

# The *Paśu* List for the Main Sacrifice of the *Aśvamedha*: Its Archetype and Development in the Yajurveda Saṁhitās

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## 0. Introduction

On the second day in the three-day course of main ritual in the *Aśvamedha* (the horse sacrifice), the sacrificer king immolates the sacrificial horse, together with a hornless bull and a gayal, for *Prajāpati*. At the same time he assembles on the sacrificial ground also immense *paśus* (sacrificial animals) of the *grāmya* (“belonging to the village”) as well as of the *āraṇya* (“belonging to the forest”) dedicated to various deities. Among the *paśus*, the *grāmyas* are immolated as ordinary victims, and the *āraṇyas* should be liberated after being consecrated with the *Paryagnikaraṇa* ceremony.<sup>1)</sup> These *paśus* represent “all beings” (*sārvāṇi bhūtāni*)<sup>2)</sup> and, by means of sacrifice of them, the sacrificer attains the rulership over all beings, the ultimate purpose of celebrating his *Aśvamedha*.<sup>3)</sup>

All *paśus* used for the main ritual are listed in four Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda: Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā (MS) 3.13.2–14.21, Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā (VS) 24.1–40 and 29.58–59, Taittirīya-Saṁhitā (TS) 5.5.11–24 and 6.11–21, and 5.7.1–11 as well as 8.1–10.1 in the *Aśvamedha-grantha* of the Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā (KSA), with mentions about details (species, number, characteristics, etc.) of each one / each group of *paśus* dedicated to respective deities. Striking is that, though the *paśu* list is commonly found in the Saṁhitās, its contents are much different among the texts: the MS enumerates 569 *paśus* (315 *grāmyas* and 254 *āraṇyas*), the VS 609 (349 *grāmyas* and 260 *āraṇyas*), the TS and KSA 346 (235 *grāmyas* and 111 *āraṇyas*).<sup>4)</sup> The list of KSA is apparently borrowed from that of TS in total, so that there are three versions of *paśu* list for the *Aśvamedha*, namely the MS-, VS-, and TS/KSA-versions.

(2) The *Paśu* List for the Main Sacrifice of the *Aśvamedha* (TESHIMA)

Some scholars, such as Paul-Emile Dumont (1927, pp. 137–146), Shrikrishna Bhawe (1939, pp. 24–27, 44–48) and Arthur Berriedale Keith (1914, vol. 2, pp. 451–453, 464–467), dealt with the *paśu* list in their studies on the *Aśvamedha*, but it has not been investigated enough why the *Samhitās* show such differences of contents. The present paper aims to clear up this question, and also to provide a presumable view regarding the “archetype” of the *paśu* list from which the three versions derived.

## 1. Types of Dedication

The first clue to understand the development of the *paśu* list is the fact that there are four types of dedication of *paśus* for deities, namely types “A” to “D,” which concern the “number,” “species,” and “characteristic” of each one / each group of *paśus*. Now I would like to show each of four types with two examples, one from the *grāmya* and the other from the *āranya* list:

Type A: 1 *paśu* for 1 deity

Example from the *grāmya* list (VS 29.58, TS 5.5.22, KSA 5.8.1, cf. MS 3.12.2):

*āgneyāḥ kṛṣṇāgrīvas* “A [goat] with black neck is dedicated to *Agni*.”

Example from the *āranya* list (MS 3.14.12, VS 24.31, TS 5.5.12, KSA 5.7.2):

*mayūḥ prājāpatyās* “An ape is dedicated to *Prajāpati*.”

Type B: 3 *paśus* of 3 different species for 1 deity

Example from the *grāmya* list (MS 3.13.5, VS 24.4, TS 5.6.12, KSA 5.9.2):

*pṛṣṇis tiraścīnapṛṣṇir ūrdhvāpṛṣṇis té mārutās* “A [goat] with dappled spots, a [goat] with dappled spots of horizontal lines, a [goat] with dappled spots on the upper part, they are dedicated to *Maruts*.”

Example from the *āranya* list (MS 3.14.18, VS 24.37, cf. TS 5.5.16, KSA 5.7.6):

*śśyo mayūraḥ suparnās té gandharvāṅām* “A deer, a peacock, an eagle, they are belonging to *Gandharvas*.”

Type C: 2 *paśus* of identical species for 1 deity

Example from the *grāmya* list (VS 29.59, TS 5.5.24, KSA 5.8.3, cf. MS 3.12.2):

*adhórāmau sāvitráu* “Two [goats] with spots on their under parts are dedicated to *Savitar*.”

(No example in the *āranya* list.)

Type D: 3 *paśus* of identical species for 1 deity

Example from the *grāmya* list (TS 5.6.12, KSA 5.9.2, cf. MS 3.13.8, VS 24.7):

*tisrāḥ śyāmā vaśāḥ pauṣṇīyas* “Three dark-coloured female goat in non-pregnant condition are dedicated to *Pūṣan*.”

Example from the *āranya* list (MS 3.14.3, VS 24.22):

*sómāya haṁsān ā labhate* “One seizes [three] geese for *Soma*.”

In the *paśu* lists, we actually find eight kinds of *anuvākas*. Four of them are composed by a single type of dedication, namely by the type A (VS 29.58; TS 5.5.22; KSA 5.8.1) or type B (MS 3.13.3, 5; VS 24.2, 4) or type C (TS 5.6.21; KSA 5.10.1) or type D (MS 3.13.6–7, 9–20, 14.1–10; VS 24.5–6, 8–28; TS 5.6.15–20; KSA 5.9.5–10). Other four kinds show combinations of two or three types of dedication, namely the types “A and B” (MS 3.14.11–21; VS 24.30–40; TS 5.11–21; KSA 5.7.1–11), “A and C” (VS 29.59; TS 5.5.24; KSA 5.8.3), “B and D” (MS 3.13.4, 8; VS 24.3, 7; TS 5.6.11–14; KSA 5.9.1–4), or “A, B, and C” (MS 3.13.2; VS 24.1; TS 5.5.23; KSA 5.8.2).

To be noted is that the most part of *paśu* lists in the *Saṁhitās* is filled up especially with *anuvākas* of the type D (3 identical *paśus* for 1 deity): The MS-version has 24 among 40 *anuvākas* (= 384 in 569 *paśus*), the VS-version has 24 among 42 *anuvākas* (= 402 in 609 *paśus*), and the TS/KSA-version has 6 among 25 *anuvākas* (= 108 in 346 *paśus*). It is obvious that, by means of the type D, one can enumerate many *paśus* most easily, so that the compilers of *Saṁhitās* might have preferred to use it for enlarging their versions of *paśu* list.

## 2. Younger Parts in the *Paśu* List

Further it is remarkable that the *anuvākas* of the type D are basically gathered into a specific place in each of the lists. In the table-1 in the following page showing the composition of the *paśu* lists, the serial numbers in italic face represent the *paśus* enumerated with the type D, which are mentioned successively in the portions enclosed with a frame inside the table. These “type-D portions” are found in the middle part of the MS- and VS-versions, and in the second half of the TS/KSA-version.

The table-1 remarks also “common parts” among the three versions with bold face. I adopted for them the parts corresponding to both cases as follow:



The *Paśu* List for the Main Sacrifice of the *Aśvamedha* (TESHIMA) (5)

(1) The parts mentioning the specific couplings of the *paśu*(s) and deity/-ies commonly found in all versions (e.g., *śyāmāḥ pauṣṇās* in MS 3.13.8 / VS 24.7 and *tisráḥ śyāmā vaśāḥ pauṣṇíyas* in TS 5.6.12 / KSA 5.9.2)

(2) Those mentioning the specific sets of two or three different *paśus* commonly found in all versions (e.g., *róhito dhūmrárohitāḥ karkándhurohitas té saumyās* in MS 3.13.3 / VS 24.2 and *róhito dhūmrárohitāḥ karkándhurohitas té prājāpatyās* in TS 5.6.11 / KSA 5.9.1)

At a glance we can recognise that the “type-D portions” contain very few common parts. Except nine *paśus* in TS 5.6.15, 19, and 20 (= KSA 5.9.5, 9, and 10) [serial nos. 217–219, 295–297, 315–317], there is no example of common element inside the frame. Therefore it seems reasonable to suppose that the *anuvākas* in the “type-D portions” (MS 3.13.2–14.10, VS 24.8–29, TS 5.6.15–20, and KSA 5.9.5–10) were compiled later than the other *anuvākas* found outside the frame, which have many common parts and show various types of dedication.

In addition, the MS and VS contain a large number of the *Cāturmāsya paśus* (MS 3.13.12–16 and VS 24.14–19) in their “type-D portions.” These *paśus* should be dedicated to the deities who are identical with those to be adored in the ordinary ritual of the *Cāturmāsya*s (the seasonal sacrifices held every four months).<sup>5)</sup> They amount to 114 in the MS and to 126 in the VS, so that the “type-D portions” in both versions became much larger than that in the TS/KSA-version which totally omits this kind of troop.<sup>6)</sup>

On the other hand, we find some other *anuvākas* to be supposed as young as, or perhaps younger than, those of the “type-D portions” above examined: TS 5.5.22 and 5.5.24 (= KSA 5.8.1 and 5.8.3), a couple of *anuvākas* dealing with the sets of eleven *paśus* (so called *ekādaśin-* or *aikādaśina-*), are put into the neighbouring places of TS 5.5.23 that mentions the horse and other principal *paśus*. Notable is that both neighbouring *anuvākas* are unknown to the MS. Though they are included in the VS, they are placed into the supplement part (*khīla-*), namely VS 29.58 and 59. Probably these two *anuvākas* were produced in the circle of TS, maybe at the time of first compilation of its list, and imported to the VS later than the period of compiling the *paśu* list in VS 24.1–40. Further the *anuvāka* of TS 5.6.21 / KSA 5.10.1, which deals with the set of couples (so called *dvandvin-*) mentioned with the type C (2 identical *paśus* for 1 deity), seems to represent the youngest part in the entire list because it is totally unknown to both VS-

(6) The *Paśu* List for the Main Sacrifice of the *Aśvamedha* (TESHIMA)

and MS-versions.

### 3. Older Parts in the *Paśu* List

The *anuvākas* found outside the frame of the “type-D portions” in the table-1 seem to be unequal in their chronological phase. The four *anuvākas* put in the foremost part of the *grāmya* list in each of *Samhitās* show clear tendency to contain common parts abundantly: MS 3.13.2–5 and VS 24.1–4, both which mention 60 *paśus*, contain respectively 35 *paśus* commonly found in four *Samhitās* (= common *paśus*). And four *anuvākas* of the *grāmya* list in the TS (5.5.23 and 5.6.11–13) and the KSA (5.8.2 and 5.9.1–3), both which mention 65 *paśus*, contain respectively 33 common *paśus*.

Furthermore, eleven *anuvākas* of the *āranyas* which contain 110 *paśus* (in MS 3.14.11–21, VS 24.30–40) or 111 *paśus* (in TS 5.5.11–21 and KSA 5.7.1–11) are very rich in the common *paśus*. These *anuvākas* are composed in the manner to combine the types A (1 *paśu* for 1 deity) and B (3 different *paśus* for 1 deity), apparently more laborious manner than that with the type D. Now it will be reasonable enough to think that these fifteen *anuvākas* (four of the *grāmyas* and eleven of the *āranyas*), or at least the common *paśus* found in them, belong to the older parts of the *paśu* list.

### 4. *Anuvākas* Representing Intermediate Phase

Some *anuvākas* seem to represent “intermediate” phase between the older and the younger parts: Three *anuvākas*, namely, MS 3.13.6–8 and VS 24.5–7, occupy the intermediate place between the older four *anuvākas* (MS 3.123.2–5 and VS 24.1–4) and younger *anuvākas* in the “type-D portions” (MS 3.13.9–3.14.10 and VS 24.8–29). Among these three *anuvākas*, the first two are compiled with the type D, and the last one contains both types B and D. They mention 45 *paśus*, and 9 among them are common *paśus*. TS 5.6.14 / KSA 5.9.4 mentions 18 with the types B and D, and 3 among them are the common *paśus*. Thus these *anuvākas* show a mixture of new and old elements.

On the other hand, it is interesting that in the first seven *anuvākas* of *grāmya* placed just before the beginning of “type-D portions,” all *Samhitās* enumerate “105” *paśus* in the same way (MS 3.13.2–8; VS 24.1–7 [serial nos. 1–105]; TS 5.5.22–24, 5.6.11–14; KSA 5.8.1–3, 5.9.1–4 [serial nos. 112–216]). It is still obscure what kind of meaning the amount “105” has,<sup>7)</sup> but we may suppose at least that the present form of the first seven

*anuvākas* of *grāmyas* was made up “at the same time” on the occasion of compiling the list in each of *Samhitās*. And supposedly they were made up in the manner to add new *paśus* (less in the first four *anuvākas*, more in the last three) to the old, perhaps the “archetypical,” *paśu* list.

## 5. Archetype of the *Paśu* List and Its Derivation in Four *Samhitās*

On the basis of the examination through the preceding sections, I would like to make a sketch about developing process of the *paśu* lists. In the table-2 shown in the following pages, we can see compositions of all *anuvākas* in four *Samhitās*: The younger parts are remarked with broken frames, the older parts with bold frames, and the *anuvākas* belonging to the intermediate phase with normal frames.

Besides, the “influences” among the *Samhitās* are shown by means of lines with arrow head. Basically, the *paśu* list of the MS and TS precede those of the VS and KSA. The list in the KSA is a copy of that in the TS, and the VS is influenced from the MS (or some text near it) strongly. The compiler(s) of the VS, however, borrowed also two *anuvākas* from the TS (or some text near it), and put them in the supplement part (VS 29.58–59). In addition, VS 24.18 which mentions 12 *paśus* dedicated to the deities of the *Pitṛyajña* held at the *Sākhamedha* (the third sacrifice in the *Cāturmāsya*) is a peculiar *anuvāka* to the VS version.

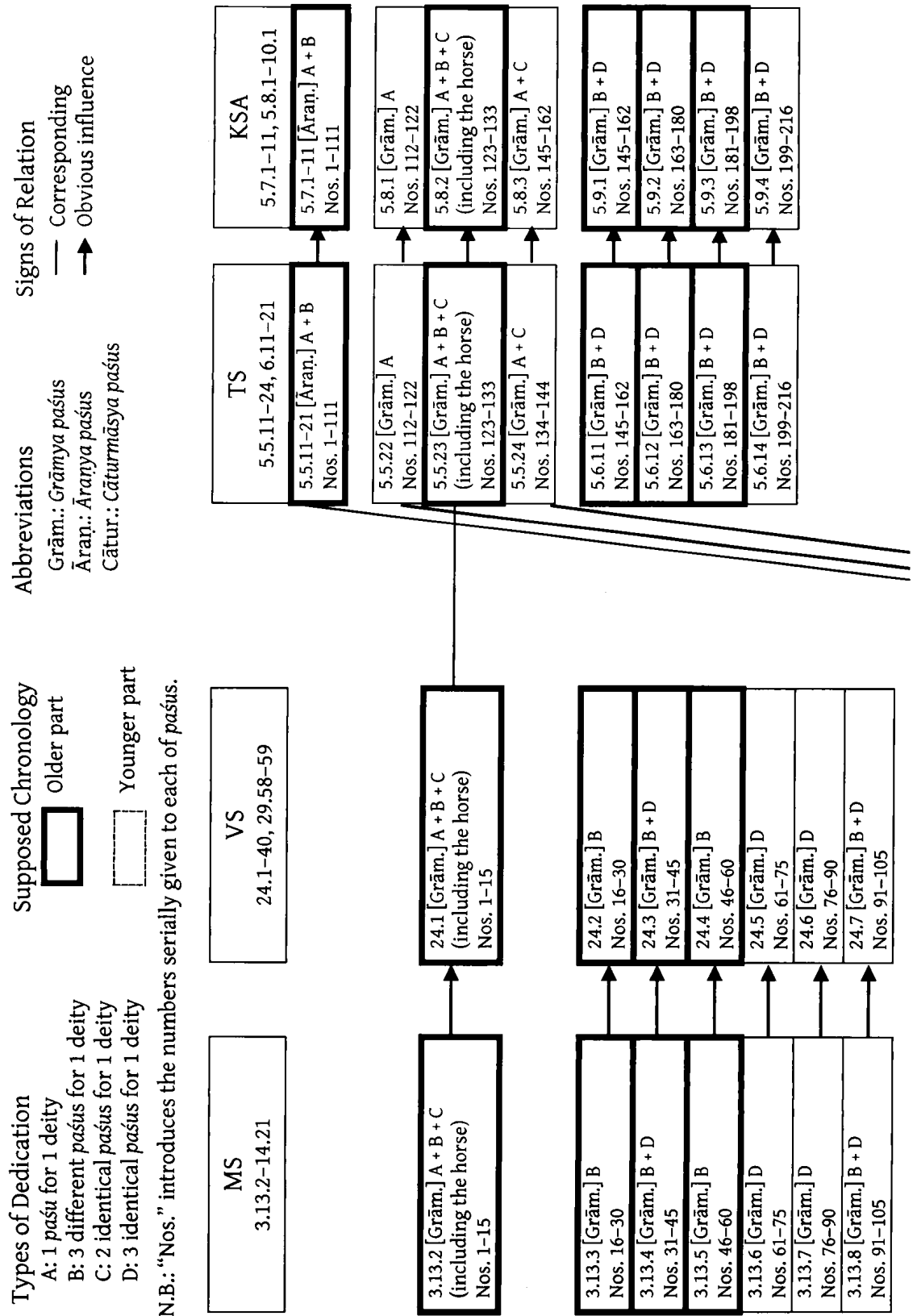
In concluding, I will sum up the developing process of the *paśu* list, while speculating about the “archetype,” as follows:

- [1] It is supposed that the “archetype” of the *paśu* list before the derivation in four *Samhitās* was consisted of the *paśus* commonly found in all *Samhitās*. The *paśus* to be traced back to the archetype are contained especially in the first four *anuvākas* of the *grāmyas* and in eleven old *anuvākas* of the *āraṇyas* mentioned with the types A and B (see the third section above).
- [2] On the basis of the “archetype,” the MS and TS made up the “first versions” of their lists respectively. These consisted of the first seven *anuvākas* of the *grāmyas* containing “105” *paśus* (MS 3.13.2–8; TS 5.5.22–24 and 5.6.11–14) and eleven old *anuvākas* of the *āraṇyas* containing 110 (MS 3.4.11–21) or 111 (TS 5.5.11–21) *paśus*.
- [3] Thereafter, both the MS and TS made their “second versions,” while adding *anuvākas* consisted of the type D (3 identical *paśus* for 1 deity), in the easiest

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The *Paśu* List for the Main Sacrifice of the *Aśvamedha* (TESHIMA)

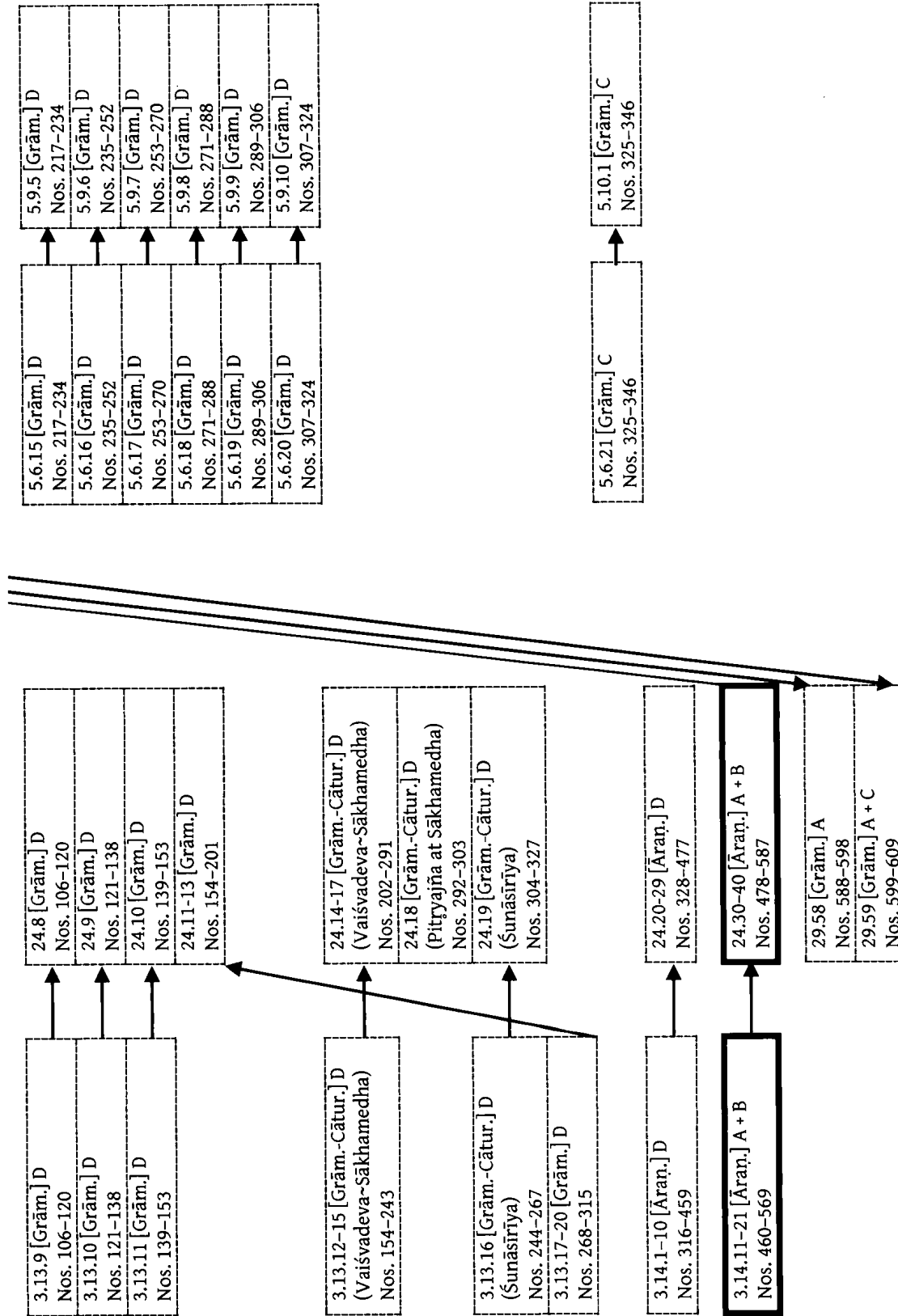
Table-2: Development of the *Paśu* Lists in Four Yajurveda Samhitās





The Paśu List for the Main Sacrifice of the *Aśvamedha* (TESHIMA)

(9)



(10) The *Paśu* List for the Main Sacrifice of the *Aśvamedha* (TESHIMA)

manner of enlarging the list. These younger *anuvākas* are found in the “type-D portions” in the table-1 (MS 3.13.9–3.14.10; TS 5.6.15–20). The present MS-version shows this phase.

[4] The VS borrowed the list of the MS (or some text near it), and added a new *anuvāka* (VS 24.8) mentioning *paśus* dedicated to the deities of the *Pitṛyajña* into the series of *anuvākas* for the *Cāturmāśya paśus*. Furthermore, the VS introduced also two *anuvākas* from the TS (or some text near it) to the supplement part (VS 29.58–59).

[5] The TS made the “present (third) version” of list, while adding a new *anuvāka* TS 5.6.21. And the KSA totally borrowed the list of the present TS-version. In this phase, all four *Saṁhitās* came to possess their *paśu* lists in the present forms.

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**Notes**

1) See Dumont 1927, pp. 169–170. 2) Cf. TB 3.9.22.2. 3) Cf. TB 3.8.18.6, 3.8.20.3, 3.9.22.4; BauŚS 15.1 [204,1]. 4) Bhawe (1939, p. 45) wrongly mentions that TS and KSA enumerate 366 *paśus*, VS and MS 609. 5) Cf. Teshima 2008, pp. 72–73. 6) Cf. Teshima 2008, pp. 86–91. 7) I presume that the amount “105” could relate to number of the sacrificial posts in the *Aśvamedha*, namely “21.” In case one allocates 5 *paśus* to 1 post, the *paśus* just amount to 105. But such a manner of allocation is not found in any extant ritual text.

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