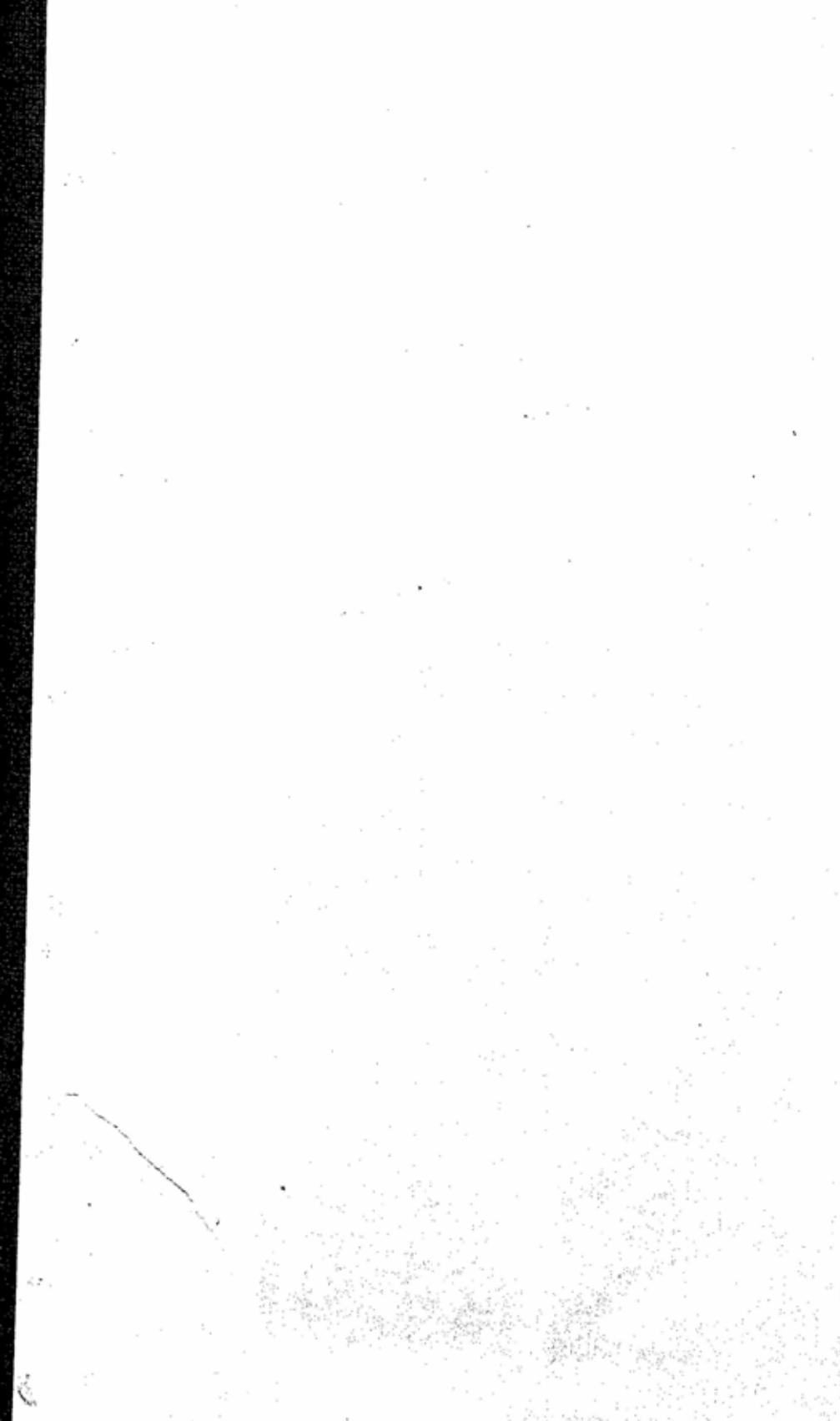


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BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL SERIES NO. 8

THE
RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY
OF THE
ATHARVAVEDA

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BY

Dr. N. J. SHENDE, M. A., Ph. D.

ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE, BOMBAY



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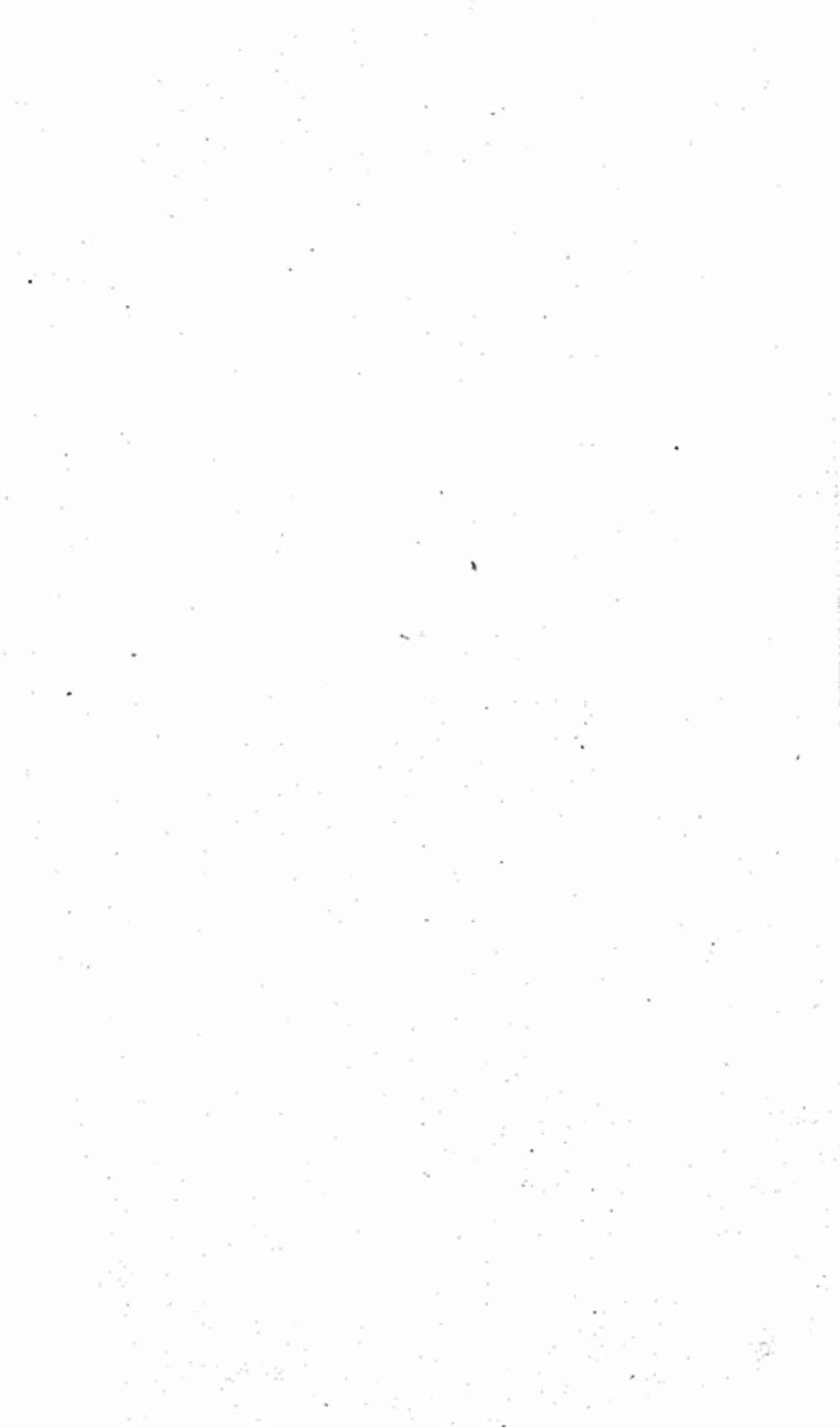
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P R E F A C E



The Atharvaṇic Literature has engaged my attention since 1937, when I was studying the problem of the authorship of the Mahābhārata. Therein I was struck by the unorthodox tendencies of the members of the family of the Bhṛgvāṅgirases, the authors or the editors of the AV. who stand quite apart from other orthodox priestly families. My aim in the present work is to present these unorthodox tendencies, reflected in the theory and practice of the Atharvaṇic Religion, and warranted by the actual Atharvaṇic Texts, viz., the Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Kauśikasūtra. The mythology of the AV. has been treated in my other work, the *Foundations of the Atharvaṇic Religion*. The philosophy of the AV. is based on the conceptions of the Brahman and Ātman of the Atharvaṇic thinkers. They have substantially contributed to the Upaniṣadic thought. I have attempted to throw new light on the problem of the late Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads.

The tenth chapter of this work was published in the *Prācya-vāṇī*, Calcutta in 1944. The ninth chapter was published in 1949 in the *Karmarkar Commemoration Volume*, Poona. The eighth chapter was published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay* in 1949. I take this opportunity to thank the authorities of the Bombay University and the publishers of the Karmarkar Volume, for having permitted me to re-publish the above papers.

I must thank the authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for publishing this work.

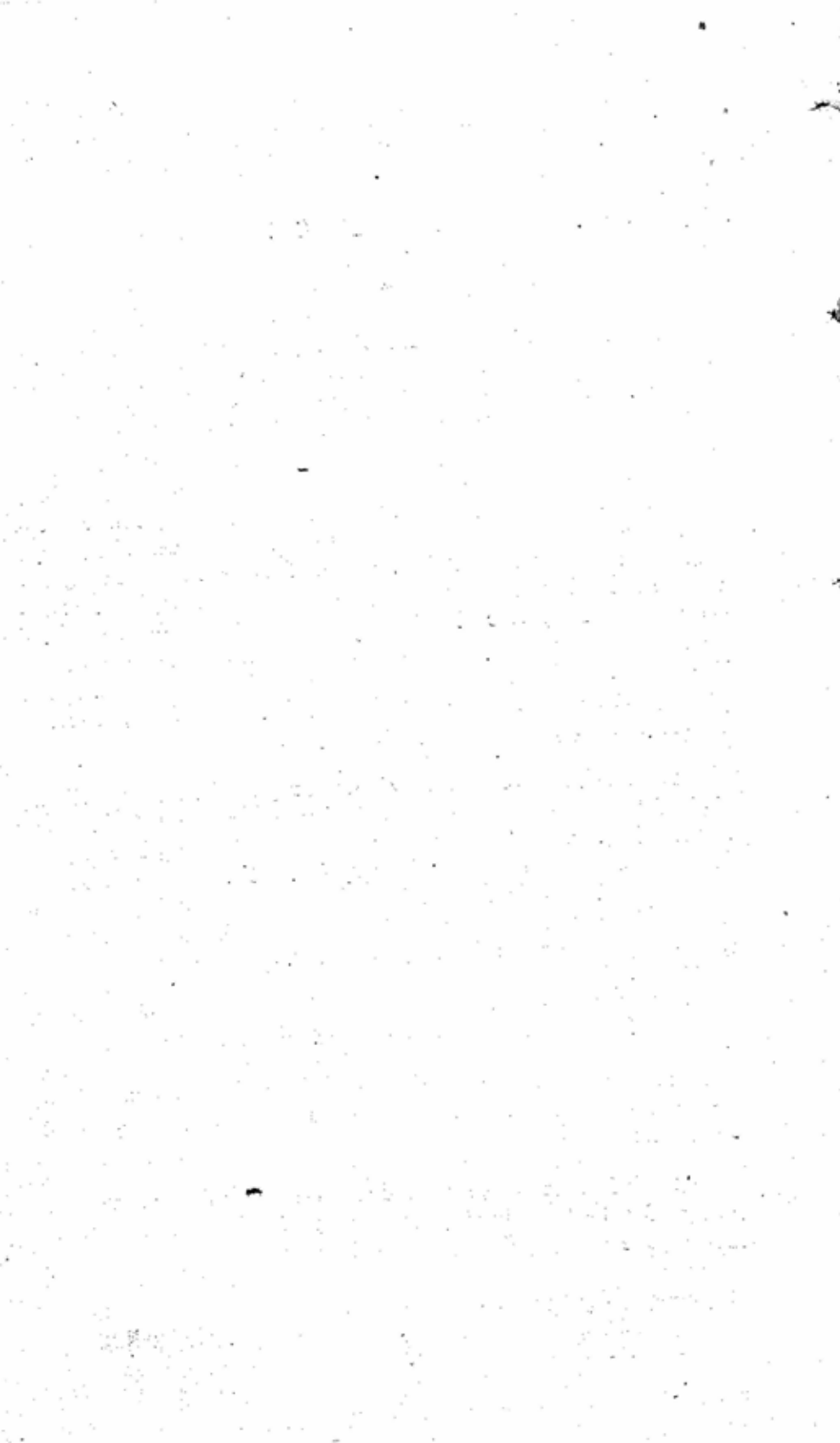
I thank the Manager and Staff of the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, who printed the work so promptly, in spite of many difficulties.

Finally I acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid, received by me from the University towards the cost of publication of this work.

ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE,
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8-1-1952



N. J. SHENDE



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INTRODUCTION

1. The Atharvaṇic Religion and Magic.
2. The magical traits in the religion of the RV, YV and SV.
3. The nature of magic in the AV.
4. The characteristics of the Atharvaṇic religion.
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(1) The Atharvaṇic Religion and Magic.

The religion of the AV is essentially magical although the spheres of the religion and magic are different. Religion, though difficult to define, can be broadly described as a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to men, which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life.¹ Thus religion consists of a belief in the powers, higher than man and an attempt to propitiate them. The belief in these powers may take the form of gods like Agni, Indra, Śiva or Viṣṇu, which is implored by devotees to favour them with prosperity of men, cows, horses etc., by means of offering sacrifices along with the recitation of prayers. It is the sweet will of the deity, thus pacified, which confers such favours on the devotee. In magic, on the other hand, there are invariably the mistaken applications of one or other fundamental laws of thought, namely, the association of ideas by similarity and association of ideas by contiguity in space or time. In magic, thus, there is belief, though wrong, in the laws of uniformity and causation in the nature.² The magician believes that by means of the spells, which he recites while the magical acts are practised, the desired effect is brought about owing to the fact that the like causes produce like effects. Thus the *brahman* of the Atharvaṇic priest only reveals the underlying application of one or other of the two laws of Nature mentioned above. The priest is confident of the fact that his performance of the *brahman* is bound to yield the exact result. In magic, thus the desired effect does not depend on the caprice or sweet will of the deity as in religion, but is bound to take place on account of the mysterious power arising out

1. FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*², part I, Vol. 1, p. 232; also P. S. DESHMUKH, *Religion in the Vedic Literature*, pp. 1-67

2. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

of the acts and spells of the magician. Magic and religion thus belong to the different spheres. But in the case of the AV, we find that there is a perfect blending of the two. We have in the AV the magical rites and sacrificial rites side by side. The deities are pacified and also are urged to bring about the desired effect. Thus there is religious magic or magical religion in the AV according to the proportion of the religious and magical ideas in the rites.

(2) Magical traits in the religion of the RV, YV and SV.

What is said above about the religion of the AV is also true about the religion of the three other Vedas (the RV, YV, SV), generally speaking. The essence of the religion of these three is sacrifice, which consists in enkindling fire and offering oblations in it while reciting the Rcs, Yajus or Sāmāns for the attainment of prosperity in this or the next world. The religion of the AV also aims at securing full, prosperous and happy life in this world and the heaven after the life for him, who performs the *brahman*, the Atharvaṇic rites. Both are priestly religions implying the domination of the Brāhmaṇas over other castes. The *brahman* of the sacrificial religion and of the magic are the same. Viśvāmitra of the RV is as confident of his mysterious powers as an Atharvaṇic seer, when the former declares that it is his *brahman* which protects the clan of the Bharatas (RV 3. 53. 12). The seer Vasiṣṭha in the RV, though strongly condemns any attribution of witchcraft (*yātu*) to him by his rival, is quite conversant with the practices of witchcraft (*ulūkayātu*, *śvayātu* etc. RV 7. 104. 21-24) and the means of repelling them. The Bharadvājas and Gautamas and the Āṅgīrasas, who figure as seers in the RV are also pastmasters in the technique of witchcraft (AV 11. 1. 6). Thus ancient seers of the oldest portion of the RV have knowledge of the theory and practice of witchcraft. The first and tenth Maṇḍalas of the RV contain many charms, which are found in the AV. Generally speaking the RV is not innocent of the magical practices.² The Taittirīya Saṃhitā contains many magical formulas, which are like those found in the AV. In the magical formulas of the AV, mere verbal similarity is sometime enough to connect the magical object with the desired effect. Thus on account of the root *ruh*, (to ascend) in the word, Rohita (the sun) is employed in a charm to bring sovereignty to a king, who ascends the throne (*rohati*, AV 13.14-5). In the same way in the TS, the yoke of a cart (*dhur*) is asked "to injure him who injures us (*dhurva*) and to injure him

3. OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 59.

whom we injure (1.1.4) ". Thus there is a verbal connection between *dhur* and *dhurv*. Hence the yoke is asked to injure the enemies. The TS (1.1.7) mentions three types of Agni, viz., *āmād* (one who eats raw or uncooked things), *kravyād* (one who eats flesh) and *devayajana* (godly one). The AV mentions similar classification of Agni (12.2; Kausika 67.7). The TS often mentions the formula, viz., he who hates us and whom we hate should be killed etc. (1.1.9). The AV, in the same manner, repeats it often in the magical rite of water thunderbolt for relieving one of distress etc. (10.5.15-35). The Vājasaneyī Samhitā of the YV contains many ideas which are common to the AV. The VS (5.23) mentions demons and witchcraft (*valaga*, *krtyā*) as concealed in the holes, dug in the ground for erecting the sacrificial post (*yūpa*). These are to be thrown out by means of the charm (*ibid*). The destruction of the enemy is the common object of many sacrifices (VS 9.37; 15-4). The VS 26.1 is a regular magical formula to kill rivals or enemies. Similarly the VS 15.16-19 contains well-known magical formulas. The VS 11.77-82 asks Agni to kill the advancing enemies on the battle, thieves and robbers, a debtor who refuses to pay, hater and one who censures. Like the Atharvaṇic Purohita (AV 3.19), proudly glorifying his *brahman*, strength and power, the priest in the VS also assures his patron that he would kill all his enemies (*ibid*). Expiation rite is also mentioned at the VS 8.13, for removing the sin caused by the wrath of the gods, hatred of men, wrath of the manes and other sins knowingly or unknowingly committed by oneself. The AV is quite elaborate over such expiatory rites (11. 6; 6. 112, 13; 4. 23-29). The VS describes elaborately the objects of performing the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice and of the Cayana sacrifice (VS 20). There is no difference between the objects for performing sacrifice in the VS and those in the AV. In the Brāhmaṇa literature too we find the same association of the magic with sacrifice. The Aitareyabrāhmaṇa, one of the oldest Brāhmaṇas, describes the magical power of the fire and the importance of the purohita in wielding those powers for the destruction of the enemies of a king (AB 8. 24-28). Symbolical rites are common in magic and sacrifice. In the symbolical rite for curing fever, water made hot by dipping red-hot iron axe in it, is given to the patient for drinking (AV 1, 25. 1). Similarly AB 8. 8 describes the symbolical meaning of the different implements and liquids required in the coronation ceremony of a king. The AB 7. 2-12 prescribes various penances for the performer of Agnihotra. Similar penances and faith are also essential for the performance of the magical rites. There are not only many ideological similarities

between the AB and AV but also there are many *rcs* in the AB which are traced only to the AV and which are not traced to the RV. There is also relationship between the AB and AV and the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. The AB 3, 7-8; 4, 5 are almost literally found in the GB of the AV.⁴ This is sufficient to show how the AV and the Atharvaṇic ideology are permeated in the sacrificial religion of the three Vedas.⁵

(3) The Nature of Magic in the AV

The magic in the AV observes the general laws of magic, viz., the law of similarity i. e. the like causes produce like effect or the effect resembles its cause and the law of contact according to which the things which are associated once remain so associated even at a distance and even if their association ceases to be. The former is termed by FRAZER as homeopathic magic and the latter as contagious magic.⁶ For instance, in a rite to kill the enemy one cuts a branch of a tree. The tree here symbolises the enemy. By cutting it, he cuts the body of the enemy who is away. This is imitative or homeopathic magic. In the same rite one collects dust from the ground where his enemy has stepped. He puts it on fire. His enemy is burnt thereby. In this case the dust which was in contact with the enemy for sometime continues to be so connected even if physically it is separated. This is due to the power of the *brahman*. The burning of the dust results in burning the enemy (AV 2,12,3-8). In the primitive magic, the spells were unintelligible and spoken in the primitive language of the savages. In the Atharvaṇic magic the priest or the performer of the magic, being a cultured and intelligent man, systematised his spells. These form the AV. In these spells one finds some peculiarities of magic. In the magical rites the words of the spells are equally important as the act. The priest is confident of the power of his speech. He says to a dying man under his treatment, "I make an armour of my *brahman* for your protection. You shall not die. By means of my speech (spell) I release you from the snares of Death." (8.1,3; 6.10; 2.1,10). Thus his *brahman*, the magical act and the magical potency arising from it are associated with his speech. In

4. HAUG, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* Introduction, p. 71.

5. For details see N. J. SHENDE, (i) *Atharvan in the Vedic and Epic Literature*, JUB XVII, 2, pp. 23-44, (ii) *The Brahman in the AV*, Karmarkar Volume, 1948, (iii) For the magical element in the Upaniṣads, *The Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads*, Prācyavāṇī, July 1944.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

addressing the demonic creatures, he always tells that he knows their names, which may be secret, and also their father, mother and sister. He knows their houses (1.2.1.). This knowledge of the geneology and secret names brings force to his spells and weakens and exposes the other party. In such spells repetition also plays an important part. The whole formula is repeated with the change of certain words about direction or deity (10.5).

In our attempt to study these spells we get a very valuable help from the Kausikasūtra, without which many hymns would not have been properly understood. Attempt is made in this work to see whether there is any connection between the magical rite prescribed by it and the respective hymns either by way of similarity of word, sound or idea.

(4) The characteristics of the Atharvaṇic Religion

The following peculiarities are noticed.

(a) The magical religion of the AV is priestly religion. The priest officiates on behalf of men and women who are rendered helpless owing to the vicious practices of the rival witchcraft-makers, who cause injury to their life, property and domestic or public life.

(b) This religion can also be practised in some cases without the help of the priest. For instance, the love-charms or charms for causing sleep to the members of the household, when a lover goes to meet his beloved in her house can be practised by individuals without the priestly help (4.5). Thus the religion is personal also.

(c) This religion was practised by kings, Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras; in short, by the Āryans and Śūdras alike, by men and women, in cities and villages and in public and private life. It was especially sponsored by the villagers. It was a great relief to them when a young Atharvaṇic priest would enter a village when immediately all evil spirits used to disappear (5.36.7-8). It was thus the popular religion.

(d) The Atharvaṇic religion aims at securing full life of hundred years for every person (19.67) and employs means for removing the causes which terminate it in this world prematurely. The causes mainly are the witchcraft (*kṛtyā* or *yātu*) of the rivals, enemies, their curses, bad sight of the enemy, one's own wicked acts, sin against gods, Pitr̥s, and men and diseases. This religion aspires

to provide for its followers comfortable and prosperous household with loving inmates along with the wealth of cattle and corn. It teaches how to secure the love of a girl and lead the married life in perfect harmony with wife, parents and children. It helps men in securing success in whatever profession they indulged such as agriculture, trade etc. It is thus the household religion, helpful in the public life also.

(e) It is both offensive and defensive in character. There is no much substance in the argument that the Atharvaṇa spells stand for peaceful magic and the Āṅgīrasa ones for hostile magic. For though the Āṅgīrasas are mentioned to have witchcrafts and plants described as belonging to them only (8-7-17,24; 8-5-9), and though the people in this world are said to have been belonging to both the Āṅgīrasas and Atharvaṇas (11-4-17), their essential difference as peaceful and hostile is nowhere substantiated. Relying on the traditional authorship of the different hymns also we can easily say that there is nothing in these hymns that will warrant exclusive association of these epithets to these seers. The hymns themselves nowhere mention such distinction, nor it is corroborated by any other evidence. Hence we may say that Āṅgīrasas and Atharvaṇas were both offensive and defensive in the composition of their hymns. However the main purpose of the AV is defensive, as it aspires to defend its followers from the attacks of evil spirits, enemies, diseases etc. If bad luck is brought about by the curses of enemy or rival, the Atharvaṇic priest uses offensive charms to kill or to destroy that enemy, with a view to defending his client. It is offensive because it is the best way to defend its followers.

(f) The rivals or enemies also employ similar methods to defend themselves. In this struggle between the two witchcrafts, that which is sponsored by the more powerful priest becomes successful. The power of the priest depends on the knowledge of the practices, spells and on his penance (*tapas*) and the practice of the *brahman* (*brahmacarya*).

(g) This religion is reformist in tendencies. It is a simple yet effective way of removing the miseries in life and becoming happy. In the medical aspect of this religion we find that the Atharvans procured medicine even from the Asura women. This explains their tendency to associate themselves even with the Asuras and use that knowledge for the benefit of all (1.14.2). Not only the medicine, but some other witchcraft practices, also they must have

borrowed from them. We find a reference to the *kṛtyā* of the Aṅgirasas and of Asuras (8. 5. 9). The Bṛhgvāṅgirasas (who include Atharvans) the authors or the editors of the AV reformed the whole technique of sacrifice and introduced simple and yet equally effective *sava* sacrifices, though they could not altogether destroy the system of old sacrifices. They exhorted their followers by describing the sensual pleasures that they would get in the heaven if they performed the sacrifice according to their practice. They pointed out that the full enjoyment of the sex-life is also possible in the company of many women in the heaven if they offered a particular *sava* (4. 31). They also did not insist on the performance of these *sava* sacrifices too. They point out that even the hospitality shown to a guest in one's house is also a sacrifice bringing out the same effect. They further point out that the sacrifice of sensual objects can be practised in mind. The Atharvaṇic priests officiated at the various rites in the king's palace and made the office of a purohita absolutely indispensable for the king. The AB 8.24-28 informs the importance of the purohita, who is expert in the practices of witchcraft at the court of a king. He helps the king at the time of his election to the throne by the people and in maintaining his position as a king in peace and war. He himself by means of his *brahman* wins the war for the king. In the course of time the Atharvaṇic priest became expert in the art of war and wielding of weapons. It will thus be seen that of all the priestly families only the Bṛhgvāṅgirasas, the authors of the AV departed from the normal Brāhmaṇas in learning the art of weapons and missiles and teaching it to the kings, as we find in the case of Droṇa to the Kuru princes in the Mahābhārata. This explains their reformist tendencies. Another instance of their such tendencies is the admission in the orthodox Aryan fold of the Vrātyas, and their deification. The Vrātyas were outside the pale of the orthodox Āryans. The AV not only admitted them in the Aryan fold, but made the most righteous of them, the highest divinity (15.1-8).

(b) To simplify the religious practices the AV also prescribes many expiatory rites, which later on formed a part of the Grhya-dharma.

(i) The Atharvaṇic conception of the *brahman* provides a link between the *brahman* in the sacrificial religion of the YV and that in the Upaniṣads. It is the mysterious *brahman* arising out of the practices of the Atharvaṇic priest, residing in the priest or the

object and accomplishing the object of the practitioner of witchcraft. The priest was equipped with penance and practice of the *brahman*. This mysterious power gained by him by such means, residing in every object, easily paved way for the universality of the Brahman and its description as 'mysterious' by Umā Haimavatī (Kena 25, Bṛhadāraṇyaka 5,4).⁷

(j) To glorify and justify their practices the Atharvaṇas evolved the mythology of the AV. They borrowed some deities from the RV, fashioned new ones, dressed them in new garments and in the vigour of the propagandists claimed all-in-all power to these deities. The present writer has studied the mythology of the AV and has presented it in his work, 'The Foundations of the Atharvaṇic Religion' (BDCRI, 9).

(5) The Importance of the Religion of the AV.

In the religious history of the Āryans, religion existed side by side with magic and both in turn influenced each other. Thus the religion of sacrifice was mixed with magic and magic was influenced by religion, in attempting to propitiate various deities. In India both religion and magic were sponsored by the ancient seers like Aṅgiras, Atharvan, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha etc. The hymns and spells were preserved in the families of the priests and were later on collected. The absence of any reference to the AV in the Vedic literature till the SB, which mentions it, is due to the circumstances that the RV and AV form compliments of each other and it was not felt necessary to separate them from each other. The AV in the course of time specialised in many branches of knowledge, which later on developed into Śāstras (systematised knowledge) and which had lost any connection with the religion of sacrifice sponsored by the RV and other two Vedas. The process was in this way.

(a) The treatment of diseases by means of spells and medicinal herbs in the AV formed the basis of the Indian system of Medicine, the Āyurveda. Caraka (1. 30. 19-20) points out that a physician should devote himself to the study of the AV as it deals with the treatment of the diseases and lays down auspicious rites, offerings, auspicious sacrifices, rules of behaviour, expiation, fasting and charms to cure the diseases. Suśruta (1. 6) points out that the Āyurveda is a part of the AV.

⁷ N. J. SHENDE, *The Brahman in the AV*, *ibid.*

(b) The spells in the AV regarding love (Kāma, Smara) formed the nucleus of the Kāmasāstra, such as that of Vātsyāyana, which generally agrees with the AV in its teaching. The Kāmasūtra (7) in its *aupaniṣadika* chapter describes the various charms similar to those in the AV. The Kāmasūtra (7.1.11.) refers to the Atharvaṇa practices as the sole authority in certain erotic rites. It also refers to the AV along with the Ayurveda as the authority on the rites regarding strengthening the virile power of a man suffering from sexual debility (KS 7. 1. 49).

(c) The AV forms the basis of the Statecraft, which developed into a complete system in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. It prescribes rites for winning an assembly of the learned and of common people, gathered together for the election of a king, for the coronation of a king and for securing success in the war. Kauṭilya (14.146) describes the secret means for destroying enemy (*aupaniṣadika*), which agree with those prescribed in the AV. Kauṭilya (1.9) attaches great importance along with the ministers of the state to the appointment of the Purohita, who in addition to his other qualifications must be expert in the science of politics and in the practice of the AV. The third chapter on the Statecraft will substantiate the claim of the AV to be pioneer in the field of Statecraft before Kauṭilya, and the Rājadharmaparvans of Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata.

We may thus safely say that the Āyurveda, Kāmasāstra and Daṇḍanīti (or Arthaśāstra) have their nucleus or starting point in the AV.

(d) However more important from the point of view of the history of religion, the greatness of the AV lies in those teachings which form the basis of the Gṛhyasūtras, the domestic religion of the Āryans, which has perpetuated even to this day as the religion of the Hindus in its general aspects. H. Oldenberg points out that the AV is the great treasure of the Gṛhya verses. Many rites in the Gṛhyasūtras have been intended in the number of the hymns of the AV (SBE 30, p. x). Thus there is a very close relation between the AV and the Gṛhya rites.

(e) The gulf between the orthodox Vedic followers and the Atharvavedins must have been widened on account of the latter's reformist tendencies, open practice of witchcraft and indulgence in the secular practices such as of medicinemen, purohitas, experts in the science of warfare and use of missiles and of advisers in

the technique of love. However on account of these very same circumstances, we have these sciences of Medicine, Politics and Erotics, and the Gṛhya rites which usurped the place of the religion of sacrifice in the life of the Aryans. The association of the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas, the authors or editors of the AV, with the Kṣatriyas as their purohitas made them well acquainted and informed repositories of traditional legends and accounts (*itihāsa, purāṇa, gāthā, nārāsamsis*, 15.6.11-12) and they effectively attempted to bring about the final reduction of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, through which they successfully preached their (Atharvaṇic) ideology.⁸

(6) The Philosophy of the AV

I have taken a brief survey of the philosophy of the AV, from the Sāmhitā to the late Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads. In the beginning I have attempted to fix up the meaning of the word Brahman in the AV. It is one of the very crucial words in the Upaniṣadic philosophy. Then I have collected all thoughts about the Brahman in the AV and have tried to put forth the view that the philosophical thoughts in the AV fall mid-way between the sacrificial Brahman and the Brahman of the Upaniṣads. The thought ferment in the Upaniṣads presupposes an elaborate activity of the Ātharvaṇic seers in that direction. Then I have described the Ātharvaṇic conception of death, immortality and Heaven. The late Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads form a problem. I have attempted to enlist the Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads and to note down the trend of their thought. I have also attempted to find out the cause of their existence and their probable date.

8. Cf. N. J. SHENDE, *The Authorship of the Mbh.*, ABORI 24 pp. 67-82 and *The Authorship of the Rāmāyaṇa*, JUB, 12. pt. 2, 1943.

THE MEDICINE IN THE AV.

1. The AV is the source of the Āyurveda. 2. The causes of diseases. 3. Water as medicine. 4. Barley as medicine. 5. Plants as medicine. 6. Wounds. 7. Constipation and retention of urine. 8. Healing diseases by the touch of the hand of the priest. 9. Against unknown sores. 10. Internal pain. 11. Dropsy. 12. Heartache, pain in the eyes, heels and forefeet. 13. *Vidraṭha*, *balāsa*, *visalpaka*. 14. Against thirst. 15. For easy child birth. 16. Miscarriage. 17. Fever, headache and cough, caused by rain. 18. *Takman*. 19. Jaundice. 20. Leprosy. 21. *Kṣetriya* disease. 22. Worms. 23. *Yakṣmā*. 24. Poison. 25. Ointment. 26. Eye-diseases. 27. For the growth of hair. 28. *Balāsa*. 29. *Kāsa*. 30. Pepper. 31. Kidney. 32. Unseen diseases. 33. *Manyā* and *Apacit*. 34. *Jāyānya*. 35. *Jalāṣa*. 36. Against all diseases. 37. *Grāhi*. 38. Diseases of head and other ailments. 39. Madness. 40. *Viṣkandhā*. 41. The AV and the Āyurveda.

(1) *Bheṣajya* or medicine is one of the most important teachings of the AV. The Atharvaṇic priest is also the physician (*bhiṣaj*). He treats the patients by means of his spells, sacrifice and medicines prepared from the herbs and charged with the magical qualities; since, whatever the Atharvaṇic priest does, is charged with the magical properties. However, his treatment of the diseases marks the beginnings of the systematic treatment of the medicine, called the Āyurveda. Caraka and Suśruta, the earliest exponents of the system of Indian medicine, acknowledge the AV to be the source of their knowledge of medicine. Caraka (1.30.19-20) points out that a physician should devote himself to the study of the AV; for, the Veda of the Atharvans deals with the treatment of the diseases, in that it lays down, as a part of its teachings, the auspicious rites, offerings, auspicious sacrifices, rules of behaviour, expiation, fasting and charms. These also form the treatment of the Āyurveda. Therefore the purpose of both is the same. Suśruta (1.6) mentions that Āyurveda is a part of the AV. Thus the traditional system of Indian medicine acknowledges the AV as its source. It is, therefore, interesting to investigate the original form of the Indian system of medicine as traced in the AV.

The Atharvaṇic priest cannot sever magic from medicine. Thus even in his scientific treatment of the diseases he administers his medicine to the patient only in association with his spells.

(2) The AV contains charms to cure various diseases. It seems thus that the priestly doctor could cure all diseases by means of his spells. But Keśava, while commenting on Kauśika 24.1-3, points out that the term *bhaiṣajya* in the AV refers to the pacificatory rites to cure diseases. He further explains that the diseases are twofold, viz., those that are caused by eating (*āhāra*) and those that are by sin committed in the previous births. The cure for the former is found in the treatises of Caraka, Vāhaḍa and Suśruta; while the latter are cured by means of the pacificatory rites in the AV. Thus according to Keśava, the AV treats of such diseases as can be magically cured and not by the medicines of the Āyurveda. I have shown elsewhere,¹ that there are some medicinal qualities in the antidotes which are prescribed by the Atharvaṇic priest, who combines in himself the requirements of a physician, a surgeon and also a veterinary doctor.

The Atharvaṇic doctor considers that there are some evil spirits such as Kaṇvas, Kābavas and others, which infest the human bodies with diseases (2.25, 3.9). An amulet of ten kinds of wood is tied on the body to cure a person who is possessed by a demon of disease (2.9). Therefore, when a person falls ill, he is usually attacked by demons of diseases. These demons can not be driven out of the body except by the spells, amulets or medicine of these priestly doctors. Also the worms in the body cause bodily disorder and are cured by charms (2.31).

(3) The waters form the chief medicine. The Atharvaṇic poet calls the waters as nectar and styles them as *bheṣaja* (medicine). They contain sweet honey. They make the horses and cows strong (1.4.1-4). They rule over human beings (1.5.4). The water, plain or mixed with salt, is given to sick cows.² Thus the waters contain protective powers, medicine and nectar, to prolong one's life in this world. The doctors realised that waters rule over human beings.³ The waters coming down from the Himavat mountain, from the fountains, from the desert tract, from mashy

1. N. J. SHENDE, 'The foundations of the AV religion' (hereafter called 'the foundations') *BDCRI* Vol. IX, Nos. 3-4, p. 119.

2. Kauśika 19.1, and Sāyaṇa on AV 1.4.

3. DAŚGUPTA, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, pp. 302 ff.

lands and from canals or wells and lakes are more healing than the healers, i. e. the physicians. These waters, thus, by themselves have curative effects on the bodies of the sick persons (19.2).⁴ They remove all diseases (19.2.5).

(4) Not only the waters, but the barley also is used in curing diseases. The barley (*yava*) was ploughed with yokes pulled by six or eight bulls. The Atharvanic physician tells that with this barley he drives off all ailments, which run out the body. Barley with water thus forms the universal remedy against all ailments (6.91).⁵

(5) In addition to the waters and barley, the Atharvanics used plants as medicines. All diseases which are caused by the curse of Varuṇa or by Yama or by sin against the gods, or by the violation of the permanent moral laws by means of the eye, mind, speech, during wakeful state or sleeping—all these are cured by Soma, the king of the plants (6.96).⁶ Thus the diseases caused by the wrath of the deities or by one's own sins are also cured by the plants. The Atharvavedins consider the plants to be useful for magical and medicinal purposes. They form a universal remedy. The Atharvanic priest invokes the plants on behalf of the patient to rescue him from diseases. He prepares a medicine from them (*kṛṇomi bheṣajam* 8.7.4-5). He purchases the plants and is sure that their potential medicinal qualities would protect every cow, horse and man in the village. Thus the Atharvanic priest practising in the villages saves the lives not only of the human beings but also of the domestic creatures such as cows, horses etc.

4. For the varieties of waters and their effects see N. J. SHENDE, *The foundations*, pp. 269 ff.

5. Kauśika 28.17-20 and Sāyana on 6.91. It is a charm to cure all diseases (*sarvarogabhaiṣajya*). A sacrifice is offered. Ghee is to be offered in water with each half ṛc. Six times ghee is to be sprinkled—four times on a jar full of water or *yava* (barley) and twice on the earth. The grains of barley that are on the earth are to be mixed with those in the jar. That mixture is to be sprinkled on the patient. Also an amulet of *yava* is to be tied. BLOOMFIELD (*SBE* Vol XLII, p. 50) considers that a supposed etymology of *yava* from the root *yu*, to ward off is used here in the employment of *yava* as grains or amulet.

6. N. J. SHENDE, *The foundations*, p. 119 for the nature and medicinal value of plants. Sāyana and Kauśika 31.22-25 uses this hymn (6.96) as a charm against the curse of a Brāhmaṇa or against dropsy and for pacificatory rite. The creeper Soma is to be burnt in fire and the sufferer is to be fomented with it. Also a mixture of curds and honey or of milk and buttermilk, or of milk, honey and curds is to be given for drinking. Kauśika employs this hymn against evil planets also.

The priest is thus a veterinary doctor. The diseases of men and cattle are driven away by his plants. The plants which are known or unknown to him, and those which he sees with eyes are charged with magical power. He charges them with his words, 'We shall bring this man out of this distress.' Thus the eyes and words of the priest produce the magical power in the plants to cure the diseases of the patient (8.7.11, 15-18).⁷ A number of Atharvanic priests used to practise medicine; and the priest attending a patient assures him that as many plants as the human physicians know to contain medicine, so many endowed with every healing power he employs to cure him from the diseases (8.7.26-28). It will thus be noticed that the Atharvanic priest believes that the diseases are caused by the wrath of the gods, attack of the evil spirits and demons and violation of the laws by one's body, mind and speech in wakeful or sleeping state. This is his theory, explaining the causes of diseases. His practice of medicine, mostly in villages, dealing with the life of men and cattle, depended on the employment of the waters, barley plants and sacrifices—all charmed with his magical power, expressed by his words and eyes. Diseases and their remedies as described in the AV are treated here. The medicinal and magical nature of the treatment is described in detail elsewhere.

(6) Wounds :

(i) Excessive flow of blood : WHITNEY considers that hymn (1.2) contains a charm with a reed against an injury and diseases. BLOOMFIELD⁸ takes this to be a charm against the excessive discharges from the body and also a battle charm. According to him it is a charm against diarrhoea and along with AV 1.3, against constipation and retention of urine. This is due to the arrows of Parjanya, which inflict such diseases on the mortals. The hymn contains a number of words describing the battle as well as names of diseases. Sāyaṇa employs it against fever, diarrhoea, excessive urine and flow of blood. Kausika (25.6) lays down that the priest should tie a string made from the head of *muñja* grass, give him a drink of water mixed with the clay from the field or ant-hill, smear him with curds and milk and blow his rectum. It will be noticed that the Western translators and the Indian commentators do not

7. Sāyaṇa and Kausika 26,33,40 consider that the amulet of ten holy trees is to be dipped in lac and to be tied on the patient to cure him from all diseases. These ten trees are to be taken from the following: *palāśa*, *udumbara*, *jambu*, *kampīla*, *śrak*, *vaṅgha*, *śirīṣa*, *śrakyū*, *varaṇa*, *bilva*, *jaṅgiḍa*, *kuṭaka*, *gr̥hya*, *galāvṛṇa*, *vetasa*, *puna*, *syandana*, *araṇika*, *āsmayokta*, *tunyu*, *pūtadāru*.

8. SBE p. 233.

agree regarding the import of the hymn. The disease is called *āsrāva* at 1.2.4 and the remedy against it is mentioned to be the *muñja* grass, which is used here in medicine and magic. The mention of the word *tejana*: bamboo (1.2.4) suggests the material from which the arrows are to be made. Consequently it seems that the hymn deals with a charm to cure the flow of blood from the wound caused by arrow. It might have been subsequently used for the excessive discharges from the body. An amulet of *muñja* grass⁹ is used to stop the flow. The priests make the remedy from the *muñja* grass growing on the mountains (2.3.1). The demons cause this disease by discharging their arrows. But the amulet of *muñja* is an excellent remedy containing hundred-fold medicine. The Asuras dug out this remedy. Another remedy for the *āsrāva* is the clay from ant-hill. The ants bring the remedy from the ocean and store it in the ant-hill (2.3.1-6). Kausika (25.6) and Sāyaṇa consider that the patient suffering from flux is asked to drink the mixture of water and clay from field. In the text of the hymn, the clay appears to be not from a field, but from the ant-hill which contains medicinal water, brought by the ants from the ocean. Sāyaṇa employs the hymn 2.3 against fever, excess of urine and excretion and abscess. In addition to the tying of amulet of *muñja* and giving a mixture of clay and water, he prescribes the opening of anus, penis and abscess by means of a leather bag. This arrangement seems to be similar to the smith's bellows.

(ii) To stop the flow of blood (1.17): Sāyaṇa takes the charm (1.17) to be used for stopping the blood flowing from a wound, caused by weapon or due to menstruation. He and Kausika (26.10) suggest that fine clay or sand from the street should be thrown on the wound. Clay from the field or dry lake should also be used. Kausika also lays down that the place of wound should be charmed by means of a stick having five joints. The hymn uses two physiological terms viz. *dhamani* and *hirā*. They number 100 and 1000 respectively. The *hirās* are described as carrying red blood and are like women dressed in red garments. It thus seems that they suggest the arteries carrying pure red blood. But they are not distinguished from the *dhamanis* in the AV. Sāyaṇa explains them as *śirās* (veins) which reside in the lower, upper and middle part of the body. According to him the *hirā* is the menstrual vein, or the vein carrying red blood. Commenting on ṛc 1.17.3, he explains that the *dhamanis* are the principal *nādis* (veins) of the heart and the *hirās* are their tributaries. He

9. N. J. SHENDE, *ibid.*, p. 345.

points out that the menstrual vein is also called *sikatāvatī* in which arises a disease called *aśmarī* (coclauli). He further adds that the term *dhanu* stands for bladder (1.17.4). However the term *sikatāvatī* in 1.17.4 can be conveniently explained to mean the sandy dyke to stop the blood coming from the small and great tubes of blood. Kausika also supports this view.

(iii) The AV 6.44 is again a charm for excessive discharge from the body.¹⁰ WHITNEY employs it for the cessation of diseases. Sāyaṇa uses it against the excessive flow of blood from the body. Kausika 31.6 uses it against slander. BLOOMFIELD¹¹ explains this use of Kausika as the homeopathic cure for the hostility of man. For stopping of the blood, a self-shed horn of a cow is dipped in water, anointed with ghee and given to the person for drinking or is sprinkled on him. This horn is called *viṣāṇikā* and is the urine of Rudra and navel of nectar. It also removes the diseases arising out of wind (*vātīkṛta*). *Viṣāṇikā* is the best cure for *āsrāva* (the discharge of blood), among the hundreds and thousands of the remedies collected for curing this disease (6.44.1-3).

(iv) For stopping the discharge of blood from the wound caused by weapon, the plant *arundhatī* is used (4.12). BLOOMFIELD considers that the plant is used in curing the fractures of bones. Sāyaṇa and Kausika (28.5, 6, 14) think that the wound is caused by a weapon and its cure is mentioned here. The plant *arundhatī* is also called *rohinī* and *lākṣā*.¹² Keśava employs this spell for curing fracture, discharge of blood and wound due to weapon. Sāyaṇa considers that the wound may be caused by falling in a ditch (*karta* 4.12.7) or due to a stone hurled at a person. Thus the hymn is a spell against a wound caused by falling in a ditch or by a weapon or by a stone hurled against a person. Sāyaṇa and Kausika also tell us how the plant *arundhatī*, *rohinī* or *lākṣā* is to be utilised. *Lākṣā* and water are to be boiled and charmed with the spell (4.12) at the dawn and the mixture is to be sprinkled on the wounds. Milk and ghee are to be boiled and given for drinking to the wounded person and the wound is to be sprinkled with the mixture. The hymn tells us the plant *rohinī* grows the bone, which is fractured, inflamed by pain and crushed. As a result of this medicinal charm, the marrow is united with marrow, joint with joint and the part of the flesh which has been fallen along with the bone grows together

10. BLOOMFIELD, *SBE* 42, 481.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Dārila on Kausika 28.14.

with flesh on the body (4. 12. 1-3). The skin and hair on it are fitted together. Immediately after the employment of the charm the wounded person is asked to get up and to run like an excellent chariot and to stand firm and upright (4. 12. 5-6). The medicinal charm is thus employed to set right the fractured bone. The AV gives medical terms for the parts of the body such as *asthi* (bone), *parus* (joint), *majjā* (marrow), *māṃsa* (flesh), *carma* or *tvac* (skin), *loman* (hair), and *asruk* (blood).¹³ BLOOMFIELD¹⁴ draws attention to the particular tendency of the Atharvaṇic doctors in bringing in their spells the symbolic connection between the plant *rohini* used as a remedy and the disease in which the lost parts of the body are made to grow (*ruh*). The use of the plant *lākṣā*, also called *silācī* is advocated at 5. 5. A mixture of *lākṣā* and milk, boiled together is given for drinking to a person, who is inflicted with an injury by means of an arrow, fire or club (5. 5. 4). The Atharvaṇic doctor while invoking the help of the plants, secures complete control over them by employing the names of their fathers and mothers and thus suggesting that he knows them long before they were born. Thus they become subdued to him and yield all their mysterious qualities to the doctor.

(v) The Atharvaṇic priest also employs *guggulu* (bdellium) in curing diseases. It is procured from the river, Sindhu and ocean. Its sweet fragrance is medicinal (19.38).¹⁵

(7) Constipation and retention of urine (1.3) :—

The charm (1.3) according to WHITNEY is employed against the obstruction of urine only. For releasing the obstructed flow of urine or excretion Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (25.10) advocate the use of gall-nut and camphor. *Rcs* 6-8 of this hymn refer only to the obstruction of urine and not of excretion, as Sāyaṇa understands. Parjanya, the father of the reed (*śara*) is invoked to discharge the flow of urine. WHITNEY¹⁶ considers that reed implies some primitive form of a fistula urinaria, the *bastiyantra*, one of the *nāḍīyantras* of the later physicians. As soon as the reed is used with the recitation of the spell (1.3), urine is expected to flow out on the ground with the sound *bal*. Sāyaṇa remarks on the *rc* 1.3.1 that it is the power of the spell that brings out the urine.

13. ZIMMER, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 67.

14. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

15. ZIMMER, *ibid.* p. 28.

16. *Harvard Oriental Series* (hereafter called *HOS*) 7, p. 3.

The hymn explains the cause of the trouble, as due to the saturation of urine in the entrails (*āntṛa*), in the canal, i. e. in two groins, the two veins which carry urine from entrails to the bladder, which has the size of a bow. The process of operation is marked by piercing the penis like the dike of a lake (*vartra* 1.3.7). PPP reads *vṛtra* (i. e. that which covers) for *vartra*. Sāyaṇa considers that a metallic piece (*śalākā* of iron) is to be used in opening the urethra, Keśava on Kauśika (25.10) points out that the metallic piece is to be charmed before use. Kauśika (25.12) remarks that with the recitation of the *ṛcs* 1.3.8-9, the patient is to be given enema. Other practices such as riding in a vehicle, shooting an arrow also accompany the opening of the bladder and urethra. These practices contain the use of the homeopathic magic. Releasing of an arrow is symbolical of the discharge of urine. In addition to this, the priestly doctor invokes the help of other deities such as Mitra, Varuṇa etc., to make sure that he does not offend or neglect them in the practice of his medical charm.¹⁷ It is thus clear that the Atharvaṇic doctor employed reed to open the obstructed passage of urine. The metallic piece used in its stead seems to be a later practice. In this connection the AV uses following terms describing the parts of the body: *āntṛa* (entrails), *gavīnī* (two groins, the veins which carry urine from entrails to the bladder), *basti* (bladder) and *mehana* (penis).

(8) Healing a disease by the touch of the hand of the priest (4.13):

A disease caused by one's sins is removed by invoking Vāta, the universal remedy (4.13.3). The priest approaches the patient with blissful charms, removing all calamities. He brings with him formidable strength by means of which he takes off the disease of the patient. His hand is possessed of fortune. It is full of universal remedy and is propitious to touch. By touching the patient with his two hands having ten fingers and reciting the spell (4.13) with his mouth (lit. by means of tongue, the forerunner of voice), the patient is cured. Thus by the touch of his hand and the recitation of spell the disease is driven off. This is nothing more than magical attraction.

(9) Against unknown sores by means of offering in sacrifice (6.84):

Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (31.16, 52.3) point out that the holy

17. BLOOMFIELD *ibid*, p. 237.

water is to be prepared and sprinkled on the sores (*vraṇa*). Also offerings are to be made to Nirṛti the goddess of destruction, in fire. Being pleased with the sacrificial offerings the iron fetters, with which the patient feels to have been tied up are released. These fetters of Nirṛti cause unknown sores and give trouble. The Atharvaṇic priests thus relied as much on magic and medicine as on sacrifice in bringing about relief to the suffering person.

(10) Internal pain caused by the missiles of Rudra (6,90) :

There is a spell for curing an acute pain in the body apparently not caused by any known reason, hence attributed to the missiles of Rudra. They cause the colic pain (*śūla*). Sāyaṇa refers to the views of Dārila, maintaining that an amulet of iron or stone is to be tied for acute pain in the body. According to Bhadra, another commentator, the place where the pain arises is to be charmed. WISE¹⁸ considers that the pain is colic. The hymn vividly informs us that owing to the discharge of arrow of Rudra, hitting the limbs and heart of a person, there arises acute pain in the limbs, heart and hundred arteries distributed along the limbs, which are poisoned by the arrow. The confidence and firmness of the Atharvaṇic priest in curing the diseases is noteworthy in this respect when he says, 'We draw out the arrow', 'I take off the poison (6,90,1-2).' It is the personality of the priest and his confident attitude that must be bringing relief to the patient by merely reciting the charm.

(11) Dropsy :

This disease is caused by the wrath of Varuṇa, inflicted against a sinner, who has violated his laws. The priest, excelling in the *brahman* (magic power) leads the patient out of it. The man has spoken hundreds of lies with his tongue. Now owing to the spell of the priest he is freed from all these. He can now live for hundred years (1.10). The dropsy causes protuberant belly (6,22). Offerings are made to Maruts. Rice, cooked in milk and ghee is offered to them. The medicinal herbs are taken to the water. The heads of the dogs and sheep are thrown in the water. On the bamboos, human hair and old shoes are tied. Kausika at 30. 11 treats this disease. At 25. 37, 7. 17, he points out that a man or woman suffering from dropsy is to be sprinkled from head to foot, with water from a jar containing 21 shoots of *darbha*, with the reeds taken out from the thatch of the house. This is symbolical rite. From the reed of a thatched house water drops down in rain.

18. *Hindu System of Medicine* p. 341,

Thus when the charmed water is allowed to drop down there, the water in the belly of the patient will also drop away. This is the sympathetic magic.

(12) Heart ache, pain in the eyes, heels and forefeet (6.24):

The waters flowing down the Himavat mountain and joining the Sindhu river, which is their queen, form a remedy against the heartache, the burning feeling in the heart (*hr̥dyota*) and the pain in the eyes, heels and forefeet (6.24.1-3). WHITNEY considers that the hymn (6-24) is a charm addressed to the waters for blessing. But the hymn directly mentions the diseases against which the particular waters are prescribed as medicine. BLOOMFIELD thinks that the diseases cured by the waters are dropsy, heart diseases and kindred maladies. But the hymn does not mention dropsy at all. Dārila treats this as a spell against dropsy. Kāuśika 30.13 and Sāyaṇa think that heart disease, dropsy and jaundice are mentioned here. They prescribe the water from a flowing river as the remedy against these. Grass from the thatch is burnt in the water and is mixed with it. This mixture is given to the patient for sipping and is sprinkled on him.

(13) *Vidratha* (abscess), *balāsa*, (flow of blood), *visalpaka* (neuralgia, 6.127):

A plant *cipudru* or *palāśa* removes the abscess, cough, flow of blood and also neuralgia, which is in the limbs, ears and eyes. It also cures the pain in the heart and any unknown disease (*yakṣmā*). The plant is also a cure against the boils growing in the armpit (6.127.1-3). The priest is confident that he can ward off these diseases by the means of that plant, for he knows that to be the medicine against it. The personality of the priest treating the patient and the conviction in his own treatment may be said to be the principal factors that cure the patient. WHITNEY employs this spell against various diseases with a wooden amulet. BLOOMFIELD takes *cipudru* tree as a panacea. Kāuśika 26.33-39 and Sāyaṇa employ the spell against dropsy and in general, against all diseases. They lay down that the dregs of ghee are to be poured on the head of the patient, and a piece of *palāśa* tree four fingers broad is to be powdered and pasted on the body of the patient suffering from those diseases mentioned in the hymn. They use the *cipudru* or *palāśa*¹⁹ tree in medicine and magic.

19. N. J. SHENDE, *ibid*,

(14) Cure against thirst (2.29):

The physicians prepare a medicine called the earthly liquid, which may be the churned mixture of barley and water as Sāyaṇa says (2.29.1). On account of this treatment of mixture, the gods grant him life, progeny and wealth. The blessings of the physicians bring vigour, ability and prosperity. At the result of the recitation of this charm (2.29) with the use of the mixture, the fiery gods give him back to the mortal world and he does not feel hunger nor thirst. The priest pacifies the patient's heart with auspicious waters. The thirsty person and the healthy person are clothed in the same garment and are given the stirred drink (*mantha*) and they thus assume the magic form of Aśvins (2.29). This is the homeopathic magic. Thus the hymn gives a charm for curing the thirst. But WHITNEY²⁰ considers that it is the total perversion of the meaning of the hymn to use it for curing thirst. Looking to the contents of the hymn, one feels sure that it is to be used for transmission of disease, (thirst here). Kausika (27.9-13) and Sāyaṇa prescribe the following magical and medicinal rite. At sunrise, the thirsting man and a healthy man are made to sit back to back facing in opposite directions. The mixture of barley and water is kept on the head of the thirsty man and is given to the healthy man for drinking. By reciting part of *ṛc* (2.29.6 *cd*) the priest covers them in the same garment and makes them drink the same drink. Thus the disease or thirst here, is transferred to another person, who is healthy. Kausika gives the treatment as is suggested in the hymn 2.29.

(15) For easy child-birth (1.11):

The gods bring about the conception. At the time of delivery Puṣan is given an offering in a sacrifice. As a result of this, the pregnant woman relaxes herself and the joints of her body go apart (1.11.1). The gods send forth the embryo and unclothe the foetus for birth. Sūśā opens the womb. Sūśāṇā loosens it and Biṣkilā lets the foetus come out. But the priestly physician says, "We open the womb." In addition to his recitation of the spell; the physician tries to widen the womb for easy delivery. He splits open the vagina (*mehaṇa*), womb (*yonī*) and canals (*gavīnakā*). He separates the mother and the son (born in the tenth month) from placenta. Then he utters the spell so that the foetus should not cling to the flesh, fat, nor marrow and the spotted and slimy placenta (*jarāyū*) should fall down to be eaten by

20. WHITNEY, *HOS*, Vol 7, p. 70.

a dog (1.11.1-5). It is possible to suppose that in this whole process of child-birth, the physician did not merely rely on his spells, but he used his skill to widen the passage of the womb, canal and vagina, and also to make the placenta fall down immediately. He was careful to see that the child is not stuck up in the flesh, fat or marrow. It is also likely that he might be resorting to some sort of surgical operations or the use of forceps too. Kausika (33) prescribes the sprinkling of hot water on the head of the pregnant woman, releasing the joints of the house and tying a cord and a rope to her both sides. These are the rites of the homeopathic or sympathetic magic.

(16) Miscarriage (6.17):

To prevent the premature birth of a child Kausika (35.12-15) and Sāyaṇa prescribe the tying of the string of the bow, knit thrice, on the body of the pregnant woman. Also the clay from a field mixed with the water should be given to her. The same treatment is to be followed when the child is suffering from convulsions. The hymn containing the spell is to be recited while the treatment is proceeding. The woman is exhorted to bear the foetus up to delivery just as the earth supports the embryos of beings, plants and mountains. The spell does not contain any indication regarding the treatment. However, it seems that the pregnant woman was symbolically treated, so that there would not be miscarriage. Hence Kausika prescribes the homeopathic magical rite of tying of the woman with the string of a bow. Also an amulet of white and yellow mustard is tied on the body of pregnant woman to prevent the evil spirits attacking and harassing her. These spirits cause the birth of a dead child or abortion (8.6.9). They cause pain in her hips (8.6.13). They like to devour the embryo of the pregnant women (8.6.23). Thus the diagnosis of the troubles of the pregnant woman according to the Atharvaṇic doctor is the attachment of evil spirits towards the woman. These evil spirits enter the embryo and cause the child to die before or soon after birth (8.6.18). The *bheṣaja* for such trouble according to AV is keeping the white and yellow mustards having magical values in the knot of her garment (*nīvi* 8.6.20).²¹ The mustard prevents the troubles of women, such as, childlessness, still birth, labour and barrenness (8.6.26). The hymn 2.25 refers to the demons called Kaṇvas, who eat foetus (*gārbhāda*). The plants *pṛṣṇiparni* (*hermonitis cordifolia*) is

21. For the details of the demons and evil spirits see 'The foundations', p. 408.

the wonderful and divine remedy against the vile trick of the Kaṇvas, such as causing abortion. The plant devours them. The priest employs it to cut off the heads of the evil brood (2.25.1-5). WEBER and GRILL agree with this employment of the charm. But WHITNEY²² thinks that the language of the charm does not indicate sufficiently this employment of the charm. But it may be observed that the hymn definitely mentions the formidable, blood thirsty, and deadly Kaṇvas who eat foetus (*gūrbhāda*, 2.25.3). It is thus proper to employ this spell against miscarriage, to the accompaniment of the treatment of the plant *prśniparnī*. Suśruta (1.377.7) also considers this plant mixed with milk as a preventive against abortion.²³ Thus the Atharvaṇic doctor treats diseases with medicine having magical qualities.

(17) Fever, headache and cough caused by rain :

All these are caused by the red bull born of wind and cloud (the lightning). The priests make offerings to it with reverence (1.12.1-2). Sāyaṇa points out that the offerings are *caru* (cooked rice), ghee and *samidaḥ* ('fuel'). The red bull is the sun according to Sāyaṇa. BLOOMFIELD considers it to be the lightning, as the cause of fever and rheumatic pain, which tortures the patient with hooks and crooks (*aṅka* and *samaṅka*²⁴ 1.12.2). In this disease the joints of the patient become stiff and cause pain. There is also cough and headache. The cause of these symptoms is termed as *jarāyujā* or *śuṣma* (fever-Sāyaṇa, lightning-BLOOMFIELD, blast-WHITNEY) and is asked to go away to trees and mountains. Thus the fever (*śociṣ*), headache (*śirṣakti*), cough (*kāsa*) and raking pain in the limbs should go away elsewhere and should not cause trouble to the patient any more. The idea in such cure is that the disease, like sin, should go to some other person. Owing to the lightning, the consequent rain and damp climate three types of diseases are caused viz., (i) born of *abhra* (cloud, rain or lightning) is cough (*kāsa*), (ii) born of *vāta* (the pain in the joints), (iii) born of *śuṣma* i. e. fever which seems to suggest *pitta*, bile (1.12.3). These very same triple causes seem to be referred to in the word *tredhā* in 1.12.1. These words suggest the *tridhātus*, cough, wind and bile, on which the Indian system of

22. WHITNEY, *ibid.*, p. 64.

23. BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.*, p. 302.

24. In AV 6.50.1 these two words occur as the names of some pestiferous insects or animals which destroy grain. Here, however, they mean the stinging pain.

Medicine is based. Thus the spell is recited to the accompaniment of sacrificial offerings to remove *śociṣ*, fever (v. 2), *aṅk* and *samanka*, rheumatic or torturing pain (v. 2), *śirṣakti*-headache (v. 3), *kūsa*, cough entering in his joints (v. 3), and thus caused by *abhra*, *vāta* and *śuṣmā* (v. 3). WEBER²⁵ thinks that the spell is used against the fever afflicting a child. He seems to have been guided by the word *jarāyuja* (product of placenta) occurring in the beginning of 1.12. But this is not the conclusive evidence. LUDWIG²⁶ uses it against inflammation. ZIMMER²⁷ employs it against wound fever, being guided by the word, *vāta*, which he takes to mean wound. But it is used here in the sense of 'wind in the body.' According to Sāyaṇa the spell is to be used against cough, wind and bile, or against stormy weather. The patient is to be sprinkled with water, while the spell is being recited. Kauśika 38.1-7 and Keśava (*ibid*) treat this as a charm against headache also. BLOOMFIELD²⁸ has rightly interpreted the text of the hymn in emending *vātabhṛaja* into *vatūbhṛaja* in 1.12.1 in view of the interpretation of Kauśika and Keśava, and also the words *abhṛaja* and *vātaja* occurring at 1.12.3.

(18) Takman :

The word *takman* occurs in the AV only. In the Ayurveda the word for *takman* is *jvara* (fever). Takman is the son of Varuṇa (1.25.3). The idea in this conception is that fever is inflicted as a penalty on the wrong doers or liars by Varuṇa. Takman takes its origin in water entered by Agni. It means that fever is caused by rain which is referred to here by Agni (lightning) entering in the waters (clouds). Fever is the fire in the shape of flame, heat or fire of chopped wood (1.25.2). It causes jaundice. Its effect is burning or scorching heat in the body (1.25.3). The fever is of different types, viz., (1) *śīta*-malarial, due to cold, (2) *rūra*-delirious, causing delirium, (3) *śociṣ*-ordinary fever, (4) fever occurring on every next day, (5) fever, occurring for two successive days, (6) fever occurring on every third day (1.25.4). Keśava on Kauśika (26.25) refers to these six types of fever. Sāyaṇa refers to the malarial, constant and intermittant fever in this spell. The hymn 1.25 does not give any remedy against such fever. Kauśika 26.25 prescribes that an iron axe is to be heated and is to

25. *Indische Studien*, IV, 405.

26. *Der Ṛgveda*, III. 343.

27. *Altindische Leben*, p. 390.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

be dropped in hot water which is to be sprinkled on the patient suffering from fever. Kauśika prescribes the homeopathic cure based on attraction. The hot water sprinkled on the patient would take away fever from the body of the patient. It would attract the heat of fever. The AV also prescribes a sovereign remedy against fever viz., the plant *kuṣṭha* (*costus speciosus*). This plant grows in the north of the Himālaya mountain. It is a medicine (*agada*) against fever (5.4.6). The plant is then taken to the people in the east (*prācyām nīyase*, 5.4.8). It removes *yakṣma* (phthisis), *takman*, headache and evil of the eyes and body (5.4.9-10).²⁹ *Kuṣṭha* is not mentioned in the RV. It seems to be a fragrant plant. In later literature it designates leprosy. Suśruta³⁰ prescribes the *kuṣṭha* plant against leprosy. He also points out eight different varieties of fever due to the disturbance of the three humours of the body. *Kuṣṭha* is also one of the materials used in the medicine against fever caused by wind (*vāta*).³¹ Caraka³² treats the eightfold fever and considers that it is caused by the wrath of Maheśvara.

Takman or fever seems to be the constant dread of the people in Mūjavat, Mahāvṛṣas and Bālhika. Bāl bikas are beyond the Mūjavat mountain (5.22.5,7).³³ These countries are the home of fever. The fever is also caused by diarrhoea or abnormal evacuations (5.22.4). *Takman* has a very disastrous effect on the patient, since it consumes him like fire, and turns him yellow on account of jaundice. *Takman* is spotted and reddish. This indicates the countenance of the patient laid down with fever (5.22.2-3). It brings about *balāsa*, general consumption,³⁴ *kāsa* cough, and *pūman*, scab. It causes shivering in the patient and is accompanied by cough (5.22.10-12). *Takman* is therefore asked to go away to Gāndhāras, Mūjavats, Aṅgas, Magadhas, Bāl bikas and Mahāvṛṣas (5.22.4, also see 19.39.1,10).³⁵

The charm (5.22) also refers to the sacrifice offered on the altar with Soma, pressed in stones and holy fuel. The sacrifice offered to Agni is expected to remove fever. We thus find here, medicinal magical and sacrificial help taken by the Atharvaṇic doctor in

29. N. J. SHENDE, *Ibid.*, pp. 398 ff.

30. *Cikitsāsthāna*, 9.12.

31. *Uttaratantra*, 39.171.

32. pp. 191-233, 395-423 (edn. by V. K. DATAR, Bombay.)

33. BLOOMFIELD, *Ibid.*, p. 446.

34. GROHMANN, *Indische Studien*, 9. 396.

35. *JRAS*, 1890, 477.

curing deadly diseases like *takman*. Kausika (29,18,19) prescribes a gruel of *lājās* (black or parched rice) to be drunk by the patient. It is poured in red (copper) vessel, in the fire derived from the forest tree. The treatment is symbolical based on similar attraction with the touch of homeopathy. *Lājās* refer to the fever, the red vessel suggests heat and fever and forest fire is the fever resulting from lightning or malarial type.³⁶ Caraka³⁷ also prescribes the gruel of *lājās* against fever.

Thus the Atharvaṇic charm also contains medicinal values, Kauśika (30.7) prescribes another charm against fever. In the fire prepared from the fuel brought from forest, ghee is to be offered with copper ladle. It is to be poured on the head of the patient, who is suffering from a delirious fever, making his body yellow and red (6.20, 1-3). Keśava on Kauśika (*ibid*) thinks this to be the fever caused by bile (*pitta*). Frog plays an important part in the magical remedy against fever. The *takman*, deliriously hot, shaking, exciting, impetuous, brought about by cold and coming the next and on successive day is an impious thing and is asked to go in the frog (7.116.1-2). Kauśika (32.17) details the idea in the hymn, 7.116. A frog is tied with blue and red strings and is kept under the bed of the patient. With the recitation of the hymn the patient is to be bathed on the cot; so that the fever is washed on the frog.³⁸ The frog seems to represent the water in which it resides. The malarial fever, caused by water, may be thus returned back, through the frog. This is thus the homeopathic magic.

(19) *Harimū* or jaundice and *Rhdyota* or heart disease :

BLOOMFIELD thinks that the charm in hymn 1.22 is to be used against jaundice and related diseases. The charm in itself refers to jaundice and heartache. The priest sends these diseases to the sun, parrot (*śuka*), thrush (*ropanaka*) and yellow wag-tail (*hāridrava*). This is the homeopathic treatment. The priest envelops the patient with the red skin of the bull or cow so that he should attain his natural complexion and live long (1.22.1-4). It thus seems that the Atharvaṇic doctor considered that the jaundice makes all body yellow and causes heart-disease. The main idea in the magical rite is to banish or transfer the yellow colour to the objects where it normally belongs. Kauśika (26.14) and Sāyaṇa lay down the practice of magic in this case quite

36. BLOOMFIELD, *ibid*, pp. 441-63.

37. p. 411.

38. BLOOMFIELD, *ibid*, pp. 565-8.

in keeping with the objects mentioned in the hymn. Kausika prescribes that the priest should ask the patient to drink water mixed with hair of the red bull. He ties an amulet of the ring of the hide of the red bull, dipped in cow's milk. He makes him eat the rice cooked with turmeric (*haridrā*) and the remnants are rubbed all over his body. He makes him sit on a cot, ties the three birds mentioned in the hymn by their left foot to the leg of the cot and washes the patient off the birds. Keśava on Kausika 26,21 informs that the amulet should be the golden ring clothed in the hair and heart of the red bull. The magical practice described by Kausika is symbolical and homeopathic. The yellowness of the patient is to be handed over to the yellow birds and the use of the amulets indicates that the patient is to get the skin like that of the red bull or cow.

(20) White leprosy (*Kilāsa*) :

To cure *kilāsa*, leprosy and *palīta*, gray spots, hymn 1. 23 lays down the plants like *haridrā*, *rāmā*, *kr̥ṣṇā*, *asiknī* or *nīlī* are to be used for removing the white spots from the body and restoring it to the original colour. These plants have their dwelling or hiding place in the dark. A paste prepared from these plants or their leaves would give black colour to the skin (1.23.1-3). These white spots may be caused by (i) defect in bones, hence born of bones, (ii) born of body, i. e. due to the defect in the flesh between bones and skin, or (iii) due to evil witchcraft. The priest claims that his *brahman* (magical power) is able to cure all these varieties of leprosy (1.23.4). Sāyaṇa and Kausika (26.22-24) detail the use of the plants mentioned in hymn 1.23. The plants are to be pasted. With dry cowdung, the leprous spots are to be massaged till they become red. The paste from these plants is then to be applied on them. Also they prescribe an offering of ghee in fire to the Maruts. BLOOMFIELD considers that this rite is intended to put the patient in sweat. But this does not appear to be so. This is a sacrificial rite in addition to the medicinal and magical ones. Another plant named *āsuri* or *śyāmā* is also mentioned as a cure against leprosy (1.24). Sāyaṇa (on 1.24.1) thinks it to be another name of *nīlī* plant. This remedy was in possession of an Asura woman (1.24.1-2). The Atharvanic priest knows the parents of the plants; so that he can command them for his use. The parents of this plant are of like-colour, hence it can make the skin of the leper, like-coloured. This is the homeopathic magic. It is to be noted that the Atharvanic doctors claimed a number of

remedies from the Asuras and their women, who had secret knowledge of the medicines or had kept them secret (6.108,3 2.3.3, 6.109,3, 6.38.2).³⁹

The plant *kuṣṭha* is also employed by Kauśika (28.13) for curing leprosy. The plant is to be crushed and mixed with butter. It is to be anointed to the body against the line of hair. The charm 6.95 contains the praise of the plant *Kuṣṭha*, which is asked to free the patient from disease, which Kauśika understands to be phthisis and leprosy. It is highly medicinal (6.95.1-3).

(21) Kṣetriya or hereditary disease :

This is one of the most dreaded diseases. The charm in the hymn 2.8 is addressed to the Vicṛtas (*mūla* lunermansion), dawn, plant, straws of brown barley, which are endowed with white stalks and the blossom of sesame, to remove the Kṣetriya disease. Sāyaṇa on 2.8.3 considers that the chips of white Arjuna tree, husk of barley and blossom of sesame are addressed here (2.8.1-3). The plough (*lāṅgala*) poles (*iṣā*) and yoke (*yuga*) are paid reverence, since they remove the disease (2.8.4). Also reverence is paid to the drooping eyes, to the lonely place *sandeśyam* (to indigenous place—BLOOMFIELD; to them of the same place—WHITNEY; an old ditch—Sāyaṇa, 2.8.5). Sāyaṇa (2.8.1) considers that Kṣetriya is consumption, leprosy or convulsions creeping in the bodies of children and grand-children through their parents, BLOOMFIELD translates it as hereditary disease. Dārila on Kauśika 26.1, considers it to be *kaulavyādhi*, family disease. Keśava explains it as leprosy, consumption and dysentery (*saṁgrahāṇī*) which are handed down from ancestors. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 2.5.6.3 considers it to be a disease of womb, or embryonic disease. WEBER⁴⁰ thinks that Kṣetriya refers to injuries of the field. Kauśika (26.1, 41,27.4) and Sāyaṇa think that the whole charm 2.8 is to be employed when the patient is to be sprinkled outside the house with water which is duly charmed to remove those diseases. Different *ṛc*s of the charm 2.8 have different significance. *Ṛc* 1 is to be recited when he is sprinkled outside the house. *Ṛc* 2 is used for sprinkling him at the dawn. With *ṛc* 3, the patient is to be tied with an amulet of chips of Arjuna tree, husk of barley and flowers of sesame put together. In the same way with this *ṛc*, an amulet made from the skin of a living animal mixed with the clay from the

39. Also see BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.*, p. 268.

40. *Indische Studien*, 5.145 note.

field or ant-hill is to be tied on the body. With the *ṛc* 4, the patient is made to stand under a plough yoked with a bull and is sprinkled with charmed water. With the *ṛc* 5, a jar of water is to be charmed in a lonely house. Then an old ditch is to be charmed and covered with grass. The patient is made to sit there and is given the sip of their juice and is sprinkled with it. These rites may be performed alternately.

BLOOMFIELD thinks that the practices of Kauśika are obscure and farfetched. He considers that Kauśika's treatment is based on the derivation of Kṣetriya from field, rather than womb. There is a play on the word *kṣetra*, field and womb. The poet employs the name and properties of conjuration from the field.⁴¹ The disease is connected with *kṣetra*, field or womb. Hence the lord of the field is invoked in 2. 8. 5. The plough, yoke and poles are addressed. The *arjuna* creeper, husk of *yava* and blossoms of sesame, all grow in field. These are all invoked to remove Kṣetriya. Thus it seems that the disease first creeps in the human beings through *kṣetra*, a womb and is perpetrated by the products of the field. Hence the field, its lord and its products are addressed to remove the disease. The birth and bringing up in the particular *kṣetra* bring consequent defects along with it. Kauśika (27. 7) while commenting on 2. 10 also prescribes a magical rite of sprinkling or washing the patient at the cross-roads with water charmed by a bundle of *darbha* grass and chips of the *kāmpīla* tree are tied on his limbs. The priest assures the patient suffering from Kṣetriya (consumption, leprosy or dysentery), from the goddess of destruction, Nirṛti, from the curse of female relations, from the hatred of the elderly persons and snares of Varuṇa that all diseases, mishaps caused by any of these would go away on account of the power of his magical spell (*brahman*) 2. 10, 1-5. As soon as he recites the charm to the accompaniment of the magical ritual, the patient immediately becomes cured. The personality and the confidence of the Atharvanic doctor treating patients magically, influence the nerve of the patient who becomes charmed with these. Comparing similar passages from TB, Baudhāyana, and Apastambha, BLOOMFIELD⁴² considers that the *ṛcs* of this charm are employed for the *jātakarma* or birth rite. The AV, however, employs the hymn 2. 10 for the removal of all hereditary diseases. This disease binds the person by means of its upper and lower snares. It also spreads to all limbs. It is sometimes rooted in the heart

41. BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.*, p. 287.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 292 ff.

of the person like tumour (3. 7. 2-4). It is as the name indicates an inherited disease. But it seems that it was also thrust on the person by his rivals with some magical concoction given to him for drinking. The hymn 3. 7. 6 uses the word *āsuti* as the cause of Kṣetriya. BLOOMFIELD renders it as the magic concoction. WHITNEY takes it to mean, drink, rather doubtfully. WEBER thinks it to be the act of propagation. Sāyaṇa considers it as food which is not taken in the prescribed manner. Another remedy (*bheṣaja*) prescribed by hymn 3. 7 is the horn on the head of the swift-running antelope. The skin of the antelope is also used in the medicine (3.7.1,3). These two are to be employed with the waters which contain remedy (3.7. 5). The priest knows these remedies against Kṣetriya, which he hopes to drive off (3.7,3,6). Thus the spell informs us that the Kṣetriya is sometimes inflicted on by magic, food or drink, and phthisis, leprosy etc., arise in the body of a person. Kauśika (27. 29-31) and Sāyaṇa prescribe the magical rite in agreement with the hymn. An amulet of the horn of antelope is to be tied. The water with the horn is given for drinking. The water is poured on the skin of the antelope and is warmed on the fire. It is sprinkled on the patient early in the morning. He also sips this charmed water. BLOOMFIELD⁴³ thinks that the relation of the antelope with the practices to remove the Kṣetriya is obscure. He however admits the swiftness of the animal is symbolical of the speedy removal of disease. Also there is similarity in the word *viṣāṇa* (horn 3.7.1) and the root *viṣ* to loosen. Mere verbal similarity is enough for the Atharvaṇic priest to connect the Kṣetriya with the horn. This is also homeopathic magic. Kauśika also prescribes the offering of barley from the unmeasured heap in the fire. He also lays down that cooked rice duly charmed with the spell (3.7) should be given to him for eating. Thus there is play on the word *kṣetra* (field and parents) and Kṣetriya is to be cured by following a charm to pacify the lord of the field, yoke and poles. The disease is brought about by eating improper food, magical rite of the enemy and through the parents. Generally the disease takes the form of phthisis, or leprosy or dysentery. The waters and horn of antelope act as remedies, in addition to the homeopathic magic and sacrifice.

(22) Worms :

The worms in children, grown-up persons, cows or cattle are treated by the Atharvaṇic physicians carefully. With the help of the deities like Agni and Indra, the heat of the sun and fierce imprecation (*ugreṇa vacasā*) of the priest according to the priestly

43. *Ibid.*, p. 336,

traditions of the seers such as Atri, Kanva, Jamadagni and Agastya kill the worms in child. The priest grinds them like the grams in a millstone (5.23.1-13). With his *brahman* he crushes them. Kauśika (28.20-26) prescribes the use of *karīra* grass and dust from village against worms. The suffering child is placed on the lap of the mother to the west of fire. With the bottom of pastle heated in the fire and anointed with butter, the palate of the child is pressed. Then the pressed palate is anointed with butter. The roots of *uśira* plant are pounded and given to the patient. It appears that the fierce imprecation of the priest along with the symbolical act is mostly responsible for the cure of the worms, rather than any medicinal value of the objects. The worms form a disease and are cause of other diseases. The seen or unseen worms in entrails (*āntṛa*), head and ribs, growing inside the body in various ways must have been roughly considered by the Atharvaṇic physician to be the cause of serious disorder in the body (2.31.4). But the real remedy is the charm (*vacas*) of the physician. Kauśika (27.14-20) prescribes the offering of black grams with ghee in fire. He also lays down that an arrow should be tied with the hair of the cow and should be powdered with stone. This is the symbolical act of crushing the worms. With street dust in the right hand facing south, the priest should throw it on the patient. The scattered dust symbolises the scattering and dispersal of the worms. Poisonous worms cause diseases in the cattle too. With the *brahman* (magic power) the priest kills the worms in the cows (2.32.1). Kauśika (17.21-26) informs that the priest should strike the face of the infected cow in the morning, noon and evening with the *darbhas*. Black grams (*caṇaka*) should be offered in fire. The offering seems to have been suggested from the simile, viz, crushing the worms like grams in mill (5.23.8).⁴⁴ Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (4.36), Āśvalāyana Śrauta sūtra (15.19.5) refer to the curing of a cow from worms. Mantrabrāhmaṇa (2.7) also refers to the process of killing worms in men and cattle.

(23) *Yakṣma* (consumption):

It is a general decline in the health of a person with disease in various parts of body. Hymn 2.33 minutely describes the various parts of the body. It is interesting to note that the Atharvaṇic doctors had studied minutely and named various parts of the human body, which fact suggests that they were surgeons and attended

44. For genetal description of the worms see N. J. SHENDE, *ibid.*

post mortem examination of the bodies. For instance, in the human anatomy the hymn refers to eyes, nostrils, ears, chin, head, brain, tongue, neck (*grīvāḥ*, 14 subtle bones in the neck according to Sāyaṇa), nape at the neck, ribs, spine, fore arm, arm, shoulder, heart, lung (*cloman*, fleshy mass near the heart according to Sāyaṇa), viscera (*halikṣṇa*), sides (*pārśva*), kidneys (*matasnā*), spleen (*plīhā*), liver (*yakṛta*), intestine (*ānta*), anus (*guda*), bigger intestine (*vanīṣṭha*, rectum—BLOOMFIELD), abdomen (*udara*), paunches (*kukṣi*), guts (*plāsi*), navel (*nābhi*), thighs (*ūru*), knees (*aṣṭhivat*), heels (*pārṣṇi*), tips of the feet, buttock (*bhasadya*), bottom (*bhaṁsas*), bones, marrow, sinews, arteries (*dhamani*), hand, fingers, nail, hair, joints and skin. Any decay in any of these parts (*yakṣma*), the priest claims to cure by means of the charm (*vibarha*) of Kaśyapa (2.33.1-7). At another place *yakṣma* is said to be due to poison, which decays different parts of the body (9.8.10). The poison is removed by a spell. The poison creeps in the inner parts of the body, thighs and canals (*gavīnikā*—WHITNEY, 9.8.7). The charm also removes *bulāsa* from the heart and limbs, if it is caused by weak heart love or disgust (9.8.8). Similarly the *yakṣma* from within the inner, soul, jaundice and diarrhoea (*apvā*) from the bowels is removed (9.8.9). All poison of *yakṣma* would go away from belly, lungs (*kloman*), navel and heart (9.8.12). The poison of *yakṣma* also paralyses the limbs (9.8.19). It causes neuralgia, abscess (*vidradha*), wind diseases (*vātikāra*), and inflammation of eyes (*ālaja*) 9.8.20. It will be observed that the term *yakṣma* is generally used in the AV to denote the disease which causes pain and decay. Phthisis is *rājayakṣma*, the king of the *yakṣmas*. Fever, cough, diseases of the head, pain in the spine and bones are its general symptoms. Spell and sun's rays cure it (9.8.22). It will be also noticed that the Atharvaṇic physicians had known and named the principal parts of the body and thought that *yakṣma* could find scope anywhere on these parts. Kauśika (27.27-28) prescribes a symbolical rite against *yakṣma* by tying and then releasing with the charm, the limbs of the patient and also sprinkling charmed water over his joints. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika consider that the charm is for curing all diseases. A person, who is suffering from *yakṣma* even if is on the point of death, or actually dead is brought back to life and given long life, with the essence of plants (such as rice and barley) and the immortal waters of the rain (3.31.8-11). Then there would not be any mental affliction and sinful witchcraft, which brings on him the *yakṣma*. In addition to the essence of plants and water, the tying of an amulet of *varāṇa* tree removes *yakṣma* which has entered in

the body (6.85.1-2). BLOOMFIELD⁴⁵ thinks that the basis for the use of *varaṇa* plant is the root *vr* — to shut off. A person is attacked by *yakṣma* owing his sins. Another reason for the attack of the disease is the excess of sexual intercourse. Sāyaṇa (on 3.11) and Kauṣika (27.32-33) call it *grāmyavyādhi*. Dārila while explaining the word informs that it is caused by sexual intercourse and is termed as *pitādū*. It may be somewhat like syphilis or soft cancer. For curing the unknown decline (*ajñāta-yakṣma*), phthisis (*rājayakṣma*) or convulsions caused by Grāhi in children, an oblation having a thousand eyes, of hundredfold strength, ensuring hundredfold life and consequently called *śatāyur-haviḥ* (offering securing life for hundred years), is offered in fire (3.11.1-5). The offering consists of cooked rice mixed with stinking fish, according to Sāyaṇa (3.11.1). Thus if the patient is afflicted, exhausted in life, even departed or carried in the presence of Mṛtyu, the priest snatches him away. His life enters in him again due to the power of the priest's *brahman* (3.11.2.5). According to Kauṣika (*ibid*) the magic rite consists in giving to the patient cooked rice with rotten fish for eating. He is to be bathed, sprinkled and allowed to sip water warmed with fire made from the forest sesame (*araṇyatila*) and also with water heated with the quenching of forest hemp, forest dung and plants bringing peace. The symbolism of the water made warm with the quenching of forest wood or sesame seems to be attraction and thus taking off the disease. Thus the Atharvanic physician with his knowledge of human anatomy considers the possibility of *yakṣma* in all parts of the body, also the *rājayakṣma*, and *yakṣma* due to excess of sexual intercourse. The cause of contacting this disease is the sin committed by a person. In addition to the magical spell and act, the priest also prescribes a sacrifice, which cures his disease and brings back his life for hundred years. Amulet of *varaṇa* tree is also used for the same purpose. Thus the magic spell, act, sacrifice and amulet are employed to bring about the cure of the disease.

(24) Poison :

There are a number of charms in the AV to remove the poison entering the body through various sources. The clay and/or water from an ant-hill is believed by the Atharvanic physicians to contain remedy against poison. The gods sprinkle water on the desert tract for the ants, which store it in the ant-hill as mixed with clay. This

45. *Ibid.*, p. 505.

is the divine remedy for curing general type of poison (6.100.1-3) Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (31.36) prescribe that the clay from ant-hill is to be charmed and pasted on the body and it is to be mixed with water and given to the patient for drinking.

Drinking Soma renders the poison harmless. Brāhmaṇa (*Takṣaka-Sāyaṇa*) was born with ten heads and ten mouths. He drank Soma, which made the poison powerless (4.6.1). Sāyaṇa commenting on this *ṛc* remarks that a Brāhmaṇa drinking Soma makes harmless the poison born of roots and bulbs. The eagle digests the poison like food (4.6.3). The loudly uttered spell of the priest removes poison (4.6).

The poisoning due to arrow is removed by means of his spell. The points of the arrow (*śalya*), its neck (*kulmala*), its plume (*parṇadhi*-feather socket) and the barbed horn are besmeared with ointment of poison (*prāñjana*). The tree from which the bow is made is also poisonous. Such poisonous trees grow over some mountains. All these along with those who ground the poison, besmear and hurl with the arrow and also those who let it go in the food of others are all made harmless by this charm (4.65-7). Those, who dig the poisonous plants are made impotent (4.68). The idea is that the poison is in the mind and acts of the persons as also in the poisonous substances themselves. These both are also to be made impotent. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (28.14) prescribe the magical ritual to the accompaniment of the recitation of the spell (4.6). The patient salutes Takṣaka and sips charmed water and is sprinkled with it. The pieces of *īramuka* wood are powdered in water and the patient is sprinkled with it. They give another prescription also. The patient is sprinkled with water, which is made warm by quenching in it old garment made hot or old skin of deer or old pieces of broken broom. The mixture is stirred by means of two arrows having poison at their tips. A clod of earth is dissolved in it. The patient drinks this mixture until he vomits. Then the patient is given turmeric powder in ghee. The old garment, old skin of deer, pieces of broom, all suggest the insignificance of the poison. The sprinkling of this mixture would attract the poison and render it powerless in the body. The mixture of the poison on the arrow-tips is to take away poison by means of poison. This is the homeopathic magic. The turmeric powder with ghee is used to soothen the bowels, which are ruffled while vomiting. Sometimes the poison is administered through gruel (*īraṁbha*), which being rich in ghee is taken easily by a hungry

person. Another way of poisoning is through the plant *madūvatī* which is poisonous. It goes in the human body sometimes. The remedy is the water of the river *Vāraṇāvatī*, which is full of nectar, to the accompaniment of the priestly charm (4.7.1-4). By means of the charm, the poison which is dug out and kept outside the village, cannot enter the body. The poison is purchased with broomsticks, old garment and antelope-skin. It is thus an insignificant thing for barter (4.7.5). Kausika (28.1-4) and Sāyaṇa have utilised the old broom, skin and garment in the rite to remove poison.

The serpent's poison is an equally dreadful thing. The children and men of the household wandering about were in constant dread of the serpents. By means of the charm (6.56) their mouths are closed, never to open again. Their teeth are crushed against teeth, jaw against jaw and tongue against tongue, by means of the spell. They are the divine folks (*devajanās*). Their help is sought by saluting them. The mention of their names and classes, removes the intensity of their poison. They were divine folks, brought under control by the charm (6.56.1-3). Sāyaṇa and Kausika (50.17-22) prescribe the ritual for keeping away the serpents from premises. While the hymn (6.56) is recited, for keeping away the serpents from the bed, house or field, lines are drawn round these; so that the serpents would not enter in them. The garlands of grass are tied to the house and the dung of cow is scattered, buried at the door and offered in fire. The blossoms of *apāmārga* are used in the same way. Thus the area enclosed by the lines, drawn on grass, dung etc., kept at the entrance of the house being charmed, prevents the serpents from coming in. The charm of the Atharvaṇic physician in curing the snake poisoning is very nicely treated in 5.13. The priest says, 'The divine Kavi, Varuṇa has given me this medicine with formidable spell. I take off your poison which is dry, not-dug or attached. In my spells, I-seize your waterless poison and also your upper, lower and middle juice. My voice is vigorous, thundering through clouds; with my formidable spell (*vacas*). I take off your poison. With my eye, I smite your eye, with poison your poison (5.13.1-4).' He then asks the serpent to die and not to live. The poison should go back to it. Thus the Atharvaṇic wizard employs his speech and eye. He calls the names of the serpents. The utterance of their names and their genealogy, parents etc., makes the serpents sapless and harmless. He calls the serpents by their names and asks them to hear him and threatens them not to stand in the way of his friend, the suffering patient. The serpent should

take out its poison and rest quietly (5.13.5-7). Another aspect of his charm, controlling the serpents, is to abuse them, and to treat them as useless. He calls *āligī* and *vīligī* serpents as the daughters of the Broad-knobbed one, born of black barbarian slave (5.13.8) and that their poison was purchased for old worthless broom and rags (4.7.5). Even the hedgehog says that whatever is produced by digging (the poison) is made spaless (5.13.9). A very interesting rite is prescribed by Kauśika (29.1-4). The priest ties a ring with the ends of garment and with white piece of cloth, and marks a line by clay round the bitten part. He ties a knot to hempen post. He presses the bitten part. The priest goes round him. He makes him drink water which is warmed by quenching the burnt household grass. He makes him eat honey, clay round the sweet tree and dung of porcupine. Water in the gourd (*alābu*) is given to him for drinking. Pressing and tying the bitten part of the body are resorted to for preventing the circulation of poison. Tying a knot to a post is the symbolical and homeopathic magic. Another interesting spell (10.4) describes that *darbha* grass, tail of a horse, of a shaggy one and seat of a chariot burn the serpent (10.4.2). In all cases of the serpent bite, the people used to depend with absolute confidence on the young Atharvaṇic physician who kills the serpents (*yuvā bhīṣak* 10.4.15). The physician by means of his charms withdraws their poison and going to the river, washes it off (10.4.19). The snake then dies (10.4.26). Kauśika (32.20-25, commenting on 10.4) refers to Paidva⁴⁶ the horse of Pedu, which kills the serpents. In the AV, some insect is mentioned. Keśava calls it *talīṇī* and describes it as of golden colour. A person, who is bitten by serpent performs a rite for pacifying Takṣaka. Having ground Paidva, he puts it in his right nostril with right thumb. One puts Paidva in the garment, if he is afraid of serpents. Keśava informs us that one should dig Paidva, clothed in white garment, when he expects danger from serpents. Dārila tells us to keep Paidva folded in the garment in the house. With the recitation of 13.4.25 the priest rubs the patient from head to foot. With 10.4.26 he heats the bitten spot and throws fire-brands on the serpent. If the serpent is not there, he hurls down the fire-brand on the spot where he was bitten. The use of honey mixed with water against serpent bite is also prescribed by Kauśika (29.28) while commenting on the hymn 6.12. In this spell the priest claims that he has gone round all races of serpents and therefore he is competent to cure the poison. This spell (6.12)

46. BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.*, p. 605 and also BERGAIGNE, *La Religion Védique*, II, 451-2, 498.

was formerly known to the Brāhmaṇas, seers and gods. It exists for all three times. With their charm he mixes honey with waters from the rivers Paruṣṇī and Śīpālā (6. 12. 1-3). The use of mixture of honey and water is justified since the spell speaks of it.

Against the bite of poisonous creatures like snakes, insects, ants, flees and scorpion, Kauśika (32. 5-7) also prescribes the use of sweetwood. Kauśika is right in its prescription, since the spell (7. 56) informs us that the herb which is sweet like honey (*madhulā*) crushes the insects, scorpions and snakes (7. 56 1-3). One of the effective ways of curing serpent bite is to kill the serpent. When it dies, its poison, also that in the body bitten by it goes away. In the case of Śārkoṭaka (scorpion) the priest utters the following charm, 'The ants devour you and peahens hack your back. Every one of you will declare your poison powerless (7. 56. 7).' At another place Kauśika (29. 6) prescribes that grass should be burnt and hurled at the direction of the serpent or thrown at the place of biting. The hymn (7. 88) containing the charm, asks the grass to be the enemy of serpent, and having the poison in itself, being mixed with poison it should go to the serpent and bite it (7. 88. 1). This is homeopathic magic.

(25) Ointment :

In addition to the waters, plants, sacrifice magically employed, the Atharvaṇi priests employed ointment to cure jaundice (*harimā*), syphilis (*jāyānya*), pain in the limbs (*aṅgabhedā*) and shooting pain (*visalpaka*, an abscess growing under the knees—Sāyaṇa. 19. 44, 2). It makes one swift. It removes all diseases. It extends life and is a sure medicine (*bheṣaja* 19. 44. 1-3). It is borne on the chest (16. 44. 7). It is also put in the eyes. It is sometimes worn as an amulet. The patient bathes with water mixed with it. He also drinks water mixed with it (19.45.5). It is secured from the Trikakuda mountain in the Himālayas (19.44 6).

(26) Eye-diseases :

The hymn 6.16 is employed by BLOOMFIELD, Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (30.1-6) for curing eye-diseases. The exact nature of these eye troubles is not known. The hymn (6.16) does not refer to any such disease. It is addressed to the plant *ābayu*, whose juice and gruel are eaten (6.16 1). According to Sāyaṇa *Tauvilikā* is a *Piśāci* (female evil spirit) that produces the disease in eyes. *Ailaba* is a kind of disease of the eyes. *Babhru* (twany) and *babhrukurṇa* (of

twany eyes) are the causes of the disease. It may be that these cause the eyes to be brown. *Nirāla* is also a disease of the eyes (6.16.3). Kausika (*ibid*) prescribes an amulet of mustard plant (*sarṣapa*), besmeared in mustard oil. It is to be tied on the body after offering ghee in the fire. A leaf of *sarṣapa* with oil and four fruits of the *śāka* tree are given for eating. A paste made from the root of the *śāka* tree is tied on the eyes and eaten.

(27) For the growth of hair on the head :

The plant *nitatnī* is dug out of the ground to be used in medicine to strengthen old hair, grow new ones and to promote a luxuriant growth of hair. This all-healing herb (*viśvabheṣaja*) is also used in sprinkling the hair which drop off and have broken roots (6.136.1-3). With the use of the plant *nitatnī*, the hair grow up excessively, so as to be measured with reins, or outstretched hands or reeds and cluster round the head with their black colour (6.137.2). Jamadgni, a Rgvedic and Atharvanic seer, dug up this plant for the growth of hair of his daughter (6.131.1). It makes the roots of hair firm, draws out their ends and expand the middle (6.131.3). Sāyaṇa and Kausika (31.28) prescribe that the fruits of *kūcāmācī*, *jīvanti* and *bhr̥ṅgarāja* should be tied on the head. Of these, the last one is even now used in hair-tonic preparations. They also prescribe that the physician who is dressed in black and has taken black food in the morning before the crow rises should pour on the head the concoction of the plant *nitatnī*, *jīvi* and *ālakā*. In this rite, in addition to the medicinal value of the plants, there is the use of homeopathic magic in the use of black garments and black food. The plant *śami*⁴⁷ of broad leaves and increased by rain is also used in medicine to grow hair on the head. It is to be noted that *śami* plant now known, has small leaves like tamarind tree. Any offence against *śami* causes the fall of hair making the head bald and the person becomes the laughing stock of all people (*abhihasya*) due to his baldness. The plant *śami* is asked to be gracious to the hair (6.30.2-3). Sāyaṇa and Kausika (66.15) prescribe the paste of the leaves of *śami* to be put on the head to avert the wrath of *śami* and thus to avoid baldness. The hymn 6.21 is addressed to a plant, which strengthens and increases hair. It is rich in qualities, irresistible and generous in bestowing benefits (6.21.3). Sāyaṇa and Kausika (30.8-10) prescribe that a person should be sprinkled at dawn with water in which the herbs growing under the forest trees are mixed and with

47. N. J. SHENDE, *ibid.*, p. 348.

water boiled with *bibhītaka* and *kvūtha* or *haridrā* and *kvūtha*. Thus according to them these plants are mentioned in the hymn 6.21.

(28) *Balāsa*:

This disease crumbles the bones, joints and heart. It remains in the limbs and joints. The physician removes its very root and drives it off by his spell (6.14). Sāyaṇa and Kauśika 29.30 call it *śleṣma* or phlegm. WHITNEY calls it catarrh. BLOOMFIELD thinks it to be some kind of virulent swelling of the throat. But the description of *balāsa* given in hymn 6.14 suggests that it is a serious disease, crushing bones, joints and heart and may be a variety of tuberculosis.

(29) *Kāsa*:

It is cough. In the hymn 6.105 the *kāsa* is asked to fly away from the patient. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (31.27) prescribe charmed water and stirred drink of barley as remedy against it. The worship of the sun is also advised.⁴⁸ The rays of the sun remove pain (7.107.1).

(30) Pippali is a cure against wind-diseases and bruises. It cures the wounds caused by missiles and blows. Sāyaṇa considers that it also cures wind-diseases (*vātaroga* or *vātīlṛta* 6.109.1-3). Caraka⁴⁹ praises *pippali* as a sovereign remedy against wind and cough.

(31) Kidney:

The hymn 7.96 seems to be intended for stopping the inflammation of kidneys (*vrkka*). WHITNEY takes it to be a charm for quieting the kidneys. But Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (7.96) read *vrka* for *vrkka* and take it as charm to kill the enemy. The charm is recited, while the kidneys are treated with water and thus their inflammation stops.

(32) Unseen diseases:

The plant of Kaṇva by name *śamī* is a universal remedy against unseen diseases, caused by seen and unseen demons (6.52.1-3). WHITNEY employs this for deliverance from unseen paste. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (31.8) use it as a remedy against diseases caused by demons and evil planets. Kauśika (ibid) prescribes that a jar of water containing herbs such as *śamī* should be charmed and that

48. Cf. the treatment of *kāsa* by Caraka, pp. 525 ff.

49. p. 167.

water should be sprinkled on the patient. The water also should be mixed with the fallen leaves of the *śamī* tree.

(33) *Manyā* and *Apacit* :

The *Manyās* numbering 55, 77 or 99 (i. e. of any number) gather on the nape of the neck, on the neck and on the shoulders. They are asked by the Atharvaṇic doctor to go away like the pimples of the disease called *apacit* (6.25.1-3). Sāyaṇa commenting on 6.25.1 renders *apacit* as a chaste and honoured woman. WHITNEY renders it as pain in neck and shoulder. BLOOMFIELD thinks them to be scrofulous sores upon neck and shoulders. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (30.14-16) prescribe that fifty-five leaves of *paraśu* tree are kindled by means of fire produced from the wood in forest. The sap of the leaves prepared by boiling them is pasted on the sores by means of a stick. With the spell, the sores are besmeared with the saliva of a dog and subjected to the bite of leeches and gnats. Thus *manyās* are the pimples and also sores growing on neck and shoulders. They are large in number. Kauśika's use of 55 leaves in the magical rite is based on the number (55) of the *manyās* in hymn 6.25. Akin to the *manyā* are the *apacits*, called *apaci* by Suśruta.⁵⁰ WISE⁵¹ describes them like Suśruta as many tumours appearing in the exilla, neck, back and groin and produced by diseased fat and phlegm. Pus is formed in them, when they are called *apacits*. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika call them *gaṇḍamālā*. These sores on the neck and shoulder and on the secret parts of the body (*viṣṭāman*), grow in size and discharge pus. On account of the spell of the priest they fall off and become dry (7.75.1-2). A surgical treatment is also referred to at 7.74.1-2, when with the root of a tree found by the divine sage, the red *apacits* are struck. The front, middle and hind ones are struck and cut off like flakes of wool. This is described in detail by Kauśika (32.8-10). With a bow of bamboo, bow string of black wool, black arrows having wool tied to their points, the *apacits* are hit, when the priest recites charm (7.74.1-2). With the *re* 7.74.4 the sores are hit. The patient is washed early in the morning with water, which is warmed by quenching burning wool in it. The arrow and the bow are from the root of a plant found by the divine sage (7.74.1). The reference to wool in Kauśika is due to the word *stuka* in 7.74.2.

50. p. 466.

51. *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 316, and also BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.*, p. 561.

In the spell prescribed for the removal of *apacits*, the help of the sun and the moon is invoked. The priest warns the *apacits* that he knows them by their names. He also knows their parents and relations. The boil (*glau*) and swelling (*galunla*) of the *apacits* are charmed when they are to be removed. The priest also offers sacrifice to them, so that they may go away and not kill the patient (6.83.1-4). Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (30.16) refer to another treatment against *gaṇḍamūlū* or *opacits*. The leeches (*jalūka*) are to be charmed and made to suck the impure blood. Also charmed and powdered saltpetre is scattered on them, and the sores are spat upon. While reciting a part of the *ṛc* (6.83.3 *cd*) the *apacits* are to be rubbed and washed with cow's urine. Also dirt from the teeth should be besmeared on it. The use of spitting and dirt from teeth points out the dirty means for removing the dirty boils, by homeopathic magic.

(34) *Jāyānya* :

These are the tumours, which crush the ribs. These grow from head to sole of the feet. They are like birds setting on men. This shows that the tumours grow any where on the body. They are also called the sores caused by cutting or by sharp wound (7.76.3-6). The priest by means of his spell drives them away. He warns them that he knows the source from which they have sprung. Then he confidently asks, 'How can you stay in the body of a person in whose house we offer oblations (7.76.5)'. BLOOMFIELD⁵² considers this disease to be syphilis (being connected with the word *jāyā* in *jāyānya*). Kauśika (32.11) prescribes an amulet of lute. BLOOMFIELD thinks that Kauśika's practice is significant. It acts homeopathically, as the lute signifies the dancing girl, which is the probable source of syphilis. But from the description of *jāyānya* given in *ṛcs* 7.76.3-6 the disease appears to be the sores or tumours growing on all parts of body and those that grow after cuts suffered on the body. This is due to the lack of vitality and forms a stage in the disease called *rājayakṣma* (phthisis).

(35) *Jalūṣa* :

This is the medicine (*bheṣaja*) of Rudra. It cures the wounds caused by arrow, having one shaft and hundred points. This acts as a fierce remedy (*ugra bheṣaja*), when the wounds are washed and

sprinkled with *jalūṣa*. It cures all wounds and thus it is the sovereign remedy making life free from disease (6.57.1-3). While the hymn mentions the wounds caused by arrow heads, as the wound against which *jalūṣa* is to be used, Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (31.11-15) prescribe it against boil (*irapa*) having no opening. They take *jalūṣa* to be the urine of cow. It is to be rubbed on the boil. The foam of urine is to be charmed and rubbed. BLOOMFIELD considers it to be urine as a cure against scrofulous sores.

(36) Against all diseases :

Kauśika and Sāyaṇa employ a number of the hymns in the AV for charms against all diseases, (*sarvinvyādhi-bhaiṣajya*). They do not mention any particular disease, against which these charms are to be used. The hymns sometimes do not contain any clue for their employment. Hymn 7.78 is employed by WHITNEY for the favour of someone. Kauśika (32.3) employs it for curing all diseases. He prescribes the sprinkling of charmed water on a person who wants to get rid of all probable and possible diseases. The priest harnesses Agni with his divine charms (*brahman*), to maintain *kṣatra* (domain or royal power) for the person, for whom the rite is intended. He loosens for him the strap, haltar and harness (7.78-1-2). The loosening of these things symbolise the loosening of the fetters of invisible diseases. The invocation to Agni is the part of the sacrifice, which is magically employed.

In the same way the hymn 5.3 is employed. Kauśika (28.17-20) prescribes a sacrifice in which ghee is offered. He also prescribes that in a jar full of water, barley (*yava*) or clay duly charmed with the hymn (5.9) is to be thrown and the diseased person is to be sprinkled with it. Six offerings of ghee are made to the heaven, the earth and mid air and in the reverse order. The sacrificer surrenders himself to the heaven and earth for protection. Thus the life, strength, acts, witchcraft (*kṛtyā*), intention and senses of the sacrificer are elevated (5.2,1-8). The Atharvaṇic priest in this manner employs sacrifice too for the purpose of curing diseases and prolongs his life, strength etc.

Another preventive magical rite is prescribed by Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (30.17-18) to remove all diseases. BLOOMFIELD and WHITNEY consider that hymn 6.26 is employed to avert evil. But evil is the cause of disease, hence it removes it. In the hymn, the priest asks Pāpman to be kind and to take unafflicted person to the world of the blessed (6.26.1). The priest threatens Pāpman to

leave the body, and if he does not leave it, he would leave him at the crossroads, so that the evil should go after some another man. The immortal, thousand eyed Pāpman should dwell, like sin, elsewhere and strike the hater of the patient (6.26.2-3). The mention of leaving Pāpman at the crossroads suggests the symbolical rite of Kauśika (ibid). In this rite parched rice grains are poured in a sieve and then thrown away in water. Three *balis* (offerings of rice) are thrown away in water. The three *carus* (cooked rice) are scattered on crossroads. The sieve (*titau*) is the symbol of casting off the disease. The Atharvanic theory of the origin of diseases considers that the diseases are caused by evil or Pāpman. But Pāpman is immortal, has thousand eyes and stays everywhere. So he cannot be completely destroyed. Thus diseases cannot be completely cured. At the most the priest can remove it from the body of the patient and ask it to go elsewhere and possibly attack the hater of the suffering person. Thus he leaves him at the crossroads where he may meet any passer by and enter in his body. Thus this mobile disease enters from body to body. Only the Atharvanic charm takes it out of the body of the patient, who resorts to it.

(37) Grāhī, the cause of disease :

She harasses and tortures the human beings and causes disease Sāyaṇa (2. 9) and Kauśika (27. 5-6) prescribe an amulet made out of the chips of ten trees called Śākala (made of chips) to remove the Grāhī and evil demons. The amulet is to be plastered with lac and gold. The Brāhmaṇas charm the amulet by chanting the hymn (2. 9). Keśava on Kauśika 26, 6. points out that these ten Brāhmaṇas must be the good natured Atharvavedins. She is the *brahmangraha*, the Piśācī which inflicts a person with disease. The hymn 2.9 points out the amulet of ten trees and releases a person from the attacks of Rakṣas and Grāhī (the spirit which brings about convulsions), who seize the joints of a person. Sāyaṇa informs that the evil spirits attack the joints of a person on *parvan* days (2. 9. 1). The use of an amulet brings him to the world of the living. Immediately after tying the amulet, he comes to his life and joins his community. He becomes the father of his children and happiest among men (2. 9. 2). He attains consciousness. He comes to the cities of the living persons. He has now a hundred physicians (*bhiṣajāḥ śatam*) and a thousand herbs. Thus he can command the help of a number of physicians, who would treat him with numberless herbs (2. 9. 3). Atharvan is the Father of the physicians,

The great sage Atharvan fashioned the amulet capable of curing the patient of his malady. The performer of the medical rite (*cikitsaka* : physician) should, while treating the patient, pay respects to the ancient physicians, whose power is proved. Thus the Atharvanic physician at all times is the successor of Atharvan, the best of the physician, who inspires all earthly physicians (2.9.5, —Sāyaṇa's explanation)⁵³. We can easily realise how the Atharvanic priests through their medical, sacrificial and magical practices had captured the village (*grāma*) life of the people. Hundreds of physicians and thousands of herbs could be made available for curing of the patient. The practising priests looked on Atharvan as the best of the physicians (*subhishakatama* 2.9.5).

(38) Diseases of head and other ailments⁵⁴ (9'8).

The hymn 9.8 is a charm to remove the diseases of the head and other ailments generally called *sīṣanyaroga*. By mere charm the diseases are removed. The diseases of the head such as headache (*śīrṣakti*), pain in head (*śīrṣāmaya*), anaemia (*vilohita*), pain in ears, *kanḥuṣa*, neuralgia (*visalpaka*), diseases of ear and mouth, diseases which make a man blind and deaf (*pramota*—WHITNEY), diseases which cause pain in limbs (*aṅgabhedā*), fever in limbs (*aṅgajvara*) and neuralgia affecting every limb—all these constitute *śīrṣanyaroga*. The scope of the diseases of head is very wide and includes fever (*jvara*), pain of the nerves and anaemia (9.8.1-5). It is to be noted that the word *aṅgajvara* occurs only at 9.8.5 and is not repeated elsewhere in AV. It has taken the place of *takman* in later Ayurveda. The charm also removes yearly fever occurring in autumn (9.8.6). The charm also expels — (1) the pain which splitting the parting line of hair on the head, pierces the head without causing injury or disease, (2) also the pain piercing the heart, creeps along the ribs, (3) the pain which piercing the sides goes along the ribs, (4) the pains which pierce crosswise and dive in the abdomen, (5) the pain which creeps along the rectum and twists the bowel, and (6) the pain which sucks the marrow and splits in the joints—all these are removed by the charm (9.8.13-18). The disease of the head is

53. BLOOMFIELD (ibid. p. 34) differs from Sāyaṇa in interpreting the *rc* 2.9.5, 'The god, who has caused the disease shall perform the cure. He is the best physician. Let him the holy one, prepare remedies for you, together with the earthly physician.' The god on whom the earthly physician is expected to rely is nothing by Atharvan, who is styled as Deva by the AV.

54. N. J. SHENDE, *ibid.*, 68 p. 3.

removed by means of a charm to be administered from the feet, knees, thighs, bottom, spine, and neck (9.8.21). This disease of the head is thus a very serious disease resulting in the decay of the body and gradually leading to *yakṣma*. But as a result of the spells of the Atharvanic doctors and the rays of the rising sun make the bones of his skull and beats of his heart firm (9.8.22). The physicians realised the highly medicinal values of the rays of the rising sun in curing the diseases of the head and pain in the various parts of the body.⁵⁵

(39) Madness :

A person is afflicted with this malady owing to the sin he has committed against gods, or his senses are robbed by Rakṣas (6.111.3). His mind is disturbed. He talks incoherent words and perhaps becoming a nuisance to others he is well bound. The priest knowing the disease prepares a medicine for him (6.111.1-2). In the treatment, the priest offers offerings to Agni for the patient who would have due regard for it after he becomes free from malady. Agni, Apsarasas, Indra and Bhaga are invoked to restore him to normal mental condition (6.111.4). Sāyaṇa and Kausika (26.29-32) prescribe offerings of fragrant substances to Agni. The patient is placed at the crossroad. On his head is given pan containing fire, in which fragrant substances are offered. He is then washed in the river. These rites contain homeopathic magic.⁵⁶

(40) Viṣkandha :

Sāyaṇa (2.9) thinks this to be the disease which dries the body and stops all movements. It is like rheumatic trouble. On 19.35.4, he says that it is the disease caused by wind in the body, producing dislocation of shoulders. It is caused by Piśācas and Rakṣas. The RV 1.32.5 mentions a similar demon called Vyāmsa, whose function seems to be to dislocate the shoulders. Also at the RV 8.4.24 one Vigrīva is mentioned. The disease Viṣkandha is removed by tying an amulet of *janṅiḍa*. It is a plant called Aṅgīras, known in Benares or in Northern India according to Sāyaṇa on 2.4 and 18.34.1. It also removes *jaṁbhā* (Convulsions BLOOMFIELD. Lockjaw-WHITNEY. Devouring demon-Sāyaṇa), *viṣara*, the tearing pain and *abhiśocan* the scorching pain (2.42, 19.34.10). It is possible that these may be the symptoms of Viṣkandha. The amulet of *janṅiḍa* is to be tied

55. Cf. Caraka, p. 452 ff.

56. BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.*, p. 119.

in a cord of hemp brought from forest (2.4.5). Kausika (42.23) prescribes the same method of preparing the amulet to remove *krtyā* for protecting oneself and removing the calamities. Thus *Viṣkandha* is the severe or scorching pain in the shoulder, accompanied by convulsions (See GRAHMANN, *Indische Studien* 9.417 ff.).

(41) The AV and the Āyurveda :

The Āyurveda, the system of Indian Medicine is related to the AV as its *upāṅga*. As has been pointed out above Caraka and Sūsruta testify to that effect. Dasgupta⁵⁷ discusses at great length the exact relation between the AV and the Āyurveda and concludes that Cāraṇavaidya (one of the *śākhās* of the AV literally meaning, the wandering medical practitioner), probably formed the old Āyurveda of the Ātreya-Caraka school of the Āyurveda, which identified the AV with it. The Atharvāṇic medicine men wandered from place to place and treated the patients with their magical, medical and sacrificial rites. The AV contains a mention of a number of bones, and rough outline of the parts of the human bodies and cows.⁵⁸ This suggests that the Atharvāṇic physicians roughly attempted to dissect human bodies and name their different parts. In the practice of the Atharvāṇic medicine, magic, medicine and sacrifice play essential and correlated part. In the magic of treating the diseases, repetition of the formulas, addressing the spirits and gods who cause diseases, using suggestive names for treatment mentioned in the hymn, appeasing or cursing the demons and deifying the magical material, are of great concern. In the medicine, the priest generally resorted to the plants, waters and other objects, which contain medicinal qualities to an extent. I have fully dealt with the medical aspect of the magically employed plants and herbs and other objects in 'the Foundations of the AV religion.'⁵⁹ The medicine men were priests of the AV, and hence employed sacrifice in this particular aspect to cure the diseases too. Thus all these three viz., magic, medicine and sacrifice form together the essential ingredients of the Atharvāṇic medicine. They knew the threefold classification of the causes of diseases such as *vātaja*, *abhraja* and *śusma*, roughly corresponding to the *kafa*, *vāta* and *pitta* of the regular Āyurveda system.⁶⁰ The whole treatment of diseases of the AV is rough

57. *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, pp. 272-84.

58. *Supra*, pp. 285-90.

59. p. 199.

60. DASGUPTA, *op. cit.* p. 301.

and we cannot expect any systematic attempt at the technical words of diseases, medicines etc. BOLLING⁶¹ thinks differently that the Hindu theory of the three fold constitution of the body does not appear in the early Atharvan texts. He expects to find the said theory in so many words. As has been pointed out above the rudiments of the theory are mentioned in the AV, from which the later development must have taken place. The AV 2,18 refers to *ojas* from which the later theory of *dhātus* might have been derived. The diseases mentioned by the AV are almost in the same way termed by the Āyurveda. In all these discussions again we must remember that AV *Saṁhitā* is the basis for all our theories and evaluation of the AV-medicine. Sāyaṇa, Kauśika and his commentators belong to the later stage, though we may suppose that they have preserved the tradition faithfully. I have attempted to find out how far the *Saṁhitā* of the AV lends support to the treatment prescribed by Kauśika. In all these attempts sympathetic attitude is necessary especially while dealing with the AV whose 'magical charms are the germs from which the later Hindu medicine was evolved.'⁶² Atharvan is *bheṣaja* according to Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (3.4). Atharvan is praised as the best of the physicians. It is the seer Atharvan, who inspires other Atharvanics. It does not seem that Atharvanic charm system was competing with the practice of ordinary physicians with medicinal herbs, as Dasgupta⁶³ thinks. The Atharvans were the physicians who combined in themselves the offices of the priests and magicians.

61. *ERE* IV, p. 763.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

II

THE EROTIC IN THE AV.

1. Kāma as the Creator.
2. Kāma as the basis of happy life.
3. Harmony in domestic and public life.
4. *Madhu* charm for winning the love of a woman.
5. To arouse passionate longing in a woman.
6. A charm to cause sleep.
7. Offering sacrifice to secure a woman.
8. Woman's charm to secure her man.
9. Bride's charm to secure a good husband.
10. Spinster's charm to secure a husband.
11. An ideal marriage and its consummation.
12. The rites for conception and birth of a son (*garbhādhāna* and *pūṃsavana* rites.)
13. Sterile woman's charms to secure a son.
14. Help given by the AV to women.
15. Charms to make a man impotent.
16. Charms to increase virile power.
17. Charms to ruin womanhood of a rival or cowife.
18. Charms to make rival or cowife childless.
19. Charm to remove jealousy.
20. Charm to stop undesirable love-affair.
21. Charms to remove physical defects in women.
22. Charms for matrimonial happiness.
23. *Kāmasūtra* and the AV.

✓1 The AV presupposes a good deal of development about Kāma, the Love. The AV considers Kāma as the personified primordial power, on the same level as *Eka*, *Saṭ*, *Brahman*, *Viśvakarman* and *Svayambhu*.¹ The desire or passionate longing (Kāma) is the first seed of mind (19.52.1). From Kāma, the heaven was

1. BLOOMFIELD, *SBE*, 42 p. 591.

produced (19.52.3). The persons having the same heart or mind (i. e. having love) desire to be united (19.53.4). Thus Kāma in the mind of men and women is considered to be the same as the creative power of the universe. Kāma is identified with Agni, to whom offerings are made. This identification is quite appropriate, since, he, the first god born, produces fire or heat in the hearts of the lovers (9.2.1.19). The men and women fallen in love with each other are the representatives of Kāma. Love is the basis of creation. Thus Kāma is the Creator. Kāma produces fever, parching of mouth and other sensations in the body and mind of the lovers. These led the Atharvāṇic poets to identify Kāma with Agni.² The persons in love appear most attractive to each other. So the Atharvāṇic poet considers that Kāma has auspicious and graceful forms, when he becomes real and enters men and women (9.2.25). Kāma, the love between men and women, makes the lovers pine for each other and also at the same time makes them most attractive for each other. Love between men and women leads to the perpetuation of the race and the poet fancies that the same force of Love is behind the creation of the universe too. Thus Love is deified and given offerings of ghee, fuel etc. (9.2, 19.52). Nay Kāma is the highest god (9.2.8). The poet of 9. 2. and 19. 52 dilates more on Kāma, as the Creator and mighty Lord. But the basis of the god, Kāma is the love between men and women. Even Eros, the Greek god of Love is connected with the creation of the universe.³ The Atharvāṇic poet thus realises that Love (Kāma) is the product of mind and this feeling entering in human minds makes men and women of pleasing and graceful forms, which are the real or corporeal forms of Kāma (9.2.25).✓

2. The Atharvāṇic poets also realised that Love between men and women is natural and is necessary for the propagation of race and for the real household happiness and developed their ideology, which in turn developed into a separate and systematic treatment in an independent branch of knowledge the Kāmasāstra, preserved in the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana and other similar treatises. It may be noted here that the AV like the RV stands for the fullest enjoyment of life to the maximum period of hundred years. The RV refers to the means of the Aryans for enjoying this span of human life as prayer and sacrifice. The AV records the belief and aspirations of the same Aryans for the very same purpose. They sometimes fel₁

2. WEBER, *Ind. Stu.* 5, 225 ff. and N. J. SHENDE, *Foundations*, p. 206.

3. PLATO, *Symposium* 6. quoted by BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*

ill. The climatic conditions and the diseases, inherent or contacted ruined their health. Thus the Vedic Aryans could not enjoy their life to the full. The Atharvanic medicine, accompanied by magic and sacrifice, attempted to rescue the patients from the jaws of death. The Atharvanic priests sometimes borrowed their knowledge of medicines from the Non-Aryans even. They were thus the reformers among the Vedic priestly families. They realised the necessity of a happy home and love between men and women for the full enjoyment of life. Their conception of an ideal marriage, described in the 14th Book, gives us an idea of their happy home and mutual love between husband and wife (14. 2. 71). But the course of life is not smooth. A man may or may not get a woman he likes. Thus there is misery in life. The AV in this respect depicts various shades of the life of the lovers. Very prominently we come across the life of a woman as a young loving bride, unmarried girl, spinster, rival or cowife, a girl pining for getting married, and one who cannot marry because of her physical defects and of young man also, intending to marry a girl with whom he has fallen in love and as a lover going to visit the lady of his love in secret at night. Thus the AV by means of its magical rites in relation to men and women brings the enjoyment of life within the aspirations of the lovers. Their sentiments and aspirations are their most secret and precious possessions. The AV exposes them through its hymns. There is nothing wrong or inferior when the AV records the natural, though secret aspirations of the lovers. It cannot be supposed that the persons, who practised these charms were inferior. But, on the other hand, it is consistent to think that the AV records the aspirations of the very same Āryans, whose one side of life is found depicted in the RV. But without the AV, the picture of their life would not be complete.* As the course of human life is not always smooth for the realisation of its aspirations and longings, it is not surprising that the Vedic Aryans turned to magic, which necessarily involves some sort of compulsion or violence.

3. An example of the efforts of the Atharvanic priests to bring about concord in the different dissenting members of the household would not be out of place here. The priest performs the magical act (the *brahman*) in the house, on account of which the gods would not disagree or hate each other. They similarly perform a rite for *sañjnāna*, the bond of agreement for common under-

4. BOLLING, *ERE* iv, p. 763.

standing (3.30.4). The priest makes the members of the house, having common heart and mind, free from hatred (*sahṛdaya*, *sāhmanasya*, *vidveṣa*, 3.30.1) as a cow to its calf. The members of the house such as father, mother, son and daughter are brought under the spell. "The son would be devoted to the father and be of the same mind to the mother. The wife would speak sweet honeyed words to her husband (*madhumat im śāntirām vācam* 3.30.2). The brother would not hate the brother, nor the sister her sister. Harmonious, devoted to the same purpose, they should speak kind words (3.30.3)." The poet then speaks of the leadership of one person and implicit faith in him by his followers. They should not be separated from the leader of the same mind. Co-operating and going under the same yoke, they should speak agreeable words to each other. They would drink water from the same water-stand, take food from the same place and worship Agni together as spokes round a navel (3.30.5-6). Thus the *brahman* of the Atharvaṇic priest is for promoting the common understanding, oneness of mind and heart and common food, drink, work and worship. Hymn 3.30 along with several others specifies the purpose of bringing concord in the domestic or public life. It is noteworthy that the AV prescribes the rites or spells for the comfort and agreeable atmosphere in the household. The ideal before the priests of the AV is to enable the people live long and provide them with happy homes. Who would not be charmed at the prospect of the house, where the children are devoted to the parents and do not quarrel among themselves, where the husband and wife are in perfect agreement and where the wife greets the husband with loving and honeyed words? Thus the love and agreement between the members of the house were secured by the Atharvaṇic spells. Sāyaṇa and Kauṣika (12.5-9) prescribe a rite for harmony in the family or in the public. Keśava limits its application to *sajātas* and *śagotras* (members born in the same house or family). Kauṣika (*ibid*) prescribes that a jar of water is carried around and poured in the midst of quarreling people. Or a jar of wine (*surā*) is taken there. The contending people eat flesh of cow of three years old, sprinkled over with some sour juice (*ūmla rasa*). Food, wine and water duly charmed should be eaten by all. These rites suggest that eating and drinking together, food, wine and water bring about harmony in the dissenting members of the household. The ideal love between husband and wife is also described by Vātsyāyana.⁵ The AV thus seeks to establish harmonious relations between husband and wife and other

5. Kāmasūtra 4, 1.

members of the house and to make the life enjoyable and worth living. The importance of these teachings of the AV can never be underrated.

4. The AV contains many charms to secure woman's love and to attract her mind. In this context, it may be remembered that love, being a relative term implies the attempts of a woman to win the love of a man and *vice versa*. This love may be post-marriage or pre-marriage i. e. courtship. In a charm (1.34) the plant *madhu*, *madhuhā*, *madhughā* or *madhulaka* is asked to make a person full of honey; for honey (*madhu*) is a symbol of sweetness. He should have honey at the tip and root of his tongue. The beloved should be in his power and her mind with him. There would be thus such an extreme attachment for the man on account of the sweetness of his speech, his movements and glances so that the beloved would think him to be sweeter than honey and would pine for him alone (1.34.1-4). The lover then being confident of his charm of sweetness in winning her over, embraces her with his arms, which are like sugarcane. Mutual misunderstanding in their mind, if any, is removed. The beloved (*kāminī*) loves him forever and would never think of going away (1.34.5). WHITNEY considers this as a love-spell with a sweet herb. BLOOMFIELD thinks that it is a charm with licorice, to secure the love of a woman. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (38.17) interpret this hymn (1.34) to win an assembly (*pariṣad*) by disputation. For this purpose, one should enter the assembly from the north-east direction with the plant, *madhuka*, chewed in the mouth. BLOOMFIELD⁶ considers the hymn as pertaining to women's rites. But taking into consideration the similar application of the hymn by Keśava and Dārila as well as by Kauśika, he thinks that they may be right in employing it for winning an assembly and that it can have something to do with the sexual love, if the word *kāminī* in 1.34.5 is not taken to refer to the *pariṣad* or *sabhā*. But this is not the only application of the hymn by Kauśika. At 76.8-9 he uses this hymn in the marriage rite, when the bridegroom ties to his little finger an amulet of licorice wood, fastening it with red thread and places it in such a manner that the amulet is outside the finger and the knot is inside. In this way the bridegroom secures the love of his bride. The word *kāminī* (1.34.5) is thus appropriate with the beloved. Kauśika (79.10) in the rites for the consummation of marriage prescribes that the amulet of *madhu* tree is to be powdered and dipped in the fat of a bull. The

6. Ibid., pp. 274-5.

mixture is to be charmed with the recitation of this hymn. It is to be besmeared to the body while the newly wedded couple is united. Looking to the purport of the hymn and the use of the words *kāminī* and *ikṣu* (sugarcane), the hymn deserves more suitably to be employed as charm for securing the love of the newly wedded wife at the consummation of the marriage. In this magical rite, the sweetness of the sweet-wood is expected to create love between the man and the woman. Thus the sweet-wood (*madhu*) and sugarcane are symbolically employed to produce sweetness in the man and to transfer it (i. e. love) to the woman.

5. Sometimes a man eagerly longs for a particular woman who is quite innocent of his desire. Magic of the AV, comes to his help. As the wind tears the blade of grass he tears her mind, so that she would love him and not be averse to him. The lady of his love is designated as *kāminī*, and her mind is to be churned (*manah mathāmi*, from which the word *manmatha* is derived, 2.30.1). The lover desires that the beloved should hanker after his body, feet, eyes and thighs. The woman, her eyes and hair should be parched for him. So her mind is churned and longing is produced in her mind for him (6.9.1). He draws to himself her mind, which should come willingly after him (6.102.1-2). Aśvins are invoked to bring together the woman with him, who loves her; for, now their fortunes (*bhaga*), thoughts (*citta*) and course of life (*vrata*) are united with each other with love (2. 30. 2). He seeks the help of a herb (blade of grass) to catch the mind of the girl of every charm (*viśvarūpā*, a virgin—Sāyaṇa 2. 30. 4). His charm goes like the birds, which chirp lovingly and is like a tip of an arrow on the shaft (2. 30. 3). He employs a mixture of salve (*ānjana*), sweet wood (*madhughā*) and *kuṣṭha*. He takes out this mixture for besmearing with the clever hands of Bhaga. This mixture causes love or longing in the mind of his beloved (6. 102. 3). Having used the blade of grass, arrow and mixture, he captures her mind and goes round her as the sun goes round the heaven and the earth (6. 8. 3). What is within her heart is exposed, and what is without is laid within (6. 30. 4). The lover then intends to embrace his beloved. By means of the recitation of the charm accompanied by the magical rite, he makes her resort to his arms and heart, so that she would come to his power and intent (*kratu* and *citta* 6. 9. 2). He hopes that his beloved would embrace him as a creeper to a tree. She should love him from her heart and would not be averse to him. He fastens her mind like an eagle, pressing its wings

against the earth while flying (6.8.1-2). The Atharvāṇic poet thinks that women are like cows. He further points out that they have the navel (*nābhi*), worth kissing and the heart won over by magic. The lover asks that the cows would make the yonder woman bestow love on him (6.9.3). The lover is not whimsical in asking for the love and embrace from the beloved. He has approached her with a view to becoming her husband. As the husband and wife (*jani*), they would stay. He compares his own state with a bellowing bull, lovely perched bird and loudly neighing horse longing to be united with the cow, the female of the bird and mare respectively. He hopes to be fortunate like these (2.30.3, 5; 6.9.3). It should be noted that Vātsyāyana⁷ describes, in detail, the process of embrace and kissing. Sāyaṇa and Kauṣika (35.21) prescribe a rite which is to be practised while the hymns 2.30, 6.8, 9, 102 are recited. The performer of the rite is the lover. He places between two chips of a tree encircled with clinging creepers an arrow (representing the arrow of love), *tagara* powder, salve (*āñjana*), *kuṣṭha*, sweet-wood and stalks of grass torn by wind. He mixes these with ghee and besmears the mixture to the body of the woman. BLOOMFIELD⁸ remarks that the paraphernalia and emotions of love are concretely embodied in a mixture and drastically transferred on the woman. The hymns in general prescribe the very same rite. Thus the symbolism and transference play a very important part in this love-charm.

Another very vigorous magical charm (3.25), according to BLOOMFIELD, intends to arouse passionate love of a woman. WHITNEY considers its purpose to command the woman's love. A man is eager to secure the love of a woman. He desires that Kāma, the piercer should pierce her heart i.e. make her afflicted with love, so that she should not keep quiet on her bed. The piercing pain of the shafts of the arrow of Love would make her restless; for, he has pierced her heart with the terrible arrow of love (*kāmasya bhīmā iṣuḥ*, 3.25.1). The arrow of love has the feathers of mental agitation (*ādhi*), barbs of passionate love (*kāmaśālya*) and shaft of desire (*saṅkalpakulmala*, *kulmala* being the substance which sticks together the wooden piece and shaft). With this well-aimed arrow, Kāma would pierce the woman of his love. The shooting of an arrow is a magical act. The arrow having feathers, barb, and shaft, produces mental agitation, passion and yearning

7. Kāmasūtra, 2.2-3.

8. Ibid., p. 311.

(3.25.2). The mental agitation caused by the shooting of the magically charged arrow produces physical afflictions too. On the symbolical act of shooting an arrow of love, the spleen (*plihā*) of the beloved dries up. It burns her body and causes pain in the heart. It dries her mouth (*śuṣkāśyā*). On experiencing such love-sickness, the beloved runs to him, with all her pride set aside, speaking sweet words (*priyavādinī*) and becomes devoted to him only (*anuvratā*, *kevalī*, 3.25.3.4). From her father and mother, she is goaded to run to the lover. She loses all her thinking power (*akratu*)⁹ comes exclusively in the charge of her lover and submits to him wholeheartedly. The love-lorn girl, leaving the protection of her parents submits to the will of her lover and becomes devoted to him exclusively, most willingly. Sāyaṇa and Kausika (35.22-28) prescribe various rites for bringing about the effect of the charm. The man pushes the woman with his thumb on the back or on the stomach for producing love in her.¹⁰ Also twenty-one thorns of *badarī* are offered in fire. He then heats on fire twenty-one tips of *badarī* tree, with the threads coloured red in lac tied round them; or he burns thrice each day for three nights the *kuṣṭha* plant dipped in ghee. He sleeps for three nights taking with him the lower strap of the bed.¹¹ Or he places warm water in a loop, fastens it to the foot of the bed and sleeps agitating it with his two thumbs. But of all these practices the following is in agreement with what is described in the hymn (3.25). By means of a bow having bow-string of hemp, with an arrow, whose barb is a thorn, plume of an owl and shaft of black *āla* tree, he pierces the heart of the effigy, made of potter's clay. The idea of the bow with arrow, plume and shaft is suggested by the rc 3.25.2.

A plant *nyastikā* (*sahasraparnī*) is also used by a lover to win the love of his beloved (*subhagaṅkaraṇī*). With its hundred branches going up and thirty-three going down it dries her heart and mouth and the beloved passes her days in pining for him. The brown coloured plant causes love and draws the lovers together. After the union, all afflictions of love go away and what is torn by love is joined together (6.139.1-5). Sāyaṇa and Kausika (36.12) point out that the plant

9. *Kāryākāryavibhāgaśūnyā*, according to Sāyaṇa 3.25.6.

10. Keśava describes him as *rucyarthī*, one who wants to produce liking for him.

11. Kausika reads, *Khatvūya adhomukhapattikām gṛhītū*, BLOOMFIELD thinks that *pattikā* is mattress (ibid. p. 358).

nyastikā is to be dug out and its white blossoms are to be stuck on the head. In this way the practitioner of the charm enters the village. The idea in the rite seems to be to bedeck the lover with the white blossoms of a plant to attract the attention of the girl, he likes. Also the lover employs *śimśipā* plant to remove obstacles in his path and to be lucky enough in securing the beloved (6.127).

6. A lover approaches his beloved at night. He cannot have privacy, with her as she and other members of the household are awake. He employs a charm to cause sleep to her, and her relations, so that he can approach his beloved. This charm (4.5 = RV 7.55) is addressed to a bull with thousand horns¹² with whose help the people in the house are put to sleep. As the result of the charm even the wind does not blow. None looks on. The women and dogs in the house have slept fast. The women in the house slept wherever they were. Some slept in courtyard or the couch (*proṣṭhaśayāḥ*), some on the beds and some in the vehicles containing couches (*vahyaśīvarīḥ*). They exhale sweet fragrance (4.5.1-3). The lover has controlled all life, eyes, breaths and all limbs of the persons under his charm. He has power to close the eyes of any person, who attempts to sit, to walk, to stand and to look. He has put under sleep her father, mother, dog, the lord of the clan, relations and people round about. By means of magic all persons are put to sleep (4.5.4-7). The lady of his love is in the midst of her female relations and parents. The lover comes through darkness. The dog barks and the lord of the clan may be awake. So he recites this charm to put all of them to sleep. As a result of this charm the women sleep wherever they were lying. Thus making all persons, including his beloved asleep, he approaches her. Sāyaṇa and Kausika (36.1-4) prescribe the charm for facilitating intercourse between beloved and lover. Dārila remarks that this charm removes obstacles in sexual intercourse. In this rite water, duly charmed is used for sprinkling the house. The remaining water is to be poured on the inside of the door. He becoming naked, sprinkles mortar, northern corner of the house, woman's bed and its ropes with the same water. Keṣava remarks that sleeping woman arouses the passion of man.¹³ Thus the

12. *Sahasraśṛṅga* = *Sūrya* - Sāyaṇa; = the moon - WHITNEY; = agni - BLOOMFIELD; = stary heaven - GRASSMANN. PPP, reads *hiraṇyāśṛṅga* for *sahasraśṛṅga*. According to PPP, it would mean Agni. With the reading, in Saunaka, agni, or the moon, fit in the context.

13. *Svapnam puruṣasya viṣaye Kamaḥ utpadyate.*

hymn in the AV occurs as a charm for causing sleep to the members of the household so that they would not disturb the lover's privacy. There is thus definite purpose in AV for this hymn (4.5). This is possible on account of word *asyai* in 4.5.6, for *sarve* in RV 7.55.5. In the RV the purpose of the hymn given by the commentator is to put to sleep all attendants of Varuṇa in whose house Vaśiṣṭha had gone for stealing. From the contents of the hymn in the AV this does not appear to be the main purpose.

7. A sacrifice also helps to secure a wife for a person. Offering is made to Indra, who by his golden hook grants wife to the sacrificer (6.82.3). The prospective bridegroom says, "By what way Aśvins carried Sūryā, the daughter of Savitr, by that you should bring your wife; thus indeed Bhaga said to me" (6.82.2). So this prospective bridegroom wants to imitate Aśvins and win a wife by offering sacrifice to Indra.

8. Just as a man may try to win the love of a woman he wants, a woman also may try to win the love of a man with the help of the magical spells. The lover of the woman is addressed as Smara. The woman asks the gods to send forth yearning in his heart for her and to make him burn for her. Her only wish is that he should devotedly long for and be intoxicated for her (6.130.1-4). Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (36.13-14) consider that the hymn (6.130) is employed for bringing under control a vicious man or woman. For that purpose, the beans (*mūṣṭis*) are scattered on the way of the person. The ends of the arrows are heated and scattered about the effigy of the desired person. The effigy of a woman is to be pierced in the heart by reciting this hymn. It may be noted that the beans are inflammatory food. They are thus used symbolically to inflame the passion. Though Kauśika and also Sāyaṇa contend that this charm is for chastising a wicked woman or any person, the contents of the hymn (6.133) show that it is uttered by a woman who wants to force a man to love her. It is also to be noted that the word *smara* represents the deification of the feeling of love. Smara comes from the Apsarasas, Rathajit and Rāthajeyī (6.130.1). In another magical rite the woman causes mental agitation and physical longing from head to foot in the lover, so that he should burn for her. Even if the man runs away from the woman, who has desperately fallen in love with him, she chases him. If he runs three or five *yojanas* or the distance crossed by a horseman, even from that distance on account of the charm he would come back and be the father of their sons. The woman longs to marry him.

who is shy of her, so she forces him to love her and marry her (6.131.1-3). The main idea in this charm is to excite the feeling of love in the mind of her lover. The lover or Smara is thus tormented, mentally or physically. By the ordinance of Varuṇa, Smara, burning with longing is again tormented (6.132.1-5).

Along with the beans, an amulet of *sauvarcala* plant is put on the woman while entering the village in search of the lover. The flower of *śaṅkhapuṣpī* creeper is also to be tied on the head. Thus Sāyaṇa (7.38) and Kausika (36.12) prescribe them for securing the love of a man. The hymn (7.38), which is the basis of these rites, contains the praise of the *sauvarcala*. By that plant, the woman draws to her the eyes of the lover and causes tears in them. It brings him back, who has gone away and makes him happy when he comes back. The plant enables to make the woman his beloved (*prīyā*). The man is in her control. He would not speak against her. In the house she alone would speak. He would be free to speak in the assembly (*sabhā*). In the house he should not even speak with any other woman; but should belong to her only. If being exasperated by her overwhelming love or bearing dislike for her he goes away, the plant would arrest him even if he is beyond the haunts of men or across the river and bring him back to her. Such is the power of the plant in arresting the man of her choice and forcing him to love her only. He would not go away from her. Forever he would submit to her only (7.38.1-5).

9. In the Aryan society, bridegroom, his friends and priest used to go out in search of the bride from place to place (14.1.31). The Atharvaṇic priests offer a charm in favour of a marriageable girl, so that she may secure a good husband. This charm is accompanied by offering oblations to Agni. The priest expects that *sambhala* (*kanyārthī puruṣa*, seeker of the bride, 2.36.1), should come to the house of the bride with good heart. He should come to the girl with fortune. The girl is pretty to look at and has attracted the attentions of many suitors by her charms at the festival gatherings (*samaneṣu valgu*, 2.36.1). Therefore, when such party of the bridegroom would come, she should be agreeable to the suitor (*vara*) and should promptly secure happiness with her husband. The priest blesses the girl to secure a husband, who is agreeable to Soma and Brahman (2.36.2). He, therefore, expects that the girl should get a good husband and giving birth to sons she should be the queen (*mahiṣī*). Soma has made her lovely and after her marriage she may shine in loveliness (2.36.3). Never quarreling with her husband

she would be favourite with him (2.36.4). The charm is addressed to Bhaga and Dhanapati and other gods, who would bring the suitors to her (2. 36. 5-6). Gold, *guggulu* (bdellium), *aukṣa* (ghee) and favour of Bhaga win the husband for the girl (2. 36. 7). The plant (*vrihi*: rice) is also responsible for securing the husband for her (2. 36. 8).

It would thus be easily realised that the common practice to choose a bride was sending out parties, in her search. *AGS* 1. 4., refers to the sending out of parties from the side of the bridegroom to seek a girl. *Vātsyāna* refers to the choice of the bride by the parents and friends of the bridegroom. He also points out that the marriageable girl should be decently adorned with ornaments and should be made to visit festivals and sacrificial gatherings.¹⁴ *Sāyaṇa* and *Kauśika* (34. 12-16) prescribe the following rites in this connection. The bride is made to eat the cooked rice made up of rice grains and sesame (*āgamakṛśara*). The *ṛc* 2. 36. 8 refers to a plant, which seems to be the *vrihi* (rice) from which the *krśara* is to be prepared. *Kauśika* (75. 7) in the marriage rite also prescribes that the girl should be given the cooked rice and sesame for eating before marriage. The *ṛc* 2. 36. 7 refers to gold, *guggulu* etc. *Kauśika* (34. 12-16) points out that the girl is to be given ornaments of gold, which are incensed with *guggulu* (bdellium) and anointed with ghee (*aukṣa*). *Agni* is invoked in 2. 36. 1. So, at night, she offers rice and barley from the copper vessel to *Jāmī* (Mother goddess) in the fire and goes round the fire. With the *ṛc* 2. 36. 5 she ascends a boat, through which Bhaga sends the bridegroom to meet her. Thus the hymn mentions gold, *guggulu* (bdellium), ghee (*aukṣa*), a plant (*vrihi*) and a boat (2. 36. 4-8). All these objects are properly utilised by *Kauśika* in the magical rites for securing a bridegroom for a girl.

10. Sometimes the girls could not get themselves married at the proper time. So they lived in their parent's houses, desiring to get suitable grooms for themselves. Such spinster offers ghee in the fire to *Aryaman*. He, along with Bhaga is a favourite god with the marriageable persons. He appears as a wooer, with the tuft of hair-locks loosened in the front, seeking a husband for the spinster and a wife for the wifeless (6.60.1). *Samana* (gathering or festival) was an occasion, where there gathered prospective couples and marriageable persons used to take opportunities of such gatherings. But the spinster attended such *samanas* in vain! She could not

settle her marriage. She attended the wedding parties of other women. Now on account of magical rite, she would get a match for her and other women would come to the marriage festivals of this woman. She would then be happy to have the husband of her own heart (6.60.1-3). Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (34.22-24) prescribe the offering of ghee to Aryaman, in the morning before the crow is awake and then placing the *bali* (offerings) within the corners of the house. From which direction the crow would come, from that direction the husband for the spinster would come. This prescription of Kauśika is merely divination, a good guess.

Thus by means of the magical rites forming the recitation of the spells to the accompaniment of the action prescribed in the spell, the men and women create love for each other and choose to live together as husband and wife.

11. Then they get themselves married. This is of course the love-marriage.* The AV has an entire book (14th) describing the marriage of Sūryā with Aśvins, which is the ideal before the prospective couples. In the marriage rites, the preliminary selection of the bride, the marriage rites and the consummation of the marriage form the important aspects. From the point of view of the sex-life of men and women, the last two rituals (*vivāha* and *caturthikākarma* or *garbhādhāna*) are important. I have described the whole procedure of these rites accompanied by the magic elsewhere.¹⁵

12. The married couple desired to have first the birth of a son. In addition to the *caturthikākarma*, the consummation of marriage on the fourth day of the marriage, the AV has spells for securing successful conception. An amulet of bracelet or bangle called *parihasta* is used. The amulet drives off the demons and secures progeny and wealth. On account of the amulet, the uterus (*yoni*: *vagina*) is opened and the sperm of the male is deposited in it. A deity called Maryādā: (*garbhāśayā*: embryo or a woman having embryo-Sāyaṇa) furnishes a son. She brings a son for the woman (6.81.1-2). The amulet of *parihasta* was worn by Aditi, which was tied by her so that she may give birth to a son. Thus a woman desirous of getting a son, like Aditi should put on the amulet, *parihasta*. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (35.11) prescribe, accordingly, the tying of a *kañkāṇa*, a bangle, for successful conception. Another magical rite is described at 5.25 for *garbhādhāna*.

15, *The foundations*, p. 237.

The seed of a male is like the drops of rain that fertilises the earth. The cloud containing the rain is like the embryo of the heaven. The process of the fertilisation of a woman is like that of the earth by the drops of rain. The male genital organ (*śepa*), deposits the seed—the essence of all limbs of the body, in the uterus as skilfully as the placing of feather in a shaft of an arrow (*saru*), according to WEBER.¹⁶ Or following Kauśika (35.5-6) a handle of *palāśa* (*sarau parṇamiva*, 5.25.1) is to be kept on the male organ and practise coition. Here the strength and magical qualities of *palāśa* or *parṇa*—handle are employed for the successful conception (5.25.1). The woman receiving the seed of the male is like the earth receiving the embryos of all existences (5.25.2). The woman is described as an animated field in which the male sows his seed (*ātmanvatyurvarā nārī*, 14.2.14). The male in this act is helped by many deities such as Sinīvālī, Sarasvatī, Aśvins, Mitra, Varuṇa etc. In the actual work, Viṣṇu arranges the *yonī* (uterus), Tvaṣṭṛ adorns the form (of the body to be born), Prajāpati pours the seed and Dhātṛ deposits the foetus (5.25.3-5). The woman desirous of securing the birth of a male child is given a drink called *garbhakarāṇa* (a drink for the birth of a child). It is known by Varuṇa, Sarasvatī and Indra (5.25.6).¹⁷ This may be the charmed food called *āguma-kṛṣara* (rice cooked with sesame), which is given to a woman for eating on the fourth day after the menses. The second out of the two *carus* (cooked rice), is to be charmed with the hole in the yoke and is given to her for eating.¹⁸ This substance, called *garbhakarāṇa*, is the embryo of the herbs, forest trees and of every existence. Agni deposits the seed (5.25.7). In the act of coition the charm is recited, when the male possessing virile power, mounts on the female, depositing the seed in the womb (5.25.8, 14.2.37-39). Then the man prays that the sperm should lie in her womb. The gods have given them a son belonging to both of them, a son to be born in the tenth month (5.25.9-10). The men did not like the birth of a female. They hoped to get a son. They pray that Prajāpati

16. WEBER amends the word *saru* into *tsaru* (handle). He points out that the insertion of the feather in the arrow shaft is a subject of comparison as a work of effective skill. cf. *Indische Studien* 5.227, also WHITNEY, the translation of the AV. HOS. 7.265 and RV 10.18.14.

17. For the details of this practice in securing the birth of a male child, in the epic see N. J. SHENDE, *Atharvan in the Vedic and Epic literature*. JUB XVII part II, pp. 34-36.

18. Kauśika 35, 5-6.

should bring about the birth of a daughter elsewhere. He should bestow a son on the person who practises this charm (*straiṣu-vamanyatra dadhat*, 6.11.3). Regarding the birth of a son they believed that semen (*retas*) in man is to be sprinkled in woman and that Prajāpati told this to be the way to obtain a son (6.11.2). The example of Aśvattha tree mounting Śami tree for the birth of a male (Agni) is to be followed in the birth of a child and the men act in the same way towards women (6.11.1). In order that Prajāpati should bring about the birth of a female elsewhere and of a male in the womb of the wife of the practitioner of magical rite (*puṁsavana*), Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (35.8-11) prescribe that Agni churned by rubbing Aśvattha and Śami sticks is to be thrown in ghee. This mixture is to be treated as *paidva* (to be put in the right nostrils of the pregnant woman with the right thumb). This is thus a symbolical rite. The birth of Agni and son are thus identical. In another rite fire is to be extinguished in a pot containing mixture of honey and water and it is to be given to the woman for drinking. Wool from a male animal is to be used for surrounding the fire. This wool is to be used as an amulet. This is also symbolical rite and an example of homeopathic magic.

13. Similarly this rite is practised by a woman who could not get any issue. By means of the charm (3.23), the priest removes the cause by which the woman became barren (*vehat*, 3.23.1). He prepares a rite on account of which a male child enters in her womb like an arrow in quiver, so that a male child is born in ten months. The first male child is followed by other sons. She becomes then mother of the sons, born and to be born (3.23.1-3). A bull is considered to be of unfailing virile power (*amoghavīrya* 3.23.4). The woman is expected to be like a productive milch cow, coming in contact with such bull. The man does the work of Prajāpati (*prājāpatyam* = *puṁsavanam*, 3.23.5). His germ enters the womb of the woman, bringing to her son and prosperity. The ṛc 3.23.5 is to be recited by the male while indulging in the act of coition. In addition to the spell, the plants and herbs help the woman in *puṁsavana* (3.23.6). To remove sterility and to enable a woman to secure the birth of a son, Kauśika (35.1-4) prescribes following rites. In the *puṁsavana* rite, while reciting this hymn, an arrow is broken on the head of a woman. This is the use of the word *bāṇa* (arrow) in the ṛc 3.23.2. In the same way ghee is offered in the fire and an amulet of arrow is tied. In a cup made up of plough-share (*phāla*) milk of a cow having a calf of its

colour, should be mixed with *yava*, *vrihi* and also with two *adhyāṇḍas*¹⁹ or with the leaves of great *palāśa* and *vidārī*.²⁰ These should be powdered. The husband then puts in the right nostril of the woman this mixture with his right thumb. Thus the plants and herbs mentioned at 3.23.6 may be *adhyāṇḍa*, *palāśa* and *vidārī* as given by Kauśika (ibid). By performing these rites accompanied by the recitation of the charm (3.23) even a barren woman gets sons. All these practices of Kauśika are to be done after the woman has laid aside the garments soiled by her menses, under the male constellation, according to Kauśika (35.2). In another hymn 7.19, the husband of a barren woman is asked to be harmonious and like-minded and thus deposit prosperity (of children) in his wife. Prajāpati generates the offsprings and Dhātṛ bestows them on her (7.12.1). Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (35.19) prescribe that with the recitation of the charm (7.19); offering of ghee is made in the lap or the sex organ of the barren woman. She is to be given the flesh of red she-goat for eating. Cooked rice, wine and water, duly charmed are to be given to her.

14. Thus the AV gives charms for producing love among men and women for each other (*kāmotpatti*), for marriage (*vivāha*), for successful conception (*garbhādhāna* or *caturthikākarma*) and for the birth of a male child (*pūṃsavana*). The AV also deals with charms to stop miscarriage. After *pūṃsavana* rite, it is expected that the woman should deliver a baby after full period of pregnancy. The AV has many charms against miscarriage,²¹ early delivery etc., which I have discussed elsewhere.²² *Parasparakāmotpatti* (mutual love), *vivāha* (marriage), *garbhādhāna* (conception), *pūṃsavana* (birth of male child), *garbhadr̥hṇaṇa* (avoiding abortion) and *prasūti* (delivery), are vitally connected with the life of every woman and the AV prescribes charms, by the recitation of which, to the accompaniment of symbolical, homeopathic and other treatments, the men and women aspire to secure the enjoyment of the full period of life, which is the ideal before the Aryans. The enjoyment of the sex life between men and women is not possible unless they are all sound in health and free from disease. Thus the religious ideology of the Atharvans is primarily

19. Dārila on Kauśika (ibid) explains this as the well known *parṇaphalā*, plant.

20. Dārila on Kauśika (ibid), explains this as the well known *velāpatvāśaka*.

21. See p. 22.

22. See p. 21.

centred round the desire to live long to the full period of hundred years. This life would be absolutely barren without the mutual love between men and women. Aided by their mutual love, the men and women step in the married life and going through its different stages, they aspire to become the parents of heroes, male children, generally disliking the daughters. The charms of the AV help them to secure the joy of the world. But this joy must be full. They must be physically fit to enjoy it to the end. Hence the AV prescribes the medicinal charms.

15. The magical charms of the AV in general could be used for good and bad purposes. Especially in the matters pertaining to the love between men and women, the human nature is inscrutable. The frustration in love affairs, jealousy and personal ambitions of men and women display various shades of human nature and the AV supplies material for the attainment of both good and bad aspirations of men and women. Here is a charm (6.133) intended to turn a man into eunuch. One can imagine only the cruel nature of a woman, who intends to do such an act! The purpose of such an act seems to be to make the man absolutely sapless and submit to her forever. The man thus turned into eunuch might have been used as a slave forever or for the purpose of *aupariṣṭaka* type of intercourse described by Vātsyāyana in *Kāmasūtra* (2.9). A plant (*auṣadhi*) is used in making the man impotent so that he would be *klība* and *opaśin*. According to WHITNEY²³ *opaśa* is some kind of head ornament worn distinctly by women. GELDNER²⁴ considers that it is a horn of an animal and ornament of the head. Both are the meanings of the words such as *opaśa*, *kurīra* and *kumbha*. WEBER²⁵ considers it to be curls or locks of hair. LUDWIG holds that it means matted tuft. Sāyaṇa derives it from *upa* + *śi* and means, 'one with female organ' (*strīyañjana*). *Sinīvali* is described as *svopaśū* at MS 2. 7. 5 and TS 4. 7. 5, 3. All these epithets refer to the method of dressing hair on the head of women. The eunuch should dress hair like women. According to BLOOMFIELD²⁶ *opaśa* is some kind of coiffure, method of dressing hair, which had become a characteristic ornament of women. The woman urges the plant to turn the man into eunuch that wears matted or plated hair and one that wears a hood (*kurīra*). Even his virility is to be cut off. She

23. *Ibid.* p. 384.

24. *Vedische Studien*, 1.130.

25. *Ibid.* 5.246.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 539.

urges Indra to cut his two testicles by means of two stones. He then becomes a castrate (*vadhri*) and eunuch (*idiba*). She has deliberately made him so. On this head is put *kurīra* and *kumbha* (hood or hair net—BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.*). The man loses his virile power, becomes sapless and puts the hair on his head in the fashion of women (6. 138. 1-3). The two canals (*nāḍis*), made by gods, in which the virile power rests in his testicles are also crushed with stones above and below them (6. 138. 4). So his *śepa* and *muṣkas* (penis and testicles) are crushed (6. 138. 4). Sāyaṇa and Kausika (48. 32-34) prescribe that urine and dung are put in a skin bag, made of the skin of the tail of a calf. They are covered with the *kakuca* fruit. The entire mass is crushed and buried. A reed is stuck in it and also buried with it. It thus seems that the *oṣadhi* (plant), mentioned in the 7c 6. 138. 1 is taken by Kausika to refer to *kakuca*.

16. In another rite for making the male organ stout, an amulet of *arka* is used. By means of its magic power the male organ (*śepa*) is made to agree limb to limb with that of a woman and the man is capable of enjoying women (6. 72. 1). The male organ (*śepa*) is expected to be as great as that of *tāyāḍara* (a deer), inflated by wind, like that of *parasvat* (a deer,) an elephant, donkey (*gardabha*) or vigorous horse. The sex organs of a deer, elephant, or horse are thus taken here as the standard of virility (6. 72. 2-3). Vātsyāyana²⁷ considers that according to nature of the sex organs of men, there are three types of men, viz. deer (*śaśa*), bull (*vr̥ṣa*) and horse (*aśva*). The same classification holds good for women, but instead of the female counterpart of bull, he introduces the female elephant. Thus he holds that men are sexually like bull and elephant. Sāyaṇa and Kausika, (40. 16-17) prescribe that the amulet of *arka* tree is to be tied with its fibres. WHITNEY²⁸ remarks that a fine sort of silky flax is in some parts prepared from the skin of the young shoots. An amulet of the skin of dark antelope is also to be tied along with the hair of the black antelope. The hymn (6. 72. 1-3) refers to the plant *arka* and also to the deer. Thus the practices of Kausika corroborate the references in the hymn (*ibid.*). In another charm (6. 101), the male organ is asked to increase in size, so that the man acting like a bull would happily approach the woman. The male organ is also expected to be like the stick and string of a bow and would mount as a stag to a doe (6. 101. 1-3). Thus the treatment of this subject agrees, though grossly, with that found in the Kāma-

27. *Ibid.*, 2.1.1.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 335.

sūtra (2. 1). Kausika (40, 18) prescribes the same rite viz. amulets of *arka* fibres, and of the skin of the dark antelope. Keśava in his gloss on Kausika (*ibid*) maintains that the rite is for producing virile power (*viryakaraṇa*) and making the sex organ strong and stout. The references to bow stick and bow string (6. 101. 2-3) indicate masculine power. In addition to the magical rites for rejuvenating the virile power of a man, the AV prescribes a rite (4. 4) which is a characteristic mixture of pharmaceutical applications and drastic symbolism.²⁹ The power of the charm of the Atharvāṇic priest (4. 4. 2) is also on the same level with the rejuvenating capacity of Uśas, Sūrya and Prajāpati, which enkindles the fire of lust in the man. For the person, who is suffering from sexual debility, the priests dig a herb, which erects the penis (*śepa harṣaṇī*). The priest further tells that the same herb was dug out by the Gandharvas for Varuṇa,³⁰ who had lost his virile power (4. 4. 1). The use of the herb makes the man so much full of heat (*śuṣṃavattara*, 4. 4. 3), that his sex organ (*virohana*) acts as fire. The plant is the fire (*utśuṣmā*) of the plants and the essence of the bulls. It thus places lusty force in the body of the man (4. 4. 4). Another medicine used is the root of the *kapittha* tree. It is the lusty force of *arśa* (antelope-BLOOMFIELD; stag-WHITNEY; virile power of the sages like Aṅgirasas, *ārṣa*-Sāyaṇa). The deities stiffen his penis like a bow (4. 4. 5-6). The priest assures the man that he has stiffened his penis like a string on a bow and therefore he should embrace the woman with jubilant mind. The priest with the help of the charm bestows on him the strength of a horse, goat, ram and bull (4. 4. 7-8). For recovering the virility of a man, Sāyaṇa and Kausika (40, 14-16) prescribe that with the hymn (4. 4) he digs up *utśuṣmā* and *parivyādha* plants, as if they were roots, by means of an iron handle (a ploughshare-Dārila). *Utśuṣmā* is *kapikachu* (*mucuna pruritus*); but Sāyaṇa thinks it to be *kapittha* (wood apple). *Parivyādha* is also called *suravālaka* or *sūkaravālaka*. The roots of these two plants are to be cooked in milk and keeping the strung bow on his lap, he drinks the mixture. Keśava commenting on Kausika (*ibid*) points out that the same practice of drinking the mixture is to be followed while sitting on a stake or a pestle, which also forms a part of the rite. It will thus be noted

29. BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.*, p. 369.

30. Regarding this peculiar reference to Varuṇa, BLOOMFIELD (*ibid.*, p. 370) thinks that the root *vr* being common in *Vṛtra* and Varuṇa, *Vṛtra* must have castrated him, being antagonistic to him. To me it seems to be an ingenuity of the Atharvāṇic priesthood, which in its attempt to glorify the herb, connected it with Varuṇa.

that the AV attempts to cure those various troubles, which ruin the enjoyment of life and makes the man fit for sexual enjoyment.

17. The full enjoyment of the worldly happiness, though an ideal aim in life is not easy to secure. The peculiar nature of man and woman, the debility of man, the conflicts in the love-affairs and jealousy in the mind of men and women show us a quite different aspect of human life. A woman realising that another woman is coming in the way of the fulfilment of her love with a particular person desires that the rival should be ruined. She wishes that her rival should no more attract any man, much less her lover. She employs a charm to drive the rival woman of her womanhood. Hymn 7. 114 is used by Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (36. 39) for making a woman devoid of her fortune of womanhood. The woman touches the limbs of her rival and recites the charm, 'I take all splendour from your sex organ, heart and the charm of your face' (7. 114. 1). In another hymn (1. 14), more vigorous are the imprecations of a woman against her rival with a view to thrusting spinsterhood on her. She withdraws the *bhaga* (the peculiar lustre of the body-Sāyaṇa), like a garland from a tree. It may mean the defloration of that woman. She ceases to be a woman. She becomes the wife of Yama, destined to die soon. None can marry her. So, she stays in the house of her father, mother or brother; but never she would get married and live with her husband (1. 14. 1-2). She becomes *kulapā*, protecting her father's house till death (1. 14. 3). With the charms (*brahman*) of the sages like Asita, Kaśyapa and Gaya the practitioner of the rite shuts up the rival's *bhaga* (vulva, 1. 14. 3). On account of this spell the woman ceases to be a woman; her vulva is closed and she is made to stay forever in her father's house. Thus the charm is pronounced against a marriageable woman, who cannot marry forever. The natural reason seems to be the rivalry with their common lover. This drastic magic might be resorted to by sheer malice. The consequences of such magic also depend on one, who takes initiative and whose *brahman* (potency of the charm) is stronger. Kauśika (36. 15-17) prescribes that while reciting this charm (1. 14), a wreath, pillow, tooth brush and hair are placed in the skin of cow and all are again placed in the hollow of the mortar and buried under a pile of three stones. The garland is to be crushed; three tufts of hair, each tied with black thread are buried with stone on each. Kauśika (36. 18) gives the rite for digging the fortune. It will be noted that the 7c 1. 14. 1 refers to the taking out a garland from the tree. So Kauśika records it along with other objects in a detailed rite. The object of the rite is to dig symbolically those

things which constitute the *bhaga* of a woman. They are garland,, pillow (suggesting bed), toothbrush (cleanliness of mouth) and hair (the charm of the whole face and body). These are buried under three stones. The crushed wreath suggests the crushing of her flower (virginity) i. e. defloration. The piling of stones suggest the closing of her vulva. This is an example of contagious magic. BLOOMFIELD³¹ supposes that this hymn (1. 14) is a funeral hymn owing to the reference to Yama, Pitṛs and Rājan (1. 14. 2-3). But the references to the *bhaga*, garland (floration), stay in her father's, brother's or mother's house and closing down the *bhaga* (*nahyāmi te bhagam* 1. 14. 4), corroborate our statement that the hymn 1. 14 is a charm for thrusting spinsterhood on a woman and removing her femininity (closing the vulva). Sāyaṇa on 1. 14 also points out that the hymn is intended for thrusting misfortune on a woman. Nothing is more unfortunate than closing the vulva of a woman. Hence our interpretation is right.

18. In the same way a woman who desires that her rival should not have male child employs hymn 7. 34 as a charm, according to Kauśika (36. 33). The hymn is an appeal to Agni to drive off the rivals, born and unborn. It employs the word *sapatna* (7. 34. 1). This might be the reason for its employments against rival (*sapatni*), by Kauśika. Mere verbal association is enough to connect the hymn with the spell for a particular purpose. Hymn 7. 35 is used if a woman intends that her rival should not have any child at all. Here these women are cowives. The practitioner of the rite desires that the rival should not have male child (7. 34), so that her own son would become heir to her husband's property and that the rival should not have any child at all (7. 35) and being childless she would naturally fall off from the love of husband. BLOOMFIELD employs the hymn 7. 35 to make a woman sterile. The practitioner of the charm closes the openings of the hundred entrails (*hirās*) and thousand canals (*dhamanis*) i. e., gross and subtle blood tubes with stone (7. 35. 2). All arteries thus being shut up, there would be no circulation of blood and the woman would be sapless. In addition, the upper part of the womb (*yoni*) is placed below. So the *yoni* (uterus) would be topsyturvy and consequently, no birth of a child is possible. She is made sterile and devoid of offspring. A stone covers the vulva (7. 35. 3). According to Kauśika (*ibid*) the urine of she-mule is rubbed between two circular stones. That urine is then given to the woman in the cooked rice for eating, or is pasted on her

31. *Ibid.*, p. 253 ff.

ornaments. For making her sterile, the practitioner fixes her eyes on the line of the partition of her hair (*śimanta*). ST 7. 1. 1. 3, and AB 49. 1 mention she-mule as sterile. Her urine might have a symbolical effect in making the woman sterile by contact. Fixing eyes on *śimanta* is opposite to *śimantonṇayana* a rite performed for the birth of a child, by the husband who looks at the parting line of the hair of his pregnant wife. The opposite of this would mean, absence of any birth at all.³² In another charm (3. 18),³³ a woman desirous of driving off her cowife, digs a plant, with whose help she hopes to win over her husband exclusively to her side (3. 18. 1). The plant drives off the cowife and makes her husband, belong to her alone (*patiṁ me kevalaṁ kṛdhi*, 3. 18. 2). A person having more than one wife is bound to feel attraction for one of them only. The other wife or wives would naturally try to win over the husband from that wife. Thus there is rivalry and jealousy. As a result of the charm, the husband does not take even the name of the other wife, who would never enjoy his company and who would be driven away (3. 18. 3). The plant which she uses is superior in qualities (*uttara*). So, she becomes superior to her cowife, who then becomes inferior to her (3. 18. 4). The plant *pāṭā* is overpowering in nature. She is also like that. Both, being overpowering, overcome the rival (3. 18. 5). The qualities of the magical objects are received in, by the practitioner, who gains power to work out the magical effect. Thus driving away the cowife, the practitioner takes her place as the favourite of her husband (3. 18. 5). She keeps a plant under the bed, where her husband and cowife sleep. She says, 'I have placed the plant under and over your bed. Let your mind, attracted by the plant, be turned towards me' (3. 18. 6). Sāyaṇa thinks that the plant used in the charm is *pāṭā* or *bāṇāparṇī* and it is to be used for winning victory over a cowife. Kauśika (36. 19-21) calls it *bāṇāparṇī*. Dārila on Kauśika (*ibid*) names it as *śarapuṅkhā*. Keśava says that it is well known among the people as *māsikā*. According to Kauśika (*ibid*), the powder of the leaves of *bāṇāparṇī* is to be mixed with water and curds prepared from the milk of she-goat of red colour. This mixture charmed with this hymn (3. 18) is to be sprinkled on the bed of the cowife. With the part of the *ṛc* 3. 18. 6a the leaves of the plant are to be scattered under the bed and with 3-18. 6 b the leaves are to be placed on the bed.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 545.

33. The hymn appears at RV 10.145 attributed to Indrāpl. *AGS* 3.9. 5-6 employs the charm with *pāṭā* plant. *Āpastamba mantrapāṭha* employs the hymn while tying the root of the plant secretly on the arm of the rival.

In the same way the plant *bāṇāparṇī* is employed by Kauśika (35.38) for producing hatred between a man and his beloved wife. Her cowife practises this charm (7.114). She employs this rough creeper to cut the woman's body, so being disfigured, she may be hateful to the man of strong virile power. The use of the rough and poisonous creeper (*trsthā* or *triṣṭhā* according to PPP and *viṣā*) will make the woman (so far beloved), avoided by the husband as a barren cow by a bull (7.113.1-2). Thus the plant magically employed causes hatred between husband and his beloved wife.

19. A very interesting instance of jealousy of a person about his wife, being suspicious of her love towards him, is given at 6.18 ; 7.45. A magical rite performed by a priest, extinguishes for the woman, the fire of jealousy, the heat of his heart (6.18.1). As a result of this charm the spirit of jealousy becomes dead, like the dead-minded earth, or like the mind of the dead person. Like air in the leather bag, the fluttering spirit has found a place in the heart of the man and that is removed by the priests working this charm. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (36.25-27) prescribe that the woman gives the man *mikṣā* (stirred drink of barley and water) for drinking and recites this hymn (6.18) at his sight. She blows out fire over his body and gives him water warmed by heated axe for drinking. As jealousy is fire, it is removed by creating him heat. This is homeopathic way of removing jealousy. Thus jealousy (*irṣyā*) is removed.

20. Sometimes undesirable love affair is going on between a man and a woman. A charm (4.33) prevents such affair. In the charm Agni is praised to be gracious and to remove the sin. Agni is offered oblations for securing good field, *kṣetra* (4.33.1-2). All sin and haters are removed (4.33.7). In the hymn 4.33, there is nothing to warrant its use by Kauśika (36.22) for removing mutual attraction. Perhaps the word *kṣetra* (4.33.2) may refer to winning back one's wife who is having undue intimacy with another man. Kauśika (*ibid*) prescribes that for such purpose innumerable particles of sand should be scattered round the house of man or woman. This charm (4.33.) also occurs at RV 1.97.

21. Leaving aside these charms practised by men and women who to seek their own ends, representing the various shades of human nature, which are real and true for all times there are also many benevolent aspects of the charms of the AV regarding mutual

love between men and women. Unlucky marks on the face and body of a woman are handicap in impressing herself on the mind of a man. So the Atharvaṇic priest performs a magical rite for her by means of which, unlucky marks (*nīrlakṣmyam*) and ugly spot on her forehead are removed, auspicious signs are produced and all unlucky, demonic marks are driven away to Arāti (a demon 1.18.1). The priest believes that the woman is created for happiness, which is hindered by the strange appearance of her feet and hands. All these evil signs are driven away by the gods (1.18.2). Similarly fierceness in her self, body, hair and look are driven away by the words of the charm uttered by the priests (*vācāpa-hanma*, 1.18.3). The spell also removes her feet looking like antelope, teeth like a bull, movement like cow or bull, growth of hair on her forehead and her habit of snorting (*vidhamā*, 1.18.4). It will thus be seen that inauspicious marks on the face, crooked appearance of hands and feet, fierceness of hair and look and awkwardness of movement were considered to be a great hindrance, as is natural, for her matrimonial happiness. So the spell of the priests removes these. Such a belief forestalls the existence of the palmistry or *Sāmudrikaśāstra*. Sāyaṇa (on 1.18) considers that inauspicious marks on the limbs such as hands, feet, hair, mouth of a woman have been declared inauspicious by the *sāmudrikas*. He points out that for removing them, holy water is to be sprinkled on her face and body and the offering of the shaving of *palāśa* tree are made in the fire. Kausika (42.19) points out that the face of such a woman is sprinkled with the water after reciting every verse of the hymn (1.18), beginning from the braid of hair on the right. He further prescribes that after the offerings of *palāśa* in the fire, the chaff, husk and refuge of the rice grains and the shaving of the *palāśa* tree are placed on the heel of her right foot. As all these things drop down by slight movement, her evil marks also drop down. So these marks are removed by the symbolical removal of light things such as husk, shavings etc.

22. There are a number of charms for securing matrimonial happiness. I have discussed those occurring in the marriage rite elsewhere.³⁴ Even outside the marriage hymns (14.1-2), there are many spells regarding matrimonial happiness. By means of an offering called *bhūlahavi*, the offering of ghee and barley, the husband is expected to prosper and grow superior to his wife by his power (6.78.1). The AV thus holds that the matrimonial happiness

34. *Foundations*, p. 237.

depends on the superior might of the husband. It also holds that the couple should have inexhaustible wealth. Thus the superiority of the husband and his wealth make the couple happy (6.78.2). The AV believes that the husband and wife, chosen by each other are actually fashioned for each other by Tvaṣṭṛ, who bestows long life on them (6.78.3). An offering is intended for prosperity (*bhūlahavi*) of the couple. In another rite the bride envelops the bridegroom in her garment produced by Manu. To win him over, she says, 'you should be mine alone. You shall not discourse of other women' (6.37.1). Thus the garment of the bride is a charmed object, capable of winning the husband by the bride. Kausika (79.7) points out that a root of *sauvarcala* plant is to be tied on the husband. But the hymn 6.37 refers to the garment of Manu and not to any root. The head of the beloved is the object to be charmed in removing anger. The husband says that the head of his beloved is dear and full of virility and is given by Soma. By means of this charm on her head, he enkindles pain in her heart and mind. The wife forgets her anger and submits to her husband. Her mind goes after him (6.89.1-3). Kausika (36. 10-11) mentions that along with her head, he also addresses her ears. According to Dārila on Kausika (*ibid*) the husband holds or wears the hair of the woman, he wants to obstruct. The hymn refers to *preṇyasīras* (6. 89. 1). Kausika includes ears in it and Dārila refers to the hair growing on it. It is perhaps the touch of the husband to the head or hair on it that brings about reconciliation between the angry wife and her husband. Sometimes when the man is angry with his beloved, his wife practises the charm (6. 42) on account of which Manu or anger is relaxed from his heart, as a string from bow. She casts down his fury under a stone. She tramples on his fury with her heels and forefeet. When thus the anger is removed, they would be of like-minds, like friends. He would not speak recklessly. He may then come to her intent (6. 42, 1-3). The string and bow, stone and trampling, occurring in the hymn (*ibid*) are rightly used by Kausika (36. 28-30) to represent symbolical removal of anger. With the ṛc, 6. 42. 2 the woman takes a stone in her hand and throws it down. With the ṛc, 6. 42. 3 she spits on it. In the shadow of the angry person, the bow is adjusted. The actions of throwing a stone, spitting or adjusting bow in the shadow are symbolical of removal or discharge of anger, suggesting thereby that the anger in that person has gone away.

The ideal kept before the men and women by the AV is the ever increasing love for each other and to be of one mind and heart.

The husband and wife say to each other, 'Our eyes should shine like honey, also our face should gleam like ointment. Place me within your heart. May one mind be common to both of us' (7.36.1). Kausika (79.2) employs this hymn for anointing the eyes of each other with ointment by the husband and wife on the fourth day of the marriage. The eyes and face shine on account of the use [of the ointment accompanied by the recitation of the hymn. The result is the unity of their heart and mind, which brings happiness.

Thus the AV supplies remedies for all critical situations in the relation between men and women. A man may notice that his wife is having a paramour. The husband secretly performs the magical rite and gets rid of that intruder on his love. He recites hymn 7.90 at the sight of the paramour of his wife. He charms a stone and throws it at a place where his wife meets the paramour. The stone would break their ties (Kausika, 36.35). The hymn describes the wrath of the husband at the sight of the paramour. In the manner of the ancient practice, he cuts off the knot of creeper. He removes the vigour of the sex organ of the paramour by the ordinance of Varuṇa. His desire is that his penis should go off and he should be impotent at the sight of his wife (7.90.1-3).

In another case the wife of the man may run away with her paramour. The AV 6.77 prescribes a charm for the return of such truant wife (Kausika 36.5-9). A rope is tied to a cross beam and to the middle post of the house. Also, a foot of the bed is tied to the *upala* plant. Sesame grains are offered in fire. The rite is symbolical. The rope and foot of the bed suggest that she should come home and sleep on the bed. Hymn 6.77 describes how the heaven and earth, the whole world and the mountains have stood firm; hence the husband contends that he shall cause his wife to stay firmly in his house (6.77.1). He urges the fire to restore his wife to him with his hundred and thousand ways of returning.

(23) It can be seen from the description given above that the Atharvanic teachers consider that Kāma occupies a vital position in the domestic happiness of men and women. In their own way they prescribed means for making their life comfortable. These hymns pertaining to Kāma and the magical rites performed along with them must have formed a nucleus for later systematic treatment. The earliest systematic attempt to present the Atharvanic conceptions of Kāma is preserved in the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana. KṢ 1.2.46 treats Kāma as important to the health of

body as food. The Atharvaṇic ideology, in this connection, is exactly similar to this, since it considers Kāma or the fulfilment of sexual desires as quite essential for domestic comforts. Among the 64 arts and crafts which form parts of the science of Erotic, there is one dealing with the rites called *kaucumāra yoga*, which are described in KS 7. The AV 6.72.2-3 forms also a basis of the classification of men as hare, bull and horse, as found in KS 2.1.1. Embrace and kissing (6.8.1-2, 6.9.3) form two important topics out of eight, which with their subdivisions form the sixty-four parts of the Kāmaśāstra, according to KS 2.2.5. These sixty-four parts of the KS are as a whole termed as *Siddhā* (possessed of mysterious power to win men and women) and *Subhagaṅkarnī*. (making men and women more prosperous in erotic practices, KS 2.10.53). It may be noted from the foregoing description, that the AV contains the basic material for such treatment in KS.

In the seventh chapter of KS, the author treats various rites which are similar to those mentioned in the AV for various purposes. The chapter is called *aupaniṣadika*, on account of its secret rites. KS 7.1.10 explicitly mentions the Atharvaṇic practices for *subhagaṅkaraṇa*, making one possessed of youth charm (*ātharvaṇān yōgān*). Regarding the charms for winning women's love *vaśīkaraṇa* the author mentions the Atharvaṇic charm of *madhu* i. e. honey, or lacorice (KS 7.1.25-28). KS 7.1.49 refers to the AV along with medicine, as authority for increasing virile power and removing debility (*vājīkaraṇa*).

It may thus be noted that the AV forms the basis of the various rites and technical details, which were later on systematised into Kāmaśāstra.

III

THE STATECRAFT IN THE AV

1—Introduction. 2—Sabhā and Samiti. 3—Election of a king. 4—Restoration of an exiled king. 5—Coronation of a king. 6—Purohita. 7—Amulets to strengthen the royal power and to secure success. 8—Magical rites for various purposes. 9—Presenting a garment, the symbol of sovereignty. 10—The role of the purohita in war. 11—The purohita on the battlefield. 12—The purohita equips the king for battle, with the armour, chariot etc. 13—The battle drum. 14—The rites for securing victory in the battle. 15—Magical rites for defence on the battle-field. 16—Magical practices in attack. 17—The rites to confuse the enemy. 18—To make the arrows go everywhere. 19—To make the enemy helpless. 20—The magical missiles (*astras*) in the battle. 21—The magical rites to entrap the enemy. 22—The obstacles kept in the path of the enemy. 23—The symbolical *vajra*. 24—A charm to blind the enemy. 25—The testimony of Kauṭilya regarding the Atharvanic practices.

(1) The AV is rich in information about the statecraft. As has been pointed out earlier,¹ the AV supplies the data, to complete our estimate of the Vedic culture in its various aspects. The picture of the Vedic culture would not be complete unless we take the help of the AV. The AV vividly depicts the political life in India. We see in the AV the election of a king to the throne, coronation, the rights and privileges of Sabhā and Samiti, the position of the purohita at the royal court and the functions of both the king and purohita in warfare.

(2) Sabhā and Samiti

There does not seem to be the Divine Right of the king in the AV. King was elected by the people, as the head of the state. The bodies which elected the king were called Sabhā and Samiti. Much discussion² has been made regarding the exact nature of

1. Introduction p. 8.

2. MACDONELL and KEITH, *Vedic Index*, ii. 5, 97, 308, 426, 458, 428 for Sabhā and ii. 416, 427, 430, 431 for Samiti. K. P. JAYASWAL, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 11-21. N. O. BANDOPADHYAYA, *Development of Hindu polity and Political theories*, pp. 108-120. A. C. DAS, *Rgvedic Culture*, pp. 328, 433, 308, 324-28.

these two bodies. It will not be out of place here to rally the evidence of the AV in this connection; for, in the AV only, these matters have been elaborately treated. The AV contains many charms to win the assembly in disputations. It thus attaches great importance to the public assemblies and winning them by oratory and personal impression of the speaker. Sabhā and Samiti are the two daughters of Prajāpati (7. 12. 1). The speaker wants to influence these both; so he prays that he should speak agreeable to those that are gathered there, and that other members should co-operate with him. In the magical practice to win the Sabhā, the speaker tells that he knows that the name of the Sabhā is *nariṣṭhā*³ i.e., occupying place among men i.e., the people that form the Sabhā. The knowledge of the name of the object to be won over is greatly advantageous to the magical practitioner in the AV. The persons taking part in it are called Sabhāsads, who are charmed magically to speak in harmony with the speaker (7.12.2). The speaker, practising the charm takes with him the splendour and understanding of those who sit there; so that he would be successful as an orator in the entire gathering (*samsad*). He makes their minds, which might have gone elsewhere or fixed here and there, turn towards him (7.12.3-4). Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (38.27-28) prescribe the hymn (7.12) as a charm for winning the Sabhā. Keśava on Kauśika (*ibid*) considers that the charm is intended for stupifying the Sabhā and then promote the judicial acts of those, who sit in the assembly. Sāyaṇa commenting on the hymn 7.12 points out that Sabhā is the gathering of the learned persons (*viduṣām samājah*) and Samiti is the assembly of all people gathered together for the sake of war, i. e. for declaring war or negotiating peace etc. (*sāṅgrāmiṇajanasabhā*). Or it means sacrifice, for Samiti is *saṅgrāma*, which means sacrifice according to Yāska (Nirukta 1.19). Thus it means the gathering of all people for the sake of war or festivals like sacrifice; while Sabhā would mean a body of the distinguished people gathered together for promoting justice. It is natural therefore that a speaker should attempt to win the members of the Sabhā, by means of his speech and also by the charms he employs. Another term for Sabhā is *samsad* (7.12.3) and the members are the Sabhāsads (7.12.2). The speaker desirous of influencing the Sabhā eats cooked rice, while reciting the hymn (7.12). He takes hold of the pillars of the assembly and pays homage to the Sabhā. Sabhā and Samiti are

3. In the magical practices, the mention of the name and calling the opponent by that name, have the effect of winning the opponent. For *nariṣṭhā*, see, N. J. SHENDE, *Foundation*, p. 132.

usually mentioned together. Bhūmi is invoked to enable one to speak pleasantly of her in *grāmas*, *araṇyas* (forests), *sabhās* (assemblies) on the earth, *saṅgrāmas* (gathering of *grāmas* or villages for the purpose of war) and *samitis* (assemblies 12.1.56). Here the word *samiti* is mentioned together with *sabhā* and *saṅgrāma*. It is probable that Samiti is the gathering of all people collected together for the sake of war as Yāska explains. The kingship originated in the leadership during the emergency of war. The person influencing the Samiti in its session for war, naturally became its leader and was called thereafter a king. In an interesting passage (15.9.2-3) the relative importance of Sabhā and Samiti is pointed out. Vrātya moved to the *viś* (the common men). After him moved the Sabhā (the gathering of the learned), then the Samiti (general assembly of people), then *senā* (army formed out of the gathering in Samiti), and then *surā* (wine enjoyed by the army). In this passage Vrātya after coming to *viś*, was followed by Sabhā, Samiti and Senā. In the description of Virāja, we are told that Virāj came to the Sabhā, where men go to become fit for the assembly (*sabhyā*). Virāj came to the Samiti where men go to become fit for the gathering (*āmityā*). Speeches are delivered in these bodies (8.10.10-13). Samiti is the general assembly, of which every one of the *viś* is a member. It is certainly a great punishment if any one is deprived of its privileges and pleasures. A person, who injures a Brāhmaṇa (*brahmajña*), does not become suitable for the Samiti. He cannot win any friend to his side (5.19.15). Thus it was a great privilege to go to the Samiti, to win friendship there and become a party to the business transacted there. For securing harmony, an offering is given to the fire. It secures common secret counsel (*mantra*), common Samiti (assembly), common course of action (*vrata*) and common thought (*cetas*, 6.64.2). It will thus be noted that in the Samiti, the members of the public, counsel together, think of the line of action and act accordingly. The business of the Samiti is to be prepared for war, to form an army (*senā*) and to approve of the appointment of the king. At 6.88.3 cd it is pointed out that the Samiti or the public assembly should be suitable to the king, who is established on the throne. It is on the wish of the Samiti, that the king would govern the people. Thus in peace and war, the Samiti advises the king. In the modern terminology the Samiti would mean the parliament; but the Samiti was a body, which formed an army, with the king as its leader. When these normal functions of the Samiti viz., to advise the king in peace and war are over, the place of the Samiti seems to have been used

for entertainment, such as gambling, drinking etc. This appears to be possible on account of the association of the word *dyūta* with Samiti. At 12. 3. 46 it is mentioned that the precious offerings to Aṅgiras in the Svargaudana rite, should not be lost in the gambling in Samiti. It is also pointed out that the people speak falsehood in the gambling or in Samiti (12.3.52). Thus the common people gathered together for gambling and the same gathering formed a Samiti to discuss serious matters of the government. A similar gathering, but of distinguished men became Sabhā. The Atharvanic poet of the hymn 4.29 considers Yama, the king of the departed, has an assembly, whose members (*sabhāsads*) are also the kings, who charge one-sixteenth of the merit accrued by the departed, when they enter into the realm of Yama (4.29.1.). Obviously the idea of the assembly of Yama, is formed on the basis of such assembly for the earthly king.

The word Samiti occurs 13 times and Sabhā 16 times in the AV. Thus Sabhā and Samiti are the assemblies of people, formed for some definite purpose. They were connected with the king and the government of the country.

According to K. P. JAYASWAL,⁴ Samiti is the sovereign Assembly of the whole people for electing or re-electing the king. It was a product of the developed Vedic age. Those, who attended the assembly were the villages together (*saṃgrāma*). Sabhā was a standing and stationary body of selected men working under the authority of Samiti, performing the executive work. The elders in the society occupied places in it. It acted as the national judicature. Vidatha, religious gathering, was the parent body in early Vedic times from which Sabhā, Samiti and Senā were differentiated. According to A. S. ALTEKAR, Sabhā was a village assembly and Samiti sometimes represented a social gathering, but usually a political assembly at the central government.^{4A} According to DAS,⁵ Sabhā was local and permanent institution, but Samiti was held on extraordinary occasions, when all people were invited to assemble and to come to a unanimous decision on an important matter. Similar is the view of BANDOPADHYAYA.⁶ ZIMMER⁷ considers that Sabhā was the

4. *Hindu Polity*, pp. 11-21.

4A *State and Government in Ancient India*, Benares, 1949, pp. 94-100.

5. *Rgvedic Culture*, pp. 328-29.

6. *Development of Hindu Polity*, p. 118.

7. *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 172, 174.

meeting place of the villages presided over by the Grāmañi. According to HILLEBRANDT⁸ the two cannot be distinguished. LUDWIG⁹ thinks that Sabhā was an assembly of the Brāhmaṇas and rich patrons and that Samiti included all people. MACDONELL and KEITH¹⁰ maintain that Sabhā is the assembly and the hall where the assembly met. They further point out that Sabhā and Samiti are much the same, one being the assembly and the other primarily the place of assembly. But in view of the previous discussion on these two words, occurring in the AV, there is the difference between the nature and functions of these two bodies. The Sabhā formed the body of the elders to administer justice and Samiti was the gathering of all people in peace and war. Kauśika gives a number of magical rites for influencing the members of these bodies (38. 17-21, 26-29).

(3) The Election of a King :

The king or chief of the people (*viś*) was called upon to shoulder the responsibility of the state (*rāṣṭra*) by the people through the purohita. In this rite the priest invokes the leader as the lord of the people. The whole kingdom (*rāṣṭra*) has come to him. The priest invites him to rise with lustre and shine forth (*Ārāj in rājān*). He then becomes the only sovereign ruler (*ekarāj*). All regions call him. Thus being invested with the sovereignty, the king becomes fit to be attended and saluted (3.4.1). The king then resorts to the summit of the royalty and becomes formidable (*ugra*). The authority behind the highest power vested in him, comes from the *viśah* (the people, or clans-BLOOMFIELD), five quarters and five goddesses presiding over them (3.4.2). The king is accompanied by his *sajātas* (kinsmen or other kings-Sāyana). His wives and sons become devoted to him. Being formidable, he inspires awe in every one. He receives rich tributes (3.4.3). He is favoured by Aśvins, Mitra, Maruts, Dyāvāpṛthivī and Varuṇa. King Varuṇa calls him to be the king. The root *vr* in Varuṇa means to choose. So Varuṇa chooses him, who may be even in the farthest distance. The people choosing the king become virtually Varuṇas. The king, thus elected, is the earthly Indra and is called Indra, who submits to the wishes of Varuṇas (the electors, the people), to become the head of the state. Thus established on the throne he offers oblations to the gods and manages his people (3.4.4-6). The whole state

8. *Vedische Mythologie* 2. 123-25.

9. *R̥gveda* (trans.) 3. 523.

10. *Vedic Index*, II, 426, 430.

represented by the rich and wide roads bestows sovereignty on him, to be enjoyed upto the tenth decade of his life and to rule it becoming mighty and benevolent (3.4.7). The priests request the king to distribute wealth to them after he has been duly established (3.4.4). The purohitas or priests represented the whole of the *viśaḥ* or people, call the king to be elected, establish him with sovereign power, and are satisfied with the fees they receive from him. WHITNEY considers that the purpose of the hymn 3.4 is to establish a king. On the other hand BLOOMFIELD thinks it to be intended for the election of a king. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (16.30-33) employ it for the rites to be performed on the occasion of the king's entry in his own state. In this rite, *puroḍāśa* (a cake) in the form of a couch (bed-Kauśika) or of the size of an army of the enemy is prepared and kept on the *darbha* grass, scattered on the water. A clod of earth is placed on the *puroḍāśa*, so that it would be submerged in the water. On the morning of the fourth day, the king should eat the submerged cake and then attend the assembly for election. Also the rice grains cooked in milk should be charmed with the hymn (3.4) and eaten by the king. All these rites are symbolical.

(4) The restoration of the exiled king :

The rites for the restoration of an exiled king are similar to those mentioned above. WEBER¹¹ remarks that exiled king could scarcely expect to be restored to by any more simple device than these. Hymn 3.3 dealing with this rite, refers to the sacrifice in Agni on behalf of the exiled king. According to BLOOMFIELD¹² Agni is a war-god capable of bringing victory to the cause of the de-throned king. Agni crying loudly spreads himself over the far reaching worlds. An offering is given to Maruts also ; for, they engage Agni to bring back the king, who has offered oblations. The king is the representative of Indra. The gods (i. e. the priests), chant for him the hymns in Gāyatrī, Bṛhatī metres and *arkas* (songs), and infuse courage in him by means of the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice. Thus the priests invoke the king to come back, and he like Indra comes to them in his chariot driven by ruddy horses. The Sautrāmaṇī¹³ sacrifice restored the lost vigour in Indra ; so here the priests restore the king to his former position by means of this sacrifice.

11. Quoted by BLOOMFIELD, *SBE* 42, p. 328.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *SB*, 5. 4. 11. 13.

The priest thus sings hymns and performs Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice to bring back the king¹⁴ (3.3.1-2).

Varuṇa calls the exiled king from the waters, Soma from the mountains and Indra from the people. Thus the exiled king might be staying in the waters, mountains or among the people. Or he might be in the custody of the enemy in the strange land. He is called from all these places. Being called, he flies to his men like falcon. His kinsmen gather round him. His friends and opponents (*pratijana*) choose him and call him back. In this rite for welcoming the exiled king, Indra is asked to drive away his relations or neighbours (*sajāta* and *niṣṭya*), who opposed his return. Then he is declared as the king fully accepted by the people (3.3.3-6).

(5) The coronation of a king :

Sāyaṇa and Kausika (17) prescribe the hymn 4.8 for the small and great coronation ceremony (*rājyābhiseka*). In the small coronation ceremony, king and his purohita take part. Having prepared the holy water on the bank of a great river (4.8.5), the purohita prepares cooked rice in a dish (*sthālipāka*) and sprinkles the king standing on the *darbha* grass to the south of the altar. He then makes the king sit on the couch, placed on the bull's skin. The king and purohita fill the vessels with water and exchange them. The chief priest then says, 'The good of both of us belongs to both and evil to each other.' The king is given the cooked porridge to eat. He then causes the king to ride a horse to the North-east direction. One thousand cows or a good village is given as fees to the priest. In the great coronation rite, the skin of a tiger takes the place of the bull's hide. Four kings, servants and subjects take part in it. Thus in these ceremonies, there are two important items, viz, the sprinkling of the holy water on the king and mounting on the tiger's or bull's skin. BLOOMFIELD¹⁵ remarks that the hymn reflects throughout the spirit of antique popular institutions and genuine appreciation of the dignity of royalty. The hymn 4.8 refers to both these rites. The rite of coronation is called *Rājasūya*, the rite in which the king is consecrated for the protection of the state.¹⁶ The king is the lord of the beings, prosperous and strong. He deposits strength in the people. *Mr̥tyu* comes at his

14. BLOOMFIELD, *SBE*, 42, p. 329.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 378,

16. Sāyaṇa on 4.8.1.

Rājasūya, the consecration rite. He is called the mighty guardian of the state, killing the rivals and increasing his friends. He is prayed to come to the people and not to go away (4.8.1-2). He steps up in the hall in which his reception is arranged. All men attend to him. Clothed in grace and shining with lustre, he moves. He is the mighty Asura, endowed with every form and performing immortal deeds (4.8.3). The king is a tiger; so he steps on the skin of a tiger. All clans and the heavenly waters desire him (4.8.4). Thus the first of the rites in the hymn is his mounting the tiger's skin. Then he is sprinkled with water. The priest sprinkles him with the waters of the heaven, rich in milk, containing their essence. These waters embrace the king, who is tiger (*vyāghra*), promote to great fortune the king, who is a lion (*siṃha*) and cleanse him, who is the leopard (*dvīpin* 4.8.5-8). Thus in this Rājasūya rite, the king is attended by all men. He is richly dressed. He is Asura, tiger, lion and leopard in his valour. His main duty is to protect the state. The priest asks him to step on the tiger's skin, the symbol of sovereignty and sprinkles him with the divine waters bringing him valour, fortune and grace. It is to be noted that priest acts as liaison officer between the king and the people, and the king and the gods. We do not find the priesthood and kingship combined in one, in the AV.

(6) Purohita¹⁷:

As has been said above the purohita is the officer of the king looking to the religious, moral, political well being and associating himself with the king at all times in war and peace. Every day he sprinkles the king with the water charmed with the recitation of the hymn 4.22. The rite creates an armour round the king's body for protection throughout the day. He prays for the prosperity of the king. He prays to make him a great warrior, the only sovereign ruler, killing all enemies and thus becoming prominent (4.22.1). He urges the people that a portion of *grāma* (town or village), horses and cows should be apportioned to the king (4.22.2). He should be the lord of the people *viśpati*, and *dhanapati*, the lord of gold, silver, pearls etc. (4.22.3). The priest promises him to unite him with Indra, who would make him the invincible and sole lord of the people and chief of the kings (*ekavṛṣa* 4.22.5). On account of his overpowering valour he has the form of a lion and tiger (*siṃha* and *vyāghra pratika* 4.22.8). The purohita occupies, thus, a position of a very important officer of the State.

17. Also see sections 10 and 11.

(7) Amulets to strengthen the royal power and to secure success :

(i) Amulet of *parṇa* or *palāśa* : The amulet of *parṇa* is able to crush the enemy. By its splendour it urges the wearer to enjoy continuous prosperity (3.5.1). This divine amulet prolongs the life of the wearer for hundred years, exempts him from injury, and makes him superior to Aryamans (patrons—Sāyaṇa) and Saṁvids (ally—WHITNEY; friends—BLOOMFIELD, 3.5.2-5). The newly crowned king puts on the amulet for securing *kṣātra* (domain—WHITNEY; power to rule—BLOOMFIELD; strength or Kṣatriya caste—Sāyaṇa). Becoming firmly rooted in the domain of royalty, he becomes the chief. He conquers all kingdoms and becomes superior to all (3.5.2). He secures the help of *dhīrat* (fisherman), *rathakāras* (charioteers, a caste of the name) or *dhīvan rathakāra*, (skilful builders of the chariots), *karmāras* (ironsmiths) and intelligent people. Also all kings (*rājānaḥ*), who make the kings (*rājakṛts*), *sūtas* (minstrels) and *grāmaṇīs* (leaders of the villages or towns) and all people lend support to him (3.5.6-7). The amulet, shining with its lustre, is like a brother, a hero and protection of the body. Along with the brilliancy of the pearls the priest ties it on the king (3.5.8). It will be noticed that the amulet is powerful, shining and protective. It secures the help of all sections of the people of the state, on whom his stability and popularity depend. This charm is employed by WHITNEY for securing prosperity. BLOOMFIELD employs it for strengthening royal power. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (19.22) use it for securing lustre, strength and life. Kauśika (*ibid*) points out that the amulet of *palāśa* is to be tied on the person, when it is dipped in sour curds and honey for three days on the thirteenth day of the month¹⁸

(ii) *Abhivartamaṇi*, overpowering amulet : This amulet is to be tied for increasing royalty (*rāṣṭra*). It destroys the rivals, niggards, enemies and malicious people who work against the king. As the result of putting on this amulet the king has free rule over the fighting men and common masses (1.29.1-6). The purohita tying this amulet on the king charges the amulet to kill rivals and enemies; for, like the sun his speech (spell) has gone up and has power to command the amulet (1.29.5). According to GRIFFITH¹⁹ this is a charm for securing success and supremacy of a dethroned king. The hymn, however, does not suggest that it is intended for

18. JAOS 16, 20-24.

19. Hymns of the A V, Vol. 1, p. 33.

a dethroned king. It is intended for any king. According to Sāyaṇa with the first four *ṛcs* of the hymn 1.29, the priest charms the amulet of the rim of the wheel of the chariot for the prosperity of the kingdom, which has been captured from the enemy. This amulet is called *abhivarta*, because it is overpowering the enemy. With the *ṛcs* 5-6, he ties the amulet. Kauśika (16.19) points out that the amulet is to be made of the rim and that it should be surrounded by the wire of iron, lead and steel or gold, silver and copper on the thirteenth day of the month. It should have the inner cavity made of gold. Keeping it on the amulet of the *darbha* grass, it should be charmed with the first four *ṛcs* of 1.29 and tied with the *ṛcs* 5-6. It should be noted that the material from which the amulet is to be made is not given in the text of the hymn. Both Sāyaṇa and Kauśika prescribe the rim of the chariot to symbolise the royal prosperity and dignity. The priest (1.29.5) emphasises that it is the power of his speech that has brought strength to the amulet.

(iii) Amulet of gold: The hymn 1.9 is employed by WHITNEY²⁰ for someone's advancement, by BLOOMFIELD²¹ for earthly and heavenly success, and by GRIFFITH²² for the coronation of an elected king. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika employ it for securing all prosperity. Kauśika 11.19 and Keśava on it prescribe it for putting on an amulet of gold. It is to be charmed in the manner of the *parṇa* amulet. They also prescribe another rite. Rice-grains are to be cooked in milk of a cow having the same colour as calf and the cooked rice is to be given the appearance of a man. The image is to be enriched with ghee for 12 nights, and is to be eaten with the reverted face. Kauśika (16.27-28) employs this charm also for the reinstatement of an expelled king, when he enters again in his country for ensuring the confidence of his subjects. The king eats the rice, prepared out of the after-growth of the cut rice-stalks, in the milk of a cow of the above description, on the fire made of *kaṁpilya* branches, grown out where they have been already cut. In the hymn (1.9) itself we find that the deities Indra, Pūṣan etc., are invoked to hold the wearer of the amulet in the highest light and to surround him with the sun, fire and gold (1.9.1 2). Agni is asked to bring that *payas* (water or milk), which he brought for Indra, and which is potent with the excellent magical power (*uttama brahman*); so that he gets supremacy over his relations (1.9.3). The

20. *Ibid* p. 9.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 239.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

hymn obviously is intended for securing supremacy over the relations by the king. The mention of surrounding him with gold or fire (1.9.2) suggests the use of amulet of gold. The milk (1.9.3) is also potent with the power of the charm. So the gold and milk are to be used in this symbolical rite. According to BLOOMFIELD²³ the milk of the cow with calf of the same colour, indicates complete harmony. Aftergrowth of rice and *katipilya* chips indicate the harmony of the relations between the people and the king, which were so far cut off.

(8) Magical rites for various purposes :

(i) For securing authority submission, love and fidelity of the kinsmen, a sacrifice is offered to Mitra, Varuṇa and Vāyu and also for securing spacious kingdom (*rāṣṭra*). Tvaṣṭṛ and Indra should make the king midmost among his fellows (3. 8. 1-2). With prayers Agni is enkindled by his dear brothers to shine for a long time, and to secure pre-eminence (3. 8. 3). By performing the rite, the leader hopes to bend together the minds, acts, and designs of the followers, who intend to disown him. He catches their mind, intent and heart with his, so that they may not go away but follow him (3. 8. 5-6). The *ṛcs* 3. 8. 1-3, 5-6 are intended for securing kingdom, love of his followers and eminence. The *ṛc* 3. 8. 4 is addressed to the beloved to be just by the sight of the lover and not to go away. The *ṛcs* 3.8. 5-6 are of general nature to secure harmony and also suitable in the context of the present subject. In this rite, Agni is enkindled with the recitation of prayers and offerings are made to the deities mentioned above.

(ii) For securing protection to the king : The purohita performs a rite for the protection of the king, who is entering in a bed chamber. He worships an image of Night made of flour and scatters gravels on all sides. He makes offerings to various deities. (19. 17. 1-10 ; Atharva Paddhati, 4. 4). Similar sacrifice he makes with the recitation of 19. 18 for the same purpose. The purohita performs a rite when the king enters a new city for the first time. He says, "To the stronghold of Mitra, I lead you forward, you enter it. It should yield you both refuge and defence (19.19.1)." Thus the purohita leads the king.

(iii) For securing sovereignty and stability (6.86-88) : Sāyaṇa and Kauṣika (59.12) prescribe that the king should offer oblations

23. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

to Indra in a sacrifice for securing supremacy. The priest acting on behalf of the king makes offerings in Agni, so that the king should be the sole ruler, absolute ruler and sovereign ruler of the Asuras, the hump of men and half sharer of the portion offered to the gods (6,86,1-3). To make the king firm, the offering of firmness (*dhurva haviṣ*) is offered in Agni. The priest claims that he has brought the kingdom for the king, who should be stable, fixed and loved by all. He should maintain the state (*rāṣṭra*) being steady like the mountain. The offerings are made to Soma and Brahma-ṇaspati to secure their approval for the king (6 87,1-3). By means of the offering of firmness, the king becomes firm among the people. Varuṇa, Brhaspati, Indra and Agni maintain fixed royalty on him. He becomes fixed, unshaken and unconquered. All enemies become inferior to him. The Samiti (the assembly of people) becomes favourable to him (6,88,1-3).

(9) Presenting a garment which is the symbol of sovereignty :

The royal robe wraps the king for royalty, long life, dominion and learning (19,24,1-3). Brhaspati covers Soma with the royal robe. Then he becomes protector of the people against imprecations. He becomes resplendent, heroic, dying in old age and achieving eminence (19,24,4-8). The purohita presents this robe to the king.

(10) The role of the purohita in war :

In the section 5 above, purohita's role, in general, has been treated. In this section, his importance in war is dealt. The battle is won as much by the heroes on the battlefield, as by the charms or magical practices of the purohita. He is an indispensable helpmate to the king in peace and war. The purohita officiating for his king claims that he has *brahman*²⁴ (the magical potency), which is sharpened, and power of his body increased and sharpened, by the mysterious power of his charms. His *brahman* and physical power, thus sharpened, lead the *kṣatra*, which is ageless and which is also equipped with army of footmen, horses and elephants. He is the leader of such *kṣatra* (king) in the matters regarding this and the next world. Since he is chosen as the purohita by the king, he aspires to be successful (3,19,1). What is the use of purohita to the king? He sharpens his kingdom (*rāṣṭra*), vigour, strength and power. In fact he is the propaganda-officer of the

24. N. J. SHENDE, *The Brahman in the AV. ibid.* pp. 207-16.

State in addition to his other designations, keeping the morale of the State on a very high level. He gives offerings of ghee and barley in Agni. With these offerings he cuts off the arms of the enemy (3.19.2). He leads the army of his royal patron. The enemies, who fight against his liberal patron fall defeated. He shatters them by the power of his *brahman* (3.19.3). The king, who patronises the purohita naturally becomes sharper than an axe, fire, thunderbolt and Indra. The king is competent to destroy the adversaries. The purohita sharpens the weapons of the king. He increases the heroes in the country, which becomes eventually victorious and ageless (3.19.4-5). Thus the purohita develops the military aspect of the State. He would exhort the people to cultivate martial habits, and encourage them to join the army. He is thus the propaganda and also recruiting officer. He, as the leader of the army, on the battle exhorts the people to win the battle. Then the battle cry *ululu*, clear and shrill, of the conquering forces arises. He brings down Indra, the leader of the gods to go with his army. When the battle is raging he encourages his men to go forth and to conquer. He exhorts them that their weapons should be fierce and that their arrows be sharper, killing those of weak arrows (3.19.6-7). He then charms their arrows, "Oh arrow, which is sharpened by my *brahman* being let loose, fly off. Kill the enemies. Kill their best ones. None of the yonder be released" (3.19.8). The purohita, leading the army and encouraging them on the battle field, charms their weapons and secures the divine help of Indra. He has already made the effect of their arrows and other weapons more sharp and more disastrous. His *brahman* is thus the mysterious magical power aiding his men, physically and morally. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (14) employ this charm for securing victory over the hostile army. The purohita offers ghee in Agni and charms male and female goat, having white feet and releases them against the enemy. There is no mention of the practice in the hymn. Kauśika also prescribes the offering of barley in addition to those of ghee, the fuel of bow and arrows and then the king is given the charmed bow for fighting.

Similarly the purohita performing pacificatory rites calms down any impending misfortune. Every day, the particles of sand are scattered in the royal household to avert any unforeseen calamity (19.9.2). His most exalted speech, which is sharpened by the *brahman*, and which is capable of producing what is terrible, brings about peace. His mind is elevated and produces the terrible. His five senses, and mind the sixth which is in his heart, are capable of

producing and appeasing the terrible. Not only does he secure success in the battle, but also he can pacify the impending misfortune and calamities, such as evil portents (*utpāla*), evil planets, earthquakes, meteors, cow yielding red-milk, earth cleaving down, lunar mansions struck by meteors, hostile magic (*abhucāra*), witchcraft (*kṛtyā*), images made of poisoned wood and fitted with bones and hair (*valga*), plague and epidemics (*deśopacarga*) and the evil effect of the moon, Āditya, Rāhu, meteor and Mṛtyu. Brahman, Prajāpati, Dhātṛ, Lokas, Vedas and seven sages secure for his king the happy progress. Whatever is terrible, cruel, evil, the purohita pacifies and makes everything propitious (19, 9. 1-14), Thus the purohita is indispensable for the king for all times.

(11) The purohita encourages the army on the battle-front :

The purohita standing between the two contending armies, reciting the hymns 4. 31-32, while examining both the armies. Sāyaṇa employs these charms for close observation of the army. Similar is the view of Kauśika (14. 7, 26-31). Keśava on Kauśika (*ibid*) uses these for encouraging his army. The rite, he practises is intended to know to which side, success is destined. The snares of *bhāṅga*, *muñja* (reeds) and raw earthen vessels are charmed and thrown away on the track of the enemy. The purohita collects reeds growing on the land between the two armies, and sets it on fire with the *āṅgirasa* fire. The direction of the smoke indicates defeat to that side. The particular fire required for this rite according to Keśava, is the fire in the house of a *cāṇḍāla* (outcast) or in the house where there is a delivered woman (*sūlikāṃbī*). The hymns 4. 31-32 actually describe Manyu, the god of fury or fiery spirit. He is asked to make the fighting men possessed of sharpened arrows and of whetted missiles and formidable like Agni (4. 31. 1). He leads the army. He makes every person sharpened. The purohita is then ready to raise a brilliant war-cry for victory (4. 31. 4.). Manyu is thunderbolt or arrow (*vajra* or *sāyaka*), i. e., the fury in these missiles (4. 31. 6). With the assistance of Manyu, the purohita hopes to win Dāsas or Aryas (4. 31. 1) or Dasyus, barbarians (4. 32. 6). Manyu is offered Soma in the sacrifice. He is accompanied by *tapas* (penance, fervour) to kill the enemies and to put vigour in the fighting men of his side (4. 32 2-6). Thus the priest offers Soma to Manyu, who with fervour kills the enemy and encourages men on his side. The purpose, assigned by Keśava for these hymns, viz., to encourage the fighting men, is probable, if we look at the contents of those hymns. Manyu and purohita, both possessed of *tapas* (penance) hope to kill the enemies (4. 32, 7).

Similar encouragement to the fighting men is given and their spirits are heightened by the offering of sacrifice to Indra. After Indra, the formidable hero, the fighting men should be excited. He is their leader. Brhaspati, sacrifice, priestly fees and Soma also go in the front of the army to infuse spirit in the fighting men. When the ensign of opposite party meets in the battle, Indra, the hero makes the men for whom the priest offers sacrifice, successful (19. 13, 6-11).

Thus the purohita leads the army, goes to the front line, observes the fighting men on both sides, offers sacrifices to Indra and Manyu and finally encourages and infuses spirit in his own men. His part on the battle-front is equally important along with that of the fighting services.

(12) The purohita equips the king with the equipment duly charmed, when he is about to go on the battlefield.

(i) The purohita charms the armour (*varman*), which the king puts on, when he is about to go on the front. His object in charming the armour is to put off the deadly weapons invented by men and to keep away the army of the enemies. These armours were put on by the gods and other deities (19. 20. 1-4). The purohita, while charming the armour says, 'I cover your vital parts with armour. Soma dresses you with the imperishable armour (7. 118. 1)'.

(ii) The newly built chariot for war is charmed by the priest and the king then rides it. He gives the offerings of the wheels of the chariot in the fire for the success of the war-chariot in which the king rides, with the charm 6.125. The chariot is made of wood (*vanaspati*). It is asked to be of stout body. It is fastened with cows (straps of the hide of cow). It is expected to be friendly, heroic and winning success for him who mounts it (6.125.1). It is offered with oblations, which bring to it force from the heaven, earth, and forest trees. The offerings are also made to the force of waters and thunderbolt of Indra (6.125.2-3). Thus the offerings are made to these forces, to bring force and success to the chariot (Kausika, 15.11).

(iii) The battle drum (*dundubhi*).—The battle drum is sounded to encourage and to infuse vigour in the fighting men. It is made of wood. It resounds in the enemies' camps. It bestows

strength and vigour and makes the cavalry men ride horses together and charioteers rush with speed. It speaks out loudly with the ensigns (*ketus*), while the conquest is going on. Its sound enables the warriors to defeat the scattered sections of the enemy. It is thus capable of beating off the enemy (6.126.1-3). In addition to this charm, the AV has two important hymns for charming the war-drums (5.20-21). According to Kāṣika (16.1) all musical instruments are washed and dipped in the mixture of the powders of *tagara* and *uśira*. Then they are anointed with ghee. The purohita sounds them thrice and hands them over to the warriors as they proceed to the battle-field. The battle drum is made of wood and fitted with hide of cows. By its thundering sound, the hearts of the enemy are rent with fire and grief. The enemy leaving the shelter in the village runs away being scared (5.20.1-3). The property of the enemy is looted. The army advances with the drum. It terrifies the enemy and encourages men on its side. It creates panic in the civil population. A woman, sleeping quietly in her house is awakened by hearing the sound of the drum even from a distance. Being thus distressed, she takes her son in her arms and runs away, fearing the armed clash in the neighbourhood (5.20.4-6). This shouting herald is followed by the bold army. It spreads news in many villages and renders them panicky (5.20.9). The drum works wonders, because it is sharpened by the *brahman* of the purohita (5.20.10).

(13) The demoralising effect of the battle drum :

According to Kāṣika (16.2-3), with the hymn 5.21, the purohita makes the offering in the fire loudly and waves the ladle in the air. The stalks of Soma are then stitched in the skin of an antelope. The purohita fastens it on the king as an amulet. With its sound it strikes diffidence, lack of spirit, discord, confusion and fear in the enemy, who trembles in mind, heart and eyes. All these things happen, when the purohita offers ghee in the fire and when the drum is beaten. The drum is anointed with ghee. Being thus charmed, it deludes mind, chases the enemy day and night and finally crushes them. Thus, the *duṇḍubhi* (drum) and the skin of the antelope (used as an amulet) crush the enemy who advances in the successive columns of warriors (*anīkaśaḥ*). The sound of the strings of the bows and of the drum defeat the enemy (5.21.1-9). Thus the sacrifice offered with ghee and amulet of antelope have demoralising and devastating effects on the enemy, when the drum is sounded.

(14) The rites for securing victory in the battle :

(i) Sacrifice for victory : The purohita offers ghee in the fire for securing victory on the battle-field (Kauśika 50.4. 13). The offerings are made to the seven Sindhus (rivers—WHITNEY; oceans—Sāyaṇa), pressing stones, Soma and Apamnapat, who are invoked to protect the king on all sides (6.3).

(ii) According to Kauśika (14.7) sacrifice is offered to Maruts, Soma, Varuṇa and Indra to keep away the enemy, with the recitation of the hymn 1.20. When the offerings are made in the fire, one does not get himself in a split or difficulty,²⁵ portents and imprecations. The deadly missiles of the enemy run far away (1.20.1-4). This sacrifice removes portents, imprecations, hateful wrong and deadly weapons of the enemy. Thus the purohita aspires to be successful in the magical warfare, as also in the one, fought on the battle-field.

(iii) Battle charm on the eve of the battle : Offering is made to Agni (Agnihotra) to make his *yajña* (sacrifice), Agni, Soma and Indra, superior to all. Thus this sacrifice makes these deities invincible. Eventually the priest secures success over all enemies (6.97.1). In the Agnihotra (the sacrifice to Agni), ghee (*ājya*) and barley (*saktu*) are offered. Agni is prepared out of bow. It is offered with the fuel of bow. Similarly Agni is made from arrows, which are then offered in him. The bows and arrows are charmed. It will be noticed that for securing success, the fire is made from bows and arrows, which are in turn offered in it. This fire is competent to charm the bows and arrows (Kauśika 139.7). The purohita asks the warriors to follow with joy the formidable hero, the earthly Indra (king), who conquers villages and cows of the enemy (6.97.3). The two arms of Indra are kept as defence against the hostile weapons threatening to kill the warriors. The arms of Indra are made to protect the king, by offering oblations to Indra (6.99.2). Savitr is asked to make him of confident mind (6.99.3). For securing victory offerings are also made to the missiles of the Brāhmaṇas (*deva*), Rājans (kings) and Vaiśyas, to benediction, malediction, favour, disfavour of Mṛtyu and to the makers of witch-

25. The word is *adārasyāt*. According to Sāyaṇa it means 'Let him not escape or go near his wife (*dārā*)'. According to *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 14. 3. 7, it is a name of the Sāman and means 'Let him not get himself in a split or hole or difficulty.' I have followed the latter meaning which claims to have a traditional background.

craft, medicines, roots of herbs used in sorcery and Brāhmaṇas (who are capable of blessing and cursing, 13.1-3). According to Kausika (14.25, 15.6, 72.13, 104.3, 103.1, 113.3), in this rite one prays to different quarters for victory.

(15) Magical rites for defence on the battle-field :

(i) Kauśika (14.14) employs the hymn 1.26 for removing the deadly effects of the sword and other weapons. In this rite the chops and shavings of wood and husk are to be offered in the fire. Also at 14.15, he prescribes that the hymn is to be recited when the enemy with drawn sword draws near. According to Sāyaṇa (1.26) this hymn is to be recited when the sword is to be charmed and given away for use. In the hymn itself we find that the gods are implored to drive away the missiles (*heti*) and stones hurled by the enemies and to avert the disaster. The poet of the hymn believes that the prayer and offerings of *homas* repel human and divine attacks (1.26, 1-3). According to Sāyaṇa, *heti* is a sword (1.26.1). The attack of sword and stones indicate the dangerous nearness of the enemy. The recitation of the hymn wards off the danger. In the hymn 1.21 Indra is invoked to go ahead and remove all fear. He smites away the enemies and wins the battle. The enemy goes down to the deepest darkness with his fury and missiles (1.21.1-4).

(ii) Charm against wounds inflicted by arrows: The shower of the piercing arrows is caused to fall away from the performer of this rite. These very same human or divine arrows get away from him and pierce the enemy (1.19.1-2). This effect is caused by merely reciting the hymn 1. 19.

(16) Magical practices in attack :

In attack one is offensive. Here are some of the practices. The king goes round the army thrice. The effect is the spirit of hatred produced in his army for the enemy (Kauśika 16 4). While he goes round, the priest praises Indra (the earthly king) to be the over-lord among the kings, to be famed, praised, greeted and revered. The king is praised to be the sovereign ruler and ambitious overcomer of enemy. Finally it is hoped that his domain should live long (6.98.1-3). Even though the hymn does not contain reference to the circumambulation to the army, it is intended in the hymn to make him a sovereign ruler by overthrowing the enemy. Hence the hymn is used in battle-rites.

(17) The rites to confuse the enemy :

According to Kauṣika (14.17-21) the hymns 3.1-2 are employed in causing confusion in the mind of the enemy. In this rite Agni is offered in the mortar (*ulūkhala*), cooked rice mixed with chaff. This Agni is intended for the battle rites (*sāṅgrāmika*). Also small grains of cooked rice are offered. Twenty-one particles of sand are put in a winnowing basket and scattered against the enemy. Cooked rice is offered to Apvā, the goddess of destruction. The chaff and scattered sand suggest the dispersion of the enemy.²⁶ In the hymn 3.1 Indra and Agni are asked 'to attack the enemy, burn their plans, confuse their army and make them handless, so that they would never wield weapons in their hands. Indra is asked to confuse, Maruts are asked to kill and Agni is asked to rob the sight of the enemy. Fire and wind are asked to burn and scatter them (3.1.1-6). Thus it is the fire of the husk (of barley) that causes such disaster. It burns, confuses and scatters the enemy. Being confused, their designs and schemes are lost and they become helpless (3.2.4). The deity Apvā when offered duly causes confusion in their minds and plans, attacks their limbs, causes rheumatic pain, inflammation of heart and convulsions. Apvā is asked to strike the enemy with mysterious darkness (*māyāmayena andhakāreṇa*), so that none of them would know each other (3.2.5-6). Thus Apvā is a deity working disaster, when she can make the enemy stick to their limbs with pain in the heart and cause convulsions. Hysterical fits attack them and they are lost in utter darkness of delusion.

In addition to the offering of husk in the *sāṅgrāmika* fire, the king puts on an amulet of the stalks of Soma with skin of the antelope, according to Kauṣika (14.7). As a result of this, the armies of the enemy are confounded, going about like headless snakes (6.67.1-2). The hymn 6.67.3 refers to the amulet of antelope to cause fear and confusion in the mind of the enemy.

(18) To make the arrows go everywhere :

The hymn 1.2 is used as a battle charm by Kauṣika (14.7) to make the arrows go everywhere. The hymn contains references to arrows and string of bow (1.2.2). After performing the battle rites such as offerings of ghee, arrows and bow in fire, according to Sāyaṇa, the enemy vanishes in a moment. This is due to the discharge of the volley of the arrows from the bow which

26. BLOOMFIELD, op. cit., p. 325,

is duly charmed. It appears that the charm has the double purpose of offensive and defensive. In order that the arrows of the enemy should not hit him, he wants to make his body hard like stone (1. 2. 2). Also as a defensive measure, the charms are used for curing wounds and diseases caused by wounds of the arrows. The arrows made of *tejana* (bamboo-Sāyaṇa; sharp point of arrow—(BLOOMFIELD), cause wounds, which are cured by the *muñja* grass, magically treated (1. 2. 4).

(19) To make the enemy helpless :

Offerings of ghee are given to Agni. By means of such oblation, the purohita cuts off the arms of the enemy. Indra made the Asuras helpless, so the purohita asks the gods to discharge a volley of arrows to make the enemy helpless (*nairhasta śaru* 6. 65. 1-3). The men of the enemy run about stringing the bow, drawing arrows from the quiver and hurling them; but now they are helpless. They have lost all consciousness (6. 66. 2-3).

(20) The use of magical missiles in the battle :

Arbudi, Nyarbudi and Triṣandhi (11. 9-10) are used as magical missiles (*astras*) in the battle. According to Kauśika (16. 21.), clotted ghee and barley are offered in the fire. The magical rites such as the offerings of arrow and bow in the fire, produced from arrows and bows respectively, are performed. The snares made of *bhāṅga* are laid on the path of the enemy. Also the snares of *muñja* grass, raw earthen vessels, iron vessels with three joints, *vajras* or *arbudis* are thrown in the place of war. One cow of black feet is charmed and is tied to the flag-mast. Another cow similarly charmed is released in the camp of the enemy. Then the army is exhorted to fight on the battle-field. Arbudi and Triṣandhi are the magical missiles, which make the enemy see the horrible sights (11. 9. 23). They also make visible the arms, arrows, power of bows, sword (*asi*), axes (*paraśu*), missiles (*āyudhas*) and designs in the hearts of the enemy. They surround the enemy with fetters and shackles (*ādāna* and *sandāna* 11. 9. 1-2). Their arms and designs are confused (11. 9. 13). Their vital breaths are seized (11. 9. 11). Vultures, hawks, cows, birds of prey, wild beasts, insects and worms feed on the dead bodies, killed by these missiles (11. 9. 9-10). The heart of the enemy is burst, life escapes and dryness of mouth overcomes them (11. 9. 21). When the male members in the house are killed on the battle-front, their females mourn beating themselves, their faces being stained with tears. Their ears are short because they leave

the use of ear-ornaments. Their hair are dishevelled. These females in excessive grief curve their spines, while lamenting the loss of their son, husband or kin, who have been pierced by these missiles (11.9.7-8). They leave all toilet and personal decoration (11.9.14). All disaster falls on the enemy when Arbudi and Nyarbudi are offered: ghee in sacrifice. They then arise with the army and play havoc in the army of the enemy. In another hymn (11.10) Triṣandhi is offered in sacrifice and is asked to cause destruction in the army of the enemy. Triṣandhi is accompanied by its army. The witchcraft (*krtyā*) worked on white-footed and four-footed arrows operates with Triṣandhi (11.10.6). The white-footed arrow flies to the lines of the enemy and confuses them. The arrow is operating on account of the *krtyā* (11.10.20). The three jointed Vajra called Triṣandhi envelops the enemy in darkness and none escapes from its clutches. Being thus confused, it kills the selected men of the enemy (11.10.19,21). Triṣandhi breaks through the divine armour, the armour of *brahman* (magic) or bulwark. Their coats of mail (*kavaca*), strings of their bows are all cut off. It kills the warriors with or without chariots (*rathins*), mounted on horse backs (*sādins*) or footmen. The enemy, pierced and shattered by the clash of the arms, die in thousands (11.10.22-24). The Triṣandhi is thus the Vajra or arrow with three joints. It is accompanied by *krtyā* to annihilate the enemy (11.10.13). A sacrifice is offered to the gods, Indra, Bṛhaspati and Triṣandhi with the call *vaśat* (11.10.14). This offering allows no failure (11.10.27). The purohita invokes the help of Indra and Brahman, who have agreed to help him. Firstly, this Triṣandhi was fixed by Bṛhaspati, the son of Āngiras on the sky for the destruction of the Asuras. The purohita, the descendant of Bṛhaspati Āngirasa, urges Vāyu to bend the points of the bows of the enemy. Indra breaks their arms. ditya Ā throws off their missiles (*astras*, 11.10.11,16). Thus the purohita together with flesh-eating Agni, Death and Triṣandhi goes forth to work disaster in the camp of the enemy. I have given elsewhere further description of the missiles used in the war.²⁷ It may be observed that Triṣandhi is a *vajra*, a white arrow of four feet, worked by *krtyā* to confuse, pierce and kill the enemy on foot on horses, in chariots, with their coats of mail, armour, protection with divine help, magic or bulwarks. These are the missiles, first started by Bṛhaspati Āngirasa. The purohita of the king, being a descendant of Bṛhaspati, with the help of Triṣandhi, aided by magic, death,

27. *Ibid.*

flesh-eating Agni causes disaster. The enemy is killed in thousands. This is the genesis of the *astras* which figure prominently in the Mahābhārata-war and which are taught to heroes of war by Āṅgīrasa teachers such as Droṇa and Kṛpa.

(21) The magical rites to tie and to entrap the enemy :

According to Kauśika (48.3-6) the hymn 3.6 is employed for tying an amulet of Aśvattha tree, growing on Khadira tree. Offerings are given to the amulet before use. It is also employed for preparing as many fetters (*pāśas*) as the enemies and dipping them in *inguḍi* oil. Then these fetters are dipped in the juice of Soma. These are dug in the vital parts of the body of the enemy. This presupposes an effigy of the enemy prepared by the practitioner of magic. Aśvattha and Khadira trees are both masculine. Therefore their virility is doubled, when used in this charm. When the amulet is worn, the advancing enemy is dispelled (3.6.2.). As Aśvattha has broken the interior of Khadira, so the amulet breaks the interior of all enemies. As Aśvattha climbs Khadira and makes other trees subordinate to it, in the same way it splits the enemy and makes them subordinate (3.6.3,6). Nirṛti, the deity of destruction is urged to fasten the fetters round the enemy; so that they cannot escape (3.6.5.). Another symbolical rite is referred to in 3.6.7. The enemy floats down like a ship let loose from its ropes (moorings). There is no return for them, when they are driven away by the charm. Kauśika (*ibid*) uses the *ṛc* (3.6.7) in the rite for driving off a boat by means of a branch of Aśvattha. The fetters to tie the enemy are floated down the water of the river. In the same way with a branch of the Aśvattha tree, the enemy is driven away. The symbolical rite performed is the pushing of a boat in the water of the river with the branch of Aśvattha. The purohita performing this rite for driving off and arresting the enemy employs his mind which is constantly meditating on the destruction of the enemy and on the significance of this hymn (3.6), with a view to killing the enemy and finally takes the medium of destruction, the branch of Aśvattha here, which is charged with the power of killing the enemy. This is an example of the homeopathic magic. In another rite for tying the enemy, the fetters of *inguḍa* or *bhāṅga* are charmed and laid on the paths which are frequented by the enemy, according to Kauśika (16.6). The priest claims that he has fashioned the fetters (*ādāna*), which are sharpened by the penance and Indra. These fetters tie the vital breaths of the enemy. Sāyaṇa explains the *ādāna* as the contrivance for arresting the enemy

(*pāṣaṇtra* 6.104.1-3). Indra helps in the process of tying. The enemy advancing on the battle-front, hoisting their flags and moving in troops are tied down by Indra and rendered harmless (6.103.1-3).

(22) The obstacles kept in the path of the enemy :

According to BLOOMFIELD²⁸ the hymn 8.8 is a battle song which refers to the obstacles that are placed in the way of the advancing enemy. The traps and nets are constructed to capture and destroy the enemy. According to Kauśika (16.9-20) the hymn gives the rites for the destruction of the enemy and for the encouragement of the army of the king, who practises these rites. For these rites, first, Agni is churned while reciting the entire hymn (8.8). It is churned with the sticks of Aśvattha and Badhaka trees. A rotten rope (*pūtirajju*) is placed on the place of fire. With the *ṛc* 2 fire is addressed in this way, "The rotten rope waving itself against the enemy is made stinking (*pūti*). Seeing its smoke and fire, the army of the enemy is terrified in their hearts (8.8.2)." Thus in the specially prepared fire stinking rope is deposited. Its smoke and blaze terrify the enemy. This fire is taken in the forest. In it, the *samidhs* of Aśvattha, Badhaka, castor-oil plant, Palāśa, Khadira and Śara, are offered (8.8.3). The fetters of *muñja* and *bhāṅga* are cast. Bound by the great trap-nets the enemy is broken like an arrow-reed (8.8.4). The hammers made of Aśvattha (*kūṭa*), nets of hemp and the staff of Badhaka tree are spread over. *Rc* 8.8.16 says, "The snares of death are scattered. If you step on them, you will not escape. Let this *kūṭa* kill the enemy in thousands (*kūṭa* = hammer-BLOOMFIELD; horn-WHITNEY; trap-GEDLNER, *Vedische Studien* 1. 139; pitfall-Dārila)." *Kūṭa*²⁹ is an obstacle created for the hindrance of the enemy like modern road blocks. As the result of all these snares, *kūṭas*, stinking rope, smoke and fire, great dejection, failure, mental distress, fatigue, stupor and confusion surround the enemy (8.8.9). The purohita claims, "I hand them over to Death. These snares are of Death, I carry them bound to the evil messengers of Death (8.8.10)". Finally milk is heated in caldron (*gharma*). This *homa* (sacrifice) is intended to kill the enemy in thousands. They fall in the snare of death, hunger, exhaustion, slaughter and fear. By means of *akṣu* and *jāla* (trap and snare) they are killed. The *brahman* of the purohita repels the enemy. Their weapons fall down from their hands. They cannot fix arrows on their

28. *Ibid.*, p. 582.

29. DIKSHITAR, *War in Ancient India*, p. 84. *kūṭa* stands for secret warfare.

bows (8. 8. 18-20). In this final sacrifice offering is made to save the friends with the recitation of 8. 8. 24. Offering of *inḡiḍa* to the enemy is made with left hand. To the north of the fire a branch of red *Aśvattha* is fixed, in the ground, enveloped in red and blue threads and is removed to the south while the ṛc 24 is recited. The ṛc exhorts, "Do conquer and win here; hail ! Those here will conquer those yonder. Hail to these here. Perdition to those yonder. Those yonder I envelope in blue and red." Thus the practices of Kausika are based on the references to the hymn itself. On account of this sacrifice in *gharma* in the specially prepared fire the *brahman* of the priest envelopes the enemy in the red and blue strings which symbolise the traps and fetters for the enemy.

(23) The symbolical Vajra :

According to Kausika 47.14 a staff (*daṇḍa*) is held in the hand in the magical practice. It symbolises *vajra* or thunderbolt to smite down the kingdom, life, neck, nape (*uṣṇiḥa*-vein at the neck) as Indra did of Vṛtra (6.134.1). The crest (*śimanta*) of the enemy falls down. The enemy goes down and down, never to rise again (6.134.2-3). The staff duly charged with magical power acts as *vajra* and smites down the enemy ruthlessly.

(24) A charm to blind the enemy :

With the burning of the slough of a dead serpent, the eyes of the enemy are closed. The enemy's advance thus becomes thwarted (1.27.1-2). Indrāṇī is asked to go ahead, unharmed and unobstructed (1.27.2; TS 22.8.1). Sāyaṇa and Kausika (14.14) employ this hymn for handing over the charmed weapons to the warriors for securing success. But according to Kauṭilya (146) the slough of serpent is used in producing smoke, which makes the people blind. Thus this is the very probable employment of this hymn.

(25) Testimony of Kauṭilya regarding the Atharvaṇic practices :

(i) Kauṭilya at the very beginning, pays homage to Śukra and Bṛhaspati, as the past-masters in the Arthaśāstra. Both these authorities belong to the family of Bhṛgvaṅgiras.³⁰ Śukra is a Bhārgava and Bṛhaspati is an Āṅgīrasa. Thus these teachers represent

30. N. J. SHENDE, *The Authorship of the Mahābhārata*, ABORI XXIV, pp. 67-82, and *The Authorship of the Rāmāyaṇa*, JUB XII-2, 1943.

the traditional lore in this *śāstra*, preserved in the family of Bhṛgvaṅgirasas. I have discussed elsewhere³¹ that the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas were credited with the doctrines of *dharma* and *nīti*, as treated in the Mbh. Kauṭilya, in paying homage to these authorities at the very beginning of his exhaustive treatise on Arthaśāstra, is acknowledging the claim of the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas, the authors of the AV, as the specialists in this Śāstra. Further he refers to the both AV and *itihāsa* as the Vedas (1.3). I have shown elsewhere³² that the *itihāsa* is the sub-Veda of the AV and it is quite natural that the Atharvanic element would be preponderant in the *itihāsa* coming down to us, in the form of the Mahābhārata. Thus Kauṭilya is aware of the importance of the AV in this branch of learning.

(ii) The importance of purohita : The importance given to the position of purohita in the Arthaśāstra in the higher political circle of a king is enough to prove the claim of the AV, as the pioneer in the field of the Arthaśāstra. Purohita is as important as the ministers to the state. Hence the account of their appointment is given together, in one section (1.9). Having given the qualities of the ministers of the state, Kauṭilya tells us that purohita of the state should be from a noble family. He should be one, who is well educated in the Vedas and six Aṅgas, who is skilful in reading the super-human portents, who is well-versed in the science of government (*daṇḍanīti*), who is obedient and who can prevent calamities, human or divine by performing such expiatory rites as are prescribed in the AV. The king should appoint him as his purohita. He should follow the purohita as a student his teacher. Kauṭilya further points out that Kṣatra (king), enriched by the purohita and guarded by the councillors becomes invincible. He naturally throws on purohita as much responsibility as on his *mantrins* (cabinet ministers). In 1.10 he informs that the ministers and purohita should examine the character of his *amātyas* (ministers of the state) to be appointed in the government departments of ordinary nature.

(iii) Purohita in war : In chapter 131 Kauṭilya informs us about the conditions of war. The king should call his army together on the eve of battle and should order them to fight. Then the ministers and purohita of the state should order them to fight. Then the

31. *Ibid.*

32. N. J. SHENDE, *The Atharvan in the Vedic and Epic Literature*, JUB, XVII-2, 1948.

ministers and purohita of the state should address the men to encourage and to infuse spirit in them. After the commencement of war is declared the purohita should offer oblations to Agni in the manner prescribed in the AV. He should also recite blessings for securing success in the war. The followers of purohita, then, should describe the auspicious aspects of the magical rites performed by them. This actually gives, in short, the aspect of the statecraft of the AV regarding warfare. As we have seen in the preceding pages the purohita is a very important figure in the state politics. At the time of war and also in peace his services are indispensable for the king (see sections 5-23). In fact no rite can be practised directly or indirectly without the help of the purohita.

(iv) The secret means: Kauṭilya (14.146) describes the secret means for destroying the enemy (*aupaniṣadika*). It is interesting to note that Kauṭilya gives many more magical rites than the AV. In many cases the parallel practices are prescribed by both of them. He describes the poisonous smoke produced by the fuel of Palāśa and castor-oil plant to destroy the enemy. AV 8.8.3 also describes similar practice. He also mentions that the smoke produced by burning the slough of a serpent makes the enemy blind (AV 1.27). Kauṭilya describes in the sections 14.147-149 various secret practices which breathe the spirit of the AV. He points out in 14.148 that by means of the secret charms (*mantra*), medicine and magical practices, the enemies should be killed and one's own men should be protected.³³

33. DIESHITAR, *op. cit.*, p. 86. 'Kauṭilya gives details of this war largely drawing, as we have to infer from the AV'.

IV

THE GRHYA RITES IN THE AV

(*Saṁskāras*).

1—Introduction. 2—Jātakarma. 3—Nāmakaraṇa, 4—Nirṇayana. 5—Annaprāśana. 6—Rites to avert misfortune of a child. 7—Godāna. 8—Cūdākarāṇa. 9—Upanayana. 10—12 Vivāha, Garbhādhāna, Puṁsavana. 13—Pitṛmedha.

(1) The AV in its manifold teachings contains many charms for various *saṁskāras*, the religious rites performed in the course of life from birth to death. These rites formed an important aspect of the *grhyadharmā*, the domestic religion of the *sūtra* period. In the Atharvaṇiḥ *grhya* rites the element of magic is quite apparent. It is only to be seen, whether the hymns of the AV used for the sake of such rites, have any claim to be so used.

The following *saṁskāras* are directly or indirectly referred to in the AV :—

(2) Jātakarma :

This is the birth rite. In this rite the plants like *śaṅkhapuṣpikā* and *gandhapuṣpikā* are to be pounded and the child is made to lick the mixture placed over a piece of gold. Powders of *śaṅkhanūbhi* and *pippali* are to be given in the same way. The process is to be accompanied by the recitation of hymn 4.30, according to Kausika (10. 16—19, 57. 31). Dārila on Kausika (*ibid*) calls this rite as *jātaka* or *jātakarma*. Hymn 4.32 (=RV 10.125) contains the self-glorification of Vāc. It is possible that the description of Vāc as capable of making any man *Brahman* or *ṛṣi*, formidable and wise and as the first to understand the matters of sacrifice (4.30.2-3), might have been responsible for such use of the hymn, since the newly born child should be the recipient of the favours of Vāc, through this rite. But there is nothing in the hymn itself to warrant the use for this purpose specially.

(3) Nāmakaraṇa :

According to this rite, a name is given to the newly born child. According to Dārila (58.15) the rite is performed in the 11th, 12th

or 13th month of the child. Kausika (58,13-16) prescribes hymn 8.2 for this rite, in which the child is seated on the lap of the mother and is made to sip honey and curds and water is allowed to pass on the right hand of the child. An amulet of *pūtudru* or *devadāru* tree is tied on its right hand and the child is given some of that water to drink. According to Dārila, the ceremony is performed at the close of an auspicious day. The name should be of two or four syllables and accompanied by a name of a deity. The father utters the name of the child in its right ear, through the medium of gold. Keśava points out that the name may be uttered by the teacher also. The hymn (8.2) which is recited during the rite, contains a charm that leads to immortality. The child is urged to live till old age and not to go till then in the darkness of death. The priest brings to him breath and life (8.2.1). He confers on him the life of hundred autumns, freeing him from the bonds of death and imprecations (8.2.2). He has secured his life from Vāta and sight from Sūrya. He has fixed the mind on him. The child is urged to speak articulately with its tongue. The priest blows on it the vital breaths of bipeds and quadrupeds. He makes remedy for him to live longer. He uses the plants such as *jīvalā*, *naghariṣā*, *jīvantī*, *trāyamānā*, *sahamānā* and *sahasvatī* for prolonging his life.¹ Mṛtyu (Death) is urged not to take the child away (8.2.3-7). It will be noticed that the priest, performing the rite claims that he is responsible for making him alive in this world and for removing all misfortune and evils in this world. He drives off Arāti, Nirṛti, Grāhī, Kravyād, Piśācas and Rakṣas. He secures immortality for him from Agni (8.2.12-13). In this very same rite, the hymn prescribes that the child should be clad in a new garment. The priest (8.2.16) says, "Whatever garment (*vāsas*) and girdle or knot (*nīvi*) you put on, we make them comfortable to your body. There should not be their rough touch," Thus the child is clad in a garment. The priest claims that wherever this *brahman* (magic rite) is performed as an enclosure for life, all creatures, viz., cow, horse and man live. The child should also be free from imprecations of relations and strangers (8.2.25-26). The hymn (8.2.28) refers to the plant *putudru* which is deliverer and slayer of demons and rivals and is capable of chasing away the disease.

The rite prescribed by Kausika consists of three items : (1) the rite of naming, (2) of putting on garment, and (3) of tying the amulet of *putudru*. The hymn refers to the last two items only.

1. N. J. SHENDE, *The Foundations* p. 152.

(4) Nirṇayana :

This is the rite for taking out the child for the first time. According to Keśava on Kauśika 58.18, the child is taken out in the fourth month when the ṛc 8.2.14 is uttered. By this ṛc, the heaven and earth are asked to be auspicious and harmless to the child. The sun and the wind are to be comfortable to it.

(5) Annaprāśana :

The rite is for the first feeding of the child. According to Keśava on Kauśika 58.17, this rite is to be performed in the sixth month, but in the fifth month in the case of a daughter. The ṛcs to be used are 18.2.18-22. According to these ṛcs, rice and barley (*vīhi* and *yava*) are asked not to cause cough, injury or disease. Whatever the child eats or drinks, the grains from the cultivated field or milk, eatables or those not fit to be eaten, all are rendered poisonless by the priest. The autumn, winter, hot spring or rainy seasons are expected to be auspicious to the child. According to Dārila the child is to be kept on the ground with the recitation of 12.1.63. Rice and barley are to be charmed, powdered and mixed with water. Then they are given to the child for drinking (8.2.18-22),

(6) Some rites to avert misfortune :

(a) According to Kauśika (46.25) the hymn 6.110 is to be used for removing the inauspiciousness caused by the birth of a child on an unlucky star (*pāpanakṣatrajāla*). The child is to be bathed and is sprinkled with water charmed with this hymn. The hymn points out that the child born on Jyeṣṭhagbī or Vicṛta (*mūla*) lunar mansions, is torn by the root and branch shattering of Yama. He is urged to live for hundred years. On the other hand, a son born on the heroic tiger lunar mansion or on a good lunar mansion becomes a great hero. He is urged not to injure his mother (6.110. 2-3).

(b) Remedial rite is prescribed for a child which is seized by Jambhā (spirit of convulsions) and which, therefore, does not suck its mother. Kauśika (32.1) prescribes the recitation of hymn 7.10, while the child is made to suck the breasts of its mother. The milk of the mother should be put over the grains of *priyaṅgu* and rite. These should be charmed and given for drinking to the child. In the hymn the breasts (*śāna*) of Śaraṣvatī are described to be

unfailing, kindly, favourable, easily invoked and liberal and are asked to fulfil all desires. Sarasvatī is urged to make the child suck the mother (7. 10. 1).

(c) On the birth, a child, is sometimes found possessed of two teeth, which is an irregular feature. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (46, 43-46) prescribe hymn 6. 140 to expiate this irregularity. Keśava on Kauśika (*ibid*) points out that when the upper teeth comes before the lower teeth, there is danger to the life of the parents. *Yava*, *vrihi* or *tila* (barley, rice or sesame) are offered in fire. The child is made to bite and eat them. The hymn describes the two teeth as tigers, eager to devour the parents. Brahmanaspati is asked to make them auspicious. The child is asked to eat rice, barley, beans and sesame grains. The teeth are asked to be propitious and not to injure the parents. Their ferocious qualities are urged to go elsewhere (6. 140. 1-3). It is to be noted that the teeth are inauspicious to both mother and father. If they were coming out at the normal time, but irregularly, they would have bitten the mother, only while sucking the breasts; but here there may be the unnatural appearance of teeth, just after the birth. These teeth, usually two, fall off in a few days, if they touch some hard substance. Therefore the child is asked to eat the grains of rice, beans etc. They are inauspicious because, they are not natural, as they grow immediately after the birth and not in the normal time. Medical practitioners can testify to such occurrence. This being an unnatural phenomenon they are considered inauspicious, hence require to be pacified.

(7) Godāna :

This is the rite for the first hair-cut of a child. It is to be performed in the first or second year of the age, according to Keśava on Kauśika 53-54. According to Kauśika (53. 1) hymn 2. 13 is to be employed for collecting the material required for the rite, such as *dūrva* grass, a circular piece of stone, a ball of bull's dung, six shoots of *darbha* grass, two new garments, pure ghee, auspicious plants and a new earthen jar of water (Kauśika 53. 1-2). This is to be done with the recitation of 2. 13. 1. This *ṛc* praises Agni as giver of long life of hundred years. Agni is offered ghee, made from the milk of cow. The fire is to be sprinkled with water; the *darbha* grass is to be spread round; the jar of water is to be taken near the fire and finally ghee is to be offered (Kauśika 53. 1-5, AV 2.13.1). Agni is asked to protect the boy as father his son. The holy water is prepared with the recitation of hymn

2.13, with which the fire is to be sprinkled again thrice. The ball of dung is to be made like a dish, and is given to a Brāhmaṇa, who takes it while sitting facing the fire. Then with hymn 2. 13 ghee is again offered in Agni and the remnants are poured on the head and on the jar of water (Kauśika 53. 6-16). With the *ṛc* 6.68.1 the jar containing water is to be charmed. The *ṛc* refers to Savitr coming with a razor and Vāyu with hot water. Adityas make him wet. In this way the head of king Soma was shaved. After wetting the head of the boy with the *ṛc* (6. 68. 2), which urges Aditi to shave his beard, and the Waters to make it wet, Prajāpati is asked to treat him for long life. This rite is meant for the first shaving as well as for the hair-cut. With *ṛc* 6. 68. 3, a bunch of hair on the right side is to be cut along with *darbha* grass. This is to be done twice, thrice and then all hair are cut. The *ṛc* states that the Brāhmaṇas should shave the head of the boy with the same razor as used by Aditi to shave the head of Soma and Varuṇa (6. 68. 3). The barber (*vapṛ*) is asked not to cut off the life or disfigure the face of the boy, whenever he with his sharp, well-whetted razor shaves his hair or beard (8.2.17). The barber is then ordered to cut hair, beard (in the case of grown up person) and nails (Kauśika 54.1). The process of cutting hair is treated as terrible as the death. After the hair-cut the head is to be sprinkled with water thrice. While doing this the *ṛc* 6.53.2 is recited. The *ṛc* points out that the vital breaths, *ātman* (soul), sight, and life should enter in the body again (6.53.2, Kauśika 54.2). Then the boy is bathed. He is then anointed with fragrant substances. He is anointed with collyrium, with the recitation of 7.30.1. In this *ṛc* the heaven and earth, Mitra, Savitr etc., are described as anointing the person nicely. That is why the use of this hymn is proper for the occasion. The boy then is given new clothes for wearing, with the recitation of the *ṛcs* 2.13.2-3. The garments are asked to envelope him with splendour and to make him die only of old age. This garment was given by Brhaspati to Soma for putting on, probably, after his shaving (6.68.3). He is asked to put on the new garment for well-being. He becomes protected from the curses of cows or bulls² (2.13.2-3). Then the

2. *Gr̥ṣṭi* has been amended by WHITNEY into *kr̥ṣṭi*. But there is no need for such amendment. According to Sāyaṇa the reference is to SB 3. 1. 2.13 where the bulls attack a naked person for they think that the skin, originally belonging to them has been robbed by men. So the person putting on garment protects himself from the curses of bulls, cows, which is the meaning of the word *gr̥ṣṭi*. GRASSMANN also takes it to mean 'cow'. *Wörterbuch*, p. 406.

boy is made to stand on the circular piece of stone with the recitation of the ṛc 2.13.4. He is asked to come and stand with right foot on the stone. He is blessed to be of body like stone, free from disease. He is then taken round the fire (Kauśika 53.9). The old garment is taken away with 2.13.5. In this the priest says, 'We take off the old garment worn by you. May many brothers be born after you, who are well born (2.13.5). After this, rice grains are to be cooked and given to the boy for eating, with the recitation of the hymn 2.15. The hymn itself only points out that just as the heaven and the earth are not afraid of and are not harmed by any one, so his vital breath should not be (2.15.1-6). Again the offerings of ghee, the fuel of *palāśa*, *puroḍāśa*, milk, cooked rice, curds with milk and goat are made to the fire (Keśava on Kauśika 54.12), accompanied by the recitation of the hymns 2.16-17. These hymns contain the *mantras* for offerings to *Prāṇa*, *Apāna*, heaven and earth, *Sūrya* and *Agni* for protection against death and for securing sight, hearing, vigour, strength, life and all-round protection. Then the parents hand over the child to each other thrice. First the father has his turn. In this rite, further, three balls of ghee are charmed and given to the child for eating (Kauśika 54.13-14). The hymn (2.28) which is recited on this occasion is addressed to *Jariman*, who is asked to allow the child to grow and to protect him from hundred deaths and the hatred of his friend. He is also protected against *Prāṇa* and *Apāna* leaving his body till his old age (2.28.1-3).

(7) Cūḍākarāṇa :

This rite is intended for keeping a tuft of hair on the head which is performed after the *Godāna* rite. The procedure of this rite is the same as before. However in this rite, the wearing of new garment and treading on stone are not prescribed (Kauśika 54.15-16).

(8) Upanayana

In this rite, the boy is initiated into the sacred learning. The rite is to be performed in the fifth or eighth year of the boy, according to *Dārila*. *Kauśika* (55-57) describes this rite in detail. The main object of it, is to confer on the boy the power of living till old age and not to die without running the full course of life. In this rite firstly there is the shaving of the boy with the recitation of hymn 6.68.1-3 as in the *Godāna* or *Cūḍākarāṇa* rite and the wearing of new garments. Holy water is prepared. The boy is seated in

front of the fire. He then asks his teacher to initiate him. The teacher, hearing his name and family, is ready to initiate him. The teacher sprinkles water over him and holding his right hand shows him the sun. He, at this time, recites the *ṛc* 7.53.7. The *ṛc* describes that they (the teacher and boy) ascended from the darkness of death to the highest firmament, to Sūrya, the god among gods and thus they have reached the highest light. Then the teacher makes him sit facing the east and touches his navel, while reciting a number of *ṛcs*, containing prayers for prolonging his life, in the manner given below. The deities (mentioned in the text) should bestow wealth and the high lustre on him (1.9.1). All gods and Adityas should watchfully guard him against any human assault, inflicted upon him by his relations or others (1.30.1). Brhaspati and Indra should protect him on all sides (7.53.1). His vital breaths should always be on the world, sharing in the sun and the world of immortality (i.e. this world 8.1.1). Also the hymns 17.1-5 are recited. These contain the praise of Indra as the overcoming lord, who is invoked to confer long life on the person. Covering the boy, breath control is practised. A cow is released. Then the teacher ties the girdle of *muñja* grass with the *ṛcs* 6.133.4-5. In these *ṛcs*, the *mekhalā* (girdle) is praised as the daughter of Faith. She is born of penance. She is the sister of the sages, who created the beings. The girdle is asked to bestow on the wearer, intelligence, wisdom, penance and vigour of Indra. The ancient sages who created the world tied the girdle on themselves. The very same girdle is now tied on the boy for securing long life (6.133.4-5). Then the boy makes offering in the fire. *Sāvitrī* *ṛc* is then recited to him. He then begs food, which he is to eat. Before eating he offers one-third of the begged food in the fire. He prays Agni to make auspicious the varied food, he eats (6.71.1). Similarly he prays that the gifts he receives at the sacrifice or outside it and which makes him delighted, should be auspicious to him. (6.71.2).

After the initiation he offers the oblations in fire, while reciting the hymns, which contain charms for increasing wisdom and life.³

The amulets are then tied on the initiated. An amulet of *āñjana* (ointment) is the protector and rampart of life. It protects men, cows, horses and mares. It is the eye of the mountain. The ointment is put in the eyes.⁴ It removes witchcraft, jaundice,

3. See Ch. V. v.

4. SB 3.1.3.12 refers to Trikakud mountain as the eye of Vṛtra, who is killed by Indra. It is possible that the ointment is put in the eyes to indicate the power of Indra. Also see BLOOMFIELD *SBE* 42. p. 381.

consumption, curses, burning pain or grief (*abhiśocana*) and rheumatism (4.9.1-5). It also protects one from the wicked spells (*asanmantras*: evil schemes-BLOOMFIELD), evil deeds, bad dreams, evil eye, wickedness and *śamala* (foulness-BLOOMFIELD, pollution-WHITNEY, sin done by others-Sāyana, 4.9.6). The initiated boy also puts on an amulet of pearl and its shell for long life and prosperity. The shell of pearl is born of the sea, wind, mid-air lightning, light and gold. It protects one from distress, kills the demons and overcomes the devourers (*atrinś*). It is a universal remedy, killing diseases, and ignorance (*amati*: poverty-BLOOMFIELD, misery-WHITNEY, 4.10.1-3). Then he puts on an amulet of three metals for winning long life and prosperity (Kauśika 58.19.11). According to Keśava on Kauśika (*ibid*) it is made up of gold, silver and iron. The three metals are enveloped with penance. Each metal has three threads. Thus the nine threads together combine nine *prāṇas* (vital breaths) for the life of hundred years (5.23.1). The symbolism is based on similarity of number. It brings abundance of food, men and cattle (5.28.2-3). Through the yellow gold in it the earth protects him, through the iron Agni protects it and through silver skill is bestowed on him (5.28.5). This *trivṛt* (triple) amulet is taken out of ghee and is anointed with honey. It fixes the earth, breaks his rivals and gives him to the great fortune (5.28.13). The amulet is thus the celestial city (*dēvapura*) protecting him on all sides.⁵

Thus the rites are performed to secure long life and prosperity for the initiated.

(10-11) Vivāha and Garbhādhāna

A detail account of these rites is given in my work, 'The Foundations of the Atharvanic Religion.'⁶

(12) Pūṁsavana

This is already treated before in section 6 a.

(13) Pitṛmedha

Funeral rites: The AV treats these rites in detail. One whole book (xviii) is devoted to them. There are 283 *ṛcs* in the four hymns, which constitute the 18th book. Out of these 283 *ṛcs* 126

5. N. J. SHENDE, *Foundations*, p. 170.

6. p. 41.

ṛcs form the part of the RV and the remaining 157 ṛcs are exclusively Atharvāṇic. Thus the 18th book contains more than half of the Atharvāṇic funeral ṛcs. Kausika treats this topic also elaborately in 80-89 chapters. In these hymns there are described the rites for the dying person, on his death for burning the dead and also those performed on the first, second, and fourth day after the burning of the dead. There are also the rites for collecting and interning the dead and finally the yearly or monthly offerings in honour of the dead. The ṛcs in this book are exclusively intended for these rites, as one can easily notice the agreement in the sense of the ṛcs and their employment. The AV considers that the dead persons go to the world of the Pitṛs, where they enjoy the company of their king Yama. The AV gives clear cut distinction between the Pitṛs and gods, who stay together in the Svarloka (the world of light). The gods are those, who were mortals first and who without death went to the world of light; while the Pitṛs died in this world and became immortal, like the gods, in the next world. The Āngirāsas were the first of the Pitṛs. So it may be said that their followers started the cult of the worship of the Pitṛs. I have treated this topic elsewhere.⁷

When a person, who usually keeps fire in his house, is about to die, he is placed on a bed of grass from the thatch of the house, covered with the *darbhā* grass (Kausika 80.3). The dying person is asked to go to the seers, who as poets, guard the sun with thousand songs and who are born of and possessed of penance (18. 2.18). If that person dies of the wounds caused by the biting of a crow, ants, serpents, tiger or ferocious animal, he is released from the sin, by burning that part of his body which is wounded, while reciting the ṛc 18.3.55. According to it Agni is asked to free him from a disease, which is caused by the biting of a black bird, ant, serpent or beast. The materials required for burning the dead person are : fire, *darbhās*, sesame grains, ghee, pieces of gold, clotted ghee, cow, goat and garment (Kausika, 80.7-9). Then the holy water is prepared. With the use of this water, his hair, beard and nails are removed. His body is washed with this water. He is offered garlands and a new garment, which is put on him with the recitation of the ṛc (18. 4. 31), which points out that the garment has been given to him by Savitr and that putting it on, he should go in the realm of Yama. Thus the dead is covered. Then the offerings are made in the fire with the ṛc 18. 2. 27, which refers to

7. *ibid*, pp. 60. ff

the removal of the dead from his house in the village and to his life (*aṣu*) which is given to the Fathers by Death. The cooking vessels are taken and then pasted with cowdung: Fires are lighted separately in these vessels, first *āhavanīya* and then *dakṣiṇa* and *gārhapatya* (Kauśika 80. 10-22). If a person dies in a distant place, then the fires are enkindled in the vessels separately by means of the wooden sticks. The dead at this time is asked to ascend by the *pitr̥yāṇa* (path of the *pitr̥s*) with Agni and is united with him, who has sacrificed for the world of the well-done (18. 4. 1). The dead body is then lifted and is asked to rise, to go forth, to make home in the sea and to live happily with the Fathers. The dead is also asked to start forward collecting his body, so that his limbs should not be left behind. He is asked to go to the place, it likes together with his mind (18. 3. 8-9). The dead body is kept in a cart, which is pulled by two bulls or men. The priest yokes these two bulls to carry the dead to the other world, where he would meet the house and assemblies of Yama (18. 2. 56). Then the cart is taken to the place of cremation which is open and is out of the village. While it is taken away, the *ṛcs* are recited and are called *hariṇīs* (the carriers), viz., 18. 2. 11-18. In these *ṛcs* the dead is asked to go past the two dogs of Yama, who give life back to the descendants of the dead. He is asked to go to the seers (*ṛṣis*), the *Pitr̥s*, who like Soma, ghee and honey, who are born of *ṛta* and who practised penance and went to the heaven. He is also advised to go to the heroes, who die on the battlefield (18. 2. 11-18). The *Pitr̥s* sit in the third heaven, the other two being watery and starry (18. 2. 48). To this heaven, *Āṅgirasas*, the *Pitr̥s* ascended (18. 1. 61). *Pūṣan* is expected to carry him there by the narrow and high roads, which are travelled by the goats (18.2.53). The Fathers who have gone ahead carry him to the world of the well-done (18.4.44). The fire is led in front of the funeral procession. According to *Sāyaṇa*, there are three fires, which are described in 18.3.7. In his front, one fire is leading, beyond is one and he is asked to enter in the third. When he enters it he is expected to be of fair body and become beloved of the gods in the highest heaven (18.3.7). On reaching the cremation ground, the corpse is taken out and kept to the north of the fire, carried along with him. At this time the earth is asked to be thornless and pleasing to him (18.2.19). The priests offer oblations in the fire. Then the holy water is prepared and the place of cremation is sprinkled with it by means of the branches of the *kampīla* tree, while reciting the *ṛcs* 18.1.55, 2.37. The former *ṛc* points out

that the next world has been made for him by the Fathers, and that Yama gives him a place adorned with rays and waters. The latter refers to the assurance of Yama that he gives a residence to him, who comes there. Then the pyre of fuel is raised. The wife of the deceased is made to lie down on the funeral pyre. She is then addressed, 'This woman (his wife) choosing the world of the husband lies down by the deceased, maintaining her ancient tradition (18.3.1).' Then she is raised up from the pyre, with the *ṛc*, "Go up to the world of living. You lay with the deceased. Come to him, who has grasped your hand, your second husband. You have now entered into the relation of wife and husband (18.3.2)." Thus the wife of the dead person is raised by a person, who becomes her second husband. There is no reference to the burning of the wife of the deceased with him. The gold (in the form of rings etc.) in the hand of the dead is sprinkled with ghee and is heated. The hand of the dead is washed. The eldest son of the dead person is asked to wear that gold, which his father has given to him, when he is going to the heaven (18.4.56). The staff from the hand of the dead Brāhmaṇa, the bow from the dead Kṣatriya and whip from the dead Vaiśya are taken away (18.2.59-60). The dead sacrificer is placed on the pyre, about to fly to the heaven from the back of the firmament (18.4.14). On his seven vital breaths, seven pieces of gold are placed (Kauśika, 80.56). The different utensils of sacrifice are placed on the different parts of his body (Kauśika 81.3-9). These utensils of sacrifice such as *juhū*, *upabhr̥ta*, *dhr̥uvā* etc., are charmed and asked to go to the heaven with the deceased sacrificer (18.4.5-6). Agni is asked not to burn the *camasa* (spoon) placed on his body (18.3.53). Thus with the gods, seasons, sacrifice, offerings, *puroḍāśa*, *sruc*, the impliments of sacrifice go to the heaven along the *devayāna* path (18.4.2). A cow is taken round the dead and is killed. In this connection it is said that cow is a young female which is led forward for the dead. The cow makes him ascend to the heaven (18.3.3-4). The different parts of the cow, thus killed, are placed on the respective limbs of the deceased. The face of the deceased is covered with the omnetum of the cow. It is a protection from fire. He is covered with fat and grease. Otherwise the fire shakes him (18.2.58). To the north of the dead, a goat is tied. The goat is the part of Agni's heat and flame. With its propitious body, it takes him to the world of the well-done (18.2.8). The goat is burnt along with him. The pyre is lighted by the youngest son. Agni is asked not to burn him, but making him well cooked to send to the *Pitṛs*

(18.2.4, 2.36). When the fire is blazing, offerings to Yama are made in that fire (18.1.49, 50, 58-61; 2.49; 3.13, 2.1-3;). These offerings are eleven in number. Then the offerings to Sarasvatī are made (18.1.41-43, 7.68.1-2, 18.3.25-35), with the *ṛcs* which contain praise of Sarasvatī, Indra and Maruts. Then all relations of the dead stand up round the dead, which is being burnt when the *ṛcs* 18.2.4-18 are recited. In these *ṛcs* we are told of the transformation of the dead, when he is burnt. His senses become deities. He is united with a splendid body. Also while reciting the *ṛcs*, 18.4.1-15 the relatives of the dead, who is a sacrificer, stand round him. He goes along the path of the *Aṅgirasas* to the heaven which is rich in nectar and food. Agni burning him on all sides cooks him well and takes him to the heaven. This cremation of the sacrificer is the final sacrifice, he offers. In this sacrifice Agni is *hotṛ*, *Brhaspati* is *adhvaryu*, and Indra is *brahman*. This completely offered sacrifice goes to the ancient path of those, who have offered oblations to Agni (18.4.1-15). The hands are washed; water is sipped, and offerings to Vivasvat are made. In the rite for washing the hands, Indra is asked to anoint the hands with splendour (18.3.12). In the offerings to Vivasvat, he is praised to set the performer of the rite in immortality to set aside death and to defend the body till old age (18.3.63). Thus the cremation of the deceased is over.

Kauśika (82) describes the rites to be performed on the first day of the cremation by the sons and relations of the deceased. They take seven particles of sand in their right hands and go on scattering them without looking to the dead, who is cremated. They come to the water and recite the *ṛc* 13.1.59. They pray that they should not go away from the path of sacrifice and that the enemies should not intervene in their path (13.1.57). The eldest son sprinkles water with a *ṛc*, which implores Varuṇa to free him from all snares (18.4.69). The holy water is prepared and is sprinkled on the body, with the recitation of the *ṛc*, in which the performer of the rite is asked to pass the river *Aśvāvatī* and the forest *Rkṣāka*, abounding in wolves (18.2.31). The holy water is sprinkled on the house and then he enters it (2.14.1, 6.60.1). He enters the house with friendly and peaceful eyes. The house is asked not to be afraid of him, who pays homage to it (6.60.1). He then offers grains of *śāmāka* (rice) in fire (Kauśika 82, 19).

On the second day of cremation, offerings are again made to Agni. The offerings of the milk of a cow or of rice cooked in the

milk are offered to Vaiśvānara Agni at the place of cremation. This offering sustains the father, grandfather and great-grandfather (18.4.35 and Kausika 82.21-24).

On the third day according to Keśava there is no rite, but on the fourth day there is the rite of collecting the bones of the cremated person (on Kausika 82.25-33). But Kausika prescribes this rite on the third day only (82.25). With a ladle made of *palāśa* tree, the bones are to be offered the milk and water. Agni is asked to extinguish the cremated person. It is hoped that the plants like *kyāmbā*, *śāṇḍadūrvā*, *vyalkaśā* should grow on that place (18.36). The bones of the cremated person are collected together. It is hoped that nothing of his mind, life (*aśu*), limb, sap or body should remain there. His limbs and *prāṇa* and *apāṇa* breaths have been separated while burning. So it is prayed that the associate Fathers cause all these separated limbs and breaths to enter in him again (18.2.25-26). All these collected bones should be kept in a jar, keeping the skull first in it. While reciting the *harinī ṛcs* (18.2 14-18), the jar containing the bones are kept under a tree in the ground. The tree is asked not to oppress them, so also the great earth. The bones have obtained a place to thrive there (18.2.25).

On the fourth day the offerings are given to Vivasvat (18.3.61).

After one year, the rite for depositing the Pitṛs is performed. It is called Pitṛmedha (Kausika 83). The bones are taken out of the ground. Thus the tree is addressed, 'Oh tree, the bones of a man are deposited in you. Give them back, so that he will speak wisely in the council of Yama (18.3.70). Thus the bones are recovered. The dust is brushed off from the bones. Keeping them on a mat of the *darbhas* the performer of the rite invites the departed life. He also calls the Pitṛs who come along their path (*pitṛyāna*) to bestow life and prosperity on him (18.4.62). Bending the knees, the Pitṛs are asked to take seat to the right. They are prayed not to injure him (18.1.52). Thus they are seated, to receive oblations (18.2.29). A cow is killed. One half of it is to be given to the Pitṛs and the remainder to the Brāhmaṇas (Kausika 83.35). To Yama, the offerings of omnetum are made (18.1.60). Whatever stirred drink (*mantha*), cooked rice (*odana*) and flesh are offered to them, they are all expected to be rich in *śvadhā*, honey and ghee (18.4.42). Kausika (84.7-4) mentions that the servants should be fed and music of lute should also be played. Women with loosened hair

should go round the bones beating their right knees (Kauśika 84.10). The significance of this rite is wiping off defilement in a metal pot and resorting to new life (18.3.17).

The bones are then removed to be interned in the ground forever. The ground is measured for digging. The *ṛcs* recited on this occasion point out that it is the last measure and that they may not measure further in hundred years (18.2.38-44). In the ditch, thus dug, the bones are interned. The *darbhās* are scattered. The bones of the body of the deceased are collected according to the joints. The members of his body are joined with the recitation of the *brahman* (18.4.52). All relations are invited to look at the bones finally, while they are being interned. He says, "Come on, look at them. This mortal goes to immortality (18.4.37)". The dead person becomes a *Pitṛ* and attains immortality. In the direction of the skull of the dead, two offerings of cooked-rice, with curds, milk and honey are kept. These streams of ghee and honey are for those men who were born and who died having performed sacrifices (18.4.57). With this equipment the spirit of the dead is asked to go to the world of the Fathers and not to remain behind mid-way (18.3.72). The *apūpas* (cakes of wheat flour) are placed in the eight directions near the bones. The *caru* (cooked rice) with *apūpa* and milk are offered to the Fathers, who created the worlds and the paths. These are also offered with curds, drops of milk, ghee, flesh, food, honey, liquid food and water and kept at eight directions (18.4.16-24). The bones are watered with a pot having a hundred or thousand holes (18.4.36). With the middle leaf of the *palāśa* tree, the *carus* and the pots of water are covered. The leaf of *palāśa* is called a king, who gives vigour, strength and long life (18.4.53). The *carus* and the jars of water are then covered with a stone, which is produced by vigour and which becomes thus the lord of the food. Oblations are offered to it, so that Yama should bestow long life. Thus the stone covering the *carus* is virtually the representative of Yama and is the lord of food (18.4.54). The clods of the earth are then placed on different joints. The performer of the rite piles clay on the interned bones. While placing the clods of earth (18.3.52), he prays that he should not be injured. The pile of the clods, the Fathers maintain for him (18.3.52). The ditch is filled with clods of earth and stones. The fathers of the father and the grand-fathers who entered in the atmosphere, earth and heaven are then worshipped with homage. The bones of the deceased are to be closed in the earth finally. They can never see the sun henceforth.

So the earth is asked to cover them lightly as a mother her son with the hem of her garment (18.2.49-50). The bones are asked to approach the mother earth, who becomes soft like wool to him, who offers the sacrificial gifts (18.3.49). His mind is also with the bones. So the earth is urged to cover him as women cover their head (*kakutsalamiva jāmayaḥ*, 18.4.66). The ditch which is filled up is beaten with stones and levelled down. The sons of the dead thus prepare a spacious residence for the dead, just as the five clans of men made a dwelling for Yama (18.4.55). This is the *śmaśāna*, a dwelling for him. The mouth is rinsed at the close of the ceremony of the internment of the bones, with the praise of Yama (18.3.10, 61-67).

After this, the auspicious rites begin. The *saṅkasuka* (devouring) fire is enkindled. This fire knows the buried deposit of the bones and the Pitṛs, who have gone far away (18.4.41). This divine devouring Agni freed from sin has ascended to the back of the sky, freeing the performer of the rite from imprecations. On this fire the sin of the relatives of the deceased are wiped off. They become fit for sacrifice. Actually it is washed on the lead (*śiśa*), reeds (*naḍa*), *saṅkasuka* fire, and dark coloured ewe. The head-ache is wiped on the pillow. They then become pure. The waters cleanse the evil, pollution, and evil acts, which are performed through the *saṅkasuka* fire (12.2.13, 40, 19). The living ones turn, then, from the dead. Their invocations to the gods became auspicious. They, then indulge in dancing and merry-making (12.2.22).

In the afternoon of the new moon day (*amāvāsyā*), the *Pitṛpiṇḍayajña* is performed. The hands are washed with the recitation of the *ṛc* (18.3.12) which contains prayer for depositing splendour on the hands. The water is sipped with the *ṛc* 18.3.10. The mortar, pestle, winnowing basket, *caru* (cooked rice) and brass pots are washed clean. The jars of the water are taken out. The offerings are made in the winnowing basket, to Agni *kavyāvāhana*, Pitṛs, Soma and Yama. These are the deities to whom the offerings are made (18.4.71-80). The offering of these oblations is the *Pitṛyajña* (Kauśika 87.11). The rice is cooked. The cooked rice is taken on the head outside. A ditch is dug. It is filled with water. Two sticks are lighted. The performer of the rite says, 'We light you eagerly. Bring here the eager Fathers to eat oblations (18.1.56).' One of them is kept in the ditch and the other is kept out 'to be just here, winning

riches and thought' (18,4,38). All offerings are laid in the ditch for the Pitṛs, who are buried (*nikhāta*), scattered away (*paropta*), burnt (*dagdha*) and set up in the Pitṛs (18,2,35). The *carus* garments, ointment are also offered to them. The cooked food is also offered. The Pitṛs are thus praised, 'Homage to your vigour and essence, terror and fury and terrible and cruel, auspicious and blissful powers, oh Fathers' (18,4,81-84). He then returns to his home. The rite comes to an end.

It will thus be seen that the rites for the marriage, initiation and funeral are the most important of all those treated here. It is intended to treat in this section only those rites, which every one has to perform. These rites are later on called *samskāras*, which aim at the purification of a *dvija* and thus make him fit to perform his duties in life.

THE SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC PRACTICES IN THE AY

1—Introduction.

2—For securing prosperity of Agriculture and cattle :

(a) Commencing agriculture, (b) Ploughing, (c) Sowing seeds and harvesting, (d) Sowing barley (*yava*), (e) Against pests on corn, (f) Bringing down the rain, (g) Digging canals, (h) Twinning animals, (i) To make horse swift, (j) *Vyāghrajañbhana*.

3—For securing success in trade.

4—For securing prosperity of cows :

(a) Prosperity of cows, (b) Protection of cattle, (c) Attaching cow to its calf, (d) Removing the diseases of cattle, (e) Marking the ears of cows, (f) Nourishment of cows, (g) The cow of a Brāhmaṇa.

5—The rites for securing wisdom, learning and splendour :

(a) *Medhājanana*, (b) Securing Vedic learning, (c) Securing splendour (*varcas*).

6—The rites for one's defence :

(a) Offering sacrifice to various deities, (b) Wearing amulets, (c) Protection at night.

7—The rites for expiation and release from distress and misfortune :

(a) Water used in such rites, (b) The rites for relieving one of sin or evil.

8—The rites for removing the evil effects of bad dreams.

9—The rites for securing success in gambling.

10—The rites for winning the public assembly and physical charms.

11—Against ill-omens.

12—The charms for securing long life.

13—The charms about house :

(a) House is a living object, (b) Constructing a new

house, (c) Sacrifice in a new house, (d) Purifying its floors, (e) Prosperity in the new house, (f) Protection of the house, (g) The house receives its master, returning from journey, (h) Finding out things lost in the house, (i) Harmony in the members of the house.

14—The AV and the Grhya-rites.

1. In addition to the numerous charms, which are intended for securing long life, prosperity and power and which later on came to be known as the *samskāras* to be performed by every Aryan from his birth to death, there are many charms in the AV, which aim at securing better life for every Aryan in his manifold social life. In his occupations as an agriculturist, herdsman, trader or traveller, in securing sharp intelligence, protection and long life, in expiating various sins he committed, in securing happiness, comfort and domestic life in his own house, in securing success in public debate or gambling, and finally in securing harmony among different members of the household or public, the Atharvaṇic priest employed various charms. It is our intention to present here these charms of the AV, together with their traditional application, and to examine whether such traditional application is warranted by the contents of the charms themselves. In studying these charms one is impressed by the Atharvaṇic magic deeply rooted in almost all shades of the life of an Aryan. As we have seen, these charms were employed for curing the diseased, for making the relations between men and women natural, happy and fulfilling their sexual aspirations, for elevating the dignity of the king and the subjects, in peace and war, for endowing a person with long life while he undergoes various *samskāras* and for helping him in his various occupations and aspirations. The AV thus contains the germs of the *śāstras* such as medicine, erotic and statecraft, and sponsors the magical and sacrificial rites, which formed the domestic religion (*grhya*) of the Aryans. It will be observed that in these various Atharvaṇic practices, the priest occupies a prominent part. He acts like a physician, mediator in love affairs, a Purohita with the dignity of statesman, minister and director of the technique of war, an officiating priest in the domestic and sacrificial ritual and finally as a magician controlling the divine and demonic agencies for the benefit of his clients. It is intended in this section, to deal with the social and domestic rites other than the sacraments which the Atharvaṇic priest performs for his followers.

2. For securing prosperity of agriculture and cattle :

(a) Agriculture and rearing cattle, being the most important of the occupations of the common man in the Aryan society, the Atharvanic priest rendered his services for his prosperity by means of his charms. The hymn in honour of the Goddess of Earth (*bhūmisūkta* 12. 1) is employed by Kauśika (24. 14) for commencing agriculture. The hymn is an excellent praise of the Mother Earth, supporting water, land and five races of men, who carry on her, their cultural, intellectual, religious and heroic activities. The earth rears and protects them (12. 1. 1-56). The hymn is the general praise of the earth and is suitable for being employed in the commencement of the agricultural activities.¹ Kauśika employs this hymn for celebrating *āgrahāyaṇi* rites, performed on the full moon-day in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, which is the harvest season. In this rite three corns are cooked. One is to be offered on the *darbha* grass in the ditch behind the fire. The second is to be eaten when duly charmed and the third is to be offered thrice in the fire with the recitation of the *ṛcs* 12. 1. 1-7, 63. The agriculturist sits behind the fire on the mat of the *darbhās*, saying, "To the pure earth I speak. It is grown with the *brahman* (12. 1. 29)." He pays homage to the earth by reciting the *ṛcs* 12. 1. 1-9, 59. He takes two steps to the east or north and prays that he would not trouble the earth by his feet while walking and that the earth should not injure him when he sleeps and rolls on it, (12. 1. 28, 33). When he commences agriculture he places the plough in the front of the fire and sprinkles it with water charmed with the recitation of the *ṛc* 12. 1. 1, which points out that the penance, consecration, sacrifice and *brahman* support the earth. He then, begins ploughing. A spotted cow is given to a Brāhmaṇa. The cow is charmed with the recitation of the *ṛcs* 12.1.21-26.

(b) Agriculture was the occupation of the intelligent and clever people (*kavi*). They used *śira* (plough) with *yuga* (yoke), which was stretched on the necks of the bulls. The plough had a pointed end like *vajra*, the thunderbolt and had a smooth handle (*tsaru*). As the result of the successful agriculture, the farmer hoped to possess abundance of cows, goats, sheep, chariot, capable of quick movement and a plump young girl. The plough with pointed ploughshares (*suphāla*) pierced the soil. The farmers (*kināśa*) followed the bulls. The deities, *Sūnāsīras* were pacified

1. For the detailed description, See N. J. SHENDE, *Foundations*, p. 67.

with oblations and were expected to bring out plants rich in fruit (*supippalā oṣadhayaḥ*). The deity of the furrow, *Sītā*, was also paid homage to, and was expected to increase the farmer with milk, ghee and vigour. The seed was sown in the furrowed land called *yonī*, the womb, which reminds of the process of human procreation. After sowing the seed stalks (*śnuṣṭhi*) of the corn become ripe quickly and can be easily mowed by means of a sickle (*śṛṇya*). The farmer ploughed the field with plough by means of the bulls. Ropes (*varatṛa*) were used for tying the bulls to the yoke. The whips (*aṣṭrā*) were used for urging the bulls (3.17.1-9). *Sāyaṇa* and *Kauśika* (20.1-26) employ the hymn 3. 17 for successful agriculture. In this rite the priest goes to the right side of the yoke. He then hands over the plough to the field and fixes the yoke on the plough. He ties a bull to the former ploughman, who yokes other bulls. Then he begins the ploughing. On the completion of the third furrow, he deposits *Agni* and offers a cake to *Indra* and cooked rice to *Aśvins*. He addresses to the furrow (*sītā*) as, "Oh *Sītā*, we bow to you. Be favourable and fruitful to us (3.17.8)." Also with the recitation of this hymn (3.17), he eats the mixture of rice cooked in the milk of the cow having same complexion as its calf, cowdung, bdellum (*guggulu*) and salt. This he does for securing the prosperity of the bulls. The hymn 3.17 refers to the sacrifice performed in this rite. One of the *ṛcs* points out, 'The ploughshares should with happiness pierce the ground. The farmers should follow the bulls. *Śunāsīras* pacified by our oblations should bring plants rich in fruits (3.17.5)" and also prays, "Oh *Śunāsīra*, what milk (water) you have made in the heaven, sprinkle it on this field. Accept my oblation (3.17.7)." *Śunāsīra* is the deity presiding over the plough (*sīra*). The furrows are mentioned to have been anointed with ghee and honey (3.17.9). Thus the priest offers a sacrifice at the commencement of the ploughing operations, for the sake of the prosperity of the farmer.

In the same rite offerings are made to *Indra* in the fire. He is asked to grant wealth of yellowish colour, i. e., the ripe harvest (6.33.3, *Kauśika* 23.17).

(c) With due magical and sacrificial rites, the ploughing and sowing operations are over. The corn is ready for collection. The stalks of grain are thrashed. The grains are collected. The corn is expected to be in abundance. The priest says, 'These plants (of *yava* and *vrihi*) are rich in essence. My speech (*vacas*) is also rich in essence. I bring them here in thousands (3.24.1).' The priest

knows and invokes the god by name Sāmbhṛtvān, who makes the corn in abundance (*dhānyaṁ bahu cakāra*). He collects the grains that are in the house of the non-sacrificer (3.24.2). The abundance of corn (*sphāṭi*) is brought about by the five clans of men and five directions. The grain (*dhānya*) of the farmer becomes thousand streamed and unexhausted, as it is brought there with hundred and thousand hands (3.24.3-5). In the corn thus collected, one-third belongs to the Gandharvas and one-fourth to the housewives (*grhapatnis*). The corn collected from the farm is addressed thus, "We touch you with that which is the richest in essence (3.24.7)."² The farmer employs people to bring (*upoha*), to collect (*samūha*) and to serve or to distribute (*kṣatṛ*) the corn (3.24.7).

As the contents of this hymn show and according to Sāyaṇa and Kauṣika (21.1-6) the hymn is used for securing abundance of corn (*sphāṭikarāṇa*). According to Keśava (*Kauṣika ibid*), it is to be employed for securing abundance of corn, when it is heaped up after the harvest, measured, cooked, pounded or given to others. In the rite prescribed, Kauṣika points out that in the middle leaf of *palāśa* tree, some auspicious fruit and clay from the hillock and anthill are to be tied by means of *darbha* and placed in the heap of the corn. The clay is taken out from the three corners of the hillock. He then takes meals of the corn, cooked in the evening. The excess of the corn is then kept in the store. The rite is symbolical. The clay from the hillock is suggestive of the hill-like heap of corn.

(d) In a special rite for sowing the grains of barley (*yava*), to secure its abundance, Sāyaṇa and Kauṣika (24.1) prescribe that with hymn 6.142 barley should be mixed with ghee. Taken in three handfuls, it is poured through the plough on the field and is covered with dust. They also prescribe the amulet of barley for securing its abundance. In the hymn 6.142, the priest invokes the barley grains to rise up and to grow thick. He addresses *yava* as god and urges him to listen to him and to rise up like sky and be inexhaustible like sea. Kauṣika prescribes that an amulet of barley should be tied on by the farmer while reciting the ṛc, 6.142.3, which contains the following prayer, 'Inexhaustible shall be those who attend upon you, oh Yava. Your heaps should be inexhaustible. They who eat and give you, as present should be inexhaustible'. Thus abundant barley is secured.

2. I have followed Sāyaṇa while interpreting this ṛc. WEBER thinks that the master of the house or the wagon containing corn is addressed, *IST*, 17, 286.

(e) Charms against injury to and pests on the corn: The broad thundering, the exalted sign of the gods that pervades all this, is urged not to injure the grain on the field of the farmer. Also with the rays of the sun the thundering is urged not to destroy them (7.11.1). Dārila commenting on Kauśika (38.7-8) which treats this hymn (7.11) explains that as the result of thundering the corn becomes wet in rain water, or on account of the hail storms. To protect against the impending loss, he takes some grains, goes round a natural ditch thrice and pours the grain in it. Thus the thundering is pacified.

Another great danger to the corn in the field is from the rats. Aśvins are urged to kill *tarda* (one who bores hole), *saṃaṅka* (one possessed of a hook) and mouse and to crush their heads and ribs and to shut their mouths. Then there should be no fear to the corn from them. Thus *tarda*, *ṛataṅga* (locust), *jabhya* (grinder) and *upakvasa* (tormentor) are asked to get out of the field without injuring and eating the *yavas*. The priest threatens the lord of *tarda* and *vaghā* of sharp teeth to bear in mind his speech; for, he surely will crush the devourers of grain (6.50.1-3). The creatures mentioned in hymn are the names of various pests. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (51.17-22) prescribe this hymn against the creatures such as *mūṣa* (mouse), *paṭaṅga* (locust), *śalabha* (fly), *tittibha* (a bird), *kīṭa* (gnat or insect), *hariṇa* (deer), *śalyaka* (hedgehog) and *godhā* (lizard etc.), which eat corn in the field. The performer of the rite, walks in the field rubbing lead against iron and scatters particles of sand. The mouth of mouse is tied with hair and it is buried in the field. The sand particles have mysterious effect. These provide illustrations of the magic homeopathic. The shutting up of the mouth of a mouse is referred to in the *ṛc* 6. 50.1. The effect of this rite is to tie up the mouths of all mice. Thus some redress was given to the peasants of those times by the Atharvaṇic priest in magically stopping the ravages to their crop.

(f) A charm to bring down rain: The successful agriculture depends on good ploughing, sowing seed, collecting grain at the harvest, removing vermins inflicted on the grain and timely rain. The natural means of watering is the rain water. If sometimes the rain fails the farmer is helpless. The Ātharvaṇa rite prescribes the offering of ghee in fire to the Maruts. The ghee and milk are expected to come from a black cow. The rice grains offered in fire must be also of dark colour. The ladle used must be of cane creeper. The fuel is also of cane creeper (Kesaṇya on Kauśika

41.2-3). The symbolism in the use of the dark objects is to attract the dark clouds which alone bring rain. Also the plants like *kāśa*, *vetasa* etc. are placed in a pot, which is dipped in water. Then these plants are thrown in water. Similarly the heads of dog and sheep are charmed and thrown in water. Hair of a man and an old shoe are tied to a bamboo pole. Raw earthen vessel, filled with husk is charmed with water. It is then placed in a loop and thrown in water. The purpose of these homeopathic rites is to make it fall from above. The hymn (4.15) which is employed in this rite is an invocation to Maruts and Parjanya to pour down rain (Kausika 41.1-7, 26.14, 103.3, 127.8-9). In another hymn 7-18, the earth is urged to burst forth or to split the cloud of heaven and to untie it. The earth is also asked not to be burnt by heat nor struck by cold (7.18.1-2).

(g) A charm for preparing new canal: As the water of rain is unreliable, canals are dug to carry water from a river to reach the fields. Sāyaṇa and Kausika (40.1-6) prescribe the recitation of hymn 3.13 while a person is digging a canal to whichever direction he wants to carry the water. He should bury there the branches of *kāśa*, moss and cane creepers which grow in or along the water. Then he should keep a piece of gold there while reciting the part of the ṛc 3. 13. 7a, which refers to it as the heart of the waters. Then a frog, cut in two and tied with red and blue threads is kept there. The frog is mentioned to be the calf of the waters (3. 13. 7). The frog is then enveloped in *avakā* plant growing in water with the other part of the ṛc 3. 13. 7c. With the recitation of 3. 13. 7d, he pours water on the frog while reciting, "I am conducting you here (3. 13. 7d)". In this way by the homeopathic magic the rain charm is worked.

Similarly for turning away the current of the river in the event of flood, he should offer to Varuṇa with the ladle of cane creeper, the cooked black rice grains with ghee and milk of dark cows.

Also according to Sāyaṇa for bringing back the river, which has left its bed, one should recite this hymn and sleep in its bed.

Dārila advises the joint action of sprinkling with water, depositing gold, keeping frog and pouring water. Other authorities provide them differently. Offering of ghee is made to different deities for securing rain. Hymn 3. 13. explains different names for

waters such as *nadi*, *āpaḥ*, *vār* and *udaka* and praises them as sweet like nectar.³

(h) To avert ill-omen of twinning animal: The Vedic Aryan tilled earth and reared cattle. Sometimes a female of the cattle gave birth to twins, which was thought to be an unfortunate event. Kauśika (109. 5-10, 110, 4-8 111. 5-11) prescribes the offering of ghee in the fire, for pacifying the ominous birth of twins, not only to cow or ass or mare, but also to women too. Also, rice grains are cooked in the milk of its mother. The animal and its young one are made to eat that rice. The female is given to a Brāhmaṇa. In the case of a woman, money is given as she deserves (*yathārham*) or according to the wealth of her father. According to BLOOMFIELD⁴ and WEBER,⁵ here is the cunning practice of shrewd and thrifty Brāhmaṇas to secure the mothers of the twinning animals. But they are harsh unnecessarily against them. In all rituals they charged fee, mostly cow. This is not therefore an exception. All religious and magic practices depend on the faith of the people, which is fully exploited by the priesthood. The hymn 3.28 refers to the inauspiciousness of the twinning cow; for, it destroys cattle, snarling and angry. Such cow becomes eater of raw flesh and devourer (*vyadvārī*—leading to bad road, possessed of magical sacrifice—*Sāyaṇa*). It should be given to a Brāhmaṇa. Then it becomes auspicious to men, cows, horses and whole field and brings prosperity to cattle. It attains to the world where all pious men go leaving the diseases from their bodies (3.28.1-5). It thus seems that *yaminī* (the twinning cow) is killed and is offered in sacrifice. For, the *ṛc* 3.28.6 informs that *yaminī* has attained to that world where pious sacrificers (*agnihotrahitān*) go, so that she should not kill men and cattle.

(i) To make the horse swift: The farmer kept a horse also. To make it more swift, the powder of all holy plants is scattered on its head, while the hymn 7.4, containing the praise of the mares of Vāyu, is recited (Kauśika 41.26). Another hymn 6.92 is employed by Kauśika (41.21.25) for the same purpose. SB 5.1.4.9-10 employs this hymn in Vājapeya sacrifice. According to Dārila it is used for elevating the fortune of the horse. Ghee is offered in the fire. It is also poured in water, which is drunk by the horse, after

3. BLOOMFIELD, *SBE* 42.349. Also *AJP* 11.342 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 359.

5. *Omina und Portena*, p. 377.

it is bathed. In the hymn the horse, when yoked, is urged to be swift like wind or hawk. This faculty is concealed in it and now it is revealed. With its swiftness it is asked to win the race, reaching the goal first in the contest. A person would feel delighted to ride on it (6.92.1-3). This appears to be a charm for making the horse attain swiftness and for winning races.

(j) Atharvaṇa *Vyāghrajaṁbhana* : This is (4.3) the charm of Atharvan to kill tigers, thieves, serpents etc., which lay in the way of an agriculturist or herdsman. BLOOMFIELD takes this hymn (4.3) to be a charm of a shepherd. Sāyaṇa and Kauṣika (51.1-6) prescribe this hymn in a rite for removing the fear of tiger or robber, against the cows. Keśava generally uses it against the fear of tiger, lion, thief, wolf, highway robber and forester. A person following the cows and others to the pasture, takes with him a stick of *khadira* tree, with a spike attached to it and anointed with ghee. With this stick he digs the ground and lifts the clay up. Thus the path of the wild animal is pierced.⁶ The people are afraid of tiger, robber, serpent, witchcraftmaker, wolf, deer and highway robber, who are thus scared away by this charm. The recitation of a charm called the *Ātharvaṇa vyāghrajaṁbhana* enables one to crush the eyes and jaws of tiger and of all these creatures.

(3) For securing success in trade (*vāṇijya*) :

According to Sāyaṇa and Kauṣika (50.12, 59.6, 140.16), hymn 3.15 is employed for securing profit in trade. A person setting up his business in a shop or while carrying the merchandise to the market, anoints the commodities with ghee and then keeps them in the shop for sale. He also offers sacrifice to Indra and praises him. The hymn (3.15) supports this use. In it Indra is styled as a merchant (*vāṇij*), who is urged⁷ to lead the traders and to drive off *arūti* (niggard—WHITNEY, demon of grudge—BLOOMFIELD; enemy of trade—Sāyaṇa), highway robbers and wild beasts. He is asked to be the giver of wealth to the trader (3.15.1). Thus Indra is invoked. The various paths leading to different countries, along which the trader travels are asked to appease him with ghee and milk; so that he may gather wealth from the purchase. For securing success in the trade he also offers to Agni, ghee and fuel. He praises Agni with the divine

6. BLOOMFIELD, *op.cit.*, p. 367.

7. PPP reads *havāmahe* for *codayāmi*.

song winning hundred, with the *brahman*. Thus by means of his *brahman* (the magical potency),⁸ he recites this hymn (3.15), to accompany the offering of ghee and fuel to Agni (3.15.2-3). He asks Agni to pardon him for the sin, incurred by him while travelling on the roads. He asks Indra and Agni to accept his offering (*havya*). As the result of this sacrifice, his purchase, sale, barter, and also his transaction and grain⁹ would be fruitful. He hopes to drive away the gods, who bring obstacle in his path, by means of his oblation and to secure more profit (3.15.4-5). He hopes to secure lustre from Indra, Prajāpati etc., for securing success in his transaction. He prays to Agni Vaiśvānara, the divine Hotṛ with reverence. He daily offers oblations to him, for success, prosperity and protection (3.15.6-8). The hymn thus records the manner of offering sacrifice. He offers ghee and fuel to Agni and Indra daily. The hymn is a charm accompanied by the *brahman*, which the trader employs while offering sacrifice to Agni and Indra, when he is travelling in distant countries with his merchandise. Indra becomes a merchant along with the trader.

For the benefit of a person going on journey or a merchant going out for transaction, weather is predicted by means of smoke of dung (*śakadhūma*). According to Kausika (50.15.16) four balls of dung are kept on the joints of a Brāhmaṇa and Śakadhūma is asked the condition of weather on that day. Śakadhūma, thus secondarily means the person (here the Brāhmaṇa) who prophesies the condition of weather. In the hymn 6.128 he is praised to give good wealth for all times (6.128.1-4). Thus the work of giving out weather forecasts was done by a Brāhmaṇa, possibly, from the direction of smoke coming out of dung.

For securing welfare on journey Kausika (50.1-3) employs the hymn 7.55, while scattering charmed pebbles along the way. The hymn invokes Vasus to set one on all pleasant paths (7.55.1). The Ātharvaṇa *vyāghrajaṁbhana*¹⁰ also provides security.

8. N.J.SHENDE, *The Brahman in the AV. Karmarkar Commemoration Volume* (KCV) 1948.

9. Some technical words have been used to express these ideas. *Prapaṇa* measure for sale, *vikraya* sale, *pratipaṇa* measure of value for purchase-Sāyana. Also *carita* is transaction-BLOOMFIELD; outgoing-WHITNEY, *utthita* accruing gain, Sāyana and BLOOMFIELD; rising-WHITNEY.

10. *supra*, p. 115.

Thus the Atharvanic priesthood and magical sacrifice had penetrated into all sections of the Vedic Aryans.

(4) For securing the prosperity of cows :

(a) The cult of cow worship was gradually gaining ground in the Vedic society. The AV has special interest in the cows and cows of the Brāhmaṇas. The hymn 2.26 is employed by Sāyaṇa and Kausika (19.14-21) for the rites about the cowstall (*goṣṭha*). WHITNEY uses it for securing safety and increase of kine. BLOOMFIELD thinks it to be a charm for the prosperity of cattle in general. According to the rites prescribed by Kausika, a man desirous of prosperity of cows, should charm the milk of the cow on the second half of the second day after delivery, mixed with the saliva of the calf and drink it. The purpose of this rite is to ensure continuity of the cows in the stall. A cow, charmed with the recitation of this hymn should be given to a Brāhmaṇa. He should also pour a jar of water in the cowstall. This is to ensure the abundance of milk. In another rite for the same purpose, he prescribes that the balls of bdellium, salt and dung mixed with the cooked rice and milk of the cow having the same complexion, should be buried behind the fire for three nights and on the fourth day he should eat them. BLOOMFIELD¹¹ regards this as a cheap magic to ensure success. In the hymn itself Vāyu is asked to bring home the cattle that have stayed away, Tvaṣṭr to know their forms and Savitr to keep them locked in the stall (2.26.1). Brhaspati and Sinivālī are urged to bring the cattle home. Anumati keeps them tied to their posts (2.26.2). The performer of the rite offers the oblation, called *sāmsrāṇya* offering for confluence to have the continuous flow of cattle, horses, men (domestic servants) and the abundance of corn (2.28.3). Thus this offering ensures abundance of cattle. He sprinkles the stall of the cows and the heroes in the house with the milk of the cows, water and ghee. He thus aspires to be the lord of the cows (*gopati*), with the cows constantly attached to him. He then secures milk of the cows, corn, water, heroes and wives to his home (2.26.4-5). He offers in the fire, thus, the offering of confluence (*sāmsrāṇya*), viz., of milk of the cows, ghee and water. He also pours these in the cowstall. The word *paśu* used in this connection prominently refers to the cows, as he aspires to be the lord of the cows (*gopati* 2.26.4).

11. *ibid.*

The Atharvaṇic rite of *sāmsrāvya* offering¹² helps to complete the ideal picture of the life of the house-holder. He longs to have many cows, horses, servants and corn. Then he desires ample milk, water and corn. With these his heroic children and wives make him an ideal house-holder. The Atharvaṇic priest comes to his help in realising his aspirations. He harnesses, the powers of Vāyu, Tvaṣṭṛ and Savitr to his purpose. His cows, horses, and cattle come home in the evening with the servants. He has wives and heroic children, who are sprinkled with milk, water and ghee. Thus he thinks himself to be a prosperous man.

Another charm is intended for the same purpose (3.14). In this charm the householder is greatly attached to his cattle and cows. He takes pride in thinking that he has kept the cattle in the cowstall which is well built and that he possesses wealth and prosperity. The cattle securing abundant dung (*karīṣiṇī*), holding honey (milk) being free from disease flock together without fear. They prosper there like *śaka* (a bird—BLOOMFIELD; dung—WEBER; fly—Sāyaṇa) and *śarīśūka* (like *śari* birds and parrots). He hopes that the cattle would attach themselves to him as their possessor and enrich him with their increasing number (3.14.1-6). Thus he got from them milk and dung (for manure). His wealth depended on the number of his cows.

(b) A charm for the protection of cattle :

In the hymn 6. 59 the plant *arundhatī* is asked to offer foremost protection to cows, cattle which are weaned from mothers and to all quadruped creatures. The plant is also asked to grant a stall, which is full of milk and men free from any disease. The variegated, life-giving and lovely plant carries away from the cattle the deadly missiles of Rudra (6.59.1-3). The hymn thus speaks of the qualities of the plant *arundhatī* in protecting cows and other cattle from the missiles of Rudra. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (41.14, 50.13) employ this hymn in preparing the auspicious water for sprinkling the cowstall. The thirteen auspicious herbs (Kauśika 8.10) are offered in the fire for securing protection against Rudra. These thirteen herbs do not include *arundhatī*. So it seems that the plant was used as an amulet in the cowstall, or for sprinkling water with it. Kauśika has given the general application of the hymn.

12. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 303, thinks this to be the oblation intended for securing concentrated wealth and prosperity for the sacrificer.

(c) A charm for attaching a cow to its calf : The hymn 6.70 is a charm for compelling the love of the cow to its calf, with the same passion as for meat (*māṃsa*), wine (*surā*), dice at the gambling house, and as the heart of a lusty man going after a woman (6.70.1.). According to Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (41.18) the calf is to be washed, sprinkled with the urine of cow and taken round the cow thrice. It is then released for feeding. Thus the cow licks its calf. The ear and head of the cow are also charmed with this hymn. In this magical rite, the hymn 6.70 is recited, while the rite is in progress. The urine of the cow used for washing the calf is expected to produce attraction for the calf.

(d) For removing their diseases and making the cattle healthy : Sāyaṇa and Keśava on Kauśika (19.1, 21.8, 19.14) employ the hymn 4.21 for the impregnation of the cows and removing their diseases, such as fever and scrofulous swelling on the neck and make them yield more milk. Sāyaṇa points out that [water with salt or water alone is given to the cows for drinking. The grains of corn (cooked rice) are to be offered to Indra. The hymn (4.21) contains the praise of the cows. The cows do the auspicious work, so they should take pleasure in remaining in the cowstall [of the householder. Indra gives the cows to sacrificer, singer and teacher. The cows do not perish. A thief does not steal them. No hostile power can attack them. The lord of the cows (*gopati*) offers them in sacrifice, gives them as fees and for a long time he enjoys them. A tiger does not attack them. They do not go to the slaughter house (4.21.1-4). They are urged to make a lean man, fat and to make a poor man of lovely appearance and to make the house excellent. The milk of the cow is highly spoken of in the assemblies (4.21.6). When they go out in the pasture they are charmed for protection from a thief, evil plotter and weapon of Rudra, so that they should be abounding in progeny, shining in good pasture and drinking clear water at the watering places (4.21.7).

(e) A charm for marking the ears of cow : The calves are to be branded on the ears while quite young, as a mark of recognition. In this rite the branches or leaves of *udumbara* tree are charmed. One goes round the cows with water falling from the branches of *udumbara* tree. The ears of the calves are cut. The calf is made to eat the blood coming from the ears, mixed with ghee, curds, honey and water. This rite is intended to make the branding operation auspicious and less painful to the calves (Kauśika 23.

12-16 on 6.141). The hymn 6. 141 refers to this operation. With red axe, pairs (symbols of sexes) are marked on their ears (6. 141. 2). This practice is after that of the gods and Asuras (6. 141. 3).

(f) For the nourishment of cows : According to Sāyaṇa and Kauṣika (24. 3), the hymns 7. 14-15 are used for charming a jar of water, mixed with Soma. Then one cooks rice with the milk of cow having the calf of similar complexion and eats it for the nourishment of a cow which is once delivered. An amulet is tied for the same purpose. The hymns 7. 14-15 refer to Savitr and part of Soma in exhilarating him at the sacrifice (7. 14. 4). The hymn 7. 14 does not refer to any of these details of the rite. The hymn 7. 15 refers Kaṇva milking the thousand streamed cow in the form of the favour of Savitr (7. 15. 1).

(g) The cow of a Brāhmaṇa : As has been referred to above there was a practice of giving cow to a Brāhmaṇa, when it was found to be inauspicious in the owner's house, due to twinning or some other reason (3. 28. 2). Then the cow becomes auspicious. Sometimes cow was given to him as his priestly fees. Thus a Brāhmaṇa has cows, which are given by others. A robber or any arrogant person may steal or forcibly try to take away his cows. The hymns 5. 18-19 describe the horrible consequences, which follow if the cows of a Brāhmaṇa are robbed. His cow is not fit for eating for a king or one of Rājanya class. It is a poison (5.8.1-4). Similarly his wealth and his life should not be taken away by him ; for, he is a relation of Soma and Indra protects him from imprecations (5.8.6). His voice is a curse or arrow. His speech, tongue, vocal cord and teeth are charged with *tapas* (penance, 5.18.8)). The Vaitahavyas, who were mighty, were perished because they devoured the cows of the Brāhmaṇas (5.8.11). The cow of a Brāhmaṇa, if cooked by a king for eating, takes away the lustre of his kingdom (5.19.4). The cow thus robbed and killed becomes a terrible weapon of eight feet, four ears, four jaws, two mouths and two tongues and dispels the king from his kingdom (5.19.7). Thus shame and misfortune in this world and the next come to him who kills the cows of Brāhmaṇa.¹³

Kauṣika (8.13) employs these hymns for killing the robber of the cows of a Brāhmaṇa. He recites these hymns, while the act of cutting the cow is being performed. The dung of the cow is to be used as

13. N. J. SHENDE, op. cit.

offering in the magical sacrifice. Thrice he says, 'Kill him', while he is reciting and offering. For twelve nights he observes the vow of a celebite and after two days the enemy is killed. But looking to the spirit of the hymns 5.18-19 it appears that Kauśika's use is an after-thought. They seem to be the spontaneously vigorous outburst of a Brāhmaṇa, suffering under the humiliation and ravages by a Kṣatriya, who had become arrogant on account of his power.¹⁴ Similarly the hymn 12.5 points out that a cow is acquired by the Brāhmaṇa by means of his toil, penance and *brahman* (12.5.1). A Kṣatriya who takes away the Brāhmaṇa's cow loses his happiness, fortune and religious and secular merit. For the cow, thus robbed becomes a *kṛtyā* incarnate. The killing of cow subjects one to the attack of missile. The contents of its bowels form a secret magic formula (12.5.12, 39). The cow is the thunderbolt of the Brāhmaṇas (12.5.54). It may be noted here, that just like the cow of Brāhmaṇa, his wife also must not be robbed by any Kṣatriya or king. He loses his kingdom, fortune and progeny. She is said to be the evil planet with dishevelled hair, indicating misfortune descending on the village (5.17-4). Kauśika (48.11) employs this hymn in the magical rite for cutting the feet of the robber of the cows. The RV (10.109) contains this hymn without the four *ṛcs* (4, 7, 8, 9). But this does not seem to be the original application of the hymn. The hymn like the preceding hymns is the vigorous outburst of the pride of a Brāhmaṇa, who is robbed of his wife by a Kṣatriya.

(5) The rites for securing wisdom, learning, and splendour :

(a) *Medhājanana*: This rite is intended for producing wisdom (*mēdhā*) in a student. Sāyaṇa (on 1.1) and Kauśika (7.8) prescribe that the student ties the tongues of parrots and sparrow. He eats them and offers them in the fire. This rite aims at producing in him the qualities of speech which are in these creatures. He offers in the fire the fuel of *audumbara*, *palāśa* and *korkandhu*. He eats the rice cooked in milk and a cake. He recites the hymn 1.1 in the ears of his teacher who is sleeping. He also offers *dhānā* grains. This is not the rite for initiation but for producing wisdom which is depending on it. The hymn invokes Vācaspati to bestow on his body the strength of Maruts and to come to him with his divine mind to retain the sacred learning in him. In short, he comes to make memory strong enough to retain all he has learnt. Vācaspati is the lord of speech and Sāyaṇa calls him the lord of the Vedas, as

14. *ibid.*

they came out first from his mouth (1.1.1). Kauśika (12.12) employs this hymn for charming the breasts of a girl, who desires to get eminence. In the hymn 6.108, Medhā is the deity, who comes first with cows, horses and rays of the sun (6.108.1). She, urged by the *brahman*, praised by the *ṛṣis* (seers) and drunk by the students of the Brahman, is invoked to fill one with the *brahman*. The Rbhus, Asuras and Ṛṣis knew her. She is asked to imbibe one with the wisdom of the makers of the beings (*bhūtakṛts*) for all time of the day with the rays of the sun by means of the spell (6.108.2-5). Agni is praised by means of *vacas* and *vāk* (speech and words or hymns) in the sacrifice for producing wisdom (19.3.4). Similarly he pacifies Agni by means of his offerings, in the same way as Atharvan did first. He expects to secure his desires and intentions (*ākutī*). Whatever he expects should be entirely his and the wisdom should be admitted in his mind. Bṛhaspati Āṅgīrasa is invoked to acknowledge his designs and speech (19.4.1-4). Thus the offerings in Agni and his speech and words bring wisdom and power to fulfil his designs and desires.

The success, which the Atharvaṇic priest attains by means of his magical practices is due to his offerings in Agni and also due to the power of his speech. The defects in his mind and speech are asked to be removed by Sarasvatī. He appeals to the waters not to take away his *brahman* and wisdom (19.40.1-2). His speech (spells) is actuated by wisdom and the *brahman*, which he aspires to retain in himself for all time. The self-laudation of Vāc (4.30) is used by Kauśika (10.16-19, 57.31) for this purpose. The boy is made to sit on the lap of his mother and ghee is poured on his palate, for making him acquainted with the use of speech. The ghee softens the palate.

(b) The charms for securing the sacred knowledge: The knowledge of the Vedas formed the course of learning in those days. It is the Brāhmaṇa, the knowledge of the *brahman*, the secret power which is asked to come to the person from mid-air, winds, trees and bushes (7.66.1). Sāyaṇa explains that the Vedas are not to be recited under trees, cattles and grass. So this hymn is an expiation for reciting the *brahman* in the prohibited area. But looking to the contents of the hymn, it seems that the person urges the sacred knowledge and power to come to him from all places.

It sometimes happens that a person swoons and forgets his Vedic study. Hence after coming to his senses he prays that his

wealth and sacred knowledge or power should come back to him (7.67.1). Thus the sacred knowledge or power is to be retained by sacrifice and magical rites. The penance is also performed for this purpose. By means of it, he hopes to be dearer to the sacred learning. By performing penance he also aspires to live long (7.61.1-2). Sāyaṇa and Kausika (10.22) employ this hymn in the harvest sacrifice, which is not the purpose of the hymn. The study of the Vedas (*ṛcs* and *sāmans*) is expected to keep off any personal injury. So the *ṛc* and *sāman* are used in performing sacrifice to the gods. The *ṛc* is used for oblation, *sāman* for force and *yaju* for strength (7.54). Kausika (42.9-10) employs this hymn for removing obstacles in the economic condition of a teacher, which is not the object of the hymn. In the same way secret power comes by reciting the hymns containing the homage offered to the parts of the AV (19.22-23).¹⁵ The treasure of the Veda which is taken out for use is deposited in it. Thus making the *brahman* complete, the student is expected to get all desired things, and to be favoured by the penance (19.71). The Veda is a treasure, power, penance and the *brahman*. It is the mother giving boons, urging *pāvamānī* hymns in students and giving life, breath, progeny, cattle, fame, prosperity and Vedic splendour (19.71.1).

(c) For securing splendour (*varcas*): The hymn 6.69 contains a charm for securing *varcas*, that is in mountain, king's chariot, gold, cows, wine poured out and honey. Aśvins are urged to anoint him with the honey of the bees; so that he may speak brilliant words to the people. He should also get splendour, fame and fruit of the sacrifice (6.69.1-3). Thus the *varcas* should be in his body and speech to influence others. According to Sāyaṇa and Kausika (10.24), for securing such splendour, an unmarried girl should eat curds and honey charmed with this hymn (6.69). A Kṣatriya should eat cooked rice with honey. Vaiśya and Sūdra should eat cooked rice alone. A Kṣatriya should also tie an amulet of seven holy hair for this purpose. The use of honey is referred to in the hymn (6.69.2).

Along with the sweet splendour of honey, one also expects to have the splendour of an elephant which comes from Aditi. Agni is offered oblations to secure this splendour (3.22.1-4). The elephant having extraordinary power is superior to all animals. So it should sprinkle *varcas* on him (3.22.5-6). In the *madhusūkta* (9.1) Aśvins

15. Not found in PPP.

are urged to bestow honey in bees, mountains, heights, cows, horses and wine (9.1.14-1). The purpose of the hymn is to secure sweetness of honey by offering oblations to *Aśvins*.¹⁶

(6) . The rites for one's defence :

(a) Various deities and amulets are invoked to grant protection against misfortune, calamities and demonic creatures. The offerings are made to the deities. These rites are designated as *svastyayana* rites by *Kauśika*. He points out (8.23) that the offering of thirteen materials should be made with the recitation of this hymn. *Bhava*, *Sarva*, *Yama*, *Mṛtyu*, *Nirṛti*, godfolk with the divine army should be paid homage to with mind (*manas*), oblations and ghee. They are expected to spare him from missiles and poison (6.93.1-3). Thus in this sacrifice ghee is offered to these deities. There is no mention of the thirteen materials in the hymn 6.93 as required by *Kauśika* (9.23). Similarly the deities *Viśvajit*, *Trāyamāṇā* and *Kalyāṇī* are urged to protect him and his bipeds, quadrupeds and property (6.107.1-4). *Kauśika* (50.13) prescribes the offering of ghee and fuel in this rite. *Brhaspati* and *Indra* are asked to protect him on all sides (7.51.1). Here according to *Kauśika* (59.19) offerings of ghee are made to them. To get oneself rid of *Rudra*, *piśācas* and demons, three *carus* of rice cooked in milk are offered to *Rudra*, according to *Kauśika* (50.13-14). The hymn describes the deadly fear one feels from the missiles of *Rudra* such as fever, cough and poison (11.2.1-23). It is to be noted that *Kauśika* includes *Rudra* with demons and other evil spirits. According to *Kauśika* (48.7.127.3) the hymn 4.16 which contains a prayer to *Varuṇa* is recited to protect oneself, when the conjuring enemy comes on. Also a goat or any animal is killed and offered to him, when there is the appearance of meteor. According to *ROTH* this beautiful hymn is degraded to serve as an imprecation. He thinks that magical employment is grafted afterwards on the sublime hymn in praise of *Varuṇa*.¹⁷ The hymn describes the omniscience of *Varuṇa* (4.16.1-7). With the *ṛcs* (4.16.1-7), the snares which are fastened lengthwise and breadthwise and which are human and divine are fastened on the son of so and so, descended from so and so and the son of such and such woman. The name of the enemy is to be inserted in this spell. So all fetters of *Varuṇa* are inflicted on the enemy for one's protection by this charm of the priest, who ties the snares (4.16.8-9). So the formula for

16. N. J. SHENDE. *op. cit.*,

17. Quoted by BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

binding the opponent is, 'I tie Yajñasarma, the son of Devadattā, of the family Gārgya.'

By means of the priestly fees (*dakṣiṇā*) offered to the Brāhmaṇas at the sacrifice, protection is sought from the heaven and earth for the safety of life, soul, eye-sight, and spirit (6.53.1-2). Against this import of the hymn, Kauśika (319; 59.28; 66.2; 55.20) prescribes this as a charm against boils on the neck. It is possible to imagine that the protection for life asked in the hymn, may be due to the troubles of the boils, which are not referred to in the hymn.

The priest considering himself to be a god, compels Tvaṣṭṛ to hear his divine speech and leads him to secure wisdom, with all misfortunes dispelled (6.4.1-3). Kauśika (135.13) prescribes this hymn for the pacificatory rite against the appearance of two circles (*āvartas*) on the head of a boy or girl.

In another charm, protection in all quarters is asked from the gods presiding over them (3.26-27). In the six quarters guarded by serpents, the presiding gods such as *hetis*, *aviśyavas*, *vairājas*, *pravidhyantas*, *nīlīmpas* and *avasyatas* are asked for protection. Whosoever hates him is thrown in the jaws of the six serpents of these quarters. According to Kauśika (14.25, 50.13, 17) offerings of ghee and fuel are made in the fire. The remaining offerings should be thrown in different directions. This may be the *baliharana* practised after daily offerings to Agni. According to WEBER¹⁸ the hymn is an incantation against serpents. According to Keśava (on Kauśika, *ibid*) this is a charm for encouraging or protecting the king's army. But no reference is made to the king's army in the hymn. It is a general formula for protection asked from the gods and serpents guarding the six quarters.¹⁹

The water is also magically charmed to counteract witchcraft for one's protection, according to Kauśika (39.7). The hymn used for this purpose (4.40) is a magical formula, "Those, who offer sacrifice in the east and intend to kill us in that direction, should go to Agni and be tormented back. With this protective charm I kill them (4.40.1)." The same formula is applied to the enemy, who offers oblations in eight directions and who should dash against the eight gods presiding over the eight directions (4.40.2-8).

18. Quoted by GRIFFITH, AV. p. 122.

19. TS 5.5.10.102, MS 2.13.11, TB 3.11.5.

It is to be noted that here is a sacrifice for counteracting the sacrifice performed by the enemy to kill others. This protective charm has thus the killing value. The charmed water is thrown in all directions. It kills the enemy.

(b) The amulets of pearl and shell, *darbha* and triple one (of gold, silver and iron) are protective charms (4.10, 19.28-30, 19.27). The pearl and shell amulet protect the life, strength and splendour of the wearer (4.10.7). The amulet of *darbha* is a divine armour killing enemies and rivals (19.29.1). The amulet of three metals is tied after offering ghee in the fire, for protecting the life (19.27.5).

(c) Protection at night: The fear of devils, demons and *piśācas* is more acutely felt at night. So Rātri (Night) is urged to protect one from demons, mischief-maker, evil plotter, thief and witchcraft-maker (19.47.6-8). The deity is won over by informing her that, the priest knows her name. So he says, "I know your name is Ghṛtaci. Bhārdvāja knows you by that name (19.48.6)". Snakes are also chased away by means of this charm for the Night (19.47.7).

(7) The rites for expiation and release from distress and misfortune:

(a) In the expiatory rites, pacificatory waters are prepared and sprinkled on the body of a person, who desires to get rid of calamity. The hymn 11.6 is addressed to the whole of the pantheon of deities for securing deliverance from calamity. The water is charmed with the recitation of this hymn and is called *śāntiyudaka* (Kauśika 9.2-4). A clear and fairly complete presentation of all pantheon on the plane of the YV and Brāhmaṇas is made here to serve the purpose of magic.²⁰ The gods invoked are the following: Agni, Trees, Plants, Herbs, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Mitra, Viṣṇu, Bhaga, Aṁsa, Vivasvat, Savitr, Dhātṛ, Pūṣan, Taṣṭṛ, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, Aśvins, Brahmanaspati, Aryaman, Day, Night, Candramas, Ādityas, Vāta, Parjanya, Antarikṣa, Diś, Uṣas, Soma, the animals on the earth and heaven, the wild beasts of the forest, the winged birds, Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Rudra, the Heaven, the Stars, Earth, Mountains, Seas, Rivers, Lakes, Yakṣas, Ṛṣis, Prajāpati, Divine waters, Pitṛs with Yama, the gods dwelling in the heaven, atmosphere, earth, in four directions and those who hold agreement and promote the Ṛta with their wives, Vasus, the Divine Āthar-

20. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 628.

vaṇas, the wise Āngirasas, Darbha, Hemp, Barley, Niggards, Demons, Serpents, pious men, one hundred and one Mṛtyus, Seasons, sections of the year, half year, years, months and nectar. Thus all deities invoked in the AV are invoked to make the waters capable of relieving the distress of a person (11.6.1-23).

(b) Expiatory rites for release from the evil or sin: The magical potency of the priest (*brahman*) enables him to remove the heinous crimes, caused by the spirit, Grāhī. She possesses a man with the sin of Trita, on whom the gods bestowed it (6.113.1).²¹ Trita deposited the sin in twelve sinful persons. Originally the sin was caused by besmearing the hands with oblations. The sin is asked to go to the rays, smoke, vapours, fog or foam of the river (6.113.2-3). One of these twelve sinful persons is *parivetr* the younger brother marrying before the elder. Another is *bhrūṇahan*, one who kills foetus (6.113.2). To come out of this great sin, the younger and elder brother involved in the reversion of the order of seniority in marriage, sit on the bank of a river. The priest washes their feet. He ties both of them with the fetters of *muñja* grass. They are then released in the foam of the river. Then he sprinkles water over them (Kausika 46.26-29). The main purpose of this rite is to relieve the sinful persons of their offences. The priest while sprinkling the water on their heads urges that the elder brother would not die and is thus protected from being completely destroyed. The elder brother suffers death, being bound limb by limb by the ties of Grāhī along with his father, mother, and sons. This sin is then discarded on *bhrūṇahan* (6.112.1-3). According to FRAZER,²² these are the devices to which the cunning and selfish resort for the sake of easing himself at the expense of his neighbours, animals, or any other object. FRAZER has quoted the examples of many savage people including this case of *parivetr*. It is to be noted that the Vedic Aryans, expiating the sin were not savages, though this practice may be still more ancient. In this practice of expiation, the sin is supposed to have been incurred by the unlawful act of the younger brother, marrying before the elder. Both these brothers inherit thus the sin of Trita. They do not destroy the sin by this expiatory rite, but throw it away on the foam of the waters, which carries it elsewhere. Thus the total amount of the sin is constant. The fetters of *muñja* grass are symbolical of those of Grāhī. The sin is also asked to be thrown on another sinner, *bhrūṇahan* (6.112.3)

21. TB 3.2.8.9-12.

22. The Golden Boughs pt. VI, pp. 2-3.

Just like Grābī, there is another evil spirit, viz., Nirṛti, who fetters the persons, on all sides and causes evil dreaming and distress. Such persons are then denied of the world of the pious after their death. So they are to be released from those fetters. Distress and evil dreaming are the sure signs of the fetters of Nirṛti. The person also feels that he is tied down by wood, earth, rope or spell. The offerings made in the household fire relieve him of the distress. The Vicṛta stars bestow nectar on him. He, then, goes to the heaven after death. The sin detains the person on the earth. The expiation rite makes him free. The speech of the priest (spell), offerings in Agni and sprinkling charmed water are the means of expiation. The symbolical practices also are made. The fetters of leather, iron or other metal are made and are charmed with the hymn (6.121) and are thrown away.

The sin is also caused by the swearing, wrath of Varuṇa and Yama and offence against the gods (*devakilbiṣa*). The waters of the seven rivers are competent to flow off the distress caused by these sins. Obviously the sinful person is bathed in or sprinkled over with these waters (7.112.1-2; Kausika 32.3, 78.10).

The hymns of Mṛgāra (4.23-29) contain charms for removing the distress or sin (*añhas*). They are addressed to Agni, Indra, Vāyu, Savitr, Dyāvāpṛthivī, Maruts, Bhavaśarva, Mitra and Varuṇa. With these hymns water is charged with the magical qualities to remove *añhas*. It also acts as the sovereign remedy against all diseases (Kausika 9.1.27.34). TS 7.5.21.1 refers to the ten offerings to Agni in the rite called *mṛgāreṣṭi*. In the hymn (4.23) expiatory sacrifice is referred to. Agni is enkindled to carry oblations of food (*anna*) in the sacrifices (*yajña*, 4.23.1-3). The hymn 4.24 points out that a sacrifice offered by the seven priests belongs to him (4.24.3). The seven priests (*sapta hotṛs*) are *hotṛ*, *potṛ*, *maitrāvaruṇa*, *brahmaṇacchaṁsi*, *neṣṭṛ*, *acchāvāka* and *āgnīdhra*. It thus suggests that such a sacrifice is to be offered to Indra to remove *añhas*. Kausika (26.1, 288) also prescribes that seven pieces of *kāmpala* tree are sprinkled with water with the recitation of each ṛc of 4.28 and that water is to be sprinkled on the person. Thus the makers of witchcraft, those who treat with herbs magically and the demonical creatures are hurled with a thunderbolt by Rudra (4.28.5).

Thus the sin is caused by the magical practices of the witchcraft-makers and medicine men and also by one's own deeds. It burns

him and leads him further into the sin due to his deeds and not due to the fate (*pauruṣeyāt na daivāt* 4.26.7).

A person is aware that he commits sins knowingly or unknowingly while sleeping, walking, in the past as well as in future. He feels that the invisible snares of sin have bound him to a post from which he seeks release and to become purified, like ghee purified by a strainer, by the help of the gods, who are urged by a spell (6.115). The sin is also caused by an injury inflicted against the mid-air, earth, father and mother by a person. He invokes the householder's fire to expiate his sins and to lead him to the world of the pious. He feels that he should join with his departed relations and pious friends in the heaven, where they live in joy, leaving aside all diseases of their bodies and limbs, lameness and deformity. On account of the sin, he committed, he would be prevented from going to the heaven. Hence he practises the expiatory rites (6.120.1-3).

Another state, which prevents his entry in the heaven, is the inability of a person to pay off the debt he owes to the creditor. According to Keśava (46.36), to redeem oneself of the debt of the dead creditor, one should pay to his successor with the recitation of the hymns 6.117-119. According to Sāyaṇa the debt should be thrown on the cremation ground of the creditor after his death or should be heated in the fire and thrown at the cross-roads. The hymn 6.117 refers to the sacrifice to Agni for expiating from the sin, caused by not returning the corn which one has borrowed, but not returned. When he offers it in Agni, he becomes guiltless, free from fetters on all paths travelled by the gods and Pitṛs and redeems himself from the debt (6.117.1-3). Just like the debt in corn, one may also incur debt at the gambling table. If he could not pay it off in his life, he is afraid that the creditor would come in the realm of Yama with a rope in his hands to tie him. He therefore, urges the Apsarasas such as Ugrampaṣyā, Ugrajitā and Rāṣṭrabhṛt to release him from the sin. He also urges that the creditors, their wives or rich-men should not utter a word for the debt he owes to them. The Apsarasas preside over the dice (6.118.1-3). Also any debt incurred outside the gambling house which he could not pay, is asked to be redeemed, so that he would get the mature fruit of the heaven without any deductions (6.119.1-3).

The sin is also caused by the defilement caused by a crow. If a crow (black bird) touches, strokes down with its mouth any person,

he becomes soiled and impure. This is a sinful state. So he urges that Nirṛti should release him from that sin (7.64.1-2).

The food, which one eats daily involves sin, which the agriculturist commits against Yama and which is transferred to him. This type of sin comes to a man from his father, mother, brother, or son or due to his thoughts even. So he offers oblations to Yama to remove his sins and make his daily food sacrificial and rich in sweetness (6.116.1-3).

The sin is also committed by the persons who commit errors in the performance of a sacrifice. The priests, participating in the Soma drink sometimes do not prosper. The fires become distressed for them. The fees are not paid to them by the institutor of sacrifice. So an offering is made to Viśvakarman for rectifying the errors in the sacrifice (2.35.1). Also the Yajamāna (sacrificer) becomes sinful, like his children due to the defects in the sacrifice. The Yajamāna, it seems, offered Soma to the persons, who were not authorised to drink it. Hence the defect arose and caused the sin. The priest again offers Soma in the sacrifice. He says, 'I, the eye, beginning and mouth of Yajña, offer this sacrifice, with my speech, mind and ear to Viśvakarman (2.25.5)'. Kausika (38.22) employs this hymn (2.25), for charming the food before eating in the midst of the assembly to avert their sight. Keśava (on Kausika *ibid*), thinks its use to be for preventing the rain. WHITNEY thinks that Keśava's text is too corrupt to distinguish between *dr* and *vr* in the words *vr̥ṣṭinivāraṇa*. Sāyaṇa employs the *rc* 2.25.4 in this rite for averting the eye-sight. His interpretation is forced. He takes the word *ṛṣayaḥ* (2.35.4) to mean eyes, which are mentioned to be formidable. They are the eyes and the truth of the mind. By itself, the *rc* refers to the horrible sages, who are to be saluted. This interpretation fits in the general sense of the hymn which gives expression to the power of the priests.

At another place we get an instance, where the priests failed to perform the due procedure of a sacrifice. They committed mistakes in offering the fat of the animal (*meda*) and in offering ghee with ladle. Thus they failed in their desire to benefit the sacrificer. These priests, who styled themselves as the gods (*deva*), thus, committed deeds which roused the gods. Ādityas are asked to relieve them of this sin (6.114, 1-3).

Sometimes the priests forget the proper order of the rites or instructions from their superior priests. So they commit sin by doing wrong deeds. Agni is urged to protect them from the evil consequences of those blunders (7.106.1; Kausika 46.24, 6.2).

In daily behaviour also one commits sin. If one urinates standing, he commits sin. But if through sheer physical urge, he is required to urinate standing, he pays homage to the heaven, earth and death to overcome the sin (7.102, Kausika 52.15).

A student of the *brahman* sleeping after sunrise commits sin. He is to be awakened while reciting the hymn (7.16), which invokes Brhaspati and Savitr to increase and enlighten him to great fortune. They should make him more sharp in his intelligence.

Similarly in violating the vow of celibacy, one commits sin. The expiatory rite consists of tying *darbha* as a rope and offering rice and barley in the fire (Kausika 46.19; 52.3; 46.19). Thus the tie of Nirṛti is cut. He gains splendour, strength and life. He is then allowed to eat sweet food. The Atharvanic priests believed that the sin, thus removed, must go elsewhere though not destroyed, because the total amount of the sin is constant. So they urge Nirṛti to tie another man with iron fetters or wooden logs, thus she should release their client.

It will be noticed that the AV contains a number of expiatory rites, which formed a regular portion of the Dharmasūtras and Smṛtis, which contains the treatment of *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta* (expiation). We get herein the idea of the sin and its expiation, with a view to securing a place in the realm of Yama along with other pious men. As FRAZER²³ has shown, this idea of expiation of sin is ancient and the people for all times attempted to throw off their sins. It is to be noted that the Atharvanic priests urged both the divine and demonic agencies to remove the sin. According to FRAZER²⁴ a religious rite contains an offering to the spiritual powers and the words that accompany the act are prayers; while in a magical ceremony the case is reverse. The offerings are made to the demons and the words form a magical formula. But the AV is a peculiar blending of the religion and magic, where the charms are addressed to both and offerings are also made to both.

23. *ibid.*

24. *ibid.*, p. 9.

(8) The rites for removing the evil effects of bad dreams :

Visualising bad dreams in sleep is a condition of mental delinquency. It is the sin of mind. It is to be thrown over to one's enemies. It is an offence against the gods. It occurs to a person on account of his misfortune, bad deeds, wrongs committed, imprecations, calumny and false speech, and acts, while awake or sleeping. The person having such dreams urges the wise Angiras to protect him from the evil consequences of bad dreams ; for, he utters in dream, the things which should not be uttered. So he says to the bad dream, " I do not love you. Go to the trees and forest. My mind is in my house and cows (6.45.1-3)." The bad dream is poisonous (19.56.6). To remove its bad effects, he praises Svapna (sleep or dream). He knows his name, which is Araru. He is the immortal embryo of the gods, neither alive, nor dead. Varuṇānī is his mother. Yama is his father and is the son of the Divine Woman. He is Antaka (one who puts an end). The bad dream is to be given to an enemy as one pays off his debt to the creditor (4.46.1-3) and also to the hater, to the offender and to a godless man, (19.57.1-3).

Sometimes one eats in dream which is not found in the morning. The food is expected to be propitious to the person having the dream (7.101.1). The evil or bad dream brings about ill luck and therefore it must be averted. The remedy for this is to make the *brahman* (the Atharvagic magic), his inner defence (7.100.1). For eating the food in dream, he recites the hymn 1.101. Kauśika (46.9.10) prescribes that after getting up, he should turn to the other side and should look at the real food. Also he should wash his face, while reciting the hymn 6.45. If he sees a horrible dream, he prepares two cakes of barley, rice, wheat and mixed grains. One of them he offers in the fire and the other he keeps in the direction of the enemy. Thus the evil effect is averted. The main idea in this rite is to dispatch dream to the enemy to get oneself free from it (Kauśika, *ibid*).

(9) The rites for securing success in gambling :

Gambling with dice formed one of the popular means of entertainment in the Aryan society. The RV contains a hymn (10.34) describing the passion one has for gambling. The AV treats the magical side of the game. The Apsarasas preside over the dice. So the gambler invokes them who are always successful, skillful in gambling and who win the game of dice. The die

is termed as *glaha* and *kṛta* is the highest throw (4.38.1). These Apsarasas sweep and heap the stakes while playing the game. They collect dice on the board and then scatter them on it. They dance about dice. They take *kṛta* die when they desire to win *kṛta* for the gambler, on account of the power of the magic (4.30.2-3). Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (41.10-13) prescribe the *ṛcs* 4.38.1-4 for digging a pit in the gambling house by the gambler, on the *pūrvāṣāḍhā* lunar mansion. Under *uttarāṣāḍhā*, he fills the pit. Then he makes the floor of the gambling house even. Then he throws dice when they are dipped in ghee and honey for three nights from the 13th day of the month. On this floor the designs are marked to represent the gambling board. Homage is also paid to the twany god of gambling (Babhrū), who is formidable and self-controller among the dice. According to Sāyaṇa, *kali* is the fifth die, which when turned, brings defeat. Hence it is pacified with ghee (7.109.1). The Apsaras controls the *kṛta* (4.38.1-3), while in the *ṛc* 7.109.1 the *kali* is appeased, being most disastrous. Thus *kali* does not represent the winning throw. MACDONELL and KEITH,²⁵ however, consider that it is a winning throw. The ghee is offered in the sacrifice to please Agni, who is urged to smear the hands of the gambler with ghee and make the rival gambler (*kṛta*) subject to him. The offering of ghee is made to her, so that she may enjoy it, while she is moving between the sun and the place of oblation (7.109.2-3). The dice are also offered the oblation of ghee. They have been named as *saṁvasas*. The utterance of the name of the deity brings control over her according to the technique of magic (7.109.6).

In another charm for winning *kṛta* (7.50) the gambler expects to catch forcibly the fortune of the rival gambler in his hands (7.50.1-2). He hopes to pluck the marked (*saṁlīkṣita*) and obstructed (*saṁrud*) dice, along with the *kṛta*, even as he wins the chariot race. His contention is that he is gambling for the sake of the gods; hence they must bestow wealth on him (7.50.3-6). However, his intention is to win the cattle and corn like barley to overcome poverty and hunger. By means of his cunning devices (*vṛjanibhiḥ*), he aspires to be the foremost of the kings (*rājasa*) or Kṣatriyas (7.50.7). It thus seems that the kings or Kṣatriyas sponsored this game. This is supported by the fact that the dice are called *rāṣṭrabhṛt* supporting the kingdom (7.109.6). Equipped with the magical power by means of the offering of ghee to Agni, Apsarasas with Gandharvas, Babhrū and Dice anointing them with ghee, water and

dust, the gambler feels confident that he has *kṛta* (winning die) in his right hand and victory in his left to conquer the cows, horses, wealth and gold (7.50.8).

While gambling, one may borrow money for staking. It is supposed to be sinful not to return the debt thus incurred. The gambler cannot then go to the heaven being in debt, or if he goes his creditor comes with him in the heaven with ropes tied round him. He, therefore, performs an expiatory rite to be rid of this sin, as has been already discussed.²⁶

(10) The rites for winning the public assembly and physical charms :

In the *Sabhā* or *Samiti*,²⁷ where public speeches are made, it is the ambition of a promising young man to influence it by means of his oration. He feels that his opponents must be smashed by his eloquence. So according to *Sāyaṇa* and *Kauśika* (38.18-21) he enters the assembly hall from the north-east direction, chewing the roots of the *pāṭā* plant, which are duly charmed with the hymn 2.27. Similarly he speaks to the opponent while eating the root of *pāṭā*, ties an amulet of the plant and holds on his head a garland of the seven leaves of that plant. *Indra* and *Rudra* are urged to conquer the opponents in the debate for him. *Indra* himself ate this plant to overthrow the *Asuras* (2.27.1-7). This charm is thus definitely intended for securing success over the opponents in the debate (*pratiprās*); but all previous interpreters consider this as a charm against the robbers of food,²⁸ which does not appear to be likely. For producing the enchanting effect on the others by his sweet words a person chews the *madhu* herb (1.3.). Sometimes one cannot openly challenge an opponent, who is in the bad habit of backbiting. The hymn 5.15 acts as a charm to hold the tongue of such backbiters, according to *Keśava* (on *Kauśika* 19.1, 29.15). In this rite the leaves or chops of the *khaluparni* tree are pounded with honey and mixed with barley grains (*saklu*). He eats the mixture to produce the desirable effect. The leaves or chops of the tree are sweet and make him sweet (5.15.1). He expects to overcome hundred thousand *apavakṛts* (backbiters, 5.15 1-12). *Kauśika* (*ibid*) employs the hymn 5.16 for removing the bad speakers. He says, "If

26. *Supra*, p. 137.

27. *Supra*, p. 75.

28. *BLOOMFIELD, op.cit.*, p. 305.

"If you consider yourself to be the sole master, get away. You are sapless (5.16.1)." Thus he recites the formula changing the word for 'one' up to eleven (5.16.2-11). In such magic formulas we notice another aspect of the technique of magic. The repetition of certain words leads to emphasis. Also the mention of name or number of the opponent makes the charm more effective. Kausika (*ibid*) also employs this hymn for curing the diseases of cattle. He mentions that water with or without salt is given to them for drinking.

Kausika (46.1) also prescribes a rite for preventing the public censure against one, who has not really committed sin. He is given cooked rice or stirred drink of water and barley. He ties an amulet of a hammer or a miniature hammer of *palāśa* wood. Or he ties an amulet of iron, steel or gold. The hammer signifies the striking power produced in the man, for challenging and hammering his opponents. The hymn 7.43, which is employed for this purpose, refers to some speeches which are propitious, while some others which are not, but he is asked to bear all of them with propitious mind (7.43.1). Thus the charm advises the person to bear praise and slander equally.

There is also a similar charm to win popularity. A man practising it, hopes to be dear to the gods, kings, everything that sees and to Sūdra and Arya (19.62).

The aim of the Atharvāṇic practices being the enjoyment of this life to the full and thus making it successful, they never neglect the conditions, which according to them are necessary to acquire it.²⁹ A body, free from diseases, healthy and strong heart and intelligence are essentially required for this purpose. So there is the charm to secure speech in mouth, breath in nostrils, hearing in ears, hair not gray, teeth not broken, strength in arms and thighs, speed in shanks and firm standing in feet. All possessions should be uninjured and soul not fallen down (19.60). Thus the healthy body complete in all limbs, strong and active is the means of securing most of the human aspirations. The Atharvāṇic charms help to realise his aspirations and ambitions in this and the next world.

(11) Against ill-omens :

(a) Lightning causes misfortune. Hence according to Kausika (38.8-9) to prevent the fall of lightning, one stands in the front of

29. See p. 49.

it and burns in his house or field, *soma*, *darbha*, *kuṣṭha* etc. The way to escape from the ill omen of the fall of lightning is, like sin, to throw it on others such as an impious or godless men (1.13.1).

(b) The pigeons are ill-omen. According to Kausika (46,7) the hymns 6.27-29 are used in a pacificatory rite, when a pigeon or owl enters the house, causing misfortune. For, the priest considers that the gods have sent the pigeon as the messenger of Nirṛti, the goddess of destruction (6.27.1). It is a winged missile (6.27.3). Offering is made to Agni to pacify it, to keep the house unharmed and to keep the cows safe (6.27.2-3). Thus the offerings are made with the recitation of the *ṛc* 6.28.1. The pigeon entering the kitchen and touching the food is indicative of death (6.28.2-3).

(c) Owl: Like pigeon, owl is also messenger of Nirṛti (death) when it enters the house and kitchen. It is asked to go elsewhere (6.29.1).

(d) Similarly to have evil marks of the body is inauspicious. Kausika (18.16-18) prescribes the use of the hymn, 7.115 in this rite, when a hook with *puroḍāśa* is fastened to the left leg of a crow and is allowed to go and not to return. Also the man puts on a blue garment, covering with a red one and puts on white cloth as a turban. He throws down the turban in the water. The crow is the symbol of ill-luck. In this rite it symbolises the departure of the misfortune clinging to the hook. The same symbolism is in throwing off the turban. The water carries the misfortune, which envelopes the body along with the garments which cover it. The hook of iron is mentioned in the *ṛc* 7.115.1. The remedy for removing the evil marks is that they are asked to go away elsewhere, clinging to the iron hook. The priest practising this rite tells Savitr that the body of that man had hundred of such foul marks and that he should make them disappear (7.115.2-3).

(12) The charms for securing long life :

As has been said above,³⁰ the Atharvanic ideology aims at securing full enjoyment of life for the period of hundred years and becoming free from all diseases, distress, sin and hostile witchcraft, which shorten the life of a person. In order to attain this ideal, the AV prescribes the medicinal and expiatory rites, which have been described before. But in some cases the attainment of long

30. *Supra* p. 49.

life and prosperity is not a case for medical treatment. It is purely magical, as we find in the use of the medium, such as amulets, beads etc., which are charmed with the recitation of the hymns of the AV.

(a) The amulet of gold is the first born force of the gods, capable of overcoming the demons and evil spirits. It contains in itself the lustre of waters, brilliancy, vigour, strength and heroic power of the forest trees. It is tied for securing long life of hundred years and for splendour (1.35.1-3). The priest claims to have filled the wearer with the years, months, seasons and the milk of the years (1.35.4). The priest also quotes an example of Śātānika Sātrājita, whose life was prolonged by the amulet tied on him by Dākṣāyaṇas (1.35.1).³¹ At another place (19.26), the purpose of putting on gold amulet is mentioned. It secures for the wearer the lustre of the sun, which is stored in the gold. Thus the priests assure the wearer that he, who wears gold, dies only of old age. The person shines like gold among the people. Thus the lustre and long life are secured by the wearer, as he receives the energy from the sun through gold (19.26.1-4).

(b) Darbha: The Atharvaṇic priest says to the Darbha amulet, "You are powerful. I am powerful. Becoming powerful, both of us shall overpower our rivals (19.32.5)." He ties it on a person for securing long life. The messengers of Mṛtyu (Death) do not pluck his hair, nor give blows on his chest (19.32.1-2, 33.4). Thus securing long life, the wearer becomes dear to Brahman, Rājanya, Śūdra and Ārya (19.3.28).

(c) The waters are urged to make one live for the whole course of life (19.69.1-4). The priest considers that since Indra, Sūrya and the gods live long, the person uttering the spell should also live for the full extent of life (19.70.1). The prayer of the Atharvavedins is, "May we see, live, wake up, ascend, prosper, exist and adorn for more than hundred autumns (19.66.1-8)." The full length of life is to be attained with one's own body intact (19.61.1). Sāyaṇa and Kauṣika (24.8) prescribe that rice and barley grains should be cooked in ordinary water and eaten for securing long life, progeny and wealth (7.33.1).

(13) The charms about the house:

(a) The Atharvaṇic spells prominently deal with domestic

31. AB 8. 21.

life and comforts. Their aim is to enable every person to lead a happy and long life in one's own house with the abundance of grains, cattle and progeny. To an Atharvavedin, the house is a living object, capable of appreciating the feelings of its master.

(b) The rites for the construction of a new house: Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (8.23, 43.8-11) employ the hymn 3.12 to sanctify the place on which a new house is to be built. The ground is to be ploughed with a plough. With this hymn, the central pole, to be fixed up in a hole is to be charmed. The building material is then brought. The actual work of the erection is then commenced. With the *ṛcs* 3.12 1-2 the ground is made firm. The master of the house says, "I fix here the firm house, standing on a good foundation, sprinkling with ghee (3.12.1)." He also prays that he should have heroic children, free from diseases (*ibid*). It should stand firmly with the horses and cows and be resounding with the charming babbling of children. It should thus elevate him to great happiness (3.12.2). The house has a broad roof. It supports the master and contains the abundance of grains, which becomes soiled only due to excess. A cowstall is constructed near it. The young son of the master goes after the cows to the pasture in the morning and returns to his home in the evening with cows and calves (3.12.3). Indra, Savitr etc., erect the house, by means of the pillars. Maruts sprinkle it with water and ghee. Bhaga, the king, tills the ground to remove grass from it (3.12.4). The house thus becomes a kind goddess, the wife of Vāstoṣpati. It has the enclosure of grass. It is clad in grass. Then the cross beams of bamboo are fixed. The bamboo (*vaiśā*) ascends to the pole according to *ṛta*. Shining there, it wards off the enemies and grief (3.12.6). Thus the thatch, walls and stalls are completed with grass, bamboo and wooden poles. A young son of the master, with calves and other domestic animals enters the new house. Vessels full of honey and curds are brought there. Then the wife of the master enters the house with a jar full of water. She is asked to carry the jar full of ghee mixed with nectar. She is then asked to distribute the nectar to the people gathered. The sacrifices and other gifts protect the house (3.12.8). The master of the house enters the new house with a jar of water which is free from disease and which kills diseases and with the immortal Agni (3.12.9). According to Kauśika (42.12-15) the ceremony comes to an end by sprinkling the water, offering oblations of ghee to Vāstoṣpati, feeding the Brāhmaṇas and receiving their blessings.

(c) The sacrifice offered in new house: In the new house the master offers ghee mixed with honey for securing prosperity. According to Kauśika (23.1), the hymn 5.26 is employed to accompany the offerings. In this hymn, various deities are invoked to make the master prosperous. The offerings are made to these deities. Agni brings and employs the *yajus*³² (prose formulas) and fuel (*samidhs*, 5.26.1). Indra joins the sacrifice with songs and enjoys himself. The wife of the sacrificer urges the *praiṣas* (directives) and *nivids* (prose formulas) to come to the sacrifice. Maruts bring *chandas* (metres). Aditi comes with the sacred grass and broom (*barhi* and *prokṣaṇi*). Also Viṣṇu, Tvaṣṭṛ, Bhaga, Soma, Indra, Aśvins and Bṛhaspati come respectively with penance, form, blessings, milk, virile power, *vaṣaṭ* and the *brahman*. This sacrifice is able to secure the heaven (*sva*) for the sacrificer (5. 26. 1-3).

(d) The rite for purifying the floor of the new house: According to Kauśika (43.3), cooked rice is offered to Syena (falcon) for this purpose, with the recitation of the hymn 7.41. The hymn urges Syena to penetrate beyond the waste lands and across the waters (7.41.1). Syena is obviously the sun.

(e) The rites for abundance and prosperity in the house: The amulet of *udumbara* tree is tied to secure the prosperity of the cows (19.31.1-2). The master of the house hopes to secure the abundance of manure out of cowdung, fruits, food, drink, bipeds and quadrupeds (19.31.3-4). By means of the powers, contained in the amulet, he hopes to get the riches, milk, and grain and to remove niggard, misery and hunger (19.31.10-11). The hymn 6.79 is a charm for securing the abundance of grains at home according to Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (21.7). In this rite a stone is sprinkled with water and kept on the store of grain. Three handfuls of corn are poured on it with each *ṛc* of the hymn. The stone is the symbol of fixity. In the hymn the lord of the cloud (Nabhaspati) is urged to preserve, to protect and to strengthen the grain in the house (6.79.1-2). The god of prosperity bestows a thousandfold prosperity (6.79.3).

(f) The rites for the protection of the house: For securing the defence of the house in all quarters, according to Kauśika (49.7-9, 51.14), six pieces of stones are to be charmed with ghee while the hymn 5.10 is recited. Four stones are to be buried in the four

32. The offerings made to the Yajus, suggest that the AV is not antagonistic to them. They supplant the AV.

corners of the house. One is to be kept under the centre and one on the top. The stone becomes a weapon of assault. The stone is addressed as *aśmavarman* (stone armour), which assails any one who attacks the master of the house from the six directions (5.10,1-7).

In spite of the precautions, sometimes the fire may break out in the house. The hymn 6.135 contains a charm to quench the fire. It seems that there was preserved a pond, pool or ditch containing water in the house. The *durvā* grass grows there. Lotuses grow in it. The pond becomes the gathering place of the waters. In the midst of the pond, the house is situated; so that the fire can be easily extinguished. The pond and the vegetation round it keep the house cool and minimise the danger of fire (6.106.1-3). Kausika (52.5-9) employs this hymn for extinguishing fire, appeasing mental fire and reducing the pain caused by burning. For extinguishing fire, water is taken in a ditch dug in the house. Moss is used to cover the house. The hymn (*ibid*) only refers to such fire, and the remedy mentioned therein is digging a pond round about. Metaphorically the fire, may be due to agitation of the mind caused by a curse. The remedy given by Kausika is that hot beans (*māṣas*) are soaked in oil and given for eating. The hymn does not refer to such fire. Similarly a person, who is burnt by fire, is washed with water charmed, with the recitation of this hymn, which may have soothing effect. On the whole, the hymn is suitably useful for a charm against fire. Similarly, the house is to be kept free from diseases. Hence, the hymn 7.42, refers to the removal of all diseases, sin and perdition that have entered in the household. The householder hopes to arm himself with all medicines (7.42.1-2).

(g) On returning home from journey, the householder asks the house which is personified, to be quiet and not to be afraid of him. He comes to it with friendly eyes, willingly greeting it (7.60.1). He hopes that it should recognise him when he returns (7.60.2). He is thinking of it, while on journey (7.60.3). He prays that it should be full of wealth, companions, enjoyments and be devoid of hunger and thirst. He also prays that there should be abundance of cows, goats, sheep, sweet drink and food (7.60.4-6). According to Kausika (24.11), the householder coming from journey, on seeing his house, takes the sacred fuel in his hand, while muttering this hymn. When he comes near the house, he takes the fuel in his left hand and with the right hand touches the grass on the thatch, recites the six *ṛcs* 7.60.1-6, and enters

the house and deposits the fuel on the fire. The general import of the hymn agrees with the practices of Kauśika.

(h) A rite for finding out the lost property in the house : Pūṣan is urged to bring back what is lost, and the owner should be united with it (7.9.4). According to Kauśika (52.12), the hymn (7.9) is a charm to discover the lost things. The seekers wash their hands and feet. Twenty-one pebbles of sand are scattered on cross-roads. BLOOMFIELD³³ mentions this as an example of *attractio similitum*. The pebbles symbolise lost objects and at the same time counteract on their lost state and expose them to their owner.

(i) The rites for securing harmony among the members of the house : An amulet of *darbha* grass is worn on the body to appease anger and to remove harshness from the jaws and mind. Thus the angry man loses his anger and becomes easily controlled and of one mind (6.43.1-3; Kauśika 36.32). There are many charms which are called *sānmanasyas* i. e. those which cause harmony. It is absolutely necessary for the happy home to have all members of it, of one mind and perfect accord. Then only the life in the house becomes comfortable. As has been already described³⁴ with regard to the harmonious relations between the husband and wife, the rites to bring about harmony in the different members of the family aim at making the minds, acts, designs and behaviour of the contending members, come together, so that they will have the same mind, thoughts and hearts as the master of the house (6.94.1-2). They are compelled to agree with him (6.74.2). Then their counsel, assembly, course of action and thought become one (6.64.2). In this rite the offerings of ghee are made in the fire. The offering is called *samānahaviḥ* (6.64.2), the offering for concord. In this manner, with the offerings of ghee, the fire of agitation in their hearts is quenched and their different plans are smashed. The members of the clan, like those of a family take delight in their leader (6.73.2).³⁵ Another offering is called *dhruva haviḥ*, an offering for fixity by means of which harmony is sought to be established among different people (7.94). Kauśika (42.6) prescribes a rite to bring about friendly relations with the guests. According to him the guests should be made to ride a vehicle of

33. *Ibid.*, p. 542.

34. *Supra*, p. 50.

35. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

horse or elephant and should be brought to one's home. The cooked rice or water mixed with barley should be given to them for drinking (7.44).

(14) The AV and the Gṛhya rites:

Many of the rites in this and the previous section, form the Gṛhya rites of the Gṛhyasūtras. Though these rites in the AV are not presented in a systematic form, they contain the matter and manner of the Gṛhya ritual. In all these practices the homeopathic and other forms of magic are at the basis. The different *samskāras*, the rites regarding house and the expiation rites, form an integral portion of the Gṛhyasūtras.³⁶ OLDENBERG³⁷ considers that the AV Sāmhitā may be regarded as the main treasure of the Gṛhya verses. It can be seen from the matter presented here, that the *ṛcs* of the AV are intended for those various practices, in which they are employed and are composed for these very rites only.

36. OLDENBERG, *The Gṛhya Sūtras*, *SPE* XXX, pp. 299-307.

37. *Ibid.*, p. X.

VI

THE WITCHCRAFT IN THE AV

- 1—The purpose of the Atharvaṇic witchcraft.
- 2—The initiation in magical rites.
- 3—The water in magical rites.
- 4—The spell and water in a charm for reviving a person almost dead.
- 5—The fire in magical rites.
- 6—Bharadvāja's charm.
- 7—The flesh-eating fire in magical rites.
- 8—The fire exposes the evil spirits.
- 9—*Yātu*, *Yātudhānu* and *Kṛtyā*,
- 10—*Yātudhānī*.
- 11—To attain supremacy over the enemies by means of the miraculous power of the Atharvaṇic spells.
- 12—Gandharvas and Apsarasas.
- 13—Curses.
- 14—Bad dreams.
- 15—To detect and to punish the sorcerers.

(1) The AV prominently deals with witchcraft, which can be used for good or bad purposes. Similarly sacrifice can be employed for good and bad purposes. Thus witchcraft and sacrifice are the two main weapons of the Atharvaṇic priest. The AV aims at making the human life more happy, comfortable and lasting for the full duration of hundred years. The Atharvaṇic priests employing these two means further the general aim of the AV. In the ordinary course of the things, there would not have been any sin or ill-will in the world, if there were no conflict of human interests. But because there is conflict of human interests, the life is not smooth. Jealousy, ill-will, hatred and craze for dominating others are found among the common masses for all times. Any one, coming in the way of the fulfilment of one's desires becomes his enemy. Any one, who cannot bear the good of others hates them. Thus one creates a number of enemies round about him. Both parties resort to witchcraft or magical sacrifice with a view to destroying other.

Thus the Atharvanic priest or even any individual, taking interest in any party resorts to witchcraft or sacrifice. His professed aim in all these practices is to defend him or his side against the malicious attacks of his opponent, who also resorts to them for his own defence. Thus the primary intention of the witchcraft practices of this nature is self-defence. Here is then the struggle for superiority based on the superiority of the *brahman* (magical potency) of the priest. Whosoever has more potential *brahman*, wins. This is thus the genesis of a number of charms employed against enemies. The enemies are those who practise witchcraft and who hate or rival with him and who do not allow him to enjoy the full length of life. Akin to the human enemies are the demons or demonic creatures. The human enemies are almost the demons as their intention is to assert supremacy over others by the force of magic. Then there are a number of male and female demons, who move about at night with the sole intention of harassing the people. To defend the helpless people against the assault of such demons, the Atharvanic priest comes forth with his witchcraft practices. Thus the self-defence and aspiration for securing supremacy are at the basis of such practices.

In this chapter it is intended to deal with such magical practices and to find out from the text of the AV with the help of the Kausika Sūtra, the theory and practice of such witchcraft.

(2) The initiation in magical rites :

The practice of magic is like any other religious act. The performer of the magic rite is in the same way consecrated. He wears a girdle (*mekhalā*). According to Kausika (47. 14-15) the girdle is to be tied for securing success in the *abhiśūrakarma* (magical rite). The hymn 6.133 is employed for this purpose. The girdle is like a duly offered sacrifice. It then becomes the weapon of seers. It thus partakes of the vow to kill the enemies (6. 133. 2). The practitioner of the rite ties the knot of the girdle. He is enriched with the power of the *brahman*, penance and exertion by means of the girdle. Thus the girdle stands for all these. He is then the student of Mrtyu. He is capable of taking away the life of a person and offer it to Yama, the god of death (6.133.3). He has deep faith in his practices, for the girdle is the daughter of Faith and the sister of the sages, who create beings. It was also tied by them in their extraordinary task of creating the beings. It is expected to bring to him the wisdom, thought, penance and

strength of Indra (6.133.4-5). It will thus be observed that the priest has secured extraordinary power in himself by means of the magical practices (*brahman*), penance and exertion. With that he can kill any one, who is inimical towards him or his client. Thus for killing his rival or enemy he aspires to lead long life (6.133.5).

(3) The water in magical rites :

To kill enemy, the water which is magically charged is employed (10.5). It is called water-thunderbolt (*udavajra*), which is thrown in the direction of the enemy.¹ The waters are firstly enjoined with the strength, force, power, heroism, manliness, power of conquering and *brahman*. Also the powers of Kṣātra, Indra, Soma and waters are associated with them. All creatures stand by the priest in this act. Thus with the *ṛcs*, 10.5.1-6, a jar of brass is washed and taken near the water. Then according to Kausika with these *ṛcs* he puts the jar in water, fills it with it and goes off. He, then, keeps the jar in a hall. This is the water for witchcraft. These waters contain the sperm of waters, portion of Agni, Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Mitra, Yama, Piṭṛ and Savitr. They are called upon to deposit splendour in the priest (10.5.7-14). While reciting this portion of the hymn he divides the water in the jar. Half of it is placed in its receptacle, which is heated on fire. Handfuls of water in the jar are thrown in the direction of the enemy. He releases thereby that portion of the water, which is of the nature of *yaju* formulas, with which the gods are offered sacrifice. They are released against him who hates him and whom he hates, so that they should not hate him back. By means of this *brahman*, which is the missile, the enemy is laid low and killed (10.5.15,21). The waters thus become a secret missile, charged with the magical potency of the priest. The Rgvedic description of the three strides of Viṣṇu is attributed to the waters, magically charged. The priest says, "You are the strides of Viṣṇu, killing rivals. From the earth we disproportion him, who hates us and whom we hate. Let the enemy not live. Let his life-breaths leave him (10.5.25)." The waters are sharpened with the powers of the earth, heaven, sky, quarters, *ṛcs*, sacrifice, herbs, waters and agriculture (10.5.25-35). The water in the receptacle is thrown on the ground. The waters thrown in the direction of the enemy

1. According to WHITNEY (p. 579) water thunderbolt is a big name well befitting the black magic of the hymn for throwing handfuls of water with much *hocus-pocus*. Also see CALAND : *Allindisches Zauber-ritual*, p. 171.

have laid low the enemy. Then the priest turns to the south. He is triumphant. He claims that he has surpassed all fighters and niggards. Thus he can involve the life, splendour, and breath of him of such and such family (*amuṣyāyana*) and the son of such and such mother (*amuṣyāḥ putraḥ*). He makes him fall downwards. By his spell, he is confident to lay low any one whom he hunts and utters the formula containing his name (10.5.36-41). The waters are the missiles which close upon him. They are the divine fuel. In this sacrifice the enemy is offered as an oblation. The thunderbolt of waters (*apām vajra*, 10.5.50) having four points thrust against the enemy, to split his head and to crush all limbs (10.5.50). The priest is enraged on account of the curses hurled against him and harsh speech uttered by the enemy. So the waters, magically charged represent the shaft that is born of the fury of his mind and pierce the enemy (10.5.48) and the false worshippers of the gods (10.5.49). This is thus an instance of the homeopathic magic. The thunderbolt kills the enemies of Indra. The waters charged with the magical qualities and produced on account of the *brahman*, penance, exertion and rage of mind are a thunderbolt. Therefore they must kill his enemies. The steps taken in the direction of enemy are the strides of Viṣṇu. Thus the waters represent the magical power (*brahman*) of the priest.

(4) The spell and water in a charm for reviving a person almost dead :

The water is also used in sprinkling a person, who is to be exempted from disease and death, with the recitation of the hymn 5.30. The hymn refers to the efficiency of the priest in reviving a person, who is dead or is on the point of death. The speech of the priest is the main power behind this magical rite. He says, 'I bind your life (*asu*) here firmly. Do not go away. By speech I speak for your release (*vācā vadāmi te*, 5.30.1-2).' This condition of death has been inflicted on the person, because he was subjected to witchcraft by his own men or by stranger, or he must have hated some one, or he must have cursed some man or woman (5.30.3). Owing to the sin of his father or mother, the witchcraft might have been inflicted on him. As the result of it, he is almost on the death bed. The priest by means of his speech also removes the witchcraft, coming to him due to the sin of his female relatives and brothers (5.30.4-5). He assures the dying man, 'Be not afraid. You shall not die. I have taken out disease from your limbs. By my speech, the fever in your limbs, and heartache are forced to go away (5.30.8-9).' He

then comes to consciousness, out of the profoundly deep darkness. The powers of his different senses return. Agni gives him breath, eye-sight and strength. He is not dying now. Sūrya holds off death by his rays. He keeps *prāṇa* and *apāna* breaths in tact (5.30.14-15). Thus due to the sin of his parents or relatives, or due to his own actions, his enemy works a witchcraft on him. It makes him afflicted with diseases, fever and phthisis. He is on the point of death. But the Atharvanic priest sprinkling water over him (Kauśika 58.3-11), while reciting this hymn brings him to his life and endows him with his former strength. The craving for life in this world and no unnecessary hurry to go to the other world are the main themes of the Atharvanic teaching. The priest says, "This world is dearest to the gods. A man is destined to die by a certain course of death. Till then we invite you here to live up to old age (5.30.17)."

(5) The Fire in magical rites:

Like water, fire is used by the Atharvanic priest in his rites (7.70). The enemy is performing a sacrifice for destroying him. To frustrate and counteract that sacrifice, chaff of rice grains is offered by means of the middle leaf of *palāśa* tree. According to BLOOMFIELD² the offering of chaff is the typical hostile sacrifice, offered to the demons. Ordinary sacrifice is offered to the gods, with ghee, rice etc., which contain substance. The magical sacrifice is offered to the demons with chaff which is devoid of any substance.³ The rival of this man is offering sacrifice of ghee in the fire while reciting the *yaju* texts. This man intends to frustrate the sacrifice of his rival. So he offers sacrifice to Nirṛti accompanied by Mṛtyu, Yātudhānas, Rakṣas to smite the sacrifice, accompanied by the oblations and *yaju* texts and performed by him with his thought and speech, before it takes effect, by means of creating errors and falsehood in its performance. The gods are urged to scatter his ghee intended to be offered in the sacrifice (7.10.1-3). The priest ties his both hands and closes his mouth and with the fury of Agni he destroys the oblation of his enemy (7.70.4-5). Thus this counter sacrifice destroys the sacrifice commenced by his enemy. He cannot utter *yajus*, nor offer ghee in Agni. Thus the sacrifice is destroyed. This is the use of telepathy in magic.

2. SBE 42, 557.

3. AB 2.7.1.

(6) Bharadvāja's charm :

A person is engaged in performing a holy sacrifice. His enemy is performing witchcraft to obstruct his rival's holy work. The person resorts to the Atharvaṇic rites to kill the enemy. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (47,12,14,16,18,25-29) prescribe the hymn 2.12 in this rite for killing the enemy who obstructs the holy work.⁴ The hymn is called as *bharadvājapavraska*, the cleaver attributed to Bharadvāja, a seer in the Āṅgīrasa family and the traditional author of the 6th Maṇḍala of the RV. While reciting this hymn, he cuts a staff of bamboo, to symbolise the cutting of the enemy. Kauśika (47,25-29) describes in detail the magical practices. While reciting this hymn (2.12), he cuts the foot-prints of the enemy, running to the south, with a leaf from *paraśu* tree. He cuts three lines along the length and across the foot prints. He then fixes his mind on the triangles thus made. He ties the dust from the cut foot-prints into a leaf of a *palāśa* tree and throws it in a frying pan. If the dust crackles the enemy is killed.⁵ Bharadvāja, the seer of 2, 12, is himself inflamed on account of the consecration, fasting⁶ etc. So he urges the deities such as the heaven and earth to be inflamed. He urges the holy gods to listen to the hymns sung by himself (2.12,1-2). He hopes that he, who spoils his mind and who becomes his enemy should be bound in fetters and misfortune. With his heart burning he shouts to Indra. He has power and ability to kill the enemy as a tree with an axe (2.12,3). The enemy despises him and abuses his *brahman* being done. His seven *prāṇas* (life breaths) and eight *manvās* (veins at the throat-Sāyaṇa; marrows-BLOOMFIELD) are cut by means of his *brahman*, which is explained by Sāyaṇa as the magical rite accomplished by the recitation of the charm. The hater of his *brahman* is thus surrounded with heat and his limbs are chopped off (2.12,6-7). With the merit derived from the performance of the sacrifices and other secular deeds (*iṣṭāpūrta*) of his Pitṛs, with the thrice eighty singers of the Sāmāns and the Āṅgīrasas, he seizes the enemy with his fateful fervour, i. e. the ferocious energy produced by a deity in the form of *Kṛtyā* which is generated by his magical practices (2.12,4). He holds his enemy in the fire, which is enkindled (2.12,8). Thus in this magical rite

4. WHITNEY on 2, 12 considers that the person is not engaged in a holy sacrifice, but in incantations which are thwarted by the enemy.

5. BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.*, p. 294. He summarises here the history of the interpretation of this hymn. WEBER, *Ind. Stu.* 13, 164 considers that this hymn refers to a fire ordeal. But Kauśika's explanation of the rite seems to be more reliable.

6. Sāyaṇa on 2.12.1.

the fire is enkindled. A branch of a tree (a bamboo-Kausika) is cut by means of an axe. A portion of the dust, which had a contact with the enemy is thrown in the fire. As the result of these acts the limbs of the enemy are cut like a tree. He is burnt. Here we have the instances of the homeopathic and contagious magic.⁷ In the former act the similarity between the acts of cutting a tree and cutting the body is at the basis of the magic; while in the latter the dust which had come in contact with the enemy is treated with magical effects and thus burns the enemy even though it has no connection with the enemy at the time of the rite. Once it was connected with him, so it is believed that for all times it will be connected with him. Thus the dust, which once had the contact of the enemy, when thrown in the fire, burns him ever afterwards.

(7) The flesh-eating fire in the magical rites :

The Kravyād Agni is the fire, which consumes the dead. This fire is magically employed to cause consumption and other diseases and for killing the enemies. Another kind of fire is that which eats raw things. It is an ordinary fire. These two kinds of fire are not fit to be used in sacrifice. The third fire called *havyavāh*, which carries oblations is fit for sacrifice. Kausika (697) employs the hymn 12.2 for preparing the *gārhapatya* or household fire to destroy the flesh eating fire (*kravyād*). This flesh eating fire is the cremation fire. If it is not properly extinguished, it enters the houses and cow stalls and works out destruction of creatures in them. It is to be pacified, as its coming in is an act of witchcraft. This fire is to be offered with lead (*śisa*), beans (*māṣa*) and ghee (*ājya* 12.2.1,4). It is then carried away for performing the sacrifice for the manes (*pitṛyajña*, 12.2.7). All evil in men, horses, cows, goats and sheep is thus wiped off in this fire which is offered with lead, reeds and dark beans. This fire causes headache, which is wiped off on pillows. Thus by wiping off the sin one becomes pure for performing holy acts, laughing and dancing (*nṛti*, *hasa*, 12.2.13,22). If this fire is not removed from the house after the death of his father, the eldest son, who receives double share of his paternal property comes to grief (12. 2. 35). When a woman's husband dies, her husband is affected by Grāhī, the female spirit of destruction. The intelligent Atharvaṇic priest (Brahṁā), is engaged to remove the flesh eating fire (12.2.39). In addition to the offerings of lead, beans, ghee and black ewe, the Kravyād fire

7. FRAZER, *Golden Bough*, part I, Vol. I, p. 52 ff.

is offered with the withered cane, blossoms of sesame, reeds and staff (12,2,54).

(8) The fire exposes the evil spirits :

Agni is used in the Atharvaṇic rites to expose and destroy the flesh-eating demonic creatures. The *piśācas*, demons and evil spirits are chased away by Agni. This is the simple Atharvaṇic sacrifice for witchcraft. In all such *abhičārakarmas* (witchcraft practices) five fore sacrifices (*purastādhomas*) are offered. They are offered to Agni (2,19), Vāyu (2,20), Sūrya (2,21), Candra (2,22) and Apan (2,23). They form the essential pre-requisites of the witchcraft sacrifices. They are also employed in counter witchcraft practices. In these sacrifices these deities are urged to burn against him, who hates the Atharvavedin and whom he hates with all their heat, rages, gleam, burning and brilliancy (2,19-23,1-5). The Atharvaṇic priest is a man of very high self conscious dignity. He has confidence in his own ability to work out witchcraft and remove evil creatures. He takes the help of Agni, who is offered with ghee and particular fuel, while he recites the Atharvaṇic charms. He urges the fire of truthful vigour to burn him who abuses him, who is badly disposed to him, who desires to kill him and who becomes hostile to him (4,36,1). In the jaws of fire are placed by him, those who seek to harm him when he intends to injure them. Thus he overcomes those evil spirits, which haunt his house (*āgara*-battle-field, Sāyaṇa 4,36,3), which shouting go out on the night of the newmoon day and which intend to injure others (4,36,3). The priest says, 'I overcome *piśācas*. I take over their wealth. I kill all evil creatures. May my intention (*ākuti*) be successful (4,36,4).' The priest takes the help of the various gods, who vie with the sun, and who are in the rivers and mountains (4,36,5). He proudly declares that he is the tormentor (*tapana*) of the *piśācas*, who do not rest when they have seen him (4,36,6). The makers of witchcraft are on the same level with the flesh-eating *piśācas*, robbers and hostile creatures. But the Atharvaṇic priest claims himself to be superior to them. He proudly tells, "I am more than match for the *piśācas*, thieves and wanderers of the forest. From that village, which I enter, all *piśācas* vanish. In that village where my fierce power (*ugra sahas*) has entered, all evil spirits run away. The people there do not think of any sin in killing the hostile and demonic creatures. Those who irritate me with their childish talk, like mosquitos the elephant, I regard them as insignificant (4,36,7-9)". This declaration

of the Atharvaṇic priest gives us a fair idea of his activities in the villages, where he found the most suitable ground for his practices and where he prospered. Thus to destroy those demonic creatures, he utilised Atharvaṇic sacrifice for witchcraft. According to Kauśika (48.37) he uses the fuel of the trees struck by lightning, for such magical sacrifice. Agni thus pacified in the magical sacrifice, is urged to send a female demon with teeth, spreading pain, (*datvati arañi*) against the evil hostile being, who assails him while walking, standing, sleeping or waking so that he should have no house to stay, nor progeny to continue (7.108.1-2). Ghee and fuel of *tārṣṭghi* tree are offered in Agni to overcome the *piśūcas*, and to fell down the enclosure of Soma⁸ in the sacrifice of the rivals (5.29.1-3). The *piśūcas* are *kravyāds* (eating raw flesh). They attack his flesh and spirit (*asu*) and thus entering his body, they delude his mind (5.29.5,10). They enter his body, while he eats raw, cooked, riped, unripe food, and also through milk and churned drink (*mantha*), and while eating the grains obtained without cultivation (*akṛṣṭapācyā*, 5.29.6-7). They remain concealed in the drinking water, and in the den of familiar *yātus* (demons, 5.29.8). As the result of this attack of the *piśūcas* through food and drink on the flesh, spirit and mind of the person, he suffers from phthisis, which gradually reduces the flesh from his body. Agni offered with ghee and fuel pierces the eyes, heart, tongue and teeth of the *piśūcas*, who, then becoming helpless, leave his body (5.29.4). The man then becomes exuberent, holy and free from phthisis (5.29.13). The offerings of ghee and fuel of trees burnt in the conflagration fire, in the sacrificial fire are referred to at 6.32.1. They destroy *piśūcas* and demons (6.32.2). According to Kauśika (31.3) in this magical sacrifice a ditch is dug round this sacrificial fire. It is to be filled in with hot water. Cake is to be offered in it, taking thrice round it. According to Kauśika (48.1) in the magical sacrifice, to kill rivals (*sapatnas*), niggards (*arāyas*), *piśūcas* and howling female evil spirits, Sadānvas, the fuel of *aśvaltha*, *kṛkatasa*, *eraṇḍa* (castor oil plant), *śleṣmāntika*, *khadira* and reeds are offered in the fire. The offerings are directed to the undesirable beings with the word '*svāhā*' (2.18.1-5). Along with these undesirable persons, there are the wizards, the *yātudhānas*, who are pierced by Agni, when he is offered with ghee and fuel (1.8.1-4). This Agni is increased by the magical power (*brahman*) of the priest (1.8.4). It may be mentioned here that the priest, while offering ghee, fuel etc. in

8. PPP reads *somāya* for *asya* in Śaunaka at 5.29.3. PPP gives better sense. Hence I have followed it.

the fire, which is charged with the magical superhuman power of the priest (*brahman*), recites the hymns of the AV. In these hymns, the priest deliberately mentions the secret name or ordinary name, the geneology, the name of the father, mother etc., of the opponent whose destruction he aims at. Also he repeats the same name or sentence to bring effectiveness in the charms⁹ (1.2.1).

In practising witchcraft the Atharvaṇic priest employed, water, fire, flesh-eating fire, and fire in which he performed the magical sacrifice. In this sacrifice he invoked, the gods in general and in particular Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Candra and Āpaḥ. He offered the fore-sacrifices. He offered ghee, the fuel of trees burnt in conflagration fire, or of forest trees or of specific trees mentioned by Kauśika. There is not much difference in the outward appearance of the Ṛgvedic or Yajurvedic sacrifices and the Atharvaṇic sacrifices. The difference probably lies in the spirit in which they were performed and for which they were performed. The Atharvaṇic sacrifices were also performed for benevolent purposes. Even in the hostile sacrifices, the purpose is self defence. But the spirit of the sacrificer is different. The priest charges everything in the sacrifice, the fire, the fuel and the oblations with his magical potency (*brahman*), which he has secured by the performance of penance, consecration and exertions. He is confident that the fire and other deities must submit to whatever he says. Thus the spirits, sorcerers and inimical, hostile and demonic creatures, in short whosoever is against him, can be easily removed from this world, only to make him happy and freed from any ailment, sins and diseases. Thus the spiritual power (*brahman*), the Atharvaṇic priests claimed themselves to possess, was employed by them for satisfying the physical needs and attaining secular prosperity, which was their ideal. Rāvaṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa, or any one who desires to employ his spiritual power for fulfilling his secular needs and prosperity, is the successor of the Atharvaṇic priest and his tradition.

(9) Yātu, Yātudhāna and Kṛtyā :

Another most common form of witchcraft is the preparation and employment of *kṛtyā* or *yātu*. SB 10. 5. 2. 20 employs the term *yātu* to mean hostile witchcraft. GRASSMANN¹⁰ points out that in singular the term, *yātu* means ghost, witchcraft a creature possessed by ghost and in plural stands for demon as

9. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 235. Also SHORTER, *Egyptian gods*, p. 99.

10. *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, pp. 1107, 347.

in the *Zend*. According to him the term *kṛitryā* is primarily derived from root *kṛ* to do, which has later on the sense to bewitch.¹¹ It thus seems that *kṛtyā* is a female figure, which executes the task of its maker. Similarly *yātu* is derived from root *yā*, to go and means 'going' and then 'anything, which goes at the instruction of its maker.' It may mean the secret power or spirit made to conceal in any object with a view to bringing about the effect desired by its maker. *Yātudhāna* is clearly the author or maker of such power or spirit, i. e. a sorcerer or witchcraft maker. In the AV, the sorcerer is a demonic creature on par with *Rakṣas*, and other hostile creatures. Thus *Kṛtyā* or *Yātu* is worked out by a sorcerer primarily for the destruction of the other party. The AV treats the working of such *Kṛtyā* and also counter-acting it. It is the struggle between the magical potencies of the sorcerers; for, he who has more such power, can repel or counteract the *Kṛtyā* of the other party. The AV gives very interesting account of the construction and working of *Kṛtyā* or *Yātu*.¹² *Kṛtyā* may be fashioned by men or women or by a *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* (*Rājan*) or *Śūdra* (10.1.3). Like a bride decorated for the marriage procession, she is to be skilfully decorated. She has a head, nose, and ears, and has variety of forms and is adorned with a crest (10.1.2, 15). She has joints. The sorcerers bury her in the sacred grass (*barhis*), field, cremation ground (*śmaśāna*) or in the household fire (10.1.18). She is capable of going to any distant place (10.1.2). She is sometimes sent with charms having her name while giving offerings to the Fathers or while offering oblations in the usual sacrifice (10.1.11). She is thus sent against any person or animal. She attacks the victim and slaughters an innocent person, cow, horse or any creature (10.1.29). She is covered with darkness and cannot be seen (10.1.30). The person suspecting the attack of such *Kṛtyā* performs the great pacificatory rite (*mahāśānti*), wherein the hymn 10.1 is employed by *Kauśika* (39.7-12). According to this rite, the man performing this rite, at night takes off his shoes, puts on a turban and proceeds to the place where she is supposed to have been instituted. He sprinkles holy water as he goes. If she is found there, he counteracts the spell by reciting the hymn, 10.1. By means of a magical plant he destroys the spell, which recoils on its maker, like a wife rejected by her husband (10.1.3-4). The performer of this counter-witchcraft considers *Aṅgīrasa* as his leader and supervisor in repelling it.

11. Also see MAODONELL AND KEITH. *Vedic Index*, pp. 118, 2, 190.

12. For details see N. J. SHENDE, *The foundations* p. 179.

(*praticīna Āṅgīrasa, purohita and adhyakṣa*, 10.1.6). He thinks that he is harmless, therefore Kṛtyā should not trouble him (10.1.7). The magical herb, through the power of his *brahman* and *ṛc* which form the essence of the seers, releases him from the sin against the gods, fathers and of taking her name (10.1.12). The Atharvaṇic priest who directs such rites leads her to him, who has sent her, like a crushing army with heavy chariots, along the roads and crossroads beyond ninety navigable rivers, which are difficult to be crossed (10.1.16). By means of a sword of good steel in the house her joints are loosened. Her neck and feet are cut off, and she is asked to go away to her maker and harass him, but never to return to him (10.1.20, 21, 25, 24). She is asked to kill the progeny of her maker who makes secret spells and directs her against others (10.1.31). Thus the aim of the charms of Āṅgīras is to counteract such Kṛtyās and relieve the victim of the harassment to his life and property. The counter charm brings about the destruction of the maker of the witchcraft and happiness to the victim. The Kṛtyā can be deposited in raw earthen vessel, barley and wheat, raw flesh, cock, goat, crested animal, sheep, one-hoofed animals, animals having two rows of teeth, ass, rootless plant, personal property, field, house, fire in the house, assembly hall, gambling house, army, weapons, arrows, drums, well, cremation ground, human bones, funeral fire, deadly fire and quenched fire (5.31.1-9). One can easily realise the variety of places, where such Kṛtyā can be deposited and worked against. There is no place safe from the witchcraft. But the Atharvaṇic priest assures the victim that those, who prepared the Kṛtyā are fools, since they have to bear the counter-magic of him who is wise and is possessed of superior *brahman* (5.31.10). The attitude of the AV is purely defensive, obliging and working for the benefit, happiness and long life of the people, who follow it. However the Āṅgīrasas also practised the hostile Kṛtyās like the Asuras (*āṅgīrasī* and *āsuri*, 8.5.9), but the AV contains charms for counteracting such Kṛtyās for the benefit of the human beings. In the RV (7.104) the seer, Vasiṣṭha utters a volley of abuses against the demons, who thrive in darkness, who are evil-plotters, and the haters of the Brāhmaṇas and their *brahman*, who eat raw flesh, and who have dreadful eyes. The AV 8.4. is the hymn corresponding to RV 7.104 whose seer is Cātana. He is using his invocations uttered with wisdom. These *brahmans* (magical practices) are expected to crush his reviler, who harms his taste of drink, or horses, cows or body (8.4.1-10). He is enraged because he is called by his opponent that he is a witchcraft maker, when he is not (8.4.16). He gives a valuable

information about the sorcerers and their practices. It is surprising that the seer Vasiṣṭha possesses the knowledge about the witchcraft, even though he considers it as an insult to be associated with it. It is possible that the Vedic seers might be practising witchcraft, though they did not publicly profess it. This appears to be the truth from the number of the seers common to the RV and AV. It is possible that they might have resorted to it as a defensive measure, to protect their sacrifice and property (8.4.18). Cātana (Vasiṣṭha) knows that a female witchcraftmaker goes forth at night like a female owl, hateful and hiding herself away. He invokes Indra to crush with his thunderbolt, the sorcerers who assume the form of a dog, owl, cuckoo, eagle, vulture and harass men and disturb the oblations in the sacrifice (8.4.20-23). Thus the sorcerers were believed to be assuming forms of different creatures going in darkness to harass the opponents. The Atharvaṇic seer urged Indra to kill male and female sorcerers, who move to infatuate others (8.4.24). Thus it seems that men and women practising magic possessed mysterious power to control, win over or destroy others. The persons who practised witchcraft (yātu or kṛtyā) are styled as Yātudhānas. According to Sāyaṇa (1.7.1), the term means a demon, *rākṣasa*. WHITNEY and BLOOMFIELD¹³ think it to mean sorcerer. BLOOMFIELD remarks that the term, oscillates between the meanings, human, sorcerer and hostile demon. RV 5.12.2, 7.104.15-16 refer to it as a man who practises Yātu. It is possible to understand the relation between the two meanings. Yātudhāna is a person who practises witchcraft, good or bad, *āṅgirasi* or *āsuri*, by resorting to the construction of a doll-like female image, magically charmed, or by means of the homeopathic or contagious magic,¹⁴ and thus metaphorically he is supposed to be an evil spirit, a demon who resorts to hostility. Generally these spirits are described as coming out at night and are covered with darkness. It may be thus a mere fancy to imagine their existence in the ghastly shadows of the objects, which look quite different at night time. It is significant that Agni is most prominently urged to destroy or to expose them. Agni for this purpose is offered with ghee and sesame oil (1.7.2). This is quite natural, since the blaze of Agni removes darkness and inspires confidence (1.7.1-5). Thus though all evil beings are of the same type, distinction is made between them and they are separately named. For instance Kimidin is explained by Yāska

13. *ibid.*, p. 237 f.

14. FRAZER, *loc. cit.*

and Sāyaṇa as the spirit which says, 'What now? What is this?' According to GRIFFITH it is a vile, treacherous spy and informer. Also the maker of witchcraft is a Dasyu. Sāyaṇa (1.7) explains him as one who causes destruction. WHITNEY (*ibid*) considers him to be a barbarian, while BLOOMFIELD (*ibid*) takes him to be a demon. GRIFFITH (*ibid*) thinks him to be a powerful hostile being in the sky, and also a man of indigenous races who opposed the immigration of the Aryans. Atrins are also a class of evil beings, who devour everything (*ibid*). These spirits enter the bodies of creatures and cause trouble, according to Sāyaṇa (1.7). Such evil spirits cause diseases, physical and mental (1.28.1). These evil spirits are nothing but the human beings or their acts which deceive others (1.28.2). Further light is thrown on the real nature of the Yātudhānas or evil spirits in the hymn 8.3 (=RV 10.87). These evil beings are the worshippers of the false gods (*mūradeva* 8.3.2). They like to eat raw flesh (8.3.3). They sometimes fly in the sky (8.3.5). Of course this is the popular belief. They have hearts, arms and ribs (8.3.6). They move about with spears (8.3.7). They live on the life of others (8.3.13). They kill the truth (*ṛta*) with falsehood (*anṛta*, 8.3.11). They are wicked creatures who swear (8.3.14). They besmear themselves with the flesh of men, horses, cattles and take away the milk of the cow (8.3.15). Atharvan, like Aṅgiras burns these fools, who damage the Truth (8.3.21). He forces away the wicked godless magic (*adevī māyā*, 8.3.24). Thus one can easily realise that the Yātudhānas and other kindred beings are the wicked, foolish sorcerers, who practise godless magic. All abuses and curses are hurled against them. They are all Dasyus and Arāyas. All the magic or counter magic, practised by the Atharvavedins is the godly magic, which is conducive to the happiness and comfort of human beings and other creatures. Kauśika (8.25) employing this hymn (8.3), prescribes the offerings of husk and fuel of forest trees, such as *trapusa*, *musala*, *khadira* and *saṣṣapa* (mustard), rice and barley and the hooks made of *khadira* tree, copper and iron of uneven numbers, to destroy demons, *piśācas* and evil spirits. Thus Kauśika includes Rākṣas (demons) and Piśācas among the Yātudhānas. They are also named as Śarabhaka.¹⁵ According to Sāyaṇa (2.24.1) he is the lord of the Yātudhānas. Their other names are Śevṛdhaka, Mokra (one who robs wealth), Sarpa (serpent like), Jurṇī (old hag), Upabda (of fierce sound),

15. PPP reads *Śarabhaka*. With this reading the term is intelligible. It means one who is like Śarabha, wild creature having 8 feet, four on the back in addition to the four normal feet. See Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita* i.

Arjuni (white coloured), Bharuji (one who takes away body, 2'24.1-8). They employ *yātus*.

(10) Yātudhānī:

As I have remarked above, the Yātudhānas are the people who practise hostile and godless magic. Similarly a number of evil qualities in such persons are personified as female divinities such as Nirṛti, Āradhī, Artī, Arāyī and Arāti. According to BLOOMFIELD,¹⁶ the poet has in his mind the withholding of the priestly fees in the conception of Arāti. It signifies niggardliness, grudge and avarice. The priest appeals to Arāti not to stand in his way when the priestly fees (*dakṣiṇā*) are being given to him (5.7.1). She has a minister or agent, who disturbs his winning the fees (5.7.2). Her relation is Asamṛddhi, who is oppressive and piercing (5.7.7). She transforms herself into a naked woman and clings to men in their sleep, frustrating their thoughts and intentions (5.7.8). Nirṛti is a goddess of golden hair, complexion, cushion and robe (5.7.9-10). According to Kausika (41.8) offering of an oblation of ghee, or of rice grains mixed with gravels (18.14) are made to secure wealth.

Like the female deified evil qualities in a person, there is a class of demonic female creatures called Piśācis. These Piśācis are called Caṇḍā (fierce), Sadānvās (howling) and Mangudī. They have families and also children. Their daughters are described as *nissālā* (taller than *Sāla* tree-Sāyaṇa; expeller-WHITNEY) bold overcomer, *ekavādyā* (of long drawn howl-BLOOMFIELD; of one tone-WHITNEY, of severe tongue-Sāyaṇa) and blood thirsty (2. 14. 1). They resort to cowstalls, gambling house (*akṣa*: axle-WHITNEY), barns (*upānas*-the body of waggon-BLOOMFIELD and WHITNEY) and houses. The Atharvanic priest by means of his spell drives away all these daughters of Piśācis, Sedi, Nirṛti-all female evil spirits from these places (2. 14. 2-3). These evil spirits, attacking the bodies, houses and property of men, assume the form of the hereditary diseases, born of the Dasyus (aboriginal demonic creatures) or sent by men (2. 14. 5). They are all sent deep in the earth in the lower house (the nether world-Sāyaṇa) by the charms of the priests so that they would not come up and harass the human world. The priest says, 'I have gone round the houses of these Sadānvās, quickly like a horse in a race course. I have conquered all conquests

16. *ibid.*, p. 423.

(2. 14. 6).¹⁷ Thus he knows them and their places of residence. He has acquired the magical quality to move round their places in the quickest time. This hymn (2. 14) is employed by WHITNEY against the Sadānvas. According to BLOOMFIELD this is a charm against a variety of female demons conceived as hostile to men, cattle and home. WEBER¹⁷ thinks that it is used against rats, worms, pests and troublesome insects. Looking to the contents of the hymn the application of this hymn suggested by BLOOMFIELD is preferable. According to him¹⁸ the hymn is originally intended against those evil spirits, which cause distress to the household and family life; hence secondarily used against the death of children in the house, barrenness of cow and funeral fire. It may be also connected with the purification of a house, as can be seen from the pun on the word *sālā* (*śālā*-house). This employment of the hymn is suggested to him from Kauśika (34.3-11). Kauśika employs the hymn to remove the death of children, miscarriage or still-birth of children. It prescribes that the woman having the habit of miscarriage is dressed in black garment. Then ghee is poured in three jars of water kept in three huts having doors to the east and west. The water in the jars is charged with the magical qualities. The priest also pours ghee on lead (*sīsa*) placed in a leaf of a *palāśa* tree on the jars of water. He, then makes the woman sit on the lead and washes her with the water in the jar. The black garment is left in the hut where she is washed. She then leaves the hut. The Atharvaṇic priest (Brahmā) sets the hut on fire. This process is repeated in the case of the remaining two huts. Instead of the lead, sometimes the branches of *śimśipā* trees are used for sitting upon. She also puts the fuel of *uduṃbāra* tree in the fire of one of these huts. She is given bath, when she returns home. According to Kauśika (44.1) the *vaśā* cow is sacrificed to remove the sin of the barrenness in the house with this hymn. Thus the house is purified. It is to be noted that these practices of Kauśika represent homeopathic and contagious magic. The woman is connected with the quality of barrenness, which comes to her due to the hereditary disease, or the witchcraft of men or Dasyus (2.14.5). It is to be separated from her. She is washed and her sin also is washed off. The black garment she wears and leaves in the hut represent her sin or the presence of evil demonic creatures. The setting on fire of the hut is the means

17. Referred to by WHITNEY, *HOS* I. 58.

18. *ibid.*, p. 298.

of burning or disassociating the sin from her. In the hymn itself we get only the mention of the evil spirits attacking the house, cows and gambling house. All the rest is the traditional application by Kausika. The hymn also speaks of the struggle between the demonic creatures and the magical power of the Atharvaṇic priest and the victory of the latter over the former as he knows their houses and names by means of his spells (2.14.6). Thus the Yātudhānis are the female magicians, or witches, who cause all these troubles and curse others with their cursings. They cause swoon to their victims. They eat young children (1.28.3). They are rightly described as *dvayūvin* (double dealers). They have the human appearance, with vilest motives in their hearts. They are arrested and destroyed by the Atharvaṇic spells. They are asked to eat their own children, sisters, daughters or great grand-children. Instead of killing others, they are asked to kill each other by pulling each other's hair (1.28.4).

(11) To attain supremacy over the enemies by means of the miraculous power of the Atharvaṇic spells :

These male and female magicians causing harassment to the life, body, mind and spirit of a person and his property and cattle called by whatsoever name are the enemies, more powerful and destructive than the face-to-face enemies on the battlefield. For, they work secretly. The Atharvaṇic magic comes to the help of the person or persons who are in such distress, physical or mental. The mental dejection or fright is removed by the employment of a spell (1.28), in which an amulet of *kuṣṭha* tree is tied and two fire brands are waved according to Kausika (26.26). Thus even if the AV teaches horrible practices of killing, they are all defensive in their purpose and aim at relieving the victim of his mental and physical distress. Taken in this light, the object of many ghastly charms in the AV, can be easily understood. It is a struggle for power between the evil forces acting on a man and the power of the AV-charms. These charms enable one to be stronger than the evil spirits to win over them for all times. The hymns 6.135 contains such a charm in which a person eats and drinks to secure power. His normal eating or drinking is magically charged to symbolise the eating or drinking of his enemy. He says, 'When I eat, I get strength. I take this thunderbolt (eating) to cut to pieces the shoulders of the enemy. When I drink, I drink the blood of the enemy. I drink his life (6.135.1-2).' Similarly when he swallows he swallows his enemy's breath (6.135.3). In the same

way when he becomes superior to his enemy by means of his magical power, he takes away the splendour of men and women, who contend with him and are his rivals and enemies (7. 13. 1-2).

(12) Gandharvas and Apsarasas :

Another important group of the demonic creatures is of the Gandharvas and Apsarasas. They are akin to the Rakṣas and goblins. Sāyaṇa, however, thinks that Gandharva is the sun, as he is described as dwelling in the heaven, the lord of the universe and the only one to be praised by clans (2. 2. 1). He also takes the sun as one of the Gandharvas, the semi-divine beings. It thus seems that he identifies the sun with Gandharvas, who stay in the heaven and come down to harass human beings. The TS (3. 4. 7. 1) refers to the sun as Gandharva and its rays as Apsarasas. The AV (2. 2. 3) mentions Gandharva among the Apsarasas. It thus seems that primarily Gandharva and his Apsarasas are the sun and its rays. The AV 2. 2. 3 points out that the ocean (mid-air) is their home from which they come and go. It is possible to suppose that later on the ocean of mid-air was transformed into the ocean or watery places on the earth, where they stay. The AV (2.2.2.) describes Gandharva as the holy one and the remover of the wrath of the gods. Viśvāvasu is the leader of the Gandharvas. He comes with the cloudy, lightning, starry, roaring and strong Apsarasas, who delude the minds (*manomuh*) and who long for gambling. Thus these are connected with dice and maddening the mind of a person and making him insane or lose the knowledge of his sex (2.2.4-5). The Gandharvas are like human beings, but have crests on their heads. Their sex organs are like men. They love dancing. Their wives are the Apsarasas (4.37.7). Though they are with their consorts they delude the minds of men for unnatural sexual intercourse. They are thus of perverse mentality. They appear sometimes as dogs, monkeys and young men with hair locks and thus pleasant and attractive to look on. They attach themselves to women (4.37.11). Thus young women are enamoured of their beauty. When on the earth, they stay in the rivers. The Apsarasas have fragrant body, hence their names are like Guggulu (bdellium), Aukṣagandhī (of incense fragrance), Pramandam (delightful) etc. (4.37.3). Thus they are beautiful, attractive, fragrant and knowing dancing. Belief therefore gathered round them that they stay on the river, on *aśvattha* or *nyagrodha* trees or where the swings are tied. On these swings they enjoy themselves. There they dance to the accompaniment of drums or cymbals (*āghāṭa*) and lutes (*karkari*

4.37.45). To prevent their attacks on men and women for unnatural intercourse, the Atharvaṇic priest employs his *brahman* (2.2.1) and homage or oblations (2.2.4). Being on the same level as Rakṣas, they are treated with the magical spells. A plant *ajaśṛṅgī* (*odina pinnata*) with its fragrance drives them away to their residence. It was with this plant that Atharvan, Kaśyapa, Kaṇva and Agastya—all venerable Ṛgvedic seers killed the Gandharvas (4.37.1-2). Their names and places of residence are known by the sages. So his charm is effective. It is to be noted that the fragrant plant is employed to remove the fragrant Gandharvas and Apsarasas. By means of the spells the two testicles and penis are crushed. So they are no longer in a position to have intercourse with human beings (4.37.7). They are urged to go to their immortal consorts and not to seduce human beings (4.37.12). They are devilish creatures because they eat the oblations offered in the fire. Thus they are to be treated like other fiends. They are pierced by the hundred-pointed iron missile of Indra (4.37.8). They also devour *avakas* (moss) and spread their light on the waters. Due to this phenomenon the human beings are attracted towards them (4.37.10). The person attacked by them becomes unconscious. This is the condition of a person, who is possessed of evil spirit. According to Kauśika (28,9) the powder of *śami* tree through the *śami* fruit should be given to the person to eat. Thus the *ajaśṛṅgī* plant in the AV 4.37 is replaced by *śami* in Kauśika (*ibid*). Another magical rite is described by Kauśika (25,29) to overcome their attack. The hymn 2.2 is to accompany its performance. All medicinal herbs are to be pasted with ghee. On the junction where four roads meet, the person, who is inflicted by them is made to stand. On his head a layer of the *darbhas* is placed. On the *darbhas* a potsherd is kept. Fire is kept blazing in it and the powder of all fragrant plants is offered in it. Thus the fragrant Gandharvas and Apsarasas are removed by the offering of fragrant substances. This is the homeopathic magic of the AV. The AV only speaks of the use of *ajaśṛṅgī*. Kauśika employs all fragrant plants.

As they like dice, they are urged to favour the gambler with the fortune in the *kṛta* throw (4.38.1-4).

Their capacity to declude the minds of the people sometimes reaches to extreme degree, so as to make them mad. The priest offers oblations in the fire to the Apsarasas to cure the insane (6.10.14). The insane person is bound by ropes and is unmanageable. He

howls loudly. His mind is disturbed. The priest offering sacrifice for him says, "I will prepare a remedy with my full knowledge to relieve you of insanity and sin against the gods and demons, who rob your sense (6.101. 1-4)."

(13) The curses :

In the Atharvanic ideology the curse plays an important part. It implies the disastrous effect of the spoken words addressed to some one with a view to injuring or killing others. (i) The curses may be uttered by the rivals (*sapatna*) with loud howling words in the agitated state of mind. These may be due to jealousy, rivalry or enmity. (ii) The curses may also come from the female relatives (*jāmi*). These curse others owing to jealousy or wrong treatment given to them in the house. (iii) A Brāhmaṇa also curses others due to anger. When a Brāhmaṇa curses others, he exposes his haughty and domineering nature and is sure of the horrible consequences that follow. These curses effect the person's life, the progeny and wealth (2.7.2). The AV (5.17-19, 12.4-5) furnishes suitable illustrations of the effect of the curse of a Brāhmaṇa. When the curses are uttered, their effect is gradually seen on the person, on whom they are inflicted. The victim supposes that it is due to his sins that the effect of some one's curse is seen on him. So he says, "The evil, foul and sinful deeds that we have committed and that bring on the curses, we wipe away (7.65,1-2)." The effect of such curses is similar to that of an evil contact. If one sits together with one, who has black teeth and nails, or who is deformed (*baṇḍa* eunuch—Sāyaṇa, 7.65.3) or who bewitches with his evil eyes (2.7.5), he also incurs the same effect as the curses. The Atharvanic priest comes to the help of the victim of the curse. He considers that curse is, like the sin, to be washed off (2.7.1). Thus the effect of the curse goes away to some one else or to the enemy or to the person, who has cursed.

The dreadful consequences are to be removed like sin, by means of the Atharvanic charms. Kausika (48.23-26) employs the hymn 6.37 to remove the effect of the curses. According to him white clay is to be charmed and given to a dog. An amulet of *palāśa* tree is worn on the body. The fuel of *ingiḍa* tree is offered in the fire. BLOOMFIELD¹⁹ considers that the hymn is to be used against one who practises hostile charms. Obviously he includes curses in the hostile charms, in general. But the hymn only refers to the curse (*śapatha*). The curse is a thousand-eyed divinity, com-

19. *ibid.* p. 97,

ing in a chariot, seeking him who curses, as a wolf to the house of one who owns sheep (6.37.1). It is urged to burn the curser and hand him over to the death like a bone to a dog (6.37.2-2). Thus the hymn only refers to the curse. The application of the hymn by BLOOMFIELD is thus too wide. The same is the case with Sāyaṇa (6.37) who employs this hymn for removing effects of witchcraft. Kauśika's prescription regarding the offering of white clay to a dog, seems to be suggested from the simile, 'like a bone to a dog (6.37.3)'. The offering of *ingiḍa* fuel is suggested from asking the curse to burn the curser like lightning a tree (6.37.2). Another Atharvāṇic rite in this connection is to tie an amulet of *yava* (barley) for removing (i) the popular and Vedic abuses, (ii) curses of a Brāhmaṇa, (iii) to avert the evil eye of a person of fierce looks and (iv) to remove the fear of the Piśācas and Yakṣa (Kauśika 26.33-35). The amulet of barley mentioned by Kauśika is not referred to in the hymn 2.7. However, AV 2.7.1 refers to a creeper (*vīruḍh*). Sāyaṇa takes it to be *dūrvā* or *yava*. It is described as *sahasra kāṇḍa* at 2.7.3. This term is applied to *darbha* at 19.32.3. According to BLOOMFIELD the word *yava* in the amulet of barley, must have been suggested from the word *yopinī*, which is phonetically akin to *yava*. Thus the similarity, required in the homeopathic magic may be of sound even. According to Sāyaṇa (2.7.5), the effect is due to the tying of an amulet with spells. The hymn itself speaks of one plant with a thousand shoots. It is the expansive nature of the plant that ensures success. Thus the amulet for protection is the symbol of the spacious protection the tree affords.

But the appropriate plant for washing away the curses like sin is *apāmārga*, referred to at 7.65.1. The root *apa + mṛj* suggests this process. According to Kauśika (46.49) the fuel of this plant is offered in the fire with the recitation of the hymn 7.65. Also it (48.37) prescribes the fuel of a tree fallen by the thundering to be offered in the fire with the recitation of the hymn 7.59. The main idea in offering the fuel is to burn the curser. By burning this fuel, he will burn the curser.

(14) Bad dreams :

Svapna (dream) is a much dreaded phenomenon in the AV. It is in its worst form (*duṣvapna*), indicative of calamity and death. It is an agent of death. Nay it itself is death (16.2.2). It is the issue of Grāhī, Nirṛti, Abhūti, Nirbhūti, Parābhūti, and the wives of the

gods (16.2.1-8). Thus being much dreaded, it requires pacification. According to WEBER²⁰ the parts of the book 16th are to be recited at night before going to bed for warding off evil dreams. According to Kauśika (9.5) the book is to be employed for preparing pacificatory waters for the purpose of sipping, sprinkling and bathing. The deadly qualities of the charmed waters are mentioned at 16.1.1-13. The bull of the waters is released against the haters. It goes on digging and spoiling the body of the enemy. The waters carry sin and evil dreaming (16.1.7-11). The dreams occur on account of one's own sin and the witchcraft of the enemies. Kauśika (46.9-13) prescribes that on seeing a bad dream, one should get up and wash one's mouth, while reciting the hymn 16.5. He should also offer a cake of mixed grains in the fire. The bad dreaming being the effect of sin, is wiped away like sin, on the enemy, born in such and such family and the son of such and such mother (*amuṣyāyaṇaḥ, amuṣyāḥ putraḥ* 16.7.8).

(15) The AV prescribes many amulets to overcome the effects of the witchcraft and to punish the sorcerers. An amulet of the plant *sadaṁpuspā*, or *trisandhyā* according to Sāyaṇa (4.20) is worn on the right hand. With it one can see near, beyond, distant, on the earth, atmosphere and sky, and Śūdra, Ārya and all beings (4.20.1-4). Thus one can detect the Yātudhānas, Yātudhānis, Piśācas and Kimidins (4.20.5-9). Thus the amulet of this plant gives the wearer a miraculous power to detect the invisible spirits raised by the makers of witchcraft. Not only does the amulet of a plant expose these spirits, but also acts as a counter-charm (*pratiharāṇa*, 5.14.8). It kills the sorcerers, fastens the spell on him who does the witchcraft and sends back the spell and curse to their originator, who may be a man or god (5.14.1-8). The plant pierces the maker of witchcraft; for, the Atharvaṇic *kṛtyā* is not sharpened for killing him, who does not practise witchcraft (5.14.9). The Atharvaṇic witchcraft is, thus, a defensive measure to be used against one, who hits one with another witchcraft. It is not to be employed against those, who are innocent about it. The plant *apāmārga* has wonderful magical qualities. It is used by Kauśika (39.7-12) in sprinkling water in pacificatory rite. The performer of the rite to counteract the witchcraft puts on a turban and shoes and goes on sprinkling the water containing the plants like *apāmārga*, *darbha*, *sadaṁpuspā* etc. He then pierces the hostile *kṛtyā*, if found, with a reed discharged from a bow along with the recitation of the hymns 5.17-19.

20. *Ind. stu.* 13.185,

According to BLOOMFIELD²¹ the qualities of the plant, *apāmārga* (to wash away sins, curses etc.) are guaranteed to the Atharvaṇic Hindu by its real or supposed etymology from the root *apā + mrj*. The plant washes away the witchcraft, which comes on him like sin. The water sprinkled with this plant cleanses the person, and purifies him from that sin. The plant *apāmārga* or *sahadevī* is mentioned in AV 4.17.1, 7, 8. By means of the spells, it is made to possess a thousandfold power. All herbs such as *apāmārga*, *darbha* etc., are called on by the priest to repel the curses and witchcraft and thus to secure the victory of the Truth which consists in his spells and acts (4.11.2). These plants remove the horrible consequences of witchcraft such as curse, misfortune, calamity to children, evil dreams, disturbed mental peace, demonic and monstrous effects on the body, attack of evil-named and evil speaking spirits, death from hunger, thirst, poverty in cattle, want of children and ill-luck in dice. These were more commonly worked by women (4.17.3-6). They deposited such witchcrafts in a raw earthen pot, raw flesh, cock, place of fire or assembly hall. The magic spell deposited in the fire is called *nīlaloḥita* by Sāyaṇa (5.17.4); but BLOOMFIELD²² considers it as deposited in blue and red threads. The Atharvaṇic priest thinks that by counteracting such witchcraft he is practising the Truth for the protection of the victim of the hostile witchcraft (4.18.1). The plant *apāmārga* not only detects and counteracts the *kr̥tyā* buried in one's house by the enemy, but also one which enemy does in his own house with a view to killing him automatically. But the plant burns it and throws on its performer with crashing sound. It removes the tufts on the heads of the demonic creatures. It thus seems that the sorcerers put on tufts to look mysterious or different from others (4.18.2-4). The magnificent power of the plant is due to its being blessed by a Brāhmaṇa by name Kaṇva of the family of Nṛṣada. Thus the plant has the capacity to attack the enemy like a strong army. It protects the innocent people and kills the demonic (4.18.3). The Atharvaṇic magic makes use of the objects, which have connection with the action, the priest performs, through etymology or similarity of word, sense and sound. The plant *apāmārga* is an instance to the point. It grows with its fruit turned backwards. Thus it should turn back all curses and destructive weapons (4.19.7). To impress on others and to control the magical

21. *ibid.*, p. 393, and JAOS 14.161, SB 11.8.4.4.

22. *ibid.*

qualities, the geneology of the plant with its own name and of its father, mother and sister are mentioned in the spell. The father of *Apāmārga* is *Vibhindat* which means breaking to pieces. Also it is told that the gods overthrew the demons with its help (4.19.4-5).

Giving the nature of the *kṛtyā*, counteracted by this plant, the Atharvaṇic poet says, "The *asat* (*kṛtyā*) came into being from the earth. It goes to the heaven expanding. It blazes forth when it falls down (4.19.6)." According to BLOOMFIELD²³ a cosmic riddle is pressed here in the service of the incantation. *Asat* is the chaotic condition forming one of primary cosmic forces. The Atharvaṇic poets believe that *kṛtyā* (witchcraft) is one of the main causes of the creation of the world.

Like the amulet of *apāmārga*, the amulet of *jaṅgiḍa* tree is a highly potent measure to destroy the brilliancy and power of the witchcraft and two hundred and fifty witchcraft-makers (19.34.1). This amulet, called *Aṅgiras* by the ancient Brāhṁṇas stops the artificial noise produced in the head and ear and the liquid oozing out from the seven openings of the body (19.34.3). The human and divine sorcerers are made sapless by it (19.35.5). Similarly the amulet of *śatavāra* destroys the ill-named spirits, Gandharvas, Apsarasas and the spirits which assume the form of dogs (19.36.6). The amulet called *astṛta* or *trivṛt* is a magic armour against all witchcrafts. It is dipped in ghee, honey and milk. It is to be tied on the body (19.46.2-7). The amulet of *varaṇa* tree is tied on the chest. It removes the evil consequences of an evil dream, ominous sneezing, and evil shriek of a bird (10.3.5,11). It grants all fame that is in drinking Soma, honey in sacrifice, in Agnihotra, in the call *vaṣaṭ* in the sacrifice and sacrificers (10.3.22-23). In the same way the amulet of *śraktya* or *tilaka* tree, which like a seer, repels all witchcrafts made by the *Aṅgirasas* or *Asuras* and by means of sacrifices and consecrations (8.5.8,9). It is an armour for protection (8.5.7). It is worn on the arms (8.5.20). *Kauśika* (39.13) and *Sāyaṇa* (2.11) point out that this amulet is put on for the self-protection and counteracting the witchcraft, which is worked by women, *Sūdra*, *Rājan*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kāpālīka*, outcaste or *Śākinī* (a witch). *Kauśika* further tells that with the hymn 2.11, the ankles of *kṛtyā* are to be sprinkled with the milk of cow and water. This amulet is a weapon and missile (2.11.1).

23. *ibid.*, p. 398.

Another material used for counteracting the witchcraft is lead (*sīsa*). Kauśika (8.18) considers that *sīsa* is lead, river foam, iron filings or head of lizard. According to Sāyaṇa (1.16), to kill an enemy, the food mixed with the powdered lead is given to him. The lead pierces the enemies, sorcerers and Atrins, the devourers, who throng on the night of the new moon (1.16.1), and who kill cows, horses and men (1.16.4).

It will be observed that the Atharvaṇic conceptions regarding the theory and practice of magic aim at the protection of men, household, cattle, property and life. Their object is defensive and the defence is readiness to attack. The Atharvaṇic magic is thus both defensive and offensive. It found a place in the medicine, erotic, statecraft and in domestic and social rites. It also continued to exist in the Tantras and Śākta practices.²⁴

24 PAYNE, *The Śāktas*, p. 34.

VII

THE SACRIFICE IN THE AV

- 1—Introduction.
- 2—Sacrifice offered to Indra.
- 3—Sacrifice to Agni.
- 4—Sacrifice to other deities.
- 5—Sacrifice for various purposes.
- 6—*Sava* or special sacrifices.
- 7—The stages in the evolution of sacrifice.

(1) Introduction

Sacrifice occupies a very important position in the religious system of the AV. It is used by means of both propitiation and coercion of the deities for securing prosperity, for removing undesirable elements such as enemy, evil spirits and demons and for securing the heaven. For all external appearances the sacrifice in the AV is the same as in the three other Vedas. The enkindling of fire, offering of oblations, which vary according to the nature of the rite and recitation of the hymns form its main features. In the case of the sacrifices for killing the enemies, the purpose is offensive, though it is promoted by the desire to defend the victimised person. In this respect sacrifice is on the same level with witchcraft (*krtyā*). A person tries to harm others by means of witchcraft, observing, the rules of behaviour as on the occasion of consecration (*dīkṣū*) and by means of sacrifices (*yajña*, 8.5.15). The performance of sacrifice is also on the same level with the tying of certain amulets. The amulet of *varaṇa* tree, for instance, contains the same splendour as can be achieved by drinking Soma in the sacrifice, by offering honey and curds (*mudhuparka*), by performing *agnihotra* sacrifice, by uttering the word *vaṣaṭ*, by the sacrificer or by the sacrifice itself (10.3.21-23). Thus one may perform sacrifice or tie an amulet or practise witchcraft to get rid of one's enemies. To attain the heaven, sacrifice is performed. In such sacrifices simple procedure is followed. Such sacrifices are termed as *sava yajñas*. The offering of oblations in the fire or feeding the Brāhmaṇas in such sacrifices enable the sacrificer to reserve a comfortable dwelling place in the heaven after his death and to be united with his other merit

secured from the acts in this world. But even such sacrifices have their equals in value. Hospitality shown to a guest is also a great sacrifice, securing the same fruit. In the same way meditating on the highest Brahman, and symbolically offering oblations in it also form a sacrifice. In addition, there are normal sacrifices offered to the deities, who may figure in the other Vedas or may be quite new. Thus in the religious system of the AV, we find a tendency to reform the old ideal of sacrifice and presenting it with other forms or substitutes which are less elaborate and yet equally effective. This is in keeping with the reforming tendencies of the Atharva-vedins. The different aspects of the performance of sacrifice are shown here.

(2) Sacrifice offered to Indra :

According to Kauśika (59.5) the hymn 2.5 is employed for offering sacrifice to Indra for securing strength. The hymn praises the adventures of Indra, such as drinking sweet Soma so much that he becomes intoxicated thereby, piercing Vala like Bhṛgu, who while participating in the *satra* of the Āṅgirasas pierced Vala, who had taken away the former's cows, and killing Yatis, who are the Asuras or mendicants outside the fold of the Aryans (2.5). In this sacrifice Soma is offered to Indra (3.5.1). In another sacrifice cooked rice and curds are offered to him. It is offered at mid-day (7.72.3). The Rtvijis are asked to stand up and look at the pleasing offering to Indra. If it is cooked they should offer it, otherwise they should wait (7.72.1). The sun is in the middle of the sky. The oblation is cooked. Indra is invoked to come to enjoy it with curds (*dadhi* 7.72.2-3). According to Kauśika (2.24) this sacrifice is offered on *parvan* days. Similarly *barhi*, the sacred grass is scattered on the ground and is anointed with oblations and ghee (*haviṣ*, *ghṛta* 7.98.1). With the word *svāhā*, the offerings are made to Indra (*ibid*). Indra is described as an eagle and is offered oblations for securing welfare (7.85.1, Kauśika 59.14). According to Kauśika (140), *indramaha* is a sacrifice in honour of Indra performed by a king for securing prosperity and authority. The hymn 7.86 is employed in this connection.

Soma is offered to Indra in a sacrifice intended to kill the enemies. The Rtvijis (priests) press and strain the juice of Soma for Indra. They are led by Adhvaryu (6.2.1). When Indra drinks Soma, he drives off the army of scorers, who are possessed of the demons (6.2.2). According to Kauśika (29.27) this rite is intend-

ed to remove troubles caused by the demons. In this rite, one should eat rice cooked over the fire made from the fire sticks in the nests of the birds. The hymn does not refer to this practice. The fire sticks in the text may be collected from different sources. Thus they symbolise the enemies who are burnt, when the fire sticks are burnt to cook rice. Indra offers protection from the haters, rivals, niggards, friends and enemies by night and day. Hence an offering is offered to him (19.15.1-6). In another magical sacrifice Indra is urged to kill him who hates the sacrificer and that he should fall downwards being deprived of his life (7.31.1). According to Kausika (48.37) the fuel of a tree struck by lightning should be offered to Indra. The hymn (7.31) does not refer to this practice. Such fuel symbolises the enemy, who is burnt with it. This is the homeopathic magic. Indra and Varuṇa are also invoked to drink Soma in the sacrificer's house (7.58.1).

(3) Sacrifice to Agni :

The three libations of Soma during day, viz., morning, mid-day and evening form three different sacrifices. In the morning libation Agni is the deity. The metre is *gāyatrī*. At the close of the sacrifice offering is made to Agni to make the sacrificer prosperous (6.47.1, 48.1). In the second libation Viśvedevas, Maruts and Indra are the deities. This sacrifice is powerful. The metre is *triṣṭubh* (6.47.2; 48.3). The third libation is of the poets (*kavis*), who with the *ṛta* send forth their spoon. The Ṛbhus, the sons of Sudhanvan are prayed to take the sacrifice which is well offered to what is better (6.47.3, 48.3). According to Kausika (56.4; 59.27) the hymn 6.48 is used in the initiation rite. Also an initiated boy offers to the seven sages for securing fearlessness. According to Vaitana sūtra (3.7, 3.11) it is used for pressing Soma and offering ghee. Thus Agni forms a deity of the sacrifice offered daily in the morning.

For the purpose of a sacrifice, Agni is produced by churning the fire sticks while the sacrificer recites the hymn 7.63 (Kausika 69.22). The priests invoke Agni with their prayers (7.63.1). *Samidh* (fuel) are offered to him. He extends the faith and intelligence (*śraddhā*, *medhā*, 19.44.1) to the sacrificer, who increases him with a bundle of fire sticks (*idhma*) and fuel. The priests ask him to accept the fuel from whatever tree (19.44.3). He is prayed to bestow long life on the sacrificer and immortality on the priests (19.44.4). He is offered ghee. He takes the sacrifice to

the gods. The priests are like Manu, who enkindled Agni (7.82.1-6). Vasiṣṭha and other seers increase him (2.6.1). The Brāhmaṇas choose him at the sacrifice and pray him to be holy in the sacrificial enclosure (*sahvaraṇa*, covering faults-Sāyaṇa, 2.6.3). The Rtvijṣ and sacrificers are the attendants (*upasattāraḥ*, 2.6.2) on him. They pray him that their *brahman* should be successful. He stands in the midst of the Brāhmaṇas, who are born like him. He is invoked often in the sacrifice offered by the kings. In this sacrifice, ghee is offered to him. The Aprī hymn (5.27) is employed by Kauṣika (23.7, 45.8), for the purification of new house. The fuel of *udumbara*, cut down by the fire is offered in Agni. Also ghee and seven fried grains of *śaṣkuli* are offered and fees are given to the priest. In the hymn (*ibid*) Agni, as Asura is a mighty god, enkindled by the fuel. He anoints the gods with honey and ghee. Agni himself offers sacrifice and fore-sacrifices (*adhvara*, *prayāja*) with ladles (*sruc*). In this sacrifice of Agni, all gods carry oblations and sacrifice to Indra (5.27.1, 12). Agni himself offers this sacrifice.

The offerings for prosperity (*sannati homa*) are made after the principal sacrifice. They consist of offering oblations to Pṛthivī, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya and Candra. Each of the last three deities are given two offerings. Thus here are eight offerings (4.39, 1-8). With the *ṛcs*, 4.39.8-10 fore-sacrifices (*prayājas*) are offered. In these sacrifices, Agni, the son of the sages like Atharvāṅgirasas is offered ghee, food and prayer with the heart and mind, in his seven mouths.

Agni is invoked with the prayers to bestow wealth, to increase the *brahman* and sacrifice of the priest and to urge the patrons to offer large fees to him (3.20.1-5). He offers this sacrifice to secure all desires of his mind and heart (3.20.9). Sāyaṇa while explaining its purpose points out that sacrificer intends to secure his desires by merely wishing them in his mind. According to Kauṣika (18.13.41, 8, 40.11), the rice grains are mixed with sand particles (from old house according to Keśava on Kauṣika 18.13). With the *ṛc* 3.204, the sacrificer invites four Brāhmaṇas who know the AV (*Bhṛgvaṅgirovids*) for meal.

Every morning, evening and night offerings are made in Agni of the assembly (*sabhya*), to protect the assembly, councillors and those who sit in the assembly (*sabhā*, *sabhya*, *sabhāsads*, 19.55.5). He is the Hotṛ and arranges the sacrifice (19.59.1-3). He also

protects the sacrificer from the trickish (*māyin*) Asuras who go about with metal nets (*ayojāla*), hook with iron fetters. He burns them (19.66.1).

In a sacrifice intended for securing the heaven, the sacrificer and his wife offer oblations to Agni. They offer them to provide the heaven for themselves when along the unbroken line of the race they may pass together (6.122.1). They have paid ancestral debts by the propagation of the race. They are sure to get the heaven. The offering is cooked and offered to Agni. The couple, being possessed of faith (*śraddhā*) cling to *svarga* (the heaven). By means of their penance and mind, the couple secures their place in the heaven (6.122.3-4). The fees are paid to the Brāhmaṇas along with the water. (6.122.5). Thus in this sacrifice, cooked rice is offered to Agni. The fees are paid to the Brāhmaṇas. This ensures a place for them in the heaven to which they reach on account of their penance and mind. They have faith in such rite.

The oblations, ensuring a place in the heaven are carried there by Agni himself. He recognises the sacrificer in the heaven after his death and assigns a place there. He also knows his merit arising out of other meritorious deeds (6.123.1-5).

In addition to the object of securing the heaven, sacrifice is offered to Agni for one's protection against the destructive forces. The priests employ Agni as the stronghold (7.71.1). According to Kausika (2.10) the hymn 7.71 is employed for waving thrice the rice grains with fire brand. Agni takes the sacrificer beyond the haters. The priests offer their prayers (*vāc*) to him (6.34.1). According to Kausika (31.4) this sacrifice is offered for removing the trouble of the demons and evil planets. The fuel offered is from thirteen trees. Agni comes to the sacrifice, being praised by the songs and prayers (*ukthas*). He shapes the praises and songs of the Āṅgirasas. He extends to them the brightness and heaven (6.35.1-3). This is, thus, the sacrifice offered by the Āṅgirasas for removing distress and securing the heaven (6.35.2). Kausika (31.5.) employs this hymn in medical treatment. As a cure against all diseases a patient is made to drink a mixture of water, tumeric powder, curds and milk. However the hymn does not refer to such procedure.

Agni from the cremation pyre is very deadly. No mortal is cruel like him, when he eats the dead body (6.49.1.-3). This fire is

known as *Kravyād*. According to *Keśava* (on *Kauśika*, 43.16-22) a house is attacked by such fire, when young children or cattle die in it. To prevent the loss of life and cattle, *Kauśika* (*ibid*) prescribes that an amulet of *palāśa* tree should be worn. Ghee with the fuel of *palāśa* should be offered to *Agni*. With the *ṛcs* 3.21.1-7 offerings of barley (*yava*) and water should be made through a pot of *palāśa* tree. In the same way, for pacifying the flesh-eating fire *saktu* grains should be mixed with water and charmed with two sticks of *kāmpīla* tree. This mixture should be offered with every *ṛc* of the hymn 3.21, with a ladle of *palāśa*. The hymn refers to the *Āngirasas* pacifying the flesh-eating fire, which is injurious to a house-holder and which causes conflagration (3.21.8-9). Both *Indra* and *Agni* are offered with oblations to remove enemy and grant freedom from diseases by means of their humane and propitious aids (7.84.1-2). They are also urged to kill the enemies of the sacrificer, who offers *Soma* to them. They enter in the priests with the songs with which they praise them (7.110.1-3).

Three fire sticks are offered to *Agni* and the waters to remove reproach, foulness, untruth and false oath (7.89.1-4).

Agni and *Viṣṇu* are offered with ghee. They enjoy the secret things like ghee (7.29.1-2). According to *Kauśika* (32.3), this is the rite for curing all diseases. The patient is tied with snares of *mūñja* grass and is sprinkled with water duly charmed. The hymn does not speak of this practice.

(4) Sacrifice to other deities :

To prolong the life of the sacrificer, the oblations of ghee are offered to *Viṣṇu* (7.26). Similarly to secure one's desires, sacrifice is offered to *Viṣṇu* and *Varuṇa* (7.25.1). The offering of hot milk in the caldron is made to *Asvins*. In this rite, called *pravargya* *Agni* is enkindled. The caldron is heated. Milk is poured in it. The singers from many houses invoke them in the sacrifice (7.7.1). The milk from the caldron (*gharma*) is offered. The spoon (*camasa*) through which the offerings are made to *Asvins* is used for offering milk to other gods with the utterance of the word *svāhā* (7.73.3). Ghee and milk are also offered. The gods accepting the sacrifice lick the milk with the mouth of the *Gandharva* (the Sun), 7.73.3. The *Hotṛ* and *Adhvaryu* offer the hot milk in caldron (7.73.5). *Asvins* are invoked to come to the house of the sacrificer like a pleasing household guest. They are invoked to kill the assaulters (7.73.9).

Atharvaṇa offers at night offering to Savitr with the recitation of the *bṛhat* and *rathantara sāmans* (6. 1. 1-3).

Brhaspati is asked to get up and awaken the gods with the sacrifice, which increases the life, breath, progeny, cattle, fame and sacrificer himself (19. 63. 1).

Maruts are offered the fuel of an upright dry tree (Kauśika 48. 38). They are offered an oblation (*haviḥ*, 7. 77. 1). They are asked to smite the men, who desire to smite the sacrificer, with their hottest heat (*tapistha tapas*, 7. 77. 2). They are hot, therefore they should release the worshipper from the fetters of sin (7. 77. 2-3.). Their heat would burn the fetters of sin and he would be free.

The auspicious prayers are recited by the priests while offering an oblation, rich in ghee (*ghṛtavat*), to Sarasvatī, who bestows progeny on the sacrificer (7. 68. 1-2). Similarly she is offered ghee by a priest who is unsuccessful in securing a rich patron (7. 57. 1-2). Kauśika (46.6) prescribes that the priest should eat the curds and milk of a cow having a calf like itself in colour. The curds and milk indicate prosperity. He would get it by eating these things.

Sarasvat goes to the offerings of a sacrificer. He is the lord of cattle, water and nourishment (7. 40. 1-5). According to Kauśika (24.9), he is offered the omnetum of a bull.

Bhaga bestows fortune and splendour on the sacrificer. Uṣas is asked to bring him to the sacrifice (*adhvara*) as the vigorous horses bring chariot (3.16.6). According to WHITNEY, Bhaga is offered sacrifice in the morning. According to Kauśika (10.24) a student desirous of securing intelligence should cleanse his face while reciting this hymn. In 12.15 it prescribes that a Brāhmaṇa, for securing eminence should eat honey and curds. In 13.6-10 it says that for securing splendour one should tie an amulet of hair from the navel of a student, who has completed the Vedic studies, lion, tiger, sheep, black bull and king. The hair should be stuck together with lac and covered with gold. This amulet is called *nābhiḥlomamaṇi*. Similarly the vital parts of these seven should be cut off and mixed in cooked dish and one should eat the mixture for splendour. The hymn however does not give any clue for such procedure. It is addressed to Bhaga to bestow fortune or splendour. It is intended for offering sacrifice to him. It is possible that the rites of Kauśika might have been practised after the performance.

of the sacrifice. The rites of Kauśika contain the principle of the homeopathic magic. The hair from the navel of seven creatures represent the essence of splendour, the navel being the centre of the body. One gets such splendour by tying the amulet.

Rudra as a form of Agni existing everywhere is offered a sacrifice to pacify him (7.87.1).

Idā is offered oblations. She has feet dripping with ghee, and back of Soma and forms the bones of sacrifice (basis or structure 7.27.1). She has the form of a cow.

Nakṣatras (lunar mansions), 28 in number are offered with ghee in sacrifice. The priest recites the hymns 19.7.8. They are asked to be propitious and to bring acquisition and maintenance of prosperity (*yoga* and *kṣema*). They throw detraction, evil gossip, reproach and evil sneezing on an empty jar of clay. The evil-nosed jackals and eunuch urinate on it to wash off all sin and calamity (19.8.2-5). For protection, Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya are offered sacrifice. They preside over the earth, hearing, plants, vital breath, mid-air, birds, heaven, seeing, and lunar mansions. The offerings are made with the recitation of the three *ṛcs* of 6.10 with a word *svāhā* at the end.

On the full moon and new moon day offerings are made to Paurṇimāsī and Amāvāsyā. The priests sacrifice to the vigorous bull (moon) of Paurṇimāsī for securing unfailing wealth and a good place in the heaven (7.8.2-4). In the same way Amāvāsyā is offered with oblation in the sacrifice for securing all desires (7.79.1-4).

Similary Rākā, the goddess of the full moon is invoked for bestowing wealth on the sacrificer. Sinīvālī and Kuhū, the deities of the new moon, are asked to come to the sacrifice, listen to the sacrifice and bestow progeny on the sacrificer (7.46-47).

Anumatī is prayed to approve the sacrifice among the gods. She is invoked to enjoy the offerings, to fill the sacrifice with all chosen things, to assign wealth and progeny and to protect the sacrifice of the patron (7.29, Kauśika 59.19).

Viśvakarman is offered rice cooked in milk (6.62, Kauśika 41.14).

Prajāpati is offered a sacrifice by a priest who is in search of a rich patron, who would offer sacrifice (7.103; Kausika 59.9).

It may be observed here that the hymns employed for the purpose of sacrifice in the AV, belong almost all to the 6th and 7th book.

The nature of sacrifice offered to these deities is like those in the other three Vedas.

(5) Sacrifice for various purposes :

(i) A pacificatory sacrifice is performed by the priests, who invoke various deities to accept their oblations. They call the rite as the *brahman* (19.11,4-5).

(ii) According to Kausika (25.20-21, 41.14), the hymn 6.51 is employed while offering the fire-sticks of *palāśa* tree in the sacrifice along with ghee. It is also employed for removing diseases caused by drinking Soma. The hymn describes the purification of Soma by means of a strainer. The waters also purify one by means of bath, sipping and sprinkling (6.51 1-2). It thus seems that for purification, a *soma* sacrifice was performed. Ghee must have been the material offered. It is referred to in 6.51.2.

(iii) To kill or remove a rival an oblation is offered in sacrifice. The offering is called *nairbādhyā*, one which destroys. According to Kausika (48.29-31), in this magical sacrifice, *darbha* grass is scattered with thumb. The fuel of *ingīḍa* tree is offered. The final offerings, called *saṁsthita homas* are offered at the conclusion of a rite, while reciting the hymn 7.97, but the effect is drastic when one recites the hymn 6.75 in these sacrifices. By means of this offering for the suppression of the enemy, Indra is compelled to shatter the enemy, who is driven from his house and who quarrels with the sacrificer. The enemy is driven off to the farthest region from which he will never return (6.75.1-3). In another magical sacrifice for killing an enemy, ghee is offered in the fire. Also a frog is tied with blue and red strings. It is put in hot water and poked and squeezed at each offering (Kausika, 48.40). The hymn 7.95 describes the frog as enemy, who is tortured and killed like the frog. His life breaths leave him. Whether the enemy is man or woman the priest shuts up his or her genital organs (*medhira*) 7.95.1-3. The homeopathic magic aided by sacrifice is used in killing the enemy.

Ghee and fuel of *vikaṅkata* are offered to Indra and other gods who are invoked to kill the enemy. *Vikaṅkata* (*Flacourtia sapida*) is a thorny plant, when offered in fire acts like a thorny weapon, which kills the enemy. The efforts of the priests to kill the enemy are termed as *atisaras* (efforts, over runners—WHITNEY; start—*Petersberg Lexicon*) of Indra. These bring success to the designs of the priests. The enemy also performs magical sacrifice (the *brahman*), and makes the magical power arising out of it as his defence, protection of body such as an armour (*tanupāna*), complete protection (*paripāna*) or may resort to the city of the gods (*devapura*). All these become useless. They also make the *atisaras* or vigorous efforts to suppress the opponents (5.8.1,2,6,7). The enemy is a godless person, who intends to do harm by means of sacrifice. But by means of the surpassing power and spell of Indra, the enemy is churned, with his life completely closed. The enemy also practised the *brahman*, for effecting the failure or misfortune on the sacrificer; but he is trampled upon by Indra (5.8.3-5). The priest informs Indra that he is his friend (*medin*), as such he has claim on him (5.8.9). Thus the *brahman*, *atisaras*, spells, *devapura*, *tanupāna* or *paripāna* are also resorted to by godless people. But the sacrificer with the help of priest, the friend of Indra surpasses the enemy and kills him outright.

The priest on another occasion claims that he is a well known person, whose fortunes cannot be seen with good eyes by his enemies. So the *brahman*, the magical potency arising out of sacrifice is urged to subject the godless person (*adeva*) to the sacrificer who offers Soma (6.6.1-2).

(iv) The oblation of confluence (*samsrāvya haviḥ*) is offered for securing prosperity. While offering the oblation the hymns are sung and *homas* (offerings) are offered. The oblation and four quarters protect the sacrificer (19.1.1-3). The confluence of the offerings brings about the confluence of prosperity. This is the homeopathic magic in sacrifice. The confluence of offerings is made by mixing the grains like rice, barley, wheat, *upavāka*, sesame, *priyaṅgu*, and wild rice (*syāmāka*). Kausika (19.4) points out that *samsrāvya* offering is also made from the cooking of wheat and barley in the waters of two navigable rivers. The same rite is prescribed for becoming rich. Rice, ghee and milk should be brought from the house of a rich man and his wealth comes along with these objects. The hymn 1.15 dealing with the *samsrāvya* offering, mentions that the offering consists of water, milk and ghee, which would bring wealth to the sacrificer (1.15.1-3).

(v) To celebrate new year's eve (3.10) : According to Sāyaṇa the hymn 3.10 is employed in a sacrifice called *aṣṭakā*, as a usual or special rite. In the special rite for securing prosperity, the hymn (*ibid*) is recited thrice to the accompaniment of each offering of ghee, goat and cake. Thus the hymn is recited nine times. *AGS* (21) informs that *ekāṣṭakā* is the 8th day in the dark half of Māgha month, with *jyēṣṭhā* as lunar mansion. In this rite twenty-one offerings are made. The twenty offerings are made of balls made of grains, gruel, cake, rice and rice cooked with sesame. These are duly cooked and circumambulated. They are mixed with ghee. These twenty offerings are made with the right side arm of the victim which is with its skin but is devoid of hair on it. These offerings are made with a ladle. The last offering is made along with ladle.

With the *ṛcs* 3.10.1-5, five offerings are made. Then with the *ṛcs* 8-9, two offerings, with the *ṛcs* 11-12, two offerings, with the *ṛc* 10, eight offerings are made. With the *ṛc* 12, 18th offering, with the *ṛcs* 6-7, the right arm of the victim is offered, with the *ṛcs* 6-7, 21st offering is made with the ladle. The remnant of the offerings of grains etc., are mixed with ghee and offered with the whole hymn in three oblations. This is the order of the *aṣṭakā* sacrifice in the special way. In the normal practice the twenty-one offerings are made without offering oblations in the beginning and end (*Kausika*, 19.28, 138.1-6).

The hymn describes *Ekāṣṭakā* as the wife of the year (3.10.1). It refers to the pounding of rice grains, pressing stones and offerings of rice and cake (3.10.5). A ladle full of offering is asked to bring food and vigour (3.10.7). The offerings to various deities are mentioned (3.10.9-12).

(vi) To secure superiority and prosperity :

According to *Kausika* (48.27-28) and *Keśava* (*ibid*) chips of wood are offered by means of the middle leaf of a *palāśa* tree in cremation fire. The priest, who offers *Soma* in the sacrifice expects in return the subjugation of his rivals, who may be his relatives or otherwise. He also intends to make a Kṣatriya possess royal dignity, sovereignty and domain of Indra (6.54.1-3). In the same way excellent oblation (*uttama haviḥ*) is made in the fire to *Soma* to become superior to all (6.15.1-3). According to Sāyaṇa, after performing the sacrifice, an amulet of *palāśa* tree is put on the body. According to *Dārila*, the amulet may be of *Soma* WHITNEY

wrongly supposes that an amulet of barley is to be put on (Kauśika, 19.26). The offerings of ghee are made to Agni, who would lead the sacrificer to the higher position, splendour and grant abundance of progeny. The sacrificer intends to be the leader, controlling his men. The priests declare, "In whose house we offer oblations, to him Agni increases (6.5.1-3)." The oblations are of rice, ghee etc. According to Kauśika (4.9.59.7) a person desiring control over a village, offers oblations to Indra with this hymn. In the same rite the sacrificer covers the floor of the house with the chops from the trees such as *udumbhara*, *palāśa* etc., and covers the floor of the assembly hall with grass and offers wine to the invited guests.

(vii) For securing freedom from fear, village, men etc., one offers oblations to the seven sages. These are Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa. The village should be free from the anger of the kings and there should be sustenance, well-being and freedom from enemies (6.40.1-3) For the protection of one's life, one offers the thirteen substances such as ghee, firesticks, cake, milk, cooked rice, curds and milk, a goat rice, sesame, barley, *dhānā*, *karambha*, and *śaṣkudyā* (Sāyaṇa on the authority of *Paīṭhinasi Paribhāṣā*, 2.16). The offerings are made to Prāṇa-Apānā, Dyāvāprthivī, Sūrya, Agni Vaiśvānara, Viśvāmbhara, who protect respectively from the earth, hearing, seeing, senses and gastric fire (2.16.1-5). These offerings are made with the word *svāhā*. Similar oblations are offered to Agni, who is vigour, power, strength, life, hearing, seeing and protection and therefore, who confers these on the sacrificer (2.17.1-7).

(viii) The various rites in the sacrifice for medical purposes have been treated elsewhere.¹

(ix) Also those intended for Erotic,² (x) Statecraft,³ (xi) domestic rites,⁴ (xii) other rites-magical and sacrificial have also been treated elsewhere.⁵

In short, sacrifice in magical ritual forms a very essential part, although magical rite can also be performed without fire, i. e. with water, etc. Thus extensively and intensively, sacrifice in its

1. p. 11.

2. p. 48.

3. p. 75.

4. p. 101.

5. N. J. SHENDE, *The Foundations* p. 195.

original form was employed by the priests of fire and magic. They employed *darbhas*, *samidhs*, of usual or special types, ghee, milk, rice grains, cake and thirteen materials for oblations. These were accompanied by the recitation of the hymns of the AV, which together with the act, formed the *brahman*, which produces the magical potency in the person or object to bring about desired object. In magic, the technique of sacrifice is simple. Agni from household or from cremation pyre or from any place as is needed for the purpose, is used. All these acts of magical sacrifice form the instances of the homeopathic or imitative magic.

(6) Sava or special sacrifice :

Not only did the Atharvāṇic priests employ sacrifice for the sake of magic to secure worldly ends, but also they employed it for securing the heaven. The sacrifices detailed in the three Vedas also aim at securing the heaven. What difference is there between these two types of sacrifices? There is this difference. In the first place the whole procedure is simplified. They can be performed by an average man. Secondly, they are equally effective. They are thus superior to the old Vedic sacrifices such as Vājapeya, Agniṣṭoma etc.

These sacrifices of the Atharvavedins are styled as 'savas', perhaps because they are symbolical of the Soma sacrifices. They are 22 in number such as (1) Brahmaudanasava 11. 1, (2) Svargaudanasava 12. 3, 3. 6. 1, (3) Catuḥśarāvasava 1. 31. 1, (4) Avisava 3. 29, (5) Ajaudanasava 4. 14, (6) Śataudanasava 10. 9, (7) Brahmāsyaudanasava 4. 34, (8) Pañcaudanasava, (9) Atimṛtyusava 4. 35, (10) Anaduḥsava, 4. 11, (11) Karkisava 4. 38. 5, (12) Pṛśnīsava, 8. 21, 1. 7. 22. 1, (13) Pṛṣṇigāsava 6. 31. 1, 7. 22. 1, (14) Punaḥśīlasava, 6. 30. 1, (15) Pavitrasava 6. 19. 1, (16) Urvarāsava, 7. 104. 1, (17) Rṣabhasava 9. 4, (18) Vaśāsava 10. 10, 12. 4, (19) Gosava 9. 7, (20) Vaśāsava 12. 4, (21) Śālasava 9. 3., (22) Bṛhaspatisava 11. 3 (Keśava on Kauśika 64-66).

All these sacrifices have been dealt with in detail elsewhere,^{5A} from the point of view of mythology. Here it is intended to discuss each *sava* from the point of view of the sacrificial procedure, the oblations etc.

(i) Brahmaudana (11.1). In this *sava* sacrifice rice is cooked and given to the Brāhmaṇas along with gold as the fee. The pro-

cedure is described by Sāyaṇa and Kāuśika (60-63). With the 1st *ṛc* of 11.1, Agni is churned. The *ṛc* (11.1.1) describes that the seven seers (*ṛṣis*) churned Agni. The smoke is addressed with the *ṛc* 11.1.2, which describes the outcome of smoke. Agni thus produced is addressed with the *ṛc* 11.1.3, which describes that Agni is born to cook Brahmaudana. Agni is asked to raise the sacrificer to the highest heaven by cooking the offerings (11.1.4). With the *ṛc* (11.1.4) Agni is blazed up and with 11.1.4d the sacrificer is addressed. Then the offerings of rice are divided in three parts viz., for gods, manes and men. The *ṛc* 11.1.5, similarly prescribes, the three divisions of the oblation. The portion of the gods is deposited in a jar. This share is for protecting the wife of the sacrificer (11.1.6). The rice grains to be offered are placed in a mortar. The *ṛc* 11.1.7 describes the purpose of the act, viz., to ascend the wife of the sacrificer to great heroism. The skin of a bull is spread behind the fire (11.1.8). The mortar and pestle are placed on the skin. The wife handles them. The *ṛc* 11.1.9 identifies the mortar and pestle for pounding the rice grains as the two pressing stones which crush the shoots of Soma (here the rice grains) for the sacrificer. The holy gods have come to the sacrifice, hence the Soma shoots are pressed (11.1.10). The wife takes the winnowing basket (*śūrpa*), which removes those who are hostile to the wife of the sacrificer (11.1.11). By means of the basket she removes the husk, with the recitation of the *ṛcs* 11.1.11-12. The *ṛc* 11.1.12 is addressed to the grains which are asked to be separated from the husk. The purpose of this act is to be superior to all equals and trampling on those who hate the sacrificer. The wife then goes to bring water which is fit for sacrifice (11.1.13). With this *ṛc* a messenger is sent to bring back the wife from the place of water. She then brings water. The *ṛc* 11.1.14 describes that the water, thus brought, elevates her. The water is also the *yajña*, which has come to her. The jar of water is placed on the ground with the *ṛc* 11.1.15. Accordingly the waters, being instructed by the sages are brought there. The *yajña* which the sacrificer is going to perform is expected to bring advancement, protection, offsprings, cattle and heroes for the sacrificer (11.1.15). A pot is kept on the fire for cooking the rice grains. The descendants of the seers heat the pot containing the *caru* with their penance (11.1.16). The water is poured on the rice grains in the pot (11.1.17). The grains are identified with the shoots of Soma, which are purified by the *brahman* and ghee. Then with the *ṛcs* 18-20 the grains are cooked. These *ṛcs* contain the praise of the *caru*, the fruit of the attainment

of the heaven and threat to injure the enemy and his children. The cooked rice is taken out of the pot. This act is like placing the offerings on the altar (Vedi). The wife is blessed to thrive with progeny. The sacrificer goes round the pot of rice thrice with the recitation of the *ṛc* 11.1.22, which is addressed to the pot. The pot is asked to turn to the wife with progeny and divine powers and to repel all curses, hostile magic and diseases. From the ancient times the altar is built and placed with care for the *brahman*, which is here the cooked rice. It is to be served to the four Brāhmaṇas who know the Veda of the Bṛghvaṅgirasas (the AV). With a ladle (*śṛc*) the rice is heaped for the Brāhmaṇas, who as divine beings, sit down near the cooked rice (*havya*), which is like the clarified Soma, occupying the stomach of the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas and their descendants do not come to harm by eating this cooked, rice (11.1.25). He then invokes the four Atharvavedin Brāhmaṇas who are seers born of penance. The Soma (here the rice grains) are asked to infuse harmony in them (11.1.26). He pours water on their hands with a view to receiving whatever he desires (11.1.27). He puts gold on the cooked rice. The gold is the immortal light and the desire-yielding cow. This treasure (gold) is presented to the Brāhmaṇas (11.1.28). The husk (*tuṣa*) is offered in Agni (11.1.29). Ghee is poured on the cooked rice, which is potent to take him to the highest firmament after he has reached the fullest age in this world (11.1.30). He makes a ditch in the rice, where he pours ghee (11.1.31). The *ṛcs* 11.1.32-36 are recited over the rice and ghee is poured on it. The cooked rice is the sacrifice, desire-yielding cow, granting long life, wealth and progeny. The gods cooked the rice and went to the heaven (11.1.36). Thus the cooking of the rice grains and offering it to the Brāhmaṇas is a Somayajña. All details in the process of the cooking and serving are likened to those of a Soma sacrifice. The object of both is to attain the heaven after ripe old age and to secure progeny and wealth. All *ṛcs* in 11.1 can thus be rightly utilised in this sacrifice, which is a symbolical Soma sacrifice. BLOOMFIELD⁶ is not right when he says that there are many signs of secondary or forced employment of the stanzas in the ritual, which brings suspicion that their form and grouping here are not primary and original. The cooking of Brahmaudana (rice cooked for the *brahman*, the heaven or the Brāhmaṇas) by Aditi occurs at TS 6.5.6-1 TB 1.1.9.1, MS 1.6.12. The object of her cooking is to get offsprings.

6. SBE, 42, p. 610.

(ii) Svargaudana (12.3): As before, in this sacrifice too, rice grains are cooked and given to the Brāhmaṇas, with a view to securing *svarga*. The sacrificer, his wife and children step on a skin of a bull and sit round the vessel full of water. As in the Brahmaudanasava, the water is brought and kept on the fire. The grains of rice are poured in it. The cooked rice is expected to take cognisance of the penance (*tapas*) and truthfulness of the sacrificer in this world (12.3.12). While pounding the grains and cooking them, precaution is to be taken, not to pollute the rice, by a black bird touching it or by the rim of the pot in which it is cooked, or a slave girl with wet hands (*āndrahastū dāsī*) touching the mortar and pestle (12.3.13). As in the former sacrifice, here too, the grains of rice stand for the stalks of Soma and mortar and pestle for the pressing stones (12.3.21). The ladle, spoon etc., used in cooking rice are the implements of sacrifice. The cooking pot is asked not to totter on the altar, when pressed by the tools of sacrifice and ghee (12.3.23). The *barhi*, sacred grass is cut with an axe (*paraśu*) and spread on the ground. On it the dish containing the cooked rice is placed. With *āyavana* (stirring stick) and *darvī* (ladle), the rice is to be stirred. Ghee is poured on it (12.3.36-37). The wife may cook this Svargaudana without the notice of her husband or vice versa (12.3.39). All children of the sacrificer come near the cooked rice. The offerings of the rice and ghee are made to Adityas and Aṅgirasas (12.3.40-43). The priestly fee is gold (12.3.50). The Brāhmaṇas are to be clothed with a new home-spun garment (*amota*), which forms the cover for the face of the cooked rice (12.3.51). The sacrificer expects that the offering, powerful enough to reach one to the heaven, should not be lost on account of his misbehaviour or false speech in gambling and assembly hall (12.3.52).

(iii) Catuḥśarāvasava (1.31): According to Kauśika (64.1) the twenty-two *savas* are divided into three types, viz., *nitya* (usual), *naimittika* (casual) and *kāmya* (for some special desire). This is a *kāmya* rite. The hymn (1.31) is to be recited while the oblation of rice is being cooked and enriched with ghee and given over to the Brāhmaṇas for securing some specific desire. Here the oblations are of cooked rice and ghee. The deities are the Āśāpālas, the guardian deities of the quarters, such as Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera. They are expected to free the sacrificer from the snares of Nirṛti and distress and to bring prosperity, and long life for themselves, their

children and cattle (1.31.1-4). This *sava* is called Catuḥśarāva because the offerings are made to the four gods on four potsherds,

(iv) Avisava (3.29): According to Kauṣika (64.2.66.21, 45.17) the hymn 3.29 is to be used in the rite of offering the cooked rice with a white footed goat (*avi*). With the *ṛcs* 3.29.1-5 five cakes (*apūpas*) of rice are to be kept on the four feet of the goat and one on its navel and offered to Agni. With the *ṛcs* 3.29.7-8 the gift of these is made to the Brāhmaṇas. This is not the Catuḥśarāvasava as has been called by WHITNEY.⁷ This sacrifice is performed for escaping the payment of a tax amounting to one-sixteenth part of the merit arising out of the performance of sacrifice and other worldly charitable acts (*iṣṭāpūrta*), to the assembly of Yama after the death of the sacrificer. He secures all desires and designs. He goes to the heaven after his death, without paying any *śulka* (price) for securing entrance in it. He stays in the world of the Pitṛs, moon or sun. Such celestial world is never exhausted (3.29.1-6). The fee given to the Brāhmaṇas is to be properly charmed with the *ṛcs* 3.29.7-8.

(v) Ajaudanasava (4.14): In all *sava* sacrifices the *ṛcs* 4.14.1-3 should be recited. The *ṛcs* describe the close connection between the fire and goat to be sacrificed. Agni helps the sacrificer to reach the heaven. He becomes identified with the sun. Ghee is offered in the fire with the *ṛc*, 4.14.5. With the *ṛc* 4.15.6, the offerings of the goat should be taken on the *darbha* grass and anointed with ghee or milk. With the *ṛcs* 4.14.7-8, the sacrificer takes five balls of cooked rice and with the five parts of the body of the goat keeps them to the five directions. To the east he keeps the head, to the south its right side, to the west its rump, to the north its left side, to the upward direction its back bone, to the earth its belly and to the atmosphere its middle part. The cooked goat is enveloped in its skin and with all its parts offered in the fire. The goat thus offered rises alive with its four legs firm in the four directions (4.14.9).

(vi) Śataudanasava (10.9): In this sacrifice a barren cow (*vaśā*) is killed and is offered with hundred offerings of cooked rice. The offering of such cow's flesh is superior to the performance of sacrifices such as Agniṣṭoma, Atirātra etc. The rice grains are cooked as before. The mouth of the cow is closed with the recitation of the *ṛc* 10.9.1. The cow is then identified with various

requirements of sacrifice. Her skin is the altar, her hair the *barhi* grass and the rope that ties her is the *raśanū* (rope) for tying. The pressing stones crush her. She is fallen down. Thus the cow is the *soma* juice in the *soma* sacrifice (10. 9. 2). Her tail is the broom (*prokṣaṇī*). She then becomes clean and fit for sacrifice. She is divided into hundred parts and scattered on the *barhi* grass with hundred rice dishes (10. 9. 3). The sacrificer places a cake on her navel and other hundred dishes on her and secures a place in the heaven (10. 9. 5). The gold is given as the fee (10.9.6). There are *śamītr̥s* (killers) and *pakṣr̥s* (cooks) of the cow, who protect her (10. 9. 7). The offerings are sprinkled with ghee (10. 9. 11). The offering of her different parts in Agni, secures in return, for the sacrificer curds, milk, honey and ghee (10. 9. 13) and the heaven, (10. 9. 25). In this sacrifice too, mortar, pestle, skin of a bull, winnowing basket are used for cooking the rice grains (10. 9. 26). Water is poured on the hands of the Brāhmaṇas for securing all desires (10. 9. 27).

(vii) *Brahmāsyaudanasava* (4.34): This *sava* is offered for securing the heaven, with all its pleasures, including sexual. The main rite in this is that on a heap of cooked rice, ditches and canals are made. The ditches are filled with the bulb-bearing lotuses, bulbs of *padma* lotus, bulbs of *utpala* lotus, hoop-shaped bulbs and stalks of lotus. The canals are filled with honey, ghee, strong wine, milk, water and curds. These are all spread on the surface of the cooked rice. This is thus the expanded offering (*viṣṭhārin*). Four vessels full of ghee, curds, milk and wine are kept in the four directions. This offering is given to the Brāhmaṇas (4.34.5-8). Thus on the cooked rice the sacrificer offers lotus bulbs and stalks, water, wine, milk, curds, and ghee. These secure for him lotus ponds, sexual vigour and all pleasures. The AV specifically tells that his sexual organ is not burnt in the fire. His seed is not robbed by Yama. In the heaven there are many women for him (4.34. 2, 4). There is thus very strong sensual and sexual appeal to the performer of the sacrifice.

(viii) *Pañcaudanasava* (9.5): The grains of rice are cooked in the manner described in (i). A goat is killed and cooked with the recitation of the *ṛcs* 9.5.1-6. Before killing, the feet of the goat are washed (9.5.3). Its skin is cut off with a knife. With a sword (*asi*), it is cut joint by joint. Then all joints are put together (9.5.4). With the *ṛc* 9.5.5, a pot containing all parts of the goat is placed on the fire. It is then cooked. It is then given

to a Brāhmaṇa, with five rice dishes. It removes darkness on the path to the heaven for the sacrificer (9.5.7). The fee to the priest is five gold coins, five home-spun garments (*amotam vāsaḥ* 9.5.14) and five cows. Soma is also offered on the goat, when offered in the fire (9.5.15). Agni carries the oblations to the heaven, the world of Sūrya (9.5.18). The scattered particles of rice and parts of goat are offered in the fire (9.5.19). The persons desirous of securing light in the heaven and also the world of the light after death, perform this sacrifice. Also a widow, who remarries may perform this sacrifice to be united with her husband in the heaven. Her later husband with his remarried spouse comes to the same world (9.5.27-23). Also the sacrificer should offer a cow with calf, a bull, a pillow, a garment and gold to secure the heaven (9.5.29). This sacrifice also has magical value in that it burns the unfriendly persons, thieves and foes of the sacrificer and prosper him (9.5.31).

(ix) Atimṛtyusava (4.35): By offering the cooked rice, one crosses death and obtains the heaven alive. It seems that the fire on which the rice grains are cooked is deposited one year before (4.35.4). The performer of this sacrifice gets immortality (4.35.6). The cooked rice with ghee is offered in Agni and given to the Brāhmaṇas.

(x) Anaḍuhsava (4.11): Bull is the victim in this sacrifice. It is to be killed and offered with the cooked rice, obtained from the field ploughed by that bull (4.11.1). The fruit secured from this sacrifice is similar to that of Agniṣṭoma sacrifice (4.22.3). The offering is cooked in a caldron (*gharma*, 4.11.6). The offering of the bull removes misfortune. It fertilises the earth. The farmers secure more food from the earth (4.11.10). The vow and penance are to be performed for twelve nights (4.11.11).

(xi) Karkisava 4.38.5, (xii) Pṛṣṇisava, 8.21.1, 7.22.1, (xiii) Pṛṣṇigāsava, 6.31.1, (xiv) Punaḥśīlasava and (xv) Pavitrasava 6.19.1, are the *savas* in which respectively the *karki* (a white calf) with a cow, spotted animal such as a sheep, spotted cow, honey mixed with barley and rice cooked with sesame are offered in the fire and given to the Brāhmaṇas.⁸

(xvi) Urvarāsava (6.30.1): A cultivated field is offered to a Brāhmaṇa according to Kauśika (66.17). The hymn 6.30 refers to

8. For details see N. J. SHENDE, op. cit.

the cow given to Atharvan by Varuṇa. It may be that the cow is the field.

(xvii) *Rṣabhasava* (9.4): A bull is to be killed and offered to the various deities. It is a symbolical Soma sacrifice; for the bull is *soma* (9.4.6). Such offering is a sacrifice yielding a thousand-fold prosperity (9.4.7). It is then given to the Brāhmaṇas (9.4.10). The Brahmā priest praises the parts of the bull (9.4.11). The offerings of the parts of the bull are made to Agni, Indra, Anumatī, Bhaga, Mitra, Ādityas, Bṛhaspati, Vāta, Sinīvālī, Sūrya, Soma, tortoise, worms, eyes and ears (9.4.12.17). As a result of the sacrifice the funeral fire does not burn him after his death (9.4.18). The bull, then, is given to a Brāhmaṇa for securing the prosperity of the cows in his stalls (9.4.19).

(xviii) *Vaśāsava* (10.10): According to Kauśika (66.50) a cow is killed, sprinkled with water, offered to the gods in sacrifice and finally given to the Brāhmaṇas. The cow is an all-footed sacrifice (10.10.27). By offering a cow in sacrifice, the sacrificer gets water, cultivated fields, kingdom, food and milk (10.10.6) and also he attains the heaven (10.10.33).

(xix) A cow is killed and its different parts are offered to the different deities (9.7). The cow being of universal form, all deities preside over its different parts, which are offered to them (9.7.18). This is called *Gosava*.

(xx) *Vaśāsava* (12.4): At 10.10 an ordinary cow is killed and offered in sacrifice. At 9.7 its different parts are offered to different deities. With the hymn 12.4, *Vaśā* a sterile cow is offered. By reciting the hymn 5.12, four pieces of the omnetum of the cow are offered. In this hymn, all normal deities in an *Āprī* hymn are praised. Offerings of ghee are made in the fire with the hymn 2.34 (Kauśika, 44.7). The victim (here *vaśā*) which is brought near the post and killed is expected to become the dear food of the gods (2.34.2). With the hymn 12.4 *Vaśā* is praised. It should be given away to the Brāhmaṇas (12.4.48).

(xxi) *Śālāsava* (9.3): In this *sava* a house, constructed out of grass reeds, mats, timber, poles, bolts, ropes etc., is given to a Brāhmaṇa so that in the world after death, the giver would get a firmly built house (9.3.4, 10, 18). The receiver of the gift may carry it wherever he wants after dismantling it (9.3.1-8, 24). The house has in it Agni, water, cattle etc. (9.3.14, 22, 23). The house is like the

halls constructed in the Soma sacrifice. Its various apartments are the various parts of the sacrificial chamber, such as the receptacle of Soma, house for Agni, apartment for the wife of the sacrificer, seats for the priests and gods (*havirdhāna, agniśālā, patnī-sadana, sadah*, 9.3.7). The offering of the house as a gift is the same as the offering of *soma* sacrifice. According to Kausika and Keśava (66.22-30) all things to be given along with the house are placed in it. With 9.3.18, the door of the house is opened. With the *ṛc* 9.3.22, the water and fire are taken in it. With the whole hymn, the house, giver and receiver are sprinkled with the water. With the *ṛc* 9.3.15, the priest accepts the gift. With the *ṛc* 9.3.1, the priest loosens the beams, ropes etc., of the house. With the *ṛc* 9.3.24 he carries off the gift.⁹ Thus this *sava* is a symbolical sacrifice offered to secure a house in the heaven.

(xxii) Brhaspatisava (11.3): Rice grains are cooked and given to one's hater, to kill him. According to Keśava (on Kausika 64-66), there are these 22 *savas*. But the *savas* in which bull or cow is offered are repeated (x, xii, xiii, xvii, xviii, xix, xx). On the whole it may be said from the hymns of the AV, that the offerings of the cooked rice, goat, sheep, cow, bull, a field and a house formed the main gifts to the Brāhmaṇas. The victims were killed and their various parts were offered to their presiding deities. The gift constituted a fully offered sacrifice with the same fruit, viz, to secure the prosperous and bright heaven after the death of the giver or sacrificer. Thus these sacrifices are symbolical of the old sacrifices such as Rājasūya, Vājapeya, Agniṣṭoma, Cayana, Aśvamedha, Satra, Agnihotra, Ekarātra, Dvirātra, Sadyaskrī, Prakrī, Ukthya, Catūrātra, Pañcarātra, Śoḍaśī, Saptarātra, Viśvajit, Abhijit, Atirātra, Sāhna and Dvādaśāha (11.7.6-12). These are found in the remnant of the offerings of the Brahmaudana sacrifice,

It is important to note here that in the AV, a stage is reached when all these Vedic sacrifices had become obsolete and the practice had started to perform symbolical sacrifices which consisted in offering certain gifts to the Brāhmaṇas to secure the same object, viz., the heaven. The AV does not disregard the old sacrifices, but supplies easy substitutes for them. Another example of such symbolical sacrifices is seen in treating the hospitality shown to a

9. According to BLOOMFIELD, *SBE*, p. 505, the hymn refers to the removal of the house that has been presented to the priest as a sacrificial reward. ZIMMER, *Translation of AV* p. 151 holds that the hymn is employed for freeing one's house from witchcraft.

guest as the performance of a sacrifice (9.6).¹⁰ Also tying an amulet of *khadira* is the same as performing a sacrifice with hundred cows as the fees (10.6.4, 34).

(7) The stages in the evolution of sacrifice :

In the sacrificial system of the AV, the usual sacrifices performed by the followers of the three Vedas, had their place. The sacrificial terminology is also fully developed. Offerings are also given to the various implements of sacrifices, such as the *darbha* grass, scythe, axe and altar, which are asked to accept the sacrifice (7.28.1). The altar is scattered with *darbha* grass. The seat of Hotṛ is golden. This ensures golden ornaments for the sacrificer in the heaven (7.99.1). The metres such as *gāyatrī*, *uṣṇij*, *anuṣṭubh*, *br̥hatī*, *pañkti*, *triṣṭubh*, and *jagatī* are offered oblations (19.21.1). The sacrificer being complete with his soul, eyes, ears, and breaths, undertakes the work of sacrifice under the impulse of Savitṛ (19.51.1-2).

The main object of performing sacrifice according to the three Vedas is to secure the heaven. The AV also accepted this ideal, along with the magical power of the sacrifice (the *brahman*), which they employed to kill the enemies, haters and rivals of the sacrificer. Thus the sacrifice was believed to possess some mysterious power, which secured the desired object. Thus sacrifice (*yajña*) became a deity, which is the lord and source of all sacrifices and to whom all offerings go (7.97.5). All offerings to the gods or undesirable deities (*huta* and *ahuta*), offered with the call *vaṣat*, reach *yajña* (7.97.7). Thus sacrifice possessed *māyā* (the mysterious power, or the *brahman*) on account of which, the priest practises the *brahman*, and unites the whole world (19.68.1). In the process of evolution of sacrifice in the AV, we find that firstly the sacrifice is associated with magic. In this stage, sacrifice was employed for magical purposes along with its usual object described before. Herein also we find the sacrifices like those in the three Vedas and those offered to the Vedic gods like Indra, Agni etc., in the AV. The object of such magical sacrifices was to secure the heaven, worldly prosperity and annihilation of the enemies.

In the next stage of evolution, we find the symbolical sacrifices. The magical sacrifices being simple in procedure and less technical, they took the place of complicated system of the older sacrifices. Here also as before the sacrificial act and the magical power

10. N. J. SHENDE, *supra*.

arising out of it were called the *brahman*. In this stage the *sava* sacrifices were performed. The main part in such sacrifices is the gift given to the Brāhmaṇas for sacuring the heaven.

In the next stage, sacrifice occupied a position of importance and became a deity. Magical power (*brahman*) was ascribed to it. By means of the *brahman*, one hoped to secure all desires.

In the last stage the *brahman* became the sacrifice. The mysterious power secured by the consecration and penance, which are essential in all magical and sacrificial acts, enveloped all parts of sacrifice such as Hotṛ, Adhvaryu, posts, oblation, ladles full of ghee, and altar (19.42.1-2). The *brahman* is the essence of sacrifice, priests and oblations. This *brahman* is secured by meditation in the mind (19.58.1). Thus the attainments of sacrifice are due to the miraculous power of the *brahman*, which controls everything, including sacrifice. The *brahman* is everything in the sacrifice and sacrifice itself.

In short, in the AV sacrifice is associated with magic. It is then possessed of the magical power, which is the *brahman*. The sacrifice becomes the *brahman*. Finally the *brahman* is sacrifice and everything in the universe. It is attained by the magical and sacrificial acts, consecrations and penance. The sacrifice itself passed through the stages such as actual performance, symbolical performance and mental performance. This stage brings us nearer to the Upaniṣadic Brahman, which also formed the main object of the Atharvāṇic thinkers.

VIII

THE BRAHMAN IN THE AV

1—Introduction. 2—The first stage in the meaning of the word, *brahman*. 3—The second stage. 4—The third stage. 5—The fourth stage. 6—The other views. 7—Review.

1. The word *brahman* occurs about 230 times in AV. The word is accented on the first syllable and is in neuter. The other word *brahman* is accented on the last syllable and is in masculine. The word in neuter denotes the object or the thing. The word in masculine denotes the person, who is endowed with or possesses the *brahman*¹. It is with the word *brahman* in neuter that we are concerned here.

2. Attempts have been made by a number of scholars to understand the meaning of the word *brahman*. Investigations in this respect pertained to the interpretation of this word, occurring in the RV, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads.² No particular attempt is made to investigate the meaning of the word occurring in the AV. S. K. BELVALKAR, in this connection points out that owing to the contact and fusion of two opposite racial cultures of the invading Aryans and the original settlers in India, the word *brahman* in the Atharvavedic period signified 'magical formula' as distinguished from 'a simple prayer' which was the significance of that word in the Rgvedic period.³ It is with a view to throwing further light on this problem, that a detailed inquiry into the significance of the word *brahman* in the AV, is undertaken here.

The word *brahman* is used in the AV with more or less the same significance everywhere. In a number of places⁴ it means

1. A. HILLEBRANDT: *Brahman*, ERE edited by Hastings: Vol. II. p. 797.

2. J. CHARPENTIER: *Brahman*, Uppsala 1932. H. G. NARAHARI *Indian, Culture* vol. 8. pp. 137-147 and BHATTACHARYA V. C. *The growth of the concept of Brahman*, III Indian Philosophical conference Bombay 1927 and others mentioned later on.

3. *Brahman, barasman—bricht—bhrāj*. Fourth Oriental Conference Proceedings vol. II. p. 8; and BELVALKAR and RANADE: *History of Indian Philosophy* vol. II. pp. 10-14.

4. 19.9.3-5; 6.108-2; 212.6; and 1.11.1.

the magical power that arises from the magical acts. The performer of the magical practices claims to possess some miraculous power produced from the magical act and the utterance of formula. This miraculous power, called the *brahman*, sharpens the five organs of sense and mind. Thus his eyes, tongue, nostrils, ears and skin along with mind become sharpened and are capable of producing what is terrible. The performer of the magical acts, be he the Atharvanic priest or any individual, is possessed of such power by means of which he can bring about deadly consequences. His speech is also sharpened by the *brahman* (*brahmasamhitā* 19.9.3-5). The speech or the utterances of the magician play a very important part in the magical practices. All organs of knowledge, mind, heart and speech acquire a special power, which is not found in ordinary individuals, who do not practise magic. His intelligence (*medhā*) is also possessed of and urged by the *brahman*.⁵ The *brahman* thus is the miraculous power, which brings additional potency to the ears, five different organs, heart, mind and intelligence of the priest or the individual, who practises the magical acts. The power thus acquired by the priest of magic can be united with any substance such as a stone, tree, water etc., and those substances can bring about good or bad effects of magic. Thus the water, used in magical practices called the water-thunderbolt is joined with the *brahman*, i. e. the miraculous power. The water is thrown in different directions to conquer the enemies. It is thus the association of the *brahman* with the water (*brahmayoga*) that charges the water with the miraculous power and leads to success.⁶ In another instance (1.10.1), the priest is engaged in a healing rite against dropsy, which is brought about by the curse of the fierce Varuṇa. The head of the patient is washed.⁷ This is the act, in which the priest is engaged. But he claims that as he is sharpened by the *brahman*, he is competent to take the patient out of the snares of Varuṇa.⁸ The *brahman* thus is the invisible potency that arises in the priest or the performer of magic, by means of which the cure of the disease is effected. The priest thus claiming the possession of miraculous

5. *Medhā* is described as *brahmaṇvati* and *brahmayūtā*: cf. 6. 108. 2. SĀYANA has no fixed sense for the word *brahman*. Here he understands the word to mean the Veda probably the Atharvaveda.

6. *Jiṣṇave yogāya*, 10.5.1.

7. *Kaṣika* 25.37.

8. *Brahmaṇa śāsadānūh* is interpreted by Sāyana 'becoming sharp with by *brahman* which means prayers or oblations. GRIFFITH takes it to mean 'worship' and WHITNEY understands it to be prayer.

power defies all rivals and haters. The magical act from which the invisible power arises is also termed as the *brahman*. For instance, 'He, who abuses our *brahman*, which is being performed...etc.' (2.12.6). In this case the *brahman* is the magical act of cutting of a staff with an axe to represent the killing of the enemy.⁹ The priest threatens his enemies to be reduced to the state of the falling of the staff, cut by the axe. Thus the *brahman* stands for the magical act and also the miraculous power, coming from it, and sharpening the speech, mind and organs of the priest.

The *brahman* is different from *yajña* (sacrifice), *satya* (truth), *ṛta* (the Eternal Law), *dīkṣā* (consecration) and *tapas* (penance). All these along with the *brahman* support the earth (12.1.1). At another place (8.10.25) the *brahman* is separately mentioned along with *tapas*; the *brahman* and the *tapas* are milked by Bṛhaspati Aṅgīrasa from Virāj. On these two, the seven sages live. Thus the Saptarṣis or the seven sages maintain themselves on the miraculous power arising out of the magical practices and penance. In all activities of the priests of magic, the *brahman* is yoked, before, after, at the end, in the middle and everywhere (14.1.64). This ensures complete success in all their undertakings. At the commencement of the magical practices, a girdle (*mekhalā*) is tied on the performer with the *brahman*. The speech, act and mental equipment of the performer of magic is sharpened by the *brahman*; therefore he is in a position to transfer his power to the object like the girdle here (6.133.3).

The miraculous power thus secured by the priest of magic brings about wonderful consequences. The *brahman* confers peace on the person, who longs for it (19.10.7). The *brahman* fixes a site for a new house. It unfastens the structure of the old house (9.3.19.8). The deified Vṛātya rests his head on the pillow of the *brahman* (15.3.7). This miraculous power covers a person on all sides and offers him as it were an armour. The priest of magic is covered with the *brahman* of Prajāpati, as an armour (17.1.27). Brahmacārin, a student of the *brahman*, a repository of such wonderful power, resorts to a stronghold, where the *brahman* yields to him both refuge and defence (19.19.8).¹⁰ Thus the *brahman* is a stronghold or a reservoir of miraculous power. Whosoever resorts to

9. Kausika 47.12.

10. Sāyaṇa takes here *brahman* to mean, the Veda. It is possible that the Atharvaveda is intended by him.

that stronghold, is completely protected and well armoured against any calamity. His enemies or rivals are killed; for, the *brahman* is his inner defence. Thus the power is within him (1.19.4, 19.9.5).¹¹ This inner defence of the *brahman* is extensive and cannot be penetrated (9.2.16). Armoured with this inner defence of the *brahman*, the priest of magic works out wonders. He can kill his rival and send him out of the world. He can cut off the seven vital breaths and eight marrows or the veins round the neck by means of the *brahman*. This power to cut off the life of any undesirable person is claimed by the priest as due the *brahman* (2.12.7).¹² Such power was possessed by the eminent Atharvanic seers such as Aṅgiras, Atharvan, Bhṛgu, Bṛhaspati, Asita, Gaya, Kaśyapa and Agastya. The priests of magic of the successive generations also secured similar power. On one occasion (1.14.4) the priest of magic declares that with the *brahman* of Asita, Gaya, and Kaśyapa, he would close the fortune of the unmarried girl i. e. he would inflict spinsterhood on her.

This power can be used for the benefit of the patrons of the priests of magic. They assure their patron that none dies, all live in the house where the *brahman* is performed. The *brahman* is obviously the magical rite. Equipped with the power, the priest of magic can bring back a person dangerously ill or already dead (8.2.25). He can cure skin diseases, like white leprosy by means of his *brahman* (1.18.4). Even the fierce god Varuṇa, who inflicts dropsy on the wrongdoers, is ordered by the priest of magic to reverence his *brahman* (1.10.4).¹³ With the *brahman* of Agastya, worms in the body are killed by the priest of magic (2.32.3). It removes the evil spirit called Grāhī (6.113.1, 3).

The miraculous power or the *brahman*, which is secured by the *purohita*, the royal priest, plays a very important part in the political activities. The *purohita*, who is possessed of the *brahman* claims that the king, whose priest he is, is bound to be quite mighty. In

11. Sāyaṇa is nearer to our interpretation in the case (1.19.4) when he says that the charm or the network of charms which is being employed here should cover us in such a manner that two courses of the enemies would not touch us.

12. Sāyaṇa explains the word *brahman* here as the charm or the act of magic. WHITNEY translates it as incantation. BLOOMFIELD takes it to mean charm. Elsewhere (2.12.6) he explains it as the holy practice. Obviously this holy practice is the practice of magic only.

13. WHITNEY takes *brahman* to mean incantations. Sāyaṇa on the other hand takes it to be oblations or prayer.

this case the *brahman* of the *purohita* is nothing but the power he has secured by the performance of the magical rites (3.19.1).¹⁴ The war-drum is also sharpened by the *brahman* (5.20.10). The priest of magic declares that he would kill the enemies by means of his *brahman* of unfailing capacity (3.19.5). A branch of *āsvattha*, charmed by the *brahman* (i. e. the miraculous power transferred to the branch) is capable of driving off the enemies on the battle-field (3.6.8). The *brahman* penetrates the enemies, who are compelled to run away (83.19). Thus on the battle-field along with the fighting forces the magical practices of the *purohitas* bring about the defeat of the enemy. The rival party also employs the *brahman*. But the success comes to the stronger power or the *brahman* of the *purohita*. The *purohita* makes the king strong, with the power of Agni, which is yoked by him for his patron (7.78.2).

The magical act (*brahman*) when performed in the house makes the gods not to go apart, nor hate each other, and brings about concord in the different contending members of the household (3.30.4). The grief caused by bad dreams is removed by the *brahman* (7.100.1). The snares of the hereditary disease, perdition and curses are all removed by the *brahman*, which makes the man sinless (2.10.1-8).¹⁵ The *brahman* increases the newly married bride with progeny (14.1.54). The cow of a Brāhmaṇa is capable of working disaster, because it is guided by the *brahman* (12.5.4). The Gandharvas assuming charming form and enticing women are killed by the *brahman* (4.37.11).

So far we have seen the first stage in the significance of the term, *brahman*. In this stage we notice that by the performance of magical rites certain miraculous power or potency arises, fills and sharpens the performer of magic. On account of that potency he can cure diseases, expel evil forces, bring success to the fighting forces of the king and bring about comfort and concord in the domestic matters. Thus here the *brahman* stands for the magical act or the power arising out of that.

14. WHITNEY is doubtful regarding the meaning of the word *brahman* here. He mentions 'incantations' as the meaning with a question mark. Śāyana takes the term to mean *brāhmaṇatva*, sharpened by the charms; the *brahman* thus sharpened leads to unfailing results. In short he means the power of the Brāhmaṇa arising out of and sharpened by the *brahman*, the magical rites.

15. Śāyana on 2.10.1 remarks that the priest of magic claims that the capacity for bringing out the effect is not due to his power, but the miraculous power of the charms.

3. In the matters of sacrifice, the Atharvaṇic priests brought forth their *savayajñas*, a simplification of the elaborate sacrifices. It must be noticed that these *savayajñas* did not come in the place of the Ṛgvedic sacrifices, but were in addition to them. These *savas* or *yajñas* were performed for securing welfare and status in the life after death. Now the question is about the position and meaning of the word *brahman* in these *savas* and *yajñas*. We find passages in the AV, describing separateness of the *brahman* from *yajña* and also complete identification of the *brahman* and the *yajña*. Thus we may start with their separate nature and end with their identification. In the *sava* sacrifice, the *brahman* is personified and it forms the parts of the various offerings. The *brahman* is the head of the *viṣṭhūrīn* offerings in the *brahmaudanusava* (4.34.1). The *brahman* is the mouth of the cooked rice in the *odana sava* (11.3.1). Thus it seems that the *brahman* is the personification of the miraculous power, forming an important part of these offerings. In the *sava* sacrifice of a bull, the sacrificer remains consecrated for 12 nights. The *brahman* is within these 12 nights. Obviously the miraculous power arising out of the performance of such sacrifices remains effective so long as the sacrifice continues (4.11.1). Agni increases the *brahman* and the *yajña*. Agni thus increases the power and the ritual of sacrifice (3.20.5). The *brahman* also stands for the priesthood (15.10.3). The Brahman and the Kṣātra are not afraid of any one (2.15.4).¹⁶ Finally the *brahman* and *yajña* are completely identified. The *brahman* is the *hotṛ* (invoking priest), the sacrifice, the sacrificial ladle filled with ghee, and the essence of sacrifice. Adhvaryu (the officiating priest) is born from the *brahman* and the oblation is put in the *brahman* (19.42.1-2). Thus the priests, fire, oblations and all rituals of sacrifice are identified with the *brahman*. The fruit arising out of the performance of *yajña* is identical with the *brahman*. The *brahman* here stands for the mysterious power, which arises out of the magical rites, *savayajñas* or Ṛgvedic *yajñas*. This power is personified. In the magical rites this power remains in the sum-total of the magical rites or in the performer of magic. In the *savas* and *yajñas* this power is responsible for securing the heaven to the sacrificer.

4. The next stage in the evolution of the sense of the word *brahman* is reached, when we find all deities function or owe their function to the *brahman*. The Ādityas, the Rudras, the Vasus are

16. WHITNEY explains the word *brahman* here as sacrament, Brahminhood, or Brāhmaṇa caste. The Brāhmaṇas might be called *brahman* because they possessed the miraculous power arising out of sacrificial rites.

invoked to accept the new *brahman*, the magical rite that is being performed (19.11.4.). Agni is increased by the *brahman* (1.8.4).¹⁷ Thus the strength of Agni is due to the *brahman*, the potency or the power of the magical rites. Being equipped with such potency or the *brahman*, Agni Jātavedas was able to bring draughts (*payas*) for Indra (1.9.3). Indra is increased with the unharmed *brahman* of the priests of magic. The power of Indra is due to their magical performances (18.1.12). Bṛhaddiva Atharvan made Indra, possessed of the *brahman*, which formed his strength (5.2.8). Thus the greatness and power of Indra is derived from the *brahman*. Rohita is possessed of Agni, enkindled by the *brahman*. The heat and energy of Rohita or the sun are derived from the *brahman* (13.1.48). Rohita as a king is asked to watch on the people in his kingdom with the *brahman* (13.1.9.) The deified Vṛātya becomes the *brahman* (16.1.3). Thus all prominent deities receive and increase their power from the *brahman*, which is the mighty power arising out of the practices of the priests of magic. Thus the *brahman* stands for the power or the spirit behind the deities.

5. In the next stage in the evolution of the sense of the word *brahman* we find that the word is used to signify the power or the spirit behind the creation. The *brahman* dwells in the gods, men, divine folks and lunar mansions (10.2.23). The *brahman* is thus the central pivot around which all human and divine beings and the luminaries hinge. This spirit or the power behind the whole universe is surrounded by all heroism. The *brahman* is personified and is represented as the greatest hero. It is the first to be born in the whole creation. It performed mighty deeds. It stretched forth the sky in the beginning (19.22.21). The earth and the atmosphere were created by the Brahman (10.2.25). It has got feet and many forms. All quarters live on it (9.10.19). The Brahman is thus the great personified being having feet and forms. Atithi or the guest in the house is the direct Brahman. The Brahman has got joints, spine, hair and heart like other human bodies (9.6.1). In fact the human being is the miniature form of the great Brahman. The Brahman resides in man (10.7.17). Thus the spirit or the power of a man is the same as that of the Highest Brahman. The Brahman also resides in the person, who studies the *brahman* (*brahmacārīn* 11.5-22). The miraculous power which is behind the human and divine creation and which is personified lives in a stronghold which is

17. WHITNEY renders the word *brahman* as worship. Śāyana takes it to mean charm.

surrounded by glory (10.7.23). The stronghold of the Brahman means the sum-total of the miraculous power, energy or spirit. It is covered with the immortality. A person who knows the stronghold of the Brahman is granted the sight, breath and progeny. Thus the Brahman grants long life, worldly happiness and continuity of race. One gets all these things, when one realises the miraculous power behind the universe. One need not go out to seek this Brahman. Puruṣa or the man is the stronghold of the Brahman. Thus the magical power secured by the man is also capable of securing the power ruling the universe (10.2.19-30). The Brahman thus achieved is an entity in Time. It is settled in Kāla (19.53.8). The shining sun is the power behind the whole universe. It is the Brahman (13.2.13.33). The highest Brahman is the sun (4.1.1). All gods know this Brahman (10.7.24). The Brahman is the mouth of Skambha, the great god who supports all. His mouth is also described to be the Atharvāṅgirasas, the Atharvaveda. The AV or the attainment of the magical power taught therein, which is nothing but the Brahman, is the mouth Skambha (10.7.19-20). This is the Higher Brahman. The highest Brahman has the atmosphere as the belly. The sun and the moon are its eyes. Agni is its mouth. Wind is its breath and expiration (*prāṇa* and *apāna*). The Ṃgirasas are also described to be his eyes. He is the wonderful spirit in the midst of the creation (10.7.32-38). The spirit or power residing man becomes wide and extensive. It occupies and supports everything. The Ṃgirasas or the Atharvāṅgirasas form its mouth or eyes. It thus can see and maintain itself on the AV, or the power secured by the Atharvāṇic magical practices. This is the great Brahman, which people know (1.32.1).¹⁸ Thus the highest Brahman is the miraculous power attained by the magical practices of the AV. It is not, therefore, surprising when the Atharvāṇic poets describe the AV, as the Brahman. The Brahman is one of the names of the AV (15.6.8). In the same way the homage is paid to the Brahman forming the parts of the AV (19.22.20).¹⁹ The Brahman or the AV grants the brahmanic lustre and the stay in the world of the Brahman. (19.71.1). The knowers of the Brahman after the death go to the world of the Brahman (*brahmaloka* 19.43). Agni leads them to the world disposed by the Brahman (18.4.5).

18. WHITNEY explains the word *brahman* here as 'great mystery'. Sāyana treats it as 'the extensive *brahman*'.

19. Sāyana explains the word *brahman* here as the AV consisting of twenty books.

The Atharvavedins consider that the followers of the AV go to the *brahmaloka*, which is topmost in the luminous worlds above.²⁰

The word *brahman* thus passes through the four stages of its significance. Firstly it signifies the magical acts or the miraculous power arising out of it. In the second stage it refers to the power arising out of the performance of the *savas* or the *yajñas*. In the third stage it is the power behind all deities. Finally it is the ruling power behind the universe which is also found in man and which is equivalent to the AV, called the *Brahmaveda*. In all these stages the general sense of the word is the mysterious power arising out of the magical practices, taught in the AV.

6. WHITNEY, WEBER, BLOOMFIELD and Sāyaṇa do not assign any uniform significance to the word *brahman*. But in the attempt, I have made, here it is possible to explain satisfactorily all references to the word in a manner suitable to the Atharvaṇic ideology.

Regarding the etymology of the word *brahman*, BELVALKAR²¹ has reviewed four 'schools' of the scholars. The earliest is, he points out the view of the great lexicographers, BHOTLINGK and ROTH, who derived the word from the root *bṛh-barh*, to fall on or strengthen and denoted it as "the godward striving devotion, which appears as an impassioned longing or as an exuberance of spirit and particularly the pious expression of it in the service of the divine". This derivation of the word was endorsed in the main by DEUSSEN and others. DEUSSEN²² considers that the word means nothing but the lifting and spirituating power of prayer. GELDNER²³ in the *Glossar* takes the word to denote the mysterious power which inspires the poet and makes him a seer. Next is the view of HAUG,²⁴ who derived the word from *bṛh* to grow. The *brahman* here signifies the means of securing the growth viz. worship, prayer, etc. He finds out the relation between the *brahman* and the Avestic *buressman*. This view, BELVALKAR²⁵ points out was accepted in part by HILLEBRANDT.²⁶ This view is ably stated by GRISWOLD in somewhat modified form. He derives the word from

20. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* 2. 24.

21. *loc. cit.*

22. *System of Vedānta*, p. 49.

23. *ibid.*

24. cf. Introduction to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* p. 4, And also DASGUPTA: *History of Indian Philosophy* vol. 1, p. 20.

25. *ibid.*

26. *ERE* vol. II, p. 796.

the root *bṛh* (Indo-European *bhrgh*) in the sense of growth, upward extension and strength.²⁷ He points out that the RV emphasises its form and function, and the AV, its power and potency.²⁸ OSTHOFF,²⁹ OLDENBERG,³⁰ and HILLEBRANDT³¹ connect the word *brahman* with the Irish word, *briht* meaning magic. These point out that the belief in a mysterious magic fluid or *Zauberfluidum* filling the whole world and manifesting in a given substance by the use of charms, incantations etc., is the common property of all primitive faiths. The *brahman* embodies this *Zauberfluidum* par excellence.³² Later on OLDENBERG³³ modified his theory and pointed out that the term stands for the holy word. The latest theory according to BELVALKAR is that of HARTEL. He derives the word from the root *bhrāj*, or Latin *flagro* and means the fire light.³⁴ But the etymology of the word suggested by HARTEL is not convincing. BELVALKAR reviewing the position of the four views on *brahman*, concludes that starting with the idea of a ritualistico-magical fluid it is at least possible to imagine a stage in which fire-light was believed to contain the *Zauberfluidum* constituting the most important denotation of the term *brahman*.³⁵ WINTERNITZ³⁶ considers that in the Veda the word always means mere formula and verses containing secret magic power.

7. Now reviewing the position of the word *brahman* in the light of the discussion on the etymology and significance of the word *brahman* we may point out that in the AV, as a whole; the word stands for the magical act or the mysterious power which arises out of that act in the priest and which pervades the man and universe. We do not find any reference to the *brahman* in the sense fire light, as proposed by HARTEL. The *brahman* is rather the *Zauberfluidum*, as suggested by OLDENBERG earlier.

27. *The Religion of the R̥gveda*, p. 173.

28. BELVALKAR, *ibid.*

29. Cited by WINTERNITZ *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I p. 247.

30. WINTERNITZ, *ibid.*

31. *ERE supra.*

32. BELVALKAR, loc. cit. and GRISWOLD, *ibid.* p. 175.

33. cited by BELVALKAR, *ibid.*

34. 'Das Brahman' in *Indogerman Forschungen*, 41. 1923 pp. 185. cited by WINTERNITZ, *ibid.*

35. *ibid.*

36. *ibid.*

IX

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ATHARVAVEDA TO THE UPANIŠADIC THOUGHT

(1) Introduction, (2) The thoughts about Brahman, (3) The ideas about life and death, (4) The sacrifice and the world attained by it, (5) Life after death.

I. Introduction

I have attempted here to describe the thoughts in the AV about the Brahman, life, death, *svarga*, sacrifice and the Pitr̥s. Even though we do not notice a clear-cut philosophical system in the AV, we find clear notions about these, scattered in the AV. In some hymns of the RV (10.82,121,129) there are philosophical thoughts regarding the origin and creator of the world; but the philosophy of the Brahman and Atman, discussed in the Upaniṣads, can be said to have its origin in the AV. The mysterious nature of the Brahman, its miraculous powers and its origin in the spells and penance of the seers can be seen in the AV. The Upaniṣads do contain references to the magical and mysterious power of the spells of the seers (Br. Up. 6.3.4). Similarly the Upaniṣadic doctrines about the universality and indestructibility of the soul and the sacrificial ritual as means to attain the world of the Brahman are also found in the AV. But theory of the *karman* and transmigration of the soul are unknown to it. We can say that the Atharvaṇic seers, in trying to reform the Vedic sacrificial system, went a step further in attributing magical significance to the sacrificial Brahman. They thus evolved the Brahman with all powers to create, at the same time being created by the *tapas*, sacrifice and witchcraft of the Atharvaṇic seers. The compilation of the AV is approximately fixed at the juncture of the split in the YV between the Black and White. We can thus assume that the philosophical thoughts in the AV are pre-Upaniṣadic and form a state leading to the thought ferment of the Upaniṣadic period. They fill up the gap between the Brahmanism of the sacrificial religion and the Brahma vidyā of the Upaniṣads. The AV contains the philosophical matter more than the other Vedas. Perhaps it may be due to the closer association of the Atharvaṇic Brāhmaṇas, in the capacity of the Puro-

hitas, with the Kṣatriyas, who sponsored the thought ferment very prominently in the Upaniṣadic period.

II. The Thoughts About The Brahman

In the AV the word, *brahman*, stands for the spells, the magical act or the mysterious power which arises out of that act in the performer of that act and which pervades the man and universe.¹ This conception of the Brahman anticipates the mysterious nature of the Brahman and the unity of the Ātman and Brahman, as described in the Upaniṣads.² The Taittirīya Upaniṣad (2.3) describes the AV as the foundation of the Brahman, conceived as the Puruṣa. The same Upaniṣad (3.10) describes it as the magic formula³. Kena (3.2.12) describes it as wonderful⁴. Thus we may say that the Atharvāṇic conception of the Brahman is the basis of its detailed and perfected description in the Upaniṣads.

The AV contains some hymns describing the Brahman in crude form. The Brahman is born first. Then the bright Vena manifested himself from the horizon (4.1.1). The Brahman, the first-born Highest Principle resides in the mid-air. It animates all plants. It does not reside on the earth or in the heaven. It is thus the water in the mid-air and its forms on the earth (1.32.1-3). The Brahman is everywhere. It is in the middle, below and above. By its will it started (4.1.3). It was thus the conscious First Cause of the universe. Born between the heaven and earth, it pervaded its seat in the heaven and on the earth. It made firm the great Rodaṣī (4.1.4). However, the Atharvāṇic poet thinks that the poetical compositions of the inspired singers urge the residence of this ancient god, who is born with many (4.1.6). The Highest Principle may be the Sun or the waters, but it is created by the inspired utterance of the Atharvāṇic poets. The seer further says that the favour of Atharvan and Brhaspati, the relation of the gods, is competent to make anyone the creator of all, a poet and a god (4.1.7). The seer of the hymn, 6.61, thinking himself to be the Brahman, describes the creation of the seasons and rivers from him (6.61.2,3). This description is on the same line with that in the Vāgāmṛīya hymn in the RV 10-125 (=AV 4.30). Sometimes the seer speaks of

1. *Supra*, p. 201.

2. Chāndogya, 14.1.4.

3. Cf. HUME : *Translation of the 15 principal Upaniṣads*, p. 293.

4. N. J. SHENDE : *The Atharvāṇic Upaniṣads, Prācyavāṇi*, July 1944.

the special charm as possessed of the immortal and unharmed spirit⁵ and as manifesting its womb (5.1.1). This miraculous power of the charm attained the ordinances and displayed wonderful forms. It entered its own origin and understood the unspoken speech. From this spirit flowed forth the gold, which assumed immortal names (5.1.3). This may be the origin of Hiraṇyagarbha, from whom the creation began. This spirit of the special charm of the Atharvaṇic poet may be the Brahman, which is not easily accessible. It is in a concealed place. The sun who knows the immortality can speak of that highest concealed place (2.1.2.2.1). At another place (5.2) the Highest Spirit is designated as the chief among the worlds. The seer Bṛhaddiva Atharvan describes it as possessed of fierceness and manliness. Immediately after its birth, it shattered all enemies (5.2.1). It won over all things, living or otherwise. It possessed protective powers (5.2.3). The same seer Bṛhaddiva thinks himself to be Indra and by means of his magical power (*brahman*) fashions the fierce and manly spirit of Indra (5.2.8.9).⁶

It may thus be observed that the Atharvaṇic seers consider that their *brahman* is capable of producing the creator of universe, who may be named as Indra, the Sun, the waters or Hiraṇyagarbha. Their *brahman* is thus the Brahman, the First Creator of all. Thus ultimately the seer possessed of the *brahman* (magical powers) thinks himself to be the creator of all.

In addition to the Brahman, the Atharvaṇic seers thought of many deities, endowed with the qualities of the Creator and to that extent, of the Highest Principle. These seers conceived of a number of gods, who guard the four directions and who agree among themselves to promote the Order of the Universe (11.61.22, 3.26-27). But these gods are inferior to Prajāpati, who is the Lord of the creatures (7.19.1). He is born of *ṛta* and *kāla* (131.61. 19.53. 10). Thus Prajāpati, who creates all creatures is also born of the

5. *Ṛdhanmantra* is explained by GRASSMANN as distinct sacred text and by WHITNEY as 'special sacred text.'

6. Kauśikasūtra employs these philosophical hymns variously. KS 139.10 employs 4, 1 in the consummation rite after marriage. The use is suggested perhaps because of the reference to the birth of the Brahman. The hymn 2.1 is employed by KS (37.3) and Sāyaṇa in the rite of knowing probability (*viśvānavidhi*). KS gives 11 cases where probability is employed. The hymn 1.32 about the Great Brahman is used by KS (34.1) in a rite to remove the barrenness of a woman. The employment of the philosophical hymns with AV by KS is not satisfactory.

Eternal World-order and Time. The AV follows the real nature of Prajāpati and employs him in the rites for bringing about conception. Procreation is the main function of Prajāpati in the AV (5.25.5, 6.11.2).

Prajāpati is Virāj (the shining deity, 9.10.24). Virāj is the Ruler of all. In the AV, Virāj is described to be the First Being and is represented as a cow yielding desires (8.9.1-2). Virāj was this universe in the beginning (8.10.1). She occupied all regions. The Asuras milked illusion from her. The gods and men desiring to secure food from her milked her. The gods milked from her herbs, waters and expansion (8.10.8-17). The fathers milked *svadhā* from her. Men milked agriculture and grains from her. The seven seers milked the *brahman* and penance (*tapas*) from her. The gods got refreshments (*ūrj*) from her. The Gandharvas and Apsaras milked holy fragrance from her. The serpents milked poison. The other folks milked concealment from her. Thus the gods, Asuras, Fathers, men, Gandharvas, Apsaras, other folks, and Sarpas (serpents) secured from her the food on which they live (8.10.22-29). Virāj is the very principle of life of all in the universe. Without her they cannot live (8.10.18.21). Thus Prajāpati creates the creatures and Virāj maintains them. The MBh seems to identify Virāj with the earth,⁷ because it attributes the same functions to it. The AV describes Bhūmi (the Earth) as floating on the water. She was found out by the seers by means of their magical power (12.1.8). She is possessed of fragrance, which is permeated in all creation (12.1.25). This justifies the definition of Pṛthvī as *gandhavatī* by the Vaiśeṣikas. The Earth sustains and maintains all creatures and helps to promote the religious and cultural activities of men (12.1.39.56). Thus the functions of creation and maintenance of creatures are attributed to the Earth, who is same as Prajāpati and Virāj. It must be remembered at the same time, that the Earth or such other deities are supported by the seers by means of their penance, consecrations, sacrifice and the *brahman* (12.1.1.8). Out of these, the Brahman is the most efficient. The Brahman is described as the support of all (*sarvūdhāra*) and is called Skambha. In him the penance, vow, *ṛta* and Truth are established (10.7.1). The earth, the heaven and atmosphere form his members (10.7.3). He enters in all forms created by Prajāpati (10.7.8). This

⁷ The MBh 7.59. 10-27 speaks in the same way of the milking of the earth by the gods, men and other creatures; cf. N. J. SHENDE, *Atharvan in the Vedic and Epic Literature*, JUB, XVIII pt. 2, p. 37.

all-permeating principle is the same that is in man. He, who knows the Brahman in man, knows the most exalted one, the Great Brahman (10.7.17). Of this Great Brahman, Agni is the head. Angirasas are eyes and the Yātus are the limbs. The Rcs and Yajus were fashioned from him. The Sāmans form his hair and Atharvāṅgiras his mouth (10.7.18-19). He produced the golden embryo, Hiraṇyagarbha (10.7.28). This Great Brahman, Skambha is the Creator of the Universe and has permeated himself like a string in all creatures (10.8.37). He is the Ātman, the soul of all creatures, described as Yakṣa (10.8.43, 7.38). He is the one and the only real entity in all manifold diversity. This idea is borne out in the hymns 9.9-10 (= RV. 1.164). These are the Upaniṣadic doctrines of *sūtra* and *antaryāmin* (Br. Up. 3.7.3-23).

Even though the Brahman has permeated itself in all creatures and all souls (Ātmans) are the manifestations of the same Brahman, the Ātman in man is the most distinguished manifestation of the Brahman. The Atharvaṇic seers, believing in the magical powers of man and his capacity to dominate the highest powers of nature, consider that the man is the special creation of the Brahman. The Brahman fashioned the hair, bones, limbs, sinews, joints, marrow and flesh of man. The Brahman put together his thighs, feet, knee-joints, head, hands, face, ribs, nipples, sides, head, tongue and neck and enveloped all these in skin. The particular complexion of the body was then brought in it (11.8.12-16). The gods then entered in the human body. Then the sleep, weariness, distress, sin, old age and baldness entered in it. Also the theft, ill-doing, wrong, truth, sacrifice, glory, strength, vigour and force entered in it. Also the prosperity and adversity, generosity and thrift, all hunger and thirst, censure and praise, faith, sacrificial gift, knowledge and ignorance, Rcs, Sāmans, Yajus, Brahman (AV), joy, enjoyment, laughter, sport, dance, and talk and prattles entered the body (11.8.18-25). After the feelings and tendencies, there entered the senses, such as the eye, ear, speech, and mind and breaths such as *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna* and *udāna*. Then entered the blessings, precepts, thoughts and volitions. After this the fluid element in the body, in the blood and bladder, the secret, clear thick and scanty was made to settle down (11.8.28). Then the seminal fluid was fashioned. Thus all limbs, flesh, blood, bones, breaths, senses, feelings, thoughts, emotions, volitions, and seminal fluids were fashioned and arranged in their respective places in the body of man and then the Brahman entered it. The sun and the wind shared his eye and breath. Therefore, indeed, one who

knows man, thinks that he is the Brahman; for all deities are seated in him (11.8.29-32). This very same creation of man is described at great length at 10.2. Here we come across the elevation of Atharvan who sewed the head and heart of man, and he, the purifier urged himself above the brain and head. The head of man thus indeed is the head of Atharvan, the treasure of gods pressed down. It protects the head, food and mind of man. The body of man (*puruṣa*) is thus the stronghold of the Brahman, covered with the immortality (10.2.26-29). Atharvan is the Creator, Prajāpati, who perfected the human body, the abode of the Immortal Brahman. Atharvan is the helpmate of the Brahman, which resides in the shining, yellow, golden unconquered stronghold, the human body.

The Atharvaṇic seers thus elevate Atharvan to the dignity of the Highest Creator. In this conception, they suggest that the Brahman is the Ātman in man and that Brahman with Atharvan, the Prajapati, took pains to fashion man the most perfected creation, along with his good and bad qualities. This suggestion further leads to the possibility of controlling and ruling this Brahman in him, by man by means of the power of his faith, penance, vow, consecration etc. The possibility of such domination of the Brahman by man led to the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas, the Atharvavedins in particular, over others. In such dominating nature of the Brāhmaṇas, we find the attribution to them of mysterious power, to rule, to dominate and to crush the opponents. Thus the seers of the AV preach such doctrines as "A Brāhmaṇa is not to be killed (5.18.6.13)"; "The cow of a Brāhmaṇa should not be killed by anyone (5.18.8-10, 12.5.10, 39, 54)." "An oppressor of a Brāhmaṇa becomes condemned forever (5.19.13-15); "The wife of a Brāhmaṇa is not to be molested;" "The person, who molests the chastity of the wife of a Brāhmaṇa loses everything and the utter destruction prevails over that country (5.17.7.18)." Thus a Brāhmaṇa, his wife and cow, similarly possess the miraculous power to dominate, to rule and to destroy the opponents. Such was the consequence of the power to dominate the Brahman in man, by means of the penance, faith etc., of the Atharvaṇic seers. Further developments in this direction can be noticed in the development of the path of Yoga, which aims at controlling the powers of mind creating miraculous power in oneself. Another such tendency is seen in the Jainism, an offshoot of the Brahmanism. The Jainism also concentrates on the Yoga and attainment of miraculous power. This Atharvaṇic

tendency is also seen in the Sakti cult, which aspires to procure the miraculous power in oneself.

It is therefore no wonder that the Atharvaṇic seers gave great importance to the practice of the Brahman. One who practises Brahman is the Brahmacārin. He is naturally possessed of all powers of the Brahman. He supports the Universe. All gods agree with him (11.5.1). He, by means of his penance (*tapas*) rules over all. In fact he is the Brahman (11.5.24). The possession of the miraculous power by means of his penance leads to the attainment of Brahman. He has capacity to bring into practice the power of the Brahman. He is thus the Brahmacārin. This explanation based on the glorification of the miraculous power that one attains (the Brahman) by means of the penance, fully justifies the presence of the hymn, 11.5 in the AV glorifying the Brahmacārin. This explanation is more natural than that offered by BLOOMFIELD⁸ that Brahmacārin is the sun or the primeval principle conceived as a Brāhmaṇa disciple.

The practice of magic leads to the attainment of the miraculous power (the *Brahman*). By means of such power, one rules over and controls the entire creation. Thus one, who is possessed of the *brahman* (miraculous power), knows the Brahman (the Highest principle). Along with the magic, the seers practise penance (*tapas*). Thus penance also is required to attain such miraculous power. Wherever such mighty power is seen, it is assumed that the possessor of power has practised magic and penance. Thus the Atharvaṇic poets describe Rohita, the sun, as increasing himself with the *brahman* (13.1.9). He generated the heaven and earth and made them firm (13.1.6). The gods secured the immortality through him (13.1.7). What is the secret of this miraculous power of Rohita? The Atharvaṇic seer explains that it is all due to the penance performed by him. He is a *tapasvin*. With his penance he ascends to the sky and is born again and again (13.2.25). The fire of Rohita is increased by the Brahman, offered with the Brahman, and enkindled with the Brahman (13.1.149). Thus the penance and Brahman, make one, the Creator, possessed of miraculous power. Rohita makes the days and nights of different forms on account of his wonderful power (*māyā* 13.2.3). Rohita, being possessed of the Brahman, controls all witchcrafts (*yānu*) which obey him (13.4.27).

8. JAOS XV. p. 167.

However the Brahman and penance, practised as they are by the seers have the limitations of Time. The Atharvaṇic thinkers believe that all things have come out of the Time. The Eternal Time is the background of all things and events in the universe. So they say that the penance and Brahman are in Kāla, the Time (19.53.8). The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad (1.3) describes Kāla as the First Principle. The conception of Kāla as the source of all is like that of *ṛta*, which is the Eternal Principle of the World Order. The root *r*, 'to go' in *ṛta* comes near to the main idea in Kāla. Thus the deities are described to have been born of the *ṛta* and increased by the *ṛta* (*ṛtajāta*, *ṛtavṛdh*). They are all born and increased by the Eternal Order of the Time. The Atharvaṇic seers have put in the realistic basis for the origin and growth of the gods, universe and creatures on the earth; for all things are circumscribed by the Time. The Brahman is identified with Kāla (19.53.9). Thus the power behind the whole universe is the Eternal Time or the Brahman. From him all seers, worlds and creatures are produced (19.53.10). Ahgiras and Atharvan, the creator are in Kāla (19.54.5). Atharvan is already described as Prajāpati, perfecting the creation of man, who is the excellent abode of the Highest Spirit.

What is the intention of the Creator in creating the universe ? We are told in a number of stories in the Brāhmaṇas that Prajāpati was alone in the beginning. He desired to be many; so he created. So the desire to be many, to create many preceded the creation. This desire is considered by the Atharvaṇic thinkers to be the basis of creation. The seer says, ' Kāma was there in the beginning. He was the first product of mind (19.52.1)'. He thus stands for the primeval cosmic force not different from Eka, Sat, Brahman, Prajāpati, Viśvakarman, Svayambhu etc.⁹ Kāma as the sexual desire also forms the basis of procreation. It is thus possible to suppose, that from the observations that Kāma (the sexual desire) forming the basis of human procreation, the seers must have concluded that such Kāma must also be at the basis of the world creation. Kāma creates, because he is covered in the triple armour of the Brahman (9.2.16). Kāma then becomes fierce and overpowering (19.52.2). He becomes thus superior to all creatures fire, the sun, the moon and wind (9.2.22). He enters in the creatures with his auspicious and gracious forms and thus becomes real (9.2.25). It is thus the sexual attraction, brought about by the graceful.

9. , BLOOMFIELD, *SBE*, XLII, p. 592.

forms of Kāma, amongst males and females, that forms the cause for creation,

Prāṇa, the breath, is also personified as the Supreme Spirit. He is the basis of all existence. He is the lord of all that breathes and does not breathe (11.4.10). He quickens both *ātharvaṇa* and *āṅgīrasa* plants (11.4.16). He rules thus over the animal and vegetable world. But Prāṇa gets this power of Lordship due to the Brahman (11.4.24). He is the sun. This is the round about way of saying that Prāṇa is identical with the Brahman and Ātman.¹⁰

It is the Brahman that is behind the various creators described so far. The miraculous power of the seer (the *brahman*) makes these creators act. The seer of 2.2 says, " The Divine Gandharva is the lord of the universe, the only one who be praised by the clans. I unite him with my Brahman (2.2.1)."

The Atharvaṇic seers also deified Vṛātya, Atithi and Brahmācārin and elevated them to the dignity of the Creators. Vṛātya is a person, who has fallen from the orthodox Brahmanical tradition. He is not authorised to practise Vedic religious rites. But such a person is deified and designated as the Highest Deity, the source of the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas (15.10.3). What may be the cause of this peculiar phenomenon? The reason appears to be to widen the fold of the Aryan religion and to enlist the sympathy of the neglected portion of the Aryan population. Thus a devoted and pious Vṛātya is described to be first existing and then stirring Prajāpati, the creator (15.1.1).¹¹ This Prajāpati saw 'gold' in himself and then generated it. That gold became the one, great, chief, fervour, truth and Brahman. With the gold, he had progeny. He increased and became the great god (*mahādeva*). He became the lord of the gods. He, with the bow of Indra, kills the haters (15.11-8). All gods, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, assemblies of men and arms, followed him (15.8.9). This Vṛātya is the creator and the lord of all creatures.

In the exaltation and deification of the Vṛātya, the Atharvaṇic seers displayed broadness of their mind, in their zeal for widening the sphere of the Vedic religion. In the social life too, these seers displayed liberal outlook. A guest (Atithi) coming to a house for

10. BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.* p. 622.

11. PPP reads *vrātyo vā idamagra āsit*.

temporary shelter is described to be the direct Brahman in flesh and blood (9.11.2). The treatment given to him is on the same level with the performance of a sacrifice, which brings about the attainment of the heaven. The main idea in asking to treat a guest as the Brahman, seems to be the realisation of God in man. The hospitality shown to him is thus the worship of God.

In the same way the Brahmacārin is the Brahman, because he practises the *brahman*, which is miraculous power behind the universe and which permeates in all creation (11.5.24).

It was for the miraculous power (the Brahman), that the Atharvanic seers strove. They believed that by attaining that power, they would obtain the aim of their life. This miraculous power is the Truth (*satya*) according to them (4.18.1). The magical power being invisible is also styled as *asat*. This power comes into being from the earth and goes on expanding to the heaven. Turning down from it in the fumigating form, it reaches the earth again (4.19.6). *Asat* is a chaos, one of the primary cosmic forces.¹² So the magical power is both *sat* and *asat*. In the *asat* is bound *sat* which includes all creatures (17.1.19). It forms the cosmic force.

By the attainment of this miraculous power (the *brahman*) the Atharvanic seers aspire to become immortal. By being immortal (*amṛta*), they mean that they should run the full period of the human life in this world and then reach the heaven. Thus they crave for the immortality (*amṛtatva*, 19.64.4; *amṛta*, 6.1.2, 8.2.13). By practising the penance (*tapas*), *dīkṣā* (consecration) in sacrifices, and witchcraft, they go to the world of the Brahman beyond the sun (6.122.4; 19.19.43.1; 19.68.1). All these are to be done with mind and faith in them (6.122.3-4). With the penance the seers performed additional penance to live long (7.61.1-2). In the beginning the sages desiring to get what is excellent sat down to perform the penance and sacrifice (19.41.1). A performer of sacrifice, observing vows and consecrations is actually practising penance. He gets vigour out of the performance of penance by which he controls the human tribes. He kills the enemy with the power of his penance. The gods even require penance to attain power (4.32.2-3). The power of penance adds sharpness to the weapons in war (6.104.3). Thus the penance and sacrifice produced miraculous power (the *brahman*). There is primarily close association between the penance and sacrifice. The sacrifice is connected with Agni which heats the performer. This

12. BLOOMFIELD, *ibid.* p. 398.

production of heat (*tapas*) is the original idea in the performance of penance. Later on with the practice of the symbolical and meditative sacrifices, the field of the penance was transferred to the body and mind.

III. The Ideas About Life and Death

The aim of the Atharvaṇic teaching being the enjoyment of the full course of life, they devised means to secure it. The attainment of the Brahman secures the immortality. This world is the world of the immortality, which means running the full course of life (8.1.1). Thus the Atharvaṇic seers believe that a man must enjoy life to its fullest length. For this they prescribe the erotic and medicinal charms. The erotic charms aim at satisfying the sexual happiness of men and women. The medicinal charms aim at curing a person of the various diseases which hinder the enjoyment of life. They thus thought that the different sense organs of a man are presided over by various deities. The sun is the deity of his eyes, mid-air of his ears, the earth of his body, Sarasvatī of speech, wind of his *prāṇa* and *apāna* and the Brahman of his mind (5.10.8). The earth forms his body and the sense organs derive their power from the sun, the wind and the mid-air. The vital breaths of his body are *Prāṇa*, *Apāna* and *Vyāna* which are each sevenfold (15.15.17). He has the heart (*hṛdaya*), which is tested with its beatings (9.8.22). *Prāṇa* and *Apāna* go out of the body when a person dies. *Prāṇa* goes out first, moving round the limbs. Then it goes to the heaven (2.34.5). This vital breath which decides the condition of living is called *asu* (5.30.2). It is in addition to *Prāṇa* (8.1.1-2). There is also a part of the body called the inner soul (*antarātman*), which is liable to be affected by diseases. It thus appears to be the vital breath (9.8.9). A dying person is brought out from the profound darkness of the death by means of the Atharvaṇic charms. His *Prāṇa* comes back. Then his mind, eye-sight, strength and consciousness (5.30.12-13). He ascends from darkness to light (*āroha tamaso jyotiḥ*, 8.1.8.13)¹³. His *asu*, the spirit of life comes to life again. His soul (*ātman*), eyes, ears and life breaths make him complete (19.51.1). The mind (*manas*—soul, according to BLOOMFIELD) with its manifold desires flies out suitably (6.105.1). Thus keeping all senses and body in perfect order and enjoying full course of life of hundred years constitute *amṛtatva* according to the Atharvaṇic seers (8.2.13).

13. Cf. *tamaso mā jyotiḥ gamaya*, *Br. up.* 1.3, 28.

The Atharvaṇic seers employ the words such as *brahman*, *hiranya*, *sat*, *asat*, *ātman*, *asu*, *manas*, *tapas*, *loka*, *svarga* and *amṛta*, which attained philosophical significance in the Upaniṣadic period. The seers thought of the Brahman as the great miraculous power, capable of creating and permeating the universe. The actual work of creation started from the gold (*Hiraṇyagarbha*), *Prajāpati*, the sun, the waters, *Vrātya*, *Brahmacārin* etc. These were capable of creating the universe because they possessed the Brahman. The Brahman is achieved by the performance with faith of the witchcraft, penance and sacrifice. The ideal of the people is to lead a happy worldly life to the full extent which formed their *amṛta*. Premature death could be averted by the powerful charms of the Atharvaṇic priests. However, the death by old age (*jarāmṛtyu*) is natural and the people are urged to store sufficient merit through *iṣṭāpūrta*, which would enable the dead to lead happy life in the heaven, the world of Light.

IV. The Sacrifice and The World Attained by It

As remarked above the performance of sacrifice also brings about the Brahman. In this system of sacrifice, the lengthy and complicated sacrifices were not looked upon with favour. The new and simple *sava* sacrifices about 22 in number were advocated. They consisted of offering the cooked rice, goat, bull, or a cow to the *Brāhmaṇas* (the Atharvavedins). As the result of the offering of these sacrifices, the sacrificer reserves for him a place in the heaven where he enjoys the company of Yama, the king of the heaven and his counsellors. He enjoys all pleasures in it. With whatever desire one offers to the *Brāhmaṇas*, he secures those in the heaven. The hymn 4.34 is quite explicit about the pleasures of the heaven, when one offers *Brahmaudana* sacrifice. He goes after his death to the bright world as boneless, pure and purified. The dead bodies are primarily burnt. Otherwise they are buried or exposed. The seers believed that even though the body is burnt a new and shining body is bestowed on the dead in the heaven. He carries with him his associations in this world. He meets his wife and children in the heaven if he offers the *Svargaudana* sacrifice (12.3.40). If a widow remarries and offers a goat with five dishes of rice to the *Brāhmaṇas*, she is united with her second husband in the heaven (9.5.27-28). Thus a man, his wife and his children again are united in the heaven. It thus seems that consciousness of the birth on the earth is retained in the heaven, i.e., his soul continues to animate his new body in the heaven. Though his body is burnt his generative organ and virile

power are not lost. Agni does not burn that organ. Yama does not rob his semen. In the heaven he has many women for him (*svarge loke bahustraiṇameṣām*, 4.34.2). The soul of the person in the heaven possesses wonderful power. He becomes an owner of a chariot and goes along the road quickly. Becoming a bird he goes round the heaven. Thus the soul of the dead can assume varied forms. It can move anywhere it likes very quickly (4.34.4). Lotus ponds enriched by honey come to him in the heaven, when he offers the Viṣṭhārin offering. There are for him the ponds full of ghee, honey, wine, water, milk and curds. In fact this sacrifice is a desire-yielding cow (*kāmadughā dhenuh*, 4.34.8). The heaven is the world of the Light, possessed of the sun (9.5.18). The sacrificer of the *savas*, from the back of the earth ascends to the atmosphere (*antarikṣa*). From that he goes to the sky (*dyaus*). Then to the heaven, the world of the light he goes (4.14.3). Thus the Atharvanic seers believe in the heaven, where there is the continuation of the earthly life full of pleasures, sexual or otherwise. There remains consciousness in the bodies after death. It thus seems that the sages believed in the indestructible nature of the Ātman. The free enjoyment of women, wine and all pleasures with the miraculous power to be like a bird and move round the world at one's will are the great attractions of this conception of the heaven.

V. The Life After Death

In the rites offered to the dead the main idea is to secure for the dead, the dignity of a Pitṛ and thus to make him immortal (*martyosyamamṛtatvameti*, 18.4.37). After the cremation of the dead, his bones are interned in a ditch. After this rite the dead person attains the immortality. The Āṅgirasas chalked out a path for the Pitṛs, who reached the heaven following it (18.4.3). The grain and sesame offered to the dead, become respectively a cow and its calf in the heaven and yield milk to the dead there (18.4.32). The funeral fire burning the limbs of the dead, makes him pure to enter in the heaven (18.4.11-12). He rises up along the Pitṛyāna path to the heaven, which is full of the nectar, food and refreshments (18.4.4). When the life of a person goes away, he becomes controlled by the gods. His senses such as eyes become deities. With the eyes he goes to the sun; to the wind with his Ātman, to the heaven and earth with his other senses or to the waters or plants (18.2.8). In the heaven the deity carrying his life (*Asunīti*) shapes the bodies (18.3.59). When the dead reaches the heaven, Yama surrounds him with his two dogs and makes him free from diseases (18.2.12). The dead

then can join the company of the Pitṛs who love Soma, honey and ghee or of the sages who are possessed of the penance, or of the heroes who die on the battlefield or of the seers, who as poets guard the sun with their thousand songs (18.2.14-18). The new body is joined with the mind, life, limbs and essence (18.2.24). The Prāṇa and Apāna breaths enter the body there (18.2.26). There are three heavens such as, watery (*udanvatī*), starry (*pīlumatī*), and bright (*pradyau*). In the 3rd heaven the Pitṛs sit (18.2.48). I have already described the state of life in the Heaven on in sec. III above.

Thus the Atharvanic seers clearly state their idea of life after death and the means to achieve it. They give attractive description of the heaven and the pleasures and status the dead would get in it. Thus they maintained that the life in this world should be enjoyed to the full extent and after death even, the dead would enjoy all pleasures and status in the heaven.

X

THE ATHARVANIC UPANIŠADS

1—The Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads. 2—The genesis of the Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads. 3—The Atharvaṇic element in the older Upaniṣads. 4—The Atharvaṇic teachers and their teachings. 5—The deities figuring in the Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads. 6—Provisional time limit.

(I). The Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads

Dr. Farquhar¹ gives the following list of the 112 Upaniṣads, belonging to the Atharvaveda.

1 Muṇḍaka, 2 Praśna, 3 Māṇḍukya, 4 Garbha, 5 Prāṇāgni-hotra, 6 Piṇḍa, 7 Atma, 8 Sarvopaniṣadsāra, 9 Garuḍa, 10 Brahmanvidyā, 11 Kṣurikā, 12 Cūlikā, 13 Nāḍabindu, 14 Brahmanbindu, 15 Amṛtabindu, 16 Dhyānabindu, 17 Tejobindu, 18 Yogasikhā, 19 Yogatattva, 20 Haṁsa, 21 Brahma, 22 Saṁnyāsa, 23 Āruṇeya, 24 Kaṇṭhaśruti, 25 Paramahaṁsa, 26 Jābāla, 27 Āśrama, 28 Atharvaśiras A, 29 Atharvaśikhā, 30 Nīlarudra, Kālāgnirudra, 32 Kaivalya, 33 Mahā, 34 Nārāyaṇa, 35 Ātmabodha, 36 Nṛsiṁhapūrvatāpanīya, 37 Nṛsiṁhauttāratāpanīya, 38 Rāmapūrvatāpanīya, 39 Rāma-uttaratāpanīya, 40 Kaula, 41 Amṛtanada, 42 Brhājābāla, 43 Maitreya, 44 Subāla, 45 Mantrikā, 46 Nirālamba, 47 Śukarahasya, 48 Vajrasūci, 49 Nārada-parivṛājaka, 50 Trisikhibrāhmaṇa, 51 Sītā, 52 Yogacūḍāmaṇi, 53 Nirvāṇa, 54 Maṇḍalabrāhmaṇa, 55 Dakṣiṇāmūrti, 56 Śarabha, 57 Skanda, 58 Tripādvibhūtimahānārāyaṇa, 59 Advaya-tāraka, 60 Rāmarahasya, 61 Vāsudeva, 62 Mudgala, 63 Śaṇḍilya, 64 Parama Piṅgala, 65 Bhikṣuka, 66 Śārīraka, 67 Turījātītāvadhūta, 68 Haṁsaparivṛājaka, 69 Akṣamālikā, 70 Avyakta, 71 Ekākṣara, 72 Annapūrṇā, 73 Sūrya, 74 Akṣi, 75 Adhyātma, 76 Kuṇḍikā, 77 Sāvitrī, 78 Pāśupatavṛata, 79 Parabrahma, 80 Avadhūta, 81 Tripuratāpanīya, 82 Devī, 83 Tripura, 84 Kaṭharudra, 85 Gopāla-uttar, 86 Bhāvanā, 87 Rudrahṛdaya, 88 Yogakuṇḍala, 89 Bhasmajābāla, 90 Rudrākṣajābāla, 91 Gaṇapati, 92 Darśana,

1. *Outline of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford 1920, p. 364.

93 Tārasāra, 94 Mahāvākya, 95 Pañcabrahma, 96 Gopālatāpanīya, 97 Kṛṣṇa, 98 Yājñavalkya, 99 Varāha, 100 Satāyana, 101 Hayagrīva, 102 Dattātreyā, 103 Kalisantarāṇa, 104 Jābāli, 105 Saubhāgyalakṣmī, 106 Bahvṛca, 107 Mauttika, 108 Gopīcandana, 109 Varadatāpanīya, 110 Varadottara, 111 Ṣaṭccakra, 112 Atharvaśiras B.

Aufrecht² refers to the commentator Nārāyaṇa who wrote Dīpikās on 52 Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads. He also mentions that the collections of 52 Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads were found at various places³. Weber⁴ gives the list of 84 Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads. Deussen mentions 39 Upaniṣads belonging to the Atharvaveda⁵. The Muktikopaniṣad enumerates 31 Upaniṣads belonging to the Atharvaveda. The traditional criterion for judging an Upaniṣad as Atharvaṇic seems to be its Śānti, viz., भद्रं कर्णेभिः शृणुयाम देवाः⁶ etc. But this criterion does not seem to hold good in every case. For instance, the Kaivalya and Brahmapindū Upaniṣads belong to the AV as it can be seen from their colophons; while the Śānti, occurring in them is from the Black YV⁷. So this is not the only decisive method of knowing whether the Upaniṣad belongs to the AV or not. However, applying this traditional criterion we find 40 Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads in the 108 Upaniṣads published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay. Adding to this 17 more from the list of Nārāyaṇa and those published by Jacob⁸, we get 68 Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads⁹. There may be some more unpublished Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads. All these referred to here either end with the remark : इत्यथर्ववेदे...उपनिषत्समाप्ता or begin with the Śānti: भद्रं कर्णेभिः etc.

(II) The Genesis of the Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads

Leaving aside the problem of the so-called late Upaniṣads, I propose to discuss here the limited problem of the Atharvaṇic

2. *Catalogus Catalogorum* 1, p. 7. 289.

3. *ibid*, p. 7. (B. 1. 40).

4. *The History of Indian Literature*, p. 171.

5. DEUSSEN: *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, pp. 9-10.

6. *108 Upaniṣads*, NSP, Bombay pp. 1-3.

7. *Sup.* pp. 128-9.

8. JACOB, *Eleven Ātharvaṇa Upaniṣads*, Bombay, Sanskrit & Prakrit series No. XL.

9. These are :—in the order of the list given by Farquhar, 1-23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 49, 51, 58, 60, 63, 68, 72, 73, 78, 79, 81, 82, 85, 86, 89, 91, 94, 96, 97, 101, 102, 108, 109. To this are added those Upaniṣads published by Jacob, as follows :—Nos. 27, 31, 33, 34, 35, 57, 61 in the list of Farquhar.

Upaniṣads only. It will be easily admitted that the Atharvaveda claims to have a very large share of the Upaniṣads as compared with the other three Vedas. This is rather strange, since the Atharvaveda was not admitted in the beginning as an authentic Veda. It was only later on that the AV was considered to be the fourth Veda. But the very fact that a very large number of the Upaniṣads were attached to the Atharvaveda shows the popularity of the Ātharvaṇa traditions. The Atharvaveda contains some portion which may be even older than the R̥gveda. The Atharvaṇic tradition, thus, is as old as that of the R̥gveda, if not older. The main reason of its late admission into the sacred literature seems to be that the hierarchy which dominated R̥gvedic religion was not prepared to allow it a respectable place in the sacred dogma on account of its secular nature. The sacrificial religion in the Brāhmaṇa literature admitted indirectly the importance of the Atharvaṇic teachings as can be inferred from the place of great importance assigned to the priest Brahmā, as compared with that assigned to the priests of the other Vedas. The reason seems to be that the hierarchy was convinced about the efficacy of the Atharvaṇic ideology. It seems that the authors or the editors of the Atharvaveda, the Bhṛgvah̥girases came to be more intimately associated with the Kṣatriyas in the capacity of their Purohitas.¹⁰ Coming to Upaniṣadic period we notice that the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the Ātman was cultivated with a very high degree of probability in the Kṣatriya circles and was adopted later on by the Brāhmaṇas.¹¹ This may explain the presence of a number of philosophical hymns in the Atharvaveda. The Atharvaṇic tradition has to its credit, Muṇḍaka and Praśna Upaniṣads which can be placed in Upaniṣadic period B. C. 900—B. C. 750 and Māṇḍūkya after that.¹² The post-Upaniṣadic thought-ferment seems to be characterised by a large mass of 'heretic' or 'heterodox' philosophy outside the pale of Brahmanism. This was professedly antagonistic to the priestly religion and thus created a really grave danger for the orthodox Brahmanism.¹³ The Ātharvaṇa Teachers, the Bhṛgvah̥girases, in defence of the old Śrauta religion, rose to the occasion and attempted to present a united front of the orthodox tradition by transforming the Bhārata into the Mahābhārata which enjoyed the privilege of being the fifth Veda and also the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki

10. *ERE*, Vol. VI. pp. 353 ff. on *Gotra*, R. FICK.

11. DEUSSEN : *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* p. 8.

12. BELVALKAR : *Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta*, p. 45.

13. BELVALKAR and RANADE : *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 444.

(Books II-VI) into the present Rāmāyaṇa of seven Books.¹⁴ This they did by introducing a number of innovations to suit the changed conditions. One of these was the authoritative admission of the Bhāgavata doctrines in the body of the orthodox religion. This they did by accepting the doctrines of Bhakti and Avatāras. Thus they could show that the Upaniṣadic ideal of the Brahman could be achieved also by the worship of a number of deities such as Kṛṣṇa, Rudra and others. The Bhṛgvaṅgirases felt the necessity of supplementing the tenets of the new religion by means of the Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads. This seems to be the genesis of these Upaniṣads. The three older Vedas were cultivated only in the Sākhās of the Aitareyins, Taṇḍins and Vājasaneyins.¹⁵ The other Sākhās seemed to be almost lost. The Atharvaṇic tradition was greatly respected as it had saved the orthodox religion from its utter destruction and had helped to the establishment of the new religion on the sound basis. We can thus appreciate the growth of the Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads in this light. It does not appear that these Upaniṣads were 'assigned to the safe custody of the Atharva Veda' but seems to be a definite and deliberate activity of the Atharvaṇic teachers in the defence of 'the smārta religion.'

(III) The Atharvaṇic Element in the Older Upaniṣads.

It will be interesting to observe some traces of the Atharvaṇic influence in the latest parts of the old Upaniṣads of the other Vedas.

(i) The Taittirīya Upaniṣad 2,3 : Having first described the course of evolution from the primeval Ātman through five elements to the human person, it is pointed out that the person consists of the essence of food. Further, it is maintained that 'other than and within that one which consists of the essence of food is the self that consists of breath.' Within this self there is a self that consists of mind (*manomaya*). This has the form of a person. Of this person the Yajurveda is the head, the Ṛgveda is the right side; the Sāmaveda is the left side, teaching (*Brāhmaṇas*) is the body; the *Atharvaṅgirases* from the lower part, the foundation.¹⁶ This will indi-

14. N. J. SHENDE : (i) *ABORI*, Vol. XXIV, pts. i, ii, pp. 67-82.

(ii) *JUB*, Vol. XII, pt. II, Sept., 1943.

15. DEUSSEN : *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 34.

16. HUME : *Translation of 13 principal Upaniṣads*, pp. 283-285.

cate the importance of the AV in the 'Brāhmaṇo-Upaniṣadic' portion of this Upaniṣad.¹⁷

The Taittirīya Upaniṣad 3: ° This is the well-known Bhṛguvalli. Here Bhṛgu learnt progressively, through austerity, the meaning of five phases of the Brahman *viz.*, the food, breath, mind, understanding and bliss. This portion of the TU (3. 1.6) is included in the 'Brāhmaṇo-Upaniṣadic' period.¹⁷ At 3. 10, the manifestation of the Brahman as food, is mentioned. Further, it is said that the worshipper thereof appropriates the object of his worship. In this connection it is pointed out that 'one should worship it as magic the formula (Brahman) and that one becomes possessed of the magic formula.' One should also worship it as 'the dying around the magic formula' (brahmaṇaḥ parimara); around one die his hateful rivals and those who are his unfriendly foes.¹⁸ This appears like an Atharvaṇic magic formula. This portion of the Upaniṣad seems to have been added in the late Upaniṣadic period.

(ii) The Chāndogya Upaniṣad 1.2.10-12: The Udgītha is identified with the breath in the mouth. Aṅgiras revered this as the Udgītha. People think that it is indeed Aṅgiras, because it is the essence of limbs. Bṛhaspati and Ayāsa (Aṅgirasas) revered this as the Udgītha. This portion of the Upaniṣad belongs to Brahmanic period. At 3-4 the Brahman is described as the sun. This is pointed out to be the honey from all the Vedas. The northern rays of the sun are the northern honey-cells. The bees are the Hymns of the AV. The flower is Legend and Ancient Lore (Itihāsa-Purāṇa). From this was produced as its essence, splendour, brightness, power, vigour and food. Incidentally this points out the relation between the Atharvaveda and the Itihāsa-Purāṇa-literature. This portion of the Upaniṣad falls under the early Brāhmaṇo-Upaniṣadic period.

At 3.16-17 a person's entire life is symbolically represented as a Soma-sacrifice. For, a person is a sacrifice. His first twenty-four years are the morning Soma-libation. The next forty-four years are mid-day libation. The next forty-eight years are the third-libation. Mahidāsa Aitareya knowing this, lived for a hundred and sixteen years. Further, when one hungers and thirsts and does not enjoy himself, it is the consecration ceremony (*dikṣā*). When he eats, drinks and enjoys himself, he joins in the *upasad* ceremonies. When one laughs and eats and

17. BELVALKAR and RANADE : *ibid* p. 135,

18. *ibid* p. 293.

practises sexual intercourse, he joins in the *stuta śāstra*. Austerity, alms-giving, uprightness, harmlessness (*ahiṃsā*), truthfulness—these are one's gifts to priests. Death is the ceremonial oblation. When Ghora Āṅgīrasa explained this doctrine to Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, to Him he also explained, 'On the final hour you should take refuge in these three thoughts: You are the indestructible; You are the unshaken; You are the very essence of Life.' It seems that Ghora Āṅgīrasa preached here in crude form the essence of the philosophy, which Kṛṣṇa preached in the *Bhagavadgītā*.¹⁹ This portion of the Upaniṣad falls under late Brāhmaṇo-Upaniṣads.

(iii) Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 2.5: We are here introduced to the famous 'Madhu-vidyā' of the philosopher Dadhyac Ātharvaṇa. He seems to have held the doctrine of the mutual interdependence of things, because all of them are indissolubly connected in and through the self. All things are related to one another because they are bound together by the same basic bond, namely, the self. The Earth, Fire, Wind, Sun, Space, Moon, Lightning, Thunder, Ether, Law (Dharma), Truth and Humanity are the essence of all things whatsoever and all things are the essence of these things, in as much as the same law, the same element, the same indissoluble bond connects them both. Finally, the individual self itself is the essence of all things and all things are the essence of the individual self in as much as both of them are held together by the same universal spirit. It is this universal spirit which is the Lord and King of all things. It is on account of the Supreme Self that all things stand related together. All things appear on the canvas of this eternal curtain. Thus does Dadhyac teach the doctrine of the supreme existence of the One, and the apparent existence of the many.²⁰ This portion of the Upaniṣad comes under the late Upaniṣadic period. At 2. 6 the traditional line of teachers of this doctrine is given. In the list a number of Ātharvaṇa teachers are found, such as Gautama, Agniveśya, Bharadvāja, Ayāsa Āṅgīrasa, Dadhyac Ātharvaṇa and Daiva Ātharvaṇa. This portion of the Upaniṣad belongs to 'the early Neo-Upaniṣadic' period.

At 3. 3, Bhujyu, the son of Lāhya, who was interested in psychical research narrated to Yājñavalkya that, while once he was

19. BELVALKAR and RANADE: *ibid* pp. 396 & 220, BHANDARKAR: *Vaiṣṇavism* etc. p. 15.

20. BELVALKAR and RANADE: *sup.* p. 192 and RV I. 116. 12; 117. 22 and 6. 47. 18,

touring, he had gone to the house of one Patañcala Kāpya and found that his daughter was possessed by a Gandharva, who was Sudhanvan, the descendant of Aṅgiras. Bhujyu asked this Gandharva a very peculiar question: "Where had the Pārikṣitas gone after their mortal existence?" Yājñavalkya told him that Wind (Vāyu) took them to the place where the offerers of the horse sacrifice go. Thus Sudhanvan praised Wind, which is individuality (*vyāpti*) and totality (*samaṣṭi*) 'microcosm and macrocosm.'²¹

At 3. 7, Uddālaka Āruṇi told Yājñavalkya that once he was dwelling among the Madras in the house of Patañcala Kāpya studying sacrifice. There he saw the wife of Patañcala, possessed by a Gandharva who was Kabandha Ātharvaṇa. The Gandharva asked Aruṇi and Patañcala whether they knew the doctrines of Sūtra and Antaryāmin. On their replying in the negative, Kabandha Ātharvaṇa explained those doctrines to them. Āruṇi asks Yājñavalkya whether he knew those doctrines. Yājñavalkya explained to him that Air is the Sūtra or the Thread which weaves together the different worlds and the beings that live in them. He further tells that the Ātman is the Antaryāmin, the inner controller not merely of the elemental existences, but also of the Sun, the Moon, the Quarters, the Globes and the Ether. Thus the Ātman is Antaryāmin of the Air itself which was previously described as Sūtra. Thus these doctrines of Sūtra and Antaryāmins were already known to Kabandha Ātharvaṇa even before Yājñavalkya expounded them. The sections 3. 3 and 3. 7 of this Upaniṣad fall under the 'middle-upaniṣadic' period.

In 6. 3 there is merely a ritualistic exposition of way to the attainment of greatness. This was preached by Āruṇi to his pupil, Yājñavalkya. This portion can be placed in 'the middle Brāhmaṇo-Upaniṣad.' In 6. 4 there are some very crudely naive reflections, putting us in mind of the Atharvaṇic enchantments to secure such results as the winning of a suitable wife, the destruction of a possible rival paramour and the generation of the healthiest, strongest and the most beautiful and intelligent sons, who will be at the same time great public men and popular speakers.²² It is interesting to notice that this portion of the Upaniṣad falls under 'the early Neo-Upaniṣadic' period.

21. BELVALKAR and RANADE: sup. p. 196.

22. BELVALKAR and RANADE: sup. p. 209.

(IV) The Atharvaṇic Teachers and Their Teachings

The Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads proper have been divided into five classes by Deussen²³ They are : (1) Pure Vedānta Upaniṣads, (2) Yoga-upaniṣads, (3) Saṁnyāsa Upaniṣads,²⁴ (4) Śiva-Upaniṣads, (5) Viṣṇu Upaniṣads. I propose to present a brief account of the Atharvaṇic teachers and their teachings which have got a special importance in the light of the genesis of the Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads.

(i) Māṇḍūkya : This Upaniṣad, although it bears a name of a Śākhā of the Ṛgveda, is generally recognised as belonging to the Atharvaveda. In form and contents it appears to be almost the last of the great Upaniṣads of the older canon. The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad introduces for its first time in the Upaniṣadic thought, the division of the symbol Om̐ into three moræ and the fourth morales part. In this Upaniṣad only, we find for the first time a systematic enumeration of the different states of consciousness, corresponding to the four moræ of the symbol Om̐. Thus there are four kinds of soul, viz., the Vaiśvānara, the Taijasa, the Prājña and the Ātman. This last is the Upaniṣadic equivalent of the Absolute. These four kinds of soul concern themselves with the gross, subtle, blissful and pure existence respectively. Gauḍapāḍya tries to incorporate both the Māyā (Kārikās iii. 27-29) and the Ajātivāda (Kārikā iv. 19) doctrines in his commentary on this Upaniṣad²⁵.

(ii) Aṅgiras, Atharvan and Atharva Veda : In Praśna Upaniṣad, Pippalāda gives the reply to the query of Bhārgava Vaidarbhi that the vital breath (Prāṇa) is the most supreme of the five psychophysiological entities viz. speech, mind, eye, ear, and breath. Praśna 2.5.13 contains a henotheistic praise of Prāṇa when it is successively identified with the various gods. At 2, 8 it is glorified as Atharvan among the Aṅgirasas. This shows that Atharvan had secured an eminent position among the Aṅgirasas. Prāṇa is then identified with Ekaṣī at 2. 11. Ekaṣī is the famous fire in the Atharvaṇic ritual. It is but natural that Atharvan and the Atharvaṇic ritual should occupy a very high position in an Atharvaṇic Upaniṣad.

Aṅgiras is a teacher in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad. A student aspiring for the Brahma Vidyā in this Upaniṣad is expected to

23. DEUSSEN : *ibid*, p. 9-10.

24. These are critically edited by Dr. F. OTTO SCHRADER : *The minor Upaniṣads*, Vol. I. *The Adyar Library*, Madras. 1912.

25. BELVALKAR and RANADE : *op. cit.* pp. 95; 322-326.

undergo the Atharvanic vow of carrying the sacrificial fire on the head (Śirovrata) to qualify himself for it. Aṅgiras imparts instructions to Śaunaka regarding monism (iii. 2. 8), qualified monism (iii. 1. 3) and dualism (iii. 1. 1). Aṅgiras' speculations on immortality (iii. 2) have supplied many ideas and expressions to the Bhagavadgītā. A comparison of the second section of this Upaniṣad with the 11th chapter of the Bhagavadgītā will bring out this point. The case for and against the ritualism has been well brought out in the sec. 2 of this Upaniṣad. In the cosmogony advanced in this Upaniṣad both Sāṅkhya and Vedāntic conceptions are found. In the metaphysical attitude of this Upaniṣad, the teacher Aṅgiras had 'a reconciling interest at his heart and tries to harmonise the different claims of the pluralism, qualified monism and monism.'²⁶ On the side of the mysticism the teacher draws a distinction between Lower and Higher knowledge. In the Higher knowledge, meditation on Om is advocated. Here also the teacher informs us that the disciple must be inspired with devotion for the goal, which is the Brahman (ii. 2. 3-4). Aṅgiras figures as a teacher in the Ātmapaniṣad. At the very beginning he points out that there are three types of Puruṣas, namely, Ātman, Antarātman and Paramātman. The Ātman is the body. The Antarātman is the soul, which undergoes different experiences. The Paramātman is the cosmic soul (Brahman). He is the one and eternal. He is the only Reality and the world is an illusion. The knowledge of this Brahman leads a man to liberation. This is thus the doctrine of absolute monism that Aṅgiras preaches here. Atharvan seems to have been a very popular teacher. As has been said above he was the chief of the Aṅgirases. It was perhaps, on account of this eminence of Atharvan, seen also in the contribution of the largest number of the hymns to the AV that the Veda was named after him. The AV has nine Sākhās according to the Caranavyūha.²⁷ At present it is preserved in only two Sākhās, viz. the Saunaka and the Pippalāda. A reference to the Upaniṣad of a third Sākhā is found in the Tripādvibhūtimahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad. In this Upaniṣad Brahmā is said to have asked Mahāviṣṇu about the secret doctrine of the Highest Principle. Mahāviṣṇu in his reply refers to the well-known ancient dialogue, between a pupil and his teacher, which forms the main contents of this Upaniṣad and which belongs

26. Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad.

27. The sākḥās of the AV are the following :

पैप्पलाद, तौद, मौद, शौनकीय, जाजल, जलद, ब्रह्मवद, देवदर्श and चारणवैय.

to the Devadarśisākhā of the AV²⁸. Regarding the other Śākhās of this Veda we know practically nothing. The Veda of the Atharvāṅgirasas in the course of time attained a very great prominence. For instance the Sītā Upaniṣad points out that the Atharvāṅgiras Veda is the essence of the three Vedas. The Atharvans are identified with the Bṛḥgus in the Cūlikā Upaniṣad of the AV, or in the Mantrikā Upaniṣad of the Yajurveda.²⁹ It is very likely that the families of the Atharvans and the Bṛḥgus are the sub-divisions of the more ancient family of the Aṅgirasas. That is how we get the names Atharvāṅgiras and Bṛḥgvaṅgiras. The Sūryopaniṣad is the praise of the Sūrya by Atharvāṅgiras.³⁰ Atharvan seems to be a very celebrated teacher of Yoga. In the Sāṅḍilya Upaniṣad (1), Sāṅḍilya is instructed by Atharvan into the eightfold Yoga, as a means of securing salvation. We are further told that Sāṅḍilya could not secure Brahmavidyā even after the study of the four Vedas; so he came to Atharvan and asked him to teach him the Brahmavidyā, whereby he would secure eternal bliss. Atharvan instructed him into the nature of the Brahman, that it is the one, omnipresent, subtle, pure and conscious cause of the whole creation. It bears all worlds and the creatures in it. The Brahman is attained through the Yoga alone. Receiving this instruction from Atharvan, it seems that Sāṅḍilya founded the Pāñcarātra system.³¹ Atharvan also instructs Paippalāda and others into the object of meditation. He tells them that Om̐ is the object of the meditation to secure the supreme soul, which is manifested in the form of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahādeva. This trinity of the Purāṇic Hinduism finds an emphatic mention here. This is 'the tuft of Atharvan' or 'the most prominent teaching of Atharvan', i. e. the Atharvaśikhā. In addition to these Upaniṣads there are a number of Atharvaśiras Upaniṣads. The Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad proper contains

28. ब्रह्मन् देवदर्शीत्याख्याथर्वणशाखायां परमतत्त्वहस्याथर्वणमहानारायणौपनिषदि गुरुशिष्यसंवादः पुरातनः प्रसिद्धतया जागर्ति ।

29. Cf. मन्त्रोपनिषद् ब्रह्म पदक्रमसमान्वितम् ॥ पठन्ति भार्गवा ह्येतदथर्वाणो भृगुत्तमाः ।

30. Cf. अथ सूर्याथर्वाङ्गिरसं व्याख्यामः ।

31. See Sāṅḍilya Upaniṣad 2 : अथ ह शाण्डिल्यो ह वै ब्रह्म ऋषिश्चतुर्षु वेदेषु ब्रह्मविद्यामलभमानः किं नामेत्यथर्वाणं भगवन्तमुपसन्नः पप्रच्छाधीहि भगवन् ब्रह्मविद्यां येन श्रेयोऽवाप्स्यामीति ।... मा शोचीरात्मविज्ञानी शोकस्यान्तं गमिष्यति ।

Also compare a similar statement of Sāṅḍilya given by Saṅkara in his Bhāṣya on Brahmasūtra II. 2. 44 .

the glorification of Rudra. In this Upaniṣad, it is pointed out that Atharvan (*i. e.* Atharvaṇic knowledge) is the well-protected divine treasure. The Upaniṣad gets this name because Atharvan resorted to the head and heart of Rudra.³² Atharvan is offered an oblation along with Prajāpati, Anumati etc. in the cremation-rite for the Āhitāgni in Saṁnyāsa Upaniṣad. The Yogasikhā Upaniṣad is designated as Atharvasikhā by the commentator Nārāyaṇa. The Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad (4) points out that the muttering of the mantra, *Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇāya*, leads the devotee to Vaikuṇṭha, and that Nārāyaṇa is Brahman. This is called the Atharvasīras. The Cūlikā Upaniṣad (6) explains that, the individual souls are many and the Lord is one. The Lord is praised by the Bahvṛcas (8) by the seven Sāmanis (9) and the Bhārgavas, who are the Atharvans (10). The Bhārgavas further glorify the various deities in the Atharvaveda.³³ This is nothing but Atharvasīras. The Devī Upaniṣad (1) claims that its teaching is the sacred knowledge of the Atharvan. It is further pointed out in sec. 20, that the Upaniṣad is the Atharvasīras. The Gaṇapati Upaniṣad contains the glorification of Gaṇapati as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the Universe. This knowledge constitutes the Atharvasīras. It is the direct preaching of Atharvan. The Mahāvākya Upaniṣad instructs into the experience of the Brahman by means of Yoga. This constitutes the Atharvasīras.

(iii) Ayāsa Aṅgiras is mentioned before as the teacher of Udgītha.

32. Cf. Atharvasīras Upaniṣad, 6.

33. मन्त्रोपनिषद् ब्रह्म पदकमसमन्वितम्। पठन्ति भार्गवा ह्येतदथर्वानो भृगुत्तमाः ॥ 10.

ब्रह्मचारी च ब्राह्म्यश्च स्कम्भोऽथ पालितस्तथा। अनङ्गोऽहोर्हितोच्छिष्टः पठ्यते भृगुविस्तरे ॥ 11.

कालः प्राणश्च भगवान् मनुष्यः पुरुष एव च। शैर्वा भवश्च रुद्रश्च श्यावाश्चः सासुरस्तथा ॥ 12.

प्रजापतिर्विरोद् चैव पाङ्गिः सालिल एव च। स्तूयते मन्त्रसंयुक्तैरथर्वविहितैर्विभुः ॥ 13.

निर्गुणं पुरुषं सांख्यमथर्वानं शिरो विदुः। चतुर्विंशतिसंख्याकमव्यक्तं व्यक्तिदर्शनम् ॥ 14.

अद्वैतं द्वैतमित्येतत्त्रिधा तं पञ्चधा तथा ॥ 15.

1=Av. 11-5; 2=Av. 15; 3=Av. 10. 7-8; 4=Av. 4-11; 5=Av. 13; 6=Av. 11-7
7=Av. 19. 53-54; 8=Av. 11-4; 9=Av. 6. 43; 10=Av. 19-6; 11, 12, 13=Av. 11-2
14=Av. 7-20; 15=Av. 8.9; 16=Av. 10. 2.

(iv) Ghora Āṅgīrasa : This teacher of Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa has been already mentioned. The Subāla Upaniṣad (6) teaches that Nārāyaṇa is the creator and controller of the Universe. This doctrine of Nārāyaṇa as the Universal Soul is imparted to Apāntarā-tamas who gave it to Brahmā. The latter gave it to Ghora Āṅgīrasa who gave it to Raikva. The latter in turn preached it to Rāma who taught it to all people (7). The Adhyātma Upaniṣad teaches the doctrine of the unity of the Brahman and Ātman. This doctrine was imparted in the same manner as in the Subāla Upaniṣad.

(v) Sudhanvan Āṅgīrasa : He has been mentioned before in connection with the doctrine of the Wind.

(vi) Dadhyac Ātharvaṇa has been referred to before in connection with his Madhu-doctrine.

(vii) Kabandha Ātharvan also figures in the doctrines of Sūtra and Antaryāmin.

(viii) Gautama : He asks Sanatkumāra in the Haṁsa Upaniṣad (1) the means of securing the knowledge of the Brahman. Sanatkumāra tells about the meditation on Haṁsa (Jīva) and Paramahaṁsa (Paramātmā). He concludes by saying that one reaches the state of Paramahaṁsa, when one experiences the ten *nūdis* by means of meditation. In the Āruṇika Upaniṣad, Āruṇi learns to renounce all *karmans* and leads the life of an ascetic to secure the salvation (secs. 1-5).

(ix) Bharadvāja : Garuḍa Upaniṣad instructs into the Garuḍa-brahmavidyā, which has been handed down from Brahmā to Nārada and from the latter to Bṛhatsena, who hands it on to Indra. Indra imparts it to Bharadvāja, who gave it to his pupils. It is a regular charm against a serpent-bite.³⁴

(ix) Pippalāda and Paippalāda : Pippalāda Āṅgīrasa³⁵ is the prominent philosopher of the Praśna Upaniṣad. Six students of Brahmaphilosophy approach Pippalāda and ask him different questions of varying interest. Kabandhi-Kātyāyana was interested in the cosmological question of creation. So he asks Pippalāda a question about it. Pippalāda in his reply to him, points out that Prajāpati, the Lord of the creation, existed from eternity, before the creation. He produced a pair, namely Rayi and Prāṇa, which may be taken to

34. JACOB: *ibid.* p. 9.

35. Cf. Parabrahma Upaniṣad, 1.

mean the matter and in-forming principle respectively. The combination of these two primordial principles was capable of creating every kind of existence. Bhārgava Vaidarbhi continuing the discussion further asks about the most important element which holds in its fold all created things. Pippalāda explains to him that Prāṇa was the most supreme of all the created elements. It is thus clear that the Prāṇa is the in-forming principle of the other world and the regulating principle of the inner world. In reply to the question of Kauśalya Āśvalāyana, Pippalāda points out that the Prāṇa is born of the Self and is spread over the Self like a shadow. The Prāṇa enters the body through the work of mind. The Prāṇa distributes itself in five forms in the human and the cosmic body. This distribution of the Prāṇa brings to our notice the analogy of microcosm and macrocosm. Thus Prajāpati, the source of the cosmic Prāṇa, pervades the world; it is Ātman, the source of the psychic Prāṇa (iii, 3-6) that dwells in the heart. To the question of Sauryāyaṇi Gārgya, Pippalāda replies that in deep sleep the senses are entirely inactive; but consciousness and consciousness alone remains. In this state, the mind is merged in the Supreme Person whose essence is knowledge. In the dreaming state imagination is fully awake and brings out the experiences of not only the things seen, but also unseen. In reply to the query of Śaibya Satyakāma, Pippalāda points out that the meditation on different *mātrās* of Om, the symbol of the god-head leads to the unification of the individual and the Supreme Self. Pippalāda then explains the nature of the person with the sixteen parts, while replying to the question of Sukeśin Bharadvāja. In the course of this discussion he suggests the construction of the personality of man out of the fusion of various elements. He finally points out that the individual spirit is absorbed in the Life Eternal.³⁶ Such is the teaching of Pippalāda in the Praśna Upaniṣad. The Garbha Upaniṣad contains the Mokṣa-śāstra of Pippalāda. The Upaniṣad gives a detailed description of the life of a soul in embryo from the time of conception. The soul in that life praises Nārāyaṇa to be relieved of this state. Pippalāda in the Parabrahma Upaniṣad instructs Mahāśāla Saunaka into the Brahmadevyā. He teaches the meditation on the Om and the practice of Yoga to secure the Parabrahma. He further goes on to say that Karmīns are required to be born again and again, but the Saṁnyāsīns get salvation. The real Saṁnyāsīns need not keep a tuft of hair on the head nor put a sacred thread (Yajñopavīta 1-15). In the Brahma Upaniṣad³⁷, Pippalāda Āṅgīrasa instructs Mahāśāla

36. BELVALKAR and RANADE, *ibid.* pp. 289-297.

37. Compare the comment of Nārāyaṇa on this.

Saunaka into the mode of the life of the Sāṃnyāsins. He teaches that the Sāṃnyāsins should not keep on their head a tuft of hair, or put on a Yajñopavīta. The Atharvaśikhā Upaniṣad refers to Pippalāda as a pupil of Atharvan. Paippalāda seems to be a descendant of Pippalāda. The Brhājābāla Upaniṣad 1, points out that Paippalāda had narrated the greatness of Vibhūti and Rudrākṣa. The Pañcabrahma Upaniṣad brings forth the discussion on the Vibhūti, the use of which can be made in protecting oneself against the evil spirits, demons and some diseases. In this Upaniṣad, Paippalāda is told by Maheśa that Sadyojāta, Aghora, Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna constitute the Pañcabrahma (1-16). This is merely the manifestaion of the Brahman. The Highest Brahman however, is Mahādeva. This is reached by the meditation on the Pañcabrahma (22). The Śarabha Upaniṣad is the Paippalāda Mahāśāstra (32). In this Upaniṣad we are told that Paippalāda approached Brahmā to know from him the relative importance of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra. Brahmā points out that Rudra in the Śarabha form is the highest of all gods. The various adventures of Rudra are cited to prove his supremacy. However, there is a unity in the trinity, of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. This is the Mahāśāstra of Paippalāda. The Jābāli Upaniṣad refers to Paippalādi, who asks Jābāli about the secret Highest Principle. Jābāli got this secret knowledge from Ṣaḍānana. Jābāli tells the Pāṣupata philosophy about Jīva (*paśu*) and Īśa (*paśupati*). The knowledge of Īśa is secured by marking the forehead with Tripuṇḍra with Vibhūti.

(x) Brhaspati is referred to before in the Ch. Up.

(xi) Rbhu: He seems to be the son of Sudhanvan Aṅgiras. In the Annapūrṇā Upaniṣad he teaches sage Nidāgha, the Anna-pūrṇāmantra of twenty-seven syllables. Rbhu got this knowledge from his father (Sudhanvan). Rbhu practised penance and Annapūrṇā presented herself before him and told him the knowledge of the Ātman (5-11). In the Tejobindu Upaniṣad, Rbhu instructs the sage Nidāgha into the nature of the Absolute (5-6). The Varāha Upaniṣad tells us that Rbhu practised penance for twelve years, when the Lord assuming the form of Varāha appeared before him. Rbhu asked him to instruct him into Brahmayidyā. Varāha instructed him into the nature of the Absolute (1-3). Then Rbhu tells the sage Nidāgha the nature of Jīvanmukti (4), and the practice of Yoga (5).

(xii) Bhṛgu and Bhārgava: Bhṛguvallī in the Taittirīya Up. is referred to above. One Bhārgava Vaidarbhi is mentioned in

Praśna Up. The *Cūlikā Upaniṣad* 10, explicitly mentions that the *Bṛhgu*s, the *Ātharvaṇas*, praise various deities in the *AV* (11-15). The *Bhārgavas* occur as the sages in the *Hayagrīvamantra*.

(xiii) **Saunaka:** The philosophy of *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* is taught by *Aṅgiras* to *Śaunaka*. In the *Nārada-parivṛājaka Upaniṣad* *Śaunaka* and other great sages ask *Nārada* the means of getting the salvation. *Nārada* says that a person, who is purified by proper sacraments should pass, to secure the salvation, through all stages of life and at the end become a *Samnyāsin* of the *Paramahansa* order (1). Then *Nārada* tells *Saunaka* and others the path of *Samnyāsa* (2).

(xiv) **Mārkaṇḍeya:** In the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti Upaniṣad* we are told that *Mārkaṇḍeya* asked him the secret of his long life. The latter told *Śaunaka* and others that he became a *Cirajīvin* by the knowledge of *Śiva* philosophy (*Śivatattvajñāna*). He then points out the manner of worshipping *Śiva* facing to the south (*Dakṣiṇāmūrti*).

(V) The Deities Figuring In The *Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads*

Coming to the various divinities that figure prominently in the *Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads* it will be noticed that there is a large variety of the deities presented therein. A brief survey of such deities will not be out of place here.

(i) *Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa* And *Gopāla* :

The *Brahmabindu Upaniṣad* refers to the topics such as the unity of the *Brahman* and *Ātman* and points out that the *Brahman* is *Vāsudeva*, who dwells in all beings and in whom all beings reside. The salvation is attained when one realises that it is *Vāsudeva* (22). The *Nārada-parivṛājaka Upaniṣad* teaches that the *Brahman* is attained when the *Samnyāsin* realises that the *Brahman* and *Ātman* are one and that the *Brahman* is *Vāsudeva* (3, 20). The *Akṣi Upaniṣad* (46) points out that one should realise the *Brahman* which is the same as *Vāsudeva*. Thus *Vāsudeva* is identified with the *Brahman*, which is by nature pure and unqualified, but through its miraculous power becomes the creator of the universe. It is to be noted that even a *Samnyāsin* is asked to meditate on *Vāsudeva*. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* *Kṛṣṇa* is mentioned to be the son of *Devakī*. He is a pupil of *Ghṛa Aṅgiras*. *Kṛṣṇa Aṅgiras* is the seer of *RV* 8. 74. There seems to be a tradition about a *Gotra* of the name *Kṛṣṇāyana* (*Pāṇini* IV. I. 96). So it seems that the son

of Devakī must have got the name of the sage Kṛṣṇa, of the Aṅgiras Gotra to which family Ghora Aṅgiras belonged. Kṛṣṇa himself was a descendent of Yadu a son of Yayāti and Devayānī, the daughter of Sukra Bhārgava. It thus seems that there is a reason to believe that the Bhṛgvah̥girases were directly associated with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult and influenced it to a great extent. The Gopālapūrvatāpinī Upaniṣad (1) and the Kṛṣṇa Upaniṣad (12) make Kṛṣṇa identical with the Brahman. Further development of this cult is seen in the identification of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa with Nārāyaṇa. The Garbha Upaniṣad points out that the soul in the embryonic life prays to Nārāyaṇa to be relieved of it. The Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad describes that Nārāyaṇa is the creator of beings, Prāṇa, mind, senses and five elements. He is the source of Brahmā, Rudra, Indra, Prajāpati and Vasus. He sustains all creation which ultimately resorts to Him (1). Nārāyaṇa is eternal and the one Supreme Lord of all (2). *Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇāya* is the *mantra*, by the recitation of which the devotee goes to the Vaikuṇṭha (4). The Subāla Upaniṣad (6) gives in detail that Nārāyaṇa, the sole lord of the universe, is identified with the whole creation. It may be noted that in the transmission of this doctrine to the people, Ghora Aṅgiras is mentioned to be a teacher. The Mahā Upaniṣad explains that Nārāyaṇa existed before the creation. He created the 10 senses, mind, ego, *Prāṇa*, *Ātman*, *buddhi*, the five subtle elements, the five gross elements, and his own self as the Puruṣa. He then created Mahādeva, Brahmā and the four Vedas (1). The Paramahansa-parivrājaka Upaniṣad points out that Brahmā came to his father Adinārāyaṇa, who told him first the duties of the Varṇas and Āśramas. Then Adinārāyaṇa explains to him the life and behaviour of a Saṁnyāsī. The Gopāla-uttaratāpinī Upaniṣad maintains that Nārāyaṇa is the best of all incarnations of Viṣṇu. Another element in the development of the Bhāgavatadharma is the identification of Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu. In the Atharvaśikhā Upaniṣad (2) Atharvan teaches that the symbol for meditation by a devotee is *Oṃ*, which is identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahādeva. Thus we get here the synthesis of the three cults. The Tripādvibhūti-mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad refers to the ancient dialogue, famous in the Devadārśī śākhā of the AV. In this, Great Viṣṇu tells Brahmā that the nature of the Brahman is fourfold: *Avidyā*, *Vidyā*, *Ānanda* and *Turiya*. The *Turiya* and *Turiyāṁśa* is Viṣṇu, who is the same as Nārāyaṇa (1). The second section of this Upaniṣad tells that the lord is *sākāra* (manifest) and *nitya* (eternal). The contradiction implied in the bodily form of the lord and his eternal nature is explained away as due to the wonderful power of the lord. Both the em-

bodied and unembodied forms of the lord are real. In the Avatāras such as Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and others, the absolute monism is at the basis. From Nārāyaṇa the whole creation proceeds. The world is the manifestation of the lord. The Sudarśana Yantra for the worship of Mahānārāyaṇa is explained in detail in the sec. 6. It may incidentally be noted that the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā³⁸ of the Pāñcarātra system deals mainly with the Sudarśana Yantra. The Saṁhitā opens with a dialogue regarding the explanation of the mysterious discus Sudarśana between Bharadvāja (Āṅgīrasa) and Durvāsas (Bhārgava). The latter relates to the former a dialogue between Nārada and Ahirbudhnya. It is further pointed out in chapter 42 of the Saṁhitā, that the Mantras used in connection with this Yantra are all extracted from the AV. It is to be borne in mind that the Bhṛgvaṅgīrasas and AV influence this Saṁhitā of the Pāñcarātra system. Out of the large number of the Pāñcarātra saṁhitās, the following are attributed to the Bhṛgvaṅgīrasas : Āṅgīras, Āṅgīrasa, Gautama, Dadhīca, Durvāsas, Bārhaspatya, Bharadvāja, Bhārgaviya, Mārkaṇḍeya and Śaunaka.³⁹ This explains the part played by the Atharvaṇic teachers in the propagation of the Bhāgavata or the Pāñcarātra system. Elsewhere I have pointed out that Śaṇḍīlya having received the knowledge from Atharvan founded a new (Pāñcarātra) śāstra.⁴⁰ In the Sātvata Saṁhitā too Paraśurāma (Bhārgava) asks Nārada to instruct the Ṛṣis, who were in the search of the place of Hari in the Sātvata method of worship. The Nṛsiṁhapūrvatāpinī Upaniṣad points out that Prajāpati saw the Mantra for the praise of Nṛsiṁha (1.1). This mantra wins over the death (2.1). The Cakra of the Mantra is the Sudarśanacakra (5.1). In the Tejobindu and Dhyānabindu Upaniṣads the objects of meditation are laid down to be Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The Yogatattva Upaniṣad describes Viṣṇu as Mahāyogin. Viṣṇu describes in detail to Brahmā, the Yoga of eight parts.

(ii) Nṛsiṁha : The Nṛsiṁha-uttaratāpinī Upaniṣad maintains that the fourth morales part of the Om should be achieved by this Nārasimhamantrarāja. Nṛsiṁha is the incarnation of Viṣṇu and is the Highest Brahman (5). The Avyakta Upaniṣad explains the great knowledge of Nṛsiṁha (Viṣṇu) in the Anuṣṭubh metre. Prajāpati practised penance for thousand years and then

38. *The Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, edited by Dr. F. OTTO SOHRADER.

39. Cf. Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā by Dr. F. OTTO SOHRADER, Adyar, Madras, 1916, pp. 6-11.

40. Cf. शाण्डिल्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचते । Śaṅkara on Brahmasūtra II. 2. 42.

saw the Divine Mantra with its subsidiary charms (1). Prajāpat practised meditation with this Mantra⁴¹ for thousand years on Viṣṇu riding on eagle, with his head covered within the hood of Śeṣa serpent and with the lion's face and body of a man with three eyes in the form of the Sun, the Moon and the Fire (2). The whole creation is effected by Prajāpati with this Mantra.

(iii) Varāha: Viṣṇu in the form of Varāha appeared before the sage Ṛbhu, who asked him to instruct him in the Brahma-vidyā. Varāha points out in the course of teaching that the persons who would worship Viṣṇu in the form of Varāha would get salvation in this very birth (1. 16). Varāha gives out that a man should follow the duties of his Āśrama and caste. In the last stage of life he should become a Saṁnyāsin who would meditate on his Varāha-form (2. 23). In the course of his teaching he points out that a man should follow the Varṇāśramadharma and practise devotion to the lord in some form or other.

(iv) Hayagrīva: The Hayagrīva Upaniṣad gives the Mantra for worshipping this incarnation of Viṣṇu (1-4).

(v) Rudra-Siva had attained the nature of a benignant God and the whole majesty of the god-head by the time of the Yajurveda and Atharvaveda. Even before the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa-cult was current, the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, standing as it did at the door of the Bhakti school, pours its loving adoration on Rudra-Siva, but when later on Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa came into the field, the germs of Bhakti speedily developed. As in the AV, so in the Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads, the Rudra-Siva worship is also given a prominent place next to that of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. The Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad glorifies Rudra as the supreme lord of the universe. The Atharvaśikhā Upaniṣad (3) maintains that Śiva is the object of the meditation. While speaking of Om, the Upaniṣad (2) points out that the symbol Om is identical with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahādeva. The Kaivalya Upaniṣad advises that for securing the salvation a Saṁnyāsin should devote himself to the meditation of Śiva, the lord of the universe who, has three eyes and dark blue throat (1. 7.). Lord Śiva is identified with Viṣṇu also (1. 8). The study of the Śātarudrīya is enjoined on the devotee of Śiva (2-24). The Bṛhajjā-

41. The Mantra is thus:

उग्रं वीरं महाविष्णुं ज्वलन्तं सर्वतोमुखम् ।
नृसिंहं भीषणं भद्रं मृत्योर्मुक्त्यु नमाम्यहम् ॥

The chapters 54-56 of the Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā describe this Mantra in detail.

bāla Upaniṣad (1) gives in detail the origin and glorification of the ashes with which the body is besmeared. Thus it describes the Pāśupata vow regarding the use of the ashes. In this Upaniṣad the teacher of all these doctrines of the ashes and besmearing with the ashes is Kālāgnirudra. The Tripuṇḍra-vidhi is also taught by Kālāgnirudra (4-5-7). Vāsudeva attained his white complexion when he ate a bit of the sacred ashes (6-9). The Pāśupatabrahma Upaniṣad mentions that Śiva is the controlling deity of all and that he is the lord of beings (Paśupati-6). The Bhasmajābāla Upaniṣad describes in detail Śiva with Umā. Śiva then is made to explain the Tripuṇḍra-vidhi (1). Then Śiva points out the duties of the Brāhmaṇas who to worship Śiva-līṅga, with Rudrasūktas and with the Mantra, *Oṃ namas śivāya*. Death in the city of Kāśī leads one to Śiva. Regarding the besmearing of ashes Śiva says : ब्राह्मणानामयमेव धर्मः।..... अयमेव धर्मः सनातनः सर्वपापनाशको मोक्षहेतुः ।

The Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad while explaining the details of the practice of Yoga, points out that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra are the deities of meditation, while practising the breath control (21). The Amṛtanāda Upaniṣad clearly states the role of the deities Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, when it mentions that the Yogin should ride a chariot in the form of Oṃkāra, should make Viṣṇu as the charioteer and seeking to go to the world of Brahmā, he should devote himself to the worship of Rudra (2). In the Nīlarudra Upaniṣad, Nīlarudra is described as having a dark blue throat, a long tuft of hair and as being in nature very formidable. He cures gastric troubles in the body of a person. He has a bow in his hand and is prayed to spare the heroes of the worshipper. He has thousand eyes. He is both formidable and benevolent. He is also prayed to cure phthisis. Nīlarudra is the lord of the open fields (3). This description of Rudra reminds one of the nature of Rudra-Śiva deity in the RV and AV.

(vi) Sarabha: The Paippalādamahāśāstra teaches in the Sarabha Upaniṣad that Śiva assumed the formidable form of Sarabha (4). He put a hide on his body and became Vīrabhadra (6). A number of exploits of Sarabha are narrated. Sarabha is shown to be superior to the incarnations of Viṣṇu such as Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha and Vāmana (13). He is praised along with Viṣṇu (16). Sarabha is the same as the Brahman.

(vii) Rāma: In the Rāmarahasya Upaniṣad we are told that Rāma is the Brahman. Nārāyaṇa is mentioned to be a part of

Rāma. Rāmamantra is mentioned along with its details (2). The Yantra for the worship of Rāma is described (3). The Rāmapūrva and uttaratāpinī Upaniṣads describe Rāma as the Highest Brahman. Sītā and Rāma are the objects of worship. They are worshipped with help of Yantra and Mantra. Rāma-mantra is more meritorious than that of the Gāṇapatyas, Sāktas, Sauras and Vaiṣṇavas (Uttara 6. 4).

(viii) Sītā : Sītā, the consort of Rāma, is the Prakṛti. The Saunakīyas, as the Sītā Upaniṣad points out, consider Sītā as Prakṛti to be threefold, viz., one is like logos, the other is found on the earth at the tip of the plough, and the third is the unmanifest form. Sītā is delightful to the world on account of her association with Rāma. She is the source of all things in the world. She is the will and power behind the actions also. She is also worshipped as Vīralakṣmī.

(ix) Annapūrṇā : She is the Mahālakṣmī with a smiling face and hair left loose. She is worshipped with a Mantra of 27 syllables. She is prayed to bestow food on the worshipper. The deity preached the Brahma vidyā (the doctrine of Absolute monism) to the father of Ṛbhu, according to the Annapūrṇā Upaniṣad.

(x) Durgā : The Tripurātāpinī Upaniṣad points out that Tripurā is the power of the Lord Śiva. Various Mantras, to worship Tripurā who is the same as Durgā, are given (1). When Durgā is pleased with the worship, she presents herself before the devotee, who then sees the Brahman (2). To secure all desires the worshipper is advised to worship Kāmakaḷābhūta⁴² Cakra (3). The Devī Upaniṣad is the 'revealed text of the Ātharvaṇas'. Devī is the same as Durgā. She is of the nature of the Brahman. The whole world, animate and inanimate proceeds from her. The Bhavānī Upaniṣad describes the construction and worship of Śricakra. The worshipper is called Śiva-Yogin.

(xi) Gaṇapati : The Gaṇapati Upaniṣad is described as the Atharvaśrīṣa, the teaching of Atharvan. Gaṇapati⁴³ is the Highest God and is identical with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra.

(xii) Sūrya : Almost in the henotheistic manner like Gaṇapati, Sūrya is praised in the Sūrya Upaniṣad, which is the Sūrya

42. For a detailed description of Kāmakaḷā see BHANDARKAR; *ibid.* p. 207.

43. BHANDARKAR; *ibid.* p. 210.

Atharvāṅgiras, 'Om ghr̥iṣ sūrya ādityaḥ' is the Mantra to be used for worshipping. The Akṣi Upaniṣad glorifies the worship of the Sun. This enables one to get rid of the eye-diseases. The sun-worship here does not show any trace of the foreign influence as seen in the latter sect of the Sauras.⁴⁴

(xiii) Dattātreyā: The Dattātreyā Upaniṣad mentions Dattātreyā as the son of Atri and Anasūyā. He is identified with Viṣṇu.

(xiv) Garuḍa: The Garuḍa Upaniṣad glorifies Garuḍa as the best of the birds and very much dear to Viṣṇu. His praise is an antidote against the poison of serpents and scorpions.

(xv) Brahmā is glorified as a great god along with Viṣṇu and Rudra in many Upaniṣads.

Thus the Ātharvaṇa teachers in these Upaniṣads taught the Bhāgavatadharmā in its various stages, such as Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu and Gopāla. They also preached the worship of Śiva along with Durgā, in various aspects. In addition they glorified other deities such as Gaṇapati, Sūrya, Dattātreyā etc. They thus first evolved the Trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and might be said to have influenced the Pañcāyatana worship, the worship of the five deities such as Nārāyaṇa, Gaṇeśa, Śaṅkara, Ravi and Devī. This may be an attempt of the fusion of the Bhāgavata and Śiva forms of worship, thus giving rise to the Smārta religion.

(VI) Provisional Time-Limit

Let us now turn to the fixing of some approximate limit to these Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads. BELVALKAR places the Muṇḍaka and the Prasna between 900-750 B. C., and the Māṇḍūkya between 750-550 B. C.⁴⁵ Gauḍapāda, the celebrated teacher's teacher of Śaṅkarācārya, commented on Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad. The Cūlikā Upaniṣad on account of its theistic Yoga and its Śāṅkhya conception is placed by DEUSSEN near the Bhagavadgītā, i. e. about 200 A. D.⁴⁶ However, following DEUSSEN's arguments, it is possible to take back this date by a century or two. The Brahmā and Saṁnyāsa Upaniṣads have their earlier portion quite as early as 200 B. C., but the later parts of these and Aṛuṇeya, Kaṭhaśruti, Jābāl and Paramahansa

44. BHANDARKAR *ibid.* p. 215 ff.

45. BELVALKAR: *Basu Mallik lectures on Vedānta*, p. 45

46. DEUSSEN: *Schizig Upaniṣads des Veda*, p. 637.

are not later than the didactic form of the epic Mahābhārata i. e. about 200 A. D.⁴⁷ The Yoga group of the Upaniṣads are mostly in verse and follow the lead of Cūlikā. The earliest of them is Brahmanbindu and it may be placed about 200 B. C. The main group consisting of the Kṣurikā, Tejobindu, Brahma-Vidyā, Nāda-bindu, Yogaśikhā, Yogatattva, Dhyāna-bindu and Amṛta-bindu may be placed about 200 A. D. Atharvaśikhā and Atharvaśiras are the documents of the Pāśupata sect. Along with these the others such as Nīlarudra and Kaiṇāya may be fixed about 200 A. D.⁴⁸ The Mahopaniṣad is the oldest Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣad. It is quoted by Rāmānuja.⁴⁹ It is placed by DEUSSEN after 200 A. D. The worship of Rāma is implied in the Rāmapūrvatapanī Upaniṣad and it may be between 200 B. C. to 200 A. D. The Rāmāuttaratāpanīya is of late origin as it contains passages from the earlier Upaniṣads. The Nṛsiṃhatāpanīya Upaniṣads are commented on by Gauḍapāda. So they cannot be later than 700 A. D. The Gopālātāpanīya Upaniṣad, on account of the element of Rādhā in it, might be prior to 900 A. D. All these chronological arrangements are provisional. Yet it seems that major creative activity of the Atharvaṇic teachers of the Upaniṣads must have fallen between 500 B. C. to 500 A. D. The compositions like the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Manusmṛti may easily fall in the central part of this period.

47. DEUSSEN : *supra*. p. 678-715.

48. FARQUHAR : *Outline of the religious literature in India*, p. 100.

49. SBE, vol. XLVIII. p. 522.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

ABORI—The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

AGS—Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.

AV—The Atharvaveda.

BDCRI—The Bulletin of the Deccan College Research and Post-graduate Institute, Poona.

ERE—Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.

Foundations—The Foundations of Atharvāṇic Religion.

GB—Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.

HOS—Harvard Oriental Series.

JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JUB—Journal of the University of Bombay.

Kauśika—Kauśika gṛhya sūtra of the AV.

KS—The Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana.

PPP—Paippalāda recension of the AV, edited by Dr. Raghu Vira

RV—The Rgveda.

SB—The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

SBE—The Sacred Books of the East series.

SV—The Sāmaveda.

TS—The Taittirīya Samhitā.

TU—The Taittirīya Upaniṣad.

VS—The Vājasaneyi Samhitā.

CORRIGENDA

For religion, p. 2 read religion.

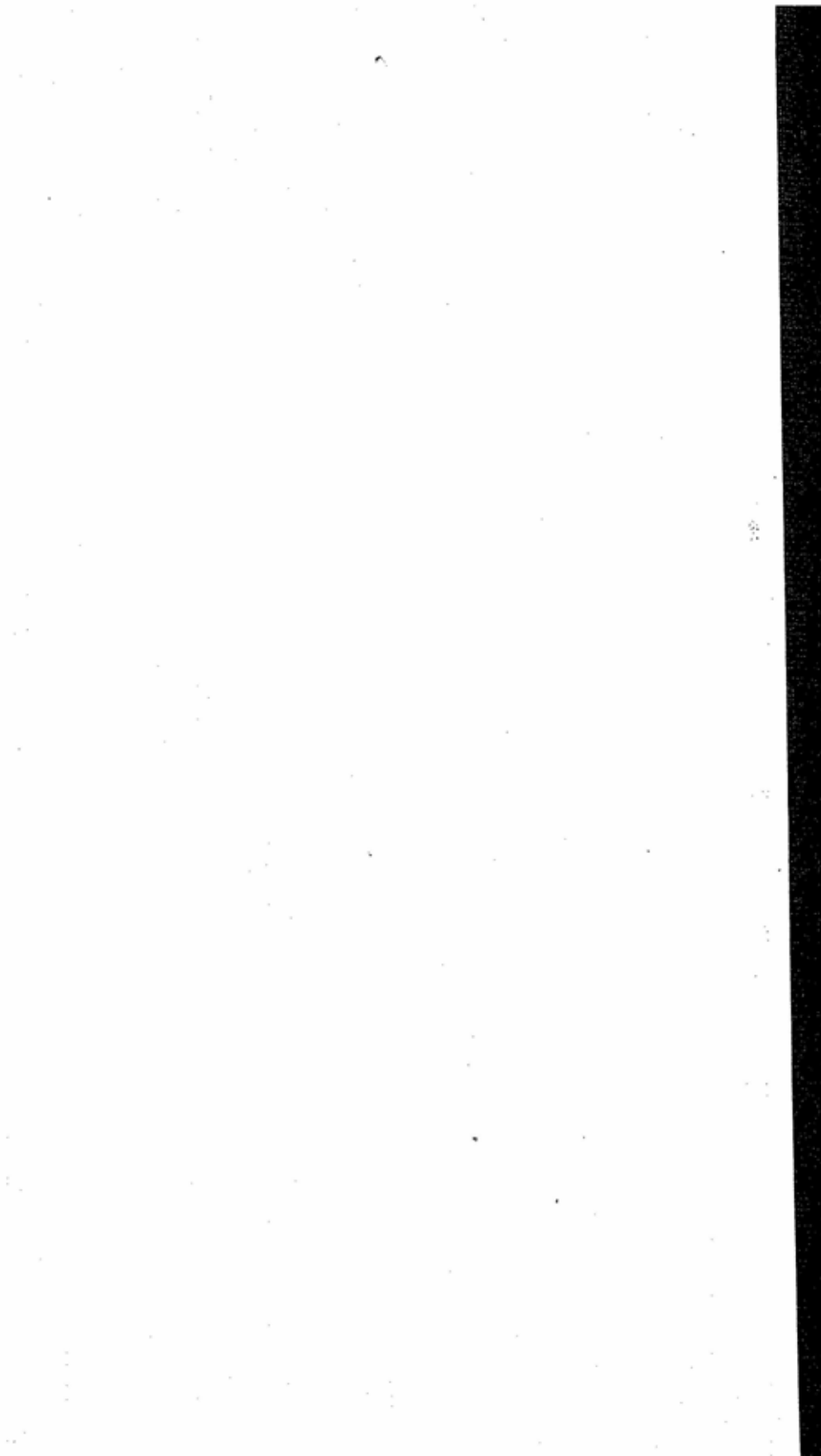
„ R̥hdyota, p. 26 read H̥r̥dyota.

„ Grahmann, p. 46 read Grohmann.

„ ST p. 69 read SB.







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