, 31, 6.
6. See, e.g., ṚV. 2, 41, 17; 6, 61, 4; also 6, 61, 2. For Sarasvatī see also § 3 above.

down on the *barhis* (10, 30, 15). In 10, 30, 12 Sarasvatī gives the appearance of being the representative of the Waters that are mentioned earlier in the same stanza: the Waters are described as wealthy or abundant (*revatīh*), as having power over property and bringing resourcefulness and Sarasvatī is besought to bestow that (*sic*) vigour (*vayas*) on the eulogist. In KB. 12, 2 (12, 3, 5 ff.) the word “the Waters” in 10, 30, 12 is considered to be the first, the name Sarasvatī (ibidem) the second, and the hymn in its entirety the third manifestation of the ‘thunderbolt’ (*vajra*; cf. ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 41). The Waters are regarded as mothers⁷, not only when, in all probability, they are for purificatory purposes drawn from the bed of the Sarasvatī (10, 17, 10). While the goddess is in 6, 49, 7 called *pāvīravī kanyā* “the girl (probably “daughter”) of *pāvīru*”, the Waters are in AVŚ. 11, 1, 17 “young women (*yosītaḥ*) worthy of worship”. Water used in a consecratory ceremony is “most auspicious” (*śivatamāḥ*, AiB. 8, 13, 2; 8, 18, 1), the Sarasvatī is in AVP. 20, 12, 3 requested to be *śivā* and “very compassionate” (*sumṛṭika*); she is “fair, gracious, auspicious” (*bhadrā*, RV. 7, 96, 3); in TB. 2, 6, 6, 3 it is hoped that the waters and the useful plants will be well disposed towards those concerned. In connexion with Sarasvatī’s association with *medhā*⁸ it may be observed that in AVŚ. 12, 1, 53 the Waters are among the divine powers that have given this supernormal insight to the person speaking.

It is self-evident that the river goddess owes her most important functions and qualities to her being one of the waters or a representative of the Waters. Among the many benefits which she grants her worshippers are, as we have seen, milk (cf. VS. 20, 75; cf. AVŚ. 4, 8, 4 ff.; 4, 15, 6; KB. 5, 5, 10), honey (TB. 1, 4, 8, 4), the possibility of eating food (VS. 20, 3). In AVŚ. 2, 29, 5 the Waters are among the deities that give invigorating food (*ūrj*). They bring food (RV. 2, 35, 14) and are often ‘identified’ with food, just as food sometimes is declared to ‘be’ water, for, when water comes to this world, “possibility of eating food arises here (as a consequence)”; “the waters are food, (for) food verily is produced from the waters”⁹. They are the essence (sap, *rasa*) of the useful plants (ŚB. 3, 6, 1, 7) or also *ūrj* and *rasa* (KB. 12, 1, 4); “the powerful waters diffusively pervade the plants” (TB. 3, 7, 6, 4). They are besought to give or send honey or sweetness (AVŚ. 6, 62, 1; VS. 6, 10; 36, 12), of which they possess an abundance (AVŚ. 18, 4, 39). Consequently, the Waters also represent vigour, energy, ‘virtue’: the one who, for ritual purposes, collects water collects *vīryam*, viz. the *rasa* of the Waters” (ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 1; 6; 7; 8). Of special interest is the oft repeated and in itself intelligible statement that the Waters heal or that they are alleviation and medicine (KB. 3, 6 (3, 8, 17) *śāntir vai bheṣajam āpah*): “The Waters

7. See AVŚ. 6, 51, 2; AVP. 19, 43, 6; VS. 4, 2; TS. 1, 2, 1, 1; KB. 12, 2, 19.

8. See § 35 above.

9. See, e.g., ŚB. 2, 1, 1, 3; 3, 9, 2, 10; 7, 4, 2, 37; 14, 1, 1, 14; TB. 3, 8, 2, 1; 3, 8, 17, 5; also TS. 5, 6, 2, 2 “the waters are food, the waters are cattle (see also AiB. 1, 8, 5), cattle are food”; RV. 10, 169, 1.

verily are remedial, the Waters disease-expelling, the Waters remedial of everything ...” (RV. 10, 137, 6; AVŚ. 3, 7, 5; 6, 91, 3; 19, 2, 3)¹⁰; “by means of water one heals whatever has been unsuccessful in the sacrifice (ŚB. 14, 3, 2, 13). That the regenerative power which is inherent in water, the multiplication of the potential of life brought about by contact with it, by absorption of water and drinking was believed to be also – and to a high degree – proper to the goddess Sarasvatī was a matter of course. According to ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 12 and 12, 7, 2, 3 Sarasvatī is healing medicine (*bhaiṣajyam*, *bheṣajyam*), the latter place adding that the Aśvins are the physicians of the gods; these passages deal with the *sautrāmanī* ritual, in which these three deities are central figures¹¹; see also VS. 19-21, e.g. 21, 31 Sarasvatī, the physician (*bhiṣaj*); 33; 34 “the milch cow Sarasvatī gives or milks (yields) medicine”; 36; 39¹². The Waters are, moreover, often characterized as purificatory and as removing uncleanness either ritual or moral, purification meaning release from evil and the induction of good¹³. In VS. 20, 22 Sarasvatī is given the epithet “purifying” (*pāvaka*). In AVP. 1, 65, 2 her name occurs in a text to be recited by one who wishes to live long. Water is considered to be “the elixer of immortality” (i.e. of continuance of life; *amṛtam vā āpaḥ*, ŚB. 4, 4, 3, 15)¹⁴. The goddess is also regarded as a protector or guardian, in VS. 21, 13 as a protector of the body or person (*tanūpā*; see also TB. 2, 6, 12, 1). As to the Waters, they are in AVŚ. 7, 64, 1 requested to protect the person speaking from the difficulty caused by a black bird (and) from distress¹⁵ – the text is in Kauś. 46, 47 used to accompany the washing off of the excrement of that bird –; see also 10, 5, 22; the Waters destroy the demons and that is why one sprinkles water in order to slay them (TS. 2, 6, 4, 4). In RVKh. 3, 6, 4 the aid of Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī, the Seven Rivers, the Waters, Wind, the Mountains etc. is invoked. In short, all objects of desire depend on the Waters (TB. 3, 12, 2, 6), or they “are” all these objects (ŚB. 10, 5, 4, 15).

10. See also RV. 1, 23, 20; 5, 53, 14; 10, 9, 5 ff.; AVŚ. 6, 24, 1 f.; TS. 5, 4, 4, 3 “the Waters are free from un auspicious influences (*sāntāḥ*, for this idea see D.J. Hoens, *Śānti*, Thesis Utrecht 1951); verily with them being *sāntāḥ* he calms his pain”; ŚB. 3, 6, 1, 19 *sāntir āpas tad adbhīḥ sāntyā śamayati*; 3, 8, 2, 10; 4, 4, 3, 13; 9, 1, 2, 2; 9, 2, 1, 19; 9, 4, 4, 13; 12, 4, 1, 5 etc.; AiB. 7, 5, 2; 8, 7, 1; PB. 8, 7, 8; TS. 3, 3, 4, 3; by touching water – the Waters being healing and medicine – one produces healing and medicine in the sacrifice (KB. 3, 9 (3, 7, 21); 3, 10 (3, 8, 35) etc.).

11. See § 12 above.

12. See, e.g., also MS. 3, 11, 2: 141, 7 etc.; TB. 2, 6, 11, 1; 2, 6, 14, 1; 2 etc.; cf. also RV. 10, 64, 9.

13. See, e.g., RV. 10, 9, 8; AVŚ. 2, 7, 1; 6, 124, 2; 7, 112, 1; 8, 7, 3; 12, 2, 40; 14, 2, 45; 16, 1, 10; 18, 3, 11; VS. 6, 17.

14. See also RV. 10, 30, 12; AVŚ. 19, 43, 7; TS. 2, 6, 8, 7; ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 7; 11, 5, 4, 5; 13, 8, 1, 9.

15. Compare also prayers such as AVŚ. 6, 23, 3; 8, 2, 14; 14, 1, 40; 19, 2, 1 ff.

38. Now, the attribution of the above functions and properties to the waters was, generally speaking, ultimately based on the practical experience of everyday life; or they were analogically inferred from daily practice. The wholesome qualities and the mighty and often immediate effect of water are so evident and important that their 'divinity' and indispensability are, always and everywhere, beyond dispute. These functions and characteristics were, however, primarily of practical and ritual consequence. Besides, the Vedic poets, 'philosophers' and ritualists constructed also a theory of the waters, which was to supply an acceptable explanation of their origin, their fundamental importance, their place in the more or less vaguely systematic whole consisting of deities and power concepts (*Daseinsmächte*), their distribution all over the universe, their inherent power and the various representations and homologies to which they gave rise. This theory – traces of which are already perceptible in the Rgveda – was founded on the almost universal belief in the existence of the primeval waters which precede every form and symbolize the universal sum of virtualities.

Whereas in R.V. 10, 46, 9 the Waters figure, beside Heaven and Earth, Tvaṣṭar and the Bhr̥guṣ, as the deities or divine powers that have produced Agni, the poets of 10, 91, 6 and 10, 121, 7 had no doubts about the exclusive 'fatherhood'¹⁶ of the Waters: "Verily when the fundamental (*bṛhatīh*)¹⁷ Waters moved, pregnant with the universe (*viśvam*) as embryo¹⁸, producing Agni, thence he was evolved, the sole life-principle (*asu*) of the gods ..."¹⁹ (also VS. 27, 25)¹⁹. According to ŚB. 6, 8, 2, 3 this All is produced from the waters (*adbhyo hidam sarvaṃ jāyate*; notice the use of the present tense suggesting the continuance of the process). In 6, 1, 3, 11 the waters are, in accordance with the frequent tendency to 'identify' a power-concept with the effect it produces, said to be (the) All (*sarvaḥ*), because the All (*sarvaṃ*) is produced from them²⁰. Indeed, in 11, 1, 6, 1 this (universe) is stated to have been, in the beginning, nothing but the Waters (*āpaḥ*), just unsteady waves (*salilam*, cf. 7, 1, 1, 14; also TS. 5, 6, 4, 2; 5, 7, 5, 3). And they are, and remain, the foundation of this All (*asya sarvasya pratiṣṭhā*, 4, 5, 2, 14; 6, 8, 2, 2; 12, 5, 2, 14)²¹. The author of R.V. 10, 82, 5 raises the question as to what

16. In both texts the verb *jan-* "to generate, procreate" is found, which is however also used to denote the production of lifeless things.

17. On *bṛhat* see J. Gonda, Notes on brahman, Utrecht 1950, p. 31 ff.

18. Cf. e.g., R.V. 3, 11, 6; 4, 11, 5; 6, 7, 4; AVŚ. 4, 2, 6 ff.

19. Compare also R.V. 1, 65, 4.

20. The author AiB. 2, 16, 1 explaining R.V. 10, 30, 12 declares the Waters to "be" all the deities (*sarvā devatāḥ*).

21. Compare also TS. 5, 1, 3, 1; ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 6; 8, 2, 2, 8; 10, 5, 4, 1; 3; 14; 11, 1, 6, 16; 12, 9, 2, 8. "Dans la cosmogonie, dans le mythe, dans le rituel, dans l'iconographie, les Eaux remplissent la même fonction, quelle que soit la structure des ensembles culturels dans lesquelles elles se trouvent: elles précèdent toute forme et supportent toute création" (Éliade, Traité, § 69, p. 168). Hence also AiB. 8, 7, 2; mythological variants (e.g., TS. 5, 5, 4, 1; 7, 1, 5, 1; ŚB. 10, 6, 5, 1) are left out of account here.

was the first or primordial germ which the primeval Waters, in which the gods were all resembled together (st. 6; TS. 4, 6, 2, 3), received; this unknown entity was, he says, beyond the heavens, beyond the earth, beyond the gods and the *asuras*²²; the answer is given in st. 6; it was the One (*ekam*) that was “fixed in the navel of the unborn” and on which all worlds (with their inhabitants) rest²³. In RV. 10, 121, 8 the waters are supposed to have conceived (been pregnant with) ability or adroitness (*dakṣa*)²⁴ and to have produced the sacrifice. In the variant of the above RV. 10, 121, 7 found in TS. 4, 1, 8, 5 f. the word *dakṣam* occurs also instead of “germ” (*garbham*), suggesting likewise that the waters bore (were pregnant with) ability.

From RV. 10, 111, 8 it may probably be inferred that the many waters that flow on the earth have their origin in the primeval waters: “A long period back (*dūram*) have, indeed, the first of those waters come that on Indra’s instigation²⁵ (now) are flowing. O Waters, where is your beginning, where your ground, where your centre or now your end?”²⁶ In 7, 34, 2 the flowing Waters listen to what the poet is saying, because they know the origin of heaven and earth: the implication no doubt is that the present waters are identical with the primeval Waters that existed before heaven and earth (cf. AVŚ. 8, 7, 3 *āpo āgram* “the Waters were the beginning”). The statement that the ocean is the Waters (ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 20; 12, 9, 2, 5) can hardly mean something else than that the water of the sea represents, is the natural continuation of, is essentially identical with, the primeval waters.

Water that is unsettled (ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 14) and is always of one and the same (formless) outward appearance (7, 1, 1, 15) cannot manifest itself in any particular form; it has to assume the form of its container or to adapt itself to its surroundings²⁷. On the other hand, the waters “give existence (being, *sat*) from non-existence” (TS. 2, 1, 5, 4): “What was vigorous, fresh (and fit for sacrifice, *medhyam*), sacred, true, real (really existent, *sat*) of them (of the waters) went away out (of the waters) and became *darbha* ((bunches of) sacrificial grass)” (6, 1, 1, 7).

39. Now, in the train of Vedic thought this characteristic feature of water is frequently made a starting-point in arguing aquatic nature or origin of a considerable variety of objects, concepts or phenomena. It is, in the opinion of these authors, not only sacrificial grass (see also ŚB. 7, 2, 3, 2), or plants,

22. See Geldner, RV. übers. III, p. 265.

23. For a translation of this hymn see also F. Edgerton, The beginnings of Indian philosophy, London 1965, p. 62 f.

24. A cosmic principle that came to be personified as Dakṣa; see also Renou, Études (see n. 54 to ch. IV above), p. 31 f. Successful sacrificing presupposes *dakṣa*.

25. On the occasion of the Vṛtra combat; cf., e.g., RV. 4, 17, 3; 4, 19, 2; 6, 30, 3.

26. Cf. also Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 183 ff.

27. Cf. RV. 7, 104, 8 (AVŚ. 8, 4, 8) “may (he) be reduced to nothing, like water which one has attempted to grasp with the fist”.

or victuals²⁸ that owe their origin to water or are (another form of) water (TB. 3, 3, 2, 1 *āpo vai darbhāḥ* “*darbha* grass-stems are water”); it is not only the sprinkling water used in sacrificing (*prokṣanyah*) that is ‘identified’ with the (cosmic) waters (AiB. 5, 28, 1, where the sacrificial post²⁹ is ‘identified’ with the sun, the sacrificial bed with the earth, the enclosing sticks with the quarters or regions of the universe; that means that the sacrificial ground is a replica of the universe); not only the *soma* juice that is declared to be the (cosmic) waters (ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 22; see also AiB. 1, 7, 10 *saumyā hy āpaḥ* “the waters have the nature of *soma*”; KB. 18, 8 (18, 5, 22 ff.)); it is not only the ‘identity’ of semen (*retas*) and (the cosmic) water(s) that is emphasized (PB. 8, 7, 9)³⁰. On the contrary, the waters are, far from being only a home for all the gods (*āpo vai sarveṣām devānām āyatanam*, ŚB. 14, 3, 2, 13³¹, no doubt with an implicit reference to the germinative nature of the waters), or from being their beloved or favourite (place of) manifestation (TB. 3, 2, 4, 2 *āpo vai devānām priyaṃ dhāma*³²; see also AiB. 2, 19, 3), also held to be their origin: the gods have been born or are descended from the waters (RV. 10, 63, 2; cf. 10, 82, 5 f. quoted above), and several times deities and waters are explicitly regarded as identical: “the waters are all the deities” (the deities in their entirety: *āpo vai sarvā devatāḥ*, TS. 2, 6, 8, 3; 5, 7, 9, 3; TB. 3, 2, 4, 3; 3, 3, 4, 5; 3, 7, 3, 4; 3, 9, 7, 5; AiB. 2, 16, 1; ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 15³³), “since water is the origin of the universe and of all the deities” (cf. TĀ. 10, 22, 1 *sarvā devatā āpaḥ*)³⁴. And the waters are in a similar way ‘identified’ with the vital breaths or, rather, vital principles (*prānāḥ* TB. 3, 2, 5, 2; PB. 9, 9, 4; TĀ., l.c.), with the lights (i.e. the heavenly bodies, the sun etc., TĀ., l.c.): according to KB. 25, 1, 3 the sun came into existence out of the waters. The author of ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 6 regards reality (*satyam*) as identical with the Waters, “for the Waters are *satyam*” (cf. however AiB. 3, 6, 4). In TB. 3, 7, 14, 1 the ‘worlds’ (*lokāḥ*) are stated to owe their fiery energy (*tejas*) and power of the senses (*indriyam*) to the Waters. According to PB. 7, 9, 20 cattle can, by ritual means, be created out of the Waters.

28. See above, § 37.

29. See Gonda, Aspects, p. 81 f.

30. Not, as Caland (Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, p. 181) has translated, “for the semen is a fluid”. The commentator rightly refers to the doctrine of the Taittirīyas and others: “the Waters are semen” (AiB. 1, 3, 3). Compare also Éliade, Traité, p. 169 referring to the Sumerian word *a* meaning “water” as well as “semen”. Cf. also ŚB. 10, 4, 5, 2.

31. For *āyatanam* “a place where one belongs or with which one is naturally associated” see Gonda, Āyatana, Adyar Library Bull. 33 (1969), p. 55 f. (= Selected Studies, Leiden 1975, II, p. 232 f.).

32. On this ‘concept’ see J. Gonda, The meaning of the Sanskrit term *dhāman*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967.

33. I need not insist on the ritual significance of these identifications; one instance may suffice (ŚB., l.c.): “The bowl is made of reed, for the birth-place of reed is in water, and the waters are all the deities; he thus consecrates him by means of all the deities”.

34. Dumont, in Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc. 92 (1948), p. 485.

40. In the present context it is of special interest that the Waters are also held to be 'identical' with some important ritual concepts. In TB. 3, 2, 4, 1 they are *śraddhā*, i.e. the firm belief in the efficacy of a rite³⁵ (cf. also AVŚ. 15, 7, 2 f.); in 3, 7, 7, 6 the consecration (*dīkṣā*), requiring, among other things, mantras such as "the Waters must wet him for life, for length of days ..." (e.g., ĀpŚ. 10, 5, 8; it accompanies the sprinkling of water on the patron of the sacrifice; the ceremony is to effect his rebirth; ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 16³⁶); in ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 24 it is stated that the Waters are *dharma* – notice the argumentation: "Whenever there is draught, then the stronger seizes upon the weaker" – ; as already observed, the sacrifice itself is according to RV. 10, 121, 8 produced by the Waters; the author of ŚB. 3, 8, 5, 1 is of the opinion that it is the Waters³⁷ – see also KB. 12, 1, 1 ff. "the Waters are sacrificial worship (*yajñah*); in that people come to the waters, they come to the sacrifice" (no doubt because both entities are considered to be germinative and creative).

41. Interestingly enough, the belief in the Prajāpati cosmogony did not fall to entail some modifications. In ŚB. 6, 1, 3, 1 it is the Creator God, the Puruṣa, who being alone in the beginning created, by means of austerity and 'asceticism' (*tapas*), the Waters out of himself. In 8, 2, 3, 13 both "first principles" are, however, made to coalesce: "Prajāpati Parameṣṭhin³⁸ is the Waters, for they are in the highest place" (no doubt a reference to the heavenly waters)³⁹. And in 6, 1, 1, 8 f. Puruṣa Prajāpati is related to have created, first, by means of *tapas* and a process of emanation, Brāhman⁴⁰ and then "he created (in the same way) the Waters out of the 'world' (sphere, *loka*) of Vāc, which (Vāc) was his"; according to 6, 3, 1, 9 these Waters went forth from the *loka* of Vāc. "She (Vāc) pervaded (*āpnot*) this All, that is why it (the water) is called water (*āpah*, 6, 1, 1, 9)"⁴¹. Vāc was, moreover, also exposed to the tendency to 'identify' the various aspects of the Highest. Whereas in RV. 10, 114, 8 Vāc is said to be as large as Brahman, the author of AiB. 4, 21, 1 declares that she "is" Brahman (*brahma vai vāc*).

35. On *śraddhā* see P. Hacker, in WZKSOA 7 (1963), p. 151 ff.; K.L. Seshagiri Rao, The concept of *śraddhā* (in the brāhmaṇas etc.), Thesis Harvard Univ. 1967; G.S. Pendse, The Vedic concept of *śraddhā*, Poona 1978.

36. On the *dīkṣā* in general see J. Gonda, Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, p. 350 ff. and compare Eliade, *Traité*, § 64 and 65.

37. Not, as Eggeling translated (Śat. Br. II, p. 214), "is water". Cf. also ŚB. 3, 9, 2, 1.

38. As to Parameṣṭhin see J. Gonda, Parameṣṭhin (to be published in JAOS 105).

39. The waters produced in the sky (mentioned TB. 3, 7, 12, 6) are the rain.

40. A place such as VS. 32, 1 can be left out of consideration.

41. Notice also the statement found in ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 16: "As long as there is water in the vital breaths (*prāṇāḥ*), so long (man) speaks with speech". – Inasmuch as a particular *anuṣṭubh* stanza – which is Vāc and Vāc is copulation – is recited while water is poured in the hands of the patron's wife, (because of that copulation) the god of rain emits the semen and procreates offspring (TB. 3, 3, 10, 3).

42. It was, moreover, also a Vedic belief that the germinative and creative power and potentialities of the primeval waters manifest themselves especially in fresh waters, wells⁴², sources, rain and flowing water: "When it has rained the waters are in the early morning happiness, welfare and medicine" (RV. 5, 53, 14); "we wish to pour out water from the well, which flows well" (10, 101, 5); "let the waters rain for you (objects, events) that continue your life" (*amṛtāni*, AVŚ. 8, 1, 5; AVP. 16, 1, 5; cf. also AVŚ. 7, 18, 2; 4, 15, 1 ff.); "the water of the rain is the divine, fundamental⁴³, all-soothing waters" (TS. 6, 1, 2, 2f., in my opinion, a reference to the primordial waters; cf. also 3, 1, 1, 2)⁴⁴. Even the water that flowed over when Indra had slain Vṛtra was regarded as pure; it is represented by the grasses of which the strainers used in sacrificing are made (ŚB. 1, 1, 3, 5; cf. 1, 3, 1, 3).

43. Proceeding now to discuss the several passages describing the preparation of the unction fluid which is supposed to contain the essence or juice (*rasa*) of the water (MS. 4, 3, 10: 49, 13) and is requisite for the *rājasūya* ritual (the royal consecration)⁴⁵, I draw, to begin with, attention to some remarkable facts. The White Yajurveda has the rite performed with seventeen kinds of water that is to be collected from different places and to be mixed (ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 3 ff.), the followers of the Black Yajurveda use sixteen kinds (MS. 2, 6, 7 and 8; 4, 3, 10-4, 4, 2; TS. 1, 8, 11 a; TB. 1, 7, 5, 5 etc.)⁴⁶. Among these waters that taken from the Sarasvatī (KŚ. 15, 4, 33) is either the first of the list (ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 3; TB. 1, 7, 5, 5; ĀpŚ. 18, 13, 1) or the last (BŚ. 12, 8: 97, 2)⁴⁷. That means that in both cases a place of honour is assigned to the water of the sacred river⁴⁸. Moreover, the formula prescribed in ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 3 (i.e. VS. 10, 1) and BS. 12, 8: 98, 1 to consecrate this water when it is taken is completely different from the other specific mantras: it refers to the mythical past, when the gods performed the rite for the first time and sprinkled Varuṇa and Mitra with "the honey-sweet, king-consecrating (*rājasvaḥ*) water"⁴⁹. Heesterman⁵⁰ was of the opinion that this

42. As to wells see ŚB. 8, 7, 3, 21; 9, 1, 2, 5. – For 'young water' procuring new life for the deceased in ancient Egypt see van der Leeuw, Religion, p. 59.

43. See above (RV. 10, 121, 7).

44. Compare also AiB. 8, 8, 3; 8, 17, 1; ŚB. 7, 2, 4, 2; 8, 2, 3, 5.

45. See J.C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht, 's-Gravenhage 1957, ch. X, p. 79 ff., esp. p. 81.

46. For 16 and 17 see also J. Gonda, Prajāpati's numbers. Vol. G. Tucci, Rome 1984.

47. In one text (VārŚ. 3, 3, 2) it is omitted.

48. For the first and the last place see J. Gonda, The structure of multipartite formulae in Vedic rites, Turin 1983, passim. For the last place in a procession as the place of honour (in modern India) see O. Herrenschmidt, Fêtes et castes, in the periodical L'Homme, 22, Paris 1982, p. 46.

49. For these gods see also Heesterman, op. cit., ch. XI (the preparation of the royal sacrificer).

50. Heesterman, op. cit., p. 81.

mantra, judged by its contents, refers rather to all the waters together than specifically to that of the Sarasvatī. I would prefer to say that this formula, when taken by itself, refers to the primeval cosmic Waters which are believed to be represented by the sacred river, because it is only natural that the gods whilst performing a rite in the primeval period were supposed to have used this mythical water. This did not exclude the possibility of its repeated use as a general formula (MS. 2, 6, 8: 68, 9; KS. 15, 6: 213, 7; ĀpŚ. 18, 13, 19) consecrating each of the successive acts: all the waters taken represent, in some way or other, the cosmic waters, although, as we have seen, the potentialities of the primeval waters are especially manifest in fresh water such as that of wells (ĀpŚ. 6), flowing water (7) etc. Notice that MŚ. 9, 1, 2, 35 uses the mantra “O divine waters, descendant (*napāt*) of the Waters, thou art givers of kingship” (MS. 2, 6, 7: 67, 18; cf. HŚ. 13, 5, 11) as the formula for the Sarasvatī, although MS. clearly intends it to be a general mantra. The ritual practice was capable of variation.

44. Moreover, in explanation of the fact that water is scooped up from the Sarasvatī the author of TB. 1, 7, 5, 5 observes that this river is the back (*prsthā*), i. e. the surface or top of the waters and that by using its water one makes the royal sacrificer the “top” of his equals. Of still greater interest is the statement in MS. 4, 3, 10: 49, 17: “The Sarasvatī is the *viśuvat* (of the waters); the waters are related to the Sarasvatī; in that he (the patron) is consecrated with (waters) related to the Sarasvatī, he becomes the *viśuvat*”. The word *viśuvat* generally denotes “an object or concept which has or shares both sides equally, which is in the middle, is central” and hence also “the zenith” or “vertex”. Here it seems to combine both ‘meanings’, viz. “centre” and “zenith, vertex”. The Sarasvatī is stated to be the summit of all the waters as well as the central element present in them. As such it surpasses and at the same time encompasses or unifies them so as to form a whole⁵¹. If we follow Heesterman in adducing the opinion recorded at BŚ. 23, 14: 172, 16 that the libation into the Sarasvatī water should be made inaudibly – the White Yajurveda even omits mentioning this libation – as an argument in favour of the supposition that the Vārāha-Śrautasūtra did not leave out the Sarasvatī by mistake, it may indeed be inferred that this river is here regarded as something *aniruktam*. *Aniruktam* means being indefinite⁵² or indefinable, being something that cannot be definitely understood, which may imply being transcendent; a god whose name is not pronounced is *aniruktam* just as a mantra (e.g. TB. 1, 3, 8, 5) in which the name of a deity is not shown clearly or left unmentioned. This quality is at ŚB. 8, 7, 3, 12 ascribed to the moving air (Vāyu), at 9, 3, 1, 9 to the vital

51. See also Heesterman, op. cit., p. 81 f. Compare ŚB. 12, 2, 3, 6 on the *viśuvat* as the central day of a *soma* ceremony of a year’s duration: it is the trunk (body) of the year, the months being its limbs.

52. Cf., e.g., ŚB. 9, 4, 3, 10.

principles (*prānāḥ*), and very often to Prajāpati⁵³; at ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 38 it is explicitly attributed to *sarvam*, the All, Totality, which, as stated in 6, 1, 3, 11, is the waters, from which all this universe comes into being.

According to Sāyaṇa on ŚB. 1, 6, 1, 20 Prajāpati is *anirukta*, because he represents all the deities⁵⁴. The stanza RV. 10, 30, 12⁵⁵ addressed to “the Waters” and mentioning the name of Sarasvatī, is in KB. 11, 4 (11, 3, 4 ff.) regarded as *anirukta*, because it is not addressed to one particular deity, “the waters being all the deities”. Now this stanza is in AiB. 2, 16, 4 said to be speech (*vāc*). In this connexion it is also interesting to notice that, while TS. 1, 8, 11 a mentions only 15 formulae, the author of TB. 1, 7, 5, 5, which belongs to the same tradition, prescribes the use of 16 mantras, the 16th being that which belongs to the water of the Sarasvatī. Now the All or Totality (*idaṃ sarvam*) is often said to be sixteenfold (e.g. ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 13; 13, 5, 1, 15)⁵⁶, or the number 16 is believed to be characteristic of the Totality (10, 4, 1, 16 f.). Prajāpati is the All or Totality (e.g. 4, 5, 7, 2) and is accordingly characterized by this number (VS. 8, 36; ŚB. 7, 2, 2, 17 etc.). But the 16th can also be regarded as the so-called *dhruva* that is the “fixed” part of a sixteenfold whole which is not manifested, while the other parts of that whole are manifested as well as transitory or of a temporary nature. By virtue of this character the *dhruva* not only exceeds but also encompasses a fifteen-partite group of entities, and expresses the idea of the whole or of a total including the constituent parts. The author of TB. 1, 7, 5, 5 continues: “He offers oblations with 16 (mantras), he takes (water) with 16. These amount to 32. The *anuṣṭubh* (metre) has 32 syllables. The *anuṣṭubh* is *vāc*” – a well-known ‘identification’: KB. 27, 1 (27, 2, 4); ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 2; 3, 1, 4, 21; 8, 5, 2, 5; 8, 7, 3, 21; 9, 5, 2, 8 – , “all the sacred texts of the Vedic hymns” (*sarvāṇi chandāṃsi*)⁵⁷. So he (the officiant) consecrates him (the sacrificer, his patron) by means of ‘speech’ (*vāc*), by means of all the metric texts of the Veda”. As to *vāc*, it should be observed that in the section of the ŚB. which deals with the unction fluid Sarasvatī is explicitly called Vāc: 5, 3, 4, 3, after informing the reader that the Sarasvatī water should be drawn first the author says: “Sarasvatī is Vāc; it is with Vāc that he sprinkles (consecrates) him”. And in 5, 3, 4, 25 the fact that no libation is offered on the water from that river (23) is explained by Sarasvatī’s identity with Vāc: “the oblation (ghee), being a ‘thunderbolt’ would injure Vāc”. One might recall the opinion expressed in MS. 4, 3, 9: 49, 8 (with reference to the *sautrāmaṇī*): “... with Vāc they sprinkle (consecrate) him whom they consecrate. Sarasvatī is Vāc. The waters belong to Sarasvatī. In that he is consecrated

53. J. Gonda, Some notes on Prajāpatir aniruktaḥ, to be published in Münch. S.S. 1985.

54. *prajāpateḥ sakaladevatāsamaṣṭyātmakatvena ayam asāv iti niruktum asākyatvād aniruktatvam*.

55. See § 37 above, and Gonda, Morning litany, p. 34 f.

56. I refer to Gonda, Change and continuity, p. 120 f.

57. Because all the metres are sometimes (see AiB. 4, 3; KB. 27, 1 (27, 2, 8); cf. 27, 3 (27, 5, 5 ff.)) converted into *anuṣṭubhs*.

(*sūyate*) with water belonging to the Sarasvatī he is consecrated with so much as is Vāc". Although it is of course unknown when, by whom, and on what occasion this 'identification' was introduced in the *rājasūya* ritual – which in the present form is certainly not primitive – its repeated occurrence shows that it was considered important.

In connexion with Sarasvatī's particular place in the *rājasūya* ritual it may be remembered that in the *praūgaśāstra*, where she is the last of the seven deities invoked or eulogized, she likewise occupies a special position. Just as the Sarasvatī is sometimes omitted in the unction fluid of the former ritual, the preliminary stanza belonging to her triplet may be left out in the latter (KB. 14, 5 (14, 6, 14))⁵⁸. In neither use she finds herself completely on a par with the other members of the pantheon that are concerned in the rite. May it be tentatively suggested that these facts should not be disconnected from, or are another reminiscence of, the belief that Sarasvatī represents the primeval waters? Do they find their explanation in some customary observance? Was there, especially at the end of a series or cycle⁵⁹, for a limited time, a want of or desire for an interruption of the normal proceedings, a deviation from the rules, an adumbration of the possibility of a temporary return to the state of virtuality?

45. With regard to the origin of the speculations concerning the mutual relations between the (primeval or cosmic) Waters, and especially Sarasvatī, with Vāc and the belief in the 'identity' of this river and the sacral word, attention may now be invited to the following relevant information derived from different sources. In the celebration of Vāc, RV. 10, 125, in which this goddess, Speech or the Word, describes her nature, functions, and influence, she prides herself on supporting Varuṇa-and-Mitra, Indra-and-Agni and other gods; on bringing wealth to the sacrificer, to the one who presses *soma*; on assuming various forms; on enabling men to eat food, to see, to breathe; on favouring and assisting those whom she loves, and so on. In st. 7 she claims to have had the Waters, the sea – that is, in all probability, the primeval waters⁶⁰ – as the womb from which she has been born (*māma yónir apsv̄ antáḥ samudré*); from this beginning she spread herself all over the (inhabited) world⁶¹. This conception is no more strange than the

58. See Gonda, *The praūgaśāstra*, p. 3 f. etc.

59. See M. Gaborieau, *Les fêtes, le temps et l'espace*, *L'Homme* 22, 3 (1982), p. 11 ff.

60. For *samudra* see Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 122 ff.

61. I am tempted to regard RV. 1, 164, 42 as a parallel, stating the same idea with other words: "out of this (sea, mentioned before) flows the imperishable, i.e. speech; upon that everything subsists" (cf. *kṣarati* in 1, 164, 42 and *vī tiṣṭhe* in 10, 125, 7; *úpa jīvati* in 1, 164, 42 and *úpa kṣiyanti* in 10, 125, 4). As to the meaning of *akṣara* see H. Oldenberg, in *ZDMG* 63, p. 293 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 309 ff.); W. Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda*, A.K.M., Leipzig 1924, s.v.; L. Renou, *Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrit*, II, Paris 1942, p. 1 f.; the same, *E.V.P.* XIII, p. 138; cf., e.g., RV. 7, 15, 9.

doctrine expounded in RV. 10, 190, 1 f. according to which the year has had the same origin. It may be doubted, if the view of the river Sarasvatī presented in Mbh. 9, 41, 29 ff. has reached back to the earlier Vedic period: here she is described as taking her rise from Grandfather's lake (*pitāmahasya sarasaḥ*)⁶² and, filling the whole universe with her waters, she is, *inter alia*, 'identified' with Vāṇī (Speech) so as to enable men to study (the Veda). If it were allowed to combine this place with RV. 10, 125, 7, it might perhaps be a plausible conclusion that the fact that both the sacred river and (sacral) speech were believed to have originated in the (primeval) waters had already at an early moment convinced Vedic thinkers of their identity. However, the very view of the origin of speech expressed in RV. 10, 125, 7 may, – also without contemporaneous corroboration – in all probability be regarded as an important starting-point of the conviction that Sarasvatī "is" Vāc, since the ultimate origin of the sacred river in the primeval waters was self-evident.

It cannot, on the other hand, be said with certainty, whether the above view of the origin of Vāc was subscribed to outside a limited circle of poets and thinkers. Places are not wanting that seem to point to another origin of Vāc, to a process of invention, to a deliberate creation of speech by (the) gods or ṛṣīs (cf. RV. 1, 164, 10; 1, 46, 5; 8, 100, 11; 10, 71, 1; 10, 71, 2 "those possessed of *dhī*"⁶³ have, by means of *manas*, created *vāc*"))⁶⁴. Moreover, the ṛgvedic Vāc, whilst competing with Viśvakarman, Puruṣa and others for the highest status, is devoid of any mythology or anthropomorphic quality⁶⁵. This became different when in the post-Vedic period Vāc had entered into relations with Prajāpati. Then, however, the primeval Waters or Sarasvatī take no part in the events. According to the sāmavedic tradition handed down in PB. 20, 14, 2 and JB. 2, 244, *vāc*, the Sacral Word, was Prajāpati's only own (*svam*), when in the beginning (*agre*)⁶⁶ he was alone here. He emitted (*vyasṛjata*) it and it pervaded the whole universe (*idaṃ sarvaṃ vibhavanty ait*) rising upwards as a continuous stream of water. By means of this (*vāc*) Prajāpati then created the tripartite universe: he cut off three sounds which became the earth, the intermediate region and the heavens. The commentator on PB., l.c., observes that the tripartite universe consists of words (names) and objects. In another version (ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 8 ff.; cf. 6, 3, 1, 9) mention of which has already been made⁶⁷, the waters

62. For a (primaeval) central ocean in which all rivers of the world have their origin see U. Harva, Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker, Folklore Fellows Communications 125, Helsinki 1938, p. 85.

63. For *dhī* see § 33, for *manas* § 26.

64. Cf. Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 229; Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 5; 90; Mbh. 12, 224, 55 *vāg utsṛṣṭā svayambhuvā*. RV. 10, 81, 7 can be left out of account.

65. W. Norman Brown, The creative role of the goddess Vāc in the Ṛgveda, Volume F.B.J. Kuiper, The Hague 1968, p. 393 ff.; Jeanine Miller, The Vedas, London 1974, p. 62 ff.

66. On this term see J. Gonda, In the beginning, ABORI 63 (1982), p. 43 ff.

67. See § 41 above.

are not absent, however. Prajāpati, after having emitted (*asṛjata*) by means of *tapas* Bráhmaṇ, i.e. the triple Veda, which became the foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) to him and to this All, produced (likewise by way of emanation, *asṛjata*) the Waters out of the sphere of Vāc – which is no doubt identical with the threefold Veda – who was his. Anyhow, these passages attest to a wrestling with the problems connected with the primordality of the Waters – which are elsewhere (see ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 1) regarded as preceding Prajāpati ‘in point of time’ – and of the Word – i.e. in the first place the Veda – as well as with their mutual relation. From the historical point of view they appear to reflect the replacement, in the speculations of the Vedic authorities, of the prehistoric primeval waters by the postulate concerning the eternity of the Word.

46. So the transformation of the river goddess Sarasvatī into Sarasvati Vāc, or rather the process of splitting leading to the origin and development of a divine figure representing the sacral word beside the river deity of the same name⁶⁸, appears to be a more complicated affair than those who have, in course of time, suggested various simple solutions of the problem would make us believe. There is no doubt that the deity Sarasvatī-Vāc owes its existence to the more or less contemporaneous existence and combined development of a number of beliefs, doctrines, associations, ‘identifications’ and interpretations that converged to the same result. There were Sarasvatī’s association with the ritual goddesses Iḍā and Bhāratī, her identification with the cow which was associated with Vāc, the relations of the cow and the goddess with vision or inspiration (*dhi*), the belief that the primeval Waters were the source of Vāc. It is not possible completely to co-ordinate the various relevant facts, even less to discover the stages of one single historical development.

It would, however, seem worth noticing that thanks to the many relevant data supplied by the Vedic literature we can gain a more satisfactory insight into the origin and development of the goddess who has sometimes been regarded as the counterpart of the Greek Pallas Athene and the Roman Minerva. As to Athene there is no reasonable doubt that she originally was a tutelary goddess belonging to the pre-Hellenic Mycenaean period⁶⁹, but her ‘origin’ is shrouded in mystery. Although she had a decided association with water, the old theory that she originally was a water goddess has wisely been discarded, because it rested largely on a very uncertain interpretation of her epithet Tritogeneia, the first part of which has hitherto defied any attempt at explanation. The Italian goddess Minerva, who is regularly identified with her, is held to be native, but there is no trace of her cult before the VIth

68. “Sarasvatī as a river and as a deity”, Nirukta 2, 23; BD. 2, 135 f.

69. M.P. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion, Lund 1950, p. 417 ff.

century B.C. and about her 'origin' we are in the dark. The history of both goddesses, Athene and Minerva, reaches back into the prehistoric period and cannot therefore be elucidated by means of literary sources. One should not, on the other hand, overlook the differences between Sarasvatī and these two figures. Although especially in the post-Vedic period the Indian goddess seems at first sight to perform similar or corresponding functions, she was not a patroness of handicraft, skill and war who ultimately became a personification of wisdom.

VI. Pūṣan in the Ṛgveda¹

47. Pūṣan, according to Keith² “a curious and enigmatic figure”, has often been regarded as essentially or primarily a solar god and by other scholars as either a pastoral deity or else, in some way or other, a representative of both types of divine power. Those who emphasized the solar aspect³ were more or less consciously guided by the antiquated hypothesis that the belief in divine beings had as a rule originated in a personification of the powers of nature and were therefore not always unbiased. Whether or not they admitted that the evidence afforded by the texts does not show clearly that Pūṣan represents a phenomenon of nature, they attached much importance to post-Vedic data (Yāska, Nir. 7, 9 etc.⁴), were inclined to interpret some of his characteristics in the light of a solar mythology⁵ and are indisposed to doubt the correctness of the usual translation of the frequent obscure epithet which is exclusively his, *āghṛṇi*, viz. “glowing with heat”⁶, a typical ṛgvedic word which perhaps was completely conventional⁷. Besides, not all arguments adduced⁸ in favour of the solar explanation are altogether cogent. That, for instance, the same words – “he sees all the worlds (and, or, their inhabitants (*bhuvanā*))

1. This chapter includes also the eleven sāmavedic passages which refer to Pūṣan.
2. Keith, Religion and philosophy, p. 106.
3. e.g., Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 848; Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 35 ff.; Keith, op. cit., p. 107 f.; Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, II², p. 332; Bhattacharjī, Theogony, p. 186, 211; J.C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 205; see also S.D. Atkins, Pūṣan in the Rig-veda, Princeton Univ. 1941; the same, in JAOS 67, p. 274 ff. (on the Sāmaveda, p. 274 f.); S. Kramrisch, in JAOS 81, p. 104 ff. made an attempt to explain Pūṣan as an aspect of Agni.
4. See also Nir. 12, 16 *yad rasmiṣaṃ puṣyati tat pūṣā bhavati* and Bṛhaddevatā 2, 63 “... Pūṣan, dispelling the darkness with his rays”.
5. See, e.g., Macdonell, op. cit., p. 37, al. 2.
6. For a discussion of this word see J. Gonda, Epithets in the Ṛgveda, 's-Gravenhage 1959, p. 110 f.; Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 103.
7. Cf. also Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 236, n. 4, and see BD. 3, 95 f.
8. See, e.g., Grassmann, l.cit., Macdonell, l.cit., and Keith, l.cit.

distinctly (individually) and completely (collectively)” – are used in connexion with Pūṣan (ṚV. 3, 62, 9) and Agni (10, 187, 4) is no valid argument, first, because they occur also in 10, 158, 4 with the persons speaking as their subject who are praying for the preservation of their eyesight, and secondly, because, as observed by Renou⁹, 10, 187 is an “emprunt à des formules antérieures”. The compound *sampas-* is in the Rgveda regularly used to express the idea of “taking a comprehensive view of, surveying, seeing at the same time” and in two cases the object is a herd of cattle (3, 31, 10; 10, 117, 8), in 10, 139, 1 all the worlds (and, or) their inhabitants (*bhuvanāni*), Pūṣan, the herdsman, being the subject!; in 10, 125, 6, with the same object, Soma is the subject; in 6, 58, 2 the verb *saṃcaks-* is used to express the same idea: Pūṣan watching the cattle and placed (appointed) in the whole inhabited world surveys it, not, it would appear to me, as the sun but as the herdsman of the world¹⁰.

It is true that in 1, 89, 5 Pūṣan is described as “the ruler (*īśānam*), the lord of all things moving and stationary” and in 7, 66, 15 the same words (without *īśānam*) are applied to Sūrya, who in 1, 115, 1 is called the soul (*ātmā*) and in 7, 60, 2 “the herdsman of the stationary and moving (world)”. But is the Sun for that reason a pastoral god? or Pūṣan a solar god? Variants of the same expression occur in 7, 32, 22 where Indra is eulogized and 7, 101, 6 where the *ātman* of all things moving and stationary is said to be in Parjanya. – In ṚV. 2, 40, 4 it is not explicitly said that Pūṣan makes his abode in heaven and Soma in the one who dwells on the earth and in the atmosphere; the poet deals with both gods, but does not mention their names. In any case, Soma is 9, 86, 33 called “Lord of the Heavens” and 9, 85, 9 described as having mounted that high region, whereas Pūṣan may be meant by the one who is on the earth – the main field of the god’s activities – and in the atmosphere: in 10, 65, 1 f. he is one of the deities that fill that province of the universe.

The *sūkta* ṚV. 2, 40, dedicated to the divine pair Soma-and-Pūṣan, ascribes, on the one hand, common deeds and qualities to both gods and, on the other hand, distinguishes between their natures and peculiarities. As far as I am able to see the poet does not depict a “contrast between moon and sun”¹¹. Nor can the supposition be substantiated that the alliance of these two gods was due to “an endeavour to increase the importance of the rustic solar god (Pūṣan) by coupling him with a member of the Vedic triad of ‘greats’”¹². It is true that in st. 2 this pair of gods is described as having eliminated the unpleasant darkness, but this activity is expected from Soma alone in 9, 9, 7, and in both passages “darkness” (*tamāṃsi*) may stand for

9. Renou. E.V.P. XIV, p. 33.

10. For ṚV. 2, 40, 5 stating that Pūṣan moves onward surveying the inhabited world see Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 351.

11. Thus Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda*, p. 24.

12. I refer to Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 349.

“ritual¹³ or mental or spiritual” obscurity. Lüders¹⁴, following Sāyaṇa, takes st. 3 of this *sūkta* as describing the chariot of the sun; if that be the case, it should, however, not be forgotten that Soma *pavamāna* is not infrequently compared to the sun (e.g. 9, 10, 5; 9, 23, 2; 9, 63, 8) and in 9, 63, 9 puts the mares of the sun to the chariot. I cannot therefore subscribe to Hillebrandt’s opinion¹⁵ that in 2, 40 Pūṣan “is already a solar god (Sonnengott)”.

Why should the statement in 10, 139, 1 that Pūṣan, the herdsman, who watches the inhabited world (see above), goes at the instigation of (*prasave*) Savitar, the god “Stimulator” or “Impulse”, be considered decisive evidence? Is Savitar not the stimulator of everything (Yāska, Nir. 10, 31; cf. ṚV. 1, 157, 1)? Do not the rivers in 3, 33, 6 also flow at his instigation and is it not the desire of those who are speaking in 6, 71, 2 to be instigated or guided by that god? (cf. also 5, 82, 6; 1, 164, 26; 3, 54, 11; 5, 82, 9 etc.). Are not in 10, 64, 7 besides Pūṣan, Vāyu and Puram̐dhi “Bounty” stated to follow Savitar’s directions?; are they therefore brought into relation with the Sun? Nor do I see, why the passage 10, 17, 3 f. stating that Pūṣan, Agni and Savitar conduct – each of them in his own way – the deceased to different destinations should account for Pūṣan’s being a solar deity¹⁶.

48. This is not to say that there did not exist any relations between Pūṣan and Sūrya. The poet of 6, 58, 4 informs us that the god gave him to the sun-maiden Sūryā (for a husband)¹⁷. But apart from the fact that this does not prove Pūṣan’s identity with her father – I would rather think it to be an argument to the contrary – Sūryā is in ṚV. 10, 85 the bride of Soma and as the prototype of the human bride she is successively given to the Gandharva, Agni and a human bridegroom (st. 40 f.)¹⁸. Hillebrandt¹⁹ may have been right in supposing that ṚV. 6, 58, 4 is one of those references to a Pūṣan mythology which for lack of sufficient information cannot be reconstructed. One may of course speculate concerning Sūrya as a representative of the sun-beams which are welcomed by the god who presides over prosperity, growth, well-being and other aspects of *puṣṭi* – is not Uṣas, Dawn, who brings various precious gifts, among them cows, horses, wealth or food for men (5, 79, 4; 7, 75, 7; 7, 81, 5; 7, 77, 3; 7, 78, 4 etc.), disposes of objects of value (4, 52, 3), brings wealth (1, 48, 16 etc.) and new life (7, 80, 2), and takes care of the abodes of men (1, 123, 1) often

13. Renou, E.V.P. VIII, p. 58.

14. Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 690 f.; Sāyaṇa, on TB. 2, 8, 1, 5; for other interpretations see Geldner, RV. übers., I, p. 328; Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 127.

15. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, II², p. 332.

16. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 37. Cf. also J. Gonda, Loka, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 118 f.

17. According to Bergaigne, Religion védique, II, p. 428 and R. Pischel, Vedische Studien, I, Stuttgart 1889, p. 21 (less probably) as her son.

18. Cf. Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 300; Keith, op. cit., p. 115.

19. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, II, p. 330 f.

called the daughter of the sky (1, 48, 9 etc.)? – or concerning the possibility of a temporary matrimony of the polygamous Suryā with Pūṣan; that is to say, could not a member of the Bharadvāja family have inserted the name of his local or national god in the above series of her husbands?: are not also the Aśvins in whose chariot Suryā is travelling and going to her wedding (1, 34, 5; 1, 116, 17; 1, 117, 13; 5, 73, 5; 10, 85, 7 etc.) related to have possessed her (*sūryāvasū*, 7, 68, 3; cf. 1, 184, 3; 10, 85, 14)?²⁰

49. Pūṣan is often described as liberal (1, 138, 1; 8, 31, 11; 6, 58, 4) and expected to give abundantly (1, 42, 9; 1, 122, 5; 1, 138, 4) or to enable those speaking to acquire wealth (6, 52, 2; cf. 6, 48, 15; 6, 55, 3; 8, 4, 15; 18) or to win property (6, 54, 4; 6, 56, 5; cf. 1, 138, 4); to give plenty of food (1, 42, 9; cf. 4, 3, 7); to make his worshippers happy, prosperous and successful (*svasti*, 1, 89, 6; 6, 56, 6); it is hoped that his generosity will be *bhadrā* “pleasant, gracious and auspicious” (6, 58, 1). His riches and property, which he is of course expected to share with his worshippers, are praised (1, 89, 5; 6, 54, 8; 8, 4, 15); he is “a stream of wealth” (6, 55, 3) and “an abundance of goods” (*ibidem*). Hence his epithets *viśvasaubhaga* “bringing all prosperity” in 1, 42, 6, where it is followed by “make wealth easy to acquire for us”²¹; *janaśrī* “who is (brings) good fortune to men”²² in 6, 55, 6; *svastida* in 10, 17, 5 where he is implicitly besought to keep (our) energetic offspring undiminished (*sarvavīra*); fecundity was no doubt one of the objects of his concern because in 10, 26, 3 he is called “a bull” (or “vigorous male”, *vṛṣā*) and in 10, 85, 37 he is expected to escort the bride to the bridegroom with a view to sexual union. In 1, 138, 1 he is praised as one who is at hand with help (*antyūtim*) and is a bringer of restoration or refreshment (*mayobhavam*). He is invited to come and listen to a confidential communication (6, 48, 16). His friendship or, rather, companionship is commemorated (1, 138, 3; cf. 2; 6, 48, 18; 6, 56, 2), his benevolence (*sumati*), like Indra’s, a great help (6, 57, 5), his favour or assistance implored (1, 42, 5; 6, 48, 19); he resists adversaries and contemners (1, 138, 2). He is not a bellicose god, but once (6, 48, 19) a poet asks him to cast a

20. See also Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 47. As to the mysterious passage 6, 55, 4 and 5 where Pūṣan is the suitor of his mother (cf. Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 150) and the lover of his sister, is it necessary to consider it a reminiscence of Pūṣan’s solar nature (cf. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 35) or may it be regarded as evidence of an incest myth, in which the mother ‘symbolizes’ nature in its primordial state? (cf. M. Eliade, *Forgerons et alchimistes*, Paris 1956, p. 159 f.). – The words “Pūṣan, the son, chose (you, the Aśvins?) for fathers” (*putrāḥ pitārāu avṛṇīta pūṣā*) in 10, 85, 14 are enigmatic, nevertheless, they are another piece of evidence of the relations between Pūṣan and the Aśvins.

21. For other particulars concerning Pūṣan’s epithets see Gonda, *Epithets*, p. 107 ff.

22. Rather than “durch welchen die Leute zu Ehren kommen” (Geldner, R.V. übers. II, p. 158) or “lequel embellit les hommes” (Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 150). As to *śrī* see Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 176 ff.

gracious look upon himself and his company during the battles, a characteristic feature of a patron god. If the translation “whose giver is Pūṣan” of *pūṣarātayaḥ* in 1, 23, 8 (2, 41, 15) be right, even the gods are supposed to receive Pūṣan’s gifts, probably in the form of the offerings made of the milk, plants etc. which the worshippers have obtained through his intermediary²³. The poet of the difficult stanza 6, 58, 1²⁴, praising Pūṣan’s special liking for various forms or manifestations of *māyā* (that incomprehensible power which enables its mighty possessor to behave, to create or to do something which is beyond the powers and intelligence of man), states that the god is like the sky, (like) day and night which are different in outward appearance. If *pāda a* (*śukrām te anyād yajataṁ te anyāt*) is taken to be a prelude to the adjective *viśurūpe* in b and so to belong to day and night – notice that in 10, 160, 6 the epithet *yajata* is applied to the night which in 10, 127 is a goddess – there is no necessity to identify Pūṣan with the sun. This stanza appears in the Sāmaveda as 1, 75, where he seems to be regarded as a name for one of the aspects of Agni.

50. Special attention may be drawn to the characterizations “mighty lord of various manifestations of (re)generative power” (*inó vājānām pātīḥ*) in 10, 26, 7 and “the one who causes these to increase” (*vājānām vṛdhāḥ*) in 10, 26, 9²⁵ – the same or similar characteristics are Indra’s in 1, 29, 2; 6, 45, 10; 8, 24, 18; 8, 92, 3; 30, and Soma’s in 9, 31, 2 – ; the former is followed by “mighty companion (i.e. sharer of various manifestations) of prosperity, growth or a well-nourished condition (*ināḥ puṣtīnām sakhā*). As to *vāja*, the god is also given the epithet *vājapastya* “possessing or bestowing an abundance of²⁶ (re)generative power” (6, 58, 2) which in 9, 98, 12 characterizes Soma. In 6, 57, 1 the dual deity Indra-and-Pūṣan is invoked for companionship, for well-being and for the acquiring of *vāja* (*sakhyāya svastāye ... vājasātāye*). In 6, 54, 5 the god is expected to win or acquire on behalf of those who pray to him, *vāja*²⁷, to go after their cows and to take care of their horses. The poet of 6, 53, 10 asks for inspiration (*dhī*) which will resulting in a potent text lead to the acquisition of cows, horses and *vāja*.

51. That *puṣti* (see above) was a concern of Pūṣan’s appears also from the epithet *puṣṭimbhara* which is given to him in 4, 3, 7; Renou’s translation²⁸

23. In later times Pūṣan is believed to function as the distributor of portions (to the gods, *bhāgadugha*, ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 17).

24. See Atkins, Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda, p. 71 f.

25. Geldner, RV. übers. III, p. 163 translates “Herr (Mehr) der Gewinne”.

26. Originally “a house full of”?; see Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 111 (on RV. 9, 98, 12); Mayrhofer, Etym. Wörterbuch, II, p. 241 f. and *vājapastya* in TB. 3, 1, 2, 9 (on which see J. Wackernagel and A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, Nachträge zu Band I, Göttingen 1957, p. 64).

27. Neither Geldner’s (RV. übers. II, p. 158) “reichen Gewinn” nor Renou’s (E.V.P. XV, p. 143) “prix-de-victoire” will do.

28. Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 6; Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 420.

“porteur de prospérité” is preferable to Geldner’s “Nahrungsbringer” which renders the sense of the original only incompletely. In 10, 26, 7 (see above) he is also styled a “companion of prosperities” (*puṣṭinām sakhā*), that is “(a god) who brings various manifestations of prosperity with him”. It may be recalled that in 4, 16, 15 and 5, 10, 3 *puṣṭi* is coupled with an agreeable home, in the latter passage as a desideratum to be obtained from Agni and that in 4, 33, 2 the Ṛbhus are made responsible for the *puṣṭi* of the ṛṣi’s devout thought (*manā*)²⁹.

52. It is difficult to understand what exactly the poet of 6, 57 invoking the dual deity Indra-and-Pūṣan had in mind when in st. 4 he said that at the time that Indra made the great waters flow, Pūṣan was near by (*sacā*). Was he only close at hand, or was he Indra’s companion or assistant (*sahāyah*, *Sāyaṇa*), or was he of one mind? In any case he was already there in the beginning and he witnessed the origin of the rivers. In 6, 56, which unlike 6, 57, deals with Pūṣan alone, Indra is related to have killed the inimical powers described as manifestations of Vṛtra with Pūṣan as an allied companion (st. 2). Although this stanza is no doubt to add to Pūṣan’s glory, it nevertheless suggests that he had an important part in these events and that his co-operation was decisive in making the world habitable. I think we are justified in venturing the supposition that 6, 17, 11 points in the same direction: together with Viṣṇu, Indra’s well-known ally, Pūṣan made the *soma* stream in order to make the destruction of Vṛtra possible. It would seem that the significance of 4, 57, 7 has not always been understood. In this ‘Flursegen’, a hymn for successful agriculture, Indra and Pūṣan are represented as co-operating in the production of a good furrow: “Indra must make a deep furrow; Pūṣan must extend (*ānu yachatu*) it”. In the variant AVŚ. 3, 17, 4 the latter is represented as the protector of the furrow. I cannot escape the conviction that, while Indra shows the agricultural side³⁰ of his nature, Pūṣan is believed to continue Indra’s creative activities and to function as a bringer of prosperity and a well-nourished condition³¹; remember the epithet *puṣṭimbhara* in ṚV. 4, 3, 7 and his title “Lord of (the blessing that consists in) food” (*iśās pātih*, 6, 58, 4)³². I have therefore my doubts about the correctness of Hillebrandt’s³³ opinion that Pūṣan could only be styled Indra’s brother (6, 55, 5), because the fundamental concept for which both gods stood had faded from the poet’s mind³⁴. It is of course

29. See, e.g., also 1, 166, 8; 6, 63, 6; 8, 48, 6; 8, 59, 7 *prajām puṣṭim bhūtim* “offspring, prosperity, well-being”.

30. Cf. J.J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich and Leipzig 1937, II, p. 170; III, p. 332 etc. See, e.g., TS. 1, 8, 7, 1.

31. Rather than “as a god of the way, knowing the right direction” (Atkins, Pūṣan in the Ṛgveda, p. 24).

32. Cf. Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 341.

33. Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

34. For Pūṣan as Indra’s companion, when the latter is drinking *soma* see 1, 82, 6 (cf. 9, 109, 1); for Indra eating Pūṣan’s food (*karambha*, 6, 57, 2) see 3, 52, 7.

possible, and even probable that this association of Indra and Pūṣan has only in the course of time resulted from the desire to bring the god of a smaller community into relation with the mythology of the great all-Aryan figure of Indra. Then the poets and in the first place the Bharadvājas of *maṇḍala* VI, who seem to have been most devoted to Pūṣan³⁵, would hardly have been successful in their effort, if they had attributed to their god qualities that were completely foreign to his nature³⁶.

The invocation addressed to the dual deity Indra-and-Pūṣan (“with respect to the acquisition of *vāja*”) in RV. 7, 35, 1 is, together with the other components of this *sūkta*, also found in AVŚ. 19, 10 (st. 1), a text for well-being; as VS. 36, 11 it is one of the prayers used at a *pravargya* ceremony.

In RVKh. 5, 2, 2 (cf. AVŚ. 6, 67, 1 f.), which is intended to confound the enemy and to be successful in war, Indra and Pūṣan co-operate in surrounding the route or obstructing the passage.

RV. 6, 57, 1 occurs in the Sāmaveda as 1, 202 and st. 4 as 1, 148 in passages addressed to Indra.

53. The other god with whom Pūṣan combines so as to constitute a dual deity is Soma (RV. 2, 40)³⁷. In other hymns of the R̥gveda connexions between these two gods are not entirely absent: in 1, 23, 13 ff. Pūṣan is represented as finding and bringing the *soma* and thus mediating the *soma* sacrifice and the *dakṣiṇā*; in 9, 101, 7 the *soma* draught is said to flow (as) Pūṣan, Rayi (Property, Wealth), and Bhaga; the absence of a particle for “like” suggests identification³⁸, and the stanza seems to show that Pūṣan’s character and function were regarded as not widely different from those of the three other gods. In the last stanza of the poem (6) the author makes an attempt to typify both members of the duality by means of epithets. Pūṣan is called “(a god) who promotes or brings about everything (*viśvaminva*)³⁹”, an epithet which he has in common with some other important, creative, productive or beneficent divine powers: Ródasī (see 1, 76, 2, besought to assist Agni; 3, 38, 8; 10, 67, 11), Heaven-and Earth (9, 81, 5); Indra (7, 28, 1, invoked); the Maruts (5, 60, 8); Uṣas (5, 80, 2 described as awakening men); Agni (3, 20, 3; cf. 2, 5, 2); the eulogy (1, 61, 4); the divine Doors (of the sacrificial place, in the *āp̄rī* hymn 10, 110, 5; cf. 1, 13, 6; 1, 142, 6; 3, 4, 5 etc.), and which in all probability characterizes him as a god who within the field of his activities and the sphere of his worshippers’ interests keeps things going. The other deity, Soma, styled “Lord of property” (*rayipatiḥ*,

35. E.D. Perry, Notes on the Vedic deity Pūṣan, in Vol. H. Drisler, New York 1894, p. 241; Hillebrandt, op. cit., p. 329 f.

36. For another case of co-operation of these two gods see RV. 3, 57, 2; for an amalgamation of interests 1, 90, 4 (cf. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 21).

37. For a discussion of details see Gonda, Dual deities, p. 349 ff.

38. Rightly Geldner “dieser flieszt als Pūṣan ...” (RV. übers., III, p. 105).

39. “Der Allbewegende” (Geldner, RV. übers., I, p. 328); “qui met tout en mouvement” (Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 73).

st. 6) is requested to give possessions⁴⁰: remember that Soma, as the sap of the plants, the essence of all life-bearing liquids and humidity, is the stream of life and vital power that permeates the whole universe, which is his realm and in which he manifests his power in the cyclically recurrent process of growth⁴¹. In other stanzas the poet ascribes some common deeds and qualities to both gods: in st. 1 they have, he says, created possessions (wealth) as well as heaven and earth and have been born as herdsmen of the universe. Now, Soma alone is constantly said to bestow wealth, food, etc. (9, 45, 3; 9, 52, 1 etc.), and Pūṣan is “a lord of wealth”, 6, 54, 8; see above; creative activity is ascribed to Soma (also st. 5; 9, 97, 31; 41 etc.). Pūṣan is a herdsman and ‘surveyer’ (cf. st. 5)⁴². Both gods assisted Indra when he produced the boiled milk in the raw cows (st. 2). Since, however, both gods are (in st. 4) explicitly besought to give (to those reciting) an increase (or abundance, *poṣam*) of possessions consisting in many treasures and many head of cattle (reference to which is made in st. 1 and 6), it seems clear that Pūṣan is, no less than Soma, believed to be a promoter and dispenser of material comforts⁴³.

In connexion with Pūṣan’s association with Soma SV. 1, 2, 2, 1, 10 (1, 154), the only original sāmavedic stanza that contains the god’s name (*sōmah pūṣā ca cetatuḥ viśvāsām sukṣitīnām devatrā rathyōr hitā*), demands consideration. This stanza has given rise to various interpretations⁴⁴ to which I would tentatively add the following: “Soma and Pūṣan take notice of all good abodes (and their inhabitants), well disposed to (a pair of) charioteers”. Soma is in ṚV. 9, 66, 26 (cf. 9, 64, 10) and Pūṣan in 6, 55, 2⁴⁵ called “the best of charioteers”. Were they, as a pair, patron gods of the pair chariot-driver and chariot-fighter (cf. ṚV. 2, 39, 2; 7, 39, 1; 10, 59, 1)? In ṚV. 1, 91, 21 Soma is eulogized as a god who acquires a good abode (for his worshippers); that everything connected with his worshippers’ settlements was Pūṣan’s especial care accords very well with the picture the Ṛgveda allows us to form of his character⁴⁶. – As to Pūṣan and Soma, ṚV. 9, 109, 1 appears in the Sāmaveda as 1, 427; 9, 101, 7 as 1, 546; 9, 61, 9 as 2, 1083.

54. The stanza 6, 51, 11 is of special interest. The author entertains Indra, Pṛthivī, Pūṣan, Bhaga, Aditi and the five peoples to cause “our piece of land” (*kṣāma*, “ground”) to thrive, prosper or increase (*vardhan*), and to grant good protection, good assistance, good guidance, to guard them well and to be good herdsmen. Indra’s function needs no comment, the

40. Notice that there is a third deity: Aditi’s favour is implored.

41. See Gonda, *Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 62 ff.

42. See § 47 above.

43. The expression *amṛtasya nābhim* in 2, 40, 1 belongs to the Soma component (cf. 4, 58, 1).

44. See Atkins, in *JAOS* 67, p. 275.

45. See § 69 below.

46. Is Atkins, *op. cit.*, p. 274 right in saying that SV. 1, 154 throws no light upon Pūṣan’s character?

goddess Earth is in 5, 84, 1 praised because of her many (rivers on) sloping grounds, her regenerative power, the part she plays in the process of raining etc⁴⁷; Bhaga is the distributor of shares and wealth, the dispenser of gifts and as the god "Distribution" one of the deities that control human welfare⁴⁸, Aditi the goddess "Freedom", the mother of the gods, representing the boundless and unobstructed generative and life-preserving power of nature, worshipped also for the sake of stability⁴⁹ and for a safe and sound condition or salvation (*sarvatāti*, RV. 10, 100, 1 ff.); the five peoples are the human communities distributed over the earth, all the countries (and their inhabitants) in the four regions of the earth, the fifth or central place being occupied by one's own people⁵⁰. As a national god of a cultivated territory Pūṣan no doubt found himself in congenial society.

55. Attention must also be drawn to the other places where Pūṣan keeps other gods company. In 2, 31, 4 the poet enumerates Tvaṣṭar, the most skilful of gods, the creator of living and lifeless forms, who, (here and elsewhere) closely allied with the celestial females (*gnāh*), is chiefly mentioned with gods of cognate activity (Dhātar, Prajāpati, Savitar), Ilā⁵¹, Bhaga⁵², Bṛhaddivā⁵³, Ródasī (i.e. the two worlds, heaven and earth), Pūṣan, Puramdhi⁵⁴ and the two Aśvins. The twin gods who, as we have seen⁵⁵, are also mentioned together with Sarasvatī, are matutinal and succouring gods and divine physicians, who save those who are in distress of any kind. Cf. also 10, 125, 2 Soma, Tvaṣṭar, Pūṣan, Bhaga.

56. In the final stanza (24) of the Indra hymn 4, 30 Pūṣan is found together with Aryaman, a god of friendly nature who maintains connexions with marriage and family life, and with Bhaga; in 1, 14, 3 with the dual deity Indra-and-Vāyu, Bṛhaspati (a god with benevolent traits, the lord of *bṛh* or *brāhman* and the divine priest, but in 1, 18, 6 styled "lord of the dwelling" and Indra's friend; he blesses the worshipper with possessions (2, 23, 4 ff.), possesses all desirable things (7, 10, 4; 7, 97, 4) and increases

47. Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 166 (with references); H. Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen 1940, p. 751 ff.

48. See J. Gonda, *The Vedic gods Aṃśa and Bhaga*, in *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg*, I, *Acta Iranica*, Leiden 1975, p. 291 f.

49. J. Gonda, *The haviryajñāh somāh*, *Amsterdam Acad.* 1982, p. 88; in general, *Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 83 f.

50. I refer to J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, London 1970, p. 45.

51. See § 8 above.

52. See § 59 below.

53. A name or figure called mother (10, 64, 10) and mentioned together with Ilā, Rākā, and Sarasvatī (5, 41, 19?; 5, 42, 12). See A. Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, I, Paris 1878, p. 319; Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 52; Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 42.

54. See § 34 above.

55. See ch. II *passim*.

prosperity (1, 18, 2)), Mitra (a great god characterized by friendliness, benevolence, helpfulness, willingness to protect the worshipper, redressing activity, a god who keeps the manifestations of the Universal Order (*ṛta*) in the right condition, adjusts, restores, appeases and stabilizes⁵⁶), Agni (another benefactor and protector of his worshippers⁵⁷), Bhaga, the Maruts (the well-known shedders of rain); in 1, 186, 10 with the Aśvins, Viṣṇu (here said to be free from malevolence, often represented as Indra's friend and ally and also as beneficent (1, 156, 5), gracious or liberal (*mīlhuvas* 7, 40, 5) etc., epithets that are applicable to many gods), and Ṛbhukṣan (the chief of the Rbhus, minor gods who are often associated with Indra, who have acquired their high rank in consequence of their marvellous skill and are likewise besought for wealth, prosperity etc. (4, 33, 8; 4, 37, 5 etc.).

In 5, 41, 4 the following gods are related to have come down from the heavens: Trita – a god who is frequently, but only incidentally mentioned, being sometimes associated with Indra, the Maruts, Agni, or Soma, with whom he was connected as early as the Indo-Iranian period, and believed to have slain a demon – Vāta (Wind), Agni, Pūṣan and Bhaga, who is characterized as “being in possession of all nourishments”, in order to receive the offerings.

57. In the invitation addressed to some gods by the poet of 8, 27, 8 Indra is mentioned first: he is expected to come with the Maruts, followed by Viṣṇu, the Aśvins and Pūṣan; no particulars are mentioned. RVKh. 5, 4, 10 (= AiĀ. 4, 1, 10 etc.⁵⁸) addresses Agni, Viṣṇu, Indra, and Viṣṇu. – In 6, 50, 4 f. the Maruts, Rudra's sons, occupy the central place. It is the poet's hope that they will hear his prayer and come, together with the Vasus, Rodasī⁵⁹ and Pūṣan, when “we find ourselves in a more or less awkward situation (*ārbhe mahati vā hitāso bādhe*)”. – In a prayer for safety or protection (*śarma*) the poet of 10, 66, 5 enumerates the names of Sarasvat, Varuṇa, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Vāyu and the Aśvins. In 6, 48, 14 Pūṣan is compared to Indra because of his resourcefulness, to Varuṇa because of his *māyā* (i.e. that incomprehensive wisdom and power that enables its possessor to do or to create something which is beyond the powers and intelligence of men), to Aryaman because of his charming character and to Viṣṇu because he gives abundant food.

Mention may also be made of the Indra hymn 6, 24. In st. 5 this god is stated to be able to change the non-existent (or rather, the chaos, *asat*) into the existent (the cosmos, *sat*) and Mitra, Varuṇa and Pūṣan are expected to cross the wishes of the rival of the poet *cum suis*.

56. J. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972, especially ch. XI.

57. I refer to Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 97 f.

58. For this stanza found at the end of the so-called *mahānānī* verses see A.B. Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, Oxford 1909 (1969) p. 258 ff. and esp. 263, n. 8.

59. See § 55 above.

58. In 7, 35, 9 there are Aditi, the Maruts, Viṣṇu, Pūṣan, Vāyu⁶⁰ (the god of the moving air, sometimes especially the morning-wind, according to post-ṛgvedic texts omnipresent and always active, according to RV. 7, 90, 3 procreated for the sake of (the acquisition of) property, which he also gives (st. 6)), and a power called *bhavitram*, a hapax of uncertain meaning⁶¹, which may denote “a means or place of coming into existence” and stand for some aspect of the earth or the soil. As to Vāyu, this god is, remarkably enough, accompanied by Pūṣan in 7, 39, 2 which, whatever its exact meaning⁶², makes mention of a matutinal rite to which, if one sticks to the letter of the text, the latter is coming with the former’s team of draught-animals, although the poet probably wishes to say that they come together in Vāyu’s car for (the worshippers’) well-being (*vāyūḥ pūṣā svastāye niyútvan*). In 10, 26, 1 both performers of wonderful deeds (*dasrā*), the one with the *niyut* (team of horses), i.e. Vāyu, and the great (mighty, *mahinaḥ*) Pūṣan, are invoked for assistance. In st. 2 Pūṣan’s might is characterized as *vātāpyam*, which in my opinion here also means “having the wind as a friend”⁶³. Vāta is chiefly the wind as element and is, intelligibly enough, elsewhere only connected with Parjanya, the god of rain (*vātāparjanya*, RV. 10, 66, 10). Wind, Vāyu, is repeatedly said to be the god of the animals: he is their leader (SB. 4, 4, 1, 15); according to VS. 14, 30; TS. 4, 3, 10, 2; KS. 17, 5: 249, 2 etc. he is the god of the animals that live in the wilderness outside the villages, whereas Pūṣan is the god of the small animals (goats etc.); in 3, 1, 4, 2 he is again brought into relation with the cattle of the wilderness, but in the variant stanza AVŚ. 2, 34, 4 with the cattle of the village. He is also regarded as the favourite presence (*priyaṃ dhāma*) of cattle (TS. 5, 5, 1, 3) and as the protector of the trees (MS. 3, 9, 4: 120, 9)⁶⁴. It would appear to me that this close connexion with the wind is a help in establishing the view that Pūṣan was a god of that prosperity that depends on successful agriculture and cattle-breeding.

59. Another point of interest is Pūṣan’s comparatively frequent association with Bhaga⁶⁵ (see above) in whose company he is again in 7, 41, 1, a poem dedicated to that god who is together with the Aśvins, Pūṣan, Brahmaṇaspati and others called in the morning, and in 5, 46, 3: in a long enumeration of names Viṣṇu, Pūṣan, Brahmaṇaspati and Bhaga follow

60. See Bṛhaddevatā 2, 4 and A.A. Macdonell’s note, The Bṛhad-devatā attributed to Śaunaka, Cambridge 1904, p. 32.

61. Cf. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 96.

62. Cf. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 101.

63. On this word see Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 104, who denies that this is here its meaning, and XV, p. 152 translates it by “célèbre”; for other interpretations see Atkins, op. cit., p. 88.

64. For other particulars see Gonda, Dual deities, p. 227 and The meaning of the Sanskrit term dhāman, Amsterdam Academy 1967, p. 71.

65. Cf. also BD. 2, 10.

each other without interruption, in 7, 44, 1 ... Bhaga, Indra, Viṣṇu, Pūṣan, Brahmanaspati; in 10, 35, 11 Bṛhaspati, Pūṣan, the Aśvins, Bhaga; and in 9, 61, 9 Bhaga, Vāyu and Pūṣan, whereas in 6, 21, 9 it reads Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Agni, Puramdhi⁶⁶ ... But the poet of 7, 36, 8 compares Pūṣan to “an energetic person on the sacrificial ground” (*vidathyaṃ ... vīram*⁶⁷), mentioning his name after that of “the great” Aramati (tentatively, “the Right mental disposition”⁶⁸, a female deity that in 7, 1, 6; 7, 34, 21 receives the epithet *vasūyu* “striving for or aiming at possessions” and to all appearance represents an aspect or element of the sacrificial ritual), and before those of Bhaga, here called a favourer of inspiration (*dhi*⁶⁹), and of Puramdhi who significantly enough, being the last receives the epithet *ratiṣāc* “granting gifts or favours”. This homogeneous group of four deities is, in this order, wanted on account of⁷⁰ the winning of re-generative power (*sātau vājam*⁷¹). That means that Pūṣan, like the other gods, is expected to cooperate in granting the person speaking the *vāja* which he is hoping to acquire by ritual means. In 8, 31, 11 f. Pūṣan, Rayi (Property, Wealth: notice this combination and the following *svasti*), Bhaga and Aramati are requested to approach for the sake of well-being. The last *pāda* of this stanza “a broad journey to well-being” (*urīr ādhvā svastāye*) may be taken to be an apposition to the preceding group of names. As already noticed by Renou⁷², Pūṣan and *rayi* (or Rayi) are more than once found in the same context: see 9, 101, 7⁷³; 6, 55, 2, where Pūṣan is requested to give property; 6, 54, 8. In 9, 109, 1 the same draught is asked to flow for Indra, Mitra, Pūṣan and Bhaga. In 10, 125, 2 Vāc, who is represented as speaking, mentions that she bears Soma, Tvaṣṭar, Pūṣan and Bhaga and gives wealth to the man who offers oblations⁷⁴.

60. Special attention must be paid to those cases in which Sarasvatī's name appears in such an enumeration⁷⁵. In st. 2 of RV. 5, 46, which is addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ, the author expresses the wish that the Aśvins,

66. See § 34 above.

67. See J. Gonda, Vedic vidātha, in Modern India: Heritage and Achievement, Vol. Gh.D. Birla, Pilani 1977, p. 419; otherwise Geldner, RV. übers., III, p. 218; Renou, E.V.P.; P. Thieme, Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda, Halle S. 1949, p. 49; Atkins, op. cit., p. 75 f.

68. “La pensée conforme (aux exigences sacrales)”, Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 52 (RV. 7, 1, 6); 138; for other references see Atkins, op. cit., p. 76.

69. See § 33 ff. above.

70. Rather than “on the occasion of ...”

71. On the construction Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 99; for his translation “en sorte que (nous obtenions) le gain du prix-de-victoire” see E.V.P. V, p. 42. The words *sātau vājam* may belong to Puramdhi alone.

72. Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 118.

73. See § 53 and compare § 49.

74. On Vāc see ch. III.

75. In 10, 66, 5 Sarasvat and Pūṣan occur in the same stanza.

Rudra (the divine representative of the unconquered and uncultivated, dangerous and unreliable nature) with the divine females (*gnāh*), Pūṣan, Bhaga and Sarasvatī may be pleased. True, the *sūkta* is “banal”⁷⁶, but the repeated occurrence of Pūṣan (also in st. 3 and 5) and Bhaga (also in st. 3 and 6) is worth noticing. Here as well as in 9, 81, 4 Sarasvatī’s name is – with the epithet “easy to be guided” (*suyamā*) – the last of the series⁷⁷, in the latter stanza Pūṣan’s the first; between them are (Soma) Pavamāna, Mitra, Varuṇa, again Bṛhaspatī, the Maruts, Vāyu and the Aśvins as well as Tvaṣṭar (the skilful shaper of forms) and Savitar. The names of Pūṣan and Sarasvatī occur at the end of the first line of R̥V. 10, 65, 1 in company with most of the above gods, the Sun, Soma and Rudra.

R̥V. 6, 61 is dedicated to Sarasvatī whose favour or assistance is implored (st. 6, *ava*), which in all probability is expected to consist of (re)generative power and the food etc. produced by it, because the poet addresses her with *vājēṣu vājīni*⁷⁸ “possessed of *vāja* with regard to manifestations of *vāja*”. In the same stanza the goddess is besought “to open a path to acquisition (*sanī*) like Pūṣan”, who obviously is regarded as the god who superintends the acquisition of property.

After having besought Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī and the seven rivers to hear his prayer, the author of 8, 54, 4 (= *vālakhilya* 6, 4) adds the names of the Waters, Wind (Vāta), the Mountains, the Tree and Earth. Is this combination a matter of the merest chance or was it the poet’s intention to conjure up a vision of the natural scenery of the region in which the gods Pūṣan and Sarasvatī were best known and most adored? As to the presence of Viṣṇu, with regard to the core and essence of his nature there is much truth in the traditional belief that he primarily represents that pervasiveness and spatial extensiveness which are essential to the maintenance of the cosmos and beneficial to the interests of men and gods⁷⁹. He is the god “in whose wide strides all inhabitants of the world dwell” (1, 154, 2), the mighty protector who has traversed the earthly regions in order to make life and free scope for movement possible (1, 155, 4), the god who helps the Aryan, especially the sacrificer (1, 156, 5). Remember that in the long supplication for happiness R̥V. 7, 35, 1-13, in which many gods are named in pairs, Viṣṇu and Pūṣan are coupled in st. 9, Sarasvatī and the visions (*dhībhih*) in 11⁸⁰. The deities invoked in st. 10 are Savitar, the Dawns, Parjanya and the Lord of the Soil (*ksétrasya pātih*) who, just like the deities

76. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 72.

77. As to the last place see J. Gonda, On the structure of multipartite formulae in Vedic rites and ceremonies, Public. di Indol. Taur. XIV, Turin 1982, *passim*.

78. I cannot subscribe to Geldner’s (R̥V. übers., II, p. 163) “du Siegerin in den Wettkämpfen”; cf. 7, 95, 6 where this scholar (*op. cit.*, II, p. 265) translates “Belohnungen” and see Gonda, Aspects, p. 48 ff.

79. Gonda, Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, p. 5 f.

80. See § 33 ff.

that precede Pūṣan in st. 8 and 9 (Mountains, Rivers, Waters, etc.) and those that follow Sarasvatī in st. 10, are very well suited for keeping them company.

61. RV. 1, 89 is interesting in that, though dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ, it mentions these gods only in st. 7, which mainly deals with the Maruts and in the additional stanza 10, which states the identity of Aditi and the heavens, the intermediate space, etc. Imploring the blessings and benevolence of the gods in general⁸¹ the poet, after having enumerated, in st. 3, Bhaga, Mitra, Aditi ... Soma, the Aśvins, adds a special prayer to Sarasvatī: ‘‘that the beneficent (*subhagā*) goddess may allot to us refreshment (restoration of vigour, *mayas*)’’. There follows (st. 4) the wish that ‘‘the Wind (Vāta) may procure (by blowing) to us that refreshing (*mayobhu*) medicine (meant in st. 3)’’, and that Mother Earth and Father Heaven may give it us also. The following prayer is addressed to Pūṣan (st. 5), the only god to arrest the poet’s attention for a whole stanza (and part of the following one). He is eulogized as the lord of the moving and immovable world and besought to protect and increase the possessions of those speaking. After, in st. 6, Indra, Pūṣan – here called ‘‘the all-possessing one’’ (*viśvavedāḥ*)⁸² –, Tārksya⁸³ and Bṛhaspati have been implored to grant well-being (*svasti*), st. 7 is for the most part addressed to the Maruts, who receive many epithets. Notice that it is the triad of cosmic deities, Vāta, Pṛthivī and Dyaus, that form the link between Sarasvatī and Pūṣan. – In the Sāmaveda RV. 1, 89, 6 is as 2, 1875 the third in a group of three stanzas, the first of which is addressed to Indra (10, 180, 2) and the second (1, 89, 8) to the gods in general.

In this connexion it is worth observing that the stanzas 7 and 8 (cf. VS. 34, 42) of 6, 49, which is addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ, are, respectively, prayers to Sarasvatī and Pūṣan. The order in which and the reasons for which these gods are invoked do not seem to be completely insignificant. The poet prays to Sarasvatī for inspiration (*dhī*) and to Pūṣan, who has found (*ānaṭ*, taken cognizance of?) the poem (*arka*) which has resulted from it, and is requested to make every *dhī* perfect and successful. Sarasvatī is besought for protection, Pūṣan for an increase in possessions (cattle?)⁸⁴ which is only possible if the owners are effectively protected. If this view of the passage is in the main correct, the two gods are represented as co-operating; Pūṣan is, so to say, supposed to bring the beneficial effects of Sarasvatī’s activities to a state of completion.

81. Cf. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 17.

82. See also VS. 10, 9; ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 35 with the explanation ‘‘Pūṣan represents cattle’’, also in later texts (Nṛsimhap. Up. 1 etc.).

83. I refer to Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 149.

84. For *śurudh*, of disputed meaning and etymology, see P. Thieme, in ZDMG 95, p. 338 ff. (= Kleine Schriften, p. 42 ff.); Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 82; Mayrhofer, Etym. Wörterbuch, III, p. 359.

62. Whether or not the order in which the stanzas dealing with Pūṣan (3-6) and those addressed to Sarasvatī and the Waters (7-10) are found in R.V. 10, 17 is original (see below), is an open question. However, this *sūkta* is not homogeneous whole; although it belongs to the Yama hymns (10, 10-19), only two of the four practically independent sections of which it consists – viz. the two under discussion – have any explicit reference to the deceased; the stanzas 1-2 and 11-13 do not relate to the contents of the central sections. These appear, moreover, in the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā in different places and contexts: the Pūṣan stanzas correspond with AVŚ. 18, 2, 54 and 55; 7, 9, 2 and 1 (where they are followed by R.V. 6, 54, 9 and 10 so as to form a complete Pūṣan hymn), the three Sarasvatī stanzas are AVŚ. 18, 1, 41-43; st. 10 is found as AVŚ. 6, 51, 2; the final stanza 14 as AVŚ. 18, 3, 56. The supposition seems warranted that once both sections existed as more or less independent groups of stanzas. If so, two points should engage our attention, viz. the fact that here they follow each other immediately, which makes the conclusion almost inevitable that the ‘editor’ wished to connect these gods and the ideas they stand for. Indeed they are both described as occupying themselves exceptionally with the destiny of the deceased; Pūṣan – probably owing to his familiarity with the paths⁸⁵ and in his capacity of the herdsman of the inhabited world (*bhūvanasya gopāh*) – conducts the dead, protects them on the distant way and is expected to entrust them to the Fathers, who in st. 8 are said to accompany and in st. 9 to invoke Sarasvatī. Although their tasks are well defined – the goddess is entreated to be watchful of the physical and material interests of the worshippers – the existence of a form of co-operation cannot be denied. Unlike Hillebrandt⁸⁶, who defended the thesis that Sarasvatī is the river that is believed to flow between the earth and the realm of the dead – what about her above activities and her riding in a chariot (st. 8) and sitting down on the *barhis*? – I would stick to the opinion that she is the local or ‘national’ goddess, who is here represented as championing the cause of protecting those alive against the dreadful influence exerted by the deceased person and by the *pitṛmedha* ceremony, which these stanzas are, as AVŚ. 18, 1, 41 ff., to accompany in Kauś. 81, 39. Hence also the addition of st. 10, which, being addressed to the Waters, belongs to a purification rite (e.g. ŚŚ. 4, 15, 4; ĀpŚ. 10, 6, 1).

63. More than once special emphasis has been laid upon the fact that Pūṣan “is essentially concerned with safefaring on paths”⁸⁷, that he is a guardian of roads, knows them, and makes them safe by removing the wolf

85. Cf. st. 5 a and Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 35; 165; Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II², p. 331 f.

86. Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, II, p. 339 f.

87. Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 106; see especially, Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 234 ff.; Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 35 f.

and the waylayer. However, in a large majority of the passages that deal with paths, roads and journeys they are not Pūṣan's concern. When forms of the stem *path-* are used to denote what we would regard as an immaterial way it is another deity that knows (5, 1, 11), has made (1, 24, 8), discovered (10, 14, 1), or takes (10, 2, 7) it. Thus Agni has gone through the infinite space by the straightest paths (1, 58, 1), going to the gods (1, 127, 6) conducting them to the sacrifice (5, 1, 11), or bringing the offerings to them (10, 52, 1); Savitar is besought to approach by his former paths that are free from dust and well made (1, 35, 11), Indra to come by a thousand ways that abound in *vāja* (6, 18, 11); Varuṇa has made a broad way for the sun (1, 24, 8; 7, 87, 1) and it is Uṣas who in the morning makes it accessible enabling Sūrya to start his daily journey (1, 113, 16; 7, 71, 1; cf. 8, 7, 8). Besides, there are the ways of the wind (10, 168, 3) or those of the flying magician (10, 87, 6) and there is the path of the sacrifice which is conveyed by the Ādityas (1, 41, 5), the way to heaven (5, 47, 6), and the Maruts are able to travel, just like the birds, by any way (1, 87, 2; cf. also 7, 39, 3). According to 1, 83, 5 Atharvan, a mythical priest of high rank, was the first to extend the paths (between the world of men and the regions of the gods) by means of sacrifices. And it was Indra who made them agreeable for Manu (the first man) to walk upon (10, 73, 7). The word *path-* is often used metaphorically, and then also the names of other deities are not infrequently found in the same passage: in 8, 31, 11 Pūṣan himself is called "a wide path to well-being"; the Ṛbhvas are requested to take notice of or to care for the (right) ways (methods) of sacrificing (4, 37, 7; cf. 6, 16, 3 mentioning Agni; 7, 73, 3; cf. 3, 54, 2), Soma is invited to prepare the way for every new *sūkta* (9, 9, 8) or to guide those speaking along the straightest way (1, 91, 1); Agni is besought to seek, on behalf of those speaking, well-being and wealth by paths that are unendangered (literally, free from wolves⁸⁸, 6, 4, 8); mention is made of Indra's ways and of those of the Ādityas with guards that cannot be deceived and prosper in good progress (8, 18, 2). Then there are the ways (beds) of the rivers which were dug out by Indra (2, 13, 5; 2, 15, 3; cf. 6, 17, 12; 2, 30, 2).

64. Pūṣan, on the other hand, is always concerned with ways for human beings and almost always with concrete ways (for an exception see 10, 17, 2). Whereas the Aśvins endeavoured to find a way (*gātum*) for Manu in the mythical past (1, 112, 16), Pūṣan concentrates his attention on the ways known to the poets and their contemporaries. While in 1, 90, 4 he is one of the four deities said to think about ways with a view to a prosperous course or journey – the others being Indra, the Maruts, and Bhaga who are often his associates in other contexts – he is elsewhere stated to be the lord of the road (6, 53, 1) requested to conduct the eulogist to a liberal patron (1 f.) and to make the paths lead to the acquisition of *vāja* (*vājasātaye*, 4) – notice

88. The word for "wolf" is often used in a wider sense.

however that in 5, 10, 1 Agni's favour is implored for the same purpose (*rātsi vājāya pānthām*) and in 8, 5, 9 the Aśvins are requested to render the ways accessible with a view to acquisition –; when a householder is about to undertake a journey he should sacrifice to Pūṣan the Pathmaker (i.e. the deity that clears or prepares a way) to the accompaniment of this *sūkta* 6, 53 (ŚŚ. 3, 4, 9; 3, 5, 7; cf. ĀśvG. 3, 7, 8) – notice that the title Pathmaker is also given to Agni, when a sacrifice is due to him in case a carriage has passed between the ritual fires (ŚŚ. 3, 4, 2); in ṚgVidh. 2, 23, 1 this *sūkta* should be muttered by one who wishes to increase his property. Pūṣan is also invoked to protect from harm the man who obeys the rule of conduct (*vratam*⁸⁹) enjoined by him (6, 54, 9, also VS. 34, 41, cf. ŚB. 13, 4, 1, 15); this *sūkta* should consecrate the offerings of a man who wishes to find something lost or has strayed from his path (ĀśvG. 3, 7, 9). For Pūṣan is also invoked to grant an auspicious path (*pathyām yā svastīh*). In 1, 42, 1 ff. he is besought to remove such dangers as the wolf and the waylayers from the path, to make valuable objects (for which one undertakes a journey) easy to be acquired, to make the path good and easy to pass, and to lead to good pasture (cf. 1, 190, 6 in a *sūkta* addressed to Bṛhaspati). The *sūkta* 1, 42 should be recited by a householder who is going out on a long or dangerous journey (ĀśvG. 3, 7, 10). According to the author of 5, 81, 5 Savitar is Pūṣan because of his marches. For Pūṣan, the guardian of every path (6, 49, 8), watches over the ways like a waylayer and knows where to find hidden treasures (8, 29, 6). He is accordingly also requested to make those addressing him meet a person who is able to trace lost or stolen cattle (6, 54, 1 f.). However, Pūṣan is a god and as such he is not confined to those few places where is or is to be a path. At the end of a passage (10, 17, 3 ff.) in which he is entreated to conduct and protect a man under dreadful circumstances on a risky journey – viz. to guide someone who has died to his Fathers⁹⁰ (cf. 1, 38, 5; 10, 14, 7) – the poet, after asserting that Pūṣan knows these regions very well, reminds his audience of his divinity: he has been born on the farthest way of all ways in heaven and earth between which he goes up and down⁹¹, knowing (how to act in each individual case). Hence the god's ability to help many worshippers in different places.

65. We may therefore be reasonably sure that Pūṣan was not the (only) god of the ways, the one divine figure that had made and cleared all ways in the world and was believed to be their guardian. In order to understand the god's interest in the ways of his worshippers and in the travellers who went along the paths and tracks of the north-west of India one should for a moment realize the character of the country into which the Aryans had penetrated and in which they were settling. Roads that made good going

89. For *vratam* see J. Gonda, Divine fatherhood in the Veda, (forthcoming), n. 106.

90. See § 62.

91. See also 6, 58, 3 (cf. Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 114). RV. 10, 17, 6 and 5 = AVŚ. 7, 9, 1 and 2.

were almost non-existent and if they did exist, they were unsafe or even infested by waylayers and other enemies (cf. 1, 42, 2; 1, 105, 18; 6, 53, 4; 8, 24, 27). The tracks in the forests or jungles, difficult and few in number, were always subject to unexpected changes of direction, obstruction or disappearance caused by vegetation or roaming animals: remember prayers such as 1, 41, 4; 2, 27, 6 for ways that make good going and are thornless, a metaphor based on the emotive similarity between a well-known and unpleasant physical sensation and a certain mental state or existential situation (see also 6, 69, 1). Any plot of land that was reclaimed, any piece of the jungle that was cleared had to be made accessible by a road or path (cf. 1, 25, 16). At night and at unseasonable times one was, outside the village, completely disorientated and lost. References to darkness and to a strong aversion to, or the impossibility of, walking in the dark are comparatively frequent: 1, 105, 11 praises the rays of the sun, which scare the wolf from the way; 5, 80, 2 f. Uṣas makes the going easy and opens the paths in order to make them easy of access (cf. 1, 113, 16); the Aśvins are able to travel without the light of the sun (4, 45, 6); at 10, 53, 6 the advice is given to take the paths that are illuminated. The first prayer of 3, 54, 21 may be a metaphor: "Let (our) path always make good going and abounding in food and drink", it is, however, quite possible to take it literally, the more so as the following prayers can hardly be understood otherwise: "let the useful plants be filled with 'honey' (juice, sweetness); may I acquire a seat of wealth with many head of cattle. May, O Agni, Bhaga always be my friend!".

66. It would therefore seem that the poets who make mention of Pūṣan's concern with the ways consider only one aspect of a more comprehensive function. The paths were an object of his special attention, because the opening or clearing, making free and passable, upkeep and safety of the roads and tracks were an important element of the reclamation of the land, in which the Aryans were settling; reliable ways were essential to any successful attempt at making it habitable and securing the settlers against 'wolves' and enemies.

Words often widen their meaning when they pass from a narrower to a wider sphere and complete phrases are, under the influence of historical, social and psychological causes and background, liable to secondary, metaphorical use. Thus Pūṣan is in 10, 92, 13 expected to protect (or favour, promote, *pra ... avatu*) the course (going, moving, *caratham*) of his worshippers that they may successfully try to obtain (the objects they desire), and in 6, 75, 10 to protect them against *duritam*, a word for "a bad course" that came to mean also "danger, discomfort, evil". When in 10, 59 several gods are invoked to give back the body, vital spirits etc. of those present, Pūṣan is besought to give well-being, but this concept is indicated by the phrase *pathyā yā svastīḥ* "the path that is well-being" (st. 7)⁹².

92. Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 135.

67. The epithet *vimuco napāt* "descendant, i.e. representative, of deliverance" applied to Pūṣan in 1, 42, 1 and 6, 55, 1 has puzzled many scholars and given occasion to various improbable explanations⁹³, such as "Sohn der Einkehr"⁹⁴ or, "son of unyoking" (after safe arrival), "son of the crossroads"⁹⁵, or the god who delivers the sun or the moon from the demon eclipse⁹⁶. Other translations were less infelicitous: "Sohn der Befreiung, d.h. Befreier, Erretter"⁹⁷; "deliverer"⁹⁸; "son of deliverance"⁹⁹; "son of release, i.e. the releaser par excellence"¹⁰⁰. However, we should not, in my opinion, say that Pūṣan is a representative¹⁰¹ (*napāt*) of deliverance, because he is a knower of paths or the conductor on the way to the next world. There is some truth in Atkins' conclusion that one should not attempt to assign to this epithet a meaning which is too specific and too restricted. Yet the texts themselves seem to guide us to a solution of the problem. In 1, 42, 1 Pūṣan is entreated to go the whole length of a way and, receiving the above epithet, to deliver (those concerned) from distress (*sám pūṣann ádhvanas tira vṛ ámho vimuco napāt*). There follows the request to drive away the vicious wolf (st. 2). Now, the word *adhvan* denotes "a way which leads to a goal, a comparatively safe and passable road, a journey" and in ritual contexts the way which conveys the sacrificer to the heavenly regions¹⁰². When, in st. 8 of the same hymn, the poet asks Pūṣan to lead (those concerned) to a good pasture and to avoid new sorrow during the journey he uses the same word. So does the author of 8, 31, 11 stating that, when Pūṣan protects the road and Bhaga makes his presence felt, the broad way towards well-being is open (*urúr ádhvā svastáye*). Compare also 6, 50, 5. The general meaning of *amhas* – translatable by the English "distress" which can denote a mental state ("sorrow, affliction"), a physical state ("extreme discomfort") and external conditions such as misery or poverty – and of the words of the same family¹⁰³ must have been, primarily that of spatial narrowness in a general

93. For a survey see Atkins, Pūṣan in the Rig-veda, p. 33; J. Gonda, Some observations on ... 'gods' and 'powers' in the Veda, 's-Gravenhage 1957, p. 52 f.; Epithets, p. 107 f.
94. Petersburg Dictionary, VI, 1142, s.v., adding "der zur glücklichen Ankunft hilft"; Oldenberg, Rel. des Veda, p. 235, n. 5; Geldner, RV. übers., I, p. 52; cf. II, p. 158; II, p. 290 "Ausspanner" (*vimocana*); Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 139; 149 "fils du Détellement".
95. N. Flensburg, Bidrag till Rigvedas Mytologi. Om Guden Pūṣan i Rigveda, Lund Univ. Årsskrift, N.F. 1, 5, 4, Lund 1909, p. 37.
96. Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 848.
97. Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 1289.
98. R.T.H. Griffith, The hymns of the Rigveda translated, ³I, Benares 1920, p. 58; 625.
99. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 35.
100. M. Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharva-Veda, S.B.E. 42, Oxford 1897, ³Delhi 1967, p. 526.
101. Gonda, Some observations, p. 52 and passim.
102. See the references in J. Gonda, Adhvará and adhvarýú, in Vishveshvaranand Indol. Journal 3 (1965), p. 165 f. (= Selected Studies, Leiden 1975, II, p. 88 f.).
103. See J. Gonda, The Vedic concept of *amhas*, IJ 1 (1957), p. 33 ff. (= S.S. II, p. 58 ff.); on Pūṣan p. 37 (62).

sense of the word including lack of 'Lebensraum', also the feeling of physical and psychical oppression experienced by those who find themselves (literally or metaphorically) in a limited space. It may safely be assumed that the lamentation in 6, 47, 20 "O gods, we have come to a region without pieces of pasture land and places of residence (*agavyūti kṣétram āganma*); the earth, however wide it may be, has become straitened (distressing, *añhūraṇā*)" gives a faithful impression of the feelings of many Aryan settlers.

The verb in 1, 42, 1 to be supplied after *vi* is no doubt *muñca*, or even haplogogically *mucaḥ* (*muco*). The combination of *vi-muc-* and *aṃhas* is not rare in the R̥gveda: 4, 12, 6 (= 10, 126, 8) the gods are besought "to deliver us from distress" (*asmān muñcalā vī āmhah*); in 2, 28, 6 Varuṇa is requested to detach the *aṃhas* from the person speaking like the rope from the calf; in 8, 24, 27 Indra is praised because he frees from the bear, from *aṃhas*; in 10, 97, 15 the medicinal plants are expected to deliver those speaking from *aṃhas*¹⁰⁴. In 10, 63, 9 Indra is called an *aṃhomuc*, "one who delivers from distress". The epithet *vimocana* which in 8, 4, 15 and 16 is given to Pūṣan is in a similar way to be translated, not by "unharnessing" (Monier-Williams) or "Ausspanner" (Geldner), but by "deliverer, rescuer" which is in perfect harmony with the context, a prayer for wealth and cattle. – It may be noticed that 1, 42, 1 the above words are followed by the prayer "do accompany¹⁰⁵ us, preceding (leading the way)" – remember that when in 10, 17, 4 the god is besought to conduct the deceased person he is supposed to go before him; in 6, 55, 1 there follows the request to be the speakers' "charioteer of the Universal Order" (*rathīr ṛtāsya*).

68. It has more than once¹⁰⁶ been observed that Pūṣan – the lord of the small animals (VS. 14, 30) – is the god who preserves cattle, who keeps them from falling into pits (6, 54, 7) and finds them when lost, bringing them home unhurt (6, 54, 10). Pūṣan is indeed besought to follow the cows of those who sacrifice to him (st. 5 f., cf. 4), to watch over their horses (coursers, *arvant*) and, in the same stanza, to acquire the (re)generative power called *vāja*¹⁰⁷. None of the animals will be lost, none be injured when Pūṣan takes care of them (st. 7). He uses a goad to direct cattle straight (6, 53, 9). Yet at closer inspection it appears that this activity of the god is linked up with and takes place in relation to other tasks and functions. Just as in 6, 54, 5 it is the poet's hope that Pūṣan will also procure *vāja*, it is according to 6, 58, 2 a fact that he is not only a keeper of herds (guardian of cattle, *paśupā*) but also possessed of *vāja* (which does not only depend on

104. As to the verb, compare also 1, 24, 13; 5, 2, 7; 6, 50, 10; 7, 71, 5; 7, 88, 7; 10, 97, 16.

105. Otherwise J. Narten, *Die sigmatischen Aoriste im Veda*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 262.

106. See, e.g., Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 36; Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, p. 327; 330; Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 107.

107. See § 3, n. 32.

cows) and a god who, placed in (over) the inhabited world observes (and supervises) it, his weapon (the goad) in hand. The poet of 6, 53, 10 asks Pūṣan to give cows, horses and *vāja*, the ṛṣi of 1, 90, 5 prays to him for cows and well-being, the author of 8, 4, 18 for a stock of cattle and assistance, the ṛṣi of 6, 54, who pays much attention to Pūṣan's herdsmanhood, does not forget to state that the man who sacrifices to this god will be the first to find objects of value (st. 4), to call him "lord of wealth" (8), to ask the god to protect him and his company from harm or injury (9) and to expect him to bring back what has been lost (10)¹⁰⁸: remember that in 6, 48, 15 he is requested to make the worshipper find hidden treasures. The ṛṣi of 10, 26 states, it is true, that the god is concerned about cattle of which he sprinkles the pen (st. 3), but in none of the eight other stanzas he reverts to them, whereas the poet has good hopes that the mighty god will help him, give *vāja* and prosperity (cf. st. 7; 9) and hear his invocation.

It is, moreover, worth noticing that in the Pūṣan hymns other than 6, 54 there are only a few brief references to the god's pastoral interests. In 1, 42, 8 mention is made of good pasturage to which it is hoped he will conduct (those speaking), not of cows or herds; in 6, 53, 9 his goad, which is now required to stimulate men into a display of liberality, is given the epithet *paśusādhanī* "leading cattle"; in 6, 58, 2 we find the word *paśupāh* (see above). No references whatever are found in 1, 138; 6, 48, 14-19; 6, 55; 6, 56; 6, 57. Occasional mentions of the god's function in other hymns praise the protection he provides (2, 1, 6), his munificence (1, 181, 9), his wealth and liberality (8, 4, 15), his ability to move or to infuse strength into everything (*viśvaminva*, 2, 40, 6), or to rule men (1, 106, 4), his greatness and strength or energy (1, 138, 1; cf. 5, 43, 9), his inventiveness (6, 48, 14), his gifts (5, 43, 9; 5, 49, 3), the state of well-being to which he brings his worshippers (5, 51, 11), but not his pastoral activities¹⁰⁹. In 10, 139, 1 he is called a cowherd (*gopā*), but figures as a knowing or intelligent surveyer of all the worlds (and their inhabitants).

I am therefore drawn to the conclusion that those who are inclined to emphasize Pūṣan's bucolic or pastoral features so as to regard them as central, original or most characteristic¹¹⁰ have failed duly to appreciate the

108. In st. 10 Sāyaṇa supplies *godhanam* "herd of cows", Geldner, RV. übers. II, p. 158 "Vieh", Renou, E.V.P. p. 149 "le bétail"; it is not possible to demonstrate that they are wrong.

109. For an indirect reference to cows see 1, 90, 5.

110. See E. Siecke, Pūṣan. Studien zur Idee des Hirtengottes ..., Leipzig 1914; R.N. Dandekar, Pūṣan, the pastoral god of the Veda, in New Ind. Ant. 5 (1942); (see also n. 35 above). According to Flensburg, op. cit., the figure of Pūṣan developed out of an apotheosized herdsman-ideal to which became attached the general popular conception of the sun as the herdsman of the universe (cf. 1, 164, 31 = 10, 177, 3). Perry, Notes on the Vedic deity Pūṣan, considers him to be a pastoral personification of the sun. Cf. also Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth., 2II, p. 326; 332; H. von Glasenapp, Die Religionen Indiens, Stuttgart 1943, p. 69.

information conveyed by negative statements which, it would appear to me, falsify their hypothesis. Although I cannot subscribe to Macdonell's¹¹¹ opinion: "The path of the sun ... might account for a solar deity being both a conductor of departed souls ... and a guardian of paths in general", and I am not convinced of the correctness of what follows: "The latter aspect of his character would explain his special bucolic features", I agree with this author in thinking that these features as a guide and protector of cattle "form a part of his general nature as a promoter of prosperity". In this connexion it has been surmised¹¹² that Pūṣan was originally the countryman's deity and therefore probably a *vaiśya* god. We should rather suppose him to have been a god who was especially worshipped by the Aryan settlers in general, by the *viśah*, a term which denoted a whole community, not only the 'third estate'¹¹³.

69. Pūṣan is a most excellent charioteer (*rathītama*, 6, 55, 2; cf. 6, 56, 2; 3; 6, 57, 6); Indra, in company with him, slays the enemies; men who seek property come to him in hopes of success, if he will be the charioteer of their rite (6, 55, 1). Compare also 7, 39, 2; 10, 26, 1. The fact that his chariot is drawn by goats is of greater interest. The epithet *ajāśva* "who has he-goats instead of horses" (1, 138, 4; 6, 55, 3; 4; 6, 58, 2; 9, 67, 10) is exclusively his. It occurs at times in a prayer for assistance probably to animate the god to come soon (cf. 6, 55, 6) and to promote the acquisition of property, then again as a probably stereotyped mode of address. Mention of his he-goats is also made in 6, 55, 6; 6, 57, 3; 10, 26, 8. There may be an element of truth in the observation that "the goat would be a natural animal to be associated with the god whose duty it was to go on difficult pathways"¹¹⁴, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the god's relations with the cultivation of the land and prosperity have contributed much to his association with this animal which is a powerful representative of vigour and generative force, the *vāja* which is so often implored¹¹⁵. Remember that Pūṣan is the "mighty lord of manifestations of *vāja*" (10, 26, 7), "a bringer of prosperity or nourishment" (*pustimbhara*, 4, 3, 7), that he "has fat or abundant food" (*śrīprabhojas*, 6, 48, 14), "brings good fortune or prosperity to men" (6, 55, 6), and so on.

70. In RV. 1, 162, 2 f.¹¹⁶ Pūṣan's he-goat is said to conduct the sacrificial horse which is to be immolated to the "dear 'protectorate' of Indra-and-

111. Macdonell, Vedic Myth., p. 37.

112. Griswold, op. cit., p. 282.

113. J. Gonda, Triads in the Veda, Amsterdam Academy 1976, p. 137 ff.; 151 ff.

114. Keith, op. cit., p. 107 f.

115. I refer to J. Gonda, Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, p. 80 f. (on the close connexions of Agni with goat and ram).

116. On this passage see also Gonda, Dual deities, p. 342 f.

Pūṣan''', that is to the place where men will be enabled to have contact with them¹¹⁷; the poet explicitly states that the animal goes straight forward and is led, as Pūṣan's share, in front (*purāh*). This passage reminds us of 10, 17, 4 expressing the wish that Pūṣan may protect the dead person in front (*purastāt*) on the path that leads to the other world. One should not yield to the temptation to regard Pūṣan as in origin an animal god, embodied in the goat, or a vegetation spirit conceived in goat shape¹¹⁸ – although his worshippers may, of course, have been conscious of the fact that the goat could be considered to be the god's animal double¹¹⁹ –, but rather attach importance to the protective function of the one who goes in front¹²⁰. Remember also that in 1, 42, 1 Pūṣan is, and in 7, 36, 8 Aramati and Pūṣan are, requested to lead the way and notice especially that according to 10, 142, 2 a herdsman goes in front of his herd.

71. The horse, the highest and most perfect of animals (ŚB. 13, 3, 3, 1), was almost always associated with divine beings of high rank. Since the possession of this animal often was, and is, a sign of wealth and status, driving in a goat-chariot may – from the social and economic points of view – also be taken to point to a simple mode of life. The question may also be raised as to whether, or how far, pre-Aryan peoples used goats for the above purpose and worshipped a god who drove a goat-cart. For obvious reasons, this problem is insoluble.

72. The fact that Pūṣan's distinctive food is gruel¹²¹ (*karambha*, a word that, whatever its origin, is not explicable as Indo-European¹²²), seems to be another indication of a simple, rustic mode of life (cf. 1, 187, 10; 3, 52, 7; 6, 57, 2). The only stanza in which the god is called "gruel-eater" (*karambhād*, 6, 56, 1) has been interpreted in various ways¹²³. A translation "Whoever (disparagingly) points him, Pūṣan, out (by saying,) 'He is a gruel-eater' – the god is not really pointed out by him"¹²⁴ seems to be nearest to the mark. It is in harmony with the context in which it is explicitly stated that Pūṣan is

117. Cf. Gonda, *Dhāman*, p. 42 f.

118. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 108; cf. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 73.

119. In this case the same power manifests itself in a divine figure and an animal. Cf. S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 20 f.; E. Hornung, in *Studium Generale* 20 (1967), p. 69 ff.

120. See J. Gonda, *Purohita*, in *Festschrift W. Kirfel*, Bonn 1955, p. 107 ff. (= S.S. II, p. 320). Cf., e.g., RV. 3, 27, 7 (Agni; see also AVŚ. 5, 29, 1); 10, 152, 2 (Indra, also AVŚ. 1, 21, 1). When the bride sets out for her new home Bhaga, the god of fortune, goes in front (AVŚ. 14, 1, 59).

121. Hence, to all appearance, his epithet *abhyardhayajan* "receiving a special sacrifice" (6, 50, 5).

122. Cf. Mayrhofer, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, I, p. 165.

123. For a survey see Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-veda*, p. 66 ff.

124. Cf. Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, II, p. 423, n. 3; Atkins, *l. cit.*; Renou, *E.V.P.* XV, p. 150.

Indra's companion¹²⁵, an excellent charioteer, able to exhibit marvellous skill (*dasra*, st. 4), and renowned afar, with the implication that he is more than a "gruel-eater".

73. There is another epithet which may, perhaps, to a certain extent offer a clue to the god's social (and in this case political) background. He is twice styled *kapardin* "wearing matted or braided hair that is coiled up on the head in the form of a shell (cowrie) or is adorned with cowrie-shells"¹²⁶. In 6, 55, 2 the poet *cum suis* approaches with prayers "his companion (friend, *sakhāyam*), who is the best of charioteers, wears a *kaparda* and is able to dispose of much wealth"; the next stanza characterizes the god, whose name is omitted, as a stream of possessions and a mass of goods, and addresses him as *ajāśva* (see above). In 9, 67, 10 f. Pūṣan is, again as *ajāśva*, and probably because *soma* is prepared for him, besought to give to those speaking their share of girls. The epithet is also given to Rudra, in 1, 114, 1 in a prayer for the well-being of men and animals and for health and prosperity (*puṣtam*) of everything in the community, and in 1, 114, 5 this god, the boar of the heavens, the *kapardin* one, who holds precious medicines in his hand, is requested for protection. Rudra, however different in character, is also elsewhere implored to spare the worshippers' lives (7, 46, 2 f.), to give offspring (2, 33, 1) or to restore men to health (2, 33, 2 f.) and believed to possess remedies (1, 43, 4; 2, 33, 2; 12 f.; 5, 42, 11 etc.). Since, generally speaking, hairdressing had a ritualistic significance, the *kaparda* may have been a visible representation of some aspect of the wearer's power, faculties or character. So, if the fact that Pūṣan and Rudra have this coiffure in common is no matter of chance, its function and significance should first of all be sought in the more or less identical attributions of common characteristics in the contexts in which the epithet is, in both cases, used, that is, broadly speaking, in the gods' influence upon the sources and conditions of their worshippers' means of living, welfare and well-being. The question may therefore be raised, whether the shells or the shell-shaped hairdress should not, here also, have 'symbolized' some aspects of fertility¹²⁷. The problem is complicated, because according to ṚV. 7, 83, 8 the Tṛtsus, a clan or community that appears in relationship with the Bharatas, although the exact relation between them cannot be

125. In 6, 55, 5 he even is Indra's brother.

126. See A. Grünwedel, *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, 2 (1895), p. 10; A. Banerji-Sastri, *Vedic opaśa and kaparda*, *Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 18 (1932), p. 1 ff.; A.A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index of names and subjects*, I, London 1912, ²Varanasi 1958, I, p. 135.

127. I refer to Meyer, *Trilogie*, Index, III, p. 311, s.v. *Muschel*; J. Hornell, *The Indian chank in folklore and religion*, *Folklore* 53 (1942), p. 113 ff.; Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 100 f.

determined¹²⁸, were also distinguished by wearing their hair in the above way. May they therefore be regarded as special worshippers of Pūṣan? Or did they wear the cowrie-braids for another purpose, for instance because they were believed to afford protection against the evil eye?

74. Additional confirmation of the above statements and opinions of the chief traits of Pūṣan's character and the most typical points in the references to his activities or the prayers addressed to him may probably be drawn from the contexts in which some epithets of a comparatively general meaning and applicability are given to him. The adjective *tavas* "mightily, vigorously, and energetically active" and related words are frequently applied to Indra in passages extolling or simply mentioning his fighting spirit, valour, heroic deeds and victoriousness (e.g. 3, 30, 8; 6, 17, 8; 6, 18, 4; 6, 20, 3; 6, 32, 1; 10, 28, 6; cf. also 1, 109, 5) or expressing the expectation that the intoxicating *soma* juices will stimulate him into bellicose activity (3, 32, 9; 6, 17, 4; 7, 24, 3)¹²⁹. If Viṣṇu is the god eulogized, the same word occurs in passages mentioning his essential feature, the taking of the three strides on the earth and in the cosmos (7, 100, 3; 5); if Parjanya, in a stanza praising him because he quickens the growth of plants ("places seed in the plants as a germ") with rain (5, 83, 1). In all three stanzas in which the adjective *tavas* is applied to Pūṣan mention is made of his benevolence, generosity and activity for the advantage of man: 1, 138, 1¹³⁰ recalling also his readiness to help and the comfort and refreshment he affords; 6, 58, 4 stating that he is also the good friend of heaven and earth, the lord of the invigorating sacrificial food, benevolent and active for the advantage of man (*maghavan*); and 5, 43, 9 characterizing Pūṣan and Vāyu¹³¹ as munificent gods and givers of an affluence of *vāja*. It seems therefore to be a plausible inference that Pūṣan was characterized as *tavas* on the strength of what was said on these activities and objects of concern.

It may also be noticed that Pūṣan once, in the Indra hymn 8, 4 (st. 15) receives the epithet *śakra* "mighty" which is so often given to Indra: there he is said to have plenty of goods and besought to enable his worshippers to acquire (an abundance of) property.

A few times the adjective *dasra* "exhibiting marvellous skill", which is almost exclusively given to the Aśvins¹³² – not only in their capacity of

128. See, e.g., Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 320 ff.; K.F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II, Stuttgart 1892, p. 136 f.; A.B. Keith, in *The Cambridge History of India*, I, Cambridge 1922, p. 81 etc.; A.D. Pusalker, in R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, *The history and culture of the Indian people*, I, London 1951, p. 245 ff. etc.

129. For other details and references see Gonda, *Epithets*, p. 68 f.

130. If *makha* belongs to *magha* etc. (K.F. Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, I, Glossar, Stuttgart 1907, p. 129; Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, II, p. 543; Renou, *E.V.P.* VIII, p. 69).

131. See § 58.

132. Gonda, *Epithets*, p. 115 f. Not "wondrous" (Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 114).

physicians (1, 116, 16; 8, 86, 1), or in connexion with their chariot that traverses the sea without changing draught-animals (1, 30, 18) but also in prayers to give goods and satiation to the worshipper (1, 30, 17; 1, 47, 3; 6) – is applied to Pūṣan: in 1, 42, 5, a prayer to the *dasra* and *mantumat* “intelligent”¹³³ god for favour or assistance (*avas*; see also 10, 26, 1); in 6, 56, 4 (in the same combination), a prayer for successful fulfilment. The poet of 1, 42, 10 calls him *dasma* “accomplisher of wonderful deeds” in a prayer for goods (*vasūni*); in 1, 138, 4 this epithet occurs, after a prayer for help in obtaining (property), in an invitation to draw near. Elsewhere this epithet is given to Indra, Agni, the Maruts.

75. In 6, 53, 5 and 7 Pūṣan is addressed as *kavi*. This almost untranslatable word is not a perfect equivalent of ‘Seher’, and still less of ‘poète’¹³⁴. It is, in the Ṛgveda, very often used in connexion with gods – Indra, Soma, Savitar, Sun, Vāyu, Varuṇa etc.¹³⁵. Those who used it seem to have wished to denote a bearer of special or supranormal knowledge, one who has (had) mental contact with the transcendent or possesses certain abilities in the sacred and sacral sphere such as the composition of ‘hymns’. It depends on the context and on the activities and qualities of a god’s or man’s character, whether we should prefer a translation “inspired sage” or try to find a more satisfactory equivalent. Here Pūṣan is urged to pierce, with his pricker, the hearts of the misers so that they will become willing (to give). See also st. 6. This may imply the god’s knowledge of the doings of men and his possession of a sort of ‘omniscience’ behind which lies primitive sanction against wrongful action¹³⁶. In st. 8 the pricker (*ārā*) receives the epithet *brahmācodanī*, which is translated by “der die feierliche Rede anstachelt” (Geldner) or “capable-d’aiguillonner la Formule-d’énergie” (Renou), although Grassman¹³⁷ had wisely drawn attention to the possibility of translating “Brahmanen antreibend”. With a view to VS. 4, 33, the other occurrence of this compound, and to the no doubt correct interpretations of the commentators (e.g. *brāhmaṇān yajñam prati prerayitārau*, Uvaṭa) I would prefer the latter meaning here also (“urging the brahmins (to give)”).

76. Not infrequently, the god’s name occurs in stanzas that make mention of the poet’s *dhī*, i.e. his inspiration or its product, the poem¹³⁸. In the latter case there is no difficulty whatever: in 3, 62, 8 the god is besought

133. For the implications of intelligence see J. Gonda, *Four studies in the language of the Veda*, s-Gravenhage 1959, p. 183 ff.

134. Geldner, *RV. übers.*, II, p. 157; Renou, *E.V.P.* XV, p. 147.

135. See Gonda, *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 36; 42; 44 ff. (with references to other opinions); *Epithets*, p. 109 f.

136. R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god*, London 1956.

137. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 915.

138. See Gonda, *Vision*, p. 86 f.; 118.

to show favour to (approve of, promote) (the effect of) the poem that is to win *vāja*: in 6, 49, 8, in which his liberality is asked for, to bring every *dhī* to fulfilment; in 1, 90, 5 Pūṣan and Viṣṇu are implored to make the poems result in cows. Elsewhere, however, the co-operation of the god seems to be implored at an earlier stage: 10, 26, 4 he appears as the one who furthers the inspired thoughts (*mati*) and excites the moved poets (*viṣra*). This is no doubt one of those places suggesting that a god may be able and willing to allow a gifted man to cast a glance at the reality behind mundane existence so as to enable him to receive inspiration and to compose a poem¹³⁹. In 1, 89, 5 he is, as one who excites, animates or promotes inspiration (*dhiyamjinva*) invoked in order (to contribute) to the increase of (the worshippers') acquisitions, to be a protector and a guard above deceit with a view to (their) well-being. The same compound occurs in 6, 58, 2 referring to cattle and *vāja*. See also 9, 88, 3. The poet of 6, 53, 1 has 'yoked him, the lord of the way, like a chariot with a view to the acquisition of *vāja*, with a view to *dhī*': no doubt a hysteron proteron for "with a view to *dhī* in order to acquire *vāja*": a *dhī* was a means of obtaining *vāja*¹⁴⁰. In the last stanza (6) of 2, 40, dedicated to the dual deity Soma-and-Pūṣan¹⁴¹, the author distinguishes between the natures and peculiar abilities of the two gods: Pūṣan, who urges and moves all (*viśvaminva*), is implored to quicken the *dhī* and Soma is expected to bring wealth (the stanza occurs also as MS. 4, 14, 1: 215, 5, and in TB. 2, 8, 1, 6). There is, I think, no objection to the interpretation that they work together to the same end. The eulogist who in 10, 33, 1 compares himself to a draught-horse conveys Pūṣan (on his chariot), according to Sāyaṇa and Geldner¹⁴² in the god's capacity of the lord of the roads. Then, however, Pūṣan leads the way. So, why not as the promoter of the eulogist's *dhī*?

77. Summarizing the above disquisition I am under the impression that Pūṣan's solar character or affinity have more than once been greatly exaggerated¹⁴³. He is on the whole a friendly and beneficent god, often said

139. Now I would not explain this place in the light of BĀUp. 5, 15, 1 etc. (see Vision, p. 86).

140. Gonda, Vision, p. 150 ff.

141. Gonda, Dual deities, p. 349 ff.

142. Geldner, RV. übers., III, p. 182.

143. Abstaining from a critical evaluation of other theories and suggestions and referring to the polemics contained in the literature mentioned in the footnotes I confine myself to the brief statement that according to Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 234 ff. Pūṣan probably was the god of the paths; to Siecke, op. cit., a moon-god; to H. Güntert, Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland, Halle 1924, p. 41 ff., the patron of a certain pastoral clan that came to be assimilated to the sun, or rather to the moon; to Flensburg, op. cit., esp. p. 12 ff. (cf. Atkins, Pūṣan in the R̥gveda, p. 22 f.; Gonda, Dual deities, p. 344) a magic-producing priestly figure associated with Indra for the purpose of acquiring booty; to Keith, Religion and philosophy, p. 108 an animal god, embodied in the goat or a vegetation spirit conceived in goat-shape; to S. Kramrisch, in JAOS 81, p. 104 an aspect of Agni (for Pūṣan and Agni cf. R̥V. 10, 17, 3; BD. 1, 118).

to bring good fortune or implored for property and other material comforts, believed to be a promoter of everything useful, not infrequently to be a representative or bringer of (re)generative power (*vāja*) and of fecundity, prosperity or a well-nourished condition (*puṣṭi*¹⁴⁴); in short, – if appearances are not deceptive – especially of all well-being that depends on successful agriculture and cattle-breeding. As already observed by Oldenberg¹⁴⁵ the passage R̥V. 8, 4, 15-18 mentioning his wealth, his ability to make men acquire wealth by means of inspired verses (*dhī*), references to his being a deliverer, to the cattle of his worshipper, his assistance etc., picture his character well enough. Pūṣan is sometimes Indra's companion; in one hymn (6, 57) he constitutes a dual deity with this god, in another (2, 40) one with Soma. He is more or less frequently associated with Bhaga, the Aśvins, Vāyu (Vāta), the Maruts, Aryaman, also with Bṛhaspati, Soma, Agni, Viṣṇu, Mitra, Varuṇa, Rayi (Wealth), Rudra, the Sun, as well as with the goddesses Aditi, Pṛthivī, Ilā, Puramdhi, Aramati, and Sarasvatī (see below). Pūṣan performs wonderful deeds; he supervises the inhabited world, is the god of the small animals (goats etc., the he-goat may have been his animal double), the preserver of cattle, the guardian of the roads and paths for the use of men, and, in a more general sense, a protector, a representative of deliverance (from distress etc.). However, none of these functions, activities and objects of concern seem to be central, the original one or the most characteristic. They seem, on the contrary, to have been closely linked up with the reclamation and cultivation of the land in which the Aryans were settling and with the promotion of their welfare,

144. As to the god's name I would seriously hesitate to endorse the etymology that at the time was proposed by W. Schulze, Pan and Pūṣan, in Kuhn's Zs. 42, p. 81; 374 (= Kleine Schriften, Göttingen 1933, p. 217 f.); see also J. Wackernagel and A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 176, viz. its original identity with the name of the Greek god Pan (for doubt see also Mayrhofer, Wörterbuch, II, p. 326 f.; Hj. Frisk, Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, II, Heidelberg 1961-1970, p. 470). Irrespective of the somewhat far-fetched formal aspect of this etymology, the Greek and the Indian gods are different in character, notwithstanding the former's he-goat shape and the fact that he represents "die unzivilisierte Zeugungskraft, die auch für die Zivilisation unerlässlich und faszinierend bleibt" (W. Burkert, Griechische Religion, Stuttgart 1977, p. 268). For other (unconvincing) etymologies see Mayrhofer, l.cit. (add R. Pischel, Vedische Studien I, p. 193: Pūṣan; *pū-* "to purify"). It would appear that, notwithstanding the *ū* (cf. J. Wackernagel, Grammatik, I, Göttingen 1896, p. 97), there is more to say for the assumption that the Indian tradition, according to which the name belongs to *puṣṭi* (*puṣ-* "to prosper, nourish etc."), is right: see e.g. BD. 2, 63 "Nourishing (*puṣyan*) he causes the earth to thrive ...; therefore Bharadvāja praised him as Pūṣan ..."; Nirukta 12, 16; Uṇādis. 1, 158; Sāyaṇa, on R̥V. 1, 42, 1 *pūṣan: jagatpoṣaka*; on 1, 89, 6; 6, 57, 4 *poṣako devaḥ* etc. (see also Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 848; Macdonell, Vedic Myth., p. 37; Griswold, Rel. of the Veda, p. 278, n. 3; 282; L. Renou, L'Inde classique, Paris 1947, I, p. 323; F.B.J. Kuiper, in Acta Or. (Lugd.) 12, p. 256).

145. H. Oldenberg, in ZDMG 55 (1901), p. 308, n. 3 (= Kleine Schriften, Wiesbaden 1967, I, p. 767, n. 3).

prosperity¹⁴⁶ and survival. It would appear that in this limited sense of the term Pūṣan was a 'national' god of the cultivated territory of the Aryans and particularly of the Bharadvājas¹⁴⁷. As to Pūṣan's relations with Sarasvatī, which in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā are comparatively few in number, in part of the references there is no special contact or connexion between both gods (they are merely items in an enumeration of names); once Sarasvatī's activity is briefly compared to Pūṣan's; once they both occur in their common deified environment; once they receive, individually it is true, for some moments the poet's attention; once Pūṣan seems to be supposed to bring the beneficial effects of Sarasvatī's activities to completion; in 10, 17 both gods are after each other concerned with the destiny of the deceased.

146. See also Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, I, p. 106.

147. No opinion can, I think, be offered on the number of families or clans which really worshipped Pūṣan, that is, on the actual spread of his cult among the Aryans – in the soma ceremonies he takes but a small part – and on the question as to whether the term "alter Hirtengott" (Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* II, p. 236; cf. Dandekar, in *NIA* 5 (1942); H. von Glasenapp, *Die Religionen Indiens*, Stuttgart 1943, p. 69) is most appropriate.

VII. Pūṣan in the Atharvaveda

78. Let us now consider the functions and characteristics attributed to Pūṣan by the authors of the Atharvaveda. Since the occurrences of Pūṣan's name and the non-ṛgvedic stanzas mentioning the god have, with a few exceptions, been collected and commented upon by Atkins¹, I shall confine myself here to a fresh or renewed discussion of the following topics: those particulars that anyhow contribute to a better understanding of the figure of Pūṣan; all relevant particulars in which the atharvavedic data differ from the picture of the god presented by the Ṛgveda; the problem as to how far particular features found in the Atharvaveda are, or may have been, conditioned by the character of this Saṃhitā or by the atharvanic sphere, purposes and mode of thinking; the ritual applications of the texts as found in the Kauśika-sūtra; anything relevant but left unnoticed by Atkins; points in which I differ in opinion from this scholar.

What will strike the reader who peruses those passages of the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā in which Pūṣan's name is mentioned is that many of them are charms to be recited for the good of an individual whose name may sometimes be inserted, but more often is replaced by a personal or demonstrative pronoun in the singular² which contrasts unmistakably with the frequent but vague *naḥ* "us" of numerous ṛgvedic mantras (cf. ṚV. 1, 1, 9; 1, 2, 9; 1, 3, 6; 10; 1, 5, 3; 8; 10 etc. etc.)³. A good many of these texts are, moreover, intended to accompany and consecrate the rites that are collected and described in the Kauśika-Sūtra⁴.

1. Atkins, in JAOS 67, p. 283 ff.

2. Sometimes the author prefers *iha* "here, in this case" (AVŚ. 5, 28, 3) to a pronoun.

3. In the Ṛgveda many singular forms of the personal pronoun of the first person (*mā*, *mām*) refer to a person or a god who is represented as speaking (1, 105, 7; 8; 18; 1, 158, 5; 1, 165, 6; 7, 33, 1), to the poet himself (3, 32, 14), or they occur in narrative passages, allusions etc. (1, 122, 15; 1, 126, 3).

4. For particulars see Gonda, Vedic literature, p. 270 etc.; The ritual sūtras, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 611 ff. etc.

79. In the following survey I confine myself at first to those passages of the Śaunakīya and Paippalāda recensions which do not occur in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā and are exclusively addressed to Pūṣan⁵. In these passages his name is never accompanied by an epithet proper. The words *jñātivid* in AVP. 1, 34, 3 (and *adhyakṣa* in 5, 26, 7?) denote functions or particular duties he is supposed to discharge rather than references to qualities or attributes. On the other hand, derivatives of *puṣ-* occur more than once in a stanza that mentions the god's name⁶: AVŚ. 3, 14, 2 (*puṣyata*); 5, 28, 3 (*poṣāh*); AVP. 2, 72, 2 (*puṣtibhiḥ*).

Atkins⁷ is mistaken in asserting that the Atharvaveda presents the god in the new rôle of a liberator from sin, a releaser from the bonds of guilt. In AVŚ. 6, 112, 3 he is invoked to wipe off the *duritāni* of a younger brother who has married before an elder one. Now, *duritam* is not "sin" (Atkins' translation) in the sense of "disobedience to God's will, or to the will of the gods" or "transgression of a moral code" etc., but "a bad course, difficulty, danger, disaster, discomfort, mishap (which one has brought on oneself or which has fallen upon a person as the result of a ritual transgression, also when it has been committed by another person)"⁸: see e.g., ṚV. 1, 125, 7; 1, 128, 5; 10, 39, 11. From Kauś. 46, 26 ff., describing the ceremony to which AVŚ. 6, 112 and 113 belong, it appears that in a case of 'overslaughting' both brothers concerned have to sit down at the edge of a river; fetters of specially prepared grass are tied upon their limbs that are besprinkled with water, shoots of grass and the dregs of sacrificial butter which has been consecrated by the above texts and offered; then the fetters are taken away from the neck and arms of these persons and thrown into the water where they float away⁹. The object of this rite obviously is the removal of the *duritam* of both brothers. The *pādas* 6, 112, 3 a-c refer to these acts: "Let the bonds with which the unmarried older brother (*parivittah*) has been shackled ... be released (*vi té muñcantām*), for they are releasers (*vimūca hī sānti*, viz. from the *duritam*)"¹⁰. The fetters, thrown into the water, are supposed to carry the *duritam* away. Compare also AVŚ. 6, 113, 2, where the evil, now called *pāpman*, is enjoined to "disappear along the foams of the rivers". Just as in 6, 112, 3 (1, 70, 4; 19, 33, 12) Pūṣan is there besought to wipe off the *duritāni* on the embryo-slayer (*bhrūṇahan*), that is on the worst

5. For AVŚ. 5, 28, 3 see § 86 below.

6. See p. 95, n. 144 above.

7. Atkins, in JAOS 67, p. 285.

8. Cf. S. Rohde, Deliver us from evil, Lund and Copenhagen 1946, p. 74; 152 etc.

9. See also M. Bloomfield, in Amer. Journ. of Phil. 17, p. 430 ff.; Rodhe, op. cit., p. 148 f.

10. For *vimuc-* see § 67 above; *vimucah* does not mean "subject to release" or "fit to release" (as is Atkins' opinion). Nor is there a "play upon the preceding *vi ... muñcantām*" (Atkins, op. cit., p. 288).

sinner¹¹ who obviously had to act as a scapegoat¹². Pūṣan functions as the *vimuco napāt* of RV. 1, 42, 1. – The same invocation is addressed to him in AVP. 1, 70, 4 for the release of the husband of a remarried widow from the fetters (of the *duṣkṛtaṃ daidhiṣavyam*, i.e. the evil deed consisting in the second marriage, and its consequences) by which he is bound. It is preceded by a line that corresponds with AVŚ. 6, 112, 3 a b and by the words *vi te cṛtyantām vicṛto hi santi* “let them be loosened, for they are looseners” which point to a similar rite. Likewise, with the invocation addressed to Pūṣan, in AVP. 19, 33, 10 (which refers to overslaughting).

80. Mention should also be made of AVPar. 37, 9, 3 which is part of a text teaching expiatory ceremonies. In case a particular amulet (which is tied on the finger of a bride) is destroyed or the fire at a wedding is extinguished one should in order to avert the death of the couple make another amulet, besprinkle the finger with water prepared for appeasement of evil (*śāntiyudakam*) and fasten it (to the bride’s hand) to the accompaniment of a stanza in which Dhātār and Pūṣan described as possessed of (and bestowing) a complete span of life, of numerous children and energy, are invoked to help those concerned (“us”) to movable property and to deliver (*vimuñcatām*) them from the pollution or impurity (*śamalam*) and guilt (*kilbiṣam*)¹³ (resulting from the accident). Thereupon the wish is expressed that Savitar may give them a long term of life. As to Savitar’s task see RV. 4, 54, 2; ŚB. 10, 2, 6, 5. Dhātār is in RV. 10, 18, 5 besought to help men to obtain length of days; according to Yāska, Nir. 11, 10, he is the “disposer of all” (*sarvasya vidhātā*).

81. Not always, however, Pūṣan’s name occurs in a charm. AVŚ. 16, 9, 2 (AVP. 18, 29, 2) is a prayer: “Let Pūṣan place me in the world of religious and ritual merit (*sukṛtāsya lokē*)”. Interestingly, the context shows that these words are put into the mouth of Agni and Soma. As to Pūṣan’s function, remember that in RV. 10, 17, 3 and 5 he is besought to conduct a deceased person to his Fathers. In a longer variant (TS. 4, 2, 8 a; cf. KS. 39, 1: 117, 9; MS. 1, 5, 3: 69, 14; 1, 6, 2: 87, 1) the text reads: “Pūṣan has placed ...”; moreover, the person concerned is said to have overcome every enemy,

11. In the course of time this term came to be applied also to the man who had killed a (learned) brahmin; see W. Gampert, *Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur*, Prague 1939, p. 62 ff.

12. Human scapegoats were, to mention only some ritual customs of ancient Greece, the man of the poorer classes who had to offer himself when Marseilles was ravaged by a plague; the degraded and useless beings maintained by the Athenians to be sacrificed when any calamity befell their city; the criminal hurled into the sea by the Leucadians. See, e.g., J.G. Frazer, *The scapegoat*, Golden Bough IX, London 1914; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abridged edition, London 1957, p. 716-768. M.P. Nilson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, München 1941-1950, p. 97 ff. etc.

13. On these words see Rodhe, *op. cit.*, p. 150; 142 etc.

when a definite rite is being performed (*agnicayana* ritual). In AVP. 15, 8, 8 Pūṣan, called the supervisor of the lords (*patinām adhyakṣaḥ*), is requested to favour the person speaking (*mā*) “in this manifestation of *brahman*, in this rite, in this office of *purohita*, in this invocation of the gods, in this intention, in this benediction”. This prayer is the last of a series of parallel and for the greater part identical formulae addressed, successively, to Viṣṇu, the surveyor (lord) of the mountains¹⁴; Tvaṣṭar, the *adhyakṣa* of forms (*rūpam*); Rudra, the *adhyakṣa* of the domestic and sacrificial animals (*paśu*; see, e.g., ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 20); the Ocean, the *adhyakṣa* of the Rivers (see, e.g., ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 10); Parjanya, the *adhyakṣa* of the useful plants (cf., e.g., RV. 5, 83, 4; 5; 6, 52, 6; 7, 101, 1 etc.); the ritual sound *hiṃ*, the *adhyakṣa* of the Sāmans (cf. ŚB. 13, 2, 3, 2); and Sarasvatī, the *adhyakṣa* of the (ritual) words. Notice that Pūṣan occupies the last place which often is the place of honour. If, what seems probable, he is the *adhyakṣa* of human lords, landowners, owners of homesteads, lords of (races of) men, human communities and so on (cf., e.g., RV. 4, 57, 2; 7, 54, 1-3; 8, 13, 9; 8, 95, 4), this would accord very well with the hypothesis that he was, in a way, a communal or ‘national’ god.

82. AVŚ. 20, 127, 12 is of special interest, because the poet who is speaking enjoins, at the request of Indra, the cattle, the horses and men to be born (i.e. to multiply) here (notice the thrice repeated *iha* “here”). These words are followed by “and Pūṣan also, who bestows a thousand (cattle) as *dakṣiṇā*, settles down (indicative)¹⁵ here (*iho*, emphatically)”. In st. 13 the wish is expressed “May, O Indra, these cattle and their owner not suffer harm”. There can be no doubt whatever that Pūṣan is expected to function here as the god who presides over the well-being, safety and reproduction of a group of settlers and their useful animals, especially in the region or place that is inhabited by the person speaking. The use of this mantra in the domestic ritual shows that it was to promote the fertility of men and cattle: it is pronounced, when at a certain moment the bride has, or bride and bridegroom have, to sit down on the hide of a red bull (HG. 1, 22, 9 (with *niṣīdatu*); PG. 1, 8, 10; GG. 2, 4, 6). It is difficult to say whether or not the author of AV. 20, 127 was acquainted with the use of this stanza during the wedding ceremonies.

It may, by way of digression, be observed that ĀpG. 2, 6, 10 prescribes the use of a variant mantra in which *rāyasṣoṣaḥ* “increase of property, wealth, prosperity” takes the place of *api pūṣā* (ĀpMB. 1, 9, 1). This mantra is to be recited when the married couple, after entering their new home, sit down in its north-east – that is most auspicious – part. The same variant is

14. I refer to Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 73 ff.

15. I doubt whether Atkins (op. cit., p. 290) is right in considering *niṣīdati* a ‘hortative indicative’ (see M. Bloomfield and F. Edgerton, Vedic variants, Philadelphia 1930, p. 66). Magicians often state something as certain which actually is only wished or hoped for (cf. J. Gonda, Old Indian, Leiden 1971, p. 124).

prescribed in ĀpŚ. 9, 17, 1 in a rite of atonement (*prāyaścitta*) that is to be performed in case the sacrificial butter has been spilled¹⁶. According to ŚŚ. 8, 11, 15 the second half of AV. 12 (with *ni śidatu*) is to be used by the sacrificer when he sits down on his usual place in his house to which he has returned “with an auspicious look” after having performed the concluding bath (the *avabhṛtha* of a soma rite). A remarkable variant with which at the end of a *rājasūya* sacrifice the sacrificer invokes propagation for cows, horses and men is found in AiB. 8, 11, 5 (see also ṚVKh. 5, 11, 2): instead of *api pūṣā* it has *vīras trātā* “let the energetic man, the protector, sit down”. Do these epithets, which are often applied to gods, refer to Pūṣan?

83. Pūṣan’s connexion with these rites¹⁷ is also apparent from AVP. 1, 34, 3 “Pūṣan, the one who has or makes (bestows) kinsfolk (*jñātivid*), has given me this (woman) as (my) wife”: in giving the bride the god brings a man also her relatives. The four parallel and except for the names and epithets identical lines of AVP. 1, 34 are in Kauś. 78, 10 which deals with the marriage rites quoted in full and followed by *agnaye janavide svāhā* etc. (AVP. 1, 35). Agni is characterized as “having or bestowing men or creatures (*jana*)”: cf., e.g., ṚV. 3, 24, 5; AVŚ. 4, 4, 6; he is supposed to deliver his worshippers from childlessness (ṚV. 7, 1, 11; 21; 7, 4, 6). Soma is given the epithet *vasuvid* “finding, having, bestowing goods”, as in ṚV. 1, 91, 12 (*vasuvit puṣṭivārdhanah*). For a similar set of mantras (without Indra, who in AVP. 1, 34 has an epithet of another type, *sahīyān* “relatively powerful”) see ŚŚ. 1, 9, 9 “Agni is the begetter; he must give me N.N. as my wife, *svāhā*; Soma possesses wives; he must make me possessed of a wife by N.N., *svāhā*; Pūṣan is rich in kinsfolk; he must make me rich in kinsfolk by the father, the mother and the brothers of N.N., *svāhā*”. These mantras are to accompany oblations, not only on the occasion of a wedding, but also on that of all sacrifices that produce prosperity (*bhūti*, ŚŚ. 1, 9, 19; 1, 10, 1).

Statements and prayers as the above line AVP. 1, 34, 3 “Pūṣan ... has given me this (woman) as (my) wife” and ṚV. 10, 85, 37 “O Pūṣan, bring (to us) this most auspicious (bride) ..., who shall eagerly part her thighs for us ...”¹⁸ suggest a relation between this particular activity of the god and his main function and character of a god who promotes prosperity and represents wealth that mainly consists in cattle and other movable property. When marital rights in a woman are transferred against payment of cattle – and this was the case when an initial gift of cows was presented to the family of the bride¹⁹ – an intricate relationship between wives and cattle is likely to

16. For the importance attached to sacrificial butter see Gonda, Vedic ritual, Leiden 1980, p. 176 ff.

17. See also § 47 above (ṚV. 10, 85) and § 85 below (AVŚ. 14, 1, 39).

18. For Pūṣan leading the bride to the bridegroom in the domestic ritual see Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 299.

19. See Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 386 f. (*śulka* wedding).

become a lasting conviction of a social group²⁰ and the god who presides over 'wealth' may easily be considered also the divine power that brings about marriages.

84. AVP. 12, 7, 7 is a somewhat elaborate definition and statement which probably was used as a charm. "Brilliant vigour, vitality and prestige (*varcas*), certainly, by name are these waters, which are (i.e. namely, ghee). Their ruler (lord) is Pūṣan. He who knows this becomes possessed of *varcas*, of fiery energy (*tejas*). The face of the one addressed as *etasyan*²¹ shines. Whoever knows this is master of his own (people) and of others". Since this paragraph is one of a long set of similar more or less parallel paragraphs in which various substances called (or regarded as modifications of, or 'identified' with) water are, each of them, said to be (or represent) some (in our terminology) concrete or abstract power concept and are co-ordinated with a deity that is regarded as their presiding god, one should not say²² that Pūṣan is one of the many *adhipatayas* of the Waters. He is the (presiding) deity of that form of water that is ghee²³ which is characterized by *varcas* (and *tejas*). Ghee (*ājyam*) is 'identified' with *tejas* (ŚB. 13, 1, 1, 1; 13, 2, 1, 2 etc.). It is also the life-sap or essence (*rasa*) of the universe, because it is the essence of waters and plants. In liturgical texts *varcas* is mentioned in the same contexts as prosperity, wealth, longevity, energy (BG. 2, 4, 9; MG. 1, 21, 3; ĀśvG. 1, 17, 7; VS. 34, 50; Kauś. 12, 10 ff.). The combination *tejas* and *varcas* occurs, e.g., also VG. 5, 35. So this passage does not modify our opinion of Pūṣan's character and function, the less so as the corresponding statements and 'identifications' in other paragraphs of this text are evidently in harmony with the character of the deities mentioned there. For instance, in 6 *madhu* "honey, anything sweet", *ojas* "creative power and authority" and Indra take the places occupied by *ghṛtam*, *varcas* and Pūṣan in 7; *madhu* is often used for soma (RV. 1, 14, 10; 1, 15, 11 etc.). Indra is the soma-drinker par excellence (RV. 1, 121, 5; 3, 48, 3; 5, 34, 2 etc. etc.) and *ojas* is characteristically his²⁴; the man who knows this becomes characterized by *ojas* and *vīryam* "manly or heroic energy and virtue" which also belongs to Indra (e.g. RV. 1, 57, 5).

85. In AVP. 17, 26 a considerable number of deities are in 21²⁵ parallel paragraphs requested to carry bad dreams away and the wish is expressed

20. I refer to A. Kuper, *Wives for cattle. Bridewealth and marriage in Southern Africa*, London 1982.

21. The meaning of this probably corrupt word is unknown. One might guess "(as) such" (*etad*-?).

22. As Atkins does (op. cit., p. 285).

23. As to the grammatical construction see J. Gonda, *The original character of the I.E. relative pronoun iō-*, *Lingua* 4 (1954), p. 15 f. (= *Selected Studies*, I, p. 178 f.).

24. I refer to J. Gonda, *Ancient-Indian ojas ...*, Utrecht 1952, p. 9 ff. etc.

25. For the significance of 21 see Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 40 f.

that those speaking may send them forth to a person (obviously an enemy) whose name should be mentioned as part of the formula. The deities are systematically arranged: Heaven-and-Earth, Wind (Vāta)-and-Pavamāna (= Vāyu), Indra-and-Agni, Mitra-and-Varuṇa, Bhava-and-Śarva, the Aśvins, the Maruts, the Fathers, Sun, Moon, Nakṣatras, Waters, Viṣṇu, Pūṣan²⁶, Tvaṣṭar, Dhātār, Savitar, Bṛhaspati, Prajāpati, Parameṣṭhin, and Day-and-Night. The special relation between dreams and the last deity needs no comment²⁷; Pūṣan should not be supposed to concern himself particularly with dreams and nightmares²⁸; he figures here as one of the mighty divine beings whose help is confidently implored, when evil must be averted. His presence shows that he is regarded as a member of good standing of the pantheon. – In a long enumeration of gods which is part of the litany for the satiation of the deceased (*pitṛtarpaṇa*)²⁹ Pūṣan occurs after Savitar, Dhātār and Tvaṣṭar (AVPar. 43, 5, 25 ff.).

As in the ṚV., Pūṣan's name is often found in stanzas containing – or even enumerating – names of several gods. Generally speaking, these passages do not differ very much from the ṛgvedic ones. Among these names, which are about 30 in number, those of Savitar, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Dhātār, Tvaṣṭar, Varuṇa, the Aśvins are the most frequent ones; those of Mitra, Soma, Aryaman, Vāyu, the Maruts are less frequent (3 or 4 times each); Viṣṇu, Dyaus, the Ādityas are comparatively rare. Three occurrences of Prajāpati, who in the Ṛgveda is never mentioned in the same stanza as Pūṣan, are worth quoting: AVP. 9, 12, 6; 17, 21, 5; 20, 2, 6.

Cases in which Pūṣan co-operates with one god are comparatively rare: in AVŚ. 6, 67, 1³⁰ he blocks, no doubt as the “god of paths”, and together with Indra, the enemies' passage (see Kauś. 14, 7; 16, 4). – In 6, 73, 3 (AVP. 19, 10, 10) Pūṣan is requested to make (the road) impassable for a certain person in the distance; that person is enjoined “not to go away from us” and the Genius of the homestead (Vāstoṣ pati) is asked to call him back: no doubt a text to produce or restore harmony in a community or to prevent a person from seceding (see Kauś. 12, 5, where 6, 73 belongs to the formulae designed to produce harmony (*sāmmanasyāni*)). In both cases, however, Pūṣan is supposed to champion the cause of the community. – The god is twice besought to promote or make successful an undertaking or an event that is presided over by Aryaman, the god of friendship and harmony in the homestead and community: in AVŚ. 14, 1, 39 “let her go around Aryaman's fire, O Pūṣan” (see Kauś. 76, 20), in AVŚ. 1, 11, 1³¹

26. For Pūṣan's place compare § 92.

27. See, e.g., Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 272 f.

28. Cf. Atkins, op. cit., p. 285.

29. See Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 420 f.

30. See § 92.

31. See also M. Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharva-Veda, Oxford 1897, (Delhi 1964; 1967), p. 99; 242 f.

(AVP. 1, 5, 1), a text for easy parturition (Kauś. 33, 1) “Let (O Pūṣan, the woman’s) legs spread apart to give birth”, a request that is preceded by a line in which Pūṣan is said to function as an *adhvaryu*, who, so to say, completes a ritual action that is started by Aryaman who is styled a *hotar*. It would seem that Pūṣan is in both cases concerning himself with fertility and survival of the family and community³². The textcritical problem (is the reading *páryetu puṣyan* in AVŚ. 14, 1, 39 more or less original than *pari eti kṣipram* in AVP. 18, 4, 8 or *pari yantu kṣipram* in ĀpMP. 1, 1, 8?)³³ should not make us blind to the fact that the Śaunakins have, as long as their corpus exists, considered Pūṣan to be the god addressed in this stanza, a fact that, whatever its origin, would interest the historian of religion.

86. In the description of the sacrifices of full and new moon found in Kauśika-Sūtra 1, 24-6, 37 there is a long mantra addressed to the small dipping spoon (*sruva*) which occurs nowhere else. When the officiant takes this spoon to offer with it oblations of clarified butter, he calls it the right hand of Viṣṇu (likewise in ŚG. 1, 9, 3: addressed to the same object on a similar occasion) adding “(thou hast been) given by Pūṣan to Bṛhaspati”, that is, to the priest of the gods. Bṛhaspati’s name recurs in the last line of this mantra, where his *īsti* (unbloody sacrifice) is stated to anoint (i.e. adorn, make ready, compose) all forms (divisions) of sacrificial ritual with divine protection. The variant of this line in BhŚ. 4, 11, 1; ĀpŚ. 4, 7, 2 reads more satisfactorily: “It (the spoon) anoints all ... with Bṛhaspati’s (*bārhaspatyena*) divine protection”. In Kauśika’s train of reasoning it would have been Pūṣan who enabled Bṛhaspati to do so. The following mantras state that the officiant uses the spoon for the sake of well-being (*bhūti*), prosperity (*puṣti*), prosperity increasing a thousandfold, unlimited prosperity etc. Pūṣan’s influence is unmistakable and important (Kauś. 3, 10).

87. The cases in which three gods are mentioned in the same passage are more frequent. There are three occurrences of the formula prescribed for the acceptance of an oblation or offering which is extremely frequent in liturgical texts (AVŚ. 19, 51, 2; AVP. 5, 40, 1; 16, 70, 1; see Kauś. 91, 3 dealing with the *madhuparka* ceremony): “At the impulse (*prasave*) of god Savitar, with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan, I impelled (*prasūtaḥ*) take hold of thee”, or “... I offer to ...” (etc.): here Savitar fulfils his usual function (this mantra is pronounced “in order to give impulse (to his action)” (*prasūtyai*, TB. 3, 2, 9, 1)); the Aśvins are the *adhvaryus* of the gods (TB., l.cit., TS. 2, 6, 4, 1; ŚB. 8, 2, 1, 3), the officiants in charge of the manual acts; Pūṣan is the distributor of portions to the gods (1, 1, 2, 17)³⁴;

32. Atkins, op. cit., p. 289 regards him in AVP. 14, 1, 39 as the god of the way escorting the bride.

33. See Whitney and Lanman, op. cit., p. 747 and Atkins, l.cit.

34. See § 49 above. Cf. ĀśvG. 1, 20, 4 quoted Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 67.

according to TS. and TB., l.cit. and 3, 2, 2, 1 this god is invoked with a view to the guidance (of the action, *yatyai*)³⁵. Here Pūṣan is so to say the god who gives or helps to give every one his due or steers the action to success and prosperity. – In the funeral text AVŚ. 18, 2, st. 53, Agni and Soma, the two great sacrificial gods, are said to have, as makers of ways (leading the oblations and the sacrificer to the world of religious merit), prepared for the gods (a term including the deified deceased) a treasure (*ratnam*, i.e. bliss) and a *loka* (i.e. a place to exist in safely, ‘a heaven’)³⁶. Then the two gods are implored to send Pūṣan that he may conduct the deceased person to that place (see Kauś. 80, 35). This stanza is followed by 53 and 54, which correspond to RV. 10, 17, 3 and 4³⁷. In this passage Pūṣan functions as psychopompos (Atkins) and protector (55 b): no doubt a specialized phase of his office of protector of roads and travellers (RV. 6, 49, 8; ŚB. 13, 1, 8, 6). – After having stated that Agni and Soma say what has been asserted in st. 1 (“ours is what has been conquered ..., I have withstood all hostile armies ...”) AVŚ. 16, 9, 2 continues: “Let Pūṣan place me in the ‘world’ (sphere) of ritual and religious merit (*sukṛtāsya lokē*)”³⁸: the same function.

In AVP. 19, 22, 13 Tvaṣṭar, Pūṣan and Sūrya are said (or enjoined) to be devoted to the house or family (*damūnāh*). The prosperity (*svasti*) claimed by the speaker while addressing human or demoniac antagonists called “daring ones” (*dhṛṣṇāh*) is, as we have seen, often associated with Pūṣan (e.g. RV. 1, 89, 5; 6; 8, 31, 11), who also on the strength of the *pādas* cd creates the impression of being the central figure of his stanza: “all-conquering, possessing good pasturage, bestowing liberally, be for us a guide to (leader of, *puraetā*) this wealth”: a number of functions and characteristics proper to Pūṣan. As to the two other gods, Tvaṣṭar is in RV. 10, 70, 9 a bestower of wealth (cf. also 7, 34, 21; 10, 65, 10); Sūrya drives away disease and evil dreams (10, 37, 4). – The partly corrupt stanza AVP. 2, 61, 5 seems to be the prayer of a widow who invokes divine sanction for her remarriage: “Let Varuṇa conduct (*neṣat*, conj.) us, together with him (the man referred to in 4 d) (who is) not suffering (in mind) with manifestations of good fortune (*svastibhiḥ*) beyond difficulties (*durgānti*). Let the Aśvins from whom gifts may be accepted (give) him (to me in marriage) for the sake of (my) well-being (*svastaye*); may Pūṣan give him to me without bad consequences³⁹”: another reference to marriage as a concern of Pūṣan’s. – In AVP. 20, 29, 6 Dhātar, Pūṣan and Indra are besought to give

35. See also TS. 6, 2, 10, 1; 6, 3, 6, 3; 6, 4, 4, 1.

36. On this passage see J. Gonda, *Loka*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 132 f.

37. See § 62 above.

38. See Gonda, *Loka*, p. 130; 142.

39. I venture the conjecture *doṣavinā* (*doṣavena* ms.), conscious of the chronological implications; D. Bhattacharyya’s conjecture (Paippalāda Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda, II, Calcutta 1970, p. 162) *doṣā enam uṣase saṃ prayacchāt* is not acceptable. See also Atkins, op. cit., p. 291.

'wisdom' (*medī*) to the person speaking: compare RVKh. 4, 8, 1 f. where a similar prayer is addressed to Indra, Agni, Dhātar, Varuṇa, Sarasvatī, and the Aśvins for *medhā* "enlightenment, higher wisdom, spiritual power"⁴⁰. – The *sūkta* AVŚ. 5, 28 is in Kauś. 11, 19 used for gaining objects of one's desire and in 52, 20 for obtaining brilliant vital power, energy and prestige (*varcas*); st. 1, 12-14 are moreover employed in 58, 10 f. in a rite for securing a complete span of life. In st. 12 (AVP. 2, 59, 11) Aryaman, Pūṣan and Bṛhaspati are requested to fasten the amulet of three metals that is required on the person who is to derive benefit from the rite: a typically atharvanic use of a mantra. In st. 3 (AVP. 2, 59, 1) Pūṣan has been invoked to anoint the amulet with milk and ghee so that affluence of food, man (i. e., probably his power to reproduce) and cattle may abide in it; these are called three manifestations of prosperity (*poṣāḥ*). Aryaman is no doubt here also the friendly god (cf. RV. 6, 50, 1; 7, 36, 4) who is willing to give pleasant things (4, 30, 24 mentioning also Pūṣan; cf. 10, 141, 5); Bṛhaspati, who often appears in the Atharvaveda-Samhitā, releases the fetters of old age and death (AVŚ. 3, 11, 8), is expected to acknowledge the designs of the one who invokes him (19, 3, 4; cf. 3), leads the worshipper to good luck and prosperity (7, 8, 1), and so on; as the lord of *brahman* his name occurs also in many atharvanic rites, also in connexion with amulets (10, 6, 6; 19, 31, 5); Pūṣan's activity is consistent with his character: notice also that in st. 4 the amulet is characterized as something that causes to thrive or prosper (*poṣayiṣṇu*), that the person who wears it expects to become very fortunate or prosperous (*saubhagāya*, st. 14), to receive possessions (st. 4), and so on.

88. In the following cases Pūṣan is one of four gods concerned in a ritual performance. In AVŚ. 3, 14, 2 (AVP. 2, 13, 1) Indra, "a conqueror of wealth or of movable property in general" (*dhanamjayaḥ*), joins the three deities mentioned in 5, 28, 12; the gods are invoked "to cause to prosper (increase) with (in) me (at my house) what is good (beneficent)" (*māyi puṣyata yād vāsu*; AVP. reads *puṣyati*, Indra being the subject), and requested to unite the speaker's cattle with a comfortable stable, goods, well-being etc. mentioned in st. 1. See Kauś. 19, 14. – AVŚ. 7, 33, 1 (AVP. 6, 18, 1) "let the Maruts, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati, Agni besprinkle me completely with offspring and movable property; let him (*siç*, either Agni, or each of the gods mentioned, comm.) provide me with a long span of life" is used in a rite for prosperity (Kauś. 24, 8) and in the ceremony of reception of a student (57, 22; 25). The Maruts, who in AVŚ. 4, 27, 2 are stated to sprinkle water over the useful plants, are, in the hymn for a long duration of life (8, 1) active with a view to one's welfare (st. 2)⁴¹; Agni is invoked for a considerable

40. Gonda, *Vision*, p. 57 f. As to Pūṣan see § 74 ff. above.

41. See also N.J. Shende, *The foundations of the Atharvanic religion*, Bull. Deccan College Res. Inst. Poona 9, p. 89 f.

number and variety of purposes, e.g., for prolonging one's life (2, 29, 1), for progeny (7, 74, 4) for possessions (7, 17, 4). – In AVŚ. 11, 6, 3 Savitar, Dhātār, Pūṣan and Tvaṣṭar are addressed with a view to the speakers' being delivered from distress (*té no muñcantv aṃhasaḥ*)⁴². The hymn, addressed also to other gods, is used for relief and included in Kauś. 9, 2; 4 in the group of texts to be employed in order to achieve propitiation or appeasement of evil (*śānti*); it is accordingly reckoned to the *aṃholiṅga gaṇa*⁴³ (Kauś. 32, 27). For the gods in general and deliverance from *aṃhas* see ṚV. 4, 12, 6; for Savitar and blessings or desirable things ṚV. 1, 24, 3; 2, 38, 11; for Tvaṣṭar's favour and benevolence 3, 54, 12. – AVŚ. 14, 1, 33 cd (AVP. 18, 4, 2 cd) "For this man shall Pūṣan and the Maruts, Dhātār (Dātār "the Giver", AVP.), (and) Savitar urge (*supāti*) you" seems to be directed to the cattle that is to be given as *śulka*, i.e. an initial gift of cows presented to the father or family of the bride. The verb *sū-* is characteristic of Savitar. Dhātār is in ṚV. 10, 184, 1 one of the gods besought to grant offspring; so are the Maruts in 1, 85, 12 (cf. 5, 54, 14). Since in *pāda* a the cows are asked "to enter this man (i.e. to associate themselves with him) together with progeny", this mantra may, I think, be regarded as another indication of Pūṣan's interest in fertility within marriage. – AVP. 12, 6, 6 seems to attest to his being concerned with fertility of the soil and success in agriculture⁴⁴. Dhātā, Pūṣan and Br̥haspati (see above), characterized as *svarvidah*, i.e. "winning, possessing, bestowing light or bright space", are said to have (stimulated, activated, caused to manifest herself?; there is no verb) the beautiful and lovely (goddess) Kṛṣi (Ploughing, Cultivation of the soil). – The author of AVP. 20, 25, 5 implores Savitar, Jagat (the living World, that which moves and is alive), Rātri (Night) to preserve the unimpaired condition of those speaking and Pūṣan to bring that back intact. Jagat and Rātri are the representatives of our environment, believed to be capable of exerting influence for good or for evil (as to Rātri see ṚV. 4, 51, 9; 10, 127, esp. st. 6; AVŚ. 19, 47, 7 and 8). I cannot regard this stanza (as well as 20, 36, 9; 20, 43, 3) as attesting to a secondary accretion to Pūṣan's function of a pastoral solar pathfinder⁴⁵.

89. Cases in which Pūṣan is one of five or more gods are far from rare. In AVŚ. 1, 9, 1, the Vasus, Indra, Pūṣan⁴⁶, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni are requested to maintain in a man (whose advancement and success are the object pursued) things of value. The *sūkta* is used in ceremonies for fortune

42. See § 67 above.

43. I refer to M. Bloomfield, *The Kauśika Sūtra of Atharva Veda*, JAOS 14 (1889), (New Haven 1890; Delhi 1972), p. 89 (note to Kauś. 32, 27).

44. I refer to Atkins, *op. cit.*, p. 292, who, on p. 284, says that this passage and AVŚ. 3, 17, 4 do not "speak necessarily for an agricultural deity".

45. This is Atkins' opinion, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

46. Here AVP. 1, 19, 1 reads Tvaṣṭar in an otherwise identical line.

and power (Kauś. 11, 19), for the restoration of a king (16, 27), for longevity (52, 20) etc. – In AVŚ. 6, 3, 1 (AVP. 19, 1, 14 reading *varuṇaś* instead of *aditiḥ*) Indra-and-Pūṣan (as a dual deity)⁴⁷, Aditi, the Maruts, Apāṃ Napāt, the Seven Rivers, Viṣṇu and Dyaus (the Sky) are invoked for protection. In Kauś. 50, 13 this *sūkta* is one of the texts to be used for success in traffic; in 50, 4 it is reckoned to the welfare rites to be performed for those who undertake a journey. – In AVŚ. 19, 10, 9 Aditi, the Maruts, Viṣṇu, Pūṣan and Vāyu are invoked for well-being. AVŚ. 19, 10, 9 (RV. 7, 35, 9⁴⁸; AVP. 13, 8, 9) is part of a *sūkta* in which a considerable number of deities are invoked for well-being or good fortune. Apāṃ Napāt, the Son or Descendant of the Waters, who is, also in the Ṛgveda, mentioned in various enumerations, is, as far as I am able to see⁴⁹, an ancient water genius – cf. RV. 2, 35, 1, where he is called *nādyah* ‘‘connected with or sprung from the rivers’’ – that in course of time has been confused with the water-born Agni, whose abode is in the waters (RV. 8, 43, 9). That a traveller was in need of the protection of the rivers and genii of the water is self-evident. – After stating, in AVP. 19, 20, 1, that the gods have set aside the deadly weapon which was possessed (or used) by men, those who are to recite this stanza pray to Indra-and-Agni, Dhātār, Savitar, Bṛhaspati, king Soma, Varuṇa, the Aśvins, Yama and Pūṣan to protect them from death. For Soma’s protective influence see, e.g., AVŚ. 3, 5, 4; 4, 3, 7⁵⁰. Yama is elsewhere (e.g., AVŚ. 4, 34, 4; 6, 36, 6; 12, 3, 8; cf. also 7, 112, 2 etc.) besought to spare (or release) those speaking and that is doubtless here also the meaning of the invocation of this god.

In the brief *sūkta* AVP. 1, 40 the author expresses the wish that a large number of gods, among them Mitra-and-Varuṇa, Indra-and-Bṛhaspati⁵¹, Tvaṣṭar and Pūṣan as well as Savitar may be submissive to him. The text is quoted and used in the *prāyaścitti* ritual (rite of atonement) recommended in Kauś. 133, 3 in case of conflagration in the village. Intelligibly enough, Pūṣan’s name is not omitted, because he has the interests of the Aryan settlements at heart. – AVP. 2, 72, 2 is remarkable in that the names of the gods invoked are accompanied by indications of the means by which they are expected to ‘‘make this kingdom (country, *rāṣṭram*) increase, grow or prosper (*vardhayantu*) so that it be rich in people (subjects)’’: Tvaṣṭar should help to achieve this purpose by means of (the country’s) outward appearance or visible phenomena (*rūpeṇa*; cf., e.g., Kauś. 124, 2); Savitar by instigation or vivification (*savena*); Day by Mitra, Night by Varuṇa – this must mean that these two periods are expected to contribute to the result

47. See Gonda, Dual deities, p. 345.

48. See § 58 above.

49. I refer to J. Gonda, The relations between ‘gods’ and ‘powers’, ‘s-Gravenhage 1957, p. 55 ff.

50. And see Nobel, Register zu Geldner, RV. übers., p. 231 ff.

51. See Gonda, Dual deities, p. 329.

desired through the intermediary of these two great gods with whom they have relations⁵²; Pūṣan, as may be expected, by means of forms or manifestations of prosperity (*puṣṭibhiḥ*); Bhāgadhā (“the deity that allots shares”); as a substantive AVP. 2, 65, 1; 19, 3, 13) by apportionment. Stanza 1 runs parallel: Agni is to co-operate with this splendour (with which he is vigilant: RV. 3, 24, 3), Sūrya with his light, Dyaus with his greatness or majesty (*mahiman*), Intermediate Space with his expanse, the Diśaḥ (Cardinal points) with the regions, Pṛthivī (Earth) – who is a mother (AVŚ. 2, 28, 4; 9, 10, 12, etc.) – with various forms of ‘milk’. – AVP. 2, 80, 2 is a similar prayer for the benefit of a man who has lost his life’s spirit (*asu*); Tvaṣṭar, Savitar, Day and Night are asked to act in the same way; Indra and Bṛhaspati – here two individual gods – to pursue the object of the charm by means of the best (or most excellent, *jyeṣṭhena*) *brahman*, that is the power represented by the latter who is often stated to be the companion of the former⁵³; the object by means of which Pūṣan, the last god, is co-operating, is left unmentioned. – At the end of AVP. 4, 3, 7 Pūṣan is besought to favour (*avatu*, *puṣṭibhiḥ* may be supposed to be sous-entendu) the person concerned and Savitar to do the same by his power to vivify (*savena*, see 2, 72, 2 above); in the *pādas* a-c Heaven and Earth, Śukra (Soma?, see RV. 2, 41, 2 etc., but this deity is mentioned later on), the Dakṣiṇā, (the) Svadhā, Soma and Agni are implored for protection. The stanza is the last of a series in which the favour of a number of gods is implored; notice the final position of Pūṣan and Savitar. – The author of AVP. 5, 26, 7 asks Bhava and Bhava-and-Śarva (here a dual deity⁵⁴) – in AVŚ. 6, 93, 1 Śarva is called an archer, in 13, 1, 23 Bhava-and-Śarva are besought to hurl the lightning at the evil-doer; cf. also 11, 2, 1; 8; 14; 16 etc. – Indra, Vāyu, Bṛhaspati, Tvaṣṭar, and Pūṣan to slay the demon of avarice and enviousness (Arāti). The epithet *adhyakṣaḥ* “overseer”, placed between Tvaṣṭar and Pūṣan, is applied to several gods (RV. 8, 43, 24; 10, 128, 1 Agni; AVŚ. 9, 2, 7 Kāma etc.) or used as a substantive (RV. 10, 129, 7 denoting, in an indistinct manner, an aspect of a(n important) god; here also?)⁵⁵.

90. AVP. 13, 14, 2 is a somewhat curious stanza in which it is asked what was the great *vrjanam* of Dhātār, Rudra, Vāyu, (and) of those possessed of *vāja*. Now *vrjanam* means, not only “a fenced place, enclosure, esp. the sacrificial enclosure (and the circle of those engaged in recitation)”, but also a “settlement (with its inhabitants), community, pasture etc.”⁵⁶. Perhaps

52. For Mitra and the day and Varuṇa and the night see J. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972, p. 37 f.

53. I refer to Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 310 ff.

54. See Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 31; 77.

55. I refer to J. Gonda, *Selected Studies*, Leiden 1975, III, p. 431.

56. See also Renou, *E.V.P.* VII, p. 80; X, p. 79 f.; XV, p. 58; XVI, p. 83; 125.

also under the influence of Grassmann's⁵⁷ tentative translation of Indra's *vrjanam* in RV. 1, 173, 6 Atkins⁵⁸ rendered the word by "garment"; other (and possible) translations of that place are "Gurt" and "clôture". *Vājinaḥ* are, generally speaking, potent and procreative men, horses, or gods, the last meaning being here the most probable. The stanza continues: "What do Pūṣan, Brahmaṇaspati, and the Viśve Devāḥ bear (carry, support, *bibhrati*)?": here Atkins translates "wear", referring to the clothes (*vāsas*) of Bṛhaspati, Soma and the Maruts in st. 1. However, in st. 3 the author asks where Ratrī (Night) and Ahaḥ (Day) settle down; in st. 6, who has given names to the birds, etc. So the question in st. 2 c may mean: "What does Pūṣan bear?" (as we have seen⁵⁹, a goad, a pricker); "what does Brahmaṇaspati bear?" (the answer may be "bow and arrows", RV. 2, 24, 8). These attributes are better known and of greater relevance than the clothes of these gods. Is Rudra's *vrjanam* his residence, where he is in RV. 7, 46, 2 said to observe the race of those who inhabit the earth?⁶⁰ And is Vāyu's *vrjanam*, as in RV. 10, 65, 1 f. (cf., e.g., ŚB. 11, 2, 3, 1) the atmosphere? – AVP. 17, 21 is an imprecation: the person speaking tears or cuts off (*ā vṛścāmi*) his enemy, giving him up to a considerable number of gods and powers, in st. 5 to Indra-and-Agni, Prajāpati, Parameṣṭhin⁶¹, king Soma, king Varuṇa, Pūṣan, Dhātā, Savitar, and Tvaṣṭar; in 6 to Dawn, Day, Night and Sun, in 7 to the herbs (creeping plants), useful plants, and trees, etc. That is to say, in each of the otherwise identical st. 5-9 the deities form a homogeneous, similar or traditional group. The names of Indra and Agni⁶² and those of Prajāpati and Parameṣṭhin are often coupled; Soma and Varuṇa do not constitute a frequent pair but have the title king in common (see also AVŚ. 5, 21, 11, in the same order). So the conclusion is legitimate that in the view of the author the other four gods mentioned in st. 5, viz. Pūṣan, the Establisher who places things where they belong⁶³, the stimulating and vivifying god and the divine craftsman have common interests and, in a way, act together for the same specific purposes.

91. The statement, in AVP. 9, 12, 6 f., that Vāyu, residing in the reality (*satye*), protects the respiration and grants a complete span of life is intelligible at first sight. So is the following "the gods are founded (dependent) on Prajāpati" (cf. ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 11; 11, 1, 6, 7). The Ādityas are said to support themselves (*yemire*): why?, because they are universal or

57. Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 1329.

58. Atkins, op. cit., p. 292; cf. Geldner, RV. übers. I, p. 251; Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 50.

59. See p. 87 above; RV. 6, 53.

60. Or should we refer to ŚB. 1, 7, 3, 1 (cf. 7 f.)?

61. Not "supreme Prajāpati" (Atkins, op. cit., p. 293); see J. Gonda, Parameṣṭhin, to be published in JAOS 105.

62. Gonda, Dual deities, p. 271 ff.

63. See also Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 115.

supreme rulers (*samrājah*, ṚV. 3, 54, 10; 7, 38, 4) and lords of the heavens (6, 51, 4) and so on? After them Pūṣan is stated to be *raśmiṣu yatah*. This has been translated: “Pūṣan is supported on (his) rays” and has given occasion to the comment: “(this reference is) immediately followed by a mention of the sun-god Viṣṇu” and “save for (this place and AVŚ. 7, 9 – which however occurs also in the Ṛgveda –) there are no allusions in the AV. to his solar nature”⁶⁴. But *raśmi* means also “rein” (e.g. ṚV. 1, 28, 4; 6, 75, 6; and of Indra’s rein(s) 5, 33, 3; 6, 29, 2; 10, 93, 9; of the Aśvins’ 8, 35, 21); why should Pūṣan, that most excellent charioteer⁶⁵, not depend on his reins? Moreover, we are nowadays reasonably sure that Viṣṇu was not a solar deity, but rather the representative of pervasiveness and spatial extensiveness that are essential to the establishment and maintenance of the cosmos and beneficial to the interests of men and gods⁶⁶. In 9, 12, 7 Viṣṇu is called Āditya. This is worth noticing, because in the Ṛgveda he does not belong to the six (2, 27, 1), seven (9, 114, 3) or eight (10, 72, 8) Ādityas. In some *brāhmaṇa* passages there are twelve Ādityas (ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 8; 11, 6, 3, 8), and in post-Vedic literature Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭar, Savitar and Viṣṇu join the earlier smaller group⁶⁷. From AVŚ. 11, 6, 2 it appears, however, that in atharvadic circles he maintained relations with the older group of Ādityas (Varuṇa etc.): here his name occurs between those of Mitra and Bhaga. Viṣṇu is further stated to ascend to the sky (the heavens) while ascending to the sun (*svā rohan*), and that at the time (or under the circumstance) of his approach (*ākrame*). This may be taken to refer to the god’s third step which places him in the sky (TS. 2, 4, 12, 3).

So it would appear to me that the fact that in the above texts the other gods do not belie their own nature (that is to say, that the contexts in which they make their appearance are not out of tune with what we might expect when an author comes to speak of them)⁶⁸ provides good ground for assuming that the opinions of Pūṣan’s functions and behaviour expressed in the Atharvaveda are likewise in harmony with the belief of the Aryans in general.

64. Atkins, op. cit., p. 292; 284. I would like to replace this author’s comment upon AVŚ. 7, 9 (p. 284) by the following note: this *sūkta* which consists of material that is almost entirely found also in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā contains references to Pūṣan’s knowing “all these places” (st. 2) and to his being acquainted with or able to discover (*prajānan*, st. 1) and prays to him for recovery of what has been lost; hence its use in Kauś. 52, 12-14. It does not show that he is a faded solar deity.

65. See § 69.

66. I refer to J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, London 1970, p. 5 ff.

67. I refer to Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 43 f.; E.W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 81 f.; Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 117 f.

68. Atkins’ assertion (op. cit., p. 283; cf. p. 285) “the Rig-Vedic deities have (in the Atharvaveda) become of almost equal value” may create serious misunderstanding; from the fact that they are often invoked for the same purpose it does not follow that they are equivalent or interchangeable “colourless and conventionally summoned divinities”.

92. Special attention may also be drawn to the fact that in those stanzas which contain a number or an enumeration of divine names there is a tendency to couple the same names wherever they occur. Leaving those cases that are not pertinent to the matter under discussion and those places that also occur in the *Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā* out of account, I mention the following cases of names occurring in the same quarter of a stanza or syntactic unit. Pūṣan is coupled with Bṛhaspati (Brahmaṇaspati) in AVŚ. 3, 14, 2; 5, 28, 12; 7, 33, 1 and AVP. 2, 80, 2; 13, 14, 2 (notice, moreover, AVP. 12, 6, 6 Dhātar, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati); with Tvaṣtar in AVP. 1, 40, 1; 5, 26, 7; 20, 2, 6 (and notice AVŚ. 11, 6, 3 Dhātar, Pūṣan and in the next *pāda* Tvaṣtar⁶⁹; AVP. 19, 22, 13 Tvaṣtar, Pūṣan, Sūrya); with Indra AVŚ. 6, 3, 1; 6, 67, 1 (and notice 1, 9, 1 Indra, Pūṣan, Varuṇa etc.); with Savitar AVP. 4, 3, 7 (with Dhātar, Savitar, Tvaṣtar 17, 21, 5); with Dhātar AVŚ. 11, 6, 3; with the Maruts 14, 1, 33; with Yama in 19, 20, 1. A few words in description of the corresponding ṛgvedic facts, which are more numerous and more varied, may be welcome. Pūṣan is coupled with Bṛhaspati in 5, 46, 5 (but notice 5, 46, 3 Viṣṇu, Pūṣan, Brahmaṇaspati; 7, 41, 1 Bhaga, Pūṣan, Brahmaṇaspati; 7, 44, 1 Indra, Viṣṇu, Pūṣan, Brahmaṇaspati; 10, 35, 11 Bṛhaspati, Pūṣan, Aśvins, Bhaga); with Tvaṣtar only in 10, 125, 2 (together with Bhaga); with Indra in 3, 57, 2; 6, 57, 1; with Viṣṇu in 1, 90, 5; 6, 17, 11; 7, 35, 9 (notice also 6, 21, 9 Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Agni, Puraṃdhi; 8, 54, 4 Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī; 10, 66, 5 Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Mahiman, Vāyu, Aśvins); with Bhaga in 1, 90, 4; 4, 30, 24; 5, 41, 4 (notice also 5, 46, 2 Pūṣan, Bhaga, Sarasvatī; 5, 49, 3 (and cf. 6, 51, 11) Pūṣan, Bhaga, Aditi; 8, 31, 11 and 9, 101, 7 Pūṣan, Rayi, Bhaga; 9, 109, 1 Mitra, Pūṣan, Bhaga; 1, 14, 3 Mitra, Agni, Pūṣan, Bhaga); Pūṣan and Vāyu in 5, 43, 9; 7, 39, 2 (notice also 10, 65, 1 Vāyu, Pūṣan, Sarasvatī); for the combination of Pūṣan and (Soma) Pavamāna see 9, 81, 4; for Mitra, Varuṇa, Pūṣan 6, 24, 5; 10, 98, 1; for Pūṣan, Puraṃdhi and the Aśvins 2, 31, 4; for Pūṣan, Narāśaṃsa, Pūṣan and Agohya (i.e. Savitar) 10, 64, 3. Although one should not be categorical about the demonstrative force of these places, the conclusion seems warranted that the authors of these texts were inclined more or less consciously to couple the name of Pūṣan, not with solar deities or other representatives of particular natural phenomena, but with divine figures that represent well-being, affluence, 'Lebensraum', skilfulness, order, vivification, the production of offspring etc. and helpfulness on the one hand and the important gods Indra and Bṛhaspati (who presides over the fundamental power that manifests itself also in the rites) on the other. It is also interesting to notice, first that in the enumeration of the Ādityas in Mbh. 1, 114, 55 f. not only Mitra and Varuṇa as well as Aṃśa and Bhaga, who constitute well-known pairs, follow each other immediately but also Pūṣan and Tvaṣtar; in Mbh. 12, 208, 16 B. and 13, 150, 15 B. Tvaṣtar

69. Remember that AVP. 1, 19, 1 has *tvastā* instead of *pūṣā* in AVŚ. 1, 9, 1.

precedes Pūṣan; and in the second place that Pūṣan and Sarasvatī occur only in the same metrical unit, if they are accompanied by a third god (Viṣṇu, Bhaga, or Vāyu).

93. It is finally worth while to examine also the variant readings in these stanzas which the Atharvaveda- and Ṛgveda-Saṃhitās have in common. Instead of ṚV. 4, 57, 7 b *tām pūṣānu yachatu*⁷⁰ AVŚ. 3, 17, 4 reads *tām pūṣābhi rakṣatu* “let Pūṣan defend it (viz. the furrow made by Indra)” representing Pūṣan as a protector. – In contrast to ṚV. 6, 54, 10, asking Pūṣan to lay his right hand around (his favourite)⁷¹ AVŚ. 7, 9, 4 and AVP. 20, 43, 3⁷² read “... in front” (*purāstāt*), which is in harmony with the belief that the god goes in front as a guide⁷³. – Instead of ṚVKh. 5, 2, 2 “Indra and Pūṣan have surrounded (*pāri cakrātuḥ*) the routes of these (people, *eṣām*)” AVŚ. 6, 67, 1 reads “everywhere (*sarvataḥ*) about the routes Indra and Pūṣan have gone”; the text is intended to confound the enemy but, whereas the reading of AVŚ. does not, remarkably enough, refer to any human individual(s), the ṚVKh. does (*eṣām*)⁷⁴. – The line AVP. 19, 1, 13 ab (= ṚV. 5, 46, 3 cd) “I invoke Viṣṇu, Pūṣan ...” is in AVP. followed by “here (in this case, now, *iha*) Soma, Varuṇa ... must come to our aid”. – The reading AVP. 19, 29, 3 “... Pūṣan must give back your (*te*) body” is recited for a definite person, “... our (*naḥ*) body” in ṚV. 10, 59, 7 is a more general prayer.

70. See § 52 above.

71. This seems to be the sense of *parāstāt*; cf. Geldner, *RV. übers.* II, p. 158; Renou, *E.V.P.* XV, p. 149.

72. Cf. AVP. 20, 36, 9.

73. See 90 above. The commentary, however, reads *parāstāt*; see also Whitney and Lanman, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

74. Cf. also ṚV. 1 106, 4 and AVP. 4, 28, 4 (without *iha*), but notice the metre and the reading *vājayann* in ṚV.

VIII. Pūṣan in the other Vedic texts

94. I now proceed to discuss the occurrences of the god in the other Vedic works¹. In contrast to Atkins' collection of the mantras of the yajurvedic *saṃhitās*, in which the many useful and often indispensable references to the exegetical and liturgical literature are disregarded, the following survey will also consider the various uses of the mantras, the *brāhmaṇa* passages in which they are quoted or explained, their liturgical application as well as the other passages in which mention is made of Pūṣan's name or information on his functions can be obtained.

In one of the mantras that are to accompany the collecting of the sacrificial grass and its tying with a cord (TS. 1, 1, 2 n; MS. 1, 1, 2: 2, 2; 4, 1, 2: 3, 18; KS. 1, 2; 31, 1) Pūṣan is invited to tie the knot (*puṣā te granthim grathnātu*). Why? In the long and detailed chapter containing the relevant ritual explanations (TB. 3, 2, 2, 8) the answer is: "(Saying this) he bestows prosperity (*puṣṭi*) on the patron of the sacrifice"; MS. 4, 1, 2: 3, 18 likewise; KS. and KapS. 47, 1: 285, 3 observe that Pūṣan represents *puṣṭi*. This answer is no doubt correct. Cf. also BhŚ. 1, 4, 12; ĀpŚ. 1, 4, 13. For knots in protective, apotropaic and healing rites see Kauś. 19, 12; 26, 9; 10²; TB. 3, 3, 3, 4 (by tying a knot one "envelops" blessings in a person). By pronouncing the next mantra "I hold thee up with the arms of Indra" he puts the command of his psychical faculties (*indriyam*) into the patron, and so on. When the officiant unties the knot which binds the bunch of sacrificial grass, he recites the formula "Pūṣan must untie thy knot" (BhŚ. 2, 8, 4; ĀpŚ. 2, 8, 3; MŚ. 1, 2, 5, 28; MS. 1, 1, 12: 7, 9). The same verb (*viṣyatu*) is used in the formula "Pūṣan must open thy opening" (hollow in a dish etc.)

1. In this chapter and chapter IX some brief repetitions and cross references will be inevitable.
2. I refer to P. Wolters, Faden und Knoten als Amulett, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 8 (Freiburg i. Br. 1905), Beiheft 1; J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, II, London 1911, p. 293 ff.; abridged edition, London 1957, p. 314 ff.; X. Wolters, Notes on antique folklore, Thesis Utrecht 1935, p. 61 ff. Compare also ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 25; 3, 6, 1, 25; GG. 4, 9, 8; KhG. 4, 3, 14; Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 159 f.

recited when the lid of the container of clarified butter is removed (BhŚ. 2, 5, 11; ĀpŚ. 2, 6, 1 etc.). Atkins³ supposes Pūṣan to be considered able to untie knots in his (artificially extended) role of *vimuco napāt* (RV.); being able to untie he was naturally conceived as also being able to tie. In view of the difference between the phrases with *vimuc-* and the tying and untying of the sacrificial grass on the one hand and the congeniality of the power and effect of knots to Pūṣan's character on the other this hypothesis does not seem wholly convincing.

95. One of the *ratnin* offerings – a feature of the *rājasūya* ritual⁴ – is to be made in the house of the dignitary or functionary titled *bhāgadugha* (TS. 1, 8, 9, 2; KS. 15, 4: 212, 1; MS. 2, 6, 5: 66, 10; 4, 3, 8: 48, 5). This title has been variously translated: “carver” (Eggeling), “divider” (Keith), “dealer out of portions, distributor”⁵. According to ŚB. 5, 3, 1, 9 the offering consists of a *caru* for Pūṣan, because this god is the *bhāgadugha* to the gods (see also ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 17), just as this functionary is the *bhāgadugha* to the king who is being consecrated. In BŚ. 26, 1: 272, 1 this functionary is called *mahānasika*. Now, a *mahānasa* is a “kitchen” and a *mahānasī dāsī* is a “kitchen-maid” or “cook”, and in the *āsvamedha* ritual the name of the king's fourth consort (BŚ. 15, 25: 229, 9). So, although it is uncertain what the functions of the *bhāgadugha* exactly were, he may be supposed to have been entrusted with the supervision of the food-supply or of the preparation of food⁶. Hence Pūṣan's association with him; compare the explanation added in MS. 4, 3, 8: 48, 5 “Pūṣan, one should know, is *puṣṭi* (prosperity), he puts *puṣṭi* in the share of that (person)”.

The stanza VS. 4, 8 = RV. 5, 50, 1 *viśvo devāsya netūr mārto vurīta sakhyām / viśvo rāyā iṣudhyati dyumnām vṛṇīta puṣyāse* is in ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 19 divided into five parts and at variance with the grammatical facts and the meaning of these words explained as follows: the beginning (*v.d.*) refers to the Viśve Devāḥ, *netur* to Savitar⁷, *m.v.* to Mitra, *d.v.* to Bṛhaspati, *puṣyāse* to Pūṣan. The author of TS. 6, 1, 2, 5 divides the same stanza into its four quarters, which he assigns to Savitar, the Fathers, the Viśve Devāḥ and Pūṣan respectively. The combination of the name of the god and the verb *puṣ-* is obviously regarded as self-evident.

When a sacrificer had produced his ritual fire he has to recite the formula “with Prajāpati's breath I breathe out on thee with (TB. and ĀpŚ. 5, 11, 5) (for, MŚ. 1, 5, 3, 6) “the thriving (*poṣa*) of Pūṣan, for long life, for a hundred years ..., for brilliant vital power, life, religious merit (*puṇyam*)” (TB. 1, 2, 1, 19).

3. Atkins, op. cit., p. 276; 281; cf. § 67 above.

4. I refer to Heesterman, Royal consecration, p. 49 ff., esp. p. 54.

5. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, II, p. 100.

6. One of the other *ratnins* (the *pālāgala*) seems to have been closely connected with the *pālāgalī*, another title of the least respected of the ruler's wives.

7. This is correct.

Instead of the line *ā puṣtām etv ā vāsu* “let prosperity, let property (wealth) come” of AVŚ. 6, 79, 2 and AVP. 1, 39, 2 TS. 2, 4, 5 b reads *ā pūṣā* etc., which comes to the same thing. There is no corresponding place in the other yajurvedic *saṃhitās*. In the preceding verses Agni is invited to come with cattle, the (Soma) drop to “delight us with *puṣti*”, the other gods invoked being Savitar, Dhātār and Tvaṣṭar, all of them well known to us. These mantras belong to the supplementary sacrifices (*upahomas*) of the *citrā iṣtis* (TS. 2, 4, 6; BŚ. 13, 36: 135, 9; ĀpŚ. 19, 25, 15; see also HŚ. 22, 12)⁸. This rite should be performed by a person who desires cattle; by performing it he comes to be propagated with offspring, cattle and pairings (*mithunaiḥ*, TS. 2, 4, 6, 1, i.e. “his children and cattle are born through pairing”). – In explanation of a mantra with which the cows are blessed when they return from the pastures in the evening the author of MS. 4, 2, 10: 33, 8 says that the words “let Aryaman, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati, Indra bring you (the cows) together” mean: Aryaman is the sacrifice, he therefore unites them by means of the sacrifice; Pūṣan is *puṣti*, he therefore unites them by means of *puṣti*; Bṛhaspati is Brahman ...; Indra is *indriyam* ...⁹. See also MS. 4, 3, 8: 48, 5; KS. 37, 3: 86, 10.

96. The opinions of the yajurvedic authorities are divided on the interpretation of the words *pūṣṇā sayujā saha* which form part of a series of mantras that are to accompany the ceremonies fetching of the lump of clay representing Agni (an episode of the *agnicayana* ritual). According to the Taittirīya tradition (TS. 4, 1, 2 f) these three words belong to what follows: “With Pūṣan as fellow, from the abode of the earth do thou approach Agni who is in the loose earth ...”. The *brāhmaṇa* section 5, 1, 2, 4, observing that the fire is *purīṣāyatanah*, i.e. that it “has loose earth for its regular position” characterizes Pūṣan as the one “who brings about a good connexion of roads” (*adhvanām samnetā*) and adds that these words are spoken in order to attain (the goal, *samastyai*); KS. 19, 2: 2, 11 likewise. The Vājasaneyins, on the other hand, regard the three words as belonging to what precedes: “Speed through the wide intermediate space, thou (the ass) possessed of prosperous pastures, affording safety, with Pūṣan as thy fellow”. MS. 2, 7, 2: 75, 8 likewise. The commentaries as well as ŚB. 6, 3, 2, 8 identify Pūṣan with the earth (*pṛthivī*)¹⁰. Both views of the god’s function are, of course, tenable. One could also say that the officiant mentioning the god’s name is in hopes that the latter will bring the undertaking to a prosperous event.

In ŚB. 5, 2, 5, 8 it is explained why a dark-grey bull should be given as a *dakṣiṇā* after a pap has been offered to Pūṣan (and so on). “Such a dark-grey one is of Pūṣan’s nature, (for) the dark-grey has two forms, viz. the white

8. I refer to W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei. Darstellung der altindischen ‘Wunschoper’*, Amsterdam Academy 1908, p. 124 f. (n^o 177).

9. See Muusses, *Koecultus*, p. 41.

10. Cf. § 107; 124.

hair and the black” and a couple (*dvandvam*) means a productive pair (*mīthunam*), and Pūṣan represents productiveness (*prajananam*), for Pūṣan is cattle and cattle is productiveness ...”. In connexion with the dark-grey he-goat that is offered to Soma-and-Pūṣan¹¹ and which forms a *pratiṣṭhā*, Pūṣan is, however, with a view to the effect of the rite, declared to be the earth, and one establishes oneself firmly (*pratiṣṭhati*) on the earth (13, 2, 2, 6). Other places attesting to the custom to offer a dark-coloured victim to Pūṣan are VS. 24, 7; 29, 58; TS. 1, 8, 17, 1; 2, 1, 6, 1; 5, 5, 22, 1; KS. 5, 9, 2; MS. 3, 13, 8; cf. also MS. 2, 6, 13: 72, 9 *pauṣṇas caruḥ śyāmo dakṣiṇā*.

97. In a section of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka it is told that when Prajāpati wished to create the universe the east was called into being by the primeval tortoise. Thereupon the other regions came into existence as a result of the appearance of the sun, the wind etc.: when the sun had arisen, that was the eastern region, and so on. When Pūṣan had made his appearance that became “this region” (1, 23, 6) i.e. the lower region. Since the pronoun *ayam* (*idam*, *iyam* etc.) often refers to what is on the earth, or in this earthly world, *iyam diś* may be taken to denote the central terrestrial region¹².

In the exposition of the creation of the manifold world from Brahman, the All, the author of BĀU. 1, 4, 11 ff. informs us that after having created the princely power (nobility, *kṣatram*), represented by Indra, Varuṇa, Soma and other rulers among the gods, and next the mass of the people (commonalty, *viś*), represented by those gods who are supposed to exist in groups such as the Vasus, Maruts etc., it produced the *sūdra* order, viz. Pūṣan, adding: “Verily, this (earth) is Pūṣan, for she nourishes (*puṣyati*) everything that is”. It strikes us that in contrast to the preceding phases of this process the fourth estate is represented by a single deity, who is ‘identified’ with the earth. Since *sūdras* mostly were agricultural servants, this place may be taken to characterize Pūṣan as the god who presides over the manual labour in the fields that converts the fecundity of the earth into man’s nourishment. – However, in TB. 2, 5, 7, 4 where Mitra is ‘identified’ with nobility and called “lord of the reigning or military order (*kṣatrapati*)” and Bṛhaspati is said to be *brahman* and *brahmapati*, Pūṣan is given the title *viṣpati* “lord of the *viś*”¹³.

The authority to whom we owe the passage MS. 4, 2, 7: 28, 11 provides his audience with the following interesting instruction. One should entice away an uncastrated weaned calf of the cows of a *vaiśya* or a *sūdra* who is very prosperous (*bahupuṣṭa*), addressing it: ‘Thou art granter (*sic*, plural) of refreshing food (*ilāndāh stha*). For cows are granter of refreshing food, the

11. In the formulae for accepting gifts (*dakṣiṇās*) in TĀ. 3, 10 (the goat) is associated with Tvaṣṭar, the sheep with Pūṣan (the god of the small domestic animals): *rājā tvā varuṇo nayatu devī dakṣiṇe pūṣṇe vim*.

12. The commentary explains: *adhodīś*, which then should not be translated by “nadir”.

13. See § 138 below.

nakṣatra of Pūṣan brings prosperity (causes to thrive, *poṣayisnu*). A fixed opinion among men that belong to the great mass of the settlers (of the people, *viśyēsu*) is that the *nakṣatra* of Pūṣan causes to thrive (brings prosperity). He should select (that calf from the herd) saying: ‘Give me a complete span of life, give me brilliant energy and prestige (*varcas*), give me property, give me prosperity (*puṣti*)’. He deprives him (the owner of the calf) of his property and prosperity’.

When those who are performing the sacrifices of full and new moon have to make two balls of flour mixed with water which are destined for different deities (cf. BŚ. 1, 9: 12, 16; BhŚ. 1, 25, 7; ĀpŚ. 1, 24, 5¹⁴), the division of the dough is according to MŚ. 1, 2, 3, 17 to take place by Pūṣan, the possessor of everything (*pūṣā vāṃ viśvavedā vibhajatu*). Why Pūṣan, and why this epithet? As appears from ŚB. 1, 2, 2, 3 explaining VS. 1, 22, the flour and the water which have been mixed to the accompaniment of the formula ‘I unite thee for generation’, are expected to bring ‘‘offspring, prosperity, food, and so on’’ to the patron of the sacrifice. It is therefore not surprising that the god who presides over prosperity, food etc. and is considered able to parcel out all properties (Pūṣan) should be invited to perform the following ritual act.

In a section on special sacrifices the author of TS. 2, 2, 1, 4 f. enjoins the sacrificer concerned to offer an oblation to Pūṣan (*pauṣnam carum*), who is the giver of psychical power and energy or virtue (*indriyam vīryam*) and this is what the sacrificer receives.

98. When the old bull is to be substituted by a young one, the former is to be offered after the latter has been let loose to go to the cows. The offering of the fat of this victim is accompanied by a stanza (ĀpŚ. 19, 17, 5) which, occurring in different forms in TS. as 3, 3, 9 c; in KS. as 13, 9: 191, 16 and MS. 25, 10: 61, 13, is a variant of AVŚ. 9, 4, 5 (AVP. 16, 24, 4)¹⁵, a text used in Kauś. 24, 19 in the same ceremony. The atharvanic version of the stanza may be translated as follows: ‘‘This bundle (the fat) (is) the portion of the gods, the essence of the water, plants (and) ghee. The mighty one (*śakraḥ*) chose a drink (*bhakṣam*, AVŚ.; ‘‘a drop’’, *drapsam*, AVP.) of soma; his body became a firm (*bṛhat*) stone (rock)’. In all probability, the ‘‘mighty one’’ is Indra who very often receives this epithet (RV. 1, 10, 6; 1, 62, 4; 1, 104, 8 etc.), which, however, in RV. 8, 4, 15 is given to Pūṣan, who in TS. 3, 3, 9 c; MS. 2, 5, 10: 61, 13 and KS. 13, 9: 161, 17 is said to have chosen the drop of soma. The name of this god who presides over cattle is not misplaced, but the stone remains obscure, unless it is an image denoting the profound effect produced by the soma on one’s constitution and physical strength (cf. RV. 8, 48, 5 etc.).

14. See also A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena 1880, p. 40 f.

15. See also Whitney and Lanman, *Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā*, p. 530; W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 64.

99. In a catalogue of mantras to be used when the victim for Agni and Soma is immolated the author of TS. 1, 3, 10, 1 mentions some formulae that are to accompany the pouring off of the melted fat and the mixing of the fat with butter (or the covering (MŚ. 1, 8, 5, 24) or stirring (BŚ. 4, 9: 123, 13) of that substance)¹⁶. Mantra h runs as follows: "For the whirl (*dhrājyai*, in the other texts *dhrājyai*) of Vāta (the wind) thee, for the speed (impetuosity, *ramhyai*) of Pūṣan, for the growth (increase) of the waters (and) the (useful) plants". After *ramhyai* KS. 3, 7: 26, 8 inserts "for not wavering (absence of tottering, *avyathise*) of (caused by) heat (hot vapour)"; MS. 1, 2, 17: 27, 3 likewise, except for "the essence (juice, *rasah*) of waters and plants" instead of the above. According to ŚB. 3, 8, 3, 21 ff., explaining VS. 6, 18, this means: "Yonder blower (*yo 'yam pavate*) sweeps along the air, and for the air (*antarikṣam*) he takes it ...; Pūṣan's speed is that (wind)¹⁷ and for that he takes it; ... (VS. reads *ūṣmaṇo vyathisa*) the hot vapour is that (wind) and for that he takes it". The purport of these words is clear: the ritual act is to have a beneficial effect on the increase of the waters and the growth of the plants. This accords very well with Pūṣan's main function. The cooking of the substance and "the water joining it for the moving of the wind" (BhŚ. 7, 20, 1; cf. ĀpŚ. 7, 25, 4; TS. 1, 3, 10 f g) are obviously also believed to be beneficial to the movement of the wind and the speed of Pūṣan. As we have seen¹⁸ Pūṣan is sometimes closely connected with Vāyu or Vāta. Since, according to the ŚB., his speed is the wind, he is here on the verge of identification with that phenomenon. The whirl of the wind (produced by the ritual act) whose speed is a manifestation of Pūṣan is beneficial to the meteorological processes (see ŚB., l.c.) on which depend the increase of rain and the growth of plants.

In ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 32 and 14, 2, 1, 9 both gods, Pūṣan and Wind ("he who blows here", *yo 'yam pavate*), are explicitly 'identified'. In the former passage VS. 38, 15 *svāhā pūṣṇe śarase* "svāhā to Pūṣan, to the film on the boiled milk"¹⁹ is explained as follows: "Pūṣan is the wind, for he (the wind) causes everything here to prosper (*puṣyati*), and breath is that (wind); he thus bestows breath upon him"; and see ŚB. 3, 8, 3, 22: "Pūṣan's speed is the wind". The other passage deals also with an episode of the *pravargya* ritual, viz. the tying and milking of the cow that has to yield the milk for the ceremony²⁰, more precisely with the calf that is admitted to the cow to suck. This young animal is addressed: "Thou art Pūṣan" (VS. 38, 3; KŚ. 26, 5, 3 *vatsam utsrjati*). In the same VS. 38, 3 a rope is put around the horns of the

16. See also Caland, on ĀpŚ. 7, 25, 4 and 5 (W. Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, I, Göttingen and Leipzig 1921, p. 262).

17. In ŚBK. these sentences read as follows: *ṣa vāva pūṣā yo 'yam pavata. etasmā u hi gṛhṇāti*.

18. See § 58 above.

19. Cf. also VS. 38, 15 and ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 32 as well as VS. 39, 5 where the film is connected with Mitra as against MS. 4, 9, 9: 192, 11 *puṣṇe śarasi svāhā*.

20. J.A.B. van Buitenen, The *pravargya*, Poona 1968, p. 98 f.

cow with the words “Thou art Aditi’s girdle, Indrāṇī’s head-band”:²¹ another instance of the occurrence of Pūṣan and female deities in close connexion. The words *pūṣāsi* are also found under similar circumstances in BhŚ. 1, 12, 4 (where one of the calves or, alternatively, all the calves are ‘identified’ with Pūṣan²¹); ĀpŚ. 1, 12, 9 (sacrifices of full and new moon) and ĀpŚ. 6, 3, 10 (*agnihotra*, in 8 the cow is addressed as Iḍā, Aditi, Śraddhā etc.). – However, they are, interestingly enough, also used on another occasion where they shed no less light on the ideas associated with the name of the god, or the circumstances that evoke his memory. When, at a certain moment, the sacrificer who is performing the *agnihotra*, has appeased some inauspicious forms of Rudra so that this god (as Paśupati) will not hurt his cattle, he consumes the remaining cream of the oblation by means of his finger, that is, by wiping off the ladle, without making it touch his teeth and pronounces the formula “thou art Pūṣan” (ĀpŚ. 6, 11, 4; HŚ. 3, 7, 91: 352 (enjoining the performer to recite the formula twice); MŚ. 1, 6, 1, 46)²². According to MS. 1, 8, 5: 122, 1 ff.²³ “Pūṣan represents cattle. He (the sacrificer) obtains cattle. If this one (Pūṣan) is not propitiated, he is not pleased (i.e. displeased) and expects a human sacrifice with the sacrificer as an oblation”. With regard to this ritual act this text observes that one thereby gratifies the human beings (p. 121, 19), and that the serpents would hurt him, if he should make the cream touch his teeth (p. 121, 20). Remember that Pūṣan is the toothless god (ŚB. 1, 7, 4, 7)²⁴.

100. At a certain moment the *adhvaryu* who is engaged in the performance of an *aśvamedha* binds a he-goat consecrated to Pūṣan behind a he-goat consecrated to Agni. Since Pūṣan represents food (*annam*; also TB. 1, 7, 3, 6) “they (the officiants) therefore bring food to the front-fire”. The patron is in a similar way and for the same reason provided with food by means of a he-goat consecrated to Indra-and-Pūṣan (*aindrāpauṣnam*, TB. 3, 8, 23, 2). It is therefore not surprising that one can obtain food by offering a dark animal to this god who “is” food (TB. 2, 1, 6, 1).

The relation between Pūṣan and boiled milk is also attested to by VS. 39, 5. The *mahāvīra* pot in which the milk for the *pravargya* ritual is boiled represents or belongs to various deities at different stages of the ceremony. If at a definite stage there is a flaw or omission in the performance an expiatory libation is to be offered and a formula is to be addressed to the

21. The plural occurs also in TB. 3, 7, 4, 15; see Dumont in Proc. Am. Phil. Soc. 105, p. 23, n. 69.

22. I also refer to Dumont, L’agnihotra, Table synoptique, n° 126.

23. This passage has been translated by H.W. Bodewitz, The daily evening and morning offering (*agnihotra*) according to the brāhmaṇas, Leiden 1976, p. 100.

24. See also Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 35. On this place D.J. Hoens, Śānti, Thesis Utrecht 1951, p. 36 observes that by avoiding biting (in the cream) one prevents the serpents from biting.

deity that at that particular moment is represented. When the milk overflows the pot is Pūṣan's (VS. 39, 5 *pauṣno viṣpandamāne*).

101. In the section that contains the mantras for the so-called *nakṣatra* bricks (*agnicayana* ritual) the *nakṣatra* Revatī is associated with the deity Pūṣan (TS. 4, 4, 10, 3; KS. 39, 13: 131, 7; MS. 2, 13, 20: 166, 8). Since other combinations are at first sight intelligible (e.g., the *nakṣatra* Rohiṇī and Prajāpati ŚB. 2, 1, 2, 6; the two Aśvayujs and the Aśvins), one should not attribute this combination to the merest chance: *revatī* means "the prosperous, opulent, wealthy one". In ṚV. 10, 19, 18 the cows are addressed as *revatīḥ*: "die ihr unseren Reichtum bildet" (Geldner); the adjective is also used to describe *iṣ* "refreshing drink" (9, 72, 9), *vāja* "(re)creative power" (6, 1, 11), *puramdhi* "bounty, liberality" (1, 158, 2). In TB. 3, 1, 2, 9 f. (12) Pūṣan and his *nakṣatra* figure as a pair following that path that leads to the speaker's sacrifice (*pūṣā revaty anveti panthām*), being styled "lords (that is also dispensers) of prosperity" (*puṣṭipatī*). "protectors of domestic animals" (*paśupā*) and "possessors of dwellings full of *vāja*". In the same chapter (3, 1, 5, 12) it is told that at one time Pūṣan, being desirous of becoming rich in cattle, offered a particular sacrificial pap (*caru*) to himself and to Revatī with the result that his hopes were realized. The sacrificer who is performing this sacrifice should pronounce the formulae "To Pūṣan *svāhā*; to Revatī *svāhā*, to cattle *svāhā*". Stating that Revatī is Pūṣan's *nakṣatra* the author of TB. 1, 5, 1, 5 associates her name with cows and calves.

102. Whereas in the Ṛgveda (5, 51, 14) the "wealthy (*revatī*) Pathyā", whose name no doubt expresses the idea of "the way(s) which lead(s) to property" (cf. 7, 18, 3), appears in the same stanza as the important gods Mitra-and-Varuṇa, Indra and Agni²⁵ – a setting that may be regarded to point to her comparative importance –, she is in post-ṛgvedic texts Pūṣan's wife. As such she is one of the goddesses who together with the name of their husbands are to be enumerated by the *āgnīdhra* on the first *upasad* day of a soma ceremony²⁶ (see BŚ. 6, 20: 179, 16; BhŚ. 12, 3, 23; ĀpŚ. 11, 3, 14; MŚ. 2, 2, 1, 41; VaitS. 15, 3; GB. 2, 2, 9; also KS. 9, 10; MS. 1, 9, 2; TĀ. 3, 9, 1). It may be noticed that in this context *Vāc* is the wife of *Vāyu* or *Vāta*.

103. After stating that on the occasion of a particular long soma ceremony of 21 days' duration a victim should be offered to Soma-and-Pūṣan (*saumāpauṣam*) PB. 23, 16, 4 f. observes that "as is well known, the brahmin ('is') Soma and Pūṣan ('is') cattle", the commentary adding that the brahmin is said to be Soma on the strength of a place in the *śruti*, viz. "Soma

25. Cf. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 80.

26. See Caland and Henry, L'agniṣtoma, p. 71.

is king of us the brahmins” (see, e.g., VS. 9, 40)²⁷. “Thus”, the text continues, “they (those who participate in the ceremony) strengthen their own deity through cattle and make themselves a skin” (cf. § 3 and 10: those who perform this rite drive away darkness and run the risk of becoming leprous). See also KS. 11, 5: 150, 5 (the same argument in connexion with a *caru* offered to the dual deity by one desirous of cattle) and cf. TS. 2, 2, 10, 3; MS. 2, 1, 5: 7, 10.

The gods Soma-and-Pūṣan²⁸ appear in the beginning of a mantra which is the last of the series in KS. 11, 12: 159, 15; here the words *somāpūṣaṇemau devau* are followed by the stanza RV. 8, 67, 4: “Soma-and-Pūṣan these gods – great is the assistance of you mighty ones (plural); O Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, we desire your assistance”. This stanza comes after three others that are identical with RV. 6, 74, 2; 3; 1 in which the dual deity Soma-and-Rudra, whose name (in the vocative) always occupies the first place; the deity is besought to drive away disease, to be favourable to all creatures and so on. It is clear that the names of Soma and Pūṣan are, somewhat awkwardly, added to those of the gods to whom these prayers are addressed, but it is significant that Pūṣan, not Rudra, is Soma’s partner. In VS. 24, 1 the dual deity Soma-and-Pūṣan receives a dark-coloured he-goat. The man who desires cattle should offer to Soma-and-Pūṣan (TS. 2, 1, 1, 6; 2, 4, 4, 3; also MS. 2, 1, 4: 6, 6 where Soma is the impregnator and Pūṣan the procreator (*prajanayitā*) who procreates the cattle. Similar MS. 2, 5, 1: 46, 12; 4, 3, 7: 46, 6; KS. 12, 13: 175, 18. – I also draw attention to MS. 2, 5, 5: 53, 18 dealing with the immolation of a neutral animal to the dual deity Soma-and-Pūṣan on behalf of an impotent man. In this connexion Pūṣan is homologized to the earth, Soma to the (medicinal and edible) plants; together they impart a full command of his faculties and manly power to a man. Cf. MŚ. 5, 2, 10, 26²⁹. One may suppose Soma to represent the healing medicine, Pūṣan fecundity.

Here the so-called *trīṣamyuktaṃ havis*, the “triplely intertwined offering”, a feature of the *rājasūya* ceremony³⁰, deserves our attention (see TS. 1, 8, 8; KS. 15, 3; MS. 2, 6, 4; BŚ. 12, 4; KŚ. 15, 2, 11 ff.). Consisting of three unbloody sacrifices of three offerings each, and concentrating respectively upon Viṣṇu, Soma and Pūṣan, this rite can bring about the fulfilment of special wishes: the cakes offered to Agni-and-Viṣṇu, Indra-and-Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu (a position as headman of) a village (ĀpŚ. 18, 10, 6) or continuity of sacrificial activity (HŚ. 13, 3, 43), the cows offered to Soma-and-Pūṣan, to Indra-and-Pūṣan and Pūṣan according to both authorities, cattle (cf. also TB. 1, 7, 4, 2 and especially ŚB. 5, 2, 5, 5 ff.).

27. The reader may be referred to Heesterman, Royal consecration, p. 71; 75 ff.

28. Cf. § 53 above.

29. See Gonda, Dual deities, p. 354 f.

30. I refer to Heesterman, Royal consecration, p. 42; 45 f.

104. In Book I the author of the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka, dealing with the *āruṇaketuka* fire mentions *inter alia* the placing of the bricks in the names of the Aśvins, who are successively praised as two horses, as a couple, as day and night etc. One of the mantras quoted is a variant of RV. 6, 58, 1 which is addressed to Pūṣan³¹; in this variant the singular forms of the personal pronoun are replaced by dual forms and in the fourth *pāda* the remarkable dual *puṣanau* is substituted for the singular vocative *pūṣan* (1, 10, 2). That means that a Pūṣan stanza is adapted so as to become an Aśvin stanza and that the Aśvins are regarded as a double manifestation of Pūṣan, their character being explained in the commentary as “gods who cause to thrive or prosper, nourishing gods” (*poṣakau devau*). The same explanation (*pūṣṇe: poṣakāya devāya*) is in this commentary (4, 10, 3) found with reference to Pūṣan.

Two mantras quoted in MS. 4, 12, 6: 198, 4-7 and (with a few variants) in TB. 2, 5, 4, 5 f. and used as invitatory and oblatory formulae attest to a form of co-operation of the Aśvins and Pūṣan for the same purpose: “O Aśvins, performers of deeds of marvellous skill, come to the sacrifice of the worshipper. Let Pūṣan guard our property” and “Let these Aśvins, who cause this sacrifice to be successful, confer mainly energy (MS., property TB.) upon the patron of the sacrifice; let these two guard our cattle everywhere; let Pūṣan, ever alert, protect us”. The aid and protection of the Aśvins is, e.g., also implored in RV. 8, 5, 12; 8, 9, 1. Notice that in the above mantras special mention is made of the herds and other property of the worshippers.

Pūṣan is indeed, also in these works, not infrequently identified or associated with cattle. See, e.g., MS. 3, 10, 6: 137, 16 “Pūṣan ‘is’ cattle” (*paśavo vai pūṣā*); 4, 3, 7: 46, 8; ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 9; ŚB. 13, 3, 8, 2 “Pūṣan rules over cattle”. TS. 2, 1, 4, 3 “man has Soma as his deity” (*saumyo vai devatayā puruṣaḥ*), “cattle have Pūṣan” (*puṣṇāḥ paśavaḥ*); 2, 2, 10, 3. Because in the mythical past Pūṣan had established the fire with Agni as its deity, he became successful (prosperous, *ārdhnot*), “therefore cattle are said to be Pūṣan’s” (TS. 1, 5, 1, 3)³².

105. In the section dealing with the milking of the cow that has to yield the milk for the *pravargya* ceremony³³ MS. 4, 9, 7: 127, 8 prescribes the use of the formulae *pūṣā tvopāvasīdatu* and *bṛhaspatīḥ tvopāśīdatu*. In the corresponding passages of TĀ. 4, 8, 2 f. and 5, 7, 2 f. these formulae read as follows: *pūṣā tvopāvasṛjatu* and *bṛhaspatīḥ tvopāśīdatu*, and are commented upon (in 5, 7, 2; 4): “cattle, one should know, belong to Pūṣan in respect to their deity; he thus admits (the calf to its mother) with its own deity” and

31. See § 49 above.

32. Tvaṣṭar is here for the same reason and in the same way associated with cattle.

33. See van Buitenen, *The pravargya*, p. 95 ff.

“Bṛhaspati is the Brahman of the gods³⁴, he thus approaches it with Brahman”. The parallel passages BhŚ. 11, 9, 7; 9 and ĀpŚ. 15, 10, 6; 7 have the same readings, the second of which is doubtless correct, because the officiant seats himself by the cow with these words “Bṛhaspati must sit by (approach) thee”. The reading of the first formula in MS.³⁵ does not seem to be original, since a verb for “to let go to, admit” is required (TS. 1, 6, 11, 3; 1, 7, 1, 3; etc.).

Among the other places that attest to Pūṣan’s association with cattle is TB. 1, 7, 6, 6, where Agni is said to have shown his favour with the *gārhapatyā* fire, Indra with *indriyam* (psychical faculties, etc.), Pūṣan with domestic and sacrificial animals (*paśubhiḥ*), Mitra-and-Varuṇa with inhalation and exhalation³⁶. – Whereas Agni is in charge of (the supervision of) the production of offspring and Indra gives or causes to give grown up living beings, Pūṣan is the god who causes cattle to propagate offspring (cf. TB. 1, 7, 2, 3 ff.). He is worshipped for offspring and cattle (ĀpŚ. 4, 10, 1).

106. When Prajāpati became pregnant with all beings, these were seized by evil, death. He delivered them with the help of the gods (and ‘deified’ entities) some of whom wished to be remunerated for their help by means of a share, others by lordship. This is, in brief, the aetiological myth explaining the origin of the ritual placing of the so-called *sṛtaḥ* (“freeing or releasing bricks”) in the fourth layer of the great fireplace (ŚB. 8, 4, 2, 1 ff.; cf. TS. 5, 3, 4, 1 ff.). The accompanying mantras, ten in number, are structurally identical: “Thou art the portion of Indra, the lordship of Viṣṇu, the lordly power (*kṣatram*) is saved (freed, *sṛtam*), the fifteenfold *stoma* (a definite form of Vedic chant)”. This is not the place to consider these coordinations (see VS. 14, 24-26; TS. 4, 3, 9; KS. 17, 4; KapS. 26, 3: 106, 12; MS. 2, 8, 5) in detail. It must however be noticed that, just as Mitra is coupled with Varuṇa and the Vasus with the Rudras, and so on, Aditi – who receives a portion – is associated with Pūṣan, who is given a lordship; that at ŚB. 8, 4, 2, 9 the former is declared to be the earth (*iyaṃ vā aditiḥ*): a well-known identification (see, e.g., RV. 1, 72, 9; 5, 59, 8; ŚB. 5, 3, 1, 4; 7, 4, 2, 7); and that, in the same § 9, it is *ojas* “creative power and authority” that, for the benefit of the living beings, is freed from evil, death, by means of the thrice-ninefold *stoma*. The words *ojas* and *triṇavaḥ stomaḥ* occur also in the mantra sections TS. 4, 3, 9 etc., but the *brāhmaṇa* section TS. 5, 3, 4, 3 f. provides a different explanation: “Aditi is a firm foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*), Pūṣan is a *pratiṣṭhā*, the *triṇavaḥ stomaḥ* is a *pratiṣṭhā*”³⁷. See also KS. 21, 1:

34. See also KS. 37, 2: 85, 19 ff. quoted in ch. IX.

35. Translated “Let Pūṣan set thee near by” (Atkins, op. cit., p. 282) and “May Pūṣan approach thee” (J.M. van Gelder, *Mānava Śrautasūtra*, New Delhi 1963, p. 122).

36. Cf. J. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972, p. 26 f.

37. As regards the earth and Aditi as a *pratiṣṭhā* see J. Gonda, *Selected Studies*, II, p. 341, for *stomas* and *pratiṣṭhā* p. 340; 351, for *pratiṣṭhā* and *ojas* p. 351.

37, 9. In ŚB. 8, 4, 1, 20 both *ojas* and that *stoma* are 'identified' with a 'thunderbolt' (*vajra*³⁸) – the *ojas* in Indra's arms is the *vajra* in ṚV. 8, 96, 3 – and are consequently regarded as identifiable. The association of *ojas*, a particular *stoma*, the idea of a firm foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) and the process of growing (a concern of Aditi's and Pūṣan's) is not unknown: see PB. 10, 1, 3; 6, where the *trivṛt stoma* is said to be a *pratiṣṭhā* as well as *ojas* and physical power (*balam*). PB. 6, 10, 15 ff. sets forth that SV. 2, 1115 ff. = ṚV. 9, 29, 1-3 should be used for a person who is desirous of rain, because these stanzas contain the word *ojas* and by means of *ojas* and *vīryam* ("energy") what is held back is given and, consequently, rain is produced. In MS. 2, 1, 1: 1, 15 Indra-and-Agni represent *ojas* and *vīryam* but Pūṣan is the one who gives *vīryam* (see also p. 2, 2 and KS. 9, 17: 121, 1). It may be recalled that in ṚV. 5, 84, 3 the earth bears and holds fast the trees by her *ojas* and that in 10, 75, 1 the Sindhu outrivals all other rivers *ojasā*. The *stoma* is called *triṇava*, i.e. "consisting of three times nine (parts)": the number nine is not infrequently found in connexion with powers concerned with vegetation³⁹ and the threefold often expresses completion, totality, perfection, universality. So the conclusion regarding the deeper meaning of the mantra seems to be that when Aditi (Earth) received a share, Pūṣan was made overlord, after these two gods had helped Prajāpati to free *ojas*, that is, to pave the way, by means of a representative of threefold fertility, for an aspect of creativity (in nature).

In an exposition of the Maitrāyaṇīya version of the driving of the calves and the cows with a branch of *parṇa* (*palāśa*) (MS. 4, 1, 1: 2, 6, cf., e.g., TB. 3, 2, 1) the following mantra is addressed to the animals: "Pūṣan is your protector (*paraspāh*, in the ṚV. applied to Agni, Indra, the Aśvins and Mitra-and-Varuṇa), Aditi is the protectress of those (i.e. the cows) that go forth (to the meadows, *prertvaripā(h)* conj.; *pretvariya(h)* mss.⁴⁰ and VŚ. 1, 2, 1, 9 where the mantra is found also, Indra is your overseer; come back unharmed". As regards Aditi's protection see, e.g., ṚV. 4, 25, 5; 8, 18, 6 (where mention is made of cattle); 8, 27, 22; 8, 47, 9. – For Pūṣan as a protector see also SMB. 1, 8, 4; TS. 1, 1, 7, 2 k (1, 5, 10, 4 l).

107. Among the formulae which the *adhvaryu* has to pronounce while looking at the cow that serves as the price of the soma plants are "Mitra must bind thee by the foot" and "Pūṣan must guard (thy) ways", "for Indra, the supervisor" (TS. 1, 2, 4 h, i and k; KS. 2, 5: 10, 21; MS. 1, 2, 4:

38. As to *vajra* see, e.g., Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 41.

39. Gonda, Aspects, p. 94 f.; as to threefoldness, Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 30 f.

40. See W. Caland, in Acta Or. Lugd. 5 (1927), p. 252 f.; 9 (1931), p. 77; L. Renou, J. Ved. Stud. 2 (1935), p. 109, and the note in W. Caland and Raghu Vira, Vārāha-Śrautasūtra, Lahore 1971, p. 14.

13, 5; VS. 4, 19)⁴¹. In TS. 6, 1, 7, 6 the use of these mantras is explained as follows: “Mitra is the auspicious (benign, benevolent, *śivaḥ*) one of the gods; verily with his help he binds her (the cow) by the foot ... Pūṣan is this (earth); verily he makes her mistress (ruler) of this (earth), for obtaining (it); verily he makes Indra her supervisor (guardian)”⁴²; in KS. 24, 3: 92, 8 ff.: “Mitra is *brahman*, he binds her by means of *brahman* ...; Pūṣan is the earth, he gives the earth to her; Indra is the greatest authority (most powerful, *oḷiṣṭhaḥ*) of gods, he makes him her supervisor”⁴³; in MS. 3, 7, 6: 82, 6 f.: “He controls her by means of Mitra’s fetter ...; Pūṣan is the earth; the earth prepares for her the way etc. (as in KS.)”⁴⁴; ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 18 f. observes that a rope is of Varuṇa, and the cow is on the other hand to be controlled; what is of Mitra is not of Varuṇa and with Mitra’s rope the cow is under control; as to Pūṣan, he is the earth, “and for whomsoever she (the earth) is the guardian of his paths, he does not stumble at any time”, and in connexion with the Indra formula, this means: “Let her be well-supervised (guarded)”⁴⁵. See also (BŚ. 6, 12: 169, 14); BhŚ. 10, 15, 5; ĀpŚ. 10, 22, 10; MŚ. 2, 1, 3, 35. What strikes us is, first that Indra collaborates here with Pūṣan, who is elsewhere often associated with him, and in the second place that Pūṣan, obviously in his function of the god of ways, is by all these authorities ‘identified’ with the earth.

108. Remarkably enough, the verb *vimuc-*⁴², though occurring in a stanza that makes mention of Pūṣan, describes an action of the dual deity Indra-and-Vāyu⁴³. The fragments of pottery which are made to form a dish or cauldron for the baking of the sacrificial cakes (ritual of full and new moon) are TS. 1, 1, 7, 2 k; 1, 5, 10, 3 l; MS. 1, 1, 8: 4, 14; MŚ. 1, 3, 5, 22 (*kapālāni vimuñcati*); KS. 1, 7 said to be *pūṣṇaḥ ... vrata*. A translation “in Pūṣan’s guardianship”⁴⁴ or “... dominion”⁴⁵ does not bring out why these fragments should be a concern of Pūṣan’s. The author means to say that in view of his functional conduct⁴⁶ they are an object of the god’s attention and solicitude, no doubt because he is the god of prosperity (*puṣṭi*). Then Indra-and-Vāyu are requested to release these pieces of pottery. As to Indra-and-Vāyu, was the combination of the mightiest (cf. ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 3) and the swiftest (8, 4, 1, 9; AiB. 2, 25, 1) of gods supposed to give good prospect of a happy and successful event (cf. ṚV. 4, 21, 4)? In the *agnyupasthāna* rite the same mantra is used to accompany the depositing and arranging of the

41. Atkins, op. cit., p. 277, n. 23, misled by a printer’s error in A.B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 24, n. 0 erroneously says that “this *pāda* is recited as the sacrificer looks at the sun”.

42. See § 67 above.

43. I refer to Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 214.

44. Keith, *Veda Black Yajus School*, p. 17.

45. Atkins, op. cit., p. 277.

46. For *vrata* see Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 461 f.

pieces of pottery (TS. 1, 5, 10 l; BŚ. 3, 15: 85, 16). Likewise in connexion with these objects in KS. 31, 6: 7, 17; MS. 4, 1, 8: 10, 13. KŚ. 2, 8, 16 f. mentions its optional use when, also in the rites of full and new moon, the *adhvaryu* smears these objects with clarified butter.

The mantra TS. 1, 2, 3 “all the gods have turned towards me, Pūṣan with gain (acquisition, *santi*), Soma with a gift (bounty), god Savitar, the bestower of wealth” is connected with the bestowing of gifts to the patron (the *yajamāna*)⁴⁷, who pronounces it when those who have to beg for these gifts (the *sanīhārāḥ*) leave (BŚ. 6, 7: 164, 12 ff.; MŚ. 2, 1, 3, 13). BhŚ. 10, 11, 14 f.; ĀpŚ. 10, 18, 5 prescribe instead: “Pūṣan with the acquisition (*pūṣā sanyā*), Soma with a gift”, omitting the other words. Other texts read *pūṣā sanīnām somo rāḍhasām* (MS. 1, 2, 3: 12, 9; KS. 2, 4: 10, 9; 23, 6: 81, 19 f.). KS. 23, 6 adds the comment “for Pūṣan is lord of the acquisitions (*sanīnām*), Soma of the gifts; ‘give so much, O Soma’, (he says), it is, indeed, Soma who gives him that which he acquires (for himself, *vanute*)”. Soma is, e.g., RV. 9, 35, 6; 9, 46, 5; 9, 97, 25; 9, 108, 13, praised as a god who possesses, finds, and brings possessions and treasures; in 2, 40, 6 he is as the lord of valuable property (*rayīpati*) expected to bring that (to the worshipper)⁴⁸. Cf. also MS. p. 12, 10. For Pūṣan as a giver see also KS. 14, 2: 202, 1. The texts of the White Yajurveda make no mention of Pūṣan (cf. VS. 4, 11 f.; KŚ. 7, 5, 2; ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 25), but ŚB., l.c., prescribing the use of “bestow this much, O Soma, bring more” (VS. 4, 16 c; also TS. 1, 2, 3 f), observes that “Soma indeed is the one who appropriates for the consecrated patron whatever people offer to him”. TB. 6, 1, 4, 7, however, prescribes (the first sentence of) the mantra 1, 2, 3 e for another purpose: “Now (his command of) his physical faculties (*indriyam*) and the deities (*devatāḥ*) depart from the one who is consecrated (*dīkṣita*) when he is asleep. He recites “all the gods ...”; verily, he brings him together (unites him) with (his) *indriyam*, with the deities”. According to ĀpŚ. 10, 15, 10 the consecrated sacrificer should whisper the first sentence of the mantra when he is going to sleep and to 10, 18, 3 and BhŚ. 10, 11, 11 also when he has awakened. – When in the above rite those who have received the gifts have returned MŚ. 2, 1, 3, 13 has the following mantra recited: “God Savitar (is) the giver of possessions, Vāyu the herdsman (protector, *gopāḥ*), Tvaṣṭar the ruler (*adhipatiḥ*), Pūṣan the receiver” (MS. 1, 2, 3: 12, 10; see also 3, 6, 9: 73, 6). As to Savitar, see above; for Vāyu as a protector see RV. 1, 134, 5; Tvaṣṭar is the god who not only makes, but also possesses and holds rule over all forms (RV. 1, 13, 10; 1, 188, 9; 3, 55, 19); Pūṣan is obviously supposed to receive the acquisitions (see above). In this connexion attention may be drawn to TS. 6, 1, 4, 8, from which it appears that gifts should be specified – here with formulae such as “To Vāyu thee, to Varuṇa thee” – lest they would be put out of

47. See Caland and Henry, L’agniṣṭoma, p. 25 f. (§ 23).

48. Cf. also Gonda, Dual deities, p. 350 ff.

correspondence with the deities and he (the one who recites the formulae) would be detached from the deities. The author of MS. 3, 6, 9: 73, 5 quoting the above formulae adds the following comment: “Saying (these words) he receives (the gifts), impelled by Savitar (in accordance) with (the functions of) these deities in order to secure freedom from harm for himself; he has made Vāyu their protector, Tvaṣṭar their ruler, Pūṣan their receiver” ... – One may suppose Soma to represent the healing medicine, Pūṣan fecundity.

When in performing the *agnicayana* ritual one has to plough four times three furrows one should pronounce the following mantra over the plough while the oxen are being yoked to it (MŚ. 6, 1, 5, 36): “Pūṣan must yoke (you), Savitar must yoke (you), Bṛhaspati must yoke you by means of Agni’s fiery energy (*tejas*), by means of Sūrya’s brilliant energy and prestige (*varcas*)”; see MS. 2, 7, 12: 91, 11. That means, here again, that the officiant invites these gods to be active in and through himself, that he wishes to be fortified with divine energy. Notice also the mantra that is to follow (= RV. 10, 101, 4; also KS. 16, 12: 234, 14; KapŚ. 25, 3: 96, 5): “The inspired skilful ones (*kavayah*) yoke the ploughs ..., the *dhīrah* (i.e. those who are characterized by an extraordinary insight into the connexions of the phenomena and into the ‘identifications’ the knowledge of which enables men or gods to control these phenomena) among the gods from benevolence”⁴⁹. In KS. 16, 12: 234, 18 and KapŚ. 25, 3: 96, 9 the verb “must yoke” belongs to all five gods mentioned in the mantra. That ritual ploughing for bringing and undertaking to a prosperous issue and (or) for making out a settlement or the site of a building or construction⁵⁰ required the co-operation of gods is self-evident, but it is worthy of note that Pūṣan, in company with the Stimulator and the representative of Brahman, should be called upon for this duty.

109. In the section containing the mantras that are used for the ploughing for the sake of the piling of the *āhavanīya* fireplace (ĀpŚ. 16, 19, 5) the stanza TS. 4, 2, 5, 6 t requests the milker of wishes (*kāmadughā*) to milk (their) wishes to Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Pūṣan, useful plants and creatures (*prajābhyah*). See also KS. 16, 12: 235, 5; KapŚ. 25, 3: 96, 18; MS. 2, 7, 14: 95, 11; VS. 12, 72. It is the furrow, considered to be productive as the cow of plenty, that is addressed here (Uvaṭa, Mahīdhara). The author of ŚB. 7, 2, 2, 12 observes that agriculture is beneficial to all deities (*sarvadevatyā vai*

49. For gods called *dhīrah* see Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, p. 243 f. For other translations of the difficult last words see Geldner, RV. übers. III, p. 315; Whitney and Lanman, Atharva-veda Saṃhitā, p. 115 (AVŚ. 3, 17, 1); R.T.H. Griffith, Texts of the White Yajurveda, Benares 1927, p. 129 (VS. 12, 67); Eggeling, Śat. Br. III, p. 326 (ŚB. 7, 2, 2, 4); Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 315 (TS. 4, 2, 5, p).

50. See, e.g., M. Eliade, Traité d’histoire des religions, Paris 1949 (Patterns in comparative religion, New York 1958), § 142.

kṛṣiḥ). It is interesting to notice that Pūṣan's name precedes plants and creatures whose interest in ploughing is self-evident. He occupies an intermediate position between these beings for whose well-being he is – with others – responsible and the great gods Mitra and Varuṇa, the maintainer and the guardian of the universal order⁵¹, as well as Indra and Agni, who, considered to be brothers or relatives, have many characteristic features in common, both of them combating demons and other opponents and both being interested in the successful performance of the ritual⁵². The sections MS. 2, 7, 13 and 14 (see above) are used in MŚ. 6, 1, 6 describing the strewing of plants on the fireplace, its construction etc. Among the mantras contained in 2, 7, 13 is also that at the foot of p. 94 (cf. AVS. 11, 6, 3) in which Varuṇa, Dhātara, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭar are besought to “deliver us from distress”.

When a householder wishes to leave for one day or a longer period he should pronounce the following mantra in order to secure his property (KS. 7, 3: 65, 1; MS. 1, 5, 14: 83, 4; 17; ĀśvŚ. 2, 5, 2; ĀpŚ. 6, 24, 4; ŚG. 3, 6, 2): “Guard (*gopāyatam*), O Mitra-and-Varuṇa, for me this dwelling. Let Pūṣan protect (*abhīrakṣatu*) it so that it remains intact and undamaged until (my) return (home)”. MS. p. 83, 19 explains: “Mitra-and-Varuṇa are day and night; Pūṣan is cattle; he (thus) entrusts his dwelling to day and night as well as to Mitra-and-Varuṇa before he goes on a journey”. On Pūṣan this text is silent, but it is clear that this god is given the same credit for ability, vigilance and reliability – especially with respect to the traveller's cattle – as the dual deity. After having returned the householder should pronounce the same formula replacing however the imperatives by past tenses (MS. 1, 5, 14: 84, 10; ĀśvŚ. 2, 5, 12; ĀpŚ. 6, 26, 3).

In order to make two kinds of water unanimous and friends one ‘anoints’ them with the remainder of an oblation to the accompaniment of a mantra in which Varuṇa, Indra, Pūṣan, Dhātara, Bṛhaspati are invited to perform that task, and Tvaṣṭar and Viṣṇu are requested to give the patrons of the sacrifice offspring and property (ĀpŚ. 12, 6, 3)⁵³. In KS. 3, 9: 27, 21⁵⁴ no mention is made of Pūṣan, while Mitra and Agni join the others in the first task. The occurrence of Pūṣan in a rite that is to restore order and to lead to the birth of offspring and the acquisition of property is not surprising. – A similar mantra without Pūṣan's name is used in ĀpŚ. 14, 18, 1 (*prāyaścittas*); in KS. 35, 3: 52, 1 the gods requested to pour together water are the Maruts, Pūṣan, Dhātara, Indra, Bṛhaspati and Agni⁵⁵. – See also MS. 4, 2, 10: 33, 1 *saṃ vaḥ sṛjatu aryamā saṃ poṣā (sic) saṃ bṛhaspatiḥ sam indro ...*;

51. I refer to Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 109 f.

52. See Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 271 ff.

53. It may be noticed that the “forms” which Tvaṣṭar is asked for are explained as “bodies of sons etc.” (e.g. comm. on TB. 2, 5, 3, 3).

54. See Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 249 f.

55. Cf. AVŚ. 3, 14, 2; 7, 33, 1 (§ 82 above).

Aryaman is explained as standing for sacrificial worship (*yajña*), Pūṣan for *puṣti* (“prosperity”) etc. – For Agni, Soma, Savitar, Pūṣan, Rudra ..., Sūrya and Vāyu see TS. 7, 5, 21, 1. – In one of the *mahānāmni* stanzas Pūṣan’s name occurs in a series of brief formulae after those of Agni, Vāyu and Indra, and before that of the gods (in general); see TĀ. 1, 20, 1 and AiĀ. 4, 1, 10⁵⁶ and compare also JB. 3, 109 and KB. 23, 2 (23, 5, 14 f.). – A formula quoted in AiĀ. 5, 1, 1 runs as follows: “The Ādityas, Viśve Devāḥ, the seven anointed kings Vāyu, Pūṣan, Varuṇa, Soma, Agni, Sūrya with the *nakṣatras*, must help (favour) me”⁵⁷.

110. In case one has, on the occasion of a soma sacrifice, to perform a rite of atonement, one should offer 33 oblations to the accompaniment of the mantras collected in KS. 34, 19; 35, 1 and 2 (also KapS. 48, 1 ff.; ĀpŚ. 14, 16; 17). In these mantras Pūṣan’s name occurs twice, viz. in n° 9, which is RV. 1, 89, 6 and in the last one, n° 33: “Pūṣan with the *svagā* exclamation (also KapS. 48, 3: 297, 21); they (the gods invoked) must favour this sacrificial worship; they must favour me ...”. The same refrain occurs after the names of the preceding gods invited, viz. Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya with the gods of the earth, the *antarikṣa* and the sky (n° 28-30), Viṣṇu with the gods of the regions; Agni with the *yajus* formulae. The proper and etymological meaning of the sacrificial exclamation *svagā* (see, e.g., VS. 18, 57; TB. 3, 3, 8, 11; ŚB. 3, 7, 1, 30; 3, 8, 3, 11; 13, 1, 2, 3) probably is “(I wish) good speed” or “a safe journey (to ...)”, “be prosperous or successful” (cf. VS. 18, 21; 22, 4)⁵⁸. If so, the combination *pūṣā svagākāraiḥ* (also KS. 9, 10: 112, 7) is appropriate.

111. The Vaiśvadeva ritual as described in ŚG. 2, 14 requires, among other things, the distribution of *bali* offerings to a number of deities. When the performer presents them to Aditi and to the Ādityas, he should turn to the sun (§ 8); the offerings to Pūṣan the path-maker (*pathikṛt*) are, intelligibly enough, put on the threshold. So are those given to Dhātār (the Establisher), Vidhātār (the Distributer) and the Maruts. As is well known the peculiar power of the house appears, with various peoples, to be, so to say, concentrated in the doorway, which is also regarded as sacred because it protects the own sphere, things inside, from alien things, from the outside⁵⁹.

56. I refer to the note in A.B. Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, Oxford 1909 (1969), p. 263.

57. The verb is in the singular. See the long note on this place in Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 266. For the seven kings see Sāyaṇa on TĀ. 1, 7. Another explanation is “the seven Ādityas”, but the Ādityas have already been mentioned.

58. See A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, I, Paris 1949, p. 70 (§ 191 a); see also Wackernagel and Debrunner, *Altind. Grammatik*, ²II, 1, p. 81 and *Nachträge zu II*, 1, p. 26; A. Debrunner, in *Ind. Forsch.* 63, p. 99 f.

59. See Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 414 f.; on the threshold, p. 156; H. Wagenvoort, *Roman dynamism*, Oxford 1947, p. 151; 152 ff.; 185 f.

In the sections TS. 5, 7, 11 ff.; KS. 5, 13, 1 ff.; MS. 3, 15, 1 ff.; VS. 25, 1 ff. a long enumeration is given of the various parts of the horse that are to be assigned to a large number of deities and other beings regarded as worthy of offerings (*aśvamedha* ritual). This is not the place to try to detect why in every case a definite god receives a particular member or part of the animal; however, several associations are clear at first sight: Aditi, the mother goddess is given the animal's belly (VS. 25, 8), Heaven and Earth his eyelashes (25, 1), Wind (Vāta) his breath (25, 2) and so on. That Pūṣan, the god who protects the ways and those who use them, should be satisfied with the lower parts of the horse's forefeet (25, 3; MS. 3, 15, 3: 178, 10) is comprehensible, but why should he also be given the rectum (*vaniṣṭhu*, 25, 7; TS. 5, 7, 17; KS. 5, 13, 7; MS. 3, 15, 9)? Is the supposition too bold that he receives this in his capacity of the promoter of fertility?: notice that immediately after him mention is made of the blind, i.e. non-poisonous, creeping animals, the crawling animals and the worms receiving the large intestines, the entrails and the bowels or also the undigested contents of the bowels (TS. 5, 7, 23; KS. 5, 13, 13); as is well known, worms play an important part in the process of manuring and the preservation of the soil.

In their section on the wedding rites some manuals of the domestic ritual prescribe the use of three successive and parallel mantras in which the girls are stated to have sacrificed to Aryaman ("the wooer" and god of domestic peace and family friendship), Varuṇa (the divine representative of Order) and Pūṣan (here no doubt chiefly the god who presides over fecundity etc.) successively and next to Agni; the former three gods are moreover implored to loosen the bride from their parental home, not from that of the bridegroom (ĀśvG. 1, 7, 13; ŚG. 1, 18, 3; cf. also MG. 1, 11, 3; VG. 14, 21 etc.). It may, to mention only this, be recalled that Pūṣan is in Kauś. 78, 10 one of the gods "who have given me this wife" and that in ŚG. 1, 9, 9 this god "being rich in near relations" is requested to "make me rich in near relations by the parents etc. (of my bride)".

112. The ribs of the right and left sides of the horse's body are assigned to different deities. The eighth, ninth and tenth of the left side are given to Viṣṇu, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭar respectively, the corresponding ones of the other side to Bṛhaspati, Aryaman, Dhātār (MS. 3, 15, 4). Here Pūṣan finds himself among the same gods, with whom he is often associated. In the parallel passage TS. 5, 7, 21 f. his name does not occur.

In the series of parallel statements constituting the so-called *āvid* formulae by which the royal sacrificer who has the *rājasūya* ritual performed⁶⁰ announces himself "in this people and kingdom for great lordship and great rule over the people" Pūṣan is the third in TS. 1, 8, 12 g, the sixth in KS.

60. For a discussion of these passages see J.C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht, 's-Gravenhage 1957, p. 94 f. and 99 f. and J. Gonda, The structure of multipartite formulae in Vedic rites, Turin 1983, p. 15.

15, 7: 213, 22, the fifth in MS. 2, 6, 9: 69, 5, and the fourth in VS. 10, 9. Each god receives an epithet, Agni, the first⁶¹, that of “lord of the house” (*grhapatiḥ*), as often in the Rgveda (e.g. 1, 12, 6; 1, 36, 5; 1, 60, 4). Instead of the translation “notified is Pūṣan, all-knower”⁶² I would render the formula *avinnaḥ pūṣā viśvavedāḥ* by “announced (and also “manifest, present”) is Pūṣan, the possessor of everything” (in this sense the epithet is applied to him in ṚV. 1, 89, 6)⁶³. According to the *brāhmana* passage in TB. 1, 7, 6, 6 Agni satisfies (*avati*) the sacrificer with the position of a householder ..., Pūṣan with cattle; according to ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 32 and 35 “he announces him to *brahman* (the priestly order), because Agni is *brahman*” and “to the cattle, because Pūṣan is (represents) cattle and they approve of his consecration”. According to the commentator Bhāskara (cf. TB. 1, 7, 6, 5) “they (the formulae or the gods evoked by them) make him (the sacrificer) obtain the qualities of the gods enumerated in the formulae”.

The ancient Indians were convinced of the possibility of arranging, comprehending and influencing the facts and provinces of reality by means of symbols representing these⁶⁴. Thus a symbolical function was very often attributed to numbers providing the key for comprehending and controlling all entities united in a complex. In TS. 1, 7, 11; KS. 14, 4: 203, 5 ff.; MS. 1, 11, 10: 171, 14 ff. (also 173, 4); VS. 9, 31 ff. a number of deities is – with variation in particulars – associated with a series of numbers in ascending progression: “Agni with one syllable won *vāc* ...; Viṣṇu with three syllables the three provinces of the universe” (TS.); “with the monosyllable Agni won vital breath” (*prāṇaḥ*) (VS.), and so on. In VS. 32 Pūṣan is said to have won the five regions with the metre that consists of units of five syllables; in TS. to have won the *pañkti* (i.e. a metre that consists of five octosyllabic verses) with five syllables. In KS. and MS. Savitar is associated with the number five, Pūṣan with six. The associations of the Aśvins with two, and of Viṣṇu with three etc. are clear at first sight, but the relation of Pūṣan with five or six is not enigmatic. Both numbers occur in connexion with the regions of the universe; five is a frequent symbol of completeness. The totality of the regions constitutes a completeness. In MS. 1, 11, 10: 172, 1; KS. 14, 4: 203, 12 the god is said to have won by means of (a metre of) six syllables the seasons (which are six in number). According to the same passages (172, 12 and 203, 21) he also won the *gāyatrī* metre (which consists of three octosyllabic verses), “because, if this is (divided into) four parts, each (part) consists of six syllables”. – In this connexion it may be added

61 Agni’s name often heads such lists. He is the first of gods created by Prajāpati and goes as a protector against evil and demons often in front.

62. Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 123.

63. See also Griffith, *Texts White Yajurveda*, p. 97; Eggeling, *Śat. Br. III*, p. 89. Uvaṭa, on VS. gives us the option between both possibilities, Mahīdhara prefers the other interpretation. Also VGP. 1, 18 VI.

64. I refer to Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 28 ff.; for five and six p. 37 f.; for 21 p. 40 f.

that Pūṣan, who nourishes all this universe (ŚB. 14, 2, 1, 9), is also associated with the number of perfection 21 (Kauś. 52, 12 ff.).

113. TS. 7, 5, 21 and 5, 5, 18 contain a collection of offerings to be made if some disease or mishap were to befall to the sacrificial horse. The ritual is explained in TB. 3, 9, 17, 1-5 (cf. also ŚB. 13, 3, 8; BŚ. 15, 8; ĀpŚ. 20, 12, 7 f.). If the horse is affected by heat (pain), an offering (cake) is made to Agni, and a porridge prepared from unpounded rice or barley grains (*caru*) is given to Soma, the kings of plants, because the *adhvaryu* has to cure the horse by means of the plants from which the disease befalls him, etc. In the case of an eye-disease a porridge is to be prepared for Sūrya, "the eye of creatures" (ŚB. 13, 3, 8, 4). If the horse were to become lame, an oblation (*caru*) is to be offered to Pūṣan, "for Pūṣan is the healer of lameness" (TB. 2), an ability which in ŚB. 13, 3, 8, 2, speaking of *srāma*, a cattle-disease characterized by sickness and lameness⁶⁵, is said to be a function of the god as the ruler over cattle (*paśūnām iṣṭe*).

Those who perform the *agnihotra* have, on the occasion of the first libation, to recite, among other mantras, the following formulae (KS. 6, 8: 57, 20; KapS. 4, 7: 46, 2)⁶⁶: "Agni associated with Heaven, with Earth", with (these words) he gratifies Heaven-and-Earth (and) Agni; he obtains them (i.e. all wishes which they can fulfil). 'Associated with the god Savitar'; for there is no oblation without Savitar. 'Associated with Pūṣan, the intermediate space (*antarikṣam*)'; Pūṣan means cattle (also, e.g., MS. 1, 5, 14: 84, 11; 1, 8, 5: 122, 2; 2, 1, 5: 7, 11; 3, 10, 6: 137, 16; KS. 11, 5: 150, 6), the *antarikṣa* means cattle; he obtains cattle ...". Here again Pūṣan finds himself in very good company, the other deities mentioned being Night, Day and Indra. As regards his association with the *antarikṣa*, is a reference to the passage KB. 3, 7 (3, 8, 19 ff.) too far-fetched?: what is between the lips is the *antarikṣam*; in that one eats one gratifies the *antarikṣam* (as well as heaven and earth homologized to the upper and lower lip); sacrificial food is food, i.e. cattle; in that one eats one places food in oneself and obtains cattle. A more obvious parallel, however, is found in MS. 1, 5, 4: 71, 8 and 1, 5, 11: 80, 4; KS. 7, 2: 64, 10; MŚ. 1, 6, 2, 13 prescribing the use of another Pūṣan mantra on another occasion (*agniyupasthāna*) but as an element of the same ritual⁶⁷. According to the tradition of the Maitrāyaṇīyas one worships with each of the formulae "Pūṣan, the protector of ways, must protect me; Pūṣan, the protector of cattle, must protect me; Pūṣan, the ruler, must protect me" the earth, the atmosphere and the sky (MŚ.). The *brāhmaṇa* passage MS. 1, 5, 11: 80, 4 states that the three formulae are (homologous

65. In BŚ. 15, 8: 213, 9 the disease is called *srāva* "a morbid flow".

66. For a complete translation of this passage see Bodewitz, The daily evening and morning offering (*agnihotra*) p. 85.

67. See P.E. Dumont, L'agnihotra, Baltimore 1939, p. 156; J. Gonda, The mantras of the Agnyupasthāna and the Sautrāmaṇī, Amsterdam 1980, p. 47.

to) the three provinces of the universe, “because he (Pūṣan) visited these worlds”. That means that each of the god’s three functions – notice that the third and obviously highest is his rulership – is supposed to correspond to these three regions. The association of ways and earth is clear at first sight. The explanation in KS. 7, 9: 71, 13 runs as follows: “Pūṣan on the way (to a distant place, *prapathe*) is the earth, Pūṣan, the protector of cattle the *antarikṣam* etc., these three worlds protect him (viz. the sacrificer who recites these mantras)”. In the obviously secondary ĀpŚ. 6, 18, 3 the first and second mantras have been interchanged. As to Pūṣan as the ruler or sovereign (*adhipā*) of cattle see also KS. 10, 11: 138, 6; MS. 2, 2, 4: 18, 2, compare also KS. 7, 2: 64, 10; 7, 9: 71, 13.

114. In TB. 2, 6, 18 the compiler has collected the oblatory stanzas that in the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual belong to the preliminary offerings of the animal sacrifice, viz. the immolation of an animal to Indra Vayodhās “Indra who possesses or bestows youthful vigour or vital strength”. At the end of the ceremony this manifestation of Indra is induced to impart *vayas* to the sacrificer who has performed the *sautrāmaṇī* successfully. The mantras occur also as MS. 3, 11, 11; KS. 38, 10; and VS. 21, 12-22. These mantras are characterized by the occurrence of the metres, bovine animals and deities of the *āpṛī* hymns⁶⁸. In TB. 2, 6, 18, 2; MS. p. 158, 4; KS. p. 111, 19; VS. 15 Agni well-provided with sacrificial grass that has been spread out, accompanied by Pūṣan and free from death, as well as the *brhatī* metre and a three-year-old bull are stated to have given *vayas*. The other gods occurring in these mantras are Tanūnapāt, Sarasvatī (VS. 13), Soma, Brahmā, Bṛhaspati, Idā, Sarasvatī, Bhāratī, the Maruts, Tvaṣṭar, Indra-and-Agni, Vanaspati, Savitar, Varuṇa. In the corresponding invitatory mantra TB. 2, 6, 17 d; VS. 28, 27 it is Indra, the bestower of vital energy (*vayas*), for which he is implored, who, free from death and so on, is accompanied by Pūṣan (the commentary on both places in TB. explains *poṣaṇasāmarthyayuktam* “endowed with the ability to nourish or make prosperous”).

In the long series of mantras VS. 8, 54-59 accompanying the expiatory oblations of a soma ceremony described in ŚB. 12, 6, 1⁶⁹, in a similar enumeration of ritual formulae intended to consecrate, in the *agnicayana* ritual, the so-called *yajñatanū* bricks (TS. 4, 4, 9) and in the passage KS. 34, 14-16, Soma is stated to be identical with other gods. That is to say, the deities to whom one has, according to ŚB., l. cit., to make an expiatory offering are, successively, forms of Soma. Thus, if there is any mishap in regard to the cow given in exchange for the soma stalks, it is Pūṣan who receives the oblation with *pūṣṇe svāhā*, for Soma then is this god (ŚB. 12, 6, 1,

68. For the *āpṛī* hymns see Gonda, Vedic literature, p. 104. For these mantras in general Gonda, The mantras of the Agnyupasthāna and the Sautrāmaṇī, p. 183 ff.; for variants etc. p. 186 ff.

69. Discussed in J. Gonda, Soma’s metamorphoses, Amsterdam Acad. 1983.

8; likewise TS. 4, 4, 9, 1; KS. 34, 14). This 'identification' is perfectly intelligible, not only because at VS. 4, 19 (see ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 19; TS. 1, 2, 4 i; ĀpŚ. 10, 22, 10) Pūṣan is besought to guard the paths of this cow, when she is "sent to Soma to return together with Soma" (cf. ŚB. 21): exactly the situation under discussion. Notice, however, that at ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 19 Pūṣan is stated to be the Earth (see below).

115. Mention must also be made of the fact that the god may, in a particular situation or under certain circumstances, act or function in more than one capacity at the same time. The author of ŚB. 13, 4, 1, 14 is quite explicit on this point. The one who prepares a pap for Pūṣan secures successful progress for the sacrificial horse, because Pūṣan is the lord of the roads, and makes the earth the animal's guardian, because Pūṣan is also the earth. This does not prevent the author of 3, 2, 4, 19 from reducing both functions to one: "Pūṣan is the Earth, and for whomsoever she (*sic*) is the guardian (*goptrī*) of his paths, he does not stumble at any time".

116. It must be conceded that those scholars who have regarded the passage BĀU. 5, 15, 1 f. (= ĪśaU. 15 f.; cf. also MaiU. 6, 35 and VS. 40, 17; VSK. 40, 16) as evidencing the thesis that Pūṣan sometimes is a solar deity seem to be in the right⁷⁰. Yet a closer consideration of this passage appears to show that another interpretation is not beyond possibility. If the commentary is right in thinking that these words are the prayer of a dying person, Pūṣan invoked to unveil the "face of the (Ultimate) Reality" which is covered by a golden plate (the light of heaven, cf. also BĀU. 5, 5, 2) may be taken to be the god of that name in his function known to us from RV. 10, 17, 3 f., viz. that of the conductor of the deceased to the world of the Fathers. If so, the explanation "Pūṣan is the sun because he causes the world (of men and animals) to thrive"⁷¹ (*jāgataḥ poṣaṇāt*)" provided by Śaṅkara's commentary, however intelligible in itself, is secondary. So is the other explanation ("by nature the one who fosters or supports those who seek refuge in him", *āśrita-poṣaṇasvabhāva*, Vedāntadeśika). It is true that in § 2 (ĪśaU. 16) the verb *vyūha* "spread" is in the singular, but if one would take the five vocatives (*pūṣann ekarṣe yama sūrya prājapatya*) to indicate one and the same divine figure one should adduce evidence in favour of their equivalence. Now, the name of Yama is traditionally – but from the etymological point of view incorrectly – regarded as "the one who controls or suppresses" (*yam-*) and as such in ŚB. 14, 1, 3, 4 'identified' with the sun. This identification is clearly secondary and uncommon; already in the R̥gveda Yama is the chief of the blessed dead, who prepares an abode for

70. See, e.g., P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig 31921 (Darmstadt 1963), p. 499; S. Radhakrishnan, *The principal upaniṣads*, London 1953, p. 302.

71. Not "upholds the world" (E. Röer, *The twelve principal upaniṣads*, II, Madras 1931, p. 405).

them or gives them a resting place (RV. 10, 18, 13; 10, 14, 9). This may have been his (original) function here also, but instead of an abode, the man who recites this passage wants the god to give him access to Reality. From two atharvanic places (AVŚ. 8, 9, 25 f. = AVP. 16, 20, 3 f.) the identity and function of the figure called Eka ṛṣi or Ekaṛṣi do not become clear, but in AVŚ. 10, 7, 14 = AVP. 17, 8, 4, where he is said to be fixed in the frame of creation (*skambha*), he may be the sun, and in AVP. 21 there is no doubt: here he is Agni as the sun. However, the name occurs also in KS. 40, 11: 145, 12 and in the identical TĀ. 6, 5, 2 where (in a passage dealing with Yama) it is explained as that of the Highest Lord (*paramesvarah*). In BAU. 5, 15, 2 it is explained as the one who moves alone (*eka eva ṛṣati*) i.e. the sun (cf. TS. 7, 4, 18, 1). As to *prājāpatya* this may be an epithet of the sun, because in ŚB. 7, 1, 2, 5 this luminary owes its existence to Prajāpati's virtue and left him. So the thesis that the five names denote the same deity is tenable, but the possibility of another, and probably more original, interpretation crediting some of these divine figures with their different and characteristic functions (conductor of the dead etc.) need not be altogether excluded⁷².

117. A question on which it will be desirable to dwell for a moment is the employment in post-ṛgvedic works of ṛgvedic stanzas addressed to Pūṣan. A brief survey of these places will show that in addition to some invitatory or invocatory stanzas and references to the god's he-goat, the ritualists made their selection mainly from stanzas mentioning or imploring his protection, his liberality, his care of the ways and of cattle, and the worshippers' welfare and property.

If a householder is about to undertake a journey he sacrifices to Pūṣan, the pathmaker, with RV. 6, 53, 1 and 6, 49, 8, in which the god is called "lord of the way" and "lord of each way" (as invitatory and oblatory stanzas ŚŚ. 3, 4, 9; 3, 5, 7). In TS. 1, 1, 14, 2 both stanzas are used (as e and f) in a rite for interested purposes (*kāmyeṣṭi*) described in 2, 2, 1, 4: "Let him next offer an oblation (*caru*) to Pūṣan, the giver of a complete command of one's faculties (*indriyam*) and of virtue-and-energy (*vīryam*)" which, the author observes, are likely to fail the man who goes to the assemblage or public meeting (*janatā*). For this oblation should be made after offering to Indra-and-Agni to secure success in the *janatā*. The stanzas are appropriately used: the sacrificer, while making his way to the *janatā* for a dispute about a field etc. (TS. 2, 2, 1, 2), prays for a successful inspiration⁷³. There is no exact parallel in the other *saṃhitās* of the Yajurveda. – The man who mutters the whole *sūkta* 6, 53 will find the wealth he desires (RgVidh. 2, 23, 1).

The stanzas RV. 6, 54, 9 and 6, 49, 8 (see above) are as VS. 34, 41 and 42 used when those who perform the horse sacrifice have at a certain moment

72. Remember that *raśmīn* can denote "bridles" as well as "rays of light"

73. I refer to Gonda, *Vision*, p. 86; 133.

to prepare an oblation for this god, the lord of roads, in order to secure successful progress to the horse (ŚB. 13, 4, 1, 14 f.); but, the ŚB. observes, Pūṣan is also the earth, so that he makes the earth the animal's guardian (cf. ṚV. 6, 55, 9 ... *nā riṣyema kādā canā* "may we never be injured")⁷⁴. ṚV. 6, 54, 9 is, together with 10, 17, 6; 5; 6, 54, 10, part of the brief *sūkta* AVŚ. 7, 9, 3 in praise of the god. – In ĀśvŚ. 3, 7, 8 and ŚŚ. 6, 10, 4 the stanza ṚV. 6, 49, 8 is together with the Pūṣan stanzas 6, 58, 1; 3; 4 and 10, 17, 5; 6 employed to accompany the oblations made to this god whose victim is the fourth in a series of eleven animals dedicated to Agni, Sarasvatī, Soma, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati, the Viśve Devāḥ, Indra, the Maruts, Indra-and-Agni, Savitar and Varuṇa successively⁷⁵. Pūṣan on one hand and almost all of the other deities on the other are often found in close proximity. See also MS. 4, 14, 16: 143, 8 etc.

ṚV. 6, 54, 5 and 6, 58, 1 are the invitatory and oblatory mantras that accompany the oblations to Pūṣan in the Vaiśvadeva rite⁷⁶ (TS. 4, 1, 11 l and m; 1, 8, 2). See also 4, 10, 3: 150, 2; 4, 11, 1: 160, 2; KS. 4, 15: 40, 17; 20, 15: 35, 22; MS. 4, 11, 1: 160, 2. ĀśvŚ. 2, 16, 11 and ŚŚ. 3, 13, 13 prescribe ṚV. 6, 54, 9 and 6, 58, 1. According to Sāyaṇa, who refers to TS. 2, 1, 6, 1, ṚV. 6, 58, 3 and 1 should be recited for the fat of a dark animal to Pūṣan which is immolated for a man who desires food (TB. 2, 8, 5, 3). See also KS. 4, 14; 243, 8. ŚŚ. 5, 9, 13 dealing with the *pravargya* enjoins that ṚV. 6, 58, 1 and 2, 33, 10 should accompany the laying of a silver and a gold disk under and on the vessel (cf. ĀpŚ. 15, 7, 3; 15, 8, 5); in 2, 33, 10, which is addressed to Rudra, not to Pūṣan, mention is made of a *niṣka*, a golden ornament for the breast; in 6, 58, 1 of two objects one of which is bright or light-coloured and due to Pūṣan's auspicious favour. In KB. 8, 4 (8, 6, 3) the two stanzas are declared to be appropriate and to accompany the *svāhā* call to Pūṣan and to Rudra (*pravargya*). MŚ. 4, 2, 29 has 6, 58, 1 used when in the same ritual the *adhvaryu* throws a log of wood (*samidh*, a matter of primary importance⁷⁷) into the fire and puts down a gold plate (a light-coloured object) in a dish. As to ṚV. 6, 58, 1 see also AiB. 1, 19, 9 (*pravargya*).

The stanza ṚV. 6, 54, 5 is in the domestic ritual employed when on the occasion of the *viśotsarga*, a ceremony for welfare and fertilization of cows⁷⁸, a mess of sacrificial food is offered to Pūṣan. Since the central element of this rite is the setting free of the most vigorous bull – one that protects the herd (ŚG. 3, 11, 8) – in order to copulate with the cows, one can hardly escape the conviction that this animal is believed to impersonate the god himself

74. See also the explanation in ŚB. 13, 4, 2, 15.

75. For other particulars see W. Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, Nagpur 1954, p. 156 f.

76. See § 134 below.

77. See Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 165 f.

78. See Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 183; 432.

who is implored to “follow our cows” and “win *vāja*”⁷⁹ (ŚG. 3, 11, 5; PG. 3, 9, 5; ViDh. 86, 9). When, however, the same mantra is muttered when they go to their pasture-grounds (ŚG. 3, 9, 1; HG. 1, 18, 1), the god is no doubt expected to protect the cows he should follow. On the same occasion Indra-and-Agni are (in HG., l.c.) requested to make the cows go, the Aśvins to protect them, Bṛhaspati is besought to be their herdsman and Pūṣan to drive them back again. In ŚG. 3, 9, 1 ṚV. 6, 54, 10, in which Pūṣan’s help is implored for bringing back the cows that had been lost, is prescribed in case these animals run about. – The use of ṚV. 6, 58, 1 as SV. I, 223 in SVB. 1, 6, 1 seems appropriate in so far as it alludes to the heavens, to the *māyā* of a god and to his auspicious generosity, all of them hoped for by somebody who has atoned for his crimes; may we suppose the property he had stolen to be cattle?

The stanza ṚV. 6, 75, 10, which belongs to a hymn that either in part (see ĀśvG. 3, 12) or almost in its entirety is used for the purpose of blessing a ruler’s armour or warriors, contains the prayer “Pūṣan must guard us from danger (*duritam*)”. TS. 4, 6, 6 k quotes it as one of the mantras to be recited when, as part of the *aśvamedha* ceremonies, the corselet and armour of the military men who have to protect the sacrificial horse, are put on; according to ĀpŚ. 20, 16, 11 ṚV. 6, 75, 9-11 (TS. i, k, l) are used in adoration of the Fathers who are expected to grant their descendants energy and protection; also MŚ. 9, 2, 3, 19 (MS. 3, 16, 3: 186, 16). According to BD. 5, 131 st. 10 (k) praises the deities of battle (*stauti ... raṇadevatāḥ*); to BŚ. 10, 24: 228, 2 it is, in the same ritual, one of the mantras that accompany the girding of the patron. See also KS. 5, 6, 1: 173, 10; VS. 29, 47.

118. Among the mantra collection for the *aśvamedha* in the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā is ṚV. 1, 89, 5 in which Pūṣan is besought to increase the property of those speaking and to be their guard for their good (VS. 25, 18). It is not explained in the Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa. The formula *svasti nah pūṣā*, which is one of the series of parallel mantras of ṚV. 1, 89, 6; VS. 25, 19⁸⁰, is in ĀpŚ. 14, 16, 1 used to accompany *prāyaścitta* oblations and in MG. 2, 15, 6 prescribed in case ominous signs – for instance, a burning image of a god, a breaking cooking vessel – have to be made inoffensive. In the following mantra (ṚV. 5, 51, 11) Pūṣan is one of the gods that are implored to give welfare⁸¹.

The stanza ṚV. 7, 39, 2⁸², in which Vāyu and Pūṣan are described as arriving at men’s early call, is in VS. 33, 44 one of the mantras to be employed at the performance of a *sarvamedha*, the so-called universal soma

79. See § 50 above.

80. See § 61 above.

81. The long series of mantras has been translated by M.J. Dresden, *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, Thesis Utrecht 1941, p. 165 f.

82. See § 58 above.

sacrifice (see ŚB. 13, 7, 1) which is a means of winning every kind of food and attaining supremacy (§ 2). It is (as VS. 33, 45) followed by ṚV. 1, 14, 3, in which Pūṣan is one of the gods invited to the sacrifice; see also VS. 33, 48 and 49 (= ṚV. 5, 46, 2 and 3).

The morning invocation to various gods, especially Bhaga, ṚV. 7, 41 occurs also as AVŚ. 3, 16 (and AVP. 4, 31). Kauśika uses it in various rites, among them two for obtaining *varcas* (brilliant vital power and energy); see 12, 15; 13, 6⁸³. It is also found in TB. 2, 8, 9, 7 (stanza v) which, according to Sāyaṇa, who refers to ĀpŚ. 19, 16, 24 is to be recited as invitatory mantra for the oblation of the fat of a cow who desires the bull; as ĀpMB. 1, 14, 1 in ĀpG. 3, 9, 4 in a rite to be performed for the sake of unanimity of a newly married couple, which is another concern of Bhaga's; and as VS. 34, 34 as one of the miscellaneous texts that may be used on the occasion of a *sarvamedha*.

In TS. 4, 6, 3 (see also KS. 18, 3: 267, 10; MS. 2, 10, 5: 137, 3; VS. 17, 58) are given the mantras of the *agnipraṇayana*, the ceremonial procession of the fire in the pan (*agnicayana* ritual). When the fire is taken away from the fireplace of the *agnidh* five mantras are to be recited in which the aid of the regions is implored, a prayer for increase of wealth is uttered and so on. One of the mantras is ṚV. 10, 139, 1⁸⁴, in which mention is made of Pūṣan, the guardian who gazes on all the inhabited worlds. Since the first line of the stanza deals with Savitar, the statement in TS. 5, 4, 6, 3, viz. "(this mantra is recited) for instigation" is comprehensible, but the explanation of VS. 17, 58 in ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 12 is not less appropriate: "Pūṣan means cattle, views everything here and is the protector of the whole inhabited world". According to MS. 3, 3, 8: 41, 1 one secures cattle by means of these words, Pūṣan 'being' cattle.

119. The stanzas ṚV. 1, 162, 2 and 4 which belong to a *sūkta* that deals with the sacrificial horse and state that Pūṣan's goat walks in front to the dear province or protectorate (*pāthas*) of the dual deity Indra-and-Pūṣan, belong in the *aśvamedha* to the mantras recited for the praise of that animal (TS. 4, 6, 8 b and d; cf. BŚ. 15, 29: 223, 8; ĀpŚ. 20, 21, 11 mentioning the *aśvastoma* libations; MS. 3, 16, 1: 181, 9 and 182, 2; VS. 25, 25 and 27). Making reference to ṚV. 1, 162, 4, which mentions Pūṣan's he-goat, and to st. 2 the author of ŚŚ. 16, 3, 29 ff. deals with the above situation. In MŚ. 5, 2, 7, 17 the mantras MS. 4, 12, 6: 196, 3 and 5 (= ṚV. 6, 57, 11 and 1, 162, 2) are prescribed in case one desirous of cattle wishes to make an oblation to this dual deity (cf. MŚ. 9, 1, 1, 32). ṚV. 1, 162, 3 is VS. 25, 26 etc.

83. See also the notes on Kauś. 12, 10 and 13, 1 in Bloomfield's edition (see ch. VII, n. 43 above).

84. See § 47 above.

The stanzas RV. 2, 40, 1 and 2⁸⁵ are as TS. 1, 8, 22, 5 q and r used as invitational and oblatory mantras for the *kāmyeṣṭi* described in TS. 2, 2, 10, 3 for the benefit of somebody desiring to secure himself against leprosy: “Man has Soma⁸⁶ as his deity, cattle are connected with Pūṣan; verily he makes himself a skin by means of his own deity and cattle and does not become a leper”. The two stanzas are, as TS. 2, 6, 11, 4 w and x, to be recited by the man who, being desirous of cattle, offers beans to this dual deity, which then will produce cattle for him, Soma being the impregnator of seed and Pūṣan the producer of cattle (TS. 2, 4, 4, 3); in § 2 it is told that Pūṣan claimed the wild bean (*garmut*), which, as is well known, is an aphrodisiac, a symbol of reproductive power and a promoter of fertility⁸⁷. Both stanzas occur also in TB. 2, 8, 1, 5 (m and n) as invitational and oblatory mantras at an animal sacrifice intended for the fulfilment of special desires, in this case the desire for cattle; they are followed by the other stanzas of the *sūkta*, which according to Sāyaṇa should likewise be recited at the same sacrifice. See also ĀśvŚ. 3, 8, 1; ŚŚ. 6, 11, 2; MŚ. 5, 1, 5, 74 f. making explicit mention of a sacrifice to this dual deity for the same purpose; MS. 4, 11, 2: 163, 14; 4, 14, 1: 214, 11; KS. 8, 17: 102, 20.

The Agni stanza RV. 2, 1, 6, in which this god is said to protect as Pūṣan the worshippers with his own self, is quoted in a series of invitational and oblatory stanzas for *kāmyeṣṭis* in TS. 1, 3, 14, 1 (a); see 2, 2, 2, dealing with Agni rites, among them one to which this stanza may have belonged (§ 3). In TB. 2, 8, 6, 9 it is used in a similar rite recommended to somebody practising witchcraft. It is also the first of the mantras to be recited for the *śatarudrīya* oblation⁸⁸ on the occasion of the animal sacrifice which, in the Nācīketa *agnicayana* ritual, follows the placing of the first bricks and so on (3, 11, 2, 1; see ĀpŚ. 19, 12, 25; 19, 13, 3) and also 3, 11, 9, 9 at the end of this ceremony.

The stanza RV. 9, 101, 7 *ayām pūṣā rayīr bhāgaḥ sōmah* ... is, because of the word *rayīḥ* as SV. 1, 546; 2, 168 prescribed in PB. 11, 10, 5 (cf. 10, 6, 2). See also KS. 9, 19: 123, 12.

120. Summarizing the above facts and conclusions I must, to begin with, state my disagreement with some of Atkins' opinions⁸⁹. If none of the mantras found in the yajurvedic *samhitās* can be said “to describe or glorify” Pūṣan, one should keep in view the differences in character between the

85. See § 53 above.

86. Soma is also the king of the useful (medicinal etc.) plants; remember also the story of the girl Apālā who wanted to get rid of a skin-disease, had a vision of RV. 8, 91, and praised (Indra) with it with the result that she found a soma-stalk which she chewed; Indra, approaching, cured her of the disease (JB. 1, 220 f.).

87. I refer to Meyer, Trilogie, III, p. 292, s.v. Bohnen.

88. For particulars see Dumont, in JAOS 95, p. 648.

89. Atkins op. cit., p. 275 f.

poetry of the Ṛgveda, which does glorify and to a certain extent describe the great figures of the pantheon on the one hand and the collections of liturgical formulae of the Yajurveda on the other. The compilers of the latter did not wish to describe individual gods or to pursue the line of religious thought of the poets. But this does not mean that they evince a lack of interest in the figures and functions of these deities and that they regarded an understanding of their nature and capabilities as unnecessary. It is, generally speaking, true that in the Yajurveda the gods exhibit little development but it is not a fact that “they are often arbitrarily associated with the multifarious minutiae of the sacrifice in order to dignify and enhance those minutiae and hence are artificially and arbitrarily endowed with a number of ritualistic functions”. A thorough examination of the relevant passages – which we should never shirk – shows that in the large majority of cases the part a god is expected to play, the activities which are expected from him, the duties he is to fulfil and the consequences of his presumable actions and influence are appropriate to his functions and not incompatible with his character. It may safely be assumed that the ritualists endeavoured to select from the Ṛgveda those stanzas which they considered to be pre-eminently adapted for their specific ritual purpose, viz. the consecration of the sacrificial acts, and that they were also convinced of the sacred and inherently powerful character of the many non-ṛgvedic mantras that were just as well recited in order to evoke the divine power which was supposed to be present in them⁹⁰. Why then should the identity of that divine power have been as a rule a matter of indifference? Why should “an understanding of its nature have become unnecessary”? It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the Vedic sacrificial rites to a considerable extent were utilitarian techniques intended to activate useful powers or bearers of power, to appease various dangerous manifestations of evil, to derive personal benefit from the contact with superhuman beings that, each in his own way, were supposed to represent or preside over provinces of the universe, power concepts and so on, and by means of mantras were induced to comply – each in his own field and in his own way – with the wishes of sacrificers and officiants, when they by means of their rites endeavoured to maintain the normal or desirable course of things in the world⁹¹.

As far as Pūṣan is concerned, the part played by this god in the *samhitas* of the Yajurveda may be said to agree with the facts known to us from Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda. Whereas some mantras attest to functions, characteristics or relationships of the god that were more fully evidenced in the Ṛgveda, his concern with and supervision of cattle seems, as already observed by Atkins, to have received more emphasis. He is even ‘identified’ with cattle and in

90. I refer to J. Gonda, *The Indian mantra*, Oriens 16 (1963), p. 244 ff., esp. p. 255 (= S.S. IV, p. 248 ff., esp. p. 259); *The ritual sūtras*, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 502 ff.; 565 ff.

91. See J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, Stuttgart 1978, p. 104 ff.

VS. 38, 3 the cow is said to be Pūṣan. He is also 'identified' with food. In this connexion it must be remembered that in the Veda creation or products are often stated to "be" (to be 'identical' with) their creator or cause, a conviction that could find more or less general acceptance because creation was often believed to consist in a process of emanation. Special attention must be drawn to those passages in which the name of the god occurs side by side with the idea expressed by the noun *puṣti* "prosperity, a well-nourished condition, thriving, increase, opulence". He concerns himself with the fertility of the earth, with growth and the creativity of nature, the creation of new life, the acquisition of property, and occurs therefore also in passages dealing with the earth, milk, ploughing, ways and wind or is described as having Aditi, the Aśvins, Soma, Savitar, Dhātār, Vāyu, the Maruts, Tvaṣṭar, Br̥haspati as associates. There seems therefore to be sufficient justification of the assertion that Pūṣan, as a god of the abodes, land, surroundings of an Aryan community, was believed to be responsible for the prosperity of men and cattle, the production of food and the promotion of agriculture and economy. Many particular activities of the god – e.g., his care of the ways for the benefit of travellers, cattle and herdsmen, his promotion of the *dhī*, his acting as an escort to the bride or the deceased – are to be regarded as specialized ('contextual') forms of that activity.

121. In studying the characters of the ancient Indian gods and trying to gain an insight into their relations with their worshippers – what did their myths signify to the believers?; what did the qualities, particular power, activities with which they were credited mean to the sacrificers and ritualists? – it should, moreover, be borne in mind that from the geographical, chronological and social points of view the ancient Aryans did not constitute completely homogeneous groups of worshippers⁹². In different places, in different social units or at different times particular details or aspects of a mythical complex and of its central divine figure would receive more or less attention, be regarded as more or less essential or significant, be emphasized or disregarded. For narrators in oral cultures a mythical story is always the same despite the different ways in which it is recounted and the accommodations of their essential meaning to the circumstances of narration and the requirements of the custom or ritual practice that is to be explained or justified⁹³. In all the mythical tales quoted in the above pages Pūṣan remains essentially the same figure. He is not the god of a definite natural phenomenon – for instance, the sun or one of its aspects – or the deity presiding over some concrete object such as the herd or the path; it is impossible, whilst basing one's inferences on the texts, to comprehend his various contextual functions as developments from such comparatively narrow interests. He is the representative of a process – or

92. Cf. Gonda, *Religionen Indiens*, I², p. 59 etc.

93. See, e.g., A.B. Lord, *The singer of tales*, Cambridge Mass. 1960.

rather of a complex of processes – perceived and observed, or supposed to exist, but in any case recognized, by the ancients, conceived, according to circumstances, as an action or idea⁹⁴ or as a divine being believed to have a will and to act as a person and he is given a name: *puṣṭi* or Pūṣan. See, e.g., in an enumeration of deities, BDh. 2, 9, 10 ... Śrī, Sarasvatī, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi, Viṣṇu ... Pūṣan is identical with the otherwise anonymous “lord” or owner⁹⁵ of *puṣṭi* and in this capacity he is expected to dispense it (AVP. 19, 22, 15; MS. 2, 13, 23: 169, 5 *mayi puṣṭim puṣṭipatir dadhātu*). When during the performance of a soma sacrifice one of the consecrated participants falls ill he should be touched by the others and touch himself with special mantras; an offering should be made and the help of the Lord of Puṣṭi be implored: “Give back to his sight the sight, to his self his self, to his speech the speech, to his breath breath” (MS. 4, 8, 7; MŚ. 3, 8, 3; cf. ĀpŚ. 14, 21, 7; AśvŚ. 6, 9, 1). The god invoked is in all probability Pūṣan. In the mantra with which the teacher according to JG. 1, 12: 10, 7 clothes an initiate for the sake of learning, dominion or prosperity (*poṣa*) the gods invoked are successively Soma, Indra and Poṣa (i.e. Pūṣan). These names stand for the processes of development, fecundity, fertility, reproduction that are closely linked up with the reclamation and cultivation of the Aryan land and with the promotion of the prosperity and welfare of its inhabitants. This did not prevent many of his worshippers from regarding the god as materializing, for instance, in their cattle, that important source of welfare, or some others – perhaps representing a particular social or geographical tradition⁹⁶ – from ‘identifying’ him with the sun, the chief source of light and heat which makes life on our earth possible. Remember Śaṅkara’s note on BĀU. 5, 15, 3 “Pūṣan is the sun because he causes the world to thrive (*jaḡataḥ poṣanāt*)”. In short, Pūṣan manifests himself in any process denoted by the term *poṣana* “thriving, making prosperous” and hence he can “be” cattle, milk, food, the wind, the sun⁹⁷, to mention only these manifestations.

122. Pūṣan is indeed not the only Indian god whose functions vary according to the interests, activities or social class of his worshippers. The epic Pūṣan has been called “the god of innocuous desuetude”⁹⁸. The fact that he is not very much honoured is indeed ascribed by an epic poet himself to his peaceable character: “One does not honour very much the gods that do not kill such as Brahmā, Dhātār and Pūṣan” (Mbh. 12, 15, 18), who, it may be noticed, occur already together⁹⁹ in Vedic passages. In the epic

94. As to the semantic function of nouns ending in *-ti* (*in casu*, of *puṣṭi*) see J. Gonda, *Old Indian*, Leiden 1971, p. 50.

95. For deities presiding over a particular domain see Gonda, *Dual deities*, p. 311 ff.

96. The importance of family or school traditions is well known.

97. Von Glasenapp, *Rel. Indiens*, p. 69 went so far as to say that Pūṣan was ‘identified’ with the sun “in späterer Zeit”.

98. E.W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 196.

99. Brahma and Bṛhaspati instead of the figure of Brahmā.

benedictions (e.g. Rām. 2, 22, 2 cr. ed.) he appears in conjunction with other Vedic gods who, as we have seen, often like his company, viz. Bhaga and Aryaman (as well as Dhātar and Vidhātar), as well as the Maruts, Dhātar, Vidhātar and Aryaman. In the passage describing the Great Puruṣa or Cosmic Giant (R. 7, 23 pr. 5, 22; crit. ed. App. I, 2, 43) Dhātar and Vidhātar are said to be the arms of that Being, Bhaga and Pūṣan, not in all editions and translations, however, his hands¹⁰⁰.

100. Cf. Hopkins, op. cit., p. 83. Remember the formula TS. 1, 1, 4 etc. ... *pūṣṇo hastābhyām*.

IX. Pūṣan and Sarasvatī

123. In the preceding chapter passages evidencing some form of association of the two gods under consideration have been purposely left out of account. It is time now to examine those non-ṛgvedic and non-atharvanic places where they occur in the same context.

As to the relevant occurrences in the mantras of the Yajurveda – with which we shall have to occupy ourselves almost exclusively – it will strike us that Sarasvatī is as a rule explicitly said to be Vāc, whereas Pūṣan is in many cases ‘identified’ or associated with cattle, and also with prosperity (*puṣṭi*), the earth, or ways; in a number of cases he is left without an ‘identification’. There is, moreover, especially in lists of names and enumerations, an unmistakable tendency to place both names in direct contiguity, or in any case not at a great distance from each other. I shall deal with the mantras first.

124. After three parallel formulae, viz. “To the intention, to the impulse, to Agni *svāhā*; to enlightenment, to ‘mind’ (*manas*), to Agni *svāhā*; to the consecration, to asceticism, to Agni *svāhā*” a fourth line, accompanying a fourth oblation, reads: “To Sarasvatī, to Pūṣan, to Agni” (soma sacrifice, preparation of the patron!) (TS. 1, 2, 2 a; VS. 4, 7). According to the *brāhmaṇa* TS. 6, 1, 2, 2 these words are pronounced, because one performs (sets in motion) the sacrifice with a definite intention or purpose, with enlightenment and mind and with speech (or rather, the sacral word) and the earth, Sarasvatī being *vāc* and Pūṣan the earth (*pṛthivī*). It may be recalled that according to TB. 1, 6, 2, 6 Pūṣan is a *pratiṣṭhā* and in BĀU. 1, 4, 13 Pūṣan and the earth (*iyam*) are ‘identified’, “because she (the earth) nourishes (*puṣyati*) everything that is here”. But in MS. 3, 7, 6: 82, 7 the homologation is based on the fact that the earth prepares the way for the cow that is the price of the soma (cf. also KS. 24, 3: 62, 9; TS. 6, 1, 7, 6)². – The

1. I refer to W. Caland and V. Henry, *L’agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906-1907, p. 16 f.; see, e.g., ĀpŚ. 10, 8, 5 ff.

2. For other places and details see § 107 above.

same words (VS. 4, 7) are in ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 9 explained: “Sarasvatī is *vāc* and sacrificial worship (*yajñah*) is *vāc*³; Pūṣan is cattle, Pūṣan is (represents) prosperity (*puṣṭih*) and cattle also are *puṣṭi*, because the *yajña* is *puṣṭi*”; see also § 14. The formula occurs also MS. 1, 22: 10, 12; KS. 2, 2: 8, 19; 23, 2: 75, 3; KapS. 1, 14: 10, 18; 35, 8: 184, 12 (with the explanation “Sarasvatī is *vāc*; Pūṣan cattle”). In MS. 3, 6, 4: 64, 1, the formula is commented upon as follows: “Sarasvatī is *vāc*; with *vāc* (speech) one speaks (pronounces the formula ‘that one will worship with a sacrifice’. Now then, Pūṣan began to drink it, the sacrifice, who had caused it to be prosperous”.

After some mantras addressed to other gods the last verses of MS. 4, 12, 6 (p. 198: 4) and TB. 2, 5, 4, 5 f. invoke the Aśvins, Pūṣan and Sarasvatī. Pūṣan is requested to “protect our property” and to “preserve us attentively for ever”. In the mantra that is addressed to the goddess she receives four epithets, viz. the great or mighty one⁴, the very fortunate, prosperous or charming one (*subhaga*), the one who possesses bearers of *vāja* (i.e. mares etc.), the one whose word is true (*satyavāc*).

125. The formulae to be recited by each of the ten priests who perform the *daśapeya* ceremony⁵ (VS. 10, 30; VSK. 11, 9, 1 f., cf. KŚ. 15, 8, 17; cf. ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 6 ff.) are interesting in that they show the power concepts and functions the ten deities stand for and give a brief comprehensive survey of Pūṣan’s usual associates: “I creep forward impelled by Savitar, the impeller (i.e. the god who gives his assent (to the rite), Mahīdhara); ... by Sarasvatī, Vāc; ... by Tvaṣṭar, (created) forms⁶; ... by Pūṣan, cattle; ... by this⁷ Indra; ... by Bṛhaspati, Brahman (i.e. the god who acts as the *brahman* priest when the gods perform a sacrifice, Mahīdhara); ... by Varuṇa, inaugurative power and authority (*ojas*); ... by Agni, fiery energy (*tejas*); ... by Soma, the king (i.e. the lord of useful plants and inspired and learned brahmins, *ośadhiviprādhipena*, Mahīdhara), ... by Viṣṇu, the tenth deity”. Viṣṇu, who presides over sacrificial worship (*yajñādhiṣṭhātar*, Mahīdhara), is given the place of honour.

In the section TS. 4, 1, 11 which gives the invitatory and oblatory mantras for the oblations prescribed in the *vaiśvadeva* rite (cf. TS. 1, 8, 2) those for the offering to Sarasvatī (i and k, = RV. 1, 3, 11 and 6, 49, 7) are immediately followed by those for the oblation offered to Pūṣan (l and m, = RV. 6, 54, 5 and 6, 58, 1)⁸.

3. Cf. BGPar. 2, 2, 17 “*yajña* is *vāc*; what one speaks with *vāc* one performs (bring about) with this (sc. *yajña*)”.

4. See ch. III.

5. Cf. Heesterman, Royal consecration, p. 179 ff.

6. Remember that the “forms” (*rūpāni*) created by Tvaṣṭar are (e.g. according to the commentary on TB. 2, 5, 3, 3) “bodies of sons etc.”.

7. Both Uvaṇa and Mahīdhara explain *asme: anena*.

8. See p. 72 above.

The first set of six offerings to be made by those who perform the *rājasūya* ceremony runs as follows “To Agni *svāhā*; to Soma ...; to Savitar ...; to Sarasvatī ...; to Pūṣan ...; to Bṛhaspati ...” (TS. 1, 8, 13 h; ĀpŚ. 18, 15, 8).

126. The seven formulae found in TS. 7, 3, 15; KS. 5, 3, 5; MS. 3, 12, 5; VS. 22, 20 and in the *brāhmaṇa* passages TB. 3, 8, 11 and ŚB. 13, 1, 8, 2-8⁹ are to be used on seven successive days (BŚ. 15, 13: 217, 13; 18; ĀpŚ. 20, 8, 6; 8; cf. MŚ. 9, 2, 2, 16) in order to accompany the *audgraḥaṇa* oblations, special elevatory offerings proper to the horse sacrifice; that is to say, they are to lift up the *aśvamedha* (TB. 3, 8, 11, 1). The text for the first day, of uncertain sense, as well as various details can be left out of consideration. The gods invoked on the other days are, successively, Ka (= Prajāpati), Aditi, Sarasvatī (in TS., TB., MS.), Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭar and Viṣṇu. In TB. 2 and ŚB. 5 Sarasvatī is ‘identified’ with Vāc; in the mantra (*sarasvatyai svāhā, sarasvatyai bṛhatyai svāhā, sarasvatyai pāvakāyai svāhā*) she is stated to be firm or mighty (*bṛhatī*, cf. RV. 5, 85, 1; 6, 61, 13) and pure (bright, or purifying, *pāvaka*, cf. RV. 1, 3, 10). “Thus one lifts the *aśvamedha* by means of (sacred) speech” (TB. 2; ŚB. 5). In ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 17 Sarasvatī Vāc, the supporter (*yantr*, VS. 18, 37), is described as lending support to the one who consecrates the sacrificer (*agnicayana* ritual); cf. also 5, 2, 2, 13. In the formulae for the fifth day Pūṣan is characterized as the god who “is on the road, on a journey (to a distant place)” (*pūṣṇe prapathyāya svāhā*)¹⁰ and as the *naramdhīṣa* one, an epithet that modern scholars more or less hesitatingly translate by “man-observing”, i. e. “watcher of men”¹¹, a meaning which in this connexion does not seem to be unsuitable. In ŚB. 12, 6, 1, 13 this epithet is applied to Viṣṇu (VS. 8, 55; VSK. 9, 7, 3; TS. 4, 4, 9), when impersonating Soma he is expected to repel evil. It is worth noticing, first that Sarasvatī and Pūṣan occur, here also, in close proximity, and secondly that they are put on a par with the important gods Aditi, Tvaṣṭar and Viṣṇu who, following the example given, in the mythical past (cf. ŚB. 13, 1, 7, 1 ff.; TB. 3, 8, 10 f.), by Prajāpati, whose names (*kāya svāhā, kasmai svāhā, katamasmai svāhā*, VS. 22, 20) head the list of invocations, co-operate in lifting up this rite. “It is by means of the deities having Prajāpati at their head, indeed, that he (the *adhvaryu*) lifts the horse sacrifice” (TB. 3, 8, 11, 1; ŚB. 13, 1, 7, 2). In view of Viṣṇu’s well-known ‘identity’ with the sacrificial ritual (e. g. ŚB. 12, 4, 1, 4) and Sarasvatī’s identity with the sacral word the part played by these gods seems clear. Aditi receives the epithets “great” and “very gracious”, Tvaṣṭar is called *turīpa* – which has been explained as

9. See Gonda, The structure of multipartite formulae, p. 16 ff.

10. Eggeling, Śat. Br. V, p. 293 (ŚB. 13, 1, 8, 6; VS. 22, 20) and Dumont, in Proc. Am. Phil. Soc. 92, p. 462 (TB. 3, 8, 11, 2) translate “the protector of travellers”; Keith, V.B.Y.S., p. 595 (TS. 7, 3, 15) “guardian of travellers”; Griffith, Texts White Yajurveda, p. 244 (VS. 22, 20) “Pūṣan of the highways”.

11. For a discussion of this word and references see Gonda, Soma’s metamorphoses, p. 12 f.

“full of seed, spermatikus”, “swift”, “protecting quickly”¹² – and “of many forms”. Are they, like Pūṣan, invoked because they are supposed to concern themselves about the well-being of the Aryan community and the success of the sacrificial ritual?

127. ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 4 informs us that Pṛthin Vainya¹³ was consecrated for kingship first of all men. By means of the *pārtha* oblations, which derive their name from this mythic figure, “he appropriated to himself all the food here on earth”. This is in accordance with AVŚ. 8, 10, 24, where he is related to have ‘milked’ both agriculture and grain (*kṛṣṭi*) from the cosmogonic cow Virāj. These oblations belong to the unction festival, one of the episodes of the *rājasūya* ceremony. The king who is being consecrated re-enacts Pṛthin’s deed and acquires all food (cf. ŚB., l.cit.). The *pārtha* oblations consist of two sets of six offerings each, one set before and one after the consecration (see, e.g., TB. 1, 7, 7, 5; ĀpŚ. 18, 15, 8 and 18, 16, 11; MŚ. 9, 1, 3, 20; 23; ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 5 ff.). The first series of formulae runs as follows: “To Agni *svāhā*; to Soma ...; to Savitar ...; to Sarasvatī ...; to Pūṣan ...; to Bṛhaspati ...” (see also TS. 1, 8, 13 h; KS. 15, 7: 214, 14; MS. 2, 6, 11: 70, 7; VS. 10, 5 etc.); the second: “To Indra ...; to (Indistinct) Noise (*Ghoṣa*) ...; to (Distinct and meaningful) Sound (*śloka*¹⁴) ...; to Aṃśa ...; to Bhaga ...; to the Lord of the Field (*Kṣetrasya Pati*, TS., KS., MS.) ...” (“to Aryaman ...”, VS.). Agni and Soma, Aṃśa and Bhaga, Bṛhaspati and Indra are well-known pairs; *Ghoṣa* and *Śloka* may also be considered a pair. According to ŚB. 8 f. these oblations and formulae are to sprinkle (i.e. endow) the royal sacrificer which Agni’s fiery energy (*tejas*), with Soma’s princely power (*kṣatram*) ..., with Vāc, for “Sarasvatī is Vāc”, with cattle, for “Pūṣan is cattle (*paśavaḥ*)”. Notice that the benefit which the king derives from this rite is more varied than “all the food” mentioned in ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 4.

128. Although the mantras that are to accompany the so-called *ardhendra* (“Half-Indra”) oblations offered to a number of divine pairs, the second member of which is always Indra, contribute next to nothing to our knowledge of the god’s character, the order of the names is worth noticing: Agni and Indra, Soma and Indra, Savitar and Indra, Sarasvatī and Indra, Pūṣan and Indra, ... (TS. 4, 7, 6; KS. 18, 10: 272, 14; KapS. 28, 10: 127, 21; MS. 2, 11, 5: 142, 11; VS. 18, 16-18, with variants after Pūṣan). These mantras belong to the *vasor dhārā* ceremony, the “shower of wealth”, for which see ŚB. 9, 3, 2, 1 ff.

12. Cf., e.g., Griffith, op. cit., p. 234 (VS. 21, 20), p. 245 (VS. 22, 20), Uvata on VS. 22, 20); Mayrhofer, Etym. Wörterbuch, I, p. 515.

13. See J. Gonda, in Numen 4 (1957), p. 138 (= Ancient Indian kingship from the religious point of view, Leiden 1956-1957, II, p. 138).

14. “Verse” (Keith); “Fame” (Griffith); “Noise” (Eggeling).

129. In the sections 15 and 16 of the chapter (4) that contains the mantras for the *pravargya* ritual the compiler of the Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka mentions the formulae required if some evil proceeding from accidents to the oblatory articles is to be expiated¹⁵. Section 15 runs as follows: *prāṇāya svāhā ... cakṣuṣe svāhā ... manase svāhā. vāce sarasvatyai svāhā*. That means: the last of the organs mentioned is explicitly 'identified' with Sarasvatī. "The word Sarasvatī which denotes the deity is employed in order to suppress the supposition that by *vāc* nothing more than "speech, word" might be meant" (Sāyaṇa). In the somewhat longer section 16 we find a series of brief formulae addressed to Pūṣan. After *pūṣṇe svāhā* there follow six other mantras in which, by means of an epithet, one of the god's aspects or manifestations is addressed. The first is "to Pūṣan, the film on boiled milk (*śarase*)"¹⁶; the same formula is prescribed in BhŚ. 11, 11, 6; ĀpŚ. 15, 11, 6; MS. 4, 3, 32 etc. (cf. MS. 4, 9, 9: 129, 11) at an earlier moment, viz. when the *adhvaryu* offers chips of wood that have been smeared with the remnants of the hot curds of milk in the *āhavanīya* fire. (It may be noticed that two of the formulae recited over the overflowing pot are "do thou swell for food, ... for prosperity" (BhŚ. 11, 10, 14; ĀpŚ. 15, 10, 13)). The next formulae are *pūṣṇe prapathyāya svāhā* and *pūṣṇe narandhiṣāya svāhā* which are also coupled together in VS. 22, 20; TS. 7, 3, 15, 1 etc.¹⁷. The epithet *'nighṛṇaye* in the following mantra is a variant of the difficult *āghṛṇaye*¹⁸ in MŚ. 4, 4, 42 which there is the only formula to be recited in a similar, and probably corresponding, rite of reparation. The next epithet, *narūna*, is in the commentary on TĀ. unconvincingly derived from "leading men" (*nṛnaya*) and explained as "he who leads the mortal beings each on his own ways". The last one, the likewise puzzling *sāketa*, is, in the commentary, obviously derived from *cit-* "to take notice, comprehend" and explained as "knowing". The series of formulae creates the impression of making an appeal to the god who manifests himself in the cream of the milk on behalf of those present who need his guidance and assistance. As far as I am able to see, there is nothing in it that would point to his solar character¹⁹, notwithstanding the fact that some features of this hot milk ceremony appear to suggest such an explanation.

15. For differences of opinions with regard to these *prāyaścitta* oblations see Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Ap.* II, p. 457, on 15, 17, 4. For these *prāyaścittas* in general J.A.B. van Buitenen, *The pravargya*, Poona 1968, p. 145 ff.

16. However, van Buitenen translates "heat", but on p. 116 "cream". The commentator (Sāyaṇa) wrongly explains "injuring his enemies".

17. See § 126 above. The commentator explains: *prakṛtasvargamārgahitāya* and *manuṣyān prīṇayati*.

18. As to *āghṛṇi* see § 47 above; Sāyaṇa explains: *rañjanena dīpyamānah, tasmai*.

19. Miss J.M. van Gelder, *Mānava Śrautasūtra*, New Delhi 1963, p. 128 translated (*a*)*nighṛṇi* by "glowing".

130. In some of the very frequent occurrences of the formula *devasya tvā savituh prasave ...* the words *pūṣṇo hastābhyām* are, interestingly enough, immediately followed by the name of Sarasvatī (almost always followed by Vāc) and an indication of her function, which with two or three exceptions consists in giving support or guidance²⁰ and in some cases is followed by a reference to a function of Bṛhaspati, who not infrequently makes his appearance in this company. Thus a passage in JB. 2, 130 reads as follows: "At the impulse of god Savitar I sprinkle thee ..., by the hands of Pūṣan, by means of the support (controlling guidance) of the guide, Sarasvatī Vāc thee, by the universal sovereignty of Bṛhaspati, with Brahman". See also²¹ MS. 1, 11, 4: 165, 7; 3, 4, 3: 47, 8; MŚ. 6, 2, 5, 30²²; KS. 14, 2: 202, 9; 14, 8: 207, 20; 40, 9: 143, 12; VS. 9, 30; ŚB. 5, 2, 2, 13; VS. 18, 37; ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 17 (mentioning, like TS. 1, 7, 10, 3 etc. Agni instead of Bṛhaspati); BŚ. 18, 1: 343, 15. VS. 20, 3; KS. 38, 4: 104, 21 and TB. 2, 6, 5, 2 read: "At the impulse ..., ... of Pūṣan, with the healing efficacy of Sarasvatī (whose name is not followed by Vāc) I sprinkle thee for manly energy and for the possibility of eating food". Notice the association of *vīryam* and *annādyam* with Sarasvatī's name. In the preceding mantra, which runs parallel, fiery energy (*tejas*) and brahminical holiness (*brahmavarcasam*) are associated with the healing power of the Aśvins, who in ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 4 "are" *tejas* (see also AiB. 8, 7, 7). For *brahmavarcasam* see JB., l.cit.

At a given moment the brahmin who is about to initiate a student (*upanayana* ceremony) has, while impersonating Savitar, to seize the boy's hand and to pronounce the formula "Savitar has seized thy hand, N.N." (ĀśvG. 2, 20, 4). Some *grhyasūtras*, however, prescribe a number of parallel formulae: Bhaga ..., Savitar ..., Pūṣan ..., Aryaman has seized thy hand" (ŚG. 2, 3, 1), or even "Agni ..., Soma ..., Savitar ..., Sarasvatī ..., Pūṣan ..., Bṛhaspati ...; Mitra ..., Varuṇa ..., Tvaṣṭar ..., Dhātār ..., Viṣṇu ..., Prajāpati ..." (HG. 1, 5, 9). There were good reasons for imploring the co-operation of Bhaga, Savitar, Aryaman and others, whose names have often been mentioned in the preceding pages. That the names of Pūṣan (and Sarasvatī) are not missing proves them again to have been important and influential members of the pantheon recognized by the authors and their communities, who obviously appreciated their benevolence and wished to implore their help on this occasion also.

131. The author of AiB. 2, 24, 5 informs us that in the oblatinal mantra for the sacrifice of five oblations which is being discussed Indra is invited to eat fried grain when he is accompanied by his bay steeds, gruel²³ when he is

20. See § 18 above.

21. Variants are disregarded.

22. Incorrectly translated by Miss van Gelder, Mānava Śrautasūtra, p. 217.

23. See § 72 above.

accompanied by Pūṣan, rice grains (*parivāḥa*) when he is accompanied by Sarasvatī and Bhārati. There follows an explanation: Pūṣan is cattle, Sarasvatī is *vāc*, Bharata (*sic*) is vital breath (*prāṇa*)²⁴; the *karambha* and the *parivāḥa* are food. "Thus he (the officiant) makes the patron attain union and identity of form and 'world' (*loka*) with these deities". Similarly, MS. 3, 10, 6: 137, 16; KS. 29, 1: 168, 7; KapS. 45, 2: 268, 21. See also ŚB. 4, 2, 5, 22 (where Sarasvatī receives *dadhi*, sour curds)²⁵; RVkh. 5, 7, 4 a-c.

Whereas the formulae in which pairs of soma cups are enumerated in VS. 18, 19 f.; KS. 18, 11: 273, 1; KapS. 28, 11: 128, 6; MS. 2, 11, 5: 143, 5 make no mention of a cup for Pūṣan and the compiler after that for Savitar and that for Sarasvatī – which in KS. and KapS. belong more closely together – proceeds to that for the wives of the gods, TS. 4, 7, 7, 2 inserts that for Pūṣan between the cup for Sarasvatī and the cup for the wives. This insertion involved – or followed as a result of – the addition of a cup for Āditya before that for Savitar.

If the deity mentioned in the normal paradigm of the sacrifices for full and new moon is replaced by another deity one should use also another mantra to consecrate the oblations made to them. This is found in KS. 5, 1: 44, 5; 32, 1: 19, 8 and MŚ. 1, 4, 2, 1 ff. The following are the mantras for Sarasvatī and, without an interval, for Pūṣan: "May I, by the worship of Sarasvatī thrive in word (*vācam*) and the possibility of eating food (*annādyam*). By the worship of Pūṣan I should like to obtain prosperity (*puṣṭimān bhūyāsam*) and cattle". ĀpŚ. 4, 10, 1 reads instead: "May I by the worship of Pūṣan increase in offspring and cattle. May I, by the worship of Sarasvatī, etc."

When the sacrificial horse has been sprinkled the *adhvaryu* offers the drops that are falling from the animal's body to the gods by reciting the formulae "To Agni svāhā, to Soma ..., to Savitar ..., to Sarasvatī ..., to Pūṣan ..." and so on (TS. 7, 1, 16; TB. 3, 8, 6, 3 f. etc.).

132. In the prayer for gifts addressed to Aryaman, Bhaga, Bṛhaspati and one or more other gods handed down as RV. 10, 141, 2; AVŚ. 3, 20, 3; AVP. 3, 34, 4; TS. 1, 7, 10 e; MS. 1, 11, 4: 164, 8 other authorities read Pūṣan's name instead of Bhaga's (VS. 9, 29; VSK. 10, 5, 6; ŚB. 5, 2, 2, 11; KS. 14, 2: 202, 1), possibly because they were worshippers of Pūṣan or they were of the opinion that his name would be more suitable for the particular occasion (the *vājapeya* ceremony). Remarkably enough, VSK. has also substituted Sarasvatī for Bṛhaspati. Moreover, AVP. has Pūṣan's name instead of "the goddesses" (*devīḥ*) in AVŚ. and "the gods" in RV. The goddess Sūnṛtā (thus Geldner and Whitney-Lanman) in *pādas* cd (RV., AV.) is in Sāyaṇa's commentary on RV. said to be Sarasvatī "in the form

24. Cf. ŚB. 6, 8, 1, 14 Bharata is Prajāpati; 6, 3, 1, 9 *prāṇa* is Prajāpati.

25. See Eggeling, Śat. Br. II, p. 315 f., n. 5.

of kind and true speech” (*priyasatyavāgrūpā*) and in the commentary on AVŚ. to be the same goddess “of the nature of kind speech”. MS., l.c., and TS., l.c. read instead ... *protā sunṛtā pra vāg devī* ... (which Keith²⁶ translated: “the bounteous one, the goddess Speech”); KS., l.c. and VS., l.c. read only *pra vāg devī* ... (which was translated “Vāk the Goddess” (Griffith)), likewise attesting to the tendency to introduce Sarasvatī Vāc into a traditional mantra.

The first *pāda* of AVŚ. 7, 20, 1 “Let Anumati (approve) today (our sacrifice)” is in Kauś. 45, 16 followed by “Pūṣan, Sarasvatī, Mahī” and the prayer “let be successful what I undertake”. This formula is to be recited by the man who wishes to appease the evil produced by a barren cow (*vaśāśamanam*).

133. I now proceed to discuss the relevant *brāhmaṇa* passages.

In an enumeration of the wild animals that on the occasion of a horse sacrifice are to be immolated to various gods TS. 5, 5, 12 informs us that Sarasvatī receives “a white *sāri* (*śārikā*, commonly called *maina*) of human speech” and Pūṣan the not less suitable wild goat²⁷ and the mongoose (*nakula*), a small carnivorous mammal and active predator of the civet family that lives in burrows, seeks his prey on the ground and kills poisonous snakes; a third animal, called *śakā*, does not seem to be sufficiently identifiable. VS. mentions Pūṣan’s animals in 24, 32 and Sarasvatī’s *maina* further on in 24, 33. MS. likewise in 3, 14, 13 and 14. KS. 5, 7, 2 inserts a white parrot of human speech for Sarasvatī between the animals for Sarasvatī and Pūṣan. The corresponding list of domesticated animals begins in TS. 5, 5, 22; KS. 5, 8, 1; VS. 29, 58 with Agni’s black-necked victim, Sarasvatī’s ewe²⁸, Soma’s brown victim and Pūṣan’s dark (or dusky, *śyāmah*) animal. In MS. 3, 13, 2 the order of the gods is Prajāpati, Agni, Sarasvatī, Pūṣan and so on. In TS. 5, 5, 24; KS. 5, 8, 3; VS. 23, 59 Pūṣan and Sarasvatī are separated by the Viśve Devāḥ, the Maruts and Agni. BŚ. 15, 23 mentions Pūṣan, not Sarasvatī. In TS. 5, 6, 12; KS. 5, 9, 2, enumerating animals of different colours, a salt-coloured, ruddy-woolled and white victim is offered to Sarasvatī (also MS. 3, 13, 5; VS. 24, 4), three dark barren cows to Pūṣan (cf. MS. 3, 13, 15; VS. 24, 14), their names being separated by the Viśve Devāḥ, who, like the Maruts, appropriately receive piebald victims. It would seem that the colours typify Sarasvatī and Pūṣan as the river goddess and the deity associated with the earth; the two red-navelled oxen that are presented to him (TS. 5, 5, 24) no doubt symbolize fecundity²⁹. – In TS. 5, 6, 13 and 14 mention is made of victims offered to

26. Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 109, but *sunṛtā* rather means “vital strength, welfare” (see Mayrhofer, Etym. Wörterbuch, III, p. 493).

27. See § 69 ff. above.

28. See ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 7.

29. Cf. Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 45; 86 f.

dual deities and some other divine figures. The deity Soma-and-Pūṣan receives one that is hornless and has black spots on the forehead (cf. also KS. 5, 9, 3; VS. 24, 1). Hornless victims (*tūparāḥ*) are offered to gods who are supposed to be hornless (Prajāpati, ŚB. 5, 1, 3, 8; Vāyu, 6, 2, 2, 7), but in the present case one might perhaps refer to KS. 33, 1, where these animals, in contrast to those who have horns, are said to stray about in the meadows during the whole year (see also AiB. 4, 17, 3). The black colour is often characteristic (of deities and genii) of the earth, fertility and vegetation and of the victims offered to them³⁰. But, according to TS. 5, 6, 14, the dual deity Indra-and-Pūṣan receives a likewise hornless victim that has white spots on the forehead: because this auspicious colour is expected to make the offering successful? (cf. Kauś. 24, 23).

134. Dealing with the twelve “yoking oblations” (*prayujāṃ havīṃsi*) – which in connexion with the royal consecration are to be performed with a month’s interval³¹ and are offered to different gods – and with their effects (e.g., because of the oblation to Agni the Kuru-Pañcālas go in the cool season towards the east) the author of TB. 1, 8, 4, 2 expresses the opinion that, as a result of an oblation of rice or barley boiled with butter and milk (*caru*) presented to Sarasvatī “all voices are speaking in the rainy season and that through an oblation offered to Pūṣan the Kuru-Pañcālas, having returned to the west and settling down again, make up their mind with a view to their daily pursuits in the following months, viz. labouring in their fields and harvesting.

When, according to the mythical story of the creation of living beings handed down in TB. 1, 6, 2 the gods and the asuras had come into conflict, the five introductory gods of the seasonal sacrifices made the former carry the day (§ 6 f.), Agni by being the ‘mouth’ or front (van of the army)³², Soma by being king, Savitar by his instigation, Sarasvatī by giving *indriyam* (psychical faculties), Pūṣan by being a firm foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*). It should be noticed that Pūṣan and Sarasvatī here are, on an equal footing with three great gods, regular and permanent members of a group of deities worshipped in an invariable sequence of sacrificial rites which are intimately connected with the seasons of the year and are clearly intended to secure the fecundity and abundance of the flocks, the success of agricultural activities and so on. It would not seem difficult to speculate concerning the relations between *vāc* and *indriyam* and those between prosperity and a firm foundation.

135. I now draw attention to the so-called *ekādaśinī*, an animal sacrifice in which eleven animals are immolated, as described in TS. 6, 6, 5; KS. 29, 9;

30. I refer to Meyer, Trilogie, I, p. 64; 73; 83 ff.; III, 209. Cf., e.g., VS. 24, 10.

31. For particulars see Heesterman, Royal consecration, p. 209 ff.

32. Cf., e.g., TB. 2, 7, 2, 1 *agnimukhād dhy ydhiḥ*; ŚB. 2, 5, 3, 2 (with Eggeling’s note); 6, 1, 1, 10; 7, 1, 2, 4; TS. 5, 3, 4, 1; GB. 2, 1, 2.

KapS. 46, 2; MS. 4, 7, 8 (see also BŚ. 17, 13 f.). By means of this rite the sacrificer, following Prajāpati's example, bestows a complete duration of life (*āyus*) and a full command of his psychical and physical faculties (*indriyam vīryam*) upon himself. The eleven gods to whom the victims are offered are not "artificially and arbitrarily" endowed with particular ritualistic functions³³, notwithstanding the fact that the authorities disagree in particulars. According to the author of TS. 6, 6, 5, who considers the rite a process of generation, the sacrificer scatters with Agni³⁴; with that for Sarasvatī he makes a pairing, with that for Soma³⁵ he impregnates seed (*retas*), with that for Pūṣan he propagates (*prajanayati*). The author of K.S. 29, 9 observes that by means of the victim given to Sarasvatī, who is Vāc, he "joins speech as a complement (*mīthunam*) on to his self (*ātman* which he had secured by means of Agni's victim)", and that Pūṣan represents cattle. According to MS. 4, 7, 8 Prajāpati joined the faculties in couples to his *ātman*, viz. Sarasvatī Vāc together with Soma who represents *indriyam*; by offering Pūṣan's victim, which represents *puṣṭi*, and (that of) Bṛhaspati, who represents *brahman*, he joined *puṣṭi* and *brahman* on to his self, and so on. The author of the ŚB. is of the opinion that by offering Sarasvatī's victim one becomes strong by speech, "and speech turns unto him, and he makes speech subject to himself". By offering to Soma one does not remain incomplete by having only speech, but becomes also an eater of food. By offering to Pūṣan who is cattle one becomes strong by means of cattle, and so on. In BŚ., l.cit., the order of the victims is, on the north those for Sarasvatī, Pūṣan etc., on the south their complements, viz. those for Soma, Bṛhaspati etc.³⁶.

136. The double homologation "Sarasvatī is speech, (and) Pūṣan is (represents) cattle"³⁷ is often repeated in various forms and contexts. See, e.g., ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 9³⁸ "Sarasvatī ("is") *vāc*, (and) sacrificial worship is *vāc*³⁹, Pūṣan ("is") cattle, (because) Pūṣan is (stands for) prosperity (*puṣṭi*) and cattle (also means) prosperity, because (*hi*) sacrificial worship means cattle" (notice that the sacrifice is homologized to both *vāc* and cattle; as to the 'identity' of sacrifice and cattle see, e.g., 11, 6, 3, 9); also 3, 1, 4, 14; 3, 9, 1, 7 and 10 (separated by Soma who is food) "Sarasvatī is *vāc*; by *vāc* Prajāpati

33. Cf. Atkins, in JAOS 67, p. 275.

34. For Agni as a promoter of procreation see, e.g., TS. 3, 5, 6, 2 f.; ŚB. 3, 9, 1, 6; 7, 1, 1, 10 and Meyer, Trilogie, III, p. 287, s.v.

35. Who is an impregnator (*retodhāh*, KS. 29, 9: 178, 13; cf. TB. 1, 6, 2, 2; ŚB. 2, 5, 1, 9); Meyer, Trilogie, III, p. 320, s.v.

36. For a complete translation see R.N. Dandekar, Śrautakośa, II, Engl. section, II, Poona 1982, p. 847; cf. also ĀpŚ. 14, 7, 19 (Dandekar, p. 854); HŚ. 9, 8 (p. 857 and 862; 864; 865; 868).

37. Thus Eggeling's translation of ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 9.

38. See § 124 above.

39. See ch. III above.

then again strengthened himself ...; Pūṣan is cattle, by means of cattle Prajāpati etc.’; 5, 3, 5, 8 explaining the formulae *agnaye svāhā* etc.; 5, 4, 5, 2 where Varuṇa stole after his lustre (*bhargā*) that had departed from him with Savitar the impeller, Sarasvatī Vāc, Tvaṣṭar forms, Pūṣan cattle etc. – MS. 1, 10, 5: 145, 17; KS. 35, 20: 67, 12; KapS. 48, 18: 309, 3 *vāg vai sarasvatī, paśavaḥ pūṣā, mithunaṃ* (“a pairing”) *vāk ca paśavaś ca*; that implies that the pair, the combination sacral word and sacrificial cattle is productive. – According to MS. 1, 10, 5: 145, 19 the oblations offered with fire (*havīṃsi*) that are under discussion enable the performer to gain a victory (*vārtraghnāni*): with Agni as the vanguard⁴⁰ Indra had killed Vṛtra, with Soma the king, (he was) being impelled by Savitar, (he acted) with Sarasvatī as an attentive guardian; Pūṣan stood by him with manly energy. When at one time the sacrifice had hidden itself from the gods they tried to find it in the sacral word, because (or in so far as) it belonged to Sarasvatī; in cattle, because (in so far as) it belonged to Pūṣan; in Brahman, because (in so far as) it belonged to Brhaspati, and so on (MS. 4, 4, 7: 58, 3; cf. TB. 1, 8, 1, 1). – After quoting the usual double ‘identification’ the author of KS. 23, 2: 75, 4 (see also KapS. 35, 8: 184, 12) argues that the sacrifice is undertaken by means of the word and out of cattle; one undertakes it (for one’s own benefit) with the (sacral) word out of (taken from) the cattle (*paśubhyo ’dhi*, cf. MS. 1, 4, 6: 53, 20)⁴¹.

137. When in the beginning living creatures were to be created Agni turned his mind to (longed for) creatures, Soma placed the seed (impregnated), Savitar procreated, Sarasvatī placed speech (*vācam adadhāt*), Pūṣan caused them to thrive (*apoṣayat*). The gods who are “lords of prosperity” (*puṣṭipatayaḥ*) are employed three times a year. This passage, TB. 1, 6, 2, 2 deals with the *vaiśvadeva*, the first of the three seasonal sacrifices, which in each case are introduced by libations to these five gods (see, e.g., ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 35). According to the version of the same mythical story handed down in ŚB. 2, 5, 1, 1 ff. Sarasvatī and Pūṣan receive a potful of boiled rice each; since the former is a woman and Pūṣan is a man there is a productive union (*mithunaṃ prajānanam*, § 11), just as there is one of Agni and Soma; and it was through these two unions that Prajāpati created the living beings (§ 9 ff.). We are not mistaken if we infer that in this context, or in the opinion of those who read or heard this passage, Pūṣan and Sarasvatī are virtually a married pair. In the section on the third seasonal sacrifice ŚB. 2, 5, 4, 3 ff. informs us that the gods slew Vṛtra with Agni who was *tejas* and with Soma, the king, who were impelled by Savitar, cheered up by speech (potent words, “Sarasvatī is *vāc*”) and Pūṣan who, as the earth, gave Vṛtra up to slaughter.

40. *anikena* (“with an edge, point etc.”): see Eggeling, Śat. Br. I, p. 408 f.

41. As to the relation between *vāc* and cattle see, for instance, also KS. 19, 10: 10, 16 ff.

138. In the section that deals with the *mitravindā* sacrifice by which one conquers recurrent death and will live to a great age (ŚB. 11, 4, 3, 20) it is told (§ 4) that the ten gods who are entitled to the oblations, viz. Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Savitar, Pūṣan, Sarasvatī, and Tvaṣṭar robbed Śrī successively of her possibility of eating food, royal power, universal sovereignty, noble rank, physical power, brahminical illustriousness, dominion, share of welfare and good fortune (*bhaga*⁴²), prosperity (*puṣṭi*, now connected with Sarasvatī), (beautiful) forms. Thereupon Śrī wants Pūṣan to present her with cattle and Sarasvatī to honour her with favour (assistance, *avas*, § 6). Thereupon these gods were ready to restore to her *bhaga* etc. (see above, § 7); Pūṣan, called *bhagapati*, restored her *bhaga* to her (§ 15) and Sarasvatī, called *puṣṭipati* (*sic*), her *puṣṭi* (§ 16). In the corresponding passage of TB., 2, 5, 7, 4, Pūṣan is described as the “lord of those who have established themselves in a tract of country” (*viśām viṣpatiḥ*)⁴³ and Sarasvatī as *puṣṭiḥ puṣṭipatnī*. The commentator observes that the former, having become the lord of the *viśaḥ* of the gods, is also the protector of the *viśaḥ* of men, and that Sarasvatī, being supplied with *puṣṭi* herself, is the protectress of the *puṣṭi* of others. It may be noticed that in the section on the *vaiśya sava* – which is to be performed for the obtainment of prosperity or nourishment and requires oblations to Agni, Pūṣan, Savitar, Tvaṣṭar, Varuṇa, the Viśve Devāḥ and the Maruts – the author of TB. 2, 7, 2, 1 says that Pūṣan represents *puṣṭi* (he receives an oblation because he is the cause of *puṣṭi*, comm.), and intimates that it is the *vaiśya* who is desirous of *puṣṭi* and by means of this sacrifice obtains it. In the mantras collected in TB. 2, 5, 3, 3 (ŚB. 11, 4, 3, 6 etc.) Pūṣan is requested to “present us with cattle, Sarasvatī (according to the text handed down in the commentary) with favour (*avasā*)”. Moreover, Pūṣan, Savitar (and Bṛhaspati) are expected to give *bhaga* (i.e. *saubhāgyam* “good fortune”, comm.), Sarasvatī to place (i.e. bestow, it?).

139. When the gods once engaged in a context for victory with the asuras “they committed truth (*satyam*) to the Aśvins and Pūṣan; Sarasvatī is *vāc*; with *vāc* one conveys the truth” (MS. 4, 4, 9: 61, 2). The version of this story found in TB. 1, 8, 3, 3 is clearer in that the gods committed *vācaḥ satyam* to the Aśvins and Pūṣan and overcame the asuras with falsehood (*anṛtena*). Thereupon the gods regained the ‘truth’ (*satyam*) by means of a cake for the Aśvins and Pūṣan. That is why a man who offers a definite oblation to the Aśvins and Pūṣan will overcome his rivals with falsehood and secures truth of speech (after offering) boiled rice to Sarasvatī (cf. § 4). This mythical story explains the tripartite unbloody sacrifice (*iṣṭi*) which is prescribed for the Aśvins and Pūṣan, Sarasvatī *satyavāc* “whose words are true” (TS., MS., KS.) or Sarasvant (BŚ. 12, 19: 115, 15; ĀpŚ. 18, 21, 16)

42. Remember the relations between Pūṣan and Bhaga (see § 54 ff.).

43. See Gonda, Triads in the Veda, p. 137 ff. and § 97 above.

and Savitar (in this order of succession TS. 1, 8, 19; BŚ. ĀpŚ., HŚ. 13, 7, 25; in the order Savitar, Aśvins and Pūṣan, Sarasvatī MS. 2, 6, 13: 73, 5; KS. 15, 9: 216, 14), that is the so-called truth messenger *iṣṭis* (*sātyadūta havīmsī*), to be made when the king who has been consecrated has this fact announced to the neighbouring rulers by means of "truth messengers"⁴⁴. The symbolism is clear: the cake offered to Savitar is "for impelling" (*prasavāya* (MS. 4, 4, 9: 61, 2)), Sarasvatī (or, remarkably enough, Satyavant) "puts truth on its way" (see above); as to the Aśvins and Pūṣan see above. It is also clear, why the offering to these two deities should precede that to Sarasvat(ī): the 'truth' is first regained, then put on its way. With regard to the part played by the Aśvins and Pūṣan I would venture the hypothesis that the former act here also as helpers and the latter acts as *vimuco naṣāt*: the gods, being engaged in war, were in distress but were able to vanquish the *asuras* after having deposited the *satyam* with these deities who kept it during the combat and gave it back when the victory was gained. There is a certain analogy between the situation of the royal sacrificer who is subject to various inhibitions and the predicament of the gods. Notice also that if the rival kings (*pratirājānaḥ* "royal adversaries") accept the gifts which the messengers hand them, they are his friends; if not, his enemies (BŚ. 12, 19: 116, 2).

When in the course of the *pravargya* ceremony a cow is milked the milk is besought to flow copiously for the Aśvins, Sarasvatī, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati and Indra (TĀ. 4, 8, 3; 5, 7, 4; BhŚ. 11, 9, 11; ĀpŚ. 15, 9, 8).

In TB. 2, 1, 7, 1 it is explained, why the *agnihotra* milk belongs to all deities, according to the succession of the rites concerning this substance in the course of the sacrifice⁴⁵. For instance, when it is still in the cow, it belongs to Rudra (this god is also called Paśupati, "Lord of cattle", cf. ŚB. 1, 7, 3, 8; 3, 6, 2, 20; 5, 3, 3, 7; the cow is of his nature, ŚB. 5, 2, 4, 13). When the milk, boiling, reaches the border of the vessel, it belongs to Pūṣan; when it overflows, to Sarasvatī. Since several other associations are in harmony with what is said on this point elsewhere⁴⁶, there has probably been a valid reason to associate these gods with these two stages. Was the fact that Sarasvatī originally was a river (goddess) decisive in associating this stage with her and had Pūṣan simply to be the next preceding god? Or does the rising milk suggest one or some of the phenomena that Pūṣan stands for?

The *vaiśvadeva* ritual consists of oblations to Agni, Soma (the deities of the sacrifices of full and new moon), Savitar (for the creation of instigation by this god), Sarasvatī (who is Vāc, so that one gratifies Speech)⁴⁷, Pūṣan (who

44. The reader may be referred to Heesterman, Royal consecration, p. 203 ff. for all the details and a discussion of the significance of this rite as a component of the *rājasūya*.

45. For parallel passages see Gonda, The Vedic god Mitra, p. 25.

46. Otherwise VS. 39, 5 (see § 100 above).

47. ŚŚ. 3, 13, 8 reads *sārasvatapausnau*.

is the one who yonder gives heat, *asau vai pūṣā yo 'sau taṣati*, so that one gratifies that one, i.e. the sun⁴⁸), the Maruts (who are inherently valiant and as such dreadful, so that one makes healing (*bhaiṣajyam*)⁴⁹ and so on; see KB. 5, 2, 1 ff.; GB. 2, 1, 20.

140. In a series of oblations those to be offered to the two gods under discussion are separated by another one. The eleven oblations required by the animal sacrifice that belongs to a soma sacrifice in order to enable the patron to obtain the objects of his desire and the possibility of eating food (KB. 12, 8 (12, 7, 20 etc.) *annādyam*) are arranged in such a way that all references to food are preceded and followed by representatives of *brahman* (brahminical power or dignity) and (or) *kṣatram* ((the) princely rank or power (of the sacrificer)). The first oblation is for Agni who represents *brahman*; it is to secure the glory of *brahman*. The second for Sarasvatī who ‘is’ *vāc*, by which food is made palatable and eaten; it serves to win *annādyam*. The third is for Soma, *kṣatram*, for securing the glory of *kṣatram*, the fourth for Pūṣan, food, for obtaining *annādyam*; the fifth for Bṛhaspati, *brahman*, for winning the glory of *brahman*, and so on, the sixth deity being the Viśve Devāḥ, is associated with all forms (*viśvarūpam*) of food; the eighth, the Maruts, is associated with the waters which are food, the tenth Savitar: instigated by this god food is eaten. Notwithstanding the unavoidable separation Sarasvatī and Pūṣan are in the closest possible proximity.

Pūṣan is the last and Sarasvatī the last but one in a series of eight parallel sentences, in which the same number of deities, described as superintendents of some divisions of the phenomenal reality – e.g., Rudra of cattle – is besought to favour or assist the person speaking “in this sacred act, in this rite, in this invocation of the gods (and so on)” (AVP. 15, 8, 7 f.). Here, Sarasvatī is said to be the superintendent of the sacral words (plural!) and Pūṣan, remarkably enough, of the lords (*patinām*). What does this mean? It is difficult to decide between “(human) owners (of the land)” and “(divine) lords presiding over a particular domain (such as Bṛhaspati, Vācaspati)”⁵⁰.

141. Mention may be made also of a remarkable passage in the Ṛgvidhāna⁵¹, a work that teaches how to use ṛgvedic texts for purely or predominantly magic purposes. After having argued that the one who regularly mutters the Pūṣan hymn 6, 53 will find the wealth he desires because it increases wealth (cf., e.g., st. 1; 2; 3; 10), and taught that the following hymn (6, 54), which is addressed to the same god, should be

48. This place has escaped Atkins, who did not make researches into *brāhmaṇa* and *sūtra* texts.

49. Cf. RV. 2, 33, 13; 7, 57, 6; 8, 20, 23; 25; 26.

50. See also § 145 below.

51. See Gonda, Vedic literature, p. 37 f.

muttered by the man who has lost any property or gets lost on his way, the author says that the one who regularly recites the Sarasvatī hymn 6, 61 will become eloquent and wise. One should notice that the hymn makes no mention of this gift of the goddess, whose name occurs also in ṚgVidh. 1, 5, 4. See ṚgVidh. 2, 23, 1 ff.

142. So much for a detailed argument; let us now recapitulate and emphasize some striking features.

Many passages quoted in the preceding chapters left us indeed with the impression that there is, especially in the *brāhmaṇas* and *brāhmaṇa* sections of the *saṃhitās*, an unmistakable and apparently increasing tendency, not only to combine Sarasvatī and Pūṣan, but also to mention their names and the oblations offered to them in close connexion, also when they belong to a series of names or oblations⁵². One may, for instance, cast a glance at TS. 1, 8, 2, 1 *āgneyam ... nirvaṇpati, saumyaṃ carum, sāvitraṃ ... , sārasvataṃ carum, pauṣṇam carum, mārutam ... , vaiśvadevīm āmikṣām, dyāvāpṛthivyam ...*; 1, 8, 4, 2; 1, 8, 20, 1; 4, 7, 7, 2; KS. 9, 4: 107, 3; 9, 5: 108, 7; 15, 2: 210, 11; 15, 9: 216, 4; 5, 5, 18; 5, 8, 1; MS. 1, 10, 1: 140, 8; 2, 6, 13: 72, 9; 3, 13, 2: 168, 11; 3, 13, 12; 3, 13, 13; 3, 13, 15; 3, 13, 16; 4, 4, 7: 85, 5; ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 35; the last *carus* of the *prayugām havīṃsi* are (ŚB. 5, 5, 2, 7) offered to Sarasvatī, Pūṣan, Mitra, the Kṣetrapati (the *genius loci*), Varuṇa, and Aditi. It should be noticed that in all these cases Sarasvatī takes precedence of Pūṣan. In passages of another character the order of precedence may be different however. Thus in MS. 1, 8, 10: 130, 15 enumerating the stages passed through by milk that is being boiled; in MS. 3, 6, 5: 65, 10 dealing with the oblations that belong to the consecration VS. 29, 59 (= TS. 5, 5, 24 etc.). Uncommon is also the order ... Savitar, Pūṣan, Sarasvatī, Tvaṣṭar in ŚB. 11, 4, 3, 5. If mention is made of offerings, Sarasvatī and Pūṣan receive the same substance, viz. a *caru*.

It is worthy of special notice that not only in single or isolated mantras the names of Sarasvatī and Pūṣan follow each other immediately – remember, for instance, ṚV. 10, 65, 1 *agnīr ... vāyūḥ pūṣā sārasvatī*; TS. 1, 2, 2 *sarasvatyai pūṣṇe 'gnaye svāhā*; MS. 3, 13, 2 *sārasvatī meṣī ... śyāmah pauṣṇah* – but also in various sequences of otherwise identical brief formulae: e.g., KS. 20, 15: 35, 16 *svāhāgnim, svāhā somam, svāhā savitāram, svāhā sārsvatīm, svāhā pūṣaṇam, svāhā marutas ...*; 15, 7: 214, 14; 15, 9: 216, 4; 18, 10: 272, 15; TS. 7, 1, 16; MS. 2, 6, 11: 70, 7; 2, 6, 13: 72, 8; VS. 10, 5; TĀ. 4, 8, 3 *asvibhyām pinvasva, sārsvatyai pinvasva, pūṣṇe pinvasva, bṛhaspataye pinvasva, indrāya pinvasva*. Here follow some examples of longer or more complicated formulae: in MS. 3, 12, 5: 161, 14 each god is addressed three times by different names or epithets: "... *sarasvatyai svāhā, sārsvatyai bṛhatyai svāhā, sārsvatyai pāvākāyai*

52. As to the Ṛgveda, see 10, 65, 1 ... *pūṣā sārsvatī*; 5, 46, 2 and 8, 54, 4 (in the same *pāda*); 6, 61, 6; 9, 81, 4 (in the same stanza); 6, 49, 7 and 8 (in two successive stanzas).

svāhā; pūṣṇe svāhā; pūṣṇe prapathyāya svāhā, pūṣṇe naramdhiṣāya svāhā; TS. 7, 3, 15; KS. 5, 3, 5: 159, 14; and see VS. 4, 7.

143. Sometimes, however, both names do not occur in close proximity. The enumeration of the gods receiving ten *samsth* oblations in TS. 1, 8, 17 and in the *brāhmaṇa* passage TB. 1, 8, 1, 1 f. runs as follows: Agni, Sarasvatī, Savitar, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Tvaṣṭar, Viṣṇu, whereas the author of ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 6 ff. prefers the order Savitar, Sarasvatī, Tvaṣṭar, Pūṣan, Indra and so on. However, in KS. 15, 9: 216, 4 and MS. 2, 6, 13: 72, 8 the order is Savitar, Sarasvatī, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati and so on. In the enumeration of the gods receiving an animal victim on the occasion of an *aśvamedha* TS. 5, 6, 12 and KS. 5, 9, 2 the order is Maruts, Sarasvatī, Viśve Devāḥ, Pūṣan, Mitra, Indra-and-Bṛhaspati⁵³. Occasionally, an author inserts a motivation (SB. 3, 9, 1, 9 Soma comes after Sarasvatī, because the former is food, the latter speech), or the order of the events connected with the names is a natural one (TS. 6, 6, 5, 1 f.); cf. KS. 29, 10: 179, 15; 17; MS. 4, 7, 8: 103, 13. In these passages also Sarasvatī precedes Pūṣan.

It would seem possible to draw additional confirmation of the above evidence of a belief in a certain superiority of Sarasvatī from the remarkable passage ŚB. 11, 5, 2, 1 ff.: when in the days of yore Prajāpati fashioned himself a body, he made the oblation to Agni his thumb, that to Soma his forefinger, that to Savitar his middle finger (“because the cake to this god is the largest”), the oblation to Sarasvatī the third finger, and that to Pūṣan the little finger⁵⁴.

144. If the names of the two deities are found in close proximity, the goddess is in the mantras of the Yajurveda almost always, and also in other mantras, given the epithet *vāc* that is, especially sacral speech, “the perceptible, mastery of speech by a brahmin” (KS. 37, 2: 85, 19)⁵⁵. The identification of *vāc* with sacrificial worship (*yajña*, ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 9) and of *yajña* with prosperity (*puṣṭi*) and cattle (domestic and sacrificial animals, ŚB. 11, 6, 3, 9) is of special interest⁵⁶. Pūṣan, on the other hand, is in most cases

53. VS. 24, 4 and MS. 3, 13, 5 do not mention Pūṣan.

54. Any connexion between this mythical story and the ritual use of the fingers (see, e.g., Gonda, Vedic ritual, Index, s.v. finger(s) and thumb) seems doubtful; the little finger should be avoided in rites for prosperity or propitiation.

55. Compare also passages such as MS. 1, 3, 1: 30, 3; ĀśvŚ. 3, 1, 14; for Sarasvatī's intimate relation with *vāc* see also AVŚ. 5, 10, 8, where the sun is implored for eye-sight, etc. and Sarasvatī, associated (furnished) with *manas*, for *vāc*.

56. As has been set forth in chapter II, Sarasvatī's permanent place in the ṛgvedic *āpī* hymns where she appears in conjunction with Iḍā and Bhārati, two goddesses who from the very beginning must have had ritual significance and are rightly regarded as sacrificial goddesses (Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 87), shows that she had already at an early moment gained ritual honour and importance. This importance came to be enhanced by her association and 'identification' with Vāc, the Sacral Word, the potency and healing function of which is more than once (e.g., TB. 1, 8, 5, 6) referred to.

associated with cattle, *puṣṭi*, and occasionally also with the earth. Sarasvatī is sometimes associated with food and energy or virtue (*vīryam*, e.g., TB. 2, 6, 5, 2 f.) and is besought for *vāc* and food, the god is implored for prosperity, cattle, offspring. These ‘identifications’ and associations are not foreign to the *brāhmaṇa* passages. It should, however, be observed that Pūṣan is occasionally also believed to function as a deliverer from distress and to be a divine figure engaged in agriculture. Once or twice it appears that Sarasvatī is associated with (physical) faculties (*indriyam*) and Pūṣan with a firm foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*). Both gods are each in their own way believed to concern themselves with the process of propagation⁵⁷.

145. From a perusal of the relevant passages it appears however that already at an early moment our sources give evidence of a community of interests and activities. The goddess was often known or considered to concern herself with processes or activities which are elsewhere described as belonging decidedly to Pūṣan’s field of active interest or influence. Thus the beneficent local goddess is frequently described as rich in bearers of (re)generative power as well as various other forms of *vāja* (e.g. ṚV. 1, 3, 10 *vājebhir vājīnīvatī*; MS. 4, 12, 6: 198, 8), which elsewhere is a concern of Pūṣan’s (e.g. ṚV. 10, 26, 7 *vājānām pātih*; 10, 26, 9; 6, 54, 5); whereas Pūṣan is often said to cause, give, or even “be” prosperity (*puṣṭi*) and fecundity, Sarasvatī is, among other things, expected to give wealth and offspring (e.g. AVP. 6, 19, 9), or the possibility of eating food (MS. 3, 8, 11: 151, 14) or requested to give *puṣṭi* (ŚB. 11, 4, 3, 16)⁵⁸, or to “be” *puṣṭi* (TB. 2, 5, 7, 4)⁵⁹, to protect the domestic or sacrificial animals (AVP. 16, 13, 1), said to nourish the settlers (BhS. 4, 19, 7), or enabled to feed the people (AVŚ. 6, 30, 1) and to manage the settlements (MŚ. 1, 3, 5, 12). Moreover, Sarasvatī is in ṚV. 6, 61, 6 besought to open a path to acquisition (*sani*) like Pūṣan⁶⁰. It is also interesting to see that a substance or phenomenon which

57. As is well known, the most important feature of the tantric schools of ‘anatomy’ is the theory of nerve-plexuses and *nāḍīs*, nerves that are believed to start from the root at the end of the vertebral column. About the number of nerves authorities disagree. (As to details see M. Eliade, *Le yoga*, Paris 1954, p. 240). If mention is made of ten *nāḍīs* one of them is called *pūṣan*; if, of fourteen, the series begins, according to Śāṅḍilya-Upan. 1, 4 with *idā*, *pingalā*, *suṣumnā* (these three are the most important ones), to continue: *sarasvatī*, *vārunī*, *pūṣā* and so on. This text makes also mention of the *dvandva* compound *pūṣāsarasvatī*; another *nāḍī* called *payasvinī* is found half-way between these two.
58. Notice also the interesting simile AVŚ. 19, 31, 9 (AVP. 10, 5, 9) “As in the beginning thou, O forest tree, wast born together with *puṣṭi*, so let Sarasvatī assign to me increase of wealth”.
59. The commentator observes: *sarasvatī svayam puṣṭiyuktā salī parakīyayā api puṣṭeh pālayatrī bhavati*. See also KS. 32, 1: 19, 8 *sarasvatyā aham ... vācam annādyam puṣeyam ... puṣṇo 'ham ... puṣṭimān paṣumān bhūyāsam* and ŚB. 11, 4, 3, 16.
60. In TB. 2, 8, 6, 4 j Agni is requested to convey a sacrifice to Sarasvatī, the Maruts, the Aśvins and to the Waters and the gods in general in order to obtain for those speaking the distribution of riches. By means (or through the intermediary) of Sarasvatī, the Aśvins, Indra and Agni the officiant causes the sacrifice to prosper (be successful, *samardhayati*) and by (these) deities and the sacrifice the patron (ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 4 explaining VS. 19, 33).

ordinarily or occasionally is associated with Pūṣan is sometimes described as being related or connected with Sarasvatī or vice versa. Thus in the above TB. 2, 5, 7, 4, where Pūṣan figures as the lord of the mass of the settlers (*viṭpatih*), Sarasvatī is said to be *puṣṭi puṣṭipatnī* “prosperity and mistress of prosperity”. – Whereas, in VS. 39, 5 the milk which is boiled and overflows the pot is Pūṣan’s, it belongs in TB. 2, 1, 7, 1 to Sarasvatī (see above).

146. The community of their interests, or the similarity of their characters or functions is also evidenced by the use of some epithets. Sarasvatī, often invoked for help etc. (e.g. AVŚ. 7, 57, 1; 18, 1, 41), is *subhagā* “very prosperous or fortunate, conferring benefits or prosperity” (RV. 7, 95, 11; AVŚ. 6, 3, 2; MS. 4, 12, 6: 198, 8), an epithet that in the R̥gveda is not only applied to Agni, the Maruts, the Sun, Dawn (Uṣas), but also and obviously in a stereotyped phrase with the verb *puṣyati* to a human chief who is prosperous (RV. 2, 27, 15; 5, 37, 4 *subhāgo nāma pūṣyan*; cf. 2, 26, 2). – In RV. 10, 30, 12 Sarasvatī is one of the waters that are styled *revatīḥ* “wealthy, abundant”; Revatī is the name of Pūṣan’s *nakṣatra* (TB. 3, 1, 2, 9)⁶¹. – Pūṣan is called *vimuco napāt* (RV. 1, 42, 1 etc.), an epithet which in all probability characterizes him as the one who delivers from distress (*aṃhas*); in TB. 3, 7, 12, 2 c (cf. ĀpŚ. 10, 7, 14⁶²) Sarasvatī is besought to deliver the person speaking from *aṃhas*.

In examining the relevant passages dealing with both deities it should be borne in mind that the ways of proceeding on the part of these authors were almost always selective. This led to the result that in associating the two deities or in mentioning their names in the same context individual ritualists and philosophers may be expected to have placed emphasis on different features, qualities of character, functions or activities.

147. It is, moreover, worth noticing that the gods who in various passages are said to keep either Sarasvatī or Pūṣan company are to a considerable extent the same. Both deities are associated with the Aśvins, Maruts, Agni, Indra, Bhaga, Viṣṇu, Aryaman, Mitra, Soma, Bṛhaspati (Brahmaṇaspati)⁶³, Vāta or Vāyu, Aditi, Savitar. All these gods are known as being, in some way or other, promoters, patrons or representatives of forms of well-being, prosperity, affluence, vivification, production, help, favour, assistance or Lebensraum. Some other gods appear to have a certain preference for an association with Pūṣan: Tvaṣṭar, Dhātār, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Rudra, Puram̐dhi. Once or twice Sarasvatī is accompanied by Parjanya, more often by the Viśve Devāḥ. If both deities are addressed or invoked

61. For the combination of *revān* and *puṣṭi* in the same quarter of a stanza see RV. 8, 48, 6.

62. See, however, Dumont in Proc. Am. Phil. Soc. 107, p. 456; as to *ṛtāt* cf. RV. 8, 13, 26.

63. Attention may be called to KS. 37, 2: 85, 19 ff.: “Bṛhaspati is (represents) Brahman, that is mastery of (sacral) speech of the brahmin; Sarasvatī is *vāc*, that is perceptible mastery of speech of the brahmin”.

together, they are not infrequently accompanied by Agni and Soma, by the Maruts and Agni, by the Aśvins and Savitar, by Agni, Soma, Bṛhaspati, Maruts, Savitar, by the Viśve Devāḥ, by Prajāpati, Aditi, Tvaṣṭar, Viṣṇu or other such combinations of divine figures.

148. Attention may finally be once again drawn to the relations between both deities with (the) vision or inspiration of the *ṛsis*, the sages through whose intermediation the Veda was revealed. Sarasvatī is believed to be the (or a) ruler of every *dhī* (RV. 1, 3, 12; 6, 49, 7), or to be auspicious together with the *dhīs* (AVŚ. 19, 11, 2; AVP. 13, 8, 12), or also to favour them (RV. 6, 61, 4)⁶⁴. Pūṣan is besought to show favour to the inspiration (or inspired poem, *dhī*) that is to win *vāja* (3, 62, 8 etc.). Roughly speaking, Sarasvatī gives *dhī*, Pūṣan promotes it. In RV. 6, 49, 7 Sarasvatī is besought for *dhī* and in st. 8 Pūṣan for the perfection and success of that *dhī*. Moreover, the cow, not only closely associated but even 'identified' with Sarasvatī as well as Pūṣan, maintains intimate connexions with *dhī* which is occasionally (RV. 10, 101, 9) even regarded as identical with that animal.

It does not seem to be an entirely rejectable supposition that these associations and 'identifications', and especially the belief in the close relations between either god with the cow and *dhī*, the 'identification' of Sarasvatī with *vāc* and the cow and that of Pūṣan with cattle as well as their various connexions with the sacrificial ritual⁶⁵, have been seminal and contributed much to the practice of mentioning the names of the local goddess and of the god presiding over prosperity in close proximity. That, on the other hand, it has been these two divine figures that came to be so frequently and variously associated is not surprising: worshipped in the same region and in the same period the goddess of the most powerful⁶⁶ and fertilizing river and the god of economic prosperity, cattle and nourishment were so to say predisposed to forming a complementary pair.

149. Although in a few cases (MS. 1, 10, 5: 145, 17; ŚB. 2, 5, 1, 11) an author seems to suggest that Pūṣan and Sarasvatī had, or might have, entered into a matrimonial relation, they have not, as far as I am able to see, come to form a divine couple. In the Mahābhārata the goddess is occasionally, at the end of a long concatenation of brief similes, said to have been the beloved of Manu, the representative man and father of the human race (5, 115, 14), just as, for instance, Urvaśī was Purūravas' sweetheart and Lakṣmī (Viṣṇu-)Nārayaṇa's. Whether or not this has been a more or less widespread belief, it may probably be taken to represent an attempt

64. It is worth noticing that in VS. 20, 86, where the goddess is described as ruling every *dhī*, she is called a river.

65. See, e.g., § 124, n. 3 above.

66. In RV. 7, 96, 1 Sarasvatī is called the *asurjā nadīnām*; the term *asura* is in the R̥gveda frequently used to emphasize the all-powerfulness of a divine being (see, e.g., 2, 27, 10; 8, 42, 1). For worship of Sarasvatī, e.g., KS. 17, 18: 262, 18 ff.

intimately to associate the local goddess with the human race in general and the Aryans in particular. Occasional alliances with other gods can be left undiscussed. One epic place remains to be mentioned however. When it is narrated that Yudhiṣṭhira proceeds to the river Godāvarī and the holy places of the South, he visits also the sites of the Vasus, the Maruts, the Aśvins, ... Indra, Viṣṇu, Savitar, Bhaga, Moon and Sun, of the Lord of the Waters, of Dhātār and the Fathers, of Rudra and, finally, those of Sarasvatī, the Siddhas, Pūṣan, and the other immortals (Mbh. 3, 118, 13).

150. In connexion with both gods it is worth noticing that worship of deities that are closely associated with the region or locality of a community is far from rare among the tribal peoples of India. Various male and female deities believed to represent or to preside over the jungle, a stream, valley, forest, the hills or the mountains of a region as well as over their animal population are supposed to help and protect the inhabitants and to give them success in hunting and in cultivating the ground. Since these activities are not thought of as purely physical or mechanical processes but are intimately intermingled with ritual observances, they have little chance of success without divine help. Not infrequently, the cult of these local deities or guardian spirits of a small territory was perpetuated in groups of settlers even if their members had moved away from the localities they had inhabited formerly. Moreover, they came sometimes to receive homage from the entire community to which the inhabitants of that region belonged. Cases of identification with higher deities, or with such gods as were more or less universally worshipped – Mother Earth, the Sun – are not lacking⁶⁷.

The pictures of the characters and functions of Pūṣan and Sarasvatī evoked in the preceding chapters would leave us with the impression that the history of these deities is not unlike that of local or 'tribal' gods in some other countries⁶⁸. Despite the many gaps in our knowledge about their beginnings we should have no hesitation in saying that, after having developed into mighty deities recognized by or worshipped in comparatively small communities which believed them to be active and influential in many fields and able to perform a considerable variety of tasks for the benefit of men and for the good of their abodes and possessions, they came, in course of time, to lose many of their functions and to be recognized, by a larger circle of believers, as parochial or 'functional' gods, representing or supervising hardly more than one of the many provinces of divine activity and intervention. In post-Vedic times Sarasvatī is mainly known as the goddess of speech, eloquence, wisdom, Pūṣan as one of the aspects of the sun, as the god "who goes, with a thousand rays, after warming the earth, to the western mountain at the close of day" (Mbh. 5, 180, 39).

67. For particulars see, e.g., C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *The tribal populations and cultures of the Indian subcontinent*, Leiden 1984, passim (with references).

68. Cf. S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 28 f.

ABBREVIATIONS

AiB.	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa	Manu	Manusmṛti or Mānava-Dharmaśāstra
ĀpG.	Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra	MB.	Mantra-Brāhmaṇa
ĀpŚ.	Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra	Mbh.	Mahābhārata
ĀśvG.	Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra	MaiU.	Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad
ĀśvŚ.	Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra	MG.	Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra
AVP.	Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, Paippalāda recension	MNU.	Māha-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad
AVPar.	Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa	MS.	Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā
AVŚ.	Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, Śaunakīya recension	MŚ.	Mānava-Śrautasūtra
BĀU.	Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad	Nir.	Nirukta
BD.	Bṛhaddevatā	PB.	Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
BDh.	Baudhāyana-Dharmaśāstra	PG.	Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra
BGP(ar).	Baudhāyana-Gṛhya- Paribhāṣasūtra	Rām., R.	Rāmāyaṇa
BGŚ.	Baudhāyana-Gṛhya- Śeṣasūtra	ṚV.	Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā
BhŚ.	Bhāradvāja-Śrautasūtra	ṚVidh.	Ṛgvidhāna
BŚ.	Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra	ṚVKh.	Ṛgveda Khila
DŚ.	Drāhyāyana-Śrautasūtra	ŚB.	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
GB.	Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa	ŚBK.	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva recension
GG.	Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra	ŚB.	Śaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
HG.	Hiraṇyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra	ŚG.	Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra
HŚ.	Hiraṇyakeśi-Śrautasūtra	ŚŚ.	Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra
JB.	Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa	SV.	Sāmaveda
JG.	Jaiminīya-Gṛhyasūtra	SVB.	Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa
Kauś.	Kauśika-Sūtra	TĀ.	Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka
KB.	Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa	TB.	Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
KhG.	Khādīra-Gṛhyasūtra	TS.	Taittirīya-Saṃhitā
KapS., KKS.	Kapīṣṭhala(-Kāṭha)-Saṃhitā	VaitS.	Vaitāna-Sūtra
KS.	Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā	VGP.	Vārāhagrhyapuruṣa
KŚ.	Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra	ViDh.	Viṣṇu-Dharmaśāstra
LŚ.	Lātyāyana-Śrautasūtra	VS.	Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā
		VSK.	Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, Kāṇva recension

GENERAL INDEX

- acquisition(s), 127, 142
 Aditi, 12, 21, 27, 29, 33, 40, 42, 44, 48,
 75 f., 78, 81, 95, 108, 112, 120, 124, 125,
 130, 131, 142, 147, 159, 162, 163
 Āditya(s), 25, 26, 28, 44, 48, 83, 103, 110,
 111, 130, 151
 Aghnya (see also *aghnya*), 42
 Agni, 12, 13, 15-19, 21, 24, 26-28, 31, 33,
 35, 36, 42, 45, 46, 48, 57, 69, 70, 72-74,
 77, 79, 83-85, 93, 94 n., 95, 99, 101, 105-
 109, 112, 116, 119, 120-124, 128-134,
 136, 137, 140, 145-148, 150-158, 160,
 162, 163
 agriculture, 78, 95, 107, 117, 128, 142, 161
 Aitara, 30
 All (this, Totality), 41, 42, 57, 66, 117
 amulet, 99, 106
 Aṅgirasas, 46
 animal double, 90, 95
 animal god, 90, 94 n.
 animal sacrifice, 35, 134, 153 f., 158
 animals, 78, 87, 95, 100, 124, 152, 160, 161
 Anumati, 12, 13, 14, 42, 152
 Apāṃ Napāt, 108
 apotropaeic rites, 114
 aquatic nature or origin, 58 f.
 aquatic symbolism, 54 n.
 Aramati, 79, 90, 95
 Arāti, 109
 Aryaman, 76, 77, 95, 103, 104, 106, 116,
 122, 130, 131, 144, 148, 150, 151, 162
 Aryans, (Aryan settlers, land, community)
 9, 12, 80, 84, 85, 87, 89, 95, 96, 108, 111,
 142, 143, 148, 164
 Aśvins, 5, 13, 14 f., 21, 22 ff., 35, 49, 51, 56,
 71, 76-81, 83-85, 92, 95, 103-105, 108,
 111, 121, 123, 132, 138, 142, 146, 156 f.,
 161 n., 162, 163
 Atharvan, 83
 Atkins, S.D. 86, 97, 98, 105, 110, 114, 115,
 140, 141
 bean (wild), 140
 beginning, 65
 Bhaga, 14, 74, 75 f., 77-81, 83, 85, 86, 95,
 111-113, 144, 148, 150, 151, 162
 Bhāgadhā, 109
 Bharadvāja(s), 71, 74, 96
 Bharata, 151
 Bharatas, 91
 Bhāratī, 13 n., 17, 20 ff., 25-27, 29, 30, 66,
 134, 151, 160 n.
 Bhattacharji, S., 6
 Bhava, 109
 Bhava-and-Śarva, 103, 109
 Bhṛguś, 57
 black colour, 51 n., 153
 Brahmā, 53, 134
 Brāhman, 19, 27-29, 31, 35, 50, 53, 60, 66,
 116, 117, 124, 128, 146, 150, 155
 Brahmanaspati, 78, 79, 110, 112, 143
 breath, 119
 Bṛhaddivā, 76
 Bṛhaspati, 12, 16, 31, 32, 76, 79-81, 84, 95,
 103, 104, 106-110, 112, 115-117, 123, 124,
 129, 131, 134, 137, 138, 142, 146-148,
 150, 151, 154-158, 160, 162, 163
 bride, 99, 101, 107, 131, 142
 bull, 116, 118, 137

 cattle, cattle-breeding, 69, 78, 87, 88, 93, 95,
 100, 101, 106, 116, 118, 120-124, 129,
 132, 133, 134, 136, 139-143, 145, 146,
 148, 151, 154-156, 158, 160, 161, 163
 charioteer, 75, 87, 89, 91, 111
 charms, 97, 99, 102
 colours, 152 f.
 communion, 19
 community (Aryan), 103
 conflagration, 108
 consecration, 63 f., 127, 132, 141, 153, 159
 continuation, 19
 contradiction, 40

- cosmogony, 60
 cow (see also milch cow), 14, 17 n., 32, 36, 39 ff., 70, 87 f., 93, 107-119 f., 121, 123-125 f., 134 f., 137 f., 139, 142, 145, 148, 152, 157, 163
 Cow (cosmic), 42 f., 45 n.
 creeping animals, 131
 cultivation, 89, 95, 107, 143

 dark-grey, 116 f.
 darkness, 85
 Day and Night, 110, 129
 death, 124
 deceased (the), 82, 89, 90, 99, 103, 105, 135 f., 142
 Deṣṭrī, 42
 Dhātar, 76, 99, 103, 105, 106-110, 112, 116, 129-131, 142-144, 150, 162
 Dhī, 39
 Dhiṣaṇā, 21
 disease, 122
 distress (see also *amhas*), 161, 162
 distributor, 104
 domestic ritual, 100
 doorway, threshold, 130
 draught-animals, 78
 dream, 102 f., 105
 Dyaus, 81, 103, 108, 109

 Earth, earth (the), 42, 109, 116, 122, 124-126, 135, 137, 142, 145, 153, 161, 164
 Egyptian religion, 11, 61 n., 164 n.
 Ekarṣi, 135 f.
 eloquence, 5, 34, 164
 emanation, 66, 142
 epithets, 98, 146, 149, 159, 162
 eulogy, 21, 26
 evil, 22, 98, 103, 107, 124, 141
 expiation (atonement, see also *prāyaścitta*), 130, 134, 149

 Fathers, 12, 82, 84, 99, 103, 115, 135, 138
 fecundity, fertility, 71, 91, 95, 100, 104, 107, 117, 122, 125, 128, 131, 140, 143, 152 f., 161
 film (on milk), 149
 fingers, 160
 five, 132
 food, 25, 26, 35, 45, 46, 55, 64, 71, 75, 89, 90, 115, 117, 120, 139, 142, 143, 148, 151, 154, 156, 158, 160, 161
 food (sacrificial), 19, 41, 133
 formulae, 6
 freedom, 40

 front (going in), 90, 113, 132 n.
 full and new moon (sacrifices of), 41, 42, 118, 126 f., 151
 furrow, 73, 128

 Geldner, K.F., 46, 73, 87, 94
 germ (primordial), 58
 Gīrdevī, 31
 goad, pricker, 87, 88, 93, 110
 goat, 89 f., 94 n., 95, 117, 120, 122, 136, 139, 152
 gods, 59
 grass (ritual, sacrificial), 58, 61, 114 f., 134
 Grassmann, H., 110
 Griffith, R.T.H., 152
 Griswold, H.D., 6
 guardian (of paths etc.), 89, 95, 126, 135, 137-139, 155, 164
 guidance, guide, 89, 105, 113, 150
 guilt, 98, 99

 hairdressing, 91 f.
 healing, 22, 24, 26, 37, 55 f., 114, 133, 158
 Heaven-and-Earth, 74, 103, 109, 131, 133
 Heesterman, J.C., 61, 62
 herdsman, 69, 70, 75, 82, 88, 90, 142
 Hillebrandt, A., 6, 70, 73, 82
 horse, 32, 47, 87, 88, 90, 100, 131
 horse (sacrificial), 51, 89 f., 131, 133, 135, 137, 138, 139
 Hotrā Bhārati, 21

 Iḍā (Iḷā), 13 n., 17 ff., 21, 23 n., 25-27, 29, 30, 41-43, 66, 76, 95, 120, 134, 160 n.
 identification, 21, 26, 27, 30, 33, 35, 36, 39 f., 44 n., 50, 55, 59, 63, 64, 66, 74, 102, 119, 124, 126, 128, 135, 142, 143, 145, 155, 160, 161, 163, 164
 imagery (poetic), 39
 impotence, 122
 imprecation, 110
 incest myth, 71 n.
 Indra, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 21, 22 ff., 25, 28, 29 n., 30, 31, 37, 44, 46, 48, 49, 51, 58, 61, 69, 72, 73 f., 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 87, 89, 91-93, 94 n., 95, 101, 102, 105-107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 116-118, 121, 122, 124-126, 128-130, 133, 134, 137, 143, 146, 148, 150, 155-157, 160, 162
 Indra-and-Agni, 64, 103, 108, 110, 134, 137
 Indra-and-Bṛhaspati, 108, 160
 Indra-and-Pūṣan, 72-74, 89 f., 95, 108, 120, 122, 139, 153
 Indra-and-Vāyu, 76, 126

- Indra Sutrāman, 23
 Indrāṇī, 13, 120
 inspiration (poetic), 21, 44-46, 49, 93 f., 163
 intelligence, 93
- Jagat, 107
 journey, see way
- Kavaṣa, 8
 Keith, A.B., 6, 68, 152
 knot, 114 f.
 Kṣetrapati, 159
 Kuru-Pañcālas, 153
- Lakṣmī, 53
 last place, 61, 80, 100, 146
 leprosy, 122, 140
 liberality, generosity, 21 f., 39, 44, 71, 72, 77, 83, 88, 136, 138
 local (communal, national) deity, god(dess), 9, 10, 12, 29, 31, 32, 76, 82, 96, 100, 142, 161, 164
 locative, 11 n.
 longevity (survival), 102, 104, 106-108, 115, 118, 154, 156
 Lüders, H., 70
- Macdonell, A.A., 5, 89
 magic, 158
 Mahī, 152
 Mahiman, 112
 maina, 152
 mantra, 50, 141, 145
 Manu, 18, 19, 83, 163
 marriage, married pair, 99, 101 f., 105, 131, 155, 163
 Maruts, 13, 14, 20, 26, 45 n., 46, 74, 77, 78, 80, 81, 83, 93, 95, 103, 106-108, 110, 112, 117, 129, 130, 134, 142, 144, 152, 156, 158, 161 n., 162, 163
 mediator, 45
 medicine, 55 f., 91, 122, 128
 milch cow, 24, 26, 34, 40, 41, 43-46, 56
 milk, milking, 39 ff., 45, 46, 55, 119, 120 f., 123, 142, 143, 148, 149, 157, 159, 162
 Minerva, 66 f.
 Mitra, 21, 49 n., 61, 77, 79, 80, 81, 95, 103, 107, 108, 111, 112, 115, 117, 122, 124, 125 f., 128, 129, 150, 156, 159, 160, 162
 Moon, moon-god, 94 n., 103
 morning invocation, 139
 mother goddesses, 43
 myths, 142
- Nāhuṣa, 8
 name, name-giving, 40, 50, 159
 Namuci, 24
 Narāśaṃsa, 112
 nature (phenomena of), 9
 navel, 23, 44, 58
 nine, 125
 Nirṛti, 42
 numbers, 132
- oblations, 18
 ocean, 58, 65 n., 100
 offspring, progeny, 107, 112, 116, 118, 124, 129, 151, 161
 Oldenberg, H., 6, 20, 95
 omina, 138
 One (the), 58
 organs of generation, 40
- Pallas Athene, 66 f.
 Parameṣṭhin, 60, 103, 110
 Parjanya, 14, 69, 78, 80, 82, 100, 162
 parturition, 104
 pastoral deity, 68, 69, 88 f., 94 n., 107
 pastures, 116, 138
 Paśupati, 120
 path, paths (see also way), 82 ff., 89, 95
 Pathmaker, 84, 136
 Pathyā, 121
 patron of the sacrifice (sacrificer, see also *yajamāna*), 19, 33, 62, 114, 127, 138, 158
 plants, 119, 122, 128, 129, 140 n.
 plenty, 41
 ploughing, 128 f. 142
 poem, 93 f.
 poetic art, 44, 46
 popular practices, 33
 Poṣa, 143
 praise, 8
 Prajāpati, 21, 28, 29, 35, 36, 41, 60, 63, 65, 66, 76, 103, 110, 121, 132 n., 136, 147, 150, 152-155, 160, 163
 Prāṇa, 7 n.
 procreator, 122, 154, 161
 productive union, 155
 productiveness, 117
 property, 71, 78-80, 89, 93, 95, 118, 121, 123, 127, 129, 136, 138, 142, 146, 158
 prosperity, 77, 78, 89, 91, 96, 101, 102, 104-106, 108 f., 114, 115, 118, 121, 123, 126, 142, 145, 146, 151, 154, 156, 160-162
 protection, protector, 84, 88-91, 93, 95, 105, 108, 113, 123, 125, 133, 134, 138-140, 146

- Pṛthivī, 75 f., 81, 95
 Puramdhi, 48, 70, 76, 79, 95, 112, 162
 purification, 56, 82
 Puruṣa, 60, 65, 144
 Pūṣan, 5, 11, 21, 27 n., 31, 36, 56; 66-164
 passim
 (his character and characteristics),
 71 f., 94 f.
 (his epithets), 71, 92
 (his name), 95 n.
 Puṣṭi (see also *puṣṭi*), 10, 143

 rain, raining, 61, 76, 77, 125
 Rākā, 13, 76 n.
 Rantināra, 53
 Rātri, 107
 Rayi, 74, 79, 95, 112
 Ṛbhukṣan, 77
 Ṛbhus, 73, 77, 83
 rectum, 131
 Renou, L., 6, 48, 72, 79
 Revatī, 121, 162
 ribs, 131
 ritual, 106
 river(s), 5 ff., 12, 32, 39, 42, 43, 54, 70, 108,
 125, 163
 river goddess, 5, 36, 51 n., 54, 55, 66, 152,
 157, 163
 Rodasī, 74, 76, 77
 Rohiṇī, 121
 royal consecration, 61 f.
 Rudra, 48, 77, 80, 91, 95, 100, 109, 110,
 120, 122, 130, 137, 157, 158, 162
 Rudras, 25, 28, 45, 48, 124

 sacred word (see also speech, word, Vāc), 34
 sacrifice, sacrificial worship, 19, 25, 26, 35,
 36, 47, 50, 60, 116, 145, 146, 148, 154,
 160
 sacrificial ground, 59
 Sadasaspati, 18
 safety, 100, 116
 Sarasvant, 7 n., 30, 37 n., 48 n., 77, 79 n.
 Sārasvata(s), 9 n., 17, 52
 Sarasvatī, 5-67 passim; 76, 79-82, 95, 96,
 100, 106, 112, 113, 134, 137, 143; 145 ff.
 passim
 (characteristics of), 10
 (epithets of) 9 f.
 Sarasvatī Vāc, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 66, 147,
 (149), 150, 152, 154
 Sarasvatī water, 33, 61 f., 64
 Satyam, 29
 Savitar, 31, 70, 76, 80, 83, 93, 99, 103, 104,
 107-112, 115, 116, 127, 128, 130-135, 139,
 142, 146-148, 150, 151, 153, 155-159, 160,
 162, 163
 scapegoat, 99
 serpents, 120
 settlers and settlements, 11 f., 14, 18, 89,
 100, 161
 seven rivers, 8 n., 56, 80, 108
 simile, 40
 Sindhu, 125
 Sinivālī, 10, 13, 14, 27 n., 29 n., 42
 six, 132
 sixteen, 63
 solar god, 68, 69, 70, 89, 94, 107, 111, 112,
 135
 Soma, 12, 16, 31, 33, 35, 36, 69, 70, 72,
 74 f., 76, 77, 80, 81, 83, 93, 95, 99, 101,
 103, 105, 108-110, 112, 113, 116, 117,
 119, 121 f., 123, 127, 130, 133, 134, 135,
 137, 140, 142, 143, 146-148, 150-157, 160,
 162, 163
 Soma-and-Pūṣan, 69 f., 74 f., 94, 95, 117,
 121, 122, 153
 Soma-and-Rudra, 122
 soma sacrifice, 9, 37, 40 n., 42, 45 n., 125,
 134, 143, 151, 158
 son, 41
 Speech (see also Vāc, vāc), 7 n., 29, 32, 33,
 35, 36, 45, 50, 51, 63, 64, 152, 154, 155,
 160, 164
 speech-impediments, 31
 spell, 6
 sprinkling, 33
 Śraddhā, 120
 Śrī, Śrī-Lakṣmī, 11, 13, 53, 143, 156
 sun or Sun (see also Sūrya), 29, 69 f., 72, 80,
 93, 94 n., 95, 103, 110, 117, 135, 136,
 142, 143, 158, 162, 164
 Sūnṛta, 151
 Śukra, 109
 Sūrya, 15, 27, 28, 31, 51, 69, 70, 83, 105,
 109, 112, 128, 130, 133, 162
 Sūryā, 70 f.
 Svadhā, 109

 Tārṣya, 50, 81
 tongue, 51
 tortoise, 117
 traveller, 108, 142, 147 n.
 triads, ch. II, passim
 Trita, 77
 Tṛtsus, 91 f.
 Tuṣṭi, 11

- Tvaṣṭar, 24, 57, 76, 79, 80, 100, 103, 105, 107-112, 116, 123 n., 127-129, 131, 142, 146, 147, 150, 155, 156, 159, 160, 162, 163
 twenty-one, 102, 121, 133
- universe (also structure of the tripartite), 9, 15, 16, 25, 27-29, 36, 41, 54, 57, 59, 63, 65, 75, 102, 117, 132-134, 141
- Uṣas, 16, 27, 29 n., 42, 70, 74, 83, 85, 162
- Vāc, 6, 7 n., 15, 16, 21, 23, 26 ff., 29, 30-39, 41, 43, 44, 46, 50, 60, 63-65, 79, 121, 145-148, 150, 152, 154, 157, 160 n.
- Vācaspati, 18, 158
- Vāgdevī, 31, (152)
- Vanaspati, 134
- Vānī, 65
- Varuṇa, 13, 16, 21, 36, 47, 48, 49 n., 61, 77, 80, 83, 87, 93, 95, 105-108, 110-113, 117, 122, 124, 126, 128-131, 134, 135, 146, 150, 155, 156, 159, 160, 162
- Varuṇa-and-Mitra, 64, 103, 108, 121, 124, 129
- Varūtrī, 20
- Vāstoṣ pati, 103
- Vasus, 25, 26, 28, 45, 48, 77, 107, 117, 124
- Vāta, 77, 80, 81, 95, 103, 119, 121, 131, 162
- Vāyu, 15, 26, 28, 62, 70, 77-80, 92, 93, 95, 103, 108-110, 112, 113, 121, 128, 130, 142, 153, 162
- Veda, 23, 42, 50-53, 66
- vegetation, 125, 153
- Vidhātār, 130, 144
- Virāj, 41, 42, 148
- vision, 45, 46, 49
- Viṣṇu, 11, 13, 14, 31, 51, 56, 73, 77, 78, 80, 92, 94, 95, 100, 103, 104, 108, 111-113, 122, 124, 129-132, 143, 146, 147, 150, 160, 162, 163
- Viśvakarman, 65
- Viśvarūpā, 42
- Viśve Devāḥ, 12, 14, 48, 79, 81, 110, 115, 130, 137, 152, 156, 158, 160, 162, 163
- water, 42, 43, 55 ff., 102, 119, 129, 158
- waters (cosmic), 59, 62
- waters (primeval), 57 f., 61 f., 64, 65
- Waters (Āpaḥ), 13, 54 ff., 80, 82, 102, 103, 161 n.
- way (path, road, route, passage, journey, traffic), 74, 79, 82, 83 ff., 94, 103, 105, 108, 121, 126, 129, 131, 134-137, 142, 147
- waylayer, 83-85
- wealth, 71, 75 f., 88, 94, 95, 102, 105, 112, 127, 136, 139, 158, 161
- well, source etc., 61, 62
- well-being, 74, 79, 85-87; 91, 93, 95, 100, 104, 108, 112, 129, 138, 148
- wind (see also Vāta, Vāyu), 119, 142, 143
- witchcraft, 33, 140
- wolf, 83-85
- womb, 23, 64
- word (spoken, sacral, sacred), 5 n., 6, 28, 29, 44, 51, 64, 66, 155
- world (inhabited), 68 f., 82, 88, 95, 139
- Yajñavalkya, 51
- Yama, 15, 82, 108, 112, 135
- yoking oblations, 153

INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS

- aṃhas, 86, 87, 107, 162
 aṃhomuc, 87
 agnicayana, 100, 121, 128, 134, 139, 140, 147
 agnipraṇayana, 139
 agnihotra, 51, 120, 133, 157
 agnyupasthāna, 126 f., 133
 aghnya, 41, 44
 aṅghṛṇi, 149
 ajāśva, 89, 91
 adhyakṣa, 100, 109
 adhvan, 86
 adhvara, 25
 adhvaryu, 18, 19, 104, 120, 125, 126, 133, 137, 149
 aniruktam, 62, 63
 anubandhyā (cow), 45 n.
 anubhū, 12
 anuṣṭubh, 36
 annādyam, 158
 abhyardhayajvan, 90 n.
 amṛta(m), 44, 56, 61, 75 n.
 aram, alam, 46 n.
 ardhendra oblations, 148
 aśvamedha, 115, 120, 131, 136 f., 138, 139, 147, 152, 160
 asat, 77
 asu, 57

 āgnidhra, 25
 āghṛṇi, 68, 149 n.
 ātman, 69
 āpaḥ, 54, 57, 60
 āpri hymns, 17, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 74, 134, 160 n.
 āyatana, 59
 ārā, 93
 āvid, 131
 āhavanīya, 128

 idā (see Iḍā), 19
 idā-pot, 18
 idopahvānam, 18
 indriya, 23, 24, 26, 36, 59, 114, 116, 118, 124, 127, 136, 153, 154, 161

 upanayana, 12, 150

 ūrj, 55

 ṛta(m), 39, 77, 87
 ṛtāvan, 16

 ekādaśinī, 153 f.

 ojas, 37, 102, 124, 125, 146

 audgrahaṇa, 147

 kapardin, 91
 karambha, 73 n., 90, 151
 karambhād, 90
 kavi, 47, 93, 128
 kāmاده, 52
 kāru, 44
 kilāla, 43
 kośa, 44 n.
 kṣatram, 158
 kṣetrasya patiḥ, 80

 gāyatravepas, 46
 gāyatrī, 132
 gobalinī, 42

 ghṛtācī, 49 n.

 jan-, 57
 janatā, 136
 jñātivid, 98, 101

- tapas, 60, 66
 tarpaṇa, 11
 tavaṣ, 92
 tūpara, 153
 tejas, 24 n., 59, 102, 128, 146, 148, 150, 155
 tridhātu, 23
- dakṣa, 58
 dakṣiṇā, 20, 40, 43, 74, 100, 109, 116
 daśapeya, 146
 dasma, 93
 dasra, 91-93
 dīkṣā, 60
 dūritam, 85, 98, 138
 devayant, 26
 devī, 47 n.
- dharma, 60
 dhāman, 16, 59, 78
 dhiyaṃjinva, 94
 dhiyāvasu, 47
 dhī (see also Dhī), 41, 45, ff., 65, 66, 72, 79,
 80, 81, 93-95, 142, 163
 dhīti, 50
 dhīra, 50, 128
 dhenu, 26, 43, 44
 dhruva, 63
- nakṣatra, 103, 118, 121, 130
 nakṣatra bricks, 121
 napāt, 86
 naraṃdhiṣa, 147
 naruṇa, 149
 nāḍī, 161 n.
- path-, 83
 payas, 22
 parivāpa, 21, 151
 paśu, 11, 31
 pārtha oblations, 148
 pāvīravī, 53, 55
 piṭṛmedha, 82
 puṇya, 115
 puriṣāyatana, 116
 puṣ-, 98, 106, 115, 117, 119, 145, 162
 puṣtam, 91, 116
 puṣṭi, 10, 70, 72 f., 95, 98, 109, 114-116, 118,
 126, 130, 142, 143, 145, 146, 154, 156,
 160-162
 puṣṭipati, 121, 143, 155, 156
 puṣṭipatnī, 10
 puṣṭimbhara, 72, 73, 89
 pṛthivī, 116, 145
 poṣa, 75, 98, 100, 106, 115
- poṣaka, 123
 poṣaṇa, 143
 poṣā, 129
 praūgasastra, 34, 64
 pratiṣṭhā, 57, 66, 117, 124, 125, 145, 153,
 161
 prayujāṃ havīṃsi, 153
 pravargya, 35, 42, 74, 119, 120, 123, 137,
 149, 157
 prāṇa, prāṇāḥ, 38 n., 59, 63, 132, 151
 prāyaścitta, -i, 101, 108, 129, 138
- barhis, 17, 55, 82
 bṛhat, 15 n., 23, 57, 118, 147
 brahmacodanī, 93
 brāhman (see Brahman), 15, 16, 31, 33, 40,
 76, 106, 109, 126, 132, 154, 158
 brahmán, 40
- bhaga, 156
 bhavitram, 78
 bhāgadugha, 72 n., 115
 bhīṣaj, 24
 bhuvana, 68 f.
- makha, 92 n.
 maghavan, 92
 mati, 94
 madhu, 32, 102
 manas, 7 n., 18, 32, 37, 41, 50, 52, 65
 manaspati, 19 n.
 manīṣā, 45
 manonetra, 38
 mantumat, 93
 mayas, 15, 81
 mayobhū, 18, 36, 71, 81
 mahānasika, 115
 māyā, 72, 77, 138
 mitravindā, 156
 medhā, 49, 55, 106
- yajamāna, 18, 127
 yajña, 31, 35, 36, 60, 130, 146, 160
- ratnin, 115
 raśmi, 111, 136 n.
 rasa, 55, 61, 102, 119
 rājasūya, 61 f., 63, 101, 115, 122, 131, 147,
 148
 rūpa, 146 n.
 retas, 59, 154
 revatī, 162
- loka, 27, 59, 60, 105

- vajra, 55, 125
 Vanaspati, 24
 vayas, 26, 49 n., 55, 134
 varcas, 32, 102, 106, 118, 128, 139
 vaśā, 42
 vasupati, 21
 vasuvid, 101
 vāgdevī, 44 n.
 vāc (see also Vāc), 18, 32, 33-35, 37, 42, 50,
 51, 63, 65, 132, 146, 149, 151, 153-156,
 158, 160, 161
 vāja, 9n., 47, 72, 74, 79, 80, 83, 87-89, 92,
 94, 95, 121, 138, 146, 161, 163
 vājapastya, 72
 vājapeya, 151
 vājīn, 110
 vātāpyam, 78
 vīdatha, 79
 vipra, 49, 94
 vi-muc-, 87, 98, 99, 115, 126
 vimuco napāt, 86, 99, 115, 157, 162
 vimocana, 87
 virāj (see also Virāj), 14, 26, 45 n.
 viś, 117, 156
 viśobhagīnā, veśabhagīnā, 11
 viśpati, viṭpati, 18, 117, 156
 viśvatūrti, 22
 viśvamīnva, 88
 viśvavedas, 81, 118, 132
 viṣuvat, 62
 vīra, 79
 vīrya, 24, 36, 38 n., 55, 102, 118, 125, 136,
 154, 161
 vrjanam, 109 f.
 vṛtrahan, 21
 vṛṣotsarga, 137
 veśa, viśaḥ, 11 n., 89
 vaiśambhalyā, 11
 vaiśya, 89, 117
 vaiśya sava, 156
 vaiśvadeva, 130, 137, 146, 155, 157
 vrata, 84, 126 n.
 śakra, 92, 118
 śatarudrīya, 140
 śānta, 56 n.
 śānti, 107
 śāri(kā), 152
 śurudh, 81 n.
 śulka, 101 n., 107
 śūdra, 117
 śraddhā, 20, 60
 sat, 58, 77
 satyam, 59, 110, 156, 157
 satyavāc, 156
 sani, 127, 161
 sabardughā, 46 n.
 sam-paś-, 69
 sarasvant, 7 n.
 sarvatāti, 76
 sarvam, 57, 63
 sarvamedha, 138, 139
 sāketa, 149
 sāman, 100
 sārasvatānām ayana, 9
 sukṛtasya lokāḥ, 99, 105
 subhaga, 15, 162
 soma, 22 f., 24, 34, 35, 39, 47, 50 n., 59, 64,
 73, 74, 91, 92
 sautrāmanī, 5 n., 22 ff., 51, 56, 134
 sprtaḥ, 124
 svagā, 130
 svadhā, 48
 svasti, 79, 81
 hotar, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 104
 hotrā, 20, 26

INDEX OF SANSKRIT TEXT-PLACES

AVPar.	37, 9, 3	99	1, 13	26 f.
AVP.	1, 34, 3	98, 101	1, 13, 9	17
	1, 70, 4	99	1, 42	84, 86
	2, 61, 5	105	1, 89	81
	8, 12, 10	14	1, 139, 7	46
	9, 12, 6 f.	110 f.	1, 162, 2 f.	89 f.
	10, 6, 4	32	1, 164, 42	64 n.
	12, 7, 7	102	1, 164, 49	43
	13, 14, 2	109 f.	1, 187, 11	35
	15, 8, 8	100	2, 1, 11	21
	16, 13, 1	10 f.	2, 40	69 f., 74
	17, 21	110	2, 40, 1; 2	140
	17, 26	102 f.	2, 40, 6	94
	19, 38, 6	32	3, 4, 8	17
	20, 6, 1	14	3, 57	45
	20, 21, 3	31	3, 62, 3	20
	20, 23	42	4, 41, 5	46
	20, 29, 5	7	4, 57, 7	73
AVŚ.	3, 17, 4	73	5, 46, 2	79 f.
	6, 41, 2	7	6, 24	77
	6, 112, 3	98, 99	6, 48, 11 ff.	45 f.
	6, 113, 2	98	6, 49, 7	47 f.
	7, 9	111 n.	6, 51, 11	75 f.
	9, 4, 5	118	6, 53	158 f.
	14, 1, 39	104	6, 53, 1	94
	14, 2, 15	14	6, 53, 5; 7; 8	93
	19, 40, 1	31	6, 54	158 f.
	20, 127, 12	100	6, 55, 4; 5	71 n., 146
ĀpG.	2, 6, 10	100	6, 56	73
ĀpŚ.	3, 10, 2	11	6, 57, 4	73
	4, 10, 1	124	6, 58, 1	72, 146
	4, 13, 7	11	6, 58, 4	70
	4, 14, 4	11, 32	6, 61	80, 159
ĀśvG.	1, 20, 4	104 n.	6, 61, 13	8
ĀśvŚ.	1, 7, 7	18	6, 61, 14	43
	4, 13, 2	38	7, 34, 2	58
AiB.	2, 19, 1	8	7, 35, 9	78
RgVidh.	2, 23, 1 ff.	158 f.	7, 39, 2	78
RV.	1, 3, 10	47	7, 90, 3	78
	1, 3, 12	6, 7, 47	8, 1, 10	46

	8, 4, 15-18	95		25, 10, 11	9
	8, 41, 5	47		25, 10, 16	9
	8, 101, 15 f.	44	BĀU.	5, 15, 1 f.	135 f.
	10, 17	82	Brhadde-	1, 74; 2, 45; 3, 14; 8,	
	10, 26, 1; 2	78	vatā	91 etc.	27 f.
	10, 30	54 f.		2, 63	68 n.
	10, 42, 2	44	BĠŚ.	3, 6, 2	31
	10, 64, 12	46	Mbh.	3, 184	50
	10, 71	49 f.		6, 61, 42	51
	10, 82, 5	57 f.		9, 41, 29 ff.	65
	10, 85, 14	71 n.		12, 15, 18	143
	10, 101, 9	46		12, 306, 6 ff.	51
	10, 110, 8	19		12, 322	51
	10, 111, 8	58		12, 326, 52	52
	10, 125	28, 64 f.		12, 337, 37 f.	52
	10, 139, 1	70		14, 21, 9 ff.	52
RVKh.	2, 13, 2	20	MŚ.	1, 4, 2, 10	41
	4, 8, 2	49	MārġPur.	4, 5 ff.; 21 (23), 29 ff.;	
KS.	5, 1	48		69, 27 f. (72, 25 f.)	52
	12, 12	32	MS.	1, 5, 14	129
	12, 13	32		3, 6, 4	146
	13, 6	34		4, 1, 1	125
	13, 12	32		4, 2, 2 f.	41
	14, 9	35		4, 2, 7	41, 117 f
Kathāsarit-				4, 2, 10	129
sāgara	5, 94; 6, 137 ff.; 7, 9	52		4, 3, 9	63
Kauś.	46, 26 ff.	98		4, 3, 10	62
	77, 23	12		4, 7, 8	36
	78, 10	101		4, 12, 6	146
KB.	10, 6	35	Yāska, Nir.	7, 9	68
	12, 2 (12, 3, 5 ff.)	55		10, 31	70
	12, 3	8		12, 16	68 n.
JB.	2, 251	42	VŚ.	12, 1, 9	125
TĀ.	1, 10, 2	123	VS.	XIX-XXI	24
	1, 23, 5	117		28, 8	23
	4, 5, 1	33 n.		28, 18	25
	10, 40, 1	49		28, 31	23
TB.	1, 5, 11, 2 f.	21		29, 8	26
	1, 7, 5, 5	63		38, 5	43
	1, 8, 1, 1 f.	31	ŚB.	2, 5, 1, 1 ff.	155
	1, 8, 3, 3	156 f.		3, 1, 4, 2	36
	2, 5, 4, 5 f.	146		5, 3, 4, 3 f.	32 f.
	2, 5, 8, 6 f.	11		5, 3, 5, 4	148
	2, 6, 7, 4 f.	23		6, 8, 2, 3	57
	2, 6, 10, 4 f.	25		11, 1, 6, 24	60
TS.	1, 1, 7, 2 k	126		11, 4, 3, 20	156
	1, 2, 3	127		11, 5, 2, 1 ff.	160
	1, 8, 12 g	131 f.		12, 7, 2, 7	152 n.
	2, 1, 2, 6	32		12, 9, 1, 11 ff.	51
	3, 4, 3, 4	32		13, 4, 1, 14	135
PG.	1, 7, 2	12		14, 2, 1, 12	35
PB.	8, 7, 9	59	SV.	1, 2, 2, 1, 10 (1, 154)	75

