

From Material to Deity

*Edited by
Shingo Einoo and Jun Takashima*

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Indian Rituals of Consecration



MANOHAR

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Jacket photograph of vāstuhoma (homa for the vāstupuruṣa) at the occasion of a kumbhābhiṣeka ceremony of Paṭṭābhirāma temple in Tiruvenkaranai (Tamilnadu) by the late Yasushi Ogura

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SHINGO EINO
JUN TAKASHIMA



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Abhiṣeka in the Vedic and post-Vedic Rituals

YASUHIRO TSUCHIYAMA

The *abhiṣeka* or the sprinkling of fluid over the image of a god, which constitutes one of the essentials of the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual, has its origin in the Vedic rituals.¹ In this article I propose to discuss the historical development of *abhiṣeka* as described in the Vedic and post-Vedic texts in order to obtain an overall view of this ritual.

1 The Meanings of the *Abhiṣekas*

The ritual meanings or the ideas revealed in the *mantras* and the explanations of the Brāhmaṇas are not suited to be treated with such exactness as the ritual acts prescribed in the Sūtra texts. The meanings are not necessarily confined to a certain scene of the ritual, but are easily applied to other behaviours or occasions which are similar to it. They are also taken over to the next period, undergoing some changes in the process. The case of the meanings of the *abhiṣeka* is no exception. It is consequently appropriate to treat the meanings of the *abhiṣeka* independent of the investigation of its performances. In what follows I shall first discuss the changes brought about to meanings of the *abhiṣeka* by focusing mainly on the passages which refer to the word *abhi-ṣic* or *abhiṣeka*.

1.1 Obtaining a Qualification or a Prestige

1.1.1 The *Atharvaveda*

The *Atharvaveda* is the first text that refers to the *abhiṣeka*. In this text, the *abhiṣeka* constitutes one of the rituals by which a king or a chieftain acquires superiority among his community. In two verses of the *Paippalā-dasamhitā* of the AV (AVP), the *abhiṣeka* is mentioned as a ritual act which

¹ See, e.g. Witzel 1987: 15. Einoo has called the author's attention to the similarity between the *abhiṣeka* of the coronations and that of the *pratiṣṭhā*.

bestows *varcas* (the meaning of which will be discussed in the following section) on a person. They read as follows:

The heavenly waters that rejoice (*madanti*) at milk, those in the atmosphere and those being in the earth: with the splendour (*varcas-*) of all those waters, I sprinkle (*abhi śiñcāmi*) on thee. (*AVP* 4.2.6)

I have sprinkled on thee with splendour (*varcas-*) and with the heavenly milk. Savitṛ shall make thee so that thou mayest become an increaser of friendship (*mitravardhana-*). (*AVP* 4.2.7)

The *Śaunakasamhitā* of the *AV* (*AVŚ*) also has corresponding verses (*AVŚ* 4.8.5-6). *AVŚ* 4.8, which includes those two verses, has been examined by renowned scholars in connection with the two coronation rituals of the *Kauśikasūtra* (the *laghvabhiṣeka* and the *mahābhiṣeka*).² However, this hymn of *AVŚ* 4.8 has been appropriated for coronations by the ritual texts of the Śaunaka school and that too only superficially. In the *Kauśikasūtra* (17.1), the first verse of *AVŚ* 4.8 is cited merely in the *pratīka* manner at the beginning of the prescription of the coronation rituals. And in the *Vaitānasūtra* (36.6-7), this hymn is recited in the *rājasūya* when the king sits on the throne and is sprinkled upon, leaving the contents of the hymn out of consideration. In both cases we do not know the purpose for which this hymn was originally used.

On the contrary, in the phase of recent studies of the *AVP*, it is now known that the tradition of *AVP* 4.2 has been taken over by the *mantra* collection of the *TB* 2.7.15-17³ with other variants of the complete verses of *AVP* 2.52 and 4.3, and the simple installations of a king in the Śrauta rituals, namely, the *mṛtyusava* (*BaudhŚS* 18.16-19) and the *rājābhiṣeka* (*ĀpŚS* 22.28.1-25, *HirŚS* 23.4.41-66) have been formed on the basis of the *mantra* collection of *TB* 2.7.15-17. In these two royal installation ceremonies the variants of *AVP* 4.2 are employed for the suitable acts corresponding to their contents such as the king approaching the tiger skin, sprinkling of water on the king, and his mounting the chariot.⁴ Thus, it is clear that the tradition of the installation *mantras* of the *AVP* has influenced the formation of the coronations of the Śrauta rituals.

² Weber 1893: 139-43 and Bloomfield 1897: 378-80. For the ideas of kingship revealed in *AVŚ* 4.8, see Schlerath 1960: 157-60.

³ *KS* 37.9 has variants of *AVP* 4.2 and 4.3, too, but their ritual usages are not known because its ritual manual has been handed down only partially.

⁴ Details of the relation between *AVP* 4.2 and the *mantras* of the *mṛtyusava* and the *rājābhiṣeka* have been treated in the paper read at the Second International Vedic Workshop, held in Kyoto in 1999, and will be dealt with separately.

The ritual function of the *abhiṣeka* is not confined to the obtaining of the kingship, but the *abhiṣeka* also serves in acquiring authority by officers in other rituals. *AVP* 10.5.12 (\approx *AVŚ* 19.31.12) reads as follows:

Troop-leader (*grāmaṇī-*) art thou. Thou being sprinkled (*abhiṣikta-*), sprinkle (*abhi... siñca*) on me with splendour (*varcas-*) for the status of troop-leader.⁵ Brilliance (*tejas-*) art thou, keep up brilliance upon me. Wealth (*rai-*) art thou, put wealth on me.

This verse informs us that the status of *grāmaṇī* is acquired by being sprinkled upon. Such function of the *abhiṣeka* as bestowing a qualification seems to have been popular as one of the main functions of sprinkling, as evidenced in the *sava* rituals of the Śrauta tradition such as the *bṛhaspatisava*, the *sthapatiasava*, and so on (\rightarrow 2.2.2).⁶ In the *savas* of the *BaudhŚS* the *mantras* relating to sprinkling show a uniformity of style and content. For example, the *mantra* of the *bṛhaspatiasava* (*BaudhŚS* 18.1: 343.15-17) states, ‘*devasya tvā savituḥ prasave ’śvinor bāhubhyāṃ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṃ sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantreṇa bṛhaspatiasavenābhi-ṣiñcāmi*’ (On the impulse of the god Savitṛ, with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan, with the control of Sarasvatī, of the controller of speech, I sprinkle on thee by means of the *bṛhaspatiasava*). The same *mantra* also occurs in other contexts while replacing *bṛhaspatiasavena* by the instrumental case of other *savas* like *sthapatiasavena*, etc. With the sprinkling of the *sava* the intended status like *purohita* or *sthapati* is conferred.

In the *AV* there are other passages which indicate that sprinkling elevates the sacrificer to a higher status, e.g. *AVŚ* 3.22.6:

Since the elephant has become the superior (*atiṣṭhāvat-*) of the wild animals that are comfortable to be mounted, with its fortune (*bhāga-*) and splendour (*vārcas-*) I sprinkle (*abhi ṣiñcāmi*) upon myself.

Bhāga and *vārcas*, which are bestowed upon the officiant or the sacrificer, show the powers inherent in the fluids for sprinkling. These powers, of which *vārcas* is more frequently referred to in the *AV*, are regarded as

⁵ Read *grāmaṇīthyāya* instead of *grāmaṇīthyāyāḥ*.

⁶ Of course, the function of bestowing power on the sacrificer is not limited to the word *abhi-ṣic*. In the passages which I have consulted for the preparation of this article, *añj* (‘They (gods) should anoint (*añjantu*) me with splendour’ *AVŚ* 3.22.2d) and *sam-añj* (‘Thou art prosperity (*puṣṭi-*). Anoint (*sam añdhi*) me with prosperity’ *AVŚ* 19.31.13ab) are two examples that also show the same function of such expressions. For further passages see Kiehnle 1979: 149-50.

having the virtue of enhancing the status, like the elephant among the animals. This is also evident from the third verse of this hymn, i.e. AVŚ 3.22.3:

With what splendour (*vārcas-*) the elephant has come into being, (with what) the king among men, among waters, (with what) the gods in the beginning went to godhood (*devātā-*), with that splendour, O Agni, now make me into a man of splendour (*varcasvín-*).

In *KauśS* 13.1-3 the hymn, including these two verses, is recited to an elephant, while the amulet made of ivory is wound around the neck of the sacrificer. In *AVPŚ* 4.1.10 this hymn is recited every morning for consecrating an elephant for the king, while other *mantras* are recited to consecrate other paraphernalia of the king such as clothes, ornaments, his seat, his horse, and so on.

1.1.2 *Vārcas*

The significance of the *abhiṣeka* in bestowing prestige upon the concerned person or things is, in the phase of the ritual ideas, ascribed to the power of *vārcas* inherent in the sprinkling water. As surmised from the passages cited above, it is *vārcas* that the sacrificer mainly obtains by means of the sprinkling act. Thus, when it comes to the ritual meaning of the *abhiṣeka*, it is *vārcas* which ought to be examined first. The ritual meanings of *vārcas* contain three phases on the whole: first the splendid power derived from the heavenly water; second an overwhelming power over the rivals, which reflects the atmosphere of the *atharvanic* magic, and lastly a vital power that secures a safe and long life for the sacrificer. I shall now adduce some passages of the *Ṛg-* and *Atharvaveda* representing these aspects of *vārcas*.

Vārcas, according to the *mantras* cited above, is a power which is inherent in the water for sprinkling. In a more general sense, it is a power inherent in the heavenly fluids which are also expressed by the words *páyas*, *sóma*, and *mádhu* [Lüders 1959: 351-55], in which, supposedly, the sun or Agni exists:⁷ ‘The heavenly waters (*āpó divyāḥ*) have I worshipped. With sap (*rása-*) have we been put together. Being full of milk (*páyas-*), O Agni, have I come. Me as such unite with splendour (*vārcas-*)’

⁷ *RV* 3.22.2, 3.24.1, 6.13.2, and 9.66.21; *AVŚ* 5.3.1, 7.89.1, and 19.33.1. See Oldenberg 1917b: 107-17 and Lüders 1951: 294-95.

(AVŚ 7.89.1);⁸ ‘A well-flavoured ointment, a great success (*samīddhi*) is that (rain drop). And that is gold (*hīraṇya-*), splendour (*vārcas-*), just pure (*pūtrīma-*)’ (AVŚ 6.124.3ab); ‘Agni’s portion (*bhāgā-*) are ye, brightness (*śukrā-*) of the waters, O heavenly waters. Put splendour (*vārcas-*) in us’ (AVŚ 10.5.7abc).⁹

These cosmological ideas are explicit in the *mantras* relating to kingship.¹⁰ The king is considered to hold the power of *vārcas*: ‘To thee has come the kingdom (*rāṣṭrā-*). With splendour (*vārcas-*) arise forth! As lord of the people (*viśāṃ pāti-*), as sole king (*ekarāj-*), keep rule (or shine, *vī rāja*)!’ (AVŚ 3.4.1ab); ‘Let this man be treasure-lord of treasures. Let this king be the people-lord of people (*viśāṃ viśpāti-*). On him, O Indra, put great splendours (*vārcas-*)! Make his enemy a man without splendour (*avarcasā-*)!’ (AVŚ 4.22.3).¹¹

This virtue of *vārcas*, as derived from the heavenly fluids or the sun, is shared by the king: ‘The propitious fires sitting in the waters call we. Put in me supremacy (*kṣatrā-*), splendour (*vārcas-*), O heavenly (waters)’ (AVŚ 16.1.13). The glorious image of the sun is, therefore, projected in a human king, that is typically illustrated by the Rohita (the red sun) hymn: ‘Rise up, O swift one (*vājīn-*) being within the waters, enter into this kingdom (*rāṣṭrā-*), full of gladness (*sūnītvāvat-*). Rohita that generated this all should keep thee as well-kept for kingdom’ (AVŚ 13.1.1), ‘Róhiṇī, obedient to Róhita, is liberal (*sūri-*), of beautiful colour (*suvárṇā-*), lofty (*brhatī-*), very splendid (*suvārcas-*)’ (AVŚ 13.1.22ab).¹² The king, as the possessor of the various aspects of *vārcas*, can be compared with the bride described in the wedding *mantras*; the bride has the splendour (*suvārcas-*) (AVŚ 14.2.18≈ RV 85.44, AVŚ 12.1.25), and acquires a vital power with *vārcas* (AVŚ 14.1.47, 14.2.2= RV 10.85.39).

Vārcas, representing the sun or Agni, is a power to be obtained as an overwhelming one over the sacrificer’s opponents: ‘Be splendour (*vārcas-*) mine, O Agni, in rival invocations (*vihavā-*). We would, kindling thee, prosper ourselves. Let the four directions bow to me. With thee as over-

⁸ The materials cited in this section are confined to the AVŚ because the text of the AVP has not been fully revised. For the corresponding verses of the AVP see the table presented by Zehnder 1999: 224-52.

⁹ See further RV 10.9.9, AVŚ 6.68.2, 10.6.8, 12.1.7,8, 6.1.3, 14.1.35,36.

¹⁰ AVP Book 10, which deals with coronation rituals (Witzel 1997: 278), informs of the close connection of *varcas* with kingship. See, e.g. AVP 10.2.1, 8, 5.7, 10.4.

¹¹ See further AVŚ 3.5.1, 5.18.4, 13.1.20.

¹² See further AVŚ 13.1.2,5. *Vārcas* is an attribute of the sun in RV 1.6.7, 6.58.4, 10.112.3; AVŚ 3.22.4, 13.1.22, 13.3.16, 17.1.6,7,27,28, 19.26.2,3, 19.27, 28.

seer we would overcome the battles' (AVŚ 5.3.1);¹³ 'Arise, arise, O sun! Arise upon me with splendour (*vārcas*-)! Let the foe become subject to me. And let me not become subject to the foe' (AVŚ 17.6ab).¹⁴ *Vārcas* is also a power and if the opponent is deprived of it, he is ruined: 'As the rising sun takes back the luster of the asterism, thus I take back the splendour (*vārcas*-) of both the women and men that hate me' (AVŚ 7.13.1).¹⁵ A king who oppresses priests (*brāhmaṇá*) is deprived of both *vārcas* and *kṣatrā*: 'He (the *brāhmaṇá*) does take away (the king's) supremacy (*kṣatrā*-), destroy splendour (*vārcas*-)' (AVŚ 5.18.4a). Thus, *vārcas* is regarded as the overwhelming power which supports the authority.

The vital power (*āyus*) is often referred to together with the word *vārcas*. The following verse which is used when a new garment is put on a youth shows this aspect of *vārcas*: 'Clothe, set him for us with splendour (*vārcas*-)! Make him one dying from age (*jarāmṛtyu*-), one having long life (*dīrghá- āyus*-)!' (AVŚ 2.13.2ab); 'Unite him with splendour (*vārcas*-), and make him abundant with progeny (*prajā*-)!' (AVŚ 6.5.1cd). Besides *āyus*, *śatáśarad* (AVŚ 1.35.1cd=4.10.7cd) and *anamīvá* (AVŚ 2.29, 6b) belong to the sphere of the vital powers which are attained in connection with *vārcas*. After death one obtains a new body bestowed with *vārcas*: 'Abandoning the fault, come home (to the world of the dead) again! Let him unite himself with a body (*tanū*-), having a good splendour (*suvārcas*-)' (AVŚ 18.3.58cd ≈ RV 10.14.8cd).¹⁶

Generally speaking, *vārcas* stands for the cosmological power which is imbued with the vitality inherent in the cosmic fluids of the heaven, or with the splendid power in the cosmic fire, the sun. By acquiring *vārcas*, one is imbued with splendour and dignity which overpower the competitors in a contest, as well as vitality which secures long life and offspring. Such are the aspects of *vārcas* which are consistent with the functions of the *abhiṣeka*, i.e. conferring qualification and bestowing power as mentioned earlier.

¹³ = RV 10.128.1 'der Ruhmesglanz oder der Nimbus des Siegers' (Geldner's note on RV *ibid.*).

¹⁴ AVŚ 16.6a=16.7a. See further AVŚ 19.33.5cd.

¹⁵ See further AVŚ 4.22.3, 7.114.1, 19.36.1, and 19.49.4. A successor would gain *vārcas* and *vijñāna* (discernment) from all attendants in the assembly (AVŚ 7.12.3). The words inspired by *vārcas*, when spoken among the audience, would secure an agreement of the attendants to their speaker (AVŚ 9.1.19).

¹⁶ For securing the vital power indicated by *vārcas*, the sprinklings of watery medicine are to be taken into consideration. Sprinkling of *jālāśá* on the bruised (AVŚ 6.57.2) and of *nītatnī* on a bald head (AVŚ 6.136.3) can be thought of as securing *vārcas*, namely the vital power, to remedy the sufferer.

1.1.3 The Mantras and Ritual Explanations of the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas

The idea of *abhiṣeka* revealed in the *mantras* of the *YV* and in the interpretations of the *Brāhmaṇas* is basically the same as that in the *AV*, namely, the bestowing of qualification and power. However, when examined in detail, they seem to differ from the *AV* in the power to be acquired at the sprinkling (unction). The close relationship of the water for sprinkling with the power of *vārcas* seen in the *AV* is no longer a central feature of *abhiṣeka* in the *YV* and the *Brāhmaṇas*; *vārcas* in the new context becomes merely one of the powers which are to be bestowed on the king when sprinkled upon (anointed). There are in the *YV* and the *Brāhmaṇas* several *mantras* which refer to *vārcas*, but most of them are employed while preparing the unction waters. Some unction waters are addressed as *sūryavārcas* (*TS* 1.8.11a, *MS* 2.6.7: 68.3, *VS* 10.3), and they are appealed as a bestower of *vārcas* (*AB* 8.6). The waters are only addressed to bestow *vārcas* on a *kṣatriya* (*TS* 1.8.12a, b) or to confer kingship (*rāṣṭradā*, *TS* 1.8.11c, *MS* 2.6.7: 67.13, 68.1, *VS* 10.3) without referring to *vārcas*.

On the contrary, other kinds of powers are mentioned as those which should be bestowed on the sacrificer at the time of sprinkling. The powers are often referred to together with various deities who preside over them. This is especially noticeable in the unction formula of the *rājasūya*, which show a uniformity in all the *Samhitās* of the *YV*. The unction formula refers to the deities and to their own powers to be granted to the sacrificer by sprinkling, and in this context Soma (*dyumnā*), Agni (*téjas*, *bhrājas*: *VS*) and Indra (*indriyā*) are repeatedly mentioned in every *Samhitā* of the *YV*. The unction formula of *TS* places Sūrya (*vārcas*) between Agni and Indra, and adds *Mitrāvaruṇāu* (*vīryā*) and *Maruts* (*ójas*) at the end. Thus, the *mantra* of the *TS* runs as follows: *sómasya tvā dyumnénābhí ṣīncāmy agnéḥ téjasā sūryasya vārcasendrasyéndriyéṇa mitrávaruṇayor vīryèṇa marútām ójasā* (*TS*.1.8.14g), ‘With the glory of Soma I sprinkle on thee, with the brilliance of Agni, with the splendour of the sun, with the power of Indra, with the strength of Mitra and Varuṇa, with the force of the Maruts.’ The unction formula of *MS* 2.6.11: 70.9-11¹⁷ adds *viśve devāḥ* (*krātu*). Lastly the *VS* puts Sūrya (*vārcas*) between Agni and Indra as *TS* (*VS* 10.17, Heesterman 1957: 115). The *Brāhmaṇas* refer to the *abhiṣeka*

¹⁷ The next *mantra* *indrāsya yonír asi janaya* (*MS* 2.6.11: 70.11) which is addressed to the horn with which the body of the sacrificer is rubbed up does not show any direct relation with the *abhiṣeka*. The birth motif is assigned to the horn, not to the *abhiṣeka* itself. See Tsuchiyama 1996: 947.

in the same way as the formula for the sprinkling in the *rājasūya*; the gods referred to in the *mantra* of the *abhiṣeka* bestow on the sacrificer each proper power; Soma – *dyúmna*, Agni – *téjas*. . . (*TB* 1.7.8.3-4, *ŚB* 5.4.1.2), and *MS* 4.4.5:55.5 expresses the same idea in a generalized statement. ‘With these powers (*indriyá-*), these deities (*devátā-*), he sprinkles on him (the king).’

Such multiplicity of powers to be bestowed on a king during the unction ceremony is also found in the various phases of the ritual explication. While referring to the preparation of the unction waters a king is said to be sprinkled with *vārcas* (*ŚB* 5.3.4.12-13) and other powers (e.g. *vīryà*, *annādya*, *páśu*, *ŚB* 5.3.4.6-20). The deities of the twelve *pārtha* oblations, which are performed before and after the act of sprinkling, bestow their own powers on the king (*ŚB* 5.3.5.8-9, Tsuchiyama 1996: 942-939). The powers inherent in the materials (e.g. *aśvattha*) with which the sprinkling vessels are made are transferred to the sacrificer at the time of the unction (*TB* 1.7.8.7, *ŚB* 5.3.5.11-14, Heesterman 1957: 114). The sacrificer who receives the *abhiṣeka* is feared by the earth because of the great power (*mahát*) he has acquired (*ŚB* 5.2.1.18, 5.2.2.15, 5.4.2.20-21, cf. 5.4.3.23). The *Aśvins* recovered Indra’s power through the *abhiṣeka* (*ŚB* 12.8.3.1f).¹⁸

I would now like to examine several other points about the meanings of *abhiṣeka*. The idea of guardians of the cardinal points, which already appears in the *AV*,¹⁹ has also been incorporated in the *Brāhmaṇas* while dealing with sprinkling upon the king. There are eight *mantras* of the *abhiṣeka* in the *mṛtyusava* and the *rājābhiṣeka*. Of these *mantras* the first two are variants of *AVP* 4.2.6 and 7 (\approx *AVŚ* 4.8.5 and 6) as indicated earlier, and the third one is derived from *RV* 1.11.1, whereas the other four *mantras*, which have been newly introduced, state that the guardians of the directions (*Vásus* / *Rudrás* / *Ādityás* / *Vísve Devāḥ* / *Bṛhaspáti*) sprinkle the king with their metres (*gāyatrī* / *triṣṭúbh* / *jágatī* / *anuṣṭúbh* / *pañktī*). The same idea is found in a more elaborate form in the formulas of the *digvyāsthāpana* (*TS* 1.8.13a-e, *MS* 2.6.10: 69.13-70.3, *VS* 10.10-14), one of the preparatory rituals before the sprinkling of the *rājasūya*.

¹⁸ Such a multiplicity of powers and deities mentioned in the *mantras* relating to sprinkling and the ritual explication are also found in *AB* 8.7, 16, 20 (*punarabhiṣeka* and *aindra mahābhiṣeka*).

¹⁹ The idea that the direction (*pradīś*) bestows the authority of kingship is found typically in *AVŚ* 3.4: ‘Let all the regions of the compass call thee, O king’ (3.4.1c); ‘Let these five divine regions choose for the kingship!’ (3.4.2b). See further *AVŚ* 3.20.9, 4.15.1, 5.3.1, 6.40.2, 9.10.19, and 19.1.3. Cf. Schlerath 1960: 68 and Gonda 1966: 104.

Each direction is thus related to the cosmic entities such as metre, *stoma*, *sāman*, deity, and power (e.g. the east, *samidh*, *gāyatrī*, *trivṛt*, *rathantara*, Agni, and *brahman*),²⁰ which are bestowed on the king. The unction *mantras* of the *aindra mahābhiṣeka* (AB 8.19) also indicate that kingship is endowed with the powers of the directions or rather the cosmic entities represented by the directions (e.g. the east, Vāsus, and *sāmrajya* / the south, Rudrás, and *bhaujya*). Thus, it can be clearly noticed that when the king is sprinkled upon or consecrated he is bestowed with the cosmic powers pertaining to the all directions. This idea is a precursor of the idea of the *lokapālas* such as represented in *Manusmṛti* 7.3-5.

One of the ritual meanings referred to in the *mantras* relating to the *abhiṣeka* is that of the birth. This is clear from the following *mantra* in AB 8.7 on the sprinkling water which is used for the *punarabhiṣeka* and *aindra mahābhiṣeka*.

Thee great, the universal king (*saṃrājan-*) of the great people (*carṣa-
ni-*) bore the divine (*devī-*) mother (*janitrī-*, namely, unction waters),
the auspicious (*bhadrā-*) mother bore.

Sprinkling (anointing) is (re-)production; on sprinkling on the victim, the Brāhmaṇa explains that when sprinkled upon by the sacrificer's wife, the victim is born again:²¹ *yád adbhír abhiṣiñcāti púnar eváinaṃ prájana-yati* (when she sprinkles water (on the victim), she makes it to be born again) (*MS* 3.10.1: 128.10). This idea is not unrelated to that of bestowing powers. Reproduction is, therefore, to be understood as a variation of the primary idea of bestowing powers inherent in the act of sprinkling. In my investigation of the interpretation of the *rājasūya* represented by the three schools (Taittirīya, Maitrāyaṇīya, and Vājasaneyya), I have indicated that each of the three is distinguished by the importance it gives to a specific motif. Thus, the *puruṣa*-motif is prominent in the *TB*, the *production*-motif in the *MS*, and the Prajāpati-motif in the *ŚB* (Tsuchiyama [1996]), even though these three motives are interrelated with one another. For example, the Prajāpati-motif is associated with the *production*-motif, for it is from Prajāpati that a king is born (*ŚB* 5.3.3.15, 5.6). These three motives are variations of the primary or the principal idea of bestowing powers.²²

²⁰ For the table of the cosmic entities mentioned in the formulae of the *digvyāsthāpana*, see Heesterman 1957: 103-4.

²¹ The *MānŚS* employs the expression *ā-sic*, while the *VārŚS* uses *abhi-ṣic*. See Tsuji 1952: 66-67 (Japanese), 211-12 (English summary), and Schwab 1886: 110.

²² The *production*-motif can be seen more clearly in the *mantras* and the Brāhmaṇas about the throne than in those of the sprinkling. See, e.g. *TS* 1.8.16c: 'Thou art the womb of

The idea of obtaining power revealed in the *mantras* is interpreted as the acquisition of food or (re-)generative power (*annā́dya*, *ánna*). This can be found in the *abhiṣeka* of the *vājapeya* and *agnicayana* in particular.

With the remnant (of the *vājaprasavīya* offerings) he sprinkles on him (the sacrificer). When with food (*annā́dya*-) he sprinkles on him, he thereby bestows the food on him. Therefore, he sprinkles on him with the remnant.²³ (ŚB 5.2.2.12)

As can be seen from the above passage, one of the reasons why the acquisition of food (*annā́dya*) is so much emphasized is that the *abhiṣeka* here takes place after the *vājaprasavīya* oblation with its remnant; by means of the remnant of the *vājaprasavīya* oblation, which precedes the *abhiṣeka*, one can obtain food (TS 5.4.9.1, 5.6.2.3, TB 1.3.8.2, and MS 3.4.3: 47.16). The *abhiṣeka* in the *vājapeya* and the *agnicayana* is, therefore, regarded as bestowing the power of the *vājaprasavīya* on the sacrificer. In this connection we have to point out that there is a difference of the ritual significance of the *abhiṣeka* in the *vājapeya* and *agnicayana*, on the one hand, and that in the coronation rituals like *rājasūya*, on the other. The former is subordinate to the *vājaprasavīya* oblation as pointed out just now, whereas the latter occupies an independent position in that the unction fluids are prepared specifically for the *abhiṣeka* (→2.1). At any rate the primary meaning of *abhiṣeka* as bestowing power shows several variations according to its significance in the ritual contexts. In passing it is to be mentioned that Rau [1957: 88] emphasized ‘*Fruchtbarkeitszauber*’ as the primary meaning of *abhiṣeka* based on such a ritual idea as bestowing food as revealed in the Brāhmaṇas, which, however, can be thought of only as a Brāhmaṇical variation of the original meaning of obtaining *vārcas* inherent in the sun or heavenly water as indicated above with reference to the *abhiṣeka* of the AV.

1.2 Offering Interpreted as *Abhiṣeka*

Abhiṣeka has a ‘symbolic’ meaning as is evident from the ŚB, which identifies the offering (*āhuti*) with the act of sprinkling (*abhiṣeka*) in the ritual explication of the *agnicayana*.²⁴ One of the passages in this text is that

the lordly power’ in the *rājasūya*, and AB 8.17: ‘The lordly power has been born ...’ in the *aindra mahābhiṣeka*.

²³ See further ŚB 5.2.2.1, TS 5.6.3.2 (*agnicayana*), TB 1.3.8.3 (*vājapeya*), and ŚB 12.8.12, 17, 18 (on the remnant of *paśupuroḍāśa* of the *sautrāmaṇī*).

²⁴ Gonda has cited some Gṛhya passages, where the sprinkling (*pra-ukṣ*) creates the impression of being a dedication [Gonda 1980c: 127].

of the *vasor dhārā* (offering of melted butter into the *āhavanīya* fire on the *agni* altar), which is interpreted as *abhiṣeka*, though no sprinkling is actually performed.

And, the reason why he offers the *vasor dhārā* (in the *agni* altar) is : this is his (Agni's) *abhiṣeka*. The gods, having completed (*saṃskṛtyā*) him wholly and entirely, sprinkled upon him with those wishes (*kāma-*), that is, with this *vasor dhārā*, and likewise this man (sacrificer), having completed him wholly and entirely, sprinkles upon him (*agni* altar) with those wishes, that is, with this *vasor dhārā*.

(ŚB 9.3.2.2)

The interpretation of the offering as *abhiṣeka* of Agni is also repeated in the ritual explanations of the component oblations of the *vasor dhārā* (*yajñakratu*-oblation in ŚB 9.3.3.1 and *vayas*-oblation in ŚB 9.3.3.7), and is found in the ritual explanations of the *vājaprasavīya* oblations (ŚB 9.3.4.3-5), the oblations of the *soma* juice (ŚB 9.4.4.8), and the *kumbheṣṭakā* (TS 5.6.2.1).²⁵

Behind this interpretation there seems to be at least two ideas: that of offering as a means to accomplish the object of wish, and of the identification of the *agni* altar with the sacrificer. First, by offering the oblations the sacrificer gratifies the deities and acquires or accomplishes the object of his wish in return. This is one of the characteristics of the ritual ideas of the Brāhmaṇa period (Oldenberg, 1919: 126-28), and is here introduced into the explication of the *agnicayana*.

Being offered with the oblations (*vāsor dhārā-*) and being gratified and sprinkled (*abhīṣikta-*), he (the *agnī*) grants him (the sacrificer) these objects of wish (*kāma-*).²⁶ (ŚB 9.3.2.6)

The idea of a human king as an object from which benefit is obtained is superimposed on the image of the *agni* altar.

Therefore people thus implore the human king who has been sprinkled (*abhīṣikta-*). (ŚB 9.3.3.11)

Thus by making an offering on the *agni* altar the sacrificer satisfies the wish of Agni and in return acquires the accomplishment of his wish.²⁷

²⁵ In the *vināyakakalpa*, pouring and offering are interrelated; the priest offers (*juhoti*) the offering materials on the head of a sacrificer who is possessed by the *vināyakas*, though the offering materials are actually poured over his head. The remnants of offerings are given away in the crossroads (*MānGS* 2.14.27, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.284, 286).

²⁶ For gratifying Agni, see ŚB 9.3.2.1 (*vasor dhārā*) and 9.3.4.2-5 (*vājaprasavīya*).

²⁷ Gonda 1965b: 179, 200-1. For the ritual interpretation of the libation of fat gravy

The second reason why the offering on the *agni* altar is interpreted as an *abhiṣeka* of Agni is because it is derived from the ritual meaning given to the *agni* altar itself: the *agni* altar, as a cosmic man (*puruṣa*) or Prajāpati, is identified with the sacrificer.²⁸ On the basis of this idea, the ritual procedure for the *agni* altar is parallel to that for the sacrificer.

After offering the oblation (*vājaprasavīya*-) on the *agni* altar, he (the priest) sprinkles on him (the sacrificer), for that (altar) is his divine body (*dāiva- ātmán*-), and this (sacrificer) is his human one (*mānuṣá*-); and the gods indeed were first, and thereafter the men: therefore, after offering the oblation on the *agni* altar, he (priest) sprinkles him (sacrificer) with the remainder of that. (*ŚB* 9.3.4.16) Now when he offers [*soma* juice] in the fire, he sprinkles upon the *agni* altar. So that divine body (*agni* altar) of him (sacrificer) becomes sprinkled by *soma*, sprinkled by the immortality. And he (sacrificer) drinks (the *soma* juice): he thereby sprinkles upon himself. So this self (*ātmán*-) of him becomes sprinkled by *soma*, sprinkled by the immortality. (*ŚB* 9.4.4.8)

As noticed from the above passages, the offering and the drinking of *soma* by the sacrificer are clearly identified with sprinkling. The *agni* altar itself, which is built only during the ritual processes, is thought of as a divine body of the sacrificer that was constructed through the process of the *agnicayana*. Thus the motif of the *abhiṣeka* is brought into the interpretation of the offering on the *agni* altar. Here we can find an example of the symbolic interpretation of the *abhiṣeka*.

The significance of the idea underlying the symbolic interpretation of the *abhiṣeka* may be examined in two phases. First, this idea is inherited from the *AV* and second there exists a certain relationship between the symbolic interpretation and the idea of the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual of the later period.

in the *sautrāmaṇī* 'having thus consecrated (*abhiṣicyá*) him by means of those deities from first to last, he thus, by means of oblations, makes all his wishes (*sárva- káma*-) successful (*sámardhayati*)' (*ŚB* 12.8.3.30), see Gonda 1980b: 135.

²⁸ Oldenberg 1918: 14 (=Kleine Schriften p.332), Gonda 1960: 193-94, 1965b: 176-77. The identification of the sacrificer with the *āhavanīya* fire is also seen in other rituals. For example, the offering of melted butter into the *āhavanīya* fire means that brilliance (*tejas*) is put into the sacrificer because the *āhavanīya* fire is the resting place (*āyātana*) of the sacrificer (*PB* 12.10.16,18). For other passages on the identification of the sacrificer with the *āhavanīya* see *TS* 3.1.3.2, *TB* 3.3.7.2, *KS* 21.4: 41.6 (the sacrificer's *ātman*), *MS* 3.3.2: 33.16 (*yajamānāyatana*), *TB* 1.6.5.3 (*yajamānadevatya*), and *KauṣB* 3.9: 13.21-22 (*āhavanīyabhāji*).

In the first place, the idea of *abhiṣeka* as a means to fulfil a desire is anticipated in AVŚ 11.1.27:

These purified, cleansed and worshipful women (waters) I set down (*sādayāmi*) in the hands of the priests (*brahmān-*) separately. With what wish I now sprinkle (*ābhi ṣiñcāmi*) on you, Indra with Maruts shall grant (*dadāt*) that on me.

Here the water meant for sprinkling is thought to be an object of desire. *KauśS* 63.4 prescribes that the priest does what is stated in the *mantra*, that is, washing of his hands (Gonda 1965b: 213). AVŚ 6.122.5, showing a slight variation (*dadātu tát* instead of *dadād idám*), accompanies the *saṁsthitahoma* in *KauśS* 63.29 (Gonda 1965b: 231-32). The fact that the water for sprinkling are referred to as a desire (*kāma*) is equivalent to the idea of offering as a means to acquire the objects of wish revealed in the interpretation of the *agnicayana* as mentioned earlier. We find the same idea in AVŚ 10.9.27:

The heavenly waters (*āpó devīḥ*), rich in honey (*mādhumatīḥ*), dripping of ghee I set down (*sādayāmi*) in the hands of the priests (*brahmān-*) separately. With what wish I now sprinkle (*ābhi ṣiñcāmi*) on you, let all that fall together (*sám padyatām*) to me. May we be lords of wealth.

AVŚ 10.9.27, which has the same *pādas* as AVŚ 11.1.27cd cited above, is employed for setting the water pot (*udakumbha*) for washing used in the *sava* ritual (*KauśS* 65.8) [Gonda 1965b: 262-63].

In these passages, the water employed for sprinkling are regarded as objects of desire to be fulfilled by the priest or the sacrificer. In other words, sprinkling functions as a means of the fulfillment of wishes. This meaning attached to sprinkling is taken over and is fully developed in the Śrauta ritual and in the theological explanation of the Brāhmaṇas, according to which one accomplishes the fulfillment of a wish by presenting the object of wishes to the gods in the form of the *abhiṣeka*. Thus, in AVŚ 10.9.27 and AVŚ 11.1.27 as treated before, sprinkling is thought to be a means of gratifying deities, which may have been influenced by the basic idea that the offering to the deities gratifies them.

In the second place, the idea of the *abhiṣeka* is possibly connected to that of the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual. As the contributors to this volume indicate, the image of the god to be sprinkled over in the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual is identified with the sacrificer by means of various *nyāsa* and meditation, just as the *agni* altar is identified with the sacrificer. Similarly a Hindu temple

which is sprinkled in the temple construction ceremony is regarded as the (cosmic) man (Ogura 1999: 199-207) just like the *agni* altar. Thus in the symbolic interpretation of ‘*abhiṣeka*’ of the *agnicayana* we can find one of the sources of motives supporting the *pratiṣṭhā* of Hindu rituals.

2 The Ritual Procedure of *Abhiṣeka*

As pointed out in the beginning of the preceding section, it is the *AV* that contains the first reference to *abhiṣeka* in India²⁹ and the *AV* prominently assigns to *abhiṣeka* the function of bestowing power and prestige on the sacrificer. However, details of the ritual procedure are not known very well due to lack of contemporary manual texts. At present, we confine ourselves to the *abhiṣekas* prescribed in the ritual texts, that is, in the Śrauta- and Gṛhyasūtras. In these texts *abhiṣeka* is not carried out as an independent unit, instead it is placed in a sequence of ritual acts as a ritual component. The reconstruction of such a sequence of rituals including the *abhiṣeka*, however, be undertaken in another monograph. What I shall undertake here is to compare various types of *abhiṣekas* and to examine other performances closely connected with *abhiṣeka*.

A comparison of rituals brings about different results according to its criterion which has been chosen in view of the purpose of the concerned study. Here, in order to get the exact idea of *abhiṣeka* itself, I take two essentials or rather two parameters of *abhiṣeka* into consideration, namely, the preparation or the arrangement of the fluid to be used for sprinkling, and the act of sprinkling itself.

In view of the significance attached to *abhiṣekas* of the Śrauta ritual, they can be divided into two groups. One group comprises *abhiṣekas* of the coronation rituals which are performed independently and mark one of the climaxes among several ritual components. The other type consists of *abhiṣekas* found in the *agnicayana*, *vājapeya*, *aśvamedha*, and *sautrāmaṇī*, where they occupy only a subordinate position in comparison with its main performance, or, in other words, *abhiṣeka* is inserted as ‘intermezzo’ as Weber pointed out while dealing with the *abhiṣeka* of the *vājapeya* (Weber 1892: 39).

²⁹ In Iranian literature, e.g. in the *Vidēvdād*, *hic* with *auui* means the sprinkling on a barley field (Bartholomae 1904: 1268, 1727). In the sense of purifying, *hic* with *paiti* is employed, e.g. sprinkling on the head (V 8.40), the sole of the left foot (V 8.70), and various parts of the body (V 9.162-66).

2.1 Abhiṣekas in the Coronation Rituals

2.1.1 Rājasūya of the Yajurveda

Of the *abhiṣekas* relating to the coronation rituals, the *abhiṣeka* in the *rājasūya* of the *Yajurveda* reveals most the complexity of the sprinkling (anointing) ceremony. The *rājasūya* itself has already been studied by several scholars³⁰ so far. However, in our intensive study of the ritual preparation of the water for sprinkling and the sprinkling itself, it is necessary to survey the ritual acts constituting the sprinkling ceremony. The following is a list of the ritual acts performed during *abhiṣeka* mainly according to the *BaudhŚS* and is supplemented by other ritual texts.

1. Preparation of the sprinkling fluids:

- (a) Making libation in unction fluids and drawing of them.
BaudhŚS 12.8: 97.3-98.5, *MānŚS* 9.1.2.34-36, *VārŚS* 3.3.2.8-25, *ĀpŚS* 18.13.1, 3-18, *HirŚS* 13.5.11-15, *KātyŚS* 15.4.25-45.
- (b) Pouring the different fluids into a collective vessel.
BaudhŚS 12.8: 98.5-7, *MānŚS* 9.1.2.37, *VārŚS* 3.3.2.26, *ĀpŚS* 18.13.21, *HirŚS* 13.5.16-17, *KātyŚS* 15.4.46.
- (c) Putting down of the collective vessel.
BaudhŚS 12.8: 98.8-9, *MānŚS* 9.1.2.37, *VārŚS* 3.3.2.27, *ĀpŚS* 18.13.21, *HirŚS* 13.5.18-19, *KātyŚS* 15.4.47.
- (d) Putting a piece of gold in the collective vessel.
BaudhŚS 12.9: 99.1-2, *MānŚS* 9.1.3.1-3, *VārŚS* 3.3.2.28, *ĀpŚS* 18.13.21, *HirŚS* 13.5.20, *KātyŚS* 15.5.5.
- (e) Pouring out the collected fluids into the four unction cups.
BaudhŚS 12.9: 99.3-5, *MānŚS* 9.1.3.4, *VārŚS* 3.3.2.28, *ĀpŚS* 18.13.21, *HirŚS* 13.5.21, *KātyŚS* 15.5.6.

2. Sprinkling:

- (a) Standing or sitting of the king on a tiger skin³¹ with his face turned to the east and with his arms raised.³²
BaudhŚS 12.10: 101.5, *MānŚS* 9.1.3.18, *VārŚS* 3.3.2.48, *ĀpŚS* 18.15.5, *HirŚS* 13.5.26, *KātyŚS* 15.5.25.

³⁰ Weber 1893, Heesterman 1957, and Tsuji 1977d.

³¹ *BaudhŚS* 12.10: 101.5-6 seems to stipulate that the king sits on a tiger skin (Heesterman 1957: 114 n.1). According to *VārŚS* 3.3.2.48 and *ĀpŚS* 18.15.10, the king stands at sprinkling.

³² *BaudhŚS* 12.9: 100.4-5, *MānŚS* 9.1.3.14-15, *VārŚS* 3.3.2.40-41, *ĀpŚS* 18.14.16, *KātyŚS* 15.5.28-29.

- (b) Sprinkling over the king with the fluid, through the holes of a gold plate put on his head.³³
BaudhŚS 12.11: 101.15-17, *MānŚS* 9.1.3.21-22, *VārŚS* 3.3.2.48, *ĀpŚS* 18.16.1-5, *HirŚS* 13.5.32-34, *KātyŚS* 15.5.30-33.
3. Rubbing by means of an antelope horn the remaining fluid on the sacrificer's body starting from the lower part and moving upwards to his chest.
BaudhŚS 12.11: 102.1-2, *MānŚS* 9.1.3.24, *VārŚS* 3.3.2.51, *ĀpŚS* 18.16.7-8, *HirŚS* 13.5.35.
4. Offering the remainder of the unction fluid to Rudra.
BaudhŚS 12.11: 102.8-9, *MānŚS* 9.1.3.5-6, *VārŚS* 3.3.2.29, *ĀpŚS* 18.13.22, 16.13, *HirŚS* 13.5.37.

From the above list, two points are evident: first, the procedure of the *abhiṣeka* itself is independent of other ritual performances. In particular, this can be ascertained by the fact that the unction fluids are prepared only for the purpose of sprinkling. This is different from other types of *abhiṣekas* in the *agnicayana*, etc., in which the sprinkling fluid is not prepared for itself, but, as shown below (→2.2), the remnant of the *vājaprasavīya* offered beforehand is used as the fluid for sprinkling.

Second, the ritual acts constituting the sprinkling ceremony are generally common to all the schools. Indeed there are some minor differences in the prescription among the Śrautasūtras: in the *ĀpŚS* — influenced by the Maitrāyaṇīyas³⁴ — the offering of the remainder left over in the collective vessel to Rudra is allowed to be made before the sprinkling; in the *KātyŚS* neither the rubbing up of the sacrificer's body nor the offering of the remainder to Rudra are carried out. However, the main procedures of preparation of the sprinkling fluids and of the sprinkling, when compared with other sprinkling ceremonies such as in the *agnicayana*, do not show any variations among the Śrautasūtras.

Such an established sequence is not confined only to the sprinkling ceremony of the *rājasūya*. The procedures of the chariot drive and of the king sitting down on the throne, which follow the *abhiṣeka* and constitute the main acts of the *rājasūya* besides the *abhiṣeka*, are also common to all the schools. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the

³³ For placing a gold plate on the head see *BaudhŚS* 12.10: 101.7, *MānŚS* 9.1.3.19, *ĀpŚS* 18.15.5, *HirŚS* 13.5.30, and *KātyŚS* 15.5.27.

³⁴ It seems not to be denied that the interruption of the 'old' Taittirīya tradition in the *ĀpŚS* is explained by an external impact from the Maitrāyaṇīya (Renou 1947: 181), although the order of sprinkling S.-W.-N.-E. is peculiar to the Maitrāyaṇīyas (Tsuji 1977d: 213).

main sequence of the *rājasūya*, which includes the *abhiṣeka* as an essential part of the ritual, has been firmly established beyond peculiarities of the Yajurvedic schools.

2.1.2 The *Mṛtyusava* and the *Rājābhiṣeka*

The *mṛtyusava* (*BaudhŚS* 18.16-18) and the *rājābhiṣeka* (*ĀpŚS* 22.28.1-25, *HirŚS* 23.4.41-66), despite their names being different, ought to be treated commonly, because they are dependent on the same *mantra* collection (*TB* 2.7.15,16,17) derived from the *mantra* tradition of the *AVP* mentioned earlier. The sequence of the main performances employing the verses of the *mantra* collection is as follows;

1. Offering of ghee (*āhuti*): *BaudhŚS* 18.16: 361.9-14, *ĀpŚS* 22.28.10, *HirŚS* 23.4.49.
2. Sprinkling (anointing) over the sacrificer sitting on a tiger skin: *BaudhŚS* 18.17:362.6-14, *ĀpŚS* 22.28.13, *HirŚS* 23.4.51.
3. Raising and lowering of the sacrificer's arms: *BaudhŚS* 18.17: 362.18-20, *ĀpŚS* 22.28.14, *HirŚS* 23.4.52-54.
4. Ritual march (*rathārohaṇa*): *BaudhŚS* 18.17: 363.1-10, *ĀpŚS* 22.28.18-23, *HirŚS* 23.4.57-64.
5. Cutting of the hair (*vapana*): *BaudhŚS* 18.19: 365.8-14, *ĀpŚS* 22.28.4-8, *HirŚS* 23.4.44-48.

As is clear from the above, in the *rājābhiṣeka* the cutting of the sacrificer's hair takes place towards the beginning of the whole procedure, while in the *mṛtyusava* it is practiced at the end. This difference in the sequences is caused by the order of the *anuvākas* in the *mantra* collection that they adopted. The *mṛtyusava* employs them according to the order of *anuvākas* 15,16 and 17, while the *rājābhiṣeka* uses the *anuvākas* in the order of 17,15 and 16. Notwithstanding this difference of the total procedure, the sequence of *abhiṣeka* itself is the same in both coronations. Sprinkling is performed over the sacrificer who sits on the tiger skin, although the *BaudhŚS* adds some other prescriptions, which show the same features with other *abhiṣekas* of the *BaudhŚS* in general; surrounding the sacrificer with the gold and silver plates, wiping up the sacrificer, crying out in a chorus, releasing his speech, and wiping the face.

There are two points that ought to be noted while making a comparison with the *abhiṣeka* of the *rājasūya*. First, the water meant for sprinkling is brought from the four directions (*mṛtyusava*, *BaudhŚS* 18.16: 361.6-7) or is mixed with the young blades of sprout (*tokman*) or panic grass (*dūrvā*) (*rājābhiṣeka*, *ĀpŚS* 22.28.13, *HirŚS* 23.4.51). The ingredients of plants put into sprinkling water in the *ĀpŚS* indicate a different tradition

of the preparation of the unction fluid because those ingredients put into water in the *rājasūya* are confined to those belonging to cows (e.g. ghee, curd and amniotic fluid of a calf) and honey.³⁵ The putting of plants into water for sprinkling reminds us of *abhiṣekas* of the coronations of the *AB* (→2.1.3) and of the post-Vedic coronations (→3).

Second, the raising and lowering of the sacrificer's arms takes place after *abhiṣeka*. It is performed after the unction as a continuous set of performances without interlude. This procedure seems to be more practical than that of the *rājasūya*, where the sacrificer raises his arms before the sprinkling and chariot drive, and lowers them after these acts (Heesterman 1957: 96-97, 101-2). Thus, the *mṛtyusava* and *rājābhiṣeka* belongs to a ritual tradition which contains more simple forms of ritual actions than those found in the *rājasūya*.

2.1.3 The Coronations of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*

There are two coronations belonging to the school of the *Rgveda*, namely, the *punarabhiṣeka* and the *aindra mahābhiṣeka* described in the *AB*.³⁶ *Abhiṣekas* of these two coronations consist mainly of three ritual acts: the preparation of the unction fluids, the act of sprinkling itself, and some activities after the sprinkling such as sacrificer's drinking of *surā*, giving of *dakṣiṇā* and stepping out to the *aparājita*, namely, the north-east direction³⁷ (*punarabhiṣeka*). Of these the first two acts deserve to be considered here as the dominant features of *abhiṣeka*.

Punarabhiṣeka

1. Eight ingredients are poured into the water used for sprinkling contained in a goblet made of *udumbara*. They are curd (*dadhi*), honey (*madhu*), melted butter (*sarpis*), rain water collected during sunshine (*ātapavarṣyā āpah*), rice sprout (*śaṣpa*), barley sprout (*tokman*), crude beer (*surā*) and *dūrvā* grass. (*AB* 8.5)
2. The king is sprinkled upon when he has mounted the throne (*āsandī*) made of *udumbara* and covered with a tiger skin, while the officiant

³⁵ See the list of water used in the *rājasūya* [Heesterman 1957: 84-85].

³⁶ See Weber 1893: 111-17. *Punarabhiṣeka* is an annual renewal of the kingship, while *aindra mahābhiṣeka* is to be performed only in the first coronation of the king. See Witzel 1987: 9 and Keith's note on his translation of the *AB*, p. 322.

³⁷ The king's stepping out towards the north-east direction means his reverence to the quarters and the security of his conquest: *aparājitaṃ diśam upatiṣṭhate jitasyaivāpunaḥ-parājayāya* (*AB* 8.9) 'He reveres the unconquered quarter, to secure the permanence of his conquest' (tr. Keith). This performance and its meanings find their correspondence in the expanding the quarters (*digvyāsthāpana*) and the chariot drive in the *rājasūya*. For *aparājita* see Gonda 1980c: 53-54.

places an *udumbara* branch above the head of the sacrificer (Sāyaṇa: *śirasy udumbaraśākhayā vyavadhānaṃ kṛtvā . . .*). (AB 8.6-7)

Aindra mahābhiṣeka

1. Eight kinds of trees and plants in the shape of green shoots are poured into the unction waters contained in a goblet made of *udumbara*. They are *nyagrodha*, *udumbara*, *aśvattha*, *plakṣa*, rice (*vr̥hi*) with barley sprout (*tokman*), large rice (*mahāvṛhi*) with young blades, panic seeds (*priyaṃgu*), and barley (*yava*). The eight ingredients as listed above in the *punarabhiṣeka* are also mixed with them.

(AB 8.16)

2. The king is sprinkled upon in the same manner as in the *punarabhiṣeka*, but through the golden strainer (*jātarūpamaya-pavitra*) which replaces the *udumbara* wood in the *punarabhiṣeka*. (AB 8.17-18)

In comparison with the *abhiṣeka* in the *rājasūya* of the *YV*, two points of difference need to be noted here. First, in the *abhiṣeka* of the *AB* the sacrificer is seated on throne (*āsandī*) covered with a tiger skin, while in the *rājasūya* of the *YV* he stands or sits on the tiger skin in the sprinkling act and does not take a seat till the conclusion of the chariot drive.³⁸ This feature of the *AB* corresponds to the *abhiṣeka* of the *agnicayana*, *vāja-peya*, and so on (→2.2.1).

Second, in the *abhiṣeka* of the *AB* the diversity of plants put into the sprinkling fluids is prominent, while in the *YV* mainly the products of the cow such as melted butter (*ājya*), milk (*payas*), and curd (*dadhi*) are put into the sprinkling waters. This resembles the *rājābhiṣeka* of the *ĀpŚS* (→2.1.2) and also the coronation ritual of the ancillary literature; barley, sesame, rice and so on as well as the five products of cow (*pañcagavya*) are to be put into the water of a river or of the ocean in the *rājyābhiṣeka* (*BaudhGŚS* 1.23.6, 14) (→3.1). Such a diversity of the ingredients comes into prominence in course of time. A chronological assumption that the sections dealing with the coronation rituals in the *AB* are added later³⁹ is not inconsistent with this tendency. The features of the coronation rituals as delineated in this text found its way into the *Vidhāna* literature (→3.3).

2.1.4 Coronations of the *Kauśikasūtra* and the *Vaitānasūtra*

Abhiṣekas of the ritual *sūtras* belonging to the *AV* are ones described in the *KauśS* and the *VaitS*. Here coronation rituals of the *KauśS* will be dealt with first.

³⁸ The prescription of the *VārŚS* seems to be exceptional in that the sacrificer is standing on the throne in the sprinkling of the *rājasūya* (3.3.2.48).

³⁹ Witzel 1987: 11, n. 8 and 1997: 320-22.

The essentials of two *abhiṣekas* in the *KauśS* (17.1-11: *laghvabhiṣeka*, 17.12-29: *mahābhiṣeka*) are, paying attention to the unction waters and sprinkling as done in the preceding sections, itemized as below:

1. Preparation of the unction water from the great rivers (*mahānadyah*) (17.1).
2. Sprinkling on the king, who stands on *darbha* grass in the south of the *pariṣṛhyā-vedi*⁴⁰ (17.2: *laghvabhiṣeka*), or who sits on a bed (*talpa*) covered with *darbha* grass (17.12: *mahābhiṣeka*).

In these two *abhiṣekas* the standing posture of the king at the sprinkling ceremony of the *laghvabhiṣeka* is clearly distinguished from the sitting posture of the king in the *mahābhiṣeka*. The standing posture in the *laghv-abhiṣeka* is similar to that in the *rājasūya* of the *YV* though the *darbha* grass is replaced by a tiger skin. On the other hand the king's sitting on a bed in the *mahābhiṣeka* is akin to the sprinkling scenes of the coronations of the *AB*, or rather to the *abhiṣekas* of the *agnicayana* and other king-ship rituals which have secondarily taken form, being modelled after the *abhiṣeka* of the *rājasūya*. Moreover, the clear differences of the ritual performances between both coronations of the *laghvabhiṣeka* and *mahābhiṣeka* range over their entire ceremonies; in the *laghvabhiṣeka* (17.1-11), after the sprinkling act, the king mounts a bed (*talpa*) covered with a bull skin (*ārṣabha-carman*), fills the water-vessel and exchanges it with his *purohita*. After having a dialogue with him and eating the porridge (*sthā-līpāka*), the king mounts a horse and rides in the north-eastern direction (*aparājītā*), and gives a thousand cows or a village to the priest. On the other hand, in the *mahābhiṣeka* (17.12-29), after being sprinkled upon, the king mounts a couch (*śayana*) covered with a tiger skin and is carried to the assembly (*sabhā*) by the king's four sons (*rājaputra*), who hold its four legs, and his feet and body are washed by servants (*dāsa*, *mahāsūdra*). After these *arghya*-like ritual acts, a dice game, a dialogue with a *vaiśya*, eating food, riding a horse and serving food mixed with honey (*madhumiśra*) to brahmins take place. Although the horse riding that corresponds to the chariot drive of the *rājasūya* in the *YV* takes place in both coronations, ritual components are greatly different from each other, so that one can not surmise that the *mahābhiṣeka* has directly developed from the *laghv-abhiṣeka*. It is more likely that the *mahābhiṣeka* has been patterned after the form of the *rājasūya* of the *YV*.

As for the *abhiṣeka* of the *rājasūya* in the *VaitS*, the similarity with the coronations of the *AB* is more noticeable; the sacrificer is sprinkled upon

⁴⁰ See Bloomfield 1897: 379, n. 2 and Caland 1900: 39, n. 3.

while sitting on a chair (*āsandī*) covered with a tiger skin (*VaitS* 36.6-7) and there is no reference to the chariot drive. The *VaitS*, nevertheless, has a different position as a ritual *sūtra* belonging to the *AV* because it employs the *mantras* of *AVŚ* 4.8 at the sprinkling ceremony.

2.2 Abhiṣeka in Other Rituals of the Śrautasūtras

Several of the rituals of which *abhiṣekas* are parts of are prescribed under the name of *sava* in the ritual literature (Gonda 1965b: 13-17). In the *BaudhŚS* the *savas* are dealt with in the *ekāha* section. Further some ‘major’ sacrifices in which the *abhiṣekas* are performed are also called *sava*; the *agnicayana*, the *rājasūya*, and the *vājapeya* are called *agniṣava*, *varuṇasava*, and *samrātsava*, respectively.⁴¹ However, all the rituals in which an *abhiṣeka* is held are not necessarily treated as *sava*. For example, the *aśvamedha* and the *kaukilī sautrāmaṇī*, which are not termed *savas*, contain, however, the sprinkling ritual. Hence, we shall examine here the various forms of sprinkling in the Śrauta ritual without restricting our examination only to the *sava* category.

2.2.1 Agnicayana and Other Royal Rituals

First, the *abhiṣekas* of the major sacrifices in the *BaudhŚS* (*agnicayana* 10.57-58: 60.8-16 [Ikari, Arnold 1983: 603-4], *vājapeya* 11.7: 74.8-16 [Weber 1892: 39], *aśvamedha* 15.32: 238.5-6 [Dumont 1927: 343]) which show the uniformity in the forms of rituals in this text will be dealt with:

1. Employing the remnant of the *vājaprasavīya* offerings as fluids for sprinkling.
2. Sprinkling upon a sacrificer who is sitting facing east at the place of the sacrificer (*yajamānāyatana*) covered with a black-antelope skin, upon and under whom the golden and silver plates are placed respectively. The *mantra* used while sprinkling is also the same for the three *abhiṣekas*.⁴²
3. Rubbing up the sacrificer’s body after sprinkling.

These procedures differ from those of the *rājasūya* in the following three points; first, the remnant of the *vājaprasavīya* offering is employed as fluids for sprinkling, while in the *rājasūya* of the *YV* the unction fluids

⁴¹ See Caland’s note on *ĀpŚS* 22.25.1 and Weber 1892: 39.

⁴² *TS* 1.7.10.3h: *devāsya tvā savitūḥ prasavè ’śvinor bāhūbhyāṃ pūṣṇó hástābhyāṃ sárasvatyai vācō yantúr yantréṇāgnés tvā sāmṛājyenābhīṣīncāmīndrasya tvā sāmṛājyenābhīṣīncāmi bḥhaspātes tvā sāmṛājyenābhīṣīncāmi*.

are prepared independently. This means that in those three rituals, *abhiṣeka* takes a subsidiary position from the viewpoint of the ritual structure, which gives the impression that the *abhiṣeka* of the *agnicayana* and others has been incorporated secondarily into the sequence of rituals. This subsidiary character of the *abhiṣeka* may offer, from the viewpoint of ritualistic ideas, an opportunity to interpret the sprinkling as obtaining food (*annādyā*, *anna*) which was one of the main motives in ritual theology of the Brāhmaṇa texts (→1.1.3). Second, it can be noticed that the sacrificer receives the sprinkling in the sitting posture at his place, which is common to all the *abhiṣekas* of the *BaudhŚS*.⁴³ This posture is different from that of the Maitrāyaṇīya, which prescribes the use of a chair, so that this sitting posture is presumably the original tradition of the *BaudhŚS*. Lastly, the raising and lowering of the sacrificer's arms at the time of sprinkling is absent here. This performance is carried out in the *mṛtyusava* and *rājābhiṣeka* besides the *rājasūya*, which leads us to conjecture that it may have originally been part of the coronation process.

Turning to the other Śrautasūtras, the Maitrāyaṇīya school has the following *abhiṣeka* in the *sautrāmaṇī* (*MānŚS* 5.2.11.24, *VārŚS* 3.2.7.34), *agnicayana* (*MānŚS* 6.2.5.28-30, *VārŚS* 2.2.4.10-11), *vājapeya* (*MānŚS* 7.1.3.17-22, *VārŚS* 3.1.2.24-25 [*pari-sic*]), and *aśvamedha* (*MānŚS* 9.2.5.6-8, *VārŚS* 3.4.5.5 [Dumont 1927: 92]) and they exhibit certain distinct features:

1. Employing the remnant of the *vājaprasavīya* offerings as fluids for sprinkling.
2. Sprinkling upon the sacrificer who sits on a chair (*āsandī*) which is covered with a black-antelope skin or a goat skin (*agnicayana*,⁴⁴ *vājapeya*), or without a covering of animal skin (*sautrāmaṇī*).
3. In the *aśvamedha*, the sacrificer is sprinkled upon in the sitting posture on a lion skin, while a bull's skin and a gold plate are being upheld above him.

These features of each *abhiṣeka* are followed by the *ĀpŚS* (19.9.13-15: *sautrāmaṇī*, 17.19.5-7: *agnicayana*, 18.6.6: *vājapeya*, and 20.19.13-20.3: *aśvamedha*), except that in the *vājapeya* the gold plate is placed under the

⁴³ Fushimi [1992] has pointed out that, in the *BaudhŚS*, the *abhiṣeka* of the *rājasūya* serves as a model of the *abhiṣeka* of the *vājapeya*, which is followed by that of the *agnicayana*.

⁴⁴ The sorts of hides vary according to the status of the sacrificer or the nature of his wishes (*ĀpŚS* 17.19.5-8).

foot of the sacrificer.⁴⁵ In comparison with the *abhiṣeka* of the *BaudhŚS*, the Maitrāyaṇīya school has a chair on which the sacrificer is to be seated at the time of sprinkling, while a gold and a silver plates, which are used to surround the sacrificer in the *abhiṣekas* of the *BaudhŚS*, are not employed here, except that a gold plate is used in the *aśvamedha*. From the chronological point of view then, it can be safely surmised that the sitting posture of the sacrificer on a chair while being sprinkled, which characterizes the two coronations of the *AB* (→2.1.3), the *mahābhiṣeka* of the *KauśS*, and the *rājasūya* of the *VaitS* (→2.1.4), has its origin in the prescription of the Maitrāyaṇīya.

In the *KātyŚS* the ritual manner of the *abhiṣeka* differs according to the kinds of fluids used for sprinkling and the animal skin used.

1. Using as fluids for sprinkling the remains of the mixture of the seventeen kinds of food with water and milk (*vājapeya*: 14.5.24), remnant of the *vājaprasavīya* offerings (*agnicayana*: 18.5.4-8), or the remaining part of the *paśupuroḍāśa* (*sautrāmaṇī*: 19.4.14).
2. Sprinkling upon the sacrificer sitting on a chair covered with a goat skin (*vājapeya*: 14.5.15), sitting or standing on a black-antelope skin / goat skin (*agnicayana*: 18.5.6, 9-13), or a black-antelope skin (*sautrāmaṇī*: 19.4.8-9).⁴⁶

These features vary so much that it is not easy to sum them up, but they can be explained by the fact that *abhiṣeka* has been incorporated as a subsidiary component into the concerned ritual, and each *abhiṣeka* evolves on its own way without being restricted by traditional procedure of the *abhiṣeka*.

2.2.2 *Savas*

In the *BaudhŚS* the prescriptions for the *savas* follow the same style and scheme, and those of sprinkling share common features with the other *abhiṣekas* of the *BaudhŚS* mentioned above.

1. At sprinkling, the sacrificer sits on a hide, the sort of which varies according to the *sava*, and a gold and a silver plates are placed on his head and under his foot respectively.
2. The priest rubs the fluid on the body of the sacrificer.

⁴⁵ According to *ĀpŚS* 18.6.1-3, the sacrificer mounts a chair by stepping on the gold plate.

⁴⁶ In the *sautrāmaṇī*, the sacrificer who is to be sprinkled upon has already been smeared with fragrant materials (*surabhi*) (*KātyŚS*19.4.14).

The differences within the *savas* themselves lie mainly in the kinds of fluids used for sprinkling, the hide and the qualification to be acquired, or the wish to be fulfilled by the concerned *sava*. I shall summarize below the characteristics of each *sava* in the *BaudhŚS*, showing their correspondence with those mentioned in other Śrautasūtras.

1. *brhaspatisava*

Sprinkled with melted butter (*ājya*) on a black-antelope skin (*kṛṣṇā-jīna*): *BaudhŚS* 18.1-2; *ĀpŚS* 22.7.11 (*ājya*, or remnant (*saṃsrāva*) of the *śukra*- and *manthin-graha*), *HirŚS* 17.3.11, *KātyŚS* 22.5.14, *MānŚS* 9.3.3.25 (sprinkled on a chair with *ājya*).⁴⁷

2. *sthapatisava* (*vaiśyasava*, *māśasava*)

Sprinkled with curd (*dadhi*) on a bull skin (*ārṣabha-carman*): *BaudhŚS* 18.3;⁴⁸ *ĀpŚS* 22.25.5, *HirŚS* 23.4.3.

3. *sūtasava* (*grāmaṇīsava*, *ṛtusava*)

Sprinkled with clarified butter (*ghṛta*), which is purified beforehand with gold, on a black-antelope skin: *BaudhŚS* 18.4.

4. *somasava*

Sprinkled with milk (*payas*) on a black-antelope skin: *BaudhŚS* 18.5; *ĀpŚS* 22.25.11 (sprinkled with waters), *HirŚS* 23.4.7.

5. *pṛthisava*

Sprinkled with a mixture of four kinds of water, which are brought from the four directions, on a red bull (*rohita-ānaḍuha*) skin: *BaudhŚS* 18.6; *ĀpŚS* 22.25.16 (sprinkled with waters), *HirŚS* 23.23.4.9.

6. *gosava*

Sprinkled with fresh milk (*pratiduh*) on a black-antelope skin: *BaudhŚS* 18.7; *ĀpŚS* 22.12.17, *HirŚS* 17.5.23, *MānŚS* 9.3.5.23, *KātyŚS* 22.11.9-10 (sprinkled upon a king sitting on the ground (*sthaṇḍila*)).⁴⁹

7. *odanasava*

Sprinkled with a mixture of four kinds of waters, which are brought from the four directions, on a red bull skin: *BaudhŚS* 18.8-10; *ĀpŚS* 22.26.11, *HirŚS* 23.4.26.

8. *mṛtyusava*

Sprinkled with a mixture of four kinds of water, which are brought from the four directions, on a tiger skin (*śārdūlacarman*): *BaudhŚS* 18.16-19 (→2.1.2).

⁴⁷ For other texts on the *brhaspatisava*, see Caland's note on *PB* 17.11. For the time of its performance, see Caland 1919: 68 (n.10).

⁴⁸ Cf. *PB* 17.11.8, 9.

⁴⁹ Cf. *PB* 19.13.1, 7, 9. For other texts of the *gosava*, see Caland's note on his translation of *PB* 19.13.

The new Taittirīya school mentions two more *savas*.

9. *brāhmaṇasava*

The sacrificer, who wishes the splendour of *brahman* (*brahmavarca-sakāmaḥ*), sitting upon a black-antelope skin is sprinkled upon with clarified butter which has been purified beforehand with gold: *ĀpŚS* 22.25.6-8, *HirŚS* 23.4.4.

10. *rājābhiṣeka*

Sprinkled by waters with the barley sprout (*tokman*) or panic grass (*dūrvā*) on a tiger skin: *ĀpŚS* 22.28.10-13, *HirŚS* 23.4.49-51 (→2.1.2).

The fluids for sprinkling are provided for their own sake in nearly all cases except the *brhaspatisava* in which the remnant of the preceding oblations is employed,⁵⁰ but the ritual for the preparation of the fluids for sprinkling, namely, the purification of the water with gold, is scarcely referred to but in the *sūtasava* and the *brāhmaṇasava*. These simple but independent forms of *abhiṣeka* may lead us to assume that they retain features of earlier procedures.

2.2.3 Concluding Remarks

At the beginning of this section, in order to understand the *abhiṣekas* which are described in various ways in the Śrauta texts, I have selected the preparation or supply of fluids for sprinkling and a procedure of sprinkling itself as valid parameters, and by focusing on them, I have investigated various types of *abhiṣekas*. Here I shall recapitulate the results of my investigation, highlighting the differences between the Vedic schools.

1. The *abhiṣekas* of the coronation rituals are characterized by an independent preparation of the unction fluids and this is seen in the coronations of the *YV* (*rājasūya*, *mṛtyusava*, *rājābhiṣeka*, and *gosava*), of the *AB* (*punarabhiṣeka* and *aindra mahābhiṣeka*), and of the *AV* (*laghvabhiṣeka* and *mahābhiṣeka* of the *KauśS* and *rājasūya* of the *VaitS*), while some *abhiṣekas* of other rituals use the remnants of offerings performed earlier, to which category the *vājapeya*, the *agnicayana*, the *aśvamedha*, the *sautrāmaṇī*, and some other *savas* belong.
2. Regarding the materials mixed with the water meant for sprinkling, there has been a tendency over a period of time to diversify the ingredients. First, the *abhiṣekas* of the *KauśS* and the *mṛtyusava* of

⁵⁰ *Brhaspatisava* is often performed after the *abhiṣeka* of the sacrificer in the *vājapeya*. See Kane II: 1211.

the *BaudhŚS*⁵¹ only prescribe that the unction fluids are to be fetched from the great rivers. Next comes the *rājasūya* of the *YV* where some materials such as the amniotic fluid of a calf, milk, curd, ghee, and honey are mixed.⁵² Besides, the *rājābhiṣeka* of the *ĀpŚS* refers to barley sprout (*tokman*) and *dūrvā*-blades to be added to the water. Finally, the *AB* describes putting the eight kinds of materials into water including *tokman* and *dūrvā* as mentioned above. The diversity of the materials mixed with the water becomes more remarkable in the case of coronations of the post-Vedic rituals.

3. The sacrificer's posture during the sprinkling⁵³ is divided into three types. First, in the simple coronations, that is to say, in the *mṛtyu-sava* and *rājābhiṣeka* whose origins can be ascribed to the coronation hymn of *AVP* 4.2 (\approx *AVŚ* 4.8), the king sits on a tiger skin while being sprinkled upon. This posture is common to all the other *abhiṣekas* of the *BaudhŚS*, although the sort of the hide on which the sacrificer sits varies according to the purpose of the *sava*. The *abhiṣeka* of the *rājasūya* of *VādhS* 10.5⁵⁴ shares this feature with the *BaudhŚS*. This style of the sacrificer's posture accordingly belongs to the early tradition. Second, in the *rājasūya* of the *MānŚS*, *VārŚS*, *ĀpŚS*, *HirŚS*, and *KātyŚS* the king takes a standing posture on a tiger skin while being sprinkled upon. The same posture is also found in the *laghvabhiṣeka* of the *KauśS*, though on this occasion the king is required to be standing on *darbha* grass, which indicates a simple form of the sprinkling. Third, the coronations of the *AB* (*punarabhiṣeka* and *aindra mahābhiṣeka*) and those of the ritual texts of the *AVŚ* (the *mahābhiṣeka* of the *KauśS* and the *rājasūya* of the *VaitS*), which are presumed to be a later origin, have a chair (*āsandī* or *talpa*) covered with a tiger skin on which the king sits and is sprinkled upon.

The use of a chair at the sprinkling scene seems to have been first introduced by the Maitrāyaṇīyas; they make use of a chair in the *abhiṣekas* of the *vājapeya*, *agnicayana*, and *sautrāmaṇī*, but not of the *rājasūya*. Thus, this *new* type of sprinkling may have influ-

⁵¹ It is pointed out that the *rājasūya* described in the *BaudhŚS* differs from that in later texts like the *ŚB* and has its original meaning as an adoption ceremony. See Falk 1984: 118-20.

⁵² Heesterman 1957: 84-85 and Tsuji 1977d: 201-4.

⁵³ For the sacrificer's posture in the *abhiṣeka* of the *rājasūya*, see Tsuji 1977d: 213.

⁵⁴ Ikari has kindly given me the readings of the *rājasūya* section of the *VādhūlaŚS* (K4 and M). For a survey and account of the manuscripts of the *Vādhūla* school, see Ikari 1995: 4-12 and 1998: 1-11.

enced the formation of *abhiṣeka* in the coronations of the *AB* and the ritual texts of the *AVŚ* except *laghvabhiṣeka*, which prescribes a standing posture at the sprinkling. Likewise such a flexible attitude of the Maitrāyaṇīyas can also be found in the disuse of a golden and a silver plates in the sprinkling ceremony except for in the *rājasūya*; their use characterizes the *abhiṣeka* of the *rājasūya* in all schools of the *YV*. Furthermore all sprinklings in the *sava* rituals of the *BaudhŚS* strictly observe this process, while the Maitrāyaṇīyas were seemingly more free to transform the procedures of *abhiṣeka* into more simplified forms and took the lead to modify the procedures of *abhiṣeka*.

From the chronological viewpoint, we may sum up the above findings as follows: one of the earlier forms of *abhiṣekas* is reflected in that of the *mṛtyusava* of the *BaudhŚS* and of the *laghvabhiṣeka* of the *KauśS*. Both belong to the sphere of the coronation ritual of *AVP* 4.2 (*AVŚ* 4.8). The *abhiṣeka* of the *rājasūya*, *agnicayana*, and other rituals in the *BaudhŚS* can be assigned to the next phase, though this text shows a uniform schema possibly as an attempt of rearrangement of the Śrauta ritual [Witzel 1997: 316-17]. Some developed forms of *abhiṣeka* which are characterized by the use of a chair as the seat and a remnant of the offerings as sprinkling fluids in the *agnicayana* and so on emerge in the school of the Maitrāyaṇīyas. Two coronations of the *AB* and of the *VaitS* are influenced by the Maitrāyaṇīyas in that the *abhiṣeka* is performed with the king sitting on a chair, and they adapt more succinct procedures by not executing the chariot drive.

2.3 *Abhiṣekas* in the Gṛhya Rituals

The sprinkling ceremony in the Gṛhyasūtras is mainly performed in two rituals, namely, the *vivāha* or the wedding ceremony, and the *samāvartana* or the ritual of the Veda-student's returning home.⁵⁵ In these ceremonies details of the sprinkling water and those of the sacrificer's posture at the time of the sprinkling are not quite clear. Still more, it is noticeable that the term for sprinkling, which has hitherto been investigated in this article, is not necessarily limited to the expression of *abhi-ṣic*, which suggests that *abhiṣeka* is not an established act as in the Śrautasūtras.

⁵⁵ There are sporadically some passages where the expression of *abhi-ṣic* is employed, e.g. *ĀśvGS* 1.11.10 where the omentum of a *paśu* is sprinkled (*paśukalpa*) and *PārGS* 2.13.6 where the bullock in front is sprinkled upon before ploughing. For further materials, see *VaikhGS* 3.21 (*śatābhiṣeka*), *ĀgnGS* 2.4.10 (*pratiṣṭhā*), and *BodhGS* 1.2.22 (*madhuparka*).

2.3.1 *Vivāha*

In the wedding ceremony the head of a bridegroom or a bride is sprinkled upon on several occasions. However, the act of these sprinklings is expressed by the use of various verbs; it is expressed not only with *abhi-ṣic* but with *ava-sic*, *pra-ukṣ*, *mṛj*, and so on. One of the typical cases is the sprinkling⁵⁶ which is performed after *saptapadī* or the striding of seven steps by the bride and groom in the north-eastern direction (*aparājītā*), viz., one of the climaxes of this ceremony.⁵⁷ *ŚāṅkhGS* 1.14.8-10, for example, prescribes as follows:

With the three *āpohiṣṭhīya* verses he wipes (the bride and the bridegroom) with the *stheyā* water.⁵⁸ And sprinkles it on their heads (*mūrdhany abhiṣicya*).⁵⁹ (The bridegroom then) says, 'I give you a cow'.⁶⁰
(tr. Oldenberg)

The sprinkling expressed by *abhi-ṣic* is represented, in other sūtras, by other expressions. At first we refer to the prescription of the sprinkling with the word *ava-sic* in *ĀśvGS* 1.7.20:

Joining together their two heads, (the bridegroom? the *ācārya*?) sprinkles them (with water) from the waterpot (*ubhayoḥ samnidhāya śirasī udakumbhenāvasicya*).⁶¹ (tr. Oldenberg)

The *ŚāṅkhGS* and the *KauṣGS* belong to the same Ṛgvedic school and have almost similar wordings in their prescriptions, but the verb *abhi-ṣic* used in *ŚāṅkhGS* 1.14.8, 9 is replaced by *ava-sic* in *KauṣGS* 1.8.29. From this we can deduce that the performance which is expressed by *ava-sic* may not be thought of as distinct from that expressed by *abhi-ṣic*.⁶² Besides, there are some instances where sprinkling is expressed by *pra-ukṣ*; *HirGS* 1.21.5 reads as follows:

After he has made her sit down to the west of the fire, so that she faces the east, he stands to the east (of his bride), facing the west, and

⁵⁶ Tsuji 1977a: 312 (§23). For the *mūrdhābhiṣeka*, see Kane II: 534.

⁵⁷ Winternitz 1892: 46-47 and Sūryakānta 1956: 25.

⁵⁸ For *stheyā* see Gonda 1980c: 132.

⁵⁹ According to the commentary of Nārāyaṇa, a couple is meant to be sprinkled upon. Oldenberg remarks that there are many cases in the Gṛhya rituals where a couple is treated as a combined unit. See Oldenberg 1878: 129 and 1886: 38 (note on sūtra 9).

⁶⁰ See further *PārGS* 1.8.5: *tata enāṃ mūrdhany abhiṣīcatī*.

⁶¹ See further *KauṣGS* 1.8.29 *mūrdhany avasicya*, *GobhGS* 2.2.15 *mūrdhadeśe 'vasīncatī*, and *KhādGS* 1.3.28-29 *mūrdhany avasīncet*.

⁶² *HirGS* 2.3.3, in prescribing *jātakarman*, employs the expression *ava-sic* in the sense of sprinkling.

besprinkles (*prokṣati*) her with water, with the three verses.⁶³

(tr. Oldenberg)

The verb *pra-ukṣ*⁶⁴ means, in the ritual scene, scattering some fluids in the form of droplet; e.g. *ĀśvGS* 2.8.11 ‘With a *samī* branch or an *udumbara* branch he sprinkles it (with water) (*prokṣati*), going thrice round it, so that his right side is turned towards it, reciting the *śantātīya* hymn’ (tr. Oldenberg).⁶⁵ The actual usage of this word is, however, not limited to such a rigid interpretation. It is applied to the sprinkling in general. In the same way, *JaimGS*.1.21: 22.9-10 expresses the sprinkling by the verb *mṛj*:⁶⁶

At the seventh (step), having caused her to stand directed to the east, they should sprinkle (*mārjāyeraṇ*) her out of the vessel filled with water with the three verses, beginning: ‘Ye waters are beneficent’.

(tr. Caland)

At all events, we cannot deny that there is some possibility of variations in the wording of sprinkling in the Gṛhya rituals. In other words, the performance of sprinkling does not retain such an authoritative value as it does in the Śrauta rituals. I will now examine other performances of which sprinkling forms a part and which are all carried out as preliminary acts of the *vivāha*, and show that the one and the same ritual act is expressed by various verbs in the different Gṛhyasūtras:

1. The sprinkling of water upon the bride (Tsuji 1977a: 304 §11-2c): *abhi-ṣic* (*VārGS* 13.6), *ava-ṣic* (*KauśS* 25.27) and *snā* (*LaugGS* 25.4).
2. The pouring of the *surā* upon the bride (Tsuji 1977a: 304 §11-2d): *abhi-ṣic* (*GobhGS* 2.1.10).
3. The sprinkling of water upon the bride through the right hole of the yoke (Tsuji 1977a: 304 §11-2e): *abhi-ṣic* (*MānGS* 1.10.7), *ava-ṣic* (*LaugGS* 25.8, *KauśS* 76.13) and *snā* (*ĀpGS* 2.4.8).
4. The sprinkling of water upon the bride as part of the ceremony of giving away a bride (*kanyādāna*) (Tsuji 1977a: 306 §12, and Kane II: 533): *abhi-ṣic* (*MānGS* 1.8.11) and *snā* (*LaugGS* 17.1).

⁶³ *VaikhGS* 3.4, p. 72, 6-8 *prokṣaṇaiḥ prokṣya*.

⁶⁴ The meaning and usage of *pra-ukṣ* are dealt with by Kiehnle 1979: 7-19. Her presumption that the objects of *pra-ukṣ* are ritual elements, whereas that of *ṣic* is human being (ibid., p.17), is not accepted.

⁶⁵ See further *ĀśvGS* 4.2.10 and 4.5.4.

⁶⁶ The sprinkling or washing of the performer’s body in the *saṃdhyopāsana* is also expressed with *mṛj* (*JaimGS* 1.13).

It is worth pointing out that in some instances bathing (*snā*) is substituted for sprinkling (*abhi-ṣic* / *ava-ṣic*). The expression with *snā* for sprinkling can be found more clearly in the sprinkling of the *samāvartana*. I shall come back to this theme after examining the *samāvartana* in the following section.

2.3.2 *Samāvartana*

In the sprinkling of the *samāvartana* the student sits opposite his teacher, facing to the east, and is either sprinkled upon by his teacher or the student sprinkles himself.⁶⁷ The expressions employed for this performance are *abhi-ṣic* and *snā*. The word *āplavana*, which is used for *samāvartana* in the *GobhGS* 3.4.6, suggests that the bathing forms the main element of the *samāvartana*.⁶⁸

The verb *abhi-ṣic* is used, for example, in *ŚāṅkhGS* 3.1.3-4:

Having had (the cut-off hair-ends, etc.) thrown away together with rice and barley, with sesame-seeds and mustard-seeds, with *apāmārga* and *sadāpuṣpī* flowers, having sprinkled (*abhiṣicya*) him (with water) with the *āpohiṣṭhīya*-hymn.⁶⁹ (tr. Oldenberg)

ĀśvGS 3.8.9 is an example where sprinkling is expressed by the verb *snā*:

Having washed (*snātvā*) himself with lukewarm water, and having put on two (new) garments which have not yet been washed, with (the verse), ‘Garments with fat splendour you put on, (Mitra and Varuṇa)’ (*RV* 1.152.1), he should anoint his eyes with (the words), ‘the sharpness of the stone art thou; protect my eye’.⁷⁰

(tr. Oldenberg)

Abhiṣeka is not an established terminology expressing the specific performance as in the Śrauta rituals. It is rather easily allowed to be substituted by other similar expressions. The usage of the expression of sprinkling (*abhiṣeka*) specially bears an affinity with that of bathing (*snāna*).

⁶⁷ For the manner of sprinkling, see Heesterman 1968: 438.

⁶⁸ See Einoo 1993: 232

⁶⁹ See further *GobhGS* 3.4.10 *sarvauṣadhiviphāṅṭābhir adbhir gandhavatībhiḥ śītoṣṇābhir ācāryo ’bhiṣīncet*, *PārGS* 2.6.11 *tenābhiṣīncate / tena mām abhiṣīncāmi śrīyai yaśase brahmaṇe brahmavarcasāyeti*, *KhādGS* 3.1.9-10 *tābhiś śītoṣṇābhir ācāryo ’bhiṣīncet / svayaṃ vā mantrābhivādāt*, and *BhārGS* 2.19: 52.5 *saṃsṛṣṭābhir adbhir abhiṣīncati*. In the *GobhGS* *abhi-ṣic* means sprinkling on the body, i.e. the head (3.4.15), while *ava-ṣic* means pouring down (on the hands) (3.4.13).

⁷⁰ See further *ĀpGS* 5.12.6 *evaṃ vihītābhir evādbhir uttarābhiḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ snāvottarayedumbareṇa dato dhāvati*, and *HirGS* 1.10.2 *athoṣṇāśītābhir adbhiḥ snāpayati / āpo hi ṣṭhā mayobhuvah // iti tisṛbhiḥ / hiraṇyavarṇāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ // iti catasṛbhiḥ / pavamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ // iti caitenānuvākēna*.

This trend has become more distinct in succeeding ages.⁷¹ For example, in the *rājyābhiṣeka* of the *BaudhGŚS* the *abhiṣeka* of the king (1.23.14) is expressed by the verb *snā* in the later sūtra (1.23.17) and in the *puṣyābhiṣeka* the king who is sprinkled upon with fluids is called *snāta* (*AVPŚ* 5.57). There are a number of other examples too. In the *gosahasra-vidhi*, the *mantra* with which the sprinkling (*abhi-ṣic*) upon the king is performed refers to *snānodaka* (*AVPŚ* 16.1.7). In the *brahmayāga*, *abhiṣeka* (*AVPŚ* 19b.3.4) is subsequently expressed by the word *snāna* (ibid. 19.4.2.cd), and in the *ghṛtakambala* the person who receives the *abhiṣeka* (*AVPŚ* 33.6.5) is later called *snāta* (ibid. 33.7.4). In the context of the Gṛhya-like *vināyakakalpa MānŚS* 2.14.26 states that the *snāna* is performed with a *mantra* in which the term *abhiṣeka* features.

Turning to the Dharmasūtras we can see the phrases of the assimilation of *abhiṣeka* into *snāna*. The *abhiṣeka* which is to be performed before making offerings (*ĀpDhS* 2.9.22.12) is, in fact, bathing because the sacrificer is ordered to enter the water slowly in the next sūtra (sūtra 13). The performance of expiation which is not infrequently mentioned with *snāna* is expressed by the term *abhi-ṣic* (*VāsDhS* 15.19-21, 23.27-29). *Abhi-ṣic* implies sprinkling upon the hands and feet (*BaudhDhS* 1.4.6.14), while *abhiṣeka* does not relate to the washing of feet and hands (*BaudhDhS* 2.4.7.2). Further the king who receives *abhiṣeka* is called *snāta* (*BṛhatS* 47.72, *KālikāP* 86.129).⁷²

In this context the description of *abhiṣeka* in the *VaikhSmS* assumes importance, because in the *VaikhSmS* 1.2: 2.6-7 the *abhiṣeka* is dealt with as one of the subordinate components of the *snāna*.

Now come the rules for bathing for those who belong to one of the four orders of religious life. It is fivefold: the ablution (in water) (*abhiṣeka*-), the celestial bathing (*divya*-), the aerial bathing (*vāyavya*-), the fiery bathing (*āgneya*-) and (bathing by) permission by *guru* (*gurvanujñā*-).⁷³ (tr. Caland)

⁷¹ Einoo 1996a: 79 has pointed out that *snāna* (bathing), which has always been important in the Śrauta rituals, achieved new importance in the late Vedic period as a method of purification in the daily duties of the brahmins.

⁷² There are, on the other hand, passages where the *abhiṣeka* is clearly distinguished from the *snāna*; the *abhiṣeka* is, for example, performed before *snāna* (*VaikhSmS* 9.14 = *VaikhDhS* 2.14).

⁷³ For further enumeration of various kinds of *snāna*, see, e.g. *VaikhGS* 1.5 *divya*-, *vāyavya*-, *āgneya*-, and *mantrasnāna*, and *HirGŚS* 1.1.6 *vāruṇa*-, *āgneya*-, *vāyavya*-, *brāhma*-, *kāpila*-, *mānasa*-, and *divya*-. See also *Saurapurāṇa* 18.40cd-42 (five kinds of *snāna*) and *Garuḍapurāṇa* 1.50.9-12 (six kinds of *snāna*).

Thus, it can be seen from the above passages that *abhiṣeka* becomes a type of *snāna*, which certainly characterizes the Hindu rituals.

2.4 Relation of *Abhiṣeka* to Other Ritual Performances

So far I have investigated the core features of the *abhiṣekas* by focusing on the two essential constituent ritual acts, namely, the preparation of the water for sprinkling and the sprinkling itself. Here I would like to treat the ritual performances closely associated with the *abhiṣeka*, that is, the chariot drive and the sitting on the throne. Summing up in advance, the sequence of the *abhiṣeka*, the chariot drive, and the sitting on the throne is a fixed set of the ritual acts which bestow a prestige on the person concerned and which are probably carried over to the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual of Hinduism.

The chariot drive follows the *abhiṣeka* of the *rājasūya* in the *YV*.⁷⁴ A chariot (*ratha*) is taken down from the chariot-vehicle (*rathavāhana*), the horses are harnessed to it, and the king mounts it to start his drive. At the end of the drive, the king steps down on the earth wearing sandals and takes a seat on the throne, with some ritual acts intervening between them. This part of the rituals is common to the *rājasūyas* of the *YV* and it also indicates the established tradition of the *rājasūyas* (→2.1.1).

Besides the *rājasūya*, some of the other coronation rituals also include the chariot drive. The procedure of the chariot drive in the *mṛtyusava* (*BaudhŚS* 18.17: 363.1-11) is as follows. After the sprinkling and wiping of the sacrificer's face he goes to the chariot, touches it on both sides,⁷⁵ and stands by the chariot. Then he holds the reins and mounts the chariot, stretching a bow-string on it. Finally, he drives the chariot, circumambulating three times clockwise around the cows which have already been brought to the place in the north, and halts in front of them.

The *rājābhiṣeka* (*ĀpŚS* 22.28.15-24) prescribes a similar procedure of a chariot drive, but shows some peculiarity. After the sprinkling, the king approaches the chariot and mounts it. He addresses the driver and takes the reins. He looks up at the sun⁷⁶ and looks over the people, but curiously enough, the actual drive does not seem to take place.

From the above we can conclude that there is a certain interrelationship between the *abhiṣeka* and the chariot drive in the coronation rituals,

⁷⁴ For the fact that the chariot drive of the *rājasūya* in the *BaudhŚS* follows the schema of the *vājapeya*, see Heesterman 1957: 131-32 and Sparreboom 1985: 45-51.

⁷⁵ There are similar prescriptions of mounting the chariot in *ĀśvGS* 2.6.1 and *ĀpGS* 22.14.

⁷⁶ In the rite of mounting and driving of a chariot there is a prescription of looking at the sun (*ĀśvGS* 2.6.12). See Gonda 1980c: 160-61.

but it is limited to certain traditions. As indicated above (→1.1.1), the *mṛtyusava* and *rājābhiṣeka* contain the common *mantra* tradition derived from *AVP* 4.2, which gives indication of the chariot drive (ibid. v. 2). Horse riding in the two coronation ceremonies (*laghvabhiṣeka* and *mahābhiṣeka*) of the *KauśS* (17.9, 22) seems to be a primitive or simplified form of the chariot drive. As for the chariot drive in the *rājasūya*, its association with the *abhiṣeka* is established in all schools. So that the close connection of these performances can be said to be essential to these two ritual traditions, namely, the ritual tradition derived from *AVP* 4.2 or related with that hymn and the *rājasūya* of the *YV*.⁷⁷ On the other hand, the two coronation ceremonies (*punarabhiṣeka* and *aindra mahābhiṣeka*) of the *AB*, in which the chariot drive does not take place, stand outside of these traditions.

Turning to the *Gṛhya* rituals, it is remarkable that some *sūtras* prescribe a chariot drive which follows the *abhiṣeka* (= *snāna*) in the *samāvartana* (*ŚāṅkhGS* 3.1.13-16, *GobhGS* 3.4.31-34, *KhādGS* 3.1.29-31, *HirGS* 12.4.12.1-5, and *BaudhŚS* 17.43: 324.3-10). According to the *GobhGS*, the *snātaka* approaches the chariot which is yoked with oxen. After touching the sides of the chariot, he mounts it and drives it in the eastern or northern direction to turn round from left to right and come back to the place where he receives hospitality, while the *HirGS* prescribes horses or elephants instead of oxen for drawing the chariot. Heesterman has already shown an affinity between the *samāvartana* and the royal ceremony (Heesterman 1968). Leaving aside his approach that an antagonistic, that is, 'preclassical' pattern of sacrifice is rearranged by the 'classical' ritualists, it is necessary to take into account that the prescription of the chariot drive in the *samāvartana* is limited to certain *sūtras* as far as the texts that have been handed down are concerned. It appears that the chariot drive may not be as essential to the *samāvartana* as to the coronation rituals of the *Śrautasūtras*. We can see rather that the interrelation of the *abhiṣeka* with the chariot drive in the *samāvartana* is not so established as in the *Śrauta* tradition.

In this context it is significant to point out that in the *vivāha* or the wedding ceremony also the chariot drive takes place (*udvāhana*, Tsuji 1977a: 314-15, § 26). The procedure of the drive is different from those

⁷⁷ In the *aśvamedha* there is a chariot drive, which takes place on the day when a horse is to be sacrificed, before the king is sprinkled upon (Dumont 1927: 148-51, Sparreboom 1985: 51-53). Its procedure differs from that of coronations, as seen also in the sprinkling ritual (→2.2.1).

of the *samāvartana* and the coronation rituals; the nuptial fire contained in an earthen vessel is placed in the chariot. The drive has a ‘practical’ purpose of taking the new bride to her new house. However, the *mantras* employed on the way, such as verses from the wedding hymn of *RV* 10.85, are intended to ensure the welfare of the bride. We can assume that there has been a trend that the one who receives certain status by the sprinkling ceremony is required to undertake a chariot drive in order to affirm the prestige or welfare of the person concerned.

As to the close association of *abhiṣeka* with the sitting on a throne (*āsandī*) or a chair, it is doubtful whether a throne has been employed in the earlier form of the coronation. The *mantras* of *AVP* 4.2 (\approx *AVŚ* 4.8) do not refer to the throne. The same is the case with the *mantra* collection (*TB* 2.7.15-17) of the *mṛtyusava* and *rājābhiṣeka*, which is derived from the *mantra* tradition of the *AVP*. While the *rājābhiṣeka* does not make use of the throne, the ritual employment of the chair in the *mṛtyusava* is uncertain; the king only ‘steps down’ (*pratyavarohati*) onto a chair in the same way as in the *rājasūya* (*yathā rājasūye tathā*) (*BaudhŚS* 18.17: 363.11-364.2), and does not perform any ritual conducts related to the throne. The reference to the *rājasūya* by using the expression *yathā rājasūye tathā* is also found in the prescription of handing over the bow to the king in the *mṛtyusava* (*BaudhŚS* 18.16: 362.3), but the handing over of arrows, which take place after that act in the *rājasūya* (*BaudhŚS* 12.9: 99.16-100.1), is not prescribed there. It might, therefore, mean that the *mṛtyusava* has some ritual components restructured roughly after the *rājasūya* which has come to have an authority in the Śrauta coronations. It seems certain that the throne (*āsandī*) employed in the *abhiṣekas* of the Śrauta coronations is not inherited from the original coronations presupposed by the *mantras* of *AVP* 4.2 and *TB* 2.7.15-16. In other words, the Śrauta coronations have taken over the chair as a requisite from other rituals than the kingship ritual.

There are two types of chair in Vedic rituals.⁷⁸ One has a pillow (*upabārhaṇa*) and so can be inferred to have a rectangular seat, while the other has a square seat of an *aratni* in width (*aratnimātraśīrṣaṇyānūcyā*). The former type together with a pillow is referred to for the first time in the *vrātya* hymn (*AVŚ* 15.3.3, 7). The chair or rather the sofa with such a pillow is employed at the time of the sprinkling of the *aindra mahābhiṣeka* (*āsandī*, *AB* 8.5), at the sprinkling of the *rājasūya* belonging to the

⁷⁸ For the chair (*āsandī*) in general, see Rau 1957: 125.

AVŚ (*āsandī*, VaitS 36.6-7) and in the *mahāvratā* (*rājāsandī*, JB 2.25).⁷⁹ The seat of *āsandī* on which a corpse is laid during the funeral rite⁸⁰ must also be rectangular. The *āsandī* which the *udgātr* priest mounts in the *mahāvratā* of PB 5.5.1 is called *talpa* in the same ritual of TB 1.2.6.5.⁸¹ The *talpa* is also employed at the sprinkling of the *mahābhiṣeka* (KauśS 17.12).⁸² The *paryāṅka* of the KauśUp 1.5 is rectangular according to the commentary of Śāṅkara.⁸³ *Proṣṭha*,⁸⁴ which is used for the hair cutting ceremony (*keśavapanīya*) of the *mṛtyusava* and *rājābhiṣeka*, can be thought of as having a rectangular seat. The rectangular chair or sofa is thus employed widely in the Vedic rituals.

On the other hand the use of a chair with a square seat is found exclusively in the Śrauta rituals, that is, in the *soma* rituals (*rājāsandī*, ĀpŚS 10.29.7), in the *pravargya* (*samrādāsandī*, ĀpŚS 15.5.7), in the *agnicayana* (*ukhyāsandī*, ŚB 6.7.1.14 and ĀpŚS 16.10.16), in the *sautrāmaṇī* (*āsandī*, ĀpŚS 19.9.10) and in the sprinkling of the *punarabhiṣeka* (AB 8.5), although its height varies according to the rituals.⁸⁵ It seems reasonable to suppose that the chair (*āsandī*) used in the *rājasūya* also has a square seat. The employment of the square chair in the coronations is thus not inherited from the earlier coronation of the AVP or non Śrauta tradition, but is developed within the Śrauta rituals. The fact that the ritual employment of a square chair is found in various rituals of the Śrauta texts and that some of them have nothing to do with *abhiṣeka* reveals that the adoption of the chair into the concerned *abhiṣeka* has been secondar-

⁷⁹ The seat employed in the *mahāvratā* is, according to the ritual texts, square. See ŚāṅkhŚS 17.2.6, LātyŚS 3.12.4 and KātyŚS 13.3.2-3.

⁸⁰ See Caland 1896: 15-16, note 68 and Tsuji 1977b: 338.

⁸¹ See Caland's note on PB 5.1.1.

⁸² See Rau 1957: 73-4. *Talpa* is a bed for the marriage; ‘“bed” and “marriage” seem to be synonymous’ (Caland's note on PB 23.4.2). Cf. *talpa* as the teacher's bed (*ChāndogyaU* 5.10.9).

⁸³ Śāṅkarānanda's comm. ad KauśUp 1.5 *dakṣiṇottarayor dīrghe khatvāṅge anūcya-saṃjñe . . . pūrvapaścimayor hrasve khatvāpādādhāre śīrṣapādasthale śīrṣanye*.

⁸⁴ For the meaning of *proṣṭha*, see Hoffmann 1987: 134; ‘As an abstract noun *proṣṭha* can have the meaning “passing the night abroad” resp. as a concrete term “camp bed”.’

⁸⁵ The feet of the *rājāsandī* reach up to the navel of the sacrificer: *BaudhŚS* 6.10: 166.12-13, *ĀpŚS* 10.29.7, *BhārŚS* 10.20.8, *HirŚS* 7.3, *VaikhŚS* 12.21: 141.17-19, and *KātyŚS* 7.9.24. Cf. *MānŚS* 2.1.4.34 (up to the thigh). The height of the *samrādāsandī* follow the *rājāsandī*: *BaudhŚS* 6.10: 166.15-16, *ĀpŚS* 15.5.7, *BhārŚS* 11.5.7-8, *HirŚS* 24.2.4, and *VaikhŚS* 13.7: 260.5-6. Cf. *KātyŚS* 26.2.8 (up to the shoulder). In the *sautrāmaṇī* the chair is as high as the navel (*ĀpŚS* 19.9.10) or the knee (*KātyŚS* 19.4.7). The *ukhyāsandī* is a *prādeśa* in height: *BaudhŚS* 10.12: 11.14-12.1, *MānŚS* 6.1.4.3-5, *ĀpŚS* 16.10.16, *VārŚS* 2.1.4.4, and *KātyŚS* 16.5.5.

ily made in the course of development of coronation ceremonies. In the *rājasūya* of the *YV* the king's sitting on the throne takes place after the chariot drive, and coronations of the *AB* and other rituals of the *YV* containing references to sprinkling such as *agnicayana* are characterized by the sprinkling on the sacrificer who is already seated on a chair covered with an animal skin. Such a diversity in the use of the chair also can only be explained by assuming that a chair is introduced into each ceremony arbitrarily. It leads us to surmise that its adoption has been stimulated by a common cognition that the combination of *abhiṣeka* and the throne may bring prestige to the coronation ceremony.

3 *Abhiṣekas* of the Coronations in post-Vedic Rituals

In comparison with the Vedic rituals, especially with the Śrauta rituals in which rituals are treated more or less systematically, the rituals in the ancillary literature are, generally speaking, dealt with unsystematically and sporadically. To examine *abhiṣekas* of the ancillary literature extensively is, however, out of scope here. Instead I shall pay attention to the coronation rituals, because some characteristics of the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual are, as I have indicated in the preceding sections and will try to make clear in the following investigation, closely related to coronations. The combination of the *abhiṣeka* both with the chariot drive and the sitting on the throne, which characterize the coronations in the Śrauta rituals, share a similarity with the *pratiṣṭhā* rituals, although not all coronations of the ancillary literature contain such performances. There are, to be sure, some rituals which have only the act of sprinkling out of the ritual context of the coronations, but neither the chariot drive nor the sitting on the chair occurs there. For example, in the *tulāpuruṣavidhi* (the bestowing of gold or other substances of the same weight as that of the sacrificer on the priests), a king is sprinkled upon with water (*AVPŚ* 11.1.7-8), and in the *ghṛtakambala* (the bestowing of *ghṛta* and a cloth), a king is sprinkled upon with *ghṛta* (*AVPŚ* 33.6.4-12), but these rituals contain neither the chariot drive nor the sitting on the chair. The *abhiṣekas* of these post-Vedic rituals are rather to be considered as successors of the *abhiṣeka* in the Gṛhya rituals, which have come to be identified with the *snāna* (→2.3.2).

There is indeed a gulf between Vedic and post-Vedic literature. The *mantra* collection is not inherited in its totality in the new stage. Instead, the post-Vedic ritual takes over its *mantras* from the Vedic *mantra* tradition of its own accord, or codifies new *mantra* collections (Tsuji 1970:

21-22), formulating new *mantras* in the process. In addition to it, the newly developed elements of the post-Vedic ritual gain prominence, as can be seen from Einoo's first article in this volume. Moreover, some ritual acts cease to be performed. As regards coronations, all *abhiṣekas* of the coronation rituals in the ancillary literature lack an elaborate preparation of the unction fluids, surrounding a king with gold and silver plates, and the raising and lowering of arms, which means a simplification of the Śrauta *abhiṣekas*. It should not be forgotten, however, that some elements of the Vedic ritual can still be found in the post-Vedic ritual; e.g. the king's standing on the skin, sitting on the throne, and the chariot drive are observed in some of the post-Vedic coronations. I shall now describe the main features of *abhiṣekas* of the coronation rituals found in the ancillary literature and examine some of the Vedic elements that still remain in them.⁸⁶

3.1 The *Bodhāyanagr̥hyaśeṣasūtra*

The ritual of sprinkling in the *rājyābhiṣeka*, one of the two coronation rituals in the *BodhGŚS*, cannot be the same as that of the Śrauta rituals any longer; the sacrificer is not surrounded with gold and silver plates at the time of sprinkling, and he does not raise his arms ceremonially while being sprinkled upon. Moreover, *pañcagavya* or five milk products, typical requisites of the post-Vedic rituals,⁸⁷ are poured into the unction fluid in the preparatory act, which has not been observed in the Śrauta coronations. Similarly, the whole procedure of the *rājyābhiṣeka* differs from the Śrauta coronations. A *maṇḍala* which is made on the previous day (1.23.6) is to be elaborated in the Purāṇic coronation ritual of the *puṣya-snāna* prescribed in *BṛhatS*, 47.24-33 and *KālikāP*, 86.39-57. A crown (*makuṭa*) is washed (sūtra 8) and a *pratisara* is bound to the king (sūtra 10). Both the king and the chariot (*vāhana*) are sprinkled upon (sūtra 11), and this is a sort of preparation of the 'main' sprinkling that is to be performed the following day (sūtra 16). Such an optional insertion of subsidiary sprinkling performance before or after the main sprinkling is also found frequently in the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual of the ancillary literature. This can be explained as being a result of modification of the Śrauta *abhiṣeka*, or as a succession of the Gṛhya *abhiṣeka* in which the sprinkling predominates as a means of common ritual performances.

⁸⁶ For the medieval developments of the coronations, see Witzel 1987: 12-20.

⁸⁷ See Einoo's description in p. 106.

In spite of these differences between the Śrauta coronations and the *rājyābhiṣeka*, the *abhiṣeka* of the *rājyābhiṣeka* can be said to be a true successor of the Śrauta coronation rituals among the coronations of the ancillary literature. The essence of *abhiṣeka* can be summed up as follows (Kane II: 76-77 and Hikita 1997: 289-90):

1. Pouring rice (*vr̥hi*), barley (*yava*), sesame (*tila*) and beans (*māsa*), and *pañcagavya*, the water of the oceans and the river into the pitcher of gold (*hemakalaśa*) (1.23.6).
2. Sprinkling the fluids contained in the horn receptacles (*śṛṅgodaka*) on the king, who, facing the east, sits on the splendid seat (*bhadrāsana*)⁸⁸ covered with a tiger skin (*vyāghracarma*) (1.23.13-14).
3. Rubbing up the king's body (1.23.15).

In the *rājasūya* the horn was used not for sprinkling but only for the rubbing of the sacrificer's body.⁸⁹ The act of sitting on the chair covered with a tiger skin in the ritual of sprinkling is taken over from the acts of a newly developed type of unction, which has been apparent in the *abhiṣekas* of the *AB* (→2.1.3). Thus, the aspects of *abhiṣeka* underwent some changes. On the other hand, rubbing up the sacrificer's body, which is followed by crying out in a chorus, releasing his speech, and wiping his face, has an origin in the sprinkling ritual of the *BaudhGŚS*. Further, after the main *abhiṣeka*, a chariot drive, which is one of the ritual components in the sequence of the Śrauta coronations of the *YV*, takes place; 'Turning (the chariot) from left to right (*pradakṣiṇīkṛtya*), he maintains his own kingdom (*svarāṣṭra-*)' stated the worshipful *Bodhāyana* (1.23.20). Beating the drum (*duṇḍubhi*) before undertaking a tour (1.23.19) is found in the *mṛtyusava* and the *vājapeya*; the drum has a connection with the royal rite (Gonda 1980c: 322). Therefore, the main sequence of the Śrauta coronation rituals cannot be presumed to have been abolished in the post-Vedic times, including *abhiṣeka* itself.

Another coronation ritual of the *BodhGŚS*, namely, the *śatābhiṣeka*, is more simplified than the *rājyābhiṣeka* in that it does not refer to the rubbing up of the king's body after sprinkling, which has been characteristic in the *Baudhāyana* school. The essentials of the sprinkling are as follows:

⁸⁸ The name of the seat '*bhadrāsana*' is the same as that of the coronation in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 46.47.

⁸⁹ For other Gṛhya rituals employing the *śṛṅgodaka*, see *JaimGS* 2.5, *BhārGS* 2.27, *HirGS* 1.4.38, and *ĀśvGPS* 4.5. Einoo has pointed out that the word *śṛṅgodaka* of *BodhGŚS* 1.23.14 and *ĀśvGPS* 4.5 means the 'water flowing from the horns of cows' (Einoo 1994b: 25, n. 24)

1. Pouring of pure water (*śuddhodaka*) and nine jewels (*navaratna*)⁹⁰ into the main pitcher (*pradhānakalaśa*), which is later placed in the middle of a mound (*sthaṇḍila*), and covering of the pitcher with a new cloth (*ahata-vāsas*), being decorated with scented powder (*gandha*), flowers (*puṣpa*), scented smoke (*dhūpa*), and lights (*dīpa*) (1.24.3).
2. The king, possibly in standing posture, is sprinkled upon with fluid from the main pitcher by the royal officiant (*purohita*) (1.24.7).

The *abhiṣeka* of the *śatābhiṣeka* shows the characteristics of the post-Vedic rituals more clearly. In this context what is to be taken note of is the ritual care accorded the pitchers (*kalaśa*). They are decorated with such a ritualistic elaboration as if they themselves were deities.⁹¹ Such a treatment of pitchers to be used for *abhiṣeka* is found in the later coronation rituals in more developed forms (e.g. *BrhatS* 47.37-42, 51 and *KālikāP* 86.58-94, 105-7).

The lack of reference to the king sitting on the throne during the sprinkling ritual is to be regarded as a result of simplification rather than as an adherence to the orthodox style of sprinkling in the Baudhāyana school, though, after *abhiṣeka*, the king indeed sits down, but only on *erakā* grass to hand over the vessels to the priest. On the other hand, a chariot drive, which is an essential component of the Vedic coronation, is executed (1.24.10) after the sprinkling; he drives the chariot around his dominion (*grāma*) from left to right while a drum is beaten.

3.2 The Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa

The AV school mentions four coronation rituals, three of which — the *laghvabhiṣeka* and *mahābhiṣeka* of the *KauśS* and the *rājasūya* of the *VaitS* — have already been discussed (→2.1.4). The fourth coronation ritual is the *puṣyābhiṣeka* described in the *AVPŚ*.⁹² Its main features are:

1. Pouring waters brought from the four oceans and a hundred rivers, and various herbs (*sahā*, *sahadevī*, etc.) into a hundred or a thousand pitchers (*kalaśa*) made of gold (*sauvarṇa*), silver (*rājata*), copper (*tāmra*), or clay (*pārthiva*) (5.1.2-5.2.2), which are later decorated with gold (*hema*), jewels (*ratna*), grasses (*oṣadhi*), leaves of *bilva*,

⁹⁰ For *navaratna*, see *ĀśvGPS* 2.3.

⁹¹ Cf. Buitenen 1968: 9-12. Besides coronations, there are some passages referring to the decoration of pitchers, e.g. *BodhGŚS* 5.3.2-5 and *ĀśvGPS* 1.22, 4.8. See especially *BodhGŚS* 2.15.2-10, 21.2-10 and *HirGŚS* 1.7.15, 17 dealing with the *kalaśasthāpana*.

⁹² For an outline of the *puṣyābhiṣeka*, see Hikita 1997: 327-28 and Modak 1993: 237.

flowers (*puṣpa*), and perfume (*gandha*), and are covered with a white cloth (*sita-vastra*) (5.2.3-4).

2. Sprinkling on the king who takes a standing posture, to the accompaniment of musical instruments (5.4.3).

The ritualistic care of the sprinkling water contained in the pitchers is a post-Vedic tendency as pointed out earlier in connection with the *śatābhiṣeka*. Although the sacrificer taking an upright posture at the time of sprinkling and his mounting a throne after *abhiṣeka* can be regarded as successor to the *laghvabhiṣeka* of the *KauśS* (17.2-3), the outer appearances nevertheless differ very much from those of the *laghvabhiṣeka* and the Śrauta coronations; around the throne (*siṃhāsana* or *pādapīṭha*), on which the king sits immediately after the sprinkling (5.4.4) and salutes the officers, women, etc. (5.5.1-4), the skins of a bull (*anaḍuh*), a tiger (*vyāghra*), a lion (*siṃha*), and a deer (*mrga*) are spread (5.3.1). Moreover, the throne is surrounded by the tail of a yak (*cāmara*), an umbrella (*chatra*), guards (*pratihāra*), and four elephants on heat (*mattadvipa*) in four directions (5.4.4-5). The chariot drive is not undertaken. Thus, these features show a rather close resemblance to the Purāṇic bathing of the *puṣyasnānas*; for example, the diversity of the animal skins used for the floor covering are taken over to the coronations of *BṛhatS* 47.43-44 and *KālikāP* 86.100. The chariot drive is not performed there, either.

The Purāṇic *puṣyasnānas*⁹³ have main ritual units as follows:⁹⁴

1. Preparatory rituals on the previous day — a *pūjā* and a divination by means of dreams (*BṛhatS* 47.18-22, *KālikāP* 86.11-37).
2. Setting up of a *maṇḍala* (*BṛhatS* 47.24-33, *KālikāP* 86.39-57).
3. Preparation of the unction fluid — setting the pitchers, putting ingredients to them (*BṛhatS* 47.37-42, *KālikāP* 86.58-94⁹⁵).
4. Setting up of the throne and the king mounting it (*BṛhatS* 47.43-49, *KālikāP* 86.94-103).
5. Preparatory rituals of the sprinkling ceremony — the king putting on a black cloth, etc (*BṛhatS* 47.50-53, *KālikāP* 86.104-7).
6. Sprinkling (*BṛhatS* 47.54-72, *KālikāP* 86.109-29).⁹⁶

⁹³ For a detailed account of the *puṣyasnāna*, see Gonda 1965a: 395-97, 1966: 93-96, and Kane V: 792-98.

⁹⁴ For the other materials of the Purāṇic *puṣyasnāna*, see *Yogayātrā* 7.13-21, *ViṣṇudhP* 2.103, *DevīP* 65.12-67.79, and *SkandaP* 2,2,41.

⁹⁵ The *KālikāP* prescribes the ritual decoration and worship of the pitchers.

⁹⁶ A new type of *abhiṣeka*, that is, ablution with various kinds of clay (*mṛttikā-snāna*), which has already been referred to in the post-Vedic texts (*BodhGŚS* 5.4; *HirGŚS* 1.2.8 and *AVPŚ* 1.43-44), is taken over into other Purāṇic coronations (*ViṣṇudhP* 21 and *AgniP* 218). See Hikita 1997: 290-91, 328 and 336-37.

7. The rituals after the sprinkling ceremony — the king's salute to gods and his teacher, bestowing of rewards, etc. (*BṛhatS* 47.73-81,⁹⁷ *KālikāP* 86.130-36).

The Purāṇic *puṣyasnānas* prescribed in the *BṛhatS* and the *KālikāP* have such a common procedure of the performances that we can arrange them in a table given just above, while the coronations of the ancillary literature vary so much that it is hardly possible to make a synopsis of them. However, as indicated earlier in this section, some essential performances of the coronations in the ancillary literature are taken over to the Purāṇic *puṣyasnāna*.⁹⁸

3.3 The Vidhāna Texts

There are some minor differences between the *abhiṣeka* of the *Ṛgvidhāna* and that of the *Sāmavidh* in the kinds of ingredients used for the preparing the unction fluids and in the manner of sprinkling. However, the essentials of *abhiṣeka*, namely, the ingredients of the plants and the sitting on the throne during the sprinkling ceremony, are not different from the coronations of the *AB*. The details of the *abhiṣeka* in the *Ṛgvidh* is as follows:

1. Uction fluids consist of fine essence of all plants (*ślakṣṇa-sarvauṣa-dhirasa*) and the water of rivers (*nadīnām salila*) (4.21.3).
2. Sprinkling upon the sacrificer who seats himself on the throne (*āsandī*) that is covered with a tiger skin (*vyāghracarman*) (4.21.4); he is sprinkled upon three times (4.22.1).

The *abhiṣeka* of the *Sāmavidh* is as follows:⁹⁹

1. Uction fluids consist of rice and barley (*vrīhi-yava*), sesame and beans (*tila-māsa*), curd and honey (*dadhi-madhu*), the water from a splendid (*yaśasvinī*) rivers and the sea (3.5.1).

⁹⁷ The *BṛhatS* prescribes that the king, wearing the clothes and ornaments after the sprinkling, should sit on a second *vedi* covered with skins of a bull, a cat, a deer, a spotted antelope, a lion, and a tiger (47.76).

⁹⁸ An appendix to the coronations of the *KauśS*, namely, the *AVPŚ* 3 (*rājaprathamābhiṣeka*), prescribes some requisites, which show a new tendency common to the *puṣyābhiṣeka* of the *AVPŚ*; the throne of lion (*siṃhāsana*), a tail of a yak, umbrellas, and flags (*dhvaja*) (*AVPŚ* 3.3).

⁹⁹ For a detailed account, see Kane II: 76.

2. Sprinkling upon the sacrificer who sits on the throne (*bhadrāsana*) that is covered with a tiger skin (*vaiyāghra-carman*), with the fluids contained in a horn-receptacle (*śṛṅgakośa*)¹⁰⁰ (*ibid.*).

In contrast to the coronations of the *puṣyābhiṣeka* and the *puṣyasnāna* described above, the whole procedure of *abhiṣeka* in the Vidhāna literature is very simple; the coronations end with the priest's address to the king with a *mantra* after the sprinkling is over (*Rgvidh* 4.22.4), or by the king's bestowal of rewards on the officiants (*abhiṣektr*, *Sāmavidh* 3.5.3).

4 Summary and Conclusion

Abhiṣeka has functioned as a ritual to bestow some powers and qualifications by the sprinkling of fluids on the sacrificer. This ritual has developed or varied in two phases, namely, in the sphere of the interpretations of ritual and in the ritual practices. In the sphere of the interpretation, the original meaning of *abhiṣeka* of bestowing a cosmic power *vārcas* as evidenced in the *AV* has been modified, along with the developments of the kingship ritual, into one of the essential acts bestowing more diverse powers on the sacrificer as can be seen from the details of the *rājasūya*. The interpretation of *abhiṣeka* as bestowing food has been based on the introduction of *abhiṣeka* in the *vājapeya* and other kingship rituals, in which *abhiṣeka* is performed with the remnants of the *vājaprasavīya* oblations. In the symbolic interpretation of *agnicayana* the idea of *abhiṣeka* is applied to the interpretation of the offering on the *agni* altar, and such a modification to the meaning of *abhiṣeka* would have been possible only due to the fact that the *agni* altar was regarded as a god-like image (*śyena*) or as a man-like one (*puruṣa* or *Prajāpati*).¹⁰¹ This interpretation of *abhiṣeka* offers one of the basic ideas of the sprinkling upon an image of god in the *pratiṣṭhā* rituals.

In the second phase of the ritual procedures, *abhiṣeka* has developed in the Śrauta ritual; it constitutes one of the main ritual units in the Śrauta coronations and the *savas*, while, as a subsidiary unit, it was again put into other major sacrifices like the *vājapeya* and *agnicayana*. On the other hand, the *abhiṣeka* of the Gṛhya rituals, which has been derived from such popular ritual as the ones reflected in the *AV*, was not dealt with as an

¹⁰⁰ *Śṛṅgakośa* is the same as *śṛṅgodaka* which is used for sprinkling in the *rājyābhiṣeka* of the *BodhGŚS*. See above n. 89.

¹⁰¹ For the two traditions of the interpretation on the *agnicayana*, see Oldenberg 1917a: 9-16, (=Kleine Schriften pp. 327-34)

independent ritual form, and it was mingled with a form of the ritual bath (*snāna*). These various features of *abhiṣeka* can be observed in the post-Vedic literature. The authentic forms of *abhiṣeka* in the Śrauta coronations have also come to be accepted in the coronations of the post-Vedic and the Purāṇic rituals. The tradition of *abhiṣeka* has thus undergone a great change in its appearance on account of the new post-Vedic requisites, such as the employment of the various sorts of animal skins on the throne, the deification of the pitcher, and the use of the *pañcagavya*. At the same time, however, the significant elements of the post-Vedic coronations are traced to the Śrauta coronations as examined earlier. It is also evident that some essential sequence of the Śrauta coronation, namely, the *abhiṣeka* itself — the enthronement — the chariot drive, constitutes one of the origin of the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual.

Bibliography

Note: Cross references in this book are indicated by the contributor's name followed by the chapter number in bracket, with page number or section number, e.g. Einoo [1] (p. 13) or Mori [6] 2.3.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ABORI* : *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Poona)
ALS : The Adyar Library Series (Adyar)
ĀSS : Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona)
BEFEO : *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* (Paris)
BI : Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta)
DRT : Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae ('s-Gravenhage / The Hague)
GOS : Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda)
HOS : Harvard Oriental Series (Cambridge, Mass.)
IJJ : *Indo-Iranian Journal* (The Hague / Dortrecht)
JA : *Journal Asiatique* (Paris)
JAOS : *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Baltimore)
JJASAS : *Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies* (Tokyo)
KSS : The Kashi Sanskrit Series (Benares)
KSTS : The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (Srinagar)
PIFI : Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie (Pondichéry)
SBE : The Sacred Books of the East (Oxford)
StII : *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* (Reinbek)
TSS : Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (Trivandrum)
WZKS : *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* (Wien)
ZDMG : *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)

I. ORIGINAL TEXTS

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- Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* : *Kriyāsamuccaya*, edited by Lokesh Chandra, Vol. 237 of Śata-piṭaka Series (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1977).
- AdB* : ‘*Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa*’, in *SB* 5. See also Weber 1859.
- ĀgnGS* : *Āgniveśyagr̥hyasūtra*, edited by L.A. Ravi Varma, no. CXLIV in TSS (Trivandrum: University of Travancore, 1940).
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- ĀśvGPA* : 'Āśvalāyanagrhyaparīṣṭa', see Aithal.
- ĀśvGPS* : *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtram*, edited by Vinayak Ganesh Apte, no. 105 in *ĀSS* (Poona: Anandashrama Press, 1936).
- ĀśvGS* : *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtram with Sanskrit Commentary of Nārāyaṇa*, English translation, introduction and index by Narendra Nath Sharma (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1976).
- AV* : *Atharva Veda Sanhita*, Herausgegeben von R. Roth und W.D. Whitney, repr. Bonn: Ferd. Dümmlers Verlag, 1966 (Berlin, 1924).
- AVP* : *The Paippalāda-saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda*, edited by D. Bhattacharya (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1997).
- AVPŚ* : *The Parīṣṭas of the Atharvaveda*, edited by G.M. Bolling and J. von Negelein, Parts I and II (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1909 and 1910).
- AVŚ* : 'Śaunakasamhitā of the Atharvaveda', see *AV*.
- BaudhDhS* : *Das Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, Zweite, verbesserte Auflage, by E. Hultsch, no. 16 in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1922).
- : *The Baudhāyanadharmasūtra, with the Vivaraṇa commentary by Śrī Govinda Svāmī and critical notes by A. Chinnaswāmī Śāstrī*, edited with Hindi translation introduction & index by Umeśa Chandra Pāṇḍeya, no. 104 in *KSS* (Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1972).
- BaudhŚS* : *The Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra belonging to the Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, 3 vols. (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1904-24).
- BhāgavataP* : *The Bhāgavatamahāpurāṇam*, 3 vols. (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1987).
- BhārGS* : *Bhāradvājagrhyasūtram : The domestic ritual according to the school of Bhāradvāja*, critically edited Sanskrit text with an introduction and list of words by Henriette J.W. Salomons, repr. New Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas Publications, 1981 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1913).
- BhārŚS* : *The Śrauta, Paitṛmedhika and Parīśeṣa Sūtras of Bharadvāja*, critically edited and translated by C.G. Kashikar, Part I, Text (Poona: Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, 1964).
- BhaviṣyaP* : *The Bhaviṣyamahāpurāṇam*, 2 vols. (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1984).
- BodhGPbhS* : 'Bodhāyanagrhyaparibhāṣāsūtra', in *BodhGS*, 3rd. edn., pp. 128-86.

- BodhGS* : *Bodhāyanagr̥hyasūtram of Bodhāyanamahar̥ṣi*, edited by L. Srinivasachar and R. Shama Sastri, repr. no. 3 in Panini Vaidika Granthamala, New Delhi, Meharchand Lachhmandas, 1982, 3rd. edn., Oriental Research Institute Series no. 141, 1983 (Mysore: Oriental Research Institute, 1920).
- BodhGŚS* : ‘*Bodhāyanagr̥hyaśeṣasūtra*’, in *BodhGS*, 3rd. edn., pp. 187-400.
- BrahmāṇḍaP* : *The Brahmāṇḍa-Mahāpurāṇam with English Introduction, Verse-Index and Textual Correction by K.V. Sarma* (Varanasi: Krishnadas Academy, 1983).
- BrahmaP* : *Sanskrit Indices and Text of the Brahmapurāṇa by Peter Schreiner and Renate Söhnen*, Purāṇa Research Publications, Vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987).
- BrahmavaivartaP* : *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa* (With Introduction in Sanskrit and English in Part I and an Alphabetical Index of Verses in Part II), edited by J.L. Shastri, 2 Parts (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984-85).
- BṛhaddharmaP* : *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇam*, edited by Haraprasad Shastri, no. 18 in Krishnadas Sanskrit Series (Varanasi: Krishnadas Academy, 1974).
- BṛhatS* : *The Bṛihat Saṃhitā by Varāhamihira with the Commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala*, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Sudharaka Dvivedi, Parts I and II (Benares: E.J. Lazarus & Co., 1895, 1897).
- : *Varāhamihira’s Bṛhat Saṃhitā with English Translation, Exhaustive Notes and Literary Comments*, by M. Ramakrishna Bhat (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1982).
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- ChāndogyaU* : ‘*Chāndogyopaniṣat*’, see *Upaniṣatsaṃgraha*.
- CII* : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. 4, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, ed. by V.V. Mirashi, 2 Parts (Ootacamund: Government Epigraphist for India, 1955).
- DevībhāgavataP* : *The Devībhāgavatapurāṇam* (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1986).
- DevīP* : *Devī Purāṇam* (First Critical Devanāgarī Edition), Pushpendra Kumar Sharma (New Delhi: Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, 1976).

- Dharmaśāstrasamgraha* : *Dharmaśāstrasamgraha*, 2 vols., edited by Pandit Jīvananda Vidyāsāgara (Calcutta, 1876).
- GarudaP* : *The Garuda Mahāpurāṇam* (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1984).
- GautDhS* (*Gautamadharmasūtra*) : *The Institutes of Gautama*, edited with an index of words by Adolf Friedrich Stenzler (London: Trübner & Co., 1876).
- GB* : *Das Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, herausgegeben von Dieuke Gaastra (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1919).
- GobhGS* : *Gobhilagr̥hyasūtram with Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa's commentary*, critically edited from original manuscripts with notes and indices by Chintamani Bhattacharya, repr. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1982 (Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House, 1936).
- Gopathabrāhmaṇa* : *Das Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, herausgegeben von Dieuke Gaastra (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1919).
- GSP* : 'Das *Gṛhyasamgrahapariśiṣṭa* des Gobhilaputra von Dr. M. Bloomfield', *ZDMG*, Vol. 35, 533-87 (1881).
- Guhyasamājatantra* : *The Guhyasamāja Tantra, A New Critical Edition*, edited by Y. Matsunaga (Osaka: Toho Shuppan, 1978).
- Harivaṃśa* : *The Harivaṃśa, being the Khila or supplement to the Mahābhārata*, critically edited by Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969-71).
- HirGS* : *The Gṛhyasūtra of Hiranyakeśin, with extracts from the commentary of Māṭṛidatta*, edited by J. Kirste (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1889).
- : 'Hiranyakeśigṛhyasūtra', Vol. 8 of *SatyŚS* (1929).
- HirGŚS* : 'Hiranyakeśigṛhyasūtra', in Vol. 8 of *SatyŚS* (1929), pp. 1-126 (new numbering after p. 654).
- HirŚS* : 'Hiranyakeśisrautasūtra', Vols. 1-7 of *SatyŚS* (1907-28).
- ĪśvaraS* : *Īśvara Saṃhitā*, edited by P.B. Anantācārya, Śāstramuktāvali Series (Kanchipuram, 1923).
- JaimGS* : *The Jaiminigṛhyasūtra belonging to the Sāmaveda with Extracts from the Commentary edited with an Introduction and translated for the first time into English by Dr. W. Caland* (Lahore: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1922).
- Jalāśayotsargapaddhati* : *Jalāśayotsargapaddhatiḥ, Harśanāthajhāśarmaṇā racitā, Gaṅgānāthajhāśarmaṇā saṃskṛtā* (Darbhanga, 1927).
- Jayākhyas* : *Jayākhyasamhitā of Pāñcarātra Āgama*, critically edited by Embar Krishnamacharya, no. 54 in *GOS*, 2nd edn., 1967 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931).

- JB* : *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda*, edited by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, 2nd revd. edn., Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1986 (Nagpur, 1954).
- KālikāP* : *The Kālikāpurāṇa* (text, introduction & translation in English), by B.N. Shastri, 3 Parts (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1991).
- KapS* : *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-samhitā, a text of the Black Yajurveda*, critically edited for the first time by Raghu Vira (Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas, 1968).
- KarPd* : *Der Karmaṇradīpa*, I. Prapāṭhaka mit Auszügen aus dem Kommentare des Āśārka, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Friedrich Schrader, *Der Karmaṇradīpa*, II. Prapāṭhaka, Alexander Freiherrn von Stael-Holstein (Halle a. S.: Buchdruckerei des Waisenhauses, 1900).
- KaṭhaU* : 'Kaṭhopaniṣat', see *Upaniṣatsaṅgraha*.
- KāṭhGS* : *The Kāṭhakagrhyasūtra with Extracts from three Commentaries, an Appendix and Indexes, edited for the first Time by Dr. Willem Caland* (Lahore: The Research Department, D.A.V. College, 1925).
- KātyŚS* : *The Śrautasūtra of Kātyāyana with Extracts from the Commentaries of Karka and Yājñikadeva*, edited by A. Weber (Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1972).
- KauṣB* : *Das Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa*, I. Text, edited by B. Lindner (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1887).
- KauṣGS* : *The Kauṣītaka Grhyasūtras, with the Commentary of Bhavatrāta*, edited by T.R. Chintamani (New Delhi: Panini, 1982).
- Kauśikapaddhati* : *Keśava's Kauśikapaddhati on the Kauśikasūtra of the Atharvaveda*, critically edited by V.P. Limaye, R.N. Dandekar, C.G. Kashikar, V.V. Bhide, S.S. Bahulkar (Pune: Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, 1982).
- KauśS* : *The Kauśika Sūtra of Atharva Veda, with Extracts from the Commentaries of Dārila and Keśava*, edited by M. Bloomfield, repr. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972).
- KauṣU* : *The Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa-upaniṣad, with the 'Dīpikā' Commentary of Śankarānanda*, edited with an English translation by E.B. Cowell, no. 64 in Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1968).
- KauthGS* : *Kauthuma-grhya*, edited by Sūryakānta (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1956).

- Kauṭilya* : *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Part I, *A Critical Edition with a Glossary*, by R.P. Kangle, 2nd edn., repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986, 1988 (Bombay: Bombay University, 1969).
- KhādGS* : ‘*Khādiragrhyasūtra*’, text is given as footnotes in Oldenberg 1886: 374-435.
- Kiraṇa* : *Kiraṇāgama* (Devakottai: Śivāgamasiddhāntaparipālanasaṅgha, 1932).
- KS* : *Kāṭhaka, Die Saṃhitā der Kāṭha-Śākhā*, herausgegeben von L. von Schroeder, 3 Bücher, repr. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1970, 1971, 1972 (Leipzig: E.A. Brockhaus, 1900, 1909, 1910).
- KSA* : ‘*Kāṭhakasaṃhitā Aśvamedhagrantha*’, see *KS*.
- LakṣmīT* : *Lakṣmī-tantra, A Pāñcarātra Āgama*, edited by V. Krishnamacharya, Vol. 87 of ALS (Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1959).
- LātyŚS* : *Lātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, critically edited and translated by H.G. Ranade, nos. 27-29 in *Kālamūlaśāstra-Granthamālā* (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre and Motilal Banarsidass, 1998).
- LaugGS* : *The Laugākshi-grhya-sūtra, with the bhāṣyam of Devapāla*, edited by M.K. Shāstrī, nos. 49, 55 in *KSTS* (Srinagar, 1928).
- LiṅgaP* : *Liṅga Purāna of Sage Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa with Sanskrit Commentary Śivatoṣiṇī of Gaṇeśa Nātu*, edited by J.L. Shastri (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980).
- MaitriU* : *The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad, A Critical Essay, with Text, Translation and Commentary*, by J.A.B. van Buitenen, Vol. 6 of *DRT* (s-Gravenhage: Mouton and Co., 1962).
- MānGS* : *Das Mānava-grhya-sūtra, nebst Commentar in kurzer Fassung*, edited by F. Knauer (St. Petersburg, 1897).
- : *Mānavagrhyasūtra of the Maitrāyaṇīya Śākhā, with the Commentary of Aṣṭāvakra*, edited with an introduction, indexes, etc., by Ramakrishna Harshaji Sastri (New Delhi: Panini, 1980).
- MānŚS* : *The Mānava Śrautasūtra belonging to the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, edited by Jeannette M. van Gelder (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1961).
- ManuSm* : *Manusmṛti with the Sanskrit Commentary Manvarthamuktāvali of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa*, edited by J.L. Shastri (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983).
- MārkaṇḍeyaP* : *The Mārkaṇḍeyamahāpurāṇam* (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1984).

- Mataṅga* : *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama (Kriyāpāda, Yogapāda et Caryāpāda)*, avec le commentaire de Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṅṭha, édité par N.R. Bhatt, no. 65 in Publications du Département d'Indologie (Pondichéry, 1982).
- MatsyaP* : *The Matsyamahāpurāṇam*, text in Devanagari, translation and notes in English, 2 vols. (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1983).
- Mayamata* : *Mayamata, Traité sanskrit d'architecture*, Première Partie: Ch. I à XXV, Édition critique, traduction et notes par Bruno Dagens, no. 40.1 in PIFI (Pondichéry: Institut français d'Indologie, 1970).
- MBh* : *The Mahābhārata*, Poona Critical Edition (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933-67).
- MNU* : *La Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, édition critique avec une traduction française*, par J. Varenne (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1960).
- Mṛgendra* : *Mṛgendrāgama, Kriyāpāda et Caryāpāda*, édition critique par N.R. Bhatt, no. 23 in PIFI (Pondichéry, 1962).
- MS* : *Maitrāyanī Saṃhitā, Die Saṃhitā der Maitrāyaṇīya-Śākhā*, herausgegeben von L. von Schroeder, 4 Bücher, repr. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1970, 1971, 1972 (Leipzig: E.A. Brockhaus, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1886).
- MuṇḍakaU* : 'Muṇḍakopaniṣat', see *Upaniṣatsaṃgraha*.
- NāradaP* : *The Nārādīyamahāpurāṇam* (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1984).
- NārādīyaS* : *Nārādīya Saṃhitā*, edited by R.P. Chaudary, no. 15 in Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series (Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1971).
- NarasimhaP* (= *NṛsimhaP*) : *The Narasiṃhapurāṇam* (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1987).
- Nīlamata* : *Nīlamata or Teachings of Nīla*, Sanskrit text with critical notes edited by K. de Vreese (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1936).
- PadmaP* : *The Padmamahāpurāṇam* (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1984, 1985).
- Pañcārthabhāṣya* : *Pāśupata Sūtra with Pañcārthabhāṣya of Kaundīnya*, edited by R. Ananthakrishna Sastri, Vol. 143 of TSS (Travancore, 1940).
- PārameśvaraS* : *Śrī pārameśvara Saṃhitā*, edited by Sri U.Ve. Govindacharya (Srirangam, 1953).
- PārGS* : *Grihya-Sūtra by Paraskar with five Commentaries of Karka Upādhyāya, Jayarām, Harihar Gadādhara and Vishvanāth*, edited by Mahādeva Gangādhara Bākre, repr. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1982 (Bombay: Gujarati Printing Press, 1917).
- PārGSPŚ* : 'Pāraskaragryhasūtrapariśiṣṭa', in *PārGS*, pp. 404-548.

- ParSm* : *Parāśara-Smṛti, Parāśara Mādhava*, 3 vols., with the gloss by Madhavacharyya, edited with notes by Chandrakanta Tarkalankara (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1973, 1974).
- PB* (*Pañca-viṃśa-brāhmaṇa*) : *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa, belonging to The Sāma Veda, with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya*, edited with notes, introduction, etc., by A. Ch. Śāstrī and P. Śāstrī, in 2 vols., no. 105 in KSS, repr. Caukhambha Saṃskṛta Saṃsthāna, 1987 (Benares: Gupta, 1935-36).
- Raurava* : *Rauravāgama*, edited by N.R. Bhatta, 2 vols., no. 18 in Publications de l'Institut français d'Indologie (Pondichéry, 1961, 1972).
- Ṛgvedakhila* : *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*, by Isidor Scheftelowitz, repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966 (Breslau: M. & H. Marcus, 1906).
- Ṛgvidh* : *Ṛgvidhānam, Edidit cum Praefatione, Rudolf Meyer*, see also Bhat 1987 (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1878).
- RV* : *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, herausgegeben von Th. Aufrecht, Erster Teil, Maṇḍala I-VI, 1861 = Indische Studien VI; Zweiter Teil, Maṇḍala VII-X, repr. 1973, Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1861, 1863).
- : *Rig Veda, a metrically restored text with an introduction and notes*, edited by B.A. van Nooten and G.B. Holland, Vol. 50 of HOS (Cambridge, Mass., 1994).
- Sādhanamālā* : *Sādhanamālā*, edited by B. Bhattacharyya, Vols. 26, 41 of GOS (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1968).
- Sāmavidh* : *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa with Vedārthaprakāśa of Sāyaṇa and Padārthamātravṛtti of Bharatasvāmin*, critically edited by B.R. Sharma (Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1964).
- SāmbaP* : *Sāmbapurāṇam (Upapurāṇam)*, edited by Shrīkriṣṇamaṇī Tripāthī (Varanasi: Krishnadas Academy, 1983).
- ŚāṅkhGS* : 'Das Čāṅkhāyanagrihyam, edited by H. Oldenberg', *Indische Studien*, Vol. 15, 1-166 (1878).
- ŚāṅkhŚS* : *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtram, together with the commentary of Varadattasuta Ānartīya and Govinda*, edited by A. Hillebrandt, Vol. 99 of BI, repr. New Delhi, Meharchand Lachhmandas Publications, 1981 (Calcutta, 1888-99).
- ŚāntiK* : "The Śāntikalpa of the Atharvaveda", *JAOS*, Vol. 33, 265-78 (1913), by G.M. Bolling.

- SātvataS* : *Sātvata-saṃhitā: Alaśiṅgabhaṭṭaviracitabhāṣyopeta, Gaurī-nāthaśāstriviracita-prastāvanayā samalaṃkṛta*, by Vajravallabhadviveda (Varanasi: Sampurnananda Sanskrit University, 1982).
- SatyŚS* : *Satyāśādhaviracitaṃ Śrautasūtram*, no. 53 in ĀSS (Poona: Anandashrama Press, 1907-29).
- SauraP* : *The Saura Purāṇa by Śrīmat Vyāsa*, edited by Pandit Kāśinātha Śāstri Lele, Vol. 18 of ĀSS (Poona: Anandashrama Press, 1889).
- ŚB* : *The Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, in the Mādhyandina-Çākhā with extracts from the commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Harisvāmin and Dvivedaganga*, edited by A. Weber, repr. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series 96, 1964 (Berlin/London, 1855).
- ŚB* : *Ṣadviṃśabrāhmaṇam Viñāpanabhāṣyasahitam. Het Ṣadviṃśabrāhmaṇa van de Sāmaveda uitgegeven met een Inleiding door F. Eelsingh* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1908).
- Sekoddeśa* : *Sekoddeśa: A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation with an Appendix by Raniero Gnoli on the Sanskrit Text*, edited by G. Orofino (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1994).
- Siddhāntasārāvali* : ‘*Siddhāntasārāvaliḥ* by Trilocanaśivācārya with the Commentary of Anantaśivācārya, edited by A.A. Ramanathan and T.H. Viswanathan’, *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Vols. 17-20 (1965-72), (in 7 parts: 17. 1-2, 18. 1-2, 19. 1-2, 20. 2).
- Śivadṛṣṭi* : *Śivadṛṣṭi of Somānandapāda, with the Vṛtti by Utpaladeva, with notes by Madhu Sūdan Kaul*, no. 54 in KSTS (Srinagar, 1934).
- ŚivaP* : *The Śivamahāpurāṇam*, 2 parts (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1986).
- Śivapūjāstava* : *Śivapūjāstavah, savyākhyah Jñānaśambhuśivācāryapraṇītaḥ* (Devakoṭṭai: Śivāgamasanḥa, 1935).
- SkandaP* : *The Skanda Mahāpurāṇam*, 8 vols. (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1984).
- SP* : *Somaśambhupaddhati, traduction, introduction et notes par Hélène Brunner-Lachaux*, no. 25.1-4 in PIFI (Pondichéry: Institut français d’Indologie, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1998).
- SV* : *Sāmavedārcikam, Die Hymnen des Sāma-Veda*, herausgegeben von Theodor Benfey (Leipzig, 1848).
- Svāyambhuva* : *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgrahaḥ*, edited by Veṃkaṭasubrahmaṇyaśāstrī (Mysore, 1937).
- Śvetāśvatarau* : ‘*Śvetāśvataropaniṣat*’, see *Upaniṣatsaṅgraha*.
- TĀ* : *Kṛṣṇayajurvedīyaṃ Taittirīyāranyakam*, no. 36 in ĀSS, 3rd edn. (Poona: Anandashrama Press, 1937, 1939).

- Tantrāloka* : *The Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with commentary by Rājānaka Jayaratha*, edited with notes by Paṇḍit Madhusūdan Kaul Shāstrī, nos. 23, 28, 30, 36, 35, 29, 41, 47, 59, 52, 57, 58 in KSTS (Srinagar: The Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1918-38).
- TB* : *The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra*, edited by A. Mahadeva Sastri, no. 36 in Bibliotheca Sanskrita, repr. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1985 (Mysore, 1911-21).
- : *Kṛṣṇayajurvedīyaṃ Taittirīyabrāhmaṇam*, 3 vols., no. 37 in ĀSS, 3rd edn. (Poona: Anandashrama Press, 1979).
- TS* : *Die Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, 2 Bde., edited by A. Weber, Indische Studien, 11, 12, repr. Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1973 (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1871-72).
- Upaniṣatsaṅgraha* : *Upaniṣatsaṅgrahaḥ, Containing 188 upaniṣads*, edited with Sanskrit Introduction by Prof. J.L. Shastri (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1970).
- VĀ* : *Vajrāvalī: A Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal Containing the Ritual and Delineation of Maṇḍalas*, by Lokesh Chandra, Vol. 239 of Śata-piṭaka Series (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1977).
- VādhSm* : *Kommentierte deutsche Erstübersetzung der Vādhūlasmr̥ti*. Dem Fachbereich II (Außer-europäische Sprachen und Kultur) der Philipps-Universität Marburg als schriftliche Hausarbeit zur Magister-Prüfung im Fach Indische Philologie eingereicht von Ani Mull aus Stuttgart, 18 Dezember (Marburg/Lahn, 1988).
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